

Reports

Academic Freedom and the Social Responsibility of Academics and Researchers in Africa

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The conference on ‘Academic Freedom and the Social Responsibility of Academics and Researchers in Africa: What are the New Challenges?’ was held in Oran, Algeria between the 9th and 11th March 2010. The conference was jointly hosted by CODESRIA, Dakar and CRASC, Algeria. The main objective of the conference was to reflect on developments in academic and research activities in Africa as well as the emerging challenges that academics and researchers continue to face, 20 years after the ‘Kampala Declaration on Intellectual Freedom and the Social Responsibility of Scholars and Academics in Africa.’ The background to the Oran conference was the recognition of the tremendous changes and transformations that have taken place in higher education institutions in Africa since the 1990 Kampala Declaration, and which transformations have occasioned new challenges to the academic community in Africa. These transformations include global-level processes that impose new requirements to which universities have to respond by diversifying the courses they offer. Higher education in Africa has thus increasingly taken an international dimension more than ever before and, in the process, has changed the contexts of knowledge production and the rights of academics and researchers. The internationalisation and revolutionisation of information and communication technologies have further complicated the issue of violations and standards, insofar as they provide opportunities of training and education services at a more global level, thus rendering the concept of institutional autonomy relative. The Oran conference therefore took cognisance of these transformations and made reflections on the road travelled in the area of academic freedom and social responsibility of academics in African universities.

The proceedings were organized into ten working sessions, spread over the three days of the conference. Besides the opening and closing sessions (which were devoted to introductory and opening, and closing remarks by Nouria Remaoun, Director of CRASC, and Ebrima Sall, Executive Secretary of CODESRIA), the other eight sessions focused on paper presentations organised around themes, followed by reflections from discussants and general discussions. The themes around which working sessions were organised are: Theoretical and Conceptual Issues, Theories and Concepts, Gender and Ethics, Academic Freedom and ICT, Global and Country Perspectives, Academic Staff Unions and Academic Freedom. Each paper presentation was preceded by a keynote address that conceptualised academic freedom and social responsibility within the context of the identified theme.

During the opening session, Nouria Remaoun and Ebrima Sall both outlined the key issues for discussion with regard to the challenges facing academic freedom and institutional autonomy in Africa, 20 years after the Kampala Declaration. The issues they raised focused on the need to reconceptualise academic freedom, from the perspective of academics, to the responsibilities they have to their students and communities. The need to refocus has been necessitated by the increasing number of private universities on the continent and the privatisation of public universities, the deepening of entrepreneurial cultures in public universities, the application of GATS to higher education provision on the continent which might end up privileging private universities over public ones, especially in the context of some GATS provisions which suggest that public funding should be spread across a broader set of domestic and foreign providers. The issue of foreign presence was also raised as it implies that governments can decrease public funding for higher education, thereby jeopardising domestic publicly funded institutions. These issues present new challenges to the realisation of academic freedom in higher education institutions in Africa.

In his introductory remarks, Ebrima Sall, the Executive Secretary of CODESRIA outlined the council’s engagement with issues of academic freedom in Africa. He noted that an Academic Freedom and Human Rights Programme had been established in CODESRIA since the early 1990s. The various initiatives developed around this programme have placed it at the forefront of the fights for the defence of academic freedom and the social responsibility of African academics and researchers. The starting point of this programme was the adoption, in November 1990, of the Kampala Declaration which states, among others, that “Every African intellectual has the right to pursue intellectual activity, including teaching, research and dissemination of research results, without any hindrance, and subject only to universally recognised principles of scientific enquiry along with high ethical and professional standards”. Since the Kampala Declaration, CODESRIA has developed a large number of activities, including: support to research, the publication of research results and organisation of regular conferences in African countries, to discuss and review the progress and constraints related to the issues of academic freedom in African universities. Besides, these conferences provided opportunities to review the reforms undertaken by African higher education and research institutions.

The January 2011 South Sudan Self-determination Referendum and Possible Consequences for Sudan and the Region

Report of a CODESRIA Mission to Khartoum

Sam Moyo, Mahmood Mamdani & Ebrima Sall
President Former President Executive Secretary

Sudan is in the throes of a political crisis, with one of Africa's longest civil wars (between the north and the south), military coups and Islamist regimes, the conflict in Darfur, tensions in the Nuba Mountains and other kinds of political problems. On top of all this, the Sudanese President has been indicted by the International Criminal Court (ICC).

In 2005, the international community helped in getting the main rival forces in the decades old North-South civil war to sign a Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) that led to the establishment of a Government of National Unity (the Government of Sudan, GoS) and a Government of South Sudan (GoSS). The CPA thus ushered in a six-year transition period during which the parties to the Agreement are supposed to work towards 'making unity attractive', so that the Sudanese people would want to continue to live together, hopefully in what would be a united, secular, and democratic state. The transition period should end with a referendum in which the people of South Sudan will say whether they want independence or to stay within Sudan.

By all indications and assessments, unity does not seem to be more attractive now than it was in 2005 when the CPA was being signed. If current developments run their course, then the most likely outcome of the January 2011 referendum will be independence of the South.

The independence of South Sudan will probably be the most important political development in Africa since the end of Apartheid. It would be the second case of a break up of an African country after independence (the first being Somalia).

Dire expectations abound. Most expect Africa's first NGO-run state, or state run by consultants in the South and the continuation of the North-South war, except that now it will be between two sovereign states, and thus have the potential of drawing in other states on either side.

This situation has been widely anticipated by, among others, International NGOs, the African Union, regional and foreign states, even Africanist intellectuals in the West. The only constituency that had yet to provide any input, let alone leadership, is that of African intellectuals.

This is the intellectual void that CODESRIA has begun to fill since August 2009, starting with a planning trip to Khartoum. A three-person CODESRIA team visited Khartoum from August 29-31 and held informal meetings with Sudanese researchers based in key universities and research institutions. The team comprised Sam Moyo (President), Ebrima Sall (Executive Secretary) and Mahmood Mamdani (Past President). The objective

of the visit was to explore a possible agenda for a program of activities that would help broaden and deepen an African academic engagement with the ongoing political process in Sudan. Such an engagement should also help strengthen the presence of Sudanese academics in the African research community and the engagement of the African research community with the realities of Sudan.

Context

The CODESRIA visit was undertaken with two objectives in mind.

The strategic objective was to strengthen ties with the Sudanese social science community. CODESRIA recently organized a conference on higher education at University of Juba. On their part, individual Sudanese academics have been active in CODESRIA from its founding in the early 70s. In the main, however, Sudan has been a peripheral country in the development of CODESRIA's activities on the African continent.

Non-African foundations and universities, which have in the past set up several regional networks involving leading Sudanese universities, have been far more active than CODESRIA in shaping the direction of social science research in Sudan. An initiative by the Volkswagen Foundation has networked researchers from three Sudanese universities [Ahfad, Juba and Khartoum], and those from universities of Addis Ababa, Nairobi and Moi with researchers at the University of Breiman in Germany. Christian Michelson Institute has organized the Macro-Micro Project, which aims to monitor the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) that was signed in 2005, which marked the end of a decades old war between the Sudanese state and the Sudanese Peoples Liberation Movement (SPLM), led by the late John Garang. Other initiatives include the University for Peace, based in Costa Rica, and its Addis Ababa affiliate, and the North-South Institute, Ottawa.

The immediate aim of the visit flowed from our understanding of the ongoing political process in Sudan. This was clearly stated in the team's preparatory memo, circulated to those we hoped to meet during the visit.

The CODESRIA team held meetings with Sudanese researchers at Khartoum University, Ahfad University for Women, Juba University, as well as meetings with non-university intellectuals. The idea was to keep the numbers at each meeting small enough to all present an opportunity to participate fully in the discussion. We tried to focus the discussion on the following issues:

1. Is the initiative to broaden and deepen an African intellectual engagement with the political process in Sudan at this particular time worthy and feasible? If yes,
 2. What are the key issues around which to organize this engagement?
 3. Who should be the key participants and audiences in such a program?
 4. What is the range of activities (multi-topic conferences, single-topic workshops, a lecture series, focused research groups, a newsletter and so on) that will best promote such an engagement?
 5. Where should these activities be organized? In one or multiple locations? In Sudan or outside? In either case, in which locations and institutions?
- Possible anti-dotes to an ongoing militarization, the spread of small arms and the proliferation of militias.

3. The CPA and the Census

- A critical analysis of the CPA, in both its formulation and implementation
- The census and the debate surrounding it.
- Analyzing the role of the International Community, particularly the Big Powers and Regional States.

4. Exploring the Middle Ground between Unity and Separation

- Discussing a range of outcomes beyond unity and separation: e.g., a confederation
- Are there alternatives to a referendum?
- Preparing for separation in both the North and the South
 - o How to avoid political fragmentation [thus Somalization] and promote peaceful development
 - o Promoting a new type of cooperation between the North and the South
- A focus on border communities – such as Nuba Mountains, Blue Mountain, and possibly Darfur – which are likely to bear the direct and immediate consequences of separation.

5. The Role of African Outsiders

- Bringing to bear lessons of the African experience, of planned partitions [Ethiopia/Eritrea], unplanned partitions [Somalia], failed partitions [Biafra/Nigeria], and other outcomes of deep internal crisis [South Africa, Mozambique, Uganda and so on.]

A Synopsis of the Discussion

There was a remarkable identity of views among those we met on the main features of the present situation. Everyone seemed to agree that the situation is highly polarized and polarizing. Most obviously, there seem to be two governments, rather than a single government of national unity: there is the central government [GoS] which functions as more of a government of North Sudan, and then there is the Government of South Sudan. Both ruling parties, the National Congress Party (NCP) in the North and the SPLM in the South, seem to be driven by worst case scenarios. Both seem to be preparing for cessation as the most likely outcome if present trends continue. There is a widespread fear that cessation may not be organized and smooth, but a violent divorce.

The politics of identity is highly polarized. One side feels that Africa has been appropriated by some and fears exclusion as 'Arabs'. The other side fears that the demand for unity conceals the ambitions of a thinly disguised 'civilizing mission' of a largely unreformed Northern establishment. The SPLM leadership we met, most often asked: true, cessation will bring disaster, but can any disaster be worse than all the disasters resulting from one single Sudan? The few who were hopeful in this context argued that it is time to re-imagine the nation. The unity game, they said, is almost over and there is need to think of creative alternatives, such as a loose confederation.

Most admitted that the fears linked to cessation are not being discussed openly. Many intellectuals, whether academics or politicians, expressed the view that in the absence of any win-win scenario, with the middle ground rapidly shrinking, there is urgent need for the participation of a third party that is African and is seen to have an impartial, academic, point of view.

Issues

1. Politics and Culture
 - The ongoing debate on identities in Sudan: Arab and African
 - The historical relationship of politics to culture, and of the state to cultural identities: thus a critical analysis of assimilation (civilizational projects), segregation and the acceptance of cultural differences.
2. Political Violence
 - Lessons of the war in the South: from independence on.
 - Lessons of different phases in the conflict in Darfur: 1987-89, 1995, 2003 on.

Participants

Academics at the University of Juba pointed out that whereas the debate in Sudan was strongly political, the intellectual debate was weak. SPLM intellectuals argued that it is not always easy to separate the intellectual from the politician, especially where the struggle is nationalist. Participants at the Ahfad discussion emphasized that a useful distinction would be one between different kinds of intellectuals: professional intellectuals in the academia vs those in politics, as opposed to intermediate intellectuals in civil society and religious organizations. They emphasized the need to focus on academics when it came to research-related activities, but the entire range of intellectuals when it came to a discussion of the immediate political process in Sudan.

The Juba Workshop (17-18 May 2010)

A consensus emerged over the two days of discussions that the CODESRIA August 2009 mission to Khartoum held with the universities of Khartoum, Juba and Ahfad that the discussion should begin in the South (Juba) and then be extended to the north (Khartoum). The impact of meetings in the South would be high even if the logistics may be more difficult. The SPLM leadership promised to help out with organizing logistics in the South.

On 17-18 May 2010, CODESRIA, in collaboration with the Universities of Juba and Khartoum, and Ahfad University for Women, Sudan, therefore held an international symposium on the Political Process in Sudan with a particular focus on the 2011 Referendum over the future of South Sudan.

The symposium brought together the leadership and several senior scholars from the three Sudanese universities that co-organised it with CODESRIA, including the President of Ahfad University, an Advisor to the Vice Chancellor and Professor at Khartoum University, the Dean of the School of Social Sciences at Khartoum University, the Current President, a former President, the current Executive Secretary, and the Head of Research of CODESRIA, the Minister of Higher Education and representatives of the Office of the Vice President, three representatives of the African Union High Level Panel on Sudan led by the former President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki (the Mbeki Commission), the Resident representative of the World bank in Juba and three World Bank Consultants, representatives of the east Africa offices of IDRC and OSIEA, and several other scholars and senior officials from the GoS and GOSS.

The discussions focused on four themes:

- i) the CPA, how it has worked out, difficulties encountered, etc
- ii) African experiences in matters of unity and separation, and in finding original solutions that are their own making and that work for the people directly concerned, such as the South African solution to and handling of the legacy of Apartheid;
- iii) The 2011 Referendum, and post-referendum issues
- iv) An agenda for further research, dialogue and action.

Note

See Reim Atabani's report on the CODESRIA-University of Khartoum-University of Juba-Ahfad University for Women Symposium held in Juba on 17-18 May 2010 in this issue.

The Political Process in Sudan and the 2011 Referendum

Report on the Symposium organized by CODESRIA in collaboration with the University of Juba, the University of Khartoum and Ahfad University for Women on 17 – 18 May 2010 in Juba, Sudan

Reim Atabani
Khartoum, Sudan

This symposium was the outcome of discussions that took place during a CODESRIA executive-level mission to Sudan in August 2009. After assessing the country's political situation, meeting with scholars and considering the potential contributions of the African social science research community, CODESRIA's leadership organised the symposium to encourage open dialogue on the current political situation in Sudan, the 2011 referendum on self-determination in the South, and the potential role of the academia in Sudan's policy-making and political processes. Scholars, researchers, government officials, members of the international community and legal practitioners gathered for what turned out to be a successful, stimulating and productive discussion, with the intention to hold a workshop in Khartoum thereafter.

This symposium took place at a critical moment in Sudan's history, between the national elections conducted in April this year and the Southern Sudan referendum on self-determination scheduled for January 2011. The referendum on self-determination was included as a provision of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), a document signed in 2005 between the North's ruling National Congress Party (NCP) and the South's Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM). The CPA ended Sudan's civil war with the promise of political transformation, which was meant to take place over an interim period that will end in 2011, the same year of the historic referendum.

Many in the international community have predicted further instability in Sudan or even war after the referendum, often polarising the narrative on political processes in Sudan. Furthermore, for the past several years, the Darfur conflict has attracted the attention and energy of stakeholders, both inside and outside of Sudan, at the expense of the North-South issue. More positive and productive support is required for the current po-

litical processes, and these are critical to peaceful conduction of the referendum and regional stability.

In this spirit, CODESRIA's Sudan initiative hopes to contain any further vulnerability by moderating the impact of the likely secession of the South, which might divide Africa's largest country. Voices in the African academic community should share relevant experiences and contribute intellectual insight to debates on the secession since Sudan's future has implications for the African continent as a whole. Such engagement can go a long way to inform and mitigate discussions – both within Sudan and abroad – on the country's future prospects and serve as a model in the future.

Since the role of the intellectual has been marginalised from the public sphere in many African states, CODESRIA recognises its responsibility to amplify their voices at the same time as it contributes an impartial, academic view to the discussion on self-determination in Sudan. CODESRIA, however, firmly believes that Sudan's future must be decided by the Sudanese themselves, and thus plans to play a supportive role in the activities they prioritise. The Sudanese are best served by their taking full ownership of the process, avoiding undue interference from external groups and privatising the political process where found counter-productive.

Opening Session: CODESRIA and University Representatives

The purpose of this symposium was to gather Sudanese scholars and leaders to discuss the current political situation of their country, and its future, benefitting from the support and contributions of their African peers. It was a significant event, considering the historic absence of African scholars from policy-making and political processes all round the continent.

Despite this, there was a notable absence of political leadership, particularly in the North. Nevertheless, the discussion was productive and their participation is anticipated in upcoming events.

University representatives at the symposium, Professor Gassim Badri (President of Ahfad University), Professor Al Tayib Zain Alabdin (Advisor to the Vice-Chancellor of Khartoum University) and Dr. Hamad Hawi Omer of Juba University, commended CODESRIA having taken the initiative to hold the symposium and noted that Sudan's relations with CODESRIA have declined since a period of joint activities that took place during the 1980s. CODESRIA, according to its President, Professor Sam Moyo and Executive Secretary, Dr Ebrima Sall, hopes to develop a stronger partnership with Sudanese scholars. They will be given space to take ownership of the symposium and, in the medium and long term, CODESRIA will support their contributions to a political solution for the 2011 referendum and its aftermath that is fair, just and equitable to all Sudanese.

Keynote Address

The Guest Speaker, Dr. Peter Adwok Nyaba, Minister of Higher Education and Scientific Research, explained that two current trends in the Sudanese academia are stifling the advancement of higher education and research. First, social science research has no influence on public policy in Sudan. The knowledge available in universities is not being utilised by either government officials or the public, in part because there is no guiding principle of interaction between them – aptly illustrated by the absence of policy makers at this academic symposium despite the high stakes of their decisions related to the referendum. The second trend is that universities not only fail to produce new knowledge and encourage progress, but they refuse both. Sudan should therefore open its doors to CODESRIA to help it support research activities and publicise, beyond Sudan's borders, the discussions going on domestically. Africa should understand what is happening in Sudan. Dr. Nyaba promised to draft a document in support of CODESRIA's initiative in Sudan while he noted the pan-Africanism and pan-Arabism conflict in Sudan, which further complicate the relationship between the production of knowledge and national policy. Certain national issues, however, are obvious and so do not require research – considering the dangerous times, leaders and intellectuals simply need to act fast.

Keynote Lecture: Professor Mahmood Mamdani

Regardless of whether the southern Sudanese choose unity or separation, there are two reasons the 2011 referendum is a historic moment: the vote will usher in a new political order, and it is a rare and historic opportunity for self-determination, which comes once in several generations at a great cost of political violence. While CODESRIA supports African unity, it bears in mind that unity does not always develop in a linear, top-down fashion, since political unity can only be the outcome of political struggle. In fact, unity may transpire not only from force – a legacy of imperialism – but also from freedom. The independence of one territory from another offers new possibilities for forging more positive bilateral relations between the predecessor and successor states. Regarding the political process that leads to independence, the sovereignty of a state and the self-determination of a people do not have to be contradictory where sovereignty is won through self-determination. This is the example of Eritrea and will potentially hold true in south Sudan.

The right to choose independence is secured as a result of both internal and external factors, though one may have greater influence than the other; in Eritrea, the internal military victory was most significant, but where there was no victory in South Sudan, pressure from America after September 11th and the fear of invasion (Iraq's fate) may have solidified the inclusion of self-determination in the CPA. Looking ahead, there is an urgent need to develop state capacity in South Sudan and to deal with political violence, which is possible no matter the outcome. To deal with political violence, the challenge is to focus internally, rethinking the state in terms of what makes a citizen while at the same time allowing for non-politicised cultural diversity.

Discussion of Keynote Lecture

Following the keynote lecture, participants debated whether internal or external factors had more influence towards the signing of the CPA. Several believed that to take external events as a determining factor in the settlement for self-determination neglected internal dynamics of both the Sudanese regime and the region. Others noted that if drivers of the political process were external, this was as a result of the internal initiative failing. The discussion then questioned the role of Arabisation and Islamisation on national policy. Participants also noted that the strategy of both the NCP and the SPLM was to isolate the other. Sudan's real problem, however, has long been a lack of legitimisation in the political process and a unilateral tendency in governance. These problems are evidence of how democracy has been unsuccessful as a concept and an instrument of change in Sudan. A lack of imagination, however, is less present in the government than it is in the opposition, which has sometimes abdicated its responsibilities to the project of political transformation. Looking ahead to independence, what issues arise out of identity? In order to incorporate marginalised identities and accommodate pluralism, there must be a re-think on the role of the state in African countries towards being a real democratic developmental state.

The Comprehensive Peace Agreement: Origins, Key Components, Implementation

The discussion on the CPA was introduced by Professors Hassan Ali Al Haj and John Gai Yoh. The panelists presented different narratives of CPA negotiations and implementation, but agreed that the interim period has been compromised by deep mistrust and partisan polarisation from both signatories of the CPA. Looking back at negotiations, the process and political context had a determining influence on the substance of the CPA. Influencing factors include both internal and external power dynamics and conflicting expectations of the interim period – factors which have similarly challenged CPA implementation over the past five years. Regardless, the CPA probably could not have solved the historic problems arising from state development in Sudan, key among them being marginalisation, with its usual possibility of leading to separation. In fact, considering the two parties' differing interpretations of CPA provisions and the challenge of implementing the agreement, secession was always possible. In order to address the remaining ten critical post-referendum issues in a productive, timely manner, it is vital for the parties to confront the political environment in Sudan, determine the role of the international community, and agree on the functions and tasks of the relevant CPA-mandated government commissions.

Discussion on the CPA

Discussion about the CPA analysed implementation as a measure of the interim government's success and considered its implications on national unity. Most agreed that unity has been undermined by partisan interests, profound mistrust and differing interpretations of the CPA. The CPA was variably described as a conversion of ideas into action for the SPLM and as a roadmap for democratic transformation, with the question being whether the possibility ever existed for either party to fully implement the CPA. Reasons why this might not have been possible include the parties' respective political strategies, level of commitment, and the availability of resources. The NCP and the SPLM have maintained a pragmatic, if not opportunistic, relationship during the interim period that in the end fell short of encouraging cooperation in ways that would bolster unity. Separate government entities have developed in the north and south that will continue to operate separately after self-determination. When assessing the success of the past five years, however, it is important to keep context in mind: namely, the economic and financial factor in CPA negotiations, the pressure on parties to sign, and to what extent the agreement did or did not represent each side's strategic interests. One consequence of the interim period is that, although the CPA provided for national reconciliation, it was not realised, the failure of which will be felt in the months preceding the referendum.

African Experiences

Panelists comprising Dr. Paschal Miho, Professor Chris Landsberg, Carlos Cardoso, Cheikh Tidiane Ben Amar Kane, Njeri Karuru and Abdul Mohamed imparted African experiences of self-determination and secession, offering lessons that could benefit Sudan as it seeks a political solution to the possibilities created by self-determination. Chief among these lessons were the importance of creating a developmental state in Sudan, being inclusive of a diversity of political and ethnic groups in both the north and south, and supporting the challenge of coexistence after secession by seeking common values and constructing a special bilateral relationship. In Angola's Cabinda area, the question of self-determination shows how calls for secession emerge from unmet demands for social justice, wealth distribution, and social and economic development. This suggests that a developmental state must be on the agenda for the south. Furthermore, such political issues should be resolved by negotiations, redistribution, and inclusiveness. Zanzibar and Tanzania illustrate a union that worked as a result of policy-based negotiations, economic partnership, capacity development, and policy-making that enabled long-term cooperation and coexistence. The union succeeded in no small part because capacity building was taken seriously by the government of Zanzibar, the resulting policies of which shifted negotiations away from speculation and strengthened overall stability. South Africa demonstrates that where there exists a racial dynamic of oppression, this must inform an equitable and just political agreement for it to be sustainable. Furthermore, the legitimacy of a new political order must come not only from fairness, but also from broad participation of political parties from across the spectrum. The lesson of Senegal is that religion can play a role in building bridges based on common values. Coexistence will continue to be a problem in Sudan even if the south secedes. For this reason Sudan's regions must focus on common interests and values - not only in politics but in civil

society as well. Based on Kenya's experience, Sudan should consider very seriously ethnic-based issues, particularly internal divisions, following secession. Once the outsider leaves, how will the dynamics of ethnicity work out in a multiparty system? The case of Ethiopia and Eritrea proves the merits, even the necessity, of constructing a special relationship between a new state and its former territory to support mutually beneficial partnerships and regional stability.

Roundtable Discussion on the 2011 Referendum and Post-Referendum Issues

Professor Al Tayib Zain Alabdin, Martinson Oturomoi, Professor Hamad Hawi, Liz Gaere, and Abdul Mohamed led the roundtable discussion. Since all indications are that unity has missed its chance, the participants agreed that it is more realistic to discuss post-referendum arrangements than unity, including how to support an amicable separation between north and south. A positive relationship between the two regions is a high priority, meaning Sudan's current *status quo* must change. Both parties are responsible for the weakened possibility of unity, with the remaining post-referendum issues highlighting how they have operated parallel policies over the interim period. Despite this and despite the complexity of post-referendum issues, it is still possible – in fact, necessary – for the parties to reach a framework agreement that will anchor negotiations by outlining principles of cooperation. Beyond this, there is also a need to discuss the most pressing issues in Sudan, namely governance and inclusiveness, which will not be resolved by secession. It was advised that these negotiations be done exclusively by the Sudanese themselves, without consultants. Leading up to the referendum, there is also a responsibility for the parties to create an enabling environment, meaning security, access to media and citizen education. Ultimately, preparation for the referendum bodes well for either unity or secession as it leads to capacity-building in the south.

Discussion: 2011 Referendum

Discussion of the referendum expanded on the idea of how to make secession – rather than unity – attractive, further stressing the urgent need for a political framework agreement for negotiating post-referendum issues. Participants wondered whether unity ever could have been made attractive, and noted that there are northern separatists in Sudan as well as southern separatists. For discussing post-referendum issues, negotiators from the north and south need one general guiding principle – possibly integration – which if implemented would augur well for both the short and long term. The point of an amicable divorce now is to create enough mutual economic and other cooperation and space for positive bilateral relations that unity will be an option in the future. There is a question, however, of whether it is viable to achieve under separation what could not be achieved under unity? To explore that possibility, stakeholders should be determined enough to find an authentic solution to the unique situation in Sudan.

Moving Forward: The Engagement of CODESRIA/ African Intellectuals with the Political Process in Sudan

Nureldin Satti chaired a discussion among the participating African scholars about their potential role in Sudan. They reflected on the fact that a disconnect has developed between the intellectual and political class in African societies, limiting

the role of academics in conflict resolution and socioeconomic development. A lack of resources and an absence of democratic debate also prevent scholars from infusing ideas into decision-making processes. Should academics broaden their public participation, however, they must not serve simply as policy advisers; scholars, in their public engagement, must also be critics. To develop this capacity, CODESRIA is engaging Sudan through various academic and public partnerships, which in the near future may include, but are not limited to, public forums, seminars, research projects, a possible referendum monitoring mechanism, training, conferences and public debates. The aim will be to support policy-making on the referendum process, develop the capacity of Sudanese universities, facilitate collaboration between scholars from both the north and the South, and foster an environment for academics and civil society to engage in dialogue without discrimination. Throughout this process, African scholars should understand that they should approach Sudan not with answers, but with experiences. Sudanese scholars will help establish priorities as the partnership moves forward since any solutions to the issues discussed will have to be reflective of the Sudanese themselves. Ultimately, broader change in Sudan must come through social, economic and cultural engagement; it will not happen through politics only.

Conclusion

The Political Process in Sudan and the 2011 Referendum was a symposium intended to facilitate engagement between the Sudanese academic community and policy makers, create space for open discussion of the referendum and its relevant issues, connect African and Sudanese scholars, and renew CODESRIA's relations with the Sudanese social science community. The event was successful in every of its initiative, indicating a promising future of CODESRIA's engagement with Sudan.

The forum was notable for discussing and potentially contributing to policy-making on a current, polarising political issue, namely the southern referendum on self-determination in Sudan. The academic contributions balanced the referendum conversation and guided it towards a broad analysis that contextualised it and its implications for Sudanese in particular, and Africans in general. The conversations were rich in reflection and the wisdom of experiences that have the ability to serve Sudan in the near future, illustrating the value of involving

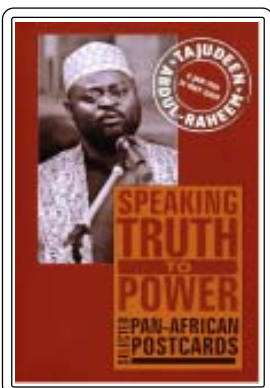
African scholars in political processes. The political dialogue was itself significant for bringing together northerners and southerners and also including their African peers. Participants at times presented conflicting narratives of the political processes and differing opinions on how to move ahead, but the forum accommodated all voices through honest, open debate that ultimately enriched the understanding of the issue. Panelists reflected on the interim period as a means of understanding Sudan's present situation, and shared experiences from other African states to offer lessons for Sudan's political leadership and further situate the country's politics.

The discussions produced several themes and proposals that were forward-thinking even as they reflected on the past. Analysis of CPA implementation highlighted the threat of partisan polarisation on Sudanese politics, which risks compromising the opportunities presented by secession to forge new, positive bilateral relations between the north and the south based on mutual economic and other interests. Participants stressed that a principal aim of the coming year must be to emerge from the practice of self-determination with a constructive relationship between the north and south. Likewise, the project of unity, broadly defined, should continue after the referendum. Some noted the trend of the region toward integration, recommending this principle as a keystone of negotiations. Participants also considered the importance of political legitimisation, inclusiveness, ownership and careful preparation for the referendum in the months ahead. Most participants agreed on the need for more popular consultation among civil society and the resolution of contentious issues (i.e. border demarcation) prior to voting. A recurring theme in the discussions was the behaviour of the political leadership over the past five years, reflecting the reality that the NCP and the SPLM have a monopoly over the political processes and, thus, the future of Sudan.

A final idea that arose from the dialogue is that outside experience cannot be a substitute for the shared vision Sudanese develop for themselves. The Sudanese are best served by articulating and taking ownership of their particular concept of a post-referendum Sudan. The international community is best positioned to help with the details once a framework has been developed. Ultimately, the Sudanese should lead the process of making decisions since it is the Sudanese who will live with their outcome.

Speaking Truth to Power: Selected Pan-African Postcards

Compiled by Ama Biney & Adebayo Olukoshi



This book is a selection of the Pan-African Postcards of the late Dr Tajudeen Abdul-Raheem, written between 2003 and 2009, which clearly demonstrates his ability to express complex ideas in an engaging manner. The Pan-African philosophy on diverse but interesting themes presented in this book offers a legacy of his political, social and cultural thought. Represented here are his fundamental respect for the capabilities, potential and contribution of women in transforming Africa; penetrating truths directed at African politicians and their conduct; and deliberations on the institutional progress towards African union. He reflects on culture and emphasises the communalities of African people. Also represented are his denunciation of international financial institutions, the G8 and NGOs in Africa, with incisive analysis of imperialism's manifestations and impact on the lives of African people, and his passion for eliminating poverty in Africa...

Second Nyerere Intellectual Festival: Mwalimu Julius Nyerere Professorial Chair in Pan-African Studies

Bernard Mumpasi Lututala
Deputy Executive Secretary, CODESRIA

CODESRIA supports the creation and operation of professorial chairs in Pan-African studies within the framework of its mission of facilitating research in social sciences in Africa. Two chairs have been benefitting from this supports to date: the Mwalimu Julius Nyerere chair in Pan-African studies at the University of Dar-es-Salam, held by Prof. Issa Shivji as the recipient, and the Kwame Nkrumah chair at the University of Ghana under by Prof. Koffi Anyidoho, a writer, poet and member of the CODESRIA Executive Committee. Other chairs are under consideration at different universities on the continent.

The first intellectual festival week was conducted in September 2008 under the auspices of the Mwalimu Julius Nyerere Chair. This year's edition ran between 12 and 15 April 2010 under the theme: "The Arusha Declaration." This Declaration, made by President Nyerere in February 1967, was meant to define Tanzania's vision for development. It advocated socialism as the most suitable system for the wellbeing of all citizens and for the liberation of Africa from imperialism, domination and exploitation. The Arusha Declaration posits that the basis of development is agriculture. Its preconditions were stated as: i) human resources (the population), ii) land, iii) good policies, and iv) good leadership.

This year's festival provided an opportunity to participants with a chance to revisit, but most importantly to reaffirm these options through various activities: an inaugural lecture, delivered by Samir Amin, who was the festival's Guest of Honour, was on the theme: "The long walk toward socialism." Samir Amin explained the nature and the causes of the "recent" economic crisis which started in the United States before spreading to affect the whole world.

According to Samir Amin, the emergence of new super powers (China, India, Brasil) and the on-going democratisation process in Africa, namely the access to power through elections, to name but a few, are far from being the solutions. In fact, this process fails from questioning the fundamental underpinnings of the liberal system and the marginalisation of Africa. On the contrary, China, in the same way as the West, participates in the exploitation of natural resources in Africa and takes land away from Chinese farmers. It therefore cannot be the solution.

Africa remains important in this context (and is becoming even more so) while Africans are leaguely against the imperialistic visions. What is then the solution? Samir Amin calls for a reflection on the development of the middle class, the implementation of equitable agrarian policies, the reinvention of the democratisation process, the negotiation of a global system and the need for African intellectuals to face up to their responsibilities.

CODESRIA played an active role in the festival by organising the Round-table on "The Role of CODESRIA in the Creation of a Pan-African Intellectual Community". This session was coordinated by Sam Moyo, President of CODESRIA, Zenebeworke Tadesse, and Ernest Wamba-dia-Wamba both former presidents of CODESRIA, F.E. Senkoro, member of the Executive Committee, and Bernard Mumpasi Lututala, current Deputy Executive Secretary of CODESRIA. The need to produce knowledge that is useful to Africa and for the mobilisation of African intellectuals around the challenges of Africa today were highlighted throughout the presentations and debates. The conclusion was that CODESRIA has a major role to play in championing multidisciplinary research that transcends language, gender, and region.

The following activities which took place during the festival are worth highlighting:

- Samia Nkrumah, daughter of Dr Kwame Nkrumah, on the theme "Reflections on the Pan-African vision of Dr Kwame Nkrumah";
- Professor Utsa Patnaik of the Centre for Economic Studies and Planning, Jawaharlal Nehru University, on "The issue of land in the neoliberal system";
- The round-table on "Socialism and Rural Development" coordinated by several academics and dignitaries in the fields of science and politics (among whom was Uganda's Deputy Prime Minister);
- Launching by Samia Nkrumah of a course on "Thoughts and Practices of Pan-Africanism" by Professor Bertram Mapunda;
- Debates on economic science teaching and research in Africa;
- Launch of "Africa's Liberation – The Legacy of Nyerere", during which Dr Salim Ahmed Salim, former Secretary General of the Organisation of the African Unity, (OAU) paid a vibrant homage to the work of Julius Nyerere.

The Second Julius Nyerere Intellectual Festival week turned out to be a high level moment of exchanges on a burning question: How (or can we) free Africa from the yoke of the liberal economic system and the domination of super powers? The festival's programme invited for a solution based on the fundamentals of the Arusha Declaration, the remedy proposed by Samir Amin were based on two main agents which are meant to compliment have had a tendency to contradict each other. These are the intellectuals and the political leaders. The former, who were supposed to produce knowledge and propose solutions relevant to our condition to help the political leaders become on the continent to counter present and future challenges have not worked well.

2010 Distinguished Africanist Awards: Professor N'Dri Assie-Lumumba and Professor Tukumbi Lumumba-Kasongo

CODESRIA Publications

Two distinguished members of CODESRIA, Professor N'Dri Assie-Lumumba and Professor Tukumbi Lumumba-Kasongo were awarded, for their respective scholarship, the 2010 Distinguished Africanist Award by the New York State African Studies Association (NYASA) on March 27, 2010. The awards were part of the activities marking this year's edition of NYASA's Annual Conference at SUNY Binghamton on the theme 'GLOBAL-AFRICA, GLOBAL-ASIA: Africa and Asia in the Age of Globalization'.

The Distinguished Africanist Award is 'awarded to an academic by the NYASA Executive Board for outstanding contributions to the field of Africana Studies in New York'. In the past, other awardees have included Chinua Achebe, Ali Mazrui, Ngugi wa Thiong'o, Mahmood Mamdani and Micere Mugo.

N'Dri Assie-Lumumba is Professor in the Africana Studies and Research Center at Cornell, and a member of the graduate fields of Education, International Development, International Agriculture and Rural Development, and Cornell Institute of Public Affairs (CIPA). A lifetime Fellow of the World Academy of Art and Science since 2006, Assie-Lumumba has published extensively on various areas, with particular expertise on higher education, comparative and international education, gender/women and equity. Professor Assie-Lumumba's scholarship includes her editorial works for several prestigious professional journals mostly in North America, Africa and Asia, numerous articles published in referred journals, book chapters, and peer-reviewed monographs. Her article 'Educational and Economic Reforms, Gender Equity and Access to Schooling in Africa', published in 2000 in the *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, won the 2001 'Joyce Cain Award for Distinguished Research on African Descendants' given by Comparative and International Education Society in recognition of 'an outstanding article that demonstrates academic rigour, originality, and excellence, and contributes to a better understanding of the experiences of African descendants'.

Her extensive publications include her authored, edited and co-edited books: *Higher Education in Africa: Crises, Reforms, and Transformation* (CODESRIA); *Cyberspace, Distance Learning, and Higher Education in Developing Countries: Old and Emerging Issues of Access, Pedagogy, and Knowledge Production*; *African Voices in Education*; *Les Africaines dans la Politique: Femmes Baoulé de Côte d'Ivoire*; *Women and Higher Education in Africa: Reconceptualizing Gender-based Human Capabilities and Upgrading Human Rights to Knowledge*, a Spani edition of which has just been published in Spain. Translations for publication in French, Portuguese, Arabic, and Chinese are also in progress. Her ongoing research projects include 'Gen-

erations of African Intellectuals and Development of African Universities' being carried out with partial funding from the Cornell Mario Einaudi Center for International Studies and the Cornell Institute for Social Sciences. Professor Assie-Lumumba is currently a member of the Scientific Committee of CODESRIA.

Tukumbi Lumumba-Kasongo is Professor of Political Science at Wells College where he has served as Chair of the Division of Social Sciences and Chair of the Department of Public Affairs, and is currently Chair of the Department of International Studies. He is a Visiting Scholar in the Department of City and Regional Planning at Cornell University, and also Adjunct Professor of Government in the Graduate Program of the Department of Government at Suffolk University. Professor Lumumba-Kasongo is Chercheur Associé at l'Institut d'Ethnosociologie at Université de Cocody, Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire and co-founder of the Centre Panafricain d'Etudes et de Recherches en Relations Internationales et en Education pour le Développement. (CEPARRED). He is the Editor-in-Chief of *African and Asian Studies*, a social science journal published in the Netherlands, and member of the editorial committees of many other referred journals.

Professor Lumumba-Kasongo has published over one hundred book chapters, monographs, and peer-reviewed articles. He has also published many books, among which are: *The Dynamics of Economic and Political Relations Between Africa and Foreign Powers: A Studies in International Relations* (1999); *Rise of Multipartyism and Democracy in the Global Context: The Case of Africa* (1998); *Political Re-mapping of Africa: Transnational Ideology and the Re-definition of Africa in World Politics* (1994); *Nationalistic Ideologies, their Policy Implications and the Struggle for Democracy in African Politics* (1991); *Who and What Govern in the World of the States?: A Comparative Study of Constitutions, Citizenry, Power, and Ideology in Contemporary Politics* (2005). Some of the books which he has also edited are: *Liberal Democracy and Its Critics in Africa: Political Dysfunction and the Struggle for Social Progress*, published in 2005 and 2006 by CODESRIA and Zed Books respectively; *Dynamics and Policy Implications of the Global Reforms at the End of Second Millennium: A Comparative Perspective* (2000). He also co-edited *Structural Adjustment and The Crisis in Africa: Economic and Political Perspective* (1992). His well-publicized book – *Japan and Africa Relations* – has just been published by Palgrave-McMillan. Professor Tukumbi Lumumba-Kasongo has served CODESRIA in several capacities, and is presently the Editor of one of the Council's journals, the *African Journal of International Affairs*.

Mahmood Mamdani bags Honorary Doctorate at Addis Ababa University*

CODESRIA Publications

Former President of CODESRIA (1998 – 2002), Professor Mahmood Mamdani was on Saturday 24 July 2010 awarded the honorary Doctor of Letters degree by the Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia. Mamdani was honoured with the Doctor of Letters *honoris causa* by the university, together with three others, namely H.E. Thabo Mbeki, former President of South Africa (Doctor of Laws *honoris causa*), Ethiopian athlete Halle Gebresellassie (Doctor of Humane Letters *honoris causa*), and Australian doctor Catherine Hamlin (Doctor of Medical Sciences *honoris causa*).

Addis Ababa University described Mamdani as ‘a truly outstanding student of Africa’ who has ‘written insightfully and comprehensively on the crucial challenges facing African public life’, and unreservedly expressed its pride in attesting to his achievements as an ‘eminent African scholar and a renowned, cosmopolitan public intellectual’. The citation on Mamdani, and his remarks on receipt of the award are not only captivating, but also an encouragement to the present generation of true pan-Africanists as well as an inspiration to young and upcoming African scholars. The two speeches are therefore presented below.

Citation on Mahmood Mamdani

A truly outstanding student of Africa, you have written insightfully and comprehensively on the crucial challenges facing African public life. The range of your brilliant scholarship is remarkable: the crippling legacy of colonialism and empire; citizenship and statehood in Africa; the theory and practice of human rights; genocide and civil war in Africa. You have also addressed contemporary bigotry and intolerance with special attention to Islam.

The eloquent, vigorous and independent voice you bring to contemporary debates on Africa has received wide recognition. You have held distinguished academic positions, among which are: Herbert Lehman Professor of Government at Columbia University, New York City; former President, Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa, Dakar; Founding Director, Center for Social Research, Kampala. You were also named one of the top hundred public intellectuals in the world by the publication *Foreign Affairs* in 2008, attesting to the fact that your voice has won the favor of many beyond the academic community.

Addis Ababa University is proud to acclaim an eminent African scholar and a renowned, cosmopolitan public intellectual.

Upon the recommendation of the Senate, and by the authority vested in me by the Board, I have the honor to confer upon you the degree of Doctor of Letters *honoris causa*.

Mamdani's Remarks

I first heard of Addis Ababa University in 1973, the year I got my first teaching job at the University of Dar es Salaam. Addis, like Dar, was a university in ferment during those years. They were times when we were sure of ourselves: we knew what we were up against, and we knew where we were going. We were against

monarchy, against dictatorship, against neo-colonialism, against imperialism. And we were for socialism, sometimes for democracy, but always for socialism. Socialism had become a language in which we spoke to one another. For some, it was a badge; for others, it was a brand name.

We were the first generation of post-independence African intellectuals. We thought in historical terms. We knew that history was moving, more or less like a train, heading to a known destination, and none of us had any doubt that we were on that train. We were certain that the future would be better than the past, much better. If there would be violence, it would be revolutionary, the violence of the poor against the rich, the oppressor against the oppressed. Good revolutionary violence would do away with bad counter-revolutionary violence.

Two decades later, we found ourselves in a world for which we were least prepared. Not only was it a world drenched in blood, but the battle lines were hardly inspiring. There was little revolutionary about the violence around us: instead of the poor rising up against the rich, we could see poor pitted against poor, and rich against rich. This was hardly the final struggle promised in the International – *la lutte finale* – beyond which would lie the rosy dawn of socialism. It seemed more like the fires of hell. The most fitting metaphor for that quagmire was the Rwanda genocide of 1994.

A few months after the genocide, I found myself in the town of Arusha in Tanzania, as one of over hundred participants in a conference called by CODESRIA to reflect on the Rwanda genocide. During the conference, the discussion focused on the history that had led Rwanda to the genocide. Then someone introduced an element of doubt: he reminded us that precisely when the genocide was engulfing Rwanda, in the latter half of 1994, another seminal event was unfolding in another part of Africa. This was the transition from apartheid in South Africa. I remember asking a question: if someone had told us a decade before, in 1984, a time when the struggle against apartheid in South Africa was at its bloody height, but also a time when President Juvénal Habyarimana was calling for reconciliation between Hutu and Tutsi in Rwanda; if someone had told us then that a decade hence there would be a genocide in one of these countries and a reconciliation in another, how many of us would have identified the location of the two developments correctly? There was silence in the room.

Later, when I set about writing a book on colonialism and apartheid, and another on the genocide in Rwanda, I had time to reflect on the question. As post-apartheid South Africa and post-genocide Rwanda began writing their histories afresh, we realized that history is not a story with a predestination. Those determined to forge a different future begin by rethinking their history. History is not a train set out on a fixed journey. As our sense of destination changes, so does our perspective on the past, our sense of history. The difference between 1984 and 1994, not just in South Africa and Rwanda but elsewhere too, was not just made by history, but by politics. The possibilities offered by politics were in turn defined by the ability of those in the present to imagine a different future. The difference lay in this: whereas in South Africa, they dared imagine a future beyond apartheid; in Rwanda, they remained locked in the world of Hutu and Tutsi, the world of 1959.

Thus, my message to you: today, more than ever, we need the capacity to imagine different futures. In 1973, in Dar and in Addis, we thought of ourselves as being in transition to an already known destination, first it was a transition to socialism; after the fall of Soviet Union, the convention was to think of a transition to democracy; after 9/11, it became a transition to modernity. Common to all three was the conviction that the journey had a fixed destination. It was a road map with a predestined goal. Our role was only to exert effort, for the train was already on course.

I have little doubt that the world into which you are graduating is changing rapidly. Not only is American power declining in a relative sense, the world that we have known since 1492 – when European settlers first stepped into the New World – the world shaped by Western power, is also visibly changing. Experience

has taught us that there is no given destination. The destination is negotiable. If I am right, you will need the courage and the creativity to imagine the destination and the skill and tenacity to forge a political consensus around that imagination.

Keep in mind that the journey you will embark on has no fixed destination. Where you go will depend on you and those around you. The better you understand the nature of forces defining your choices, the more you will be able to gather in your own hands possibilities of forging the future. I wish you the best in the journey ahead.

* Professor Mahmood Mamdani is currently Executive Director of the Makerere Institute of Social Research, Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda.
