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The Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) is an independent organisation whose principal objectives are to facilitate research, promote research-based publishing and create multiple forums geared towards the exchange of views and information among African researchers. All these are aimed at reducing the fragmentation of research in the continent through the creation of thematic research networks that cut across linguistic and regional boundaries.

CODESRIA publishes *Africa Development*, the longest standing Africa based social science journal; *Afrika Zamani*, a journal of history; the *African Sociological Review*; the *African Journal of International Affairs*; *Africa Review of Books and the Journal of Higher Education in Africa*. The Council also co-publishes the *Africa Media Review*; *Identity, Culture and Politics: An Afro-Asian Dialogue*; *The African Anthropologist*, *Journal of African Transformation*, *Méthod(e)s: African Review of Social Sciences Methodology*, and the *Afro-Arab Selections for Social Sciences*. The results of its research and other activities are also disseminated through its *Working Paper Series*, *Green Book Series*, *Monograph Series*, *Book Series*, *Policy Briefs* and the *CODESRIA Bulletin*. Select CODESRIA publications are also accessible online at [www.codesria.org](http://www.codesria.org)

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## Editorial

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# Intellectual Freedom and Social Responsibility, 25 Years after the Adoption of the Kampala Declaration

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**T**he state of intellectual freedom is, in many ways, both a reflection of the degree of openness and inclusiveness of our societies and of the state of democracy. Academic freedom, in the words of Thandika Mkandawire, is, in truth, about the building of a new civilization. It is a site of struggle for democracy, and one could argue that where intellectual freedom really exists, authoritarianism and fundamentalism will find it more difficult to go unchecked.

When, in November 1990, participants in a CODESRIA conference held in Kampala, Uganda, were adopting the Kampala Declaration on Intellectual Freedom and Social Responsibility, the continent was experiencing profound political changes, with authoritarian regimes collapsing one after the other, or receding as democratic space expanded with the struggles and intense pressures for democratic change coming from civil society and social movements. The state was then still seen as the main perpetrator of academic and intellectual freedom violations, but it certainly was no longer seen as the only institution or actor that was guilty of such restrictions. As can be seen in the conference papers and report<sup>1</sup>, most of the phenomena that we are witnessing more clearly today were already quite discernible then: groups based in civil society could harass scholars or public intellectuals for writing or making public statements that were considered to be contrary to religious principles, or to national interests, or to dominant social values, customs and 'traditions'. Donors could also restrict the freedom of research in many different ways.

Within the academia itself, the violations of academic freedom could take forms ranging from sexual harassment, through the trading of grades for different kinds of favours, to student groups threatening academic staff or other students and wreaking havoc on university campuses. The triumph of neoliberalism, and dominant notions of political correctness, and the rise of fundamentalisms of different kinds have led to the shrinking of spaces for critical thinking, not only in society, but also on our campuses. What were emerging phenomena then have now become major problems, with university campuses like Garissa University College in Garissa, Kenya, and the Ahmed Baba library in Timbuktu being raided by armed fundamentalist groups or rebel movements. Disciplines like history are barely surviving. Although it is now recognized that higher education and research have been key to all the successful and sustainable structural transformation and development experiences of the past few decades, most policy makers of our continent tend to be dismissive of the social sciences and humanities. Yet without the social sciences and humanities, no deep understanding of

global and local challenges, and therefore no genuine human and people-centered development and meaningful empowerment of civil society and ordinary citizens are possible.

The good news is, as one of the participants in the conference held in Lilongwe, Malawi, in April this year to celebrate the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary conference of the Kampala Declaration, rightly pointed out, there are provisions explicitly protecting academic freedom in the constitutions of fifteen African countries, and in many of these cases, the inspiration came from the Kampala Declaration.

The part of the Kampala Declaration that is rarely mentioned, but which is equally important, is the part dealing with the social responsibility of academics and intellectuals, more generally. The number of professors and lecturers who pay insufficient attention to ethical issues is, unfortunately, very large. This could be anything from the neglect of teaching and the responsibility to supervise theses and dissertations and mentor graduate students and junior colleagues, to a total lack of interest in the issues and challenges facing the communities where the universities are located. Too large a number of academics are prioritizing moonlighting activities instead of their duties at the institutions where they are employed. Yet the defense of academic freedom and the autonomy of the institutions of higher learning are best done if they go with a strict adherence to ethics, accountability, and the fulfillment of the social responsibility of academics.

The development of a vibrant knowledge economy in Africa is something that CODESRIA has always taken keen interest in and researched with relentless vigour over the years through its programmes. At its 14<sup>th</sup> CODESRIA General Assembly held in June 2015, which focused on the creation of Africa's futures in an era of global transformation, one of the key points over which there was a broad consensus is the need for research and new knowledge, and to critically interrogate the narrative and counter-narratives, not only on Africa's development, but also on innovations and technology as engines of growth and development in Africa. One critical issue today is, precisely, that of the private appropriation, out of power and profit motives, of knowledge produced through scholarship that has been funded with public resources, thus making the availability of that knowledge to African universities or African and southern development extremely difficult.

The future of Africa's knowledge economy is, therefore, a subject that has continued to generate vigorous debate. In one of the articles featured in this issue of CODESRIA Bulletin, titled:

*Defining Structural Transformation in Africa*, Carlos Lopes calls for a shift away from the present economic models in various African countries. He identifies poor investment in research and development as one of the banes of growth in Africa, in addition to several other political, social, environmental and economic factors.

Henning Melber's article in this issue of the Bulletin: *Development and Environment: The Challenges for Research Collaboration in and with Africa* underscores the importance of new research and new knowledge for development while drawing attention to the gap in knowledge production between the North and the South. He however noted that "relevant insights for local policy makers and communities in the South generated by new research end in peer reviewed journals whose commercial publishing priority remains prohibitive for access by those who might benefit most from it."

The subject of restricted access to scientific knowledge and scholarly communication (which, in effect, is a form of restriction of research and academic freedom), which Melber decried in his article, was the focus of an international conference hosted by CODESRIA in Dakar, 30 March - 1 April 2016, with the theme: "Open Access and the Future of the African Knowledge Economy". The conference which drew participants from 20 countries in Africa and across the globe focussed on the value of open access to scholarly communication in an increasingly globalised knowledge economy. The urgent need for the African scientific community to engage the open access movement as a driver of change and development on the continent was emphasized. A call was also made for a stronger South-South dialogue and cooperation on open access and scholarly communication at the conference which also had a strong participation by UNESCO, the Latin America Council of Social Sciences (CLACSO), the Indian Citation Index, Africa Journals Online (AJOL), the National Research Foundation (NRF) of South Africa, the Academy of Social Sciences of South Africa (ASSAF), and several other partner institutions such as the Human Sciences Research Council, the Nordic Africa Institute, and the African Studies Centre of Leiden. A report from the conference is included in this Bulletin.

Also in this Bulletin, we have featured tributes to two of Africa's great scholars: Thandika Mkandawire and Helmi Sharawy, who are both among the founding fathers of CODESRIA. The tributes are in recognition of their long association with and service to CODESRIA, and the African social science community.

Thandika is one of the leading global scholars of the day, whose devotion to the African cause and contribution to knowledge on the continent is very widely acknowledged. In the words of Jimi Adesina, "Thandika was always driven by giving voice to Africans and elevating African voices. His was not simply being

Africa-focused but facilitating the authentic interlocution for Africa and its peoples". The Kampala Declaration was adopted during his tenure as executive secretary of CODESRIA. The theme chosen for the colloquium held in Malawi to celebrate Thandika the scholar, mentor, pan Africanist, institution-builder, friend, and eternal CODESRIA militant, was *Thinking African: Epistemological Issues*. Indeed, both as a CODESRIA leader and in his own work, Thandika has consistently engaged social science concepts and theories from a critical point of view, interrogating their significance for Africa and the continent's peoples. He has tried to enhance the visibility of African scholarship both within Africa and globally, and promoted scholarship that contributes to the enhancement of the freedom, well-being and dignity of the peoples of the continent.

Helmi Sharawy is also one of the most illustrious leaders of our community who played a pioneering role in the development of CODESRIA, in the promotion of the study of Africa, and in the formation of a number of institutions and associations, such as the African Association of Political Science (AAPS). He was elected and served two terms as a member of CODESRIA's Executive Committee. Helmi has also been a great champion of African liberation. Many great leaders, such as Amilcar Cabral, Agostinho Neto, Eduardo Mondlane and others, who visited Cairo during the years when Gamal Abdel Nasser was the President, were invited to his home and enjoyed the hospitality of his family. On 11 May 2016, CODESRIA and the Arab and African Research Centre in Cairo organized a round table to celebrate Professor Helmi Sharawy. Some of the tributes to Sharawy and Mkandawire are published in this issue of the Bulletin.

The people who have made, and continue to make, great contribution to scholarship in Africa and to the growth and development of CODESRIA are many. More celebrations, taking different forms, will therefore follow. We also invite articles on, or critically engaging the work of, great African intellectuals and their contributions for publication in the CODESRIA Bulletin, or in other CODESRIA journals.

Bonne lecture!

#### Note

1. See Diouf, M. & Mamdani, M. (eds) 1990, *Academic Freedom in Africa*; Dakar: CODESRIA

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Executive Secretary

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Managing Editor

## Debates

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### Defining Structural Transformation in Africa\*

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Poverty reduction has been essentially associated with a profound structural transformation of the economy, a process entailing a reallocation of economic activities from the less productive sectors to the more productive ones. The speed with which this process takes place has been a key factor that differentiates development levels across countries. The issue of structural transformation has been at the core of economic development debates with initial empirical analyses originated with Fisher (1935, 1939) and Clark (1940) who dealt with sectoral shifts in the composition of the labor force.

The concept of structural transformation has evolved over time. It shifted from a simple reallocation of economic activity across three broad sectors (agriculture, industry and services) that accompanies the process of modern economic growth to encompass issues of sustainability and inclusiveness.

Timmer (2007) defines structural transformation as a process characterized by a decline in the share of agriculture in GDP and employment; a rural-to-urban migration that stimulates the process of urbanization; a rise of a modern industrial and service economy; and a demographic transition from high to low rates of births and deaths. This requires proactive policies and strong push from state institutions, coupled with strategic capacity.

I published with Thomas Theisohn in 2003 a book entitled "Ownership, Leadership and Transformation", where the issue of understanding the role of national agency was assessed in relation to structural transformation. We said then that traditionally, the notion of capacity came from the engineering world, and was understood to involve using particular processes to transfer knowledge, especially technical and scientific skills (Morgan 2001). Little attention was paid to less sector-specific realms, including policy formulation, social and economic research, systems analysis and review and feedback mechanisms. Today we know

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better: knowledge cannot be transferred. It has to be acquired, learned and reinvented. And it encompasses both the deep pool of local understanding that is the very foundation of learning, and the wealth of global information that can be reconceived to meet local needs. When adaptation fails to happen, however, there is no ownership and likely no lasting capacity development.

Structural transformation is perceived by some more in terms of a process by which the relative importance of different sectors and activities of an economy changes over time. In the African context, this implies a relative decline of low-productivity agriculture and low value added extractive activities, and a relative increase in manufacturing and high-productivity services.

However, we have learned from past experience that there is a strong historical pattern of worsening income distribution between rural and urban economies during the initial stages of the structural transformation. Even currently, rich countries did not escape from this pattern during their early development in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The good news though is that absolute poverty does not necessarily worsen during such episodes. In East Asia, for instance, the evidence reveals that absolute poverty actually fell very rapidly, albeit associated with inequality.

Knowledge of environmental impacts has become more profound, raising the momentum towards a more sustainable and inclusive structural transformation objective, accompanied by a relative decoupling of resource use and environmental impact from the economic growth process. As latecomers to this process, an effective structural transformation for Africans means making significant

productivity gains in rural areas with vibrant hubs of agri-business and linkages across industrial activity; the translation of Africa's youth bulge into a demographic dividend; access to social services that meet minimum standards of quality regardless of location; reduced inequality – spatial and gender; and progression towards an inclusive green growth trajectory (UNECA 2013).

#### Where is Africa?

Africa has experienced unprecedented growth over the past decade and has been remarkably resilient to the global economic crisis. The continent, has also made significant strides, during this period, in all dimensions of human development, comparable with other regions of the world in similar economic trajectories. But such a remarkable economic performance has not created enough jobs. The continent remains also home to the world's highest proportion of poor people. Furthermore, African economic growth has been proven vulnerable to volatility in commodity prices and demand and perception fragility.

Despite a stream of bad news, Africa is the continent that grows the most, its debt to GDP ratio only increased 2 per cent last year, is negative in relative terms, if reserves are taken into account, and that its macro-economic profile is more shaken by internal policy blunders that are fixable than commodity prices per se. We know from others' experience that they faced a difficult time when they were embarking in their industrialization process, like Africa intends to do now, but that only contributed to acceleration, not slowing down, of their transformation ambitions.

#### What others have done before

Structural transformation has been operated across regions and historical periods and Africa as a latecomer has the privilege to learn from others' experience.

Over the period of 1950-1980, Brazil like many countries in Latin America led

industrial policy aiming at creating new industrial sectors, changing the prevalent pattern of specialization in primary commodities and promoting technology-intensive activities. As a result, Brazil successfully entered many new industries, such as petrochemical and renewable fuels, especially ethanol, and established the bases for the development of new technologies. In the 80's, the Government introduced a more liberal New Industrial Policy package.

In the 2000s, the Government targeted specific sectors with Guidelines for Industrial, Technology and Foreign Trade Policy (PITCE). Over the last thirty years, Brazil has been among the most active countries in terms of their use of policies designed to expand natural-resource-processing industries and food production. Today, the country is among the top three producers and exporters of orange juice, sugar, coffee, soybean, beef, pork, and chicken. It has also caught up with the traditional big five grain exporters (USA, Canada, Australia, Argentina and European Union).

China has transformed its economic structure through an agro-based industrialization to accelerate growth and development. The period 1978-83 emphasized agriculture. In its

Five Year Plan (1981-1985), China encouraged foreign trade and foreign direct investment in an attempt to facilitate the importation of advanced technology. Strategic industries identified in the Five-Year Plan of development have been given targeted support such as protection from foreign competition and subsidized loans from state-owned 'policy banks'. Throughout a deliberate strategy, China has combined a variety of policies to develop both its agricultural and industrial sectors as well as the service one. China became in two decades the largest exporter of manufactured goods.

Another example of successful transformation is the United Arab Emirates. UAE operated a structural transformation to diversify its economy essentially based on crude oil sector which accounted for about two thirds of the GDP. This country developed its industrial base and invested its oil wealth in industry-related infrastructures. Furthermore, in 1985, the first free zone in Dubai, Jebel-Ali, was created with appealing incentives to foreign investments of which 100 per cent

foreign ownership, no customs duties, unlimited repatriation of funds and exemptions from certain labor laws. The UAE government also promoted a number of manufacturing industries through industrial policy – fertilizer, oil refining, and cement. As of 2010, manufacturing in the UAE accounted for around 10 per cent of GDP, a significant jump from the 0.9 per cent share in 1975 (World Bank 2013).

Between 1957 and early 1990 Malaysia achieved substantive economic transformation with the share of manufacturing in GDP rising from 14 per cent in 1971 to 30 per cent in 1993 (Lall 1995). Malaysia's export to GDP ratio increased from 46 per cent in 1970 to 95 per cent in 1995 (Athukorala and Menon 1999) and the share of manufactures in total exports of Malaysia rose from 12 per cent to 71 per cent between 1970 and 1993 (Lall 1995). This period had three distinct phases of industrial expansion: import substitution 1957-1970; New Economic Policy 1970-1985, the New Development Policy of 1986 which moved the country's industrial policy closer to the type practiced by the East Asian Newly Industrialised Economies.

### How to deal with the transformation challenges

A country's capacity to design and implement a successful transformation agenda can be undermined by internal and external factors. Gains can be reversed if there is inconsistent policy implementation or poor perception of new threats.

Internal factors include: poor economic management capacities typified by macro-economic instability, poor planning design and implementation capacities, weak institutional and individual capacities, and limited investments in social and economic infrastructure, limited investment in technology and R&D and political instability.

On the other hand, external factors include: limited policy space; barriers to trade that undermine export revenues and constrain exports of manufactured goods; the disproportionate concentration on dealing with ODA focus areas rather than handling it in its real macro dimension; and the concentration of FDI in extractive mineral and gas sectors of the economy with limited investments in value addition. Furthermore, in recent years, climate change has emerged as a

threat to development through its destructive impacts.

To address these challenges and promote a sustainable and inclusive structural transformation, the role of institutions and of the State is determinant. The emerging consensus is that a developmental state is central to the process of accelerated economic growth and transformation of any country.

The state's role in bailing out the economies in Western countries, following the 2008-2009 global economic crisis, reaffirms the important role that it can play in sustaining the transformation process and has taken the dust from Keynesian debates.

A developmental state is defined as a 'state that puts economic development as the top priority of government policy, and is able to design effective instruments to promote such a goal' (UNECA 2011). More specifically, a developmental Nation-State entails the following (UNECA 2016):

- Scaling up public investment and public goods provision. Africa at its stage of development requires a big push in public investment – economy, region and continent-wide – in the coming decades. Without committed public investment, sustained private investment will not be made, causing overall productive investment to fall below the level needed to keep the growth momentum going.
- Maintaining macro stability to attract and sustain private investment. In fact macroeconomic stability is essential, as high uncertainty and risks deter private agents from making forward-looking productive investments. At the same time, harsh fiscal retrenchment and overly restrictive monetary policy aimed at attaining the stabilization objective only cannot take the transformation agenda forward.
- Coordinating investment and other development policies. Public investment using scarce resources should be made selectively, sequenced and directed to achieving the highest development dividends in the long run. This requires public and private investment to be well coordinated across sectors in a big push with aggregate demand

spillovers to facilitate "a move from a bad to a good equilibrium" (Murphy et al. 1989), especially given the well-known market failure of coordination.

- Mobilizing resources and reducing aid dependence over time. This requires a solid framework to develop financial institutions (banking and non-banking) and deepen financial markets.
- Securing fiscal sustainability by establishing fiscal legitimacy. This call for an urgency to develop the capacity of prudent and efficient public finance management. But this must be the bedrock of a relationship between the government and domestic actors, for fiscal sustainability can only be secured in the medium to long run on such a foundation.
- Other development policies critical for structural transformation include trade, technology, financial development, oversight regulation and competition, education and health, and sectors specific policies such as those for industry and agriculture.

### Why is the Current African Growth not Good Enough?

As said before, African current growth has not generated sufficient jobs and has not been inclusive enough to significantly curb poverty. It has been driven for a third by commodities price boom and government related spending. Fluctuations in commodities prices has made such growth vulnerable. This reminds us the imperative for structural trans-

formation that in our case focus on the potential offered by industrialization. Be it through the expansion of commodities value chains. Be it through the positioning for agro- business to act as the pull factor for agricultural to get out of the doldrums. Be it through the capacity to attract low-value manu-facturing production facing rising labor costs in Asia. This is not Out Reach.

Structural transformation has been experienced for real by many countries in different regions of the world. But will not happen spontaneously but rather as a resultant of deliberate and coherent policies entrenched into a coherent development strategy, enlightened by a transformational leadership.

\* Based on a presentation to the Africa Transformation Forum in Kigali, 14 March 2016

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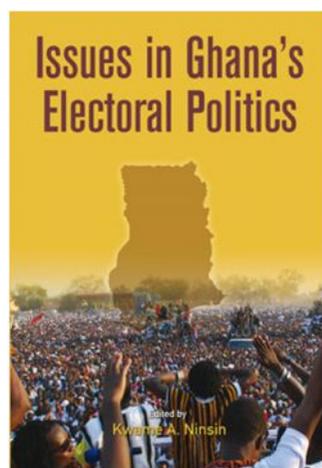
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## Issues in Ghana's Electoral Politics

Edited by Kwame A.Ninsin



Ghana attained independence in 1957. From 1992, when a new constitution came into force and established a new – democratic – framework for governing the country, elections have been organized every four years to choose the governing elites. The essays in this volume are about those elections because elections give meaning to the role of citizens in democratic governance. The chapters depart from the study of formal structures by which the electorate choose their representatives. They evaluate the institutional forms that representation take in the Ghanaian context, and study elections outside the specific institutional forms that according to democratic theory are necessary for arriving at the nature of the relationships that are formed between the voters and their representatives and the nature and quality of their contribution to the democratic process.

## Piketty and Marx

French economist, Thomas Piketty, is the author of the text, *Capital in the 21st Century* which is proving to be an important text in the annals of the history of economics. This text has been reviewed by many economists from all positions on the economic ideological spectrum from journals to magazines. Among the reviewers are prominent neoclassical economists such as Robert Solow, Paul Krugman, Larry Summers, and others. More heterodox theorists such as David Harvey, Deidre Mc Closkey, and Joseph Stiglitz have also had their say.

### Piketty's Thesis

The central point of the text is that it attempts to show by empirical research that dating from the early days of capitalism, the rates of the return on capital( $r$ ) have consistently – except for the period 1930 to 1975 – been greater than the growth in income( $g$ ). Piketty's definition of capital( $r$ ) does not include human capital, and is defined as all forms of profit-bearing assets – including physical capital and paper finance capital.

Piketty expresses this historical inequality as  $r > g$ . In order to instantiate his thesis Piketty devises what he calls *the first fundamental law of capitalism*. This law is expressed as  $\hat{a} = \hat{r}a$  and states that the return on capital( $r$ ) multiplied by the capital-income ratio( $k/r$ ) equals the share of income derived from capital in time. Piketty also introduces a *second fundamental law of capitalism* which is stated as  $\hat{a} = s/g$ , which in turn signifies that  $\hat{a} = \hat{r}a$ . So we have  $\hat{a} = \hat{r}a = s/g$ . As Piketty put it: 'In the long run, the capital/income ratio,  $\hat{a}$  is related in a simple and transparent way to the savings rate  $s$  and the growth rate  $g$ , according to the formula  $\hat{a} = s/g$ . For example, if  $s = 12\%$  and  $g = 2\%$ , then  $\hat{a} = s/g = 600\%$ . In other words, if a country saves 12 per cent of its national income every year, and the rate of growth of its national income is 2 per cent per year, then in the long run the capital/income ratio will be equal to 600 per cent : the country will have accumulated capital worth six years of national income' (Piketty 2014:166).

Piketty's central concept, Capital, is defined thus: 'In this book, capital is

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Nigeria

defined as the sum total of nonhuman assets that can be owned and exchanged on some market. Capital includes all forms of real property (including residential and real estate) as well as financial and professional capital (plants, infrastructure, machinery, patents, and so on) used by firms and government agencies' (46). Note that in this context Piketty excludes human capital as a form of capital on the grounds that 'human capital cannot be earned by another person or traded on a market (not permanently, at any rate)' (46). Well, individuals can own their own human capital and in the case of professional athletes their contracts do entail aspects of ownership. Of course, there are 'opt-out' clauses which can always be invoked, but how is that different from the buying and selling of physical capital on the market? Piketty writes that he uses 'capital' and 'wealth' interchangeably (47) but there is a problem here. All wealth would include capital but all capital would not include wealth. For example, an individual may own great wealth in the form of jewelry, expensive paintings and vehicles, but such would not constitute capital. Such would first have to be transformed into workable capital before it could so be described. Bank accounts and credit lines must always be expressed in terms of available liquid cash as they are normally expressed. In any case, it is clear what Piketty means by capital. But given Piketty's definition of capital as not including human capital, it is somewhat problematic not to include it given that it can indeed be traded in the market place. Wealth as putative capital cannot be so traded.

Piketty's key point in all this is that ever since the days of early capitalism the rate of return on capital( $r$ ) has always been greater than the growth rate ( $g$ ) of the economy. Piketty garners economic data for Europe and the U.S. from 1700 to 2012. He argues that with the exception of the

years 1945 to 1970 the returns to capital have always exceeded the growth in income. That period was the one in which Simon Kuznets's (1953) paper argued for a 'sharp reduction in income inequality in the U.S. between 1913 and 1948' (p.12). But Piketty explains that exception by the shocks caused by the destruction wrought by WW I and WW II which eventually led to the replacement of destroyed capital stocks. The virtue of Piketty's argument is that the empirical facts bear out his thesis: growing inequality brought about by the persistent centrifugal movements in time between capital and income. Piketty highlights his thesis by pointing out the growing inequalities between income and capital since 1980. As he put it: 'Since 1980, income inequality has exploded in the United States. The upper decile's share increased from 30-35 percent of national income in the 1970s to 40-50 percent in the 2000s an increase of 15 points of national income' (294). The same observation is made concerning the Gini coefficient of the industrialised nations. According to Piketty: 'In practice, the Gini coefficient varies roughly from 0.2 to 0.4 in the distributions of labor income observed in actual societies, from 0.6 to 0.9 for observed distributions of capital ownership, and from 0.3 to 0.5 for total income inequality' (266). Piketty also states that one reason why capital ownership seems impervious to change even when there are increases in income returns derives from the existence of patrimonial capital. As he put it: 'bubbles aside, what we are witnessing is a strong comeback of private capital in the rich countries since 1970, or to put it another way, the emergence of a new patrimonial capitalism' (173).

Piketty's solution to the situation of persistent wealth and income inequality is to argue for a global wealth tax. But, as he put it: 'A global tax on capital is a utopian idea. It is hard to imagine the nations of the world agreeing on any such thing any time soon. To achieve this goal, they would have to establish a tax schedule applicable to all wealth around the world and then decide how to apportion the revenues. But if the idea is utopian, it is nevertheless useful, for

several reasons. First, even if nothing resembling this ideal is put into practice in the foreseeable future, it can serve as a worthwhile reference point, a standard against which alternative proposals can be measured. Admittedly, a global tax on capital would require a very high and no doubt unrealistic level of international cooperation' (515). Piketty also informs us that 'many people will reject the global tax on capital as a dangerous illusion....When looked at closely, however, this solution turns out to be far less dangerous than the alternatives'. The alternatives would be unsustainable levels of income inequality leading to political unrest.

The basis for this situation Piketty informs goes back to Marx whose model of infinite capitalist accumulation would lead inexorably to increasingly minimal returns to capital coupled with increasing worker unrest (9). This statement on Marx is more or less most of what Piketty has to say on the issue of  $r > g$  from the dawn of history onwards. 'To sum up: the inequality  $r > g$  has clearly been true throughout most of human history, right up to the eve of World War I, and it will probably be true again in the 21<sup>st</sup> century' (358). For Piketty the return on capital in time has been generally some 4-5 percent and never below 2-3 percent (359). By contrast the rate of growth is generally not much more than 1 per cent (361). The key question that arises out of all this is 'why is the return on capital greater than the growth rate'? In fact, this is the very question that Piketty poses as a sub-heading on page 353 of his text. But the answer is not forthcoming. To answer this key question one must turn to Marx. Piketty does discuss Marx but only in the sense that Marx's capitalist accumulation model leads to 'infinite capital accumulation' which would ultimately lead to increasingly reduced returns to capital resulting in conflict between capitalists and workers. Under these conditions, workers would be increasingly pauperised.

### Marx and Capitalism

The explanation for the persistent imbalance derives from Marx's analysis of the dynamics of capitalism. According to Marx the dynamic of capitalism is captured by the formula expressed by M-C-M that Marx described as 'the transformation of money into commodities, and the change of commodities back into

money; or buying in order to sell' (The Marx-Engels Reader [ed. Robert Tucker], W.W. Norton, New York, 1978, 329). But M-C-M only describes a structure, it does not describe the actual dynamic that would lead to Piketty's data. The dynamic is rather M-C-M', where M' represents  $M + "M$ . It is the "M that has become the theoretical bone of contention ever since Marx wrote *Capital*. It is that "M that Marx referred to as 'surplus value' which in actual terms included the expropriated returns to labour. The returns to labour are wages and the returns to capital are profits. But that "M is derived from the sales of the commodities produced by labour, which in turn must be bought by labour for its own livelihood. The logical result of this is underconsumption and lack of effective demand. This is what leads to the instability in the capitalist system and its periodic recessions. The extension of credit to labour only puts off the days of reckoning. The result of this is that investment capital is then absorbed by other forms of capital which in turn acquire monopoly status. This is the dynamic according to which capitalism works. We see here how this analysis is at odds with that of Jean-Baptiste Say's Law of Markets. According to Say, all production of commodities is consumed so that there is no excess demand or excess supply. Marx's analysis was further vindicated during the U.S. economic crash of 1929. The solution offered was the deficit spending programme recommended by Keynes according to which government deficit spending would act as a stimulus for the economy.

According to the dynamic of capitalist competition, firms that are unable to make profits, eventually fail and their assets liquidated or absorbed by other firms. Those firms that are successful see their profits grow and eventually expand. The end result of this process is that the accumulation and growth of capital over time has outpaced the growth of income. Piketty's data testifies to this.

But the question remains: how is the dynamic of capitalism in terms of M-C-M' to be explained? For Marx, the key variable in the dynamic of capitalism is surplus value (S). In this regard, the goal of capitalist accumulation is to conjoin constant capital (C) with variable capital (V). What follows from this is that the  $S/C + V$  yields the rate of profit in the context of capitalist accumulation. This

rate of profit is to be distinguished from the rate of surplus value which is derived only from  $S/V$ . Yet, there is another important relationship which Marx refers to as the organic composition of capital,  $C/V$ . Recall that the rate of profit,  $S/C + V$  is of much importance for capitalism which in turn depends on the rate of surplus value,  $S/V$ . This would mean that as the technology component of capital increases over time as capitalism seeks to cut labour costs, the organic composition of capital would tend to rise which in turn would reduce the rate of profit. Why? Because surplus value derives mainly from the exploitation of labour. So the less labour there is in the capital and labour mix, the less surplus value hence the less profits. This is the scenario according to which Marx's idea of the 'falling rate of profit' assumes theoretical validity. All this is interesting within the context of classical political economy as expounded by both Ricardo and Malthus whose theories portended stationary and dismal results for economic growth and development.

According to Marxian theory the end result of this dynamic is that workers become so impoverished that they revolt against the capitalist system leading the way to the collapse of capitalism. But capitalism is proving itself to be very resilient in time. With the demise of the Soviet Union and the transformation of China from a statist economies to one of unfettered capitalism, post-Keynesian capitalism has developed a new confidence. First, it should be understood that despite the entrance of Russia and China into the world of market capitalism this does not mean that the endemic problems of capitalism have been abated.

The question is how did capitalism manage to overcome its crises despite the observations by its critics that the evident dynamic imbalance and structural disjunction between capital and labour? The answer lies in Piketty's empirical data that states that while the per capita GDP of the countries of the North is some \$45,000 per annum, in the South it hardly amounts to \$10,000. It is on this basis that the raw material exports of the South are purchased by the North at cheap prices given that the amount of wages accruing to labour is a minimal factor of what is earned on a per capita basis there. This is the basis of what is labeled as neo-colonialism by critics of

the present economic world structure. This is also the basis for the touting of the idea of globalisation and 'foreign direct investment' in the nations of the South. The result is that not only is there a palpable internal economic class structure within countries of the North, so too there is a much wider economic class structure between the nations of the North and those of the South. It follows that the logic of Marx's analysis of capitalism is borne out by Piketty's observation that over time  $r$  has always outpaced  $g$ :  $r > g$ .

It is on this basis that popular concepts such as globalisation and foreign direct investment must be understood. The issue here is that the tendency of profits to fall must be compensated for lower labour and commodity costs in the vast South. This is the rationale for Lenin's *Imperialism – the Last Stage of Capitalism* and Kwame Nkrumah's *Imperialism – the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. The meaning here is that in order to have as free access as possible to cheap commodities, capitalism must obtain such by political persuasion including the use of force. Paul Mattick (1980) states all this succinctly in his classic text *Marx and Keynes—the Limits of the Mixed Economy*. He writes:

The need for external expansion of capital in order to halt its internal contraction takes on the form of an aggressive imperialism and of imperialistic competition. But this imperialism differs from the imperialism and colonialism of laissez faire capitalism because capital competes for more than just raw-material sources, privileged markets and capital exports. It also fights for its very life as a private property against new forms of capital production which are no longer subject to economic value relations and the competitive market mechanism (Mattick 1980: 264-265).

The fact that capitalism must necessarily expand is captured by the fact that of its foray into Asia to capture the huge potential markets of Russia and China. In the same context, China has now fully embraced market capitalism under a veneer of statist communism. China's now openly ongoing capitalist dynamic is due to the very expansionist nature of capitalism as Marxian theory describes it. This is an observation that Piketty avoids.

The structure and dynamics of capitalism is such that its periodic crises bring forth

critiques that are descriptive but with recommendations that are essentially reformist. This was the role of Keynes as expressed in his *General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*. The goal was to rescue the capitalist system so that it did not go the way Marx predicted. Piketty's text follows a similar routine but it does not offer a radical transformation of the system as Marx did. Yet on account of its title and the seemingly critical nature of the work, some reviewers do compare Piketty with Marx. Frederic Lordon's article 'Why Piketty isn't Marx' (*Le Monde Diplomatique*, May 2015), in response to his observation that 'The media sold Piketty as the new Marx', argues that Piketty is theoretically erroneous when he defines capital as 'the wealth of the wealthy' (Lordon 2015: 2). But Piketty defines capital thusly: 'In this book, capital is defined as the sum total of nonhuman assets that can be owned and exchanged on some market. Capital includes all forms of real property (including residential real estate) as well as financial and professional capital (plants, infrastructure, machinery, patents, and so on) used by firms and government agencies' (Piketty: 46). Marx's definition of capital is, in fact, quite similar to that of Piketty. Marx writes 'Capital consists of raw materials, instruments of labour and means of subsistence of all kinds, which are utilised in order to produce new raw materials, new instruments of labour and

### Piketty and Recommendations

It is on the basis of his recommendations that Piketty is to be distanced from Marx. First, the recommendation that a global wealth tax would rectify the imbalance between  $r$  and  $g$  is naïve thinking for the simple reason that capital owners have seen to it over time that governments are maximally in their corner. A salient case of such is the open way in which the capital of the mega-corporations fund the election initiatives of the politicians who then ensure that the needs of the needs of big capital are first attended to. Thus, given the plethora of tax havens that abound in the world, taxes on wealth could easily be avoided. Second, and of much importance, Piketty advocates (538-539) that 'a seemingly more peaceful form of redistribution and regulation of global wealth inequality is immigration. Rather than move capital, which poses all sorts

of difficulties, it is sometimes simpler to allow labor to move to places where wages are higher. This was, course, the great contribution of the United States to global redistribution: the country grew from a population of barely 3 million at the time of the Revolutionary War to more than 300 million today, largely thanks to successive waves of immigration' (Piketty: 538). This is certainly not any viable solution to the problem of income inequality. This gesture would only provide cheap labour inputs for the countries of the North. Piketty does indeed recognise later that migration of labor from low income areas to higher income countries does not resolve the issue. He writes: 'It bears emphasising, however, that redistribution through immigration, as desirable as it may be, resolves only part of the problem of inequality' (Piketty: 539). One might consider in this regard the pertinent question posed about economic poverty by heterodox economist Erik Reinert while on trip to Peru: 'Why are they [Peruvians] so poor? After reflection on his trip, Reinert's curiosity was whetted as the causes of poverty. He posed himself the question: 'Why is the real wage of a bus driver in Frankfurt sixteen times higher than the real wage of an equally efficient bus driver in Nigeria as the World Bank recently calculated? I set out to find an answer, and this book is the result'.

The answer to this important question requires the analysis of the structure of the world economic system and the hegemonic role that Western finance plays in that this context. There are the issues of the role that the West's reserve currencies play in all this and the globalised market system in place that forces most of the nations of the South to eschew mercantilism in favour of Ricardian type trading exchanges. It is in this context that Piketty's solution of immigration from low income areas to high income areas is not helpful.

A genuine solution would require that workers and civil societies of the countries of the South to organise into trade unions and other kinds of pressure groups against their governments to reduce income and wealth inequalities. This can be done through appeal to proper democratic election processes and direct pressure when required. This is exactly the way the countries of the

North developed in terms of winning economic rights for their citizens. Marx would certainly prefer this approach to the one offered by Piketty. The results of such worker pressures are borne out by the Gini coefficient numbers of the countries of the North compared to those of, say, Africa. The average per capita GDP of Africa's fifty four(54) countries is €5,185[calculated from Africa's total GDP provide by Piketty( 63) and not from the separate GDPs of North Africa and so-called 'Sub-Saharan Africa' according to the standard Eurocentric colonial lexicon] with the South African Gini coefficient of 0.63(UN Human Development Reports, 2015. Hdr.undp.org/en/content/income-gini-coefficient). Other African Gini indexes are Namibia from the same source are Namibia 0.70, Gabon 0.41, Nigeria 0.49, and Angola 42.7. Given that the U.S. Gini index is 0.41, one must raise questions about the Gini indexes awarded to Nigeria, Gabon, and Angola. They are certainly not accurate. One could speculate that their Gini numbers are at least on par with those of Namibia and South Africa. Casual inspection of the human development and infrastructure of those petroleum-producing nations belie their Gini index metrics. The generic case

here is that of Equatorial Guinea whose average GDP is \$10,210 from a GDP of \$15.53 billion and a population of 821,000. The transparent case of Equatorial Guinea involves the exploitation of petroleum by international oil companies with most of the royalties diverted into private accounts held by its minuscule kleptocratic ruling group. Gini indexes derived from official sources would be most unreliable in this context. It is obvious, therefore, that the average African GDP of €5, 185 includes a people's income of less than 50 per cent of that metric.

Piketty is no doubt aware of the pillage of Africa's economies when he advocates that 'international fiscal cooperation and data sharing' could help to 'root out such pillage in a more systematic and methodical fashion, especially since foreign companies and stockholders of all nationalities are at least as guilty as unscrupulous African elites'(Piketty: 539).

#### Concluding Note

The virtue of Piketty's text is that it offers a historical view of the unequal relationship between returns to capital(r) capital and income from labour(g) since the dawn of modern capitalism, but it is remiss in that it does not offer an

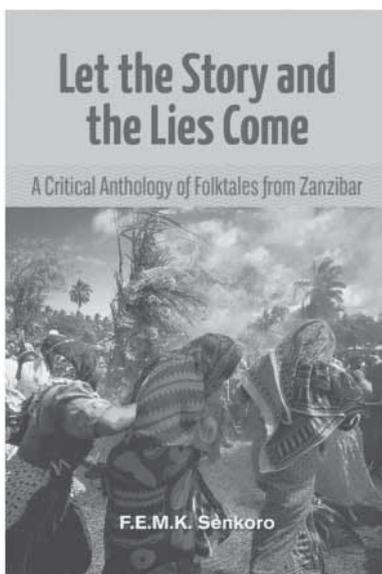
explanation of this dynamic. In this respect, Piketty's analysis differs radically from that of Marx, despite beliefs to the contrary in some quarters. Secondly, the reformist solutions he offers are palpably utopian based on the false assumption that owners of wealth and capital would willingly fall on their own swords. Piketty seems oblivious to the ravages of world-wide class struggle as Marx so vigorously pointed out.

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## Let the Story and the Lies Come A Critical Anthology of Folktales from Zanzibar

F.E.M.K. Senkoro



Despite the fact that Kiswahili is a lingua franca of the East African region, the scarcity of criticism of Kiswahili indigenous literary forms in general and the dearth of literary analyses of Zanzibar's rich oral tradition in particular, are very telling. Scholarly forays in the area are dismally few and far between. The critical silence with regard to this tradition is unwarranted, inexcusable, and inexplicable. In providing us with this critical anthology, Senkoro's intervention in *Let the Story and the Lies Come* is, therefore, at once corrective, refreshing and timely, filling as it does the gap in scholarly enterprises preoccupied with decoding the form and content of Zanzibar folk tales. The anthology's approach allows the reader to go through the folktales in their original standard guise before subjecting them to critical analysis and appreciation. The tales can thus be used in a versatile manner. Moreover, that the folktales are contextualized within the wider taxonomy of Zanzibari oral literature makes it possible to study them in their own right or in relation to other genres. The anthology's subject-matter and the accompanying folktales are important to students, scholars and general readers of oral literature, folklore, children's literature, and comparative literature.

#### Review

Professor Senkoro's critical anthology of Zanzibari oral tales, *Let the Story and the Lies Come*, is an erudite, illuminating, and lucid study of an integral aspect of oral literature, which is essentially Africa's principal matrix of artistic expression. - Prof. Ken Walibora, PhD, Quality Manager Kiswahili, Nation Media Group

## Development and Environment: The Challenges for Research Collaboration in and with Africa

This article builds on experiences within the Programme Board of "Norway – A Global Partner" (NORGLOBAL) at the Norwegian Research Council (NRC). These inspired some more general reflections on the opportunities and limitations of academic collaboration between North and South. The first cycle of the programme ended after more than five years in operation in mid-2014. It motivated the drawing of some preliminary conclusions and the presenting of some recommendations by the board members. This is the point of departure for the deliberations following, which put the case study within a more general context of North-South relations with a particular view on Africa in the academic settings of donor-funded activities. Hence the insights provided by the initial experiences of NORGLOBAL are used for a more principled engagement with the subject matter.<sup>2</sup>

### North-South Collaboration Revisited

Current examples of collaboration between policy makers, development agencies, and funding institutions both in the spheres of development and research, as well as the scholars participating will offer differing results and conclusions, at times even among the direct stakeholders and actors involved in specific programmes implemented. But the trickier part – often not explicitly reflected upon – is actually the further exploration, to which extent European or Western frameworks are considered as universal and/or taken simply for granted as being hegemonic when it comes not only to applied but also to best practices. This at times is the invisible hand shaping exchanges within the frame of a mindset not (yet) emancipated from the paternalistic and patronizing undercurrents of an earlier period.

A recent study compiled by two members of the Executive Committee of the European Association of Development Research and Training Institutions (EADI) has reconfirmed what many of us involved in these processes were aware

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of. The paper, based to a large extent on interviews with practitioners, documents that research partnerships "are far from immune to the tensions and conflicts permeating unequal power relations accruing from unequal access to funding, knowledge and expert networks."<sup>3</sup>

This reminds us once again that something being considered as international and seeking international cooperation – even when done with the best of intentions – is not protected from flaws, setbacks, and failures in terms of skewed forms of cooperation. Being inter-national in nature, outlook and practice does not mean being automatically good. It also does not mean that something international is necessarily all-inclusive and securing adequate representation. All too often inter-nationalism is confined in its main characteristics and with regard to main beneficiaries to those countries and their people inside the circle of power – in contrast to those remaining at the margins or outside and on the receiving end. Put differently: if European or Western or Northern or any other type of internationalism exercises a power of definition over others and imposes its values, norms, mindsets and views as particular (in our case Eurocentric) project on the rest of the world – as done far too long in the history of European colonial and imperialist expansion –, then this international dimension of European frameworks is of dubious value at least for others.

The "World Social Science Report 2010" therefore had not by accident as its subtitle that "Knowledge Divides".<sup>4</sup> Especially the contributions to its chapters four and five provide sobering evidence to the fact that the current internationalization – like its preceding stages – tends to reinforce the dominance of the North. This does not exclude challenges also from within the belly of

the beast. The Enlightenment always had the ambiguity to establish on the one hand a rationality, which promoted a pseudo-scientific belief in mono-causal, linear progress and development as all-embracing concept to explain and master the world while at the same time providing the tools and instruments for emancipation based on questioning this claim. The era of Enlightenment to a large extent established a smokescreen to cover Eurocentric dominance through claims of universality. But the legitimizing humbug of such claims has been questioned not only from those raised at the receiving end of such introvert, self-centered mindset, but also from some of those socialized within the system and supposed to be an integral part of its reproduction. Emancipation from hegemony, power and subjugation is a collective effort, which crosses boundaries and is in itself internationalism in practice.

Being European or Northern or of any other descent does not pre-determine our worldview and convictions in an irrevocable manner, even though cultural and religious factors (and the privileges going hand in hand with the social positioning of many scholars in the Northern hemisphere) should not be dismissed lightly in the formation of identities and mindsets. But primary experiences and socialization processes do not deny us learning, changing, adapting and re-positioning. A continued supremacy of American-European social sciences, as diagnosed in the "World Social Science Report 2010", does not offer us any excuses to abstain from joining counter-hegemonic strategies also from within the dominant spheres of influence and knowledge production.

As Ebrima Sall concludes from an African perspective: "The challenge of autonomy, and of developing interpretative frameworks that are both scientific and universal, and relevant – that is, 'suitable' for the study of Africa and of the world from the standpoint of Africans themselves – is still very real."<sup>5</sup> His predecessor

as Executive Secretary of the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) is as adamant in advocating a similar dismissal of foreign perspectives imposed upon the continent and its people as integral part of the "North-South asymmetries in international knowledge production".<sup>6</sup> He criticizes that "mains-tream African Studies has constituted itself into a tool for the mastering of Africa by others whilst offering very little by way of how Africa might master the world and its own affairs".<sup>7</sup> He further concurs with Mahmood Mamdani that "the culture of knowledge production about Africa ... is based on analogy: Africa is read through the lenses of Europe and not on terms deriving from its own internal dynamics".<sup>8</sup> African Studies might indeed, more so than any other so-called area studies (which are as global as they are local), reflect the distortions rooted in a colonial perspective surviving in the times of what is dubbed post-colonialism, a term which tends to cover up for the continuities effectively impregnating the ongoing unequal relations between societies and people.<sup>9</sup>

This view is reconfirmed by the EADI paper, which identifies the notion of power as a necessary challenge in efforts to transform research into "transformational" research on global issues. Arguing that "there is no such thing as a-political research" the findings suggest: "Partnerships are embedded in a web of power relations while development-oriented research often implies conflicting and contesting objectives between scholars, aid agencies and development practitioners." This requires efforts creating an enabling environment for more equal partnerships, guided by the need to deconstruct an agenda claiming to be global, but in actual fact still being to a large extent driven by actors in the North.<sup>10</sup> All too often, such efforts remain confronted with the dilemma, that even with the best intentions these are still based on and dependent upon Northern funding and Northern scholars, who might try to overcome the structural constraints but remain confined to operations rooted and embedded within a Northern setting. These undertakings often have hardly any direct Southern participation – neither in terms of funding nor by direct individual and institutional representation. Southern partners – individuals as well as institutions – remain at the receiving end as implementing agencies, often added on after

decisions are taken without them being adequately consulted. At best, they are invited to indicate their willingness to enter such forms of cooperation in funding applications, in which they had no say during the drafting process, to create the impression that this is about true partnership – while it clearly is not.

### The Case of NORGLOBAL

NORGLOBAL (Norway – A Global Partner) was established by the Norwegian Research Council (NRC) in 2008/2009 and has been operational since February 2009.<sup>11</sup> The first Programme Board's term ended in June 2014. Based on a self-evaluation and other monitoring observations, newly appointed members of the Programme Board will be tasked to continue the work for a second term.

NORGLOBAL was established to strengthen Norwegian research on and for development in low- and middle-income countries and to contribute to additional research capacity in these countries. The programme has a special responsibility to generate new knowledge within the field of development in Norway. NORGLOBAL encompasses a number of thematic areas, including women and gender issues, health, food production and the effect of development cooperation, as well as issues relating to conflicts, climate, the environment and clean energy. These topics were among the priorities being addressed within the various thematic activities under the diverse NORGLOBAL programme calls. Most activities were funded following calls for proposals and applications within the thematic areas, while a few others were the result of a cooperation with other NRC programmes, for example through joint funding announcements. Several of the thematic calls have stipulated as a condition that projects are required to incorporate the active participation of researchers from countries in the South financed through the budgets applied to promote cooperation and strengthen capacity building in these countries.

In summary, the programme objectives have been designed and initiated to

- Strengthen research in Norway on development in developing countries, as well as ensure an effective, flexible, visible and coherent organisation of this research by consolidating much of the effort within the field of development

under a single programme, and through cooperation with other programmes.

- Strengthen research for development, through the integration of development perspectives into relevant programmes.
- Strengthen the research capacity of developing countries by enhancing research cooperation between researchers based at institutions in the countries in question and leading Norwegian research institutions and qualified scholars.

So far, the programme dealt with some ten thematic priority areas, for which calls were drafted and issued (often announced several times):

- Poverty and Peace (POVPEACE)
- CGIAR Fellowship Programme (CGIAR)
- Globalisation of Environment, Energy and Climate Research (GLOBMEK)
- Women and Gender (GENDER-EQ)
- Economic Growth, Poverty Reduction, Reproductive Health and Population Dynamics (ECONPOP)
- Western Balkan Countries Development Studies Programme (W-BALKAN)
- Tax Havens, Capital Flows and Development (TAXCAPDEV)
- Research on Humanitarian Policy (HUMPOL)
- Effect of Aid (AIDFFECT).<sup>12</sup>

The Programme Board had a far-reaching mandate. It allocated research funds in principle (and depending on the specific call) for projects also including PhDs, networking, equipment and other costs related to a closer interaction between Norwegian and Southern partners as well as capacity building components both in Norway and in the Southern partner institutions and countries. Financial support was based on accepting an application submitted in response to Calls issued by the Programme Board. Applicants had to be individual scholars affiliated to Norwegian research institutions and universities. Collaboration with partners in the global south were in many cases a pre-requisite, so was the allocation of a certain proportion of the funds for partners there. The collaboration with African counterparts was among the priorities. Partner institutions

in a total of 16 African countries have so far been among the recipients of research grants under the different programmes: Benin, Burkina Faso, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Gambia, Kenya, Liberia, Malawi, Mozambique, Nigeria, Senegal, South Africa, Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

The budget was to a large extent provided by NORAD as the specialized directorate under the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with limited additional funds from the Ministry of Education and Research. Since its inception, the amounts allocated varied according to the specific areas and calls (listed above).<sup>13</sup> NORAD had a representative as ex officio member in the Programme Board, but the board members' authority in decision-making remained fully autonomous. NRC staff members in charge of the sector(s) facilitate the informed decisions. They prepared, circulated and summarized the necessary information (including the reports and rankings compiled by individual reviewers or review panels, whose identity remains undisclosed to the Programme Board). They also submitted recommendations, while the board took final decisions as a result of its internal deliberations only. These were at times different from the views of NORAD or the NRC recommendations. But all the decisions were taken without any major dissent among the board members, in mutual agreement and on a consensual basis, at times after extended discussions guided by a remarkable degree of respect for diverse competences, differing arguments and approaches. The final decisions taken often also deviated from the rankings submitted by the reviews.

The board had in total eight members, of whom only the NORAD appointed representative and the chairperson were Norwegians. The other six members were scholars recruited from other countries to reduce the risks for any potential conflict of interest. They were competent in a variety of disciplines and areas, such as political sciences, sociology, development studies, social anthropology, economics, agricultural sciences, environmental sciences and human geography with a variety of practical regional experiences in different countries and continents. The Programme Board undertook a self-evaluation taking stock of the first five

years as an input for the formulation of the mandate, aims and goals of the next Programme Board's term, to be discussed and negotiated during the second half of 2014.<sup>14</sup>

### **Beyond NORGLOBAL: Lessons Learned**

When NORAD during 2012/13 embarked on a research strategy process seeking to improve the current practices, the Programme Board was asked to offer its views. It recommended that the following priority areas should among others be considered with special preference:

- Natural resource and energy management/governance;
- Industrial policy and labour market dynamics; and
- Promotion of health.

It was also suggested that the creation and dissemination of knowledge should be considered in future research activities as a complementing aspect attached to the subject related analyses. Most prominently, the Programme Board emphasized that NORGLOBAL has already established research activities on the effects of climate change and already relates to the Global Environment and Climate (GEC) initiative and its activities. It also established a close alignment with the new "Future Earth" initiative. The board in its report therefore not by coincidence stressed as a priority, "that research in this area is continued and is linked to concerns specific to the global South and to development challenges. Research here could and should engage researchers in the engineering and technical communities as well as in biology and other relevant natural sciences, with a view to strengthen the notion of sustainability."

Sharing the understanding of the "Future Earth" approach<sup>15</sup>, this stresses the need for an alliance of different initiatives, working in a solution-orientated mode within interdisciplinary research on global environmental change for sustainable development. As the initial design of the "Future Earth" initiative summarizes:

"Future Earth will address issues critical to poverty alleviation and development such as food, water energy, health and human security, and the nexus between these areas and the over-arching imperative of achieving global sustainability. It

will provide and integrate new insights in areas such as governance, tipping points, natural capital, the sustainable use and conservation of biodiversity, lifestyles, ethics and values. It will explore the economic implications of inaction and action and options for technological and social transformations towards a low-carbon future. Future Earth will explore new research frontiers and establish new ways to produce research in a more integrated and solutions-oriented way."<sup>16</sup>

But such a noble statement, which links to the aims and aspirations also of NORGLOBAL, needs to be realistically interrogated. There is a need to acknowledge and implement in any research design that the global is at the same time local and vice versa. Much more awareness among scholars and donors alike should be fostered concerning the practical implications of the interconnectivity between seemingly different worlds and social realities. Methodology as well as theory should consciously integrate such understanding in the approaches.

This resonates strongly (and deliberately) with the "World Social Science Report 2013".<sup>17</sup> Similar to "Future Earth", it seeks to reconcile and bring together the social, human and natural sciences and explicitly endorses the "Future Earth" approach as a like-minded (and joint) initiative, which "provides a unique and robust institutional basis for accomplishing something that has long been called for: research that brings the various scientific fields together on complex, multi-faceted problems. In addition, Future Earth fosters knowledge production, guided by a vision of science working with society to find solutions for global sustainability."<sup>18</sup>

However, by stressing "a vision of science with society", the potential collaborators should be daring enough to not only think outside of the box but also collaborate with those so far considered in their civil society and social movement roles of no direct relevance for closer interaction. The separation between the sciences as knowledge production from actors producing possibly less academic but as socially relevant knowledge has not yet been overcome. In reality, however, the results of these initiatives might stand the test and provide as relevant and useful insights, as the

example of the "Civil Society Reflection Group on Global Development Perspectives" might be able to show.<sup>19</sup> Its major report so far had a measurable impact on the Rio+20 debates and engages with closely related issues.<sup>20</sup> Other earlier initiatives of The Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation relating to its programmatic engagement over more than thirty years within the areas of "Another Development" and "What Next" testify to similar undertakings, directly linking to the approaches of the "Future Earth" initiative.<sup>21</sup> Matters of climate change are indeed issues reaching far beyond the academic discourse and into the wider social movements for global change, which should not be ignored when it comes to further knowledge production and utilization, but – even more importantly – the related fundamental search for alternative concepts of development.<sup>22</sup>

As the "World Social Science Report 2013" points out:

Global environmental change is about humans changing global environments, and about humans, individually and collectively, shaping the direction of planetary and social evolution. The social sciences therefore have a vital role in enriching society's understanding of what it means to live – and maybe thrive – in the Anthropocene, and in raising awareness of the opportunities, accountabilities and responsibilities this brings with it.<sup>23</sup>

## Challenges

The current (self-)critical examinations suggest, that the mainstream academic community is certainly not yet close to an amicable solution to overcome the dichotomies existing in the forms of knowledge production and the specific focus and nature of such common knowledge production within North-South interaction – also in isolation from other initiatives by NGOs.<sup>24</sup> The NORGLOBAL Programme Board diagnosed among others "a clear danger that partners in projects managed by Norwegian research institutions become junior partners who work in a fairly asymmetrical relationship with managing researchers". For the EADI paper the structural constraints show similar results by "often leading to southern partners becoming implementers of a northern agenda".<sup>25</sup> Overall, "collaborative North-South

research projects still tend to favour supporting southern researchers individually, but neglect broader institutional support that would be essential to enhance autonomous research capabilities of southern institutions".<sup>26</sup> The NORGLOBAL board, sharing a similar concern, therefore recommends: "Projects should also be monitored during their execution and evaluated after completion with respect to whether they lead to future collaborations, produce joint research reports or lead to subsequent research bids, and more generally contribute effectively to building sustainable research capacity in the South."

The problem is exacerbated by the dubious if not toxic so-called relevance criteria defined within the neo-liberal mind of those executing the power of governing. They are manifested in the shifts of emphasis towards so-called impact factors in scholarly production measured by indicators such as the number and ranking of publications. These dubious criteria, void of any concept of practical social or political relevance, are increasingly applied not only by those holding the power of definition over academic advancement and career but also by Northern funding agencies.

This provides an incentive for northern research institutions to seek collaboration with well-established (usually western) foundations rather than to engage in complex partnerships with southern partners involving capacity-building components. The tensions between short-term recognition of academic excellence and longer-term capacity building objectives lie at the heart of the North-South research partnership debate.

(...)

the more northern institutions put an emphasis on publishing numerous articles in renowned journals for their own survival, the weaker the incentive to invest in building effective partnerships that contribute to capacity building and inclusion.<sup>27</sup>

In addition, funding tends to be project-related, which is not conducive to long-term planning and investment in human resources and institutional collaboration. This seems to be confirmed by the observation that "successes seem to be

more frequent when dealing with applied research geared toward the development of technical 'solutions' – for instance in the area of health or civil engineering – than in the case of more fundamental research in social sciences writ large."<sup>28</sup>

Shifting the emphasis on a new alliance between scholars of a wider range of disciplines, connecting the human (social) with the natural sciences much closer, is however only one important aspect of the challenges ahead. Efforts seeking to address the fundamental obstacles towards sustainability should at the same time not risk to lose sight of imminent problems existing in terms of socio-economic realities produced by and testifying to the current reproduction of a fundamentally flawed and unsustainable form of human reproduction.

Therefore, the new forms of collaboration should not abandon engagement with other issues, which impact on the mind set, the dominant configurations in societies and global orders and the continued abuse of natural resources as well as a further promotion of inequalities. Some of the current issues requiring consideration by concerned social scientists would include the discussion about social protection floors as much as a critical interrogation of the emerging hype on the assumed positive role of the middle classes<sup>29</sup> as well as the potential governance options by means of a taxation policy, to mention only a few of the relevant issues. These are intrinsically related to concepts of social policy, justice and sustainability. Their discussion by a group of gender aware scholars of both sexes representing different disciplines, cultures, religions and regions would be able to create new insights to be linked with the search for future models of social reproduction seeking to secure sustainability and a point of departure also for the next generations.

If the social sciences are indeed useful in efforts to "untangle the processes by which global environmental change affects societies, and thus help them to respond to it in context-sensitive ways"<sup>30</sup>, then a mere "switch" from rigorous social analyses (including class analysis) towards environmentally oriented research is not a solution. While it might be a correct observation that there exists a continued lack of interest among social scientists in global environmental change and disciplinary barriers are prevalent

also with regard to other sciences<sup>31</sup>, this cannot result in abandoning the original strength of the disciplines. As the same "World Social Sciences Report 2013" recognizes:

The insights of traditional social sciences have often been dismissed as value-laden, contextual, and therefore unreliable. Yet attention to context and values may be precisely what is needed to lead humanity out of its current predicament. The growing engagement of the social sciences in global change research is a sign of their readiness to deliver. This engagement now needs to be accelerated.<sup>32</sup>

The relevance of social sciences within an integrated global change research has been stressed in an initiative under the GEC framework. Climate and global environmental change are understood as a central concern and subject also for social sciences and global change as organic to this field of science. This is emphasized by stating the obvious, that "the simple recognition that if the fundamental causes and consequences of global change are social, then so must the solutions be".<sup>33</sup> Such a perspective was also the common understanding at a meeting of some 70 participants representing international, regional and national development aid agencies and research funding agencies, along with African scholars and scientists.<sup>34</sup> They reiterated the crucial role of social scientists in issues related to sustainable development research, since the resulting challenges are to a large extent the consequence of social activities and behavior. This also impacts on the perceptions and strategies how best to address the challenges. After all:

"Critical to a social-ecological perspective is the role of humans as reflexive and creative agents of deliberate change. Understanding how values, attitudes, worldviews, beliefs and visions of the future influence system structures and processes is crucial. It challenges the idea that catastrophic global environmental change is inevitable, and directs attention to possibilities for acting in response to such change."<sup>35</sup>

As the World Social Science Report also notes:

Global environmental change is simultaneously an environmental and a social problem. Social science

research helps us to comprehend the complex dynamics of 'social-ecological' or 'coupled human-natural' systems, and can help explain how these systems unfold and interconnect across space, from the local to the global, and in time, from the past and present into the future."<sup>36</sup>

### Concluding Reflections

"Future Earth" suggests being a pioneering initiative to bridge the North-South divide in the face of meeting the challenges for global survival in times of devastating effects of climate change. At the same time, however, it remains confronted with the lasting structural disparities the initiative seems to be aware of and seeking to at least reduce if not to overcome. In early July 2014 the alliance that initiated "Future Earth" announced the results of an open bidding process for the hosting of the five global hubs. These will be established to function as a single secretarial entity. The status was awarded to research institutions in Canada, France, Japan, Sweden and the United States. They will be complemented by four regional hubs in Cyprus, Japan, the United Kingdom and Uruguay – as the only location out of nine representing the global south. Strikingly, the African continent is not in any institutional form represented in this configuration, while being widely considered as the world's region, whose people are most dramatically affected by the environmental shifts as a result of climate change.

In response to a critical article voicing frustration by mainly Asian observers over the Northern bias<sup>37</sup>, members of The Science and Technology Alliance for Global Sustainability (an informal international partnership of sponsors of "Future Earth" composed of members from research, funding and the international sectors dubbed "the alliance"<sup>38</sup>) stated "that work is ongoing to address this important issue, particularly in terms of the development of strong regional hubs that will become part of the secretariat".<sup>39</sup> This seems to be not an ideal start and might confirm reservations as to the genuine motives of the initiators. On the other hand, they might have well reasons to bemoan the lack of serious bids presented from institutions located elsewhere, offering the opportunity to allocate more responsibility (and funds) to southern agencies. If, as a result of the disproportionate means, the limited

capacity or maybe even the prevailing suspicions that a competition is anyway not fair and favourable to southern bidders the potential players from these regions abstain, the end result is another self-fulfilling prophecy.<sup>40</sup> This experience suggests that even the most sensible insights are not yet a cure to the quagmire when it comes to the practical steps of implementation of a sound idea.

While we might be aware of the asymmetrical North-South relations, we face the risk that these are perpetuated even within our own settings, as long as the historically rooted animosities prevail. In addition, as concluded by the recent insights into the continued limitations of scholarly collaboration, local policy priorities impact on the agenda. Bridging the scholars – consultants – donors divide remains under these circumstances a challenge. Academic criteria guiding career planning in a scholarly environment – such as the infamous "impact factor" of publications – often overrule practical or even policy relevance, and the North-South cooperation remains still in the hands of Northern partners with Southern counterparts as a fig leaf or a junior partner reduced to an implementing agency for local empirical studies and data collection, which after completion of the local service functions are later owned by the Northern "big brother/sister".

As a result, at times indeed relevant insights for local policy-makers and communities in the South generated by new research end in peer reviewed journals, whose commercial publishing priority remains prohibitive for access by those who might benefit most from it. Often, research projects awarded with the necessary funding, are not even tasked or expected to share their insights with a wider audience as the potential beneficiary of the new knowledge created. Similar to the lack of investment into institutional capacity building as part of such research collaboration, the publishing of the results remains in the Northern domain. Instead, one could make provisions that research results are supposed to be published in accessible ways in a local context, and provide the necessary funding for this as an integral part of the project. This would at least be a deliberate effort to address the imbalances by putting money where the mouth is.

We need to equate sustainability with notions of justice, equality and civil as

well as political and socio-economic rights for individuals and collectives within a world of cultural and religious diversity impacting on and shaping norms and values as well as life perspectives. We have to pursue the same goals with differing but complementing responsibilities and transcend borders not only geographically but also mentally and beyond narrow disciplinary confinements, while paying respect and giving recognition to diversity and otherness when seeking and establishing common ground. Last but not least, despite all these demanding aspects, we should never compromise on quality, but rather re-define the criteria for meaningful quality and relevance - for both, knowledge and life.

## Notes

1. Director emeritus/Senior Adviser of The Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation in Uppsala/Sweden; Extraordinary Professor at the Department of Political Sciences of the University of Pretoria and at the Centre for Africa Studies of the University of the Free State in Bloemfontein; and former research director of The Nordic Africa Institute. This is the revised version of a paper presented to a meeting on "Enhancing collaboration between the development aid and the global environmental change communities to achieve development goals in Africa", organized by the International Council for Science (ICSU) and the Swedish Development Agency (Sida) on 5/6 May 2014 at the Soweto Campus of the University of Johannesburg.
2. I thank Inger-Ann Ullstein, Jan Monteverde Haakonsen and their colleagues from the NRC and Kevin Noone and other members in the Programme Board of NORGLOBAL, for the fruitful cooperation during the last years and all the indirect inputs to this paper. I am grateful for the opportunity offered by CODESRIA to share these reflections with a wider audience.
3. Gilles Carbonnier/Tiina Kontinen, *North-South Research Partnerships: Academia Meets Development?* Bonn: EADI (EADI Policy Paper Series), June 2014, p. 3.
4. *World Social Science Report 2010. Knowledge Divides*. Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and International Social Science Council (ISSC) 2010.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 44f.
6. Adebayo Olukoshi, "African scholars and African Studies", in: Henning Melber (ed.), *On Africa. Scholars and African Studies. Contributions in Honour of Lennart Wohlgemuth*. Uppsala: Nordic Africa Institute 2007, pp. 7-22 (here: p. 17).
7. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 18. Cf. Mahmood Mamdani, "African Studies Made in USA", *CODESRIA Bulletin*, no. 2, 1990; and "The Challenge of the Social Sciences in the 21st Century", in Ruth Mukama/Murindwa Rutange (eds), *Confronting 21st Century Challenges: Analyses and Re-dedications by National and International Scholars*. Volume 1. Kampala: Faculty of Social Sciences/ Makerere University 2004.
9. For some critical reflections on the contested notion of African Studies from the perspectives of an European scholar see Henning Melber, "The Relevance of African Studies", *Stichproben. Vienna Journal of African Studies*, vol. 9, no. 16, 2009, pp. 183-200, and Henning Melber, "What is African in Africa(n) Studies? Confronting the (Mystifying) Power of Ideology and Identity", *Africa Bibliography 2013* (forthcoming).
10. Carbonnier/Kontinen, op. cit., p. 15.
11. Further details at: [http://www.forskningsradet.no/prognettnorglobal/Home\\_page/1224698160055](http://www.forskningsradet.no/prognettnorglobal/Home_page/1224698160055). The designed first chairperson of the newly established Programme Board, Carl-Erik Schulz, died in a tragic accident while mountain hiking at Table Mountain on 30 November 2008 and was denied to take up this function. I dedicate this article to his memory.
12. In addition, NORGLOBAL cooperated occasionally with other programmes in the Research Council, such as INDNOR on India. The programme board has also handled a limited call sponsored by the Norwegian embassy in Malawi, which allocated funds to research projects aimed at presenting findings to strengthen political governance.
13. In 2013, NORGLOBAL had a disposable budget of some NOK 153.5 million (around US\$ 25 million), of which for the first three months some NOK 51.5 million (around US\$ 8.5 million) were used.
14. The report was drafted in August/September 2013 by the board's chairperson Helge Hveem, based on the inputs of the other board members.
15. See [www.icsu.org/future-earth](http://www.icsu.org/future-earth) and [www.futureearth.info](http://www.futureearth.info).
16. Future Earth, *Future Earth Initial Design: Report of the Transition Team*. Paris: International Council for Science (ICSU) 2013, p. 11.
17. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and International Social Science Council (ISSC), *World Social Science Report 2013. Changing Global Environments*. Paris: OECD Publishing and UNESCO Publishing 2013.
18. *World Social Science Report 2013. Summary*, p. 5.
19. See <http://www.reflectiongroup.org/>.
20. *No future without justice. Report of the Civil Society Reflection Group on Global Development Perspectives*. Uppsala: The Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation 2012 (development dialogue, no. 59). Accessible at: <http://www.dhf.uu.se/publications/development-dialogue/dd59/>.
21. See for a summary on some of the contributions *50 Years Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation*. Edited by Henning Melber. Uppsala: The Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation 2012 (development dialogue, no. 60). Accessible at: <http://www.dhf.uu.se/publications/development-dialogue/dd60/>; and more specifically *What Next Volume III: Climate, Development and Equity*. Edited by Niclas Hällström with Robert Österbergh. Uppsala: The Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation and the What Next Forum 2012 (development dialogue, no. 61). Accessible at: <http://www.dhf.uu.se/publications/development-dialogue/dd61/>. The Foundation's web site offers access to several more related publications.
22. See Henning Melber, 'Whose World? Development, civil society, development studies and (not only) scholar activists', *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 35, no. 6, 2014 (in print).
23. *World Social Science Report 2013. Summary*, p. 4.
24. This observation does by no means suggest that the NGO-interactions are immune against paternalistic forms of collaboration. Rather, they reproduce to a large extent similar problems and challenges as the collaboration among scholars and academic institutions.
25. Carbonnier/Kontinen, op. cit., p. 10.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 5 and 7.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

29. See for a critique Henning Melber, "Africa and the Middle Class(es), *Africa Spectrum*, vol. 48, no. 3, 2013, pp. 111-120.
30. *World Social Science Report 2013. Summary*, p. 14.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
33. Heide Hackmann/Asunción Lera St. Clair, *Transformative Cornerstones of Social Science Research for Global Change*. Paris: International Social Science Council, May 2012, p. 8.
34. "Enhancing collaboration between the development aid and the global environmental change communities to achieve development goals in Africa", conference held at the University of Johannesburg, Soweto campus, 5-6 May 2014.
35. *World Social Science Report 2013. Summary*, p. 7.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
37. SciDevNet, "Future Earth's 'global' secretariat under fire", 23 July 2014, <http://www.scidev.net/global/sustainability/news/future-earth-global-secretariat.html>.
38. Core members include the ICSU, the ISSC, the IGFA/Belmont Forum, UNESCO, UNEP, UNU and the World Meteorological Organization (WMO).
39. "Future Earth's globally distributed Secretariat designed to be flexible and diverse", 7 August 2014; <http://www.futureearth.info/news/future-earths-globally-distributed-secretariat-designed-be-flexible-and-diverse>.
40. China, for example, reportedly took an explicit decision not to bid to host the secretariat, while potential Indian partners did not respond to invitations to participate in the bidding process. Nor was there any African organisation willing to act as a host for a hub or to coordinate a bid.

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## Crisis Response and State Intervention in Nigeria's Niger Delta Region: A Post-implementation Analysis of the Amnesty Programme

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### Introduction

Since the mid-1970s, Nigeria's Niger Delta region has been mired in a complex environmental and human security crisis. Oil mineral exploitation has been at the root of the crisis. Over 60 years of oil exploitation in the region has occasioned environmental degradation and pollution, resulting in abject poverty, unemployment, health hazards and even death among people.<sup>1</sup> Oil spills destroy vast acres of arable farmlands and aquatic lives while toxic effects of gas flare threaten the very existence of the people. This has resulted in high level of socio-economic underdevelopment, absence of infrastructural facilities and poor standards of living in the region.<sup>2</sup>

Consequently, there has been since the 1990s, the emergence of resistant ethnic militia<sup>3</sup> in the region confronting multinational oil corporations and the Nigerian state. By 1998, the region had become a "lawless zone, where youths disrupted oil production activities, engaged in kidnapping and hostage-taking activities, and communities frequently engaged with little provocation in violent and destructive strife."<sup>4</sup> Over time, this degenerated into a state of militancy, destruction of oil installations,

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disruption of socio-economic activities and armed violence. Severally, militant groups in the region carried out deadly and paralyzing attacks on oil and gas installations and facilities. On March 16, 2003, Shell Petroleum Development Corporation (SPDC) evacuated non-essential staff from its facility in Warri, Delta State and shut down oil production, following an attack by ethnic Ijaw militants along the Nigerian Navy on the Escravos River that left seven soldiers dead. Subsequent attacks killed one Chevron staff and five TotalFinalElf personnel. On July 12, 2006, MEND killed four naval personnel and injured three others escorting a Chevron oil tanker along Chomoni creeks in Warri. On April 14, 2007, militants attacked the Mini-Okoro, Elelenwo Police Station and killed 10 officers. On January 1, 2008, NDVF attacked two Police Stations and a 5-Star hotel in Port Harcourt and on October 1, 2010, MEND detonated a bomb at the Eagles Square, Abuja.

On the other hand, figures released by the Niger Delta Development Monitoring and Corporate Watch (NIDDEMCOW) showed that between 1999 and 2008, 308 hostage-taking and kidnapping incidents occurred in the region. Bayelsa State recorded 131 incidents; Rivers State had 113 cases; Delta State 45 and Akwa Ibom State 15 incidents. According to the Report in 2003, 18 oil workers were taken hostage in Bayelsa State, in 2004, 5 hostages were recorded, 39 in 2006 while between January and June, 2007, 69 persons were taken hostage, out of which 50 were soldiers. Within the same period, River State recorded two incidents in 1991, one in 2005, 55 in 2006 and 60 as at June, 2007, with 26 soldiers, one woman and a three-year old child involved.<sup>5</sup>

By 2009, militancy in the region had assumed an alarming dimension with ethnic militia coming close to declaring full-scale war on the Nigerian state and operators of the oil and gas industry. As a crisis management strategy, President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua, the then President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, on June 25, 2009, unveiled a Presidential Amnesty Programme (PAP) for militant groups in the region. Those willing to take part were offered presidential pardon, participation

in a rehabilitation programme and training in exchange for turning in their weapons and voluntarily renouncing violence. Six years after its initiation, the success or otherwise of PAP in resolving the Niger Delta crisis has thrown up thorny debates amongst scholars and policy analysts. This paper is part of the debate. It is argued here that domestic and exogenous variables convalescing with institutional and policy inadequacies rendered PAP ineffective as a crisis resolution strategy.

### Principles and Objectives of PAP

The Amnesty Programme was a policy offshoot of the Yar'Adua administration's socio-economic development blueprint for Nigeria; the Seven-Point Agenda. In a press release on August 1, 2007, President Yar'Adua asserted that;

An unfriendly security climate precludes both external and internal investment into the nation. Thus, security will be seen not only as a constitutional requirement but also as a necessary infrastructure for the development of a modern Nigerian economy. With its particular needs, the Niger Delta security issue will be the primary focus, marshalled not with physical policing or military security, but through honest and accurate dialogue between the people and the Federal Government.<sup>7</sup>

Thus, the central objective of PAP was the disarmament, demobilization, rehabilitation and reintegration of repentant militants. It was provided that during the programme, which lasted between August and October 2009, Government would grant amnesty to militants willing to come out, turn in their weapons and accept a US\$13 daily stipend in exchange. The payment was to run for an open ended amount of time from about US\$63 million budget by the government. Apart from the daily payments, the militants were to undergo retraining and re-orientation programmes to prepare them for full integration into the larger society.<sup>7</sup>

Within the scope of this operational framework, 26358 militants who accepted the offer were demobilized. A breakdown of the figure shows that 20192 militants accepted the amnesty offer as at October 4 2009, which was the first phase and another batch of 6166 were added in the second and final batch. Of this number, 15434 passed through non-violence transformational training programmes at the demobilization camp in Obubra, Cross

River State between May and June 2010. Another 5000 have been placed in formal education and vocational training centres in Ghana, South Africa, the Philippines, Russia, Ukraine, India amongst other countries around the world. They are being prepared for expertise in pipeline and under-water weltering, piloting, boat building, seafaring, marine engineering and ICT.<sup>8</sup>

### A Review of the Amnesty Programme

The increasing frequency of hostage taking and destruction of oil facilities by militants in the region had by January 2009 significantly dwindled investment inflow to the upstream sub-sector of the oil industry. Foreign investors relocated to other countries and SPDC's production output dropped from 1000000 bpd (barrel per day) to about 700 000 bpd. As the crisis intensified, Nigeria's oil production capacity further reduced to as low as 250 000 bpd. This negatively affected Nigeria's economy. It is estimated that in 2008 alone, Nigeria lost over N3trillion in foreign exchange earnings to militancy in the Niger Delta.<sup>9</sup> However, there has been a reversal in the trend since 2011. This is evident by the fact that as at 2011, Nigeria was producing between 2.4 and 2.6 million bpd of crude oil as against the abysmally low 250 000 bpd produced as at January 2009. This increase in crude oil production enabled Nigeria to make production savings of 1.9million bpd. It is specifically estimated that in 2011, PAP saved a total of N6trillion for Nigeria and its Joint Venture (JV) partners.<sup>10</sup>

Thus, some analysts have attributed this reversal to the success of PAP. Alike, for instance, has argued that the outcome of PAP has been a relative peace in the Niger Delta, which has translated into improved inflow of foreign investments and increased production capacities of the oil multinationals in the recent years.<sup>11</sup> In addition, Francis, Lapin and Rossiasco have observed that "the post-Amnesty period since October 2009 has been relatively while Chidi-Unabia agreed that "the implementation of PAP brought a relative peace to the troubled region for the first time with the seeming compliance of the militants."<sup>13</sup>

However, others have argued that the Amnesty Programme has fundamental flaws and has thus failed to address the major causes of the crisis in the region. In

an editorial entitled; "Amnesty: Is this the end of Militancy?" the Vanguard Newspapers of Tuesday, October 13, 2009 asserted;

Government has refused to address the root cause of the militancy. Why did Isaac Boro rebel? Why was Ken Saro-Wiwa hung? Except these questions are answered and fundamental issues addressed, amnesty will be a mere ruse, an exercise in futility.<sup>14</sup>

In his assessment, Amaraegbu noted that facts on ground do not show that the Federal Government is seriously concerned about the appalling state of affairs in the region. Lack of substantial amount of planning and political engagement in order to address the Niger Delta question despite the amnesty, remain further flash points of frustration and may well explain why there have been bomb blasts in the region after the amnesty.<sup>15</sup> Similarly, Francis, et.al have noted that though the post-Amnesty period since October 2009 has been relatively calm, the underlying causes of conflict remain largely unaddressed. Inaction on the part of the government and its partners perpetuates conditions that could spark renewed violence,<sup>16</sup> while Chidi-Unabia has noted that "the policy has no feasibility of ensuring a genuine and lasting peace in the long troubled region because its focus is not on the root cause of the crisis".<sup>17</sup>

### Point of Departure

The foregoing points to a somewhat unanimity among analysts that PAP has fundamental flaws that well explain its inability to address the crisis in the Niger Delta. However, that is the extent to which these analysts can go. While they agree that, the programme has fundamental shortcomings that have impeded the achievements of its primary objectives; they however failed to explain the causes of or reasons for these shortcomings.

Thus, a proper understanding of these shortcomings must begin with the understanding of the principles and fundamental objectives of the programme, which are rooted in symbiotic relationship between the Nigerian state and the oil multinationals on the one hand and the antagonism between the Nigerian masses and the elite class, on the other. This relationship is founded on a lopsided ideological underpinning that sees Nigeria as the junior partner in which the oil multinationals dictate and determine the terms of the relationship. This is due

to certain factors. First is the overwhelming control of the oil MNCs over technology and means of production. Second is Nigeria's over dependence on crude petroleum as a major source of foreign exchange earnings. Third is Nigeria's reliance on foreign monopoly capital for investments especially in the oil sector. This state of affairs dates back to colonial regimes that saw the integration of Nigeria's economy into the global capitalist market, which is defined in the context of "core-periphery-relationship" in a global system of division of labour.<sup>18</sup> Given the intricate linkage between the Nigerian economy and the oil industry in particular and this global capitalist structure and power relationship in general, government policies and programmes are systematically designed in such a way that the economic interests of the oil multinationals, their foreign owners and host countries are not radically altered. Thus, a careful review of PAP shows that in the first place, the programme was initiated at a time when militancy in the Niger Delta region significantly threatened oil production and the economic interests of Nigeria's ruling class and their foreign partners. Given this premise, it can be inferred logically that PAP was not initiated in the interest of the people of the region but those of the Nigerian state, its ruling class and their foreign partners. This may well explain why despite the programme, the environmental and ecological devastation of the Niger Delta region by the activities of the oil multinationals remain unabated and unresolved. The deliberate refusal of the Nigerian state to implement the 2012 UNEP Report on environmental pollution in Ogoniland by the SPDC is a clear pointer to the fact raised here.

Secondly, PAP's failure to address fundamental issues of environmental degradation, socio-economic crisis and poverty in the region is deliberate. Addressing these issues will amount to compelling oil multinationals to abide by international standard practices and the adoption of environmental friendly practices in their operations. The economic implications of this will be an increase in the cost of production and a decline in the profit margin of the oil companies. Again, given the character of the relationship between government and the oil companies as explained above, government policies are carefully formulated with a view to sustaining this relationship rather than

ensuring the protection and the economic wellbeing of the citizens.

Thirdly, a careful look at the Amnesty Programme reveals that it did not seek for economic equality between the people of the region, Nigerian ruling class and the operators of the oil and gas industry. This is buttressed by the fact that conditions and terms of PAP were articulated without the input of the people of the region.<sup>19</sup> Yet, Federal Government proposed that "the Niger Delta security issue will be ... marshalled ... through honest and accurate dialogue between the people and the Federal Government."<sup>20</sup> Again, this is deliberate and ideological. In any agrarian economy such as Nigeria, land remains a key factor of production. The crisis in the Niger Delta revolves around the issue of land ownership and land tenure system. Incorporating the people would have addressed these issues and other issues of royalties to host communities, making them stakeholders in the oil industry and reversing the established and entrenched economic interests of the Nigerian ruling class and the oil industry operators.

Furthermore, the failure of PAP may also be located within the recurrent decimal inherent in Nigeria's political system; corruption. A major challenge with the implementation of PAP was the issue of diversion of the money meant to fund the programme.<sup>21</sup> At inception, the Presidency announced an initial grant of N50 billion for the programme. From here, each former militant was meant to receive a total of N65 000 per month beginning from October 2009. However, as at 2012, the militants had only been paid for five months forcing government to make extra-budgetary provision of N74.2 billion for the programme in 2012.<sup>22</sup>

Against the background of these obvious shortcomings of the Amnesty Programme, there has been a resurgence of violent crimes and kidnapping in the Niger Delta region since 2011. In February 2011, there were three attacks on international stakeholders in the Niger Delta and four in December 2011. In January 2012 one attack was recorded and three in February, 2012. Also in February, 2012, there were eight attacks on vessels of Nigeria, twice the number in January, 2012. Between December 17 and 20, 2012, five Indian sailors and 4 South Korean oil workers were kidnapped at different places by members of MEND. On June 6, 2014, 3 Dutch nationals were kidnapped in

Letugbene, Bayelsa State. The consequence of these renewed attacks on oil production by militants has been a reduction on quantity of oil produced. Since February 2012, oil production has declined to 2.08 million bpd as against 2.6 million bpd January 2012 and 2.5 million bpd in July, 2013.<sup>23</sup>

### Conclusion: Alternative Approach

The foregoing highlights the socio-economic and political ideology that underpinned and conditioned the formulation and implementation of PAP, which fundamentally undermined the roots causes of the crisis in the Niger Delta that reside in the double antimony of class and function bearing on Nigeria's position in the international division of labour that has been in operation since colonialism.

Thus, an alternative approach to the resolution of the crisis in the Niger Delta must of necessity address a set of interrelated issues such as the problems of minority rights, environmental rehabilitation, land ownership and tenure system, poverty alleviation, resources control and allocation. To make meaning, crisis management strategies in the region must occasion a fundamental shift from the local and exogenous context, which condition internal structure of economic ownership in Nigeria.

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## Political Economy of Post-apartheid South Africa

Vusi Gumede

The book, made up of three parts, covers a wide spectrum of political economy issues on post-apartheid South Africa. Although the text is mainly descriptive, to explain various areas of the political economy of post-apartheid South Africa; the first and the last parts provide illuminating insights on the kind of society that is emerging during the twenty-one years of democracy in the country. The book discusses important aspects of the political history of



apartheid South Africa and the evolution of post-apartheid society, including an important recap of the history of southern Africa before colonialism. The text is a comprehensive description of numerous political economy phenomena since South Africa gained its political independence and covers some important themes that have not been discussed in detail in other publications on post-apartheid South Africa. The book also updates earlier work of the author on policy and law making, land and agriculture, education and training as well as on poverty and inequality in post-apartheid South Africa thereby providing a wide-ranging overview of the socio-economic development approaches followed by the successive post-apartheid administrations. Interestingly, three chapters focus on various aspects of the post-apartheid South African economy: economic policies, economic empowerment and industrial development. Through the lens of the notion of democratic developmental state and taking apartheid colonialism as a point of departure, the book suggests that, so far, post-apartheid South Africa has mixed socio-economic progress. The author's extensive experience in the South African government ensures that the book has policy relevance while it is also theoretically sound. The text is useful for anyone who wants to understand the totality of the policies and legislation as well as the political economy interventions pursued since 1994 by the South African Government.

## *Tributes: Thinking African – Celebration of two Distinguished Scholars*

### **Thandika Mkandawire: The Man, the Scholar, and the Institution-builder**

*In recognition of the contribution of Thandika Mkandawire to the development of CODESRIA and to the advancement of knowledge production in Africa and around the world (and in celebration of his 75th birthday last October), a colloquium was organized in his honour in his home country, Malawi, 11-13 April 2016. The colloquium, organised by CODESRIA in collaboration with the University of Malawi, and the Archie Mafeje Research Institute at UNISA had as theme: **Thinking Africa, Epistemological Issues – Celebrating the Life and Work of Thandika Mkandawire**. The event provided an opportunity for friends, colleagues and associates to pay tribute to this great African scholar. Some of the tributes are featured here.*

#### **To Thandika Mkandawire**

##### **A Poem by Issa Shivji**

Aren't you amazing, Thandika?  
You may batter your opponent,  
Yet s/he feels flattered.  
You may hobnob with the likes of Jeffrey Sachs,  
Yet you're unconstrained in stinging critiques of them.  
What a fabulous piece that was,  
'An intellectual itinerary of Jeffrey Sachs'.  
What an amazing person, Thandika?  
Humorously saying 'no' to that which he doesn't want,

Yet the proponent feels as if it was a 'yes'.  
You can make 'no' feel 'yes', yes, you can,  
Yet the 'yes' is always firm, inspiring and fulfilling.  
That was the 'yes' to my invite, not long ago,  
To be our 5<sup>th</sup> Nyerere Distinguished Lecturer.  
Live long, Thandika.  
We need humour,  
wit,  
solace,  
and solidarity,  
in our struggles,  
And you embody them all.



Prof Thandika Mkandawire delivering a speech at the occasion

## Reflection: My year of travels with Thandika Mkandawire

Marianne Camerer

Try keeping up with a 75 year old. There is no rest for the wicked as we travel around the continent and engage, geographically, with the issue of African economic integration. The seven I's as an entry point for discussing regional integration that I'd first heard of two years ago when I met Thandika at the Tralac conference in Cape Town in May 2014 where he gave the keynote address, are now known by heart: Initial conditions; Ideational factors; Individuals who play a very important role in African politics; Institutions (national and societal); Interests; Industrialisation as a measure of development; and the International context. Along the route the model to explain the challenges to integration is populated with more examples, and an 8<sup>th</sup>, "I", Idiocy, is added.

Our first conversation was about twins: I am a twin and his recently born twin grandchildren living in Pretoria give an inkling of an interest he and Kaarina might have to spend some time in SA. Can we make it happen? With support from the funders we manage to entice them, patient and ever gracious, through onerous visa processes (police clearance certificates for all the places he has ever lived) to come to Cape Town for some months in residence at the GSDPP. And they did. As a visiting professor at UCT and Senior Fellow in Residence with the Building Bridges programme at the Graduate School of Development Policy and Practice.

And the conversations continued, informally and more formally at an experts meeting in Cape Town's Townhouse Hotel in November 2014 on the political economy of African Economic Integration; at a policymakers roundtable in Somerset West in May 2015 on the obstacles to integration; and at three regional workshops in East, West and Southern Africa on the following themes: The role of domestic capital (Dar es Salaam, August 2015) co-hosted with the Uongozi Institute; Pan-Africanism, Culture, History and Ideas (Dakar, September 2015) co-hosted with CODESRIA and the final meeting on Evidence and Accountability (Lusaka, November 2015) co-hosted with UNECA-Southern Africa. Through glorious African sunshine and pouring midnight rain we made it.

Over the period November 2014 – December 2015, GSDPP facilitated five meetings in four countries bringing together over 140 participants from over 20 African countries on various aspects of African Economic Integration. These meetings would not have happened without Thandika's convening force of intellect, humor and extraordinary network, embracing old and young, experienced and novice, to exchange ideas on the intractable issue of how to integrate Africa both economically and politically in a way that engages current citizens' imagination.

## Very Jovial, but Firm

Taladidia Thiombiano

I made acquaintance with Thandika over three decades ago, while I was a green researcher at CODESRIA. Very jovial but firm in his principles, he is one of the great Pan-Africanist intellectuals who has contributed so much to the African consciousness through his various research works in social sciences. As an economist by training, he is one of those who realized very early the negative impact of conventional economic thinking on the development of African economies. This is certainly one of the reasons that prompted him to focus his works on issues of epistemology in the social sciences. Indeed, knowledge of the construction of a science is a step in contributing to the renewal of this science. The consistency in his thought lies in the role that African intellectuals should play through their reflections, commitment and struggles for the development of Africa. But he is also aware of the need to have very strong pan-African research structures like CODERIA where he spent much of his life to promote this institution, first as Deputy Executive Secretary, then as Executive Secretary from 1986 to 1996 and now as a senior experienced researcher and mentor.

## Essential Mkandawire: Tribute to an Icon!

Said Adejumobi

From a humble beginning in Malawi, Thandika Mkandawire rose to become one of the best, if not the best, in African and indeed, global social science scholarship. Thandika represents the possibilities of knowledge, the gains of rigour and perseverance, the endurance of human spirit, and the triumph of excellence, originality and creativity.

A pan-African scholar per excellence, I met Thandika about 21 years ago as Executive Secretary of CODESRIA. Since then, both on and off the field of scholarship, Thandika remains a mentor, big brother, friend, comrade and colleague. With infectious simplicity, Thandika breaks generational boundaries, connects with people of different disciplines and persuasions and listens attentively to others and their ideas even if he disagrees with them vehemently. For him, scholarship is not about noise but ideas. Ideas constitute the very foundation of human progress, which he cherishes with passion and commitment.

Thandika has many parts. He is a remarkable institution builder; a knowledge worker and organic intellectual; a political activist relying on the power of ideas; a mentor to many generations

## Tributes

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of African scholars including myself; a committed pan-Africanist; an active social being and now, a caring grandfather. Thandika works very hard but does not shy away from playing hard too; he is an all rounded personality, who makes the best use of life.

Achie Mafeje and Thandika Mkandawire are two African intellectuals who have had profound impact on my scholarship; yet they both differ in their personality and outlook. Mafeje carries the aura of an accomplished scholar, who cannot stomach either intellectual laziness or ignorance. Thandika on the hand other, is a soft and extremely accomodating scholar, who demonstrates temerity in scholarship. Yet, in both lies the best tradition of knowledge and scholarship in Africa.

A major lesson I learnt early enough from Thandika is that knowledge and scholarship are not neutral social values; they are sites of political contestations, social and ideological construction of society and class configuration of interests no matter the claim to objectivity that social research espouses. Whether in terms of the genealogy of Africa's political economy, a deconstruction of Africa's economic crisis, and solutions; anaylsis of the structural adjustment program and the post-adjustment era and the current Africa' s rising story, Thandika demonstrates unusual capacity to think differently, offer counter-arguments and create new narratives. He is an intellectual giant whose ideas, views and perspectives reverberate globally and are highly respected in the knowledge and policy communities.

Thandika has paid his dues; he has played his part and continues to do so. We are proud of him and so is the con-

tinent. We pray for good health, happiness and God's guidance for him as we celebrate this exceptional scholar and a rare gift to the continent and the world- God bless Thandika.

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## Thandika can be Imperfect

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Ilcheong Yi

**T**handika has a great ability to explain in simple and plain terms what we make, or often even insist on making complicated. He is prepared to answer all the questions raised by us. But I witnessed a rare instance, which may deserve a place in the seven wonders in history: the moment when Thandika was a bit embarrassed by the limitation of his ability.

It was one fine afternoon of May 2011 in Yangpyeong, South Korea. After the workshop on Korean development experience in Seoul (the papers from that workshop were published in a co-edited volume of Thandika and me), before he finished his visit to South Korea, I wanted to show him around some tourist attractions. Thandika asked me to take him to rural areas in South Korea, so we decided to go to Yangpyeong, which is a small county near Seoul. On the way to the fringe of Yangpyeong County, we came across Yangpyeong High school, which was established during the Korean War, and he wanted to go inside and have a look around the school. As we strolled around the school, some kids in the classroom spotted us, or rather him, a foreigner coming out of nowhere. Chuckling to each other, they waved at us, or perhaps at him. I am not sure whether it was his charm, or the desperation of those kids to escape from the hard work of their high school class.



Ebrima Sall, Executive Secretary of CODESRIA at the occasion

Anyway, the teacher invited us to her classroom. In Korea, if you are a foreigner, whether black or white, it is believed that you should be able to speak English. The class was an English class for second year high school students, and the teacher invited him to give a speech, of course in English! Thandika introduced himself, and said he was from Malawi. The word "Malawi" put all the students in unexpected excitement. "We have just discussed about Timbuktu, Africa" they chorused. After all, they were too young to be blamed for confusing Malawi with Mali and having Africanism as orientalism 2.0. Soon, students started raising their hands to ask questions on Timbuktu and Africa. Why is Africa so poor despite its glorious civilization like Timbuktu? What is needed for Africa to develop economically and socially? What do you do for African development? Well, those kids had a perfect person in perfect time. It was indeed a moment of truth for him... After his brief talk, we took some photographs with the students and left the classroom. I told them in Korean, "when you become university students, please find and read his books and articles and you will get all the answers!" I cherish this memory since that was the only moment when he was not prepared to answer questions from an audience as far as I can remember. Thandika can be imperfect!

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## The Iconic and Progressive Role of Professor Thandika Mkandawire as a Great and Fine African Intellectual Giant

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Nanah Busia

It is not an easy exercise giving testimony about the role played by an African intellectual giant of the stature of Professor Thandika Mkandawire; where to start and where to end presents an enormous challenge. I will therefore confine my testimony to my own personal encounter with him.

Like all towering iconic scholars, I had met Thandika through his publications before meeting him in person in 1992 during CODESRIA General Assembly held at Dakar, in Senegal. The theme of the General Assembly was *Crises, Conflicts and Transformations: Responses and Perspectives*. This, it will be recalled, was two or so years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, and the accompanying Crises and Conflicts which were unfolding in many African states going hand in hand with the liberal democratization processes, as it were. Thandika presented a paper on the topic: *Adjustment, Political Conditionality and Democratization in Africa*. There was a near consensus in the discourse at the time that the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) was acting as a catalyst in the conflicts. Thandika made excellent submission on the topic. I was fascinated. In his said paper he cautioned against the attribution of the conflicts solely to the problems of the economy as brought by SAP but said something that still echoes in my ears that "the long hidden macro-economic crises have brought to light long hidden micro inefficiencies". I enjoyed his nuanced insights. It was so refreshing for me as a junior scholar just coming from the academia in the West

where neo-liberal Africanists social scientists of the likes of Larry Diamond, Lipset, Richard Josephs et al had dominated the debate and also Western legal scholars have also reduced the otherwise complex discussion of democratization and development in Africa to a narrow issue of mere proper constitutional drafting often with the mantra proposal of two term limitation as the panacea to authoritarianism in Africa as it were. I saw the Thandika and other CODESRIA iconic scholars' perspectives as reflecting the African realities as I perceive it myself but did not have the capacity to articulate as they did.

As fate will have it, in 1995, he recruited me as a Visiting Research Scholar at CODESRIA. My task was to work on legal protection of academic freedom in Africa with the current Executive Secretary, Ebrima Sall and legal succession with Momar Coumba Diop. I was also to work as his research assistant. Under Thandika, my specific assignment was to do a review of the then emerging literature on democratization in Africa. It was such a great opportunity sitting at his feet and learning through this assignment. He was very engaging and in spite of his enormous knowledge he was prepared to listen to my "simplistic" views then and was never dismissive. He accords respect and has no iota of intellectual arrogance. I remember he would from time to time walk down stairs to my office to engage me and a lady colleague on the progress of our work. It was a learning curve. His interest in young African scholars did not stop after work. In fact often it was even more seminal after work. I learnt more after hours when he will invite me and others to a drink "*dans les coins*". And his informal chats were even more informative. He told them in stories with great sense of humour and great depth of knowledge and communicated them with style and ease. He made what appeared so difficult to appreciate become obvious with good mastery over language.

What I learnt under him in the short time I worked as his research assistant could form a whole thesis but key among them was that, although of the left, he was fiercely an independent scholar pursuing truth as he saw it, no straitjackets with him. In addition, he took human rights, even the so called liberal rights, seriously, consequently on his conceptualization of developmental state, which up till this day I love, he has never gone with the flow of thinking that authoritarianism is a necessarily evil whereby some human rights may have to be traded off for economic development. On the contrary, he thinks human rights has teleological role in economic development. And his intellectual arguments which he tries to also support with case studies are persuasive. There was the cynical views used to tease him that his obsession with human rights as a scholar was because of how Kamuzu Banda violated his rights. But, I submit, it is more than that. It is a passion and scientific conviction.

There are few scholars I have come across with such instinctive understanding of African political economy and its people than Thandika. Above all, he is such an organic scholar who engages and stays very close to people and the society he studies and writes prolifically about. Many a times we sat in *quartier populaire* and he was sincerely comfortable with engaging with all classes of people.

## Tributes

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It was exciting to be at work at the office, and I eagerly looked forward to it. I remember whatever remuneration I was getting was meagre but I had mega satisfaction under his mentoring leadership. One stayed on long after closing hours because Thandika created an atmosphere that was enabling and conducive. Mondays is a day no one likes but I remember waiting for Mondays to be at work. And this was no exaggeration. Studying under his feet, however short, was my finest hour.

Never before and after have I enjoyed working for any institution or organization as I did for CODESRIA under the iconic intellectual and progressive leadership of Thandika. I, like many others, love him for what he stands for in the pan-African world: using scholarship to contribute to the development of "Our Continent and Our Future".

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### Thandika Mkandawire: The Game Changer

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Jimi O. Adesina

First encounters can be profound or ordinary. Often the ordinary nature of first encounters can belie what would turn out to be a profound and enduring relationship – one that is enabling and inspiring. My first encounter with Thandika Mkandawire was in 1989 in Kampala. I was among the laureates for the year's edition of the CODESRIA/Rockefeller Foundation *Reflections on Development* Fellowship programme and we were in Kampala for the inception workshop for the fellowship. Thandika, as the Executive Secretary of CODESRIA and David Court, the Rockefeller Foundation's representative in East Africa led the workshop. Among the facilitators at the workshop were Micere Mugo and Mahmood Mamdani. The encounter with Thandika at the workshop was largely uneventful and applying for the fellowship was itself my first encounter with CODESRIA. The encounter has, since then, flourished. As with others like me, Thandika has remained a remarkable inspiration, an immensely seminal thinker, and someone profoundly committed to the cause of Africa and its peoples. It is difficult to remember an interaction with Thandika from which one did not emerge with a distinctly new insight on a topic or an idea, or remarking to oneself: "I never thought of it that way."

There are three main areas in which one feels a sense of gratitude thinking about Thandika. The first relates to institution building and enhancement. The second concerns the multiple seminal contributions that Thandika has made to African and global social science scholarship. The third concerns his constant concern with and facilitation of the careers of others and younger generations of scholars. In each of these areas Thandika can be considered a 'game changer.'

From the establishment of the Zimbabwe Institute of Development Studies, to his becoming the Executive Secretary of CODESRIA in 1986, and going on to direct the UN Research

Institute for Social Development in Geneva from 1998 to 2009, Thandika was, in institutional terms, a game changer. These were always in the context of a wider pool of actors involved in building and enhancing the various institutions, but the strategic vision and leadership of Thandika have always been crucial. Strong intellectual leadership, personal ascetic and prudent approach to managing resources, immense capacity for fund raising, and facilitating the career of countless others; these are the attributes that Thandika brought to every institution he has ever led.

But so are the seminal contributions he made in several thematic areas of the social sciences. Critical was connecting the dots between democracy, development, and social policy. From the idea that democracy has to be cherished for its intrinsic normative values, to iconic ideas such as "choiceless democracies", "disempowered democracies", "maladjustment of African economies", to "transformative social policy", these are only a few of the critical ideas that Thandika has bequeathed to us and the global social science community.

In institution building, in providing critical intellectual leadership, and in his own extensive scholarly contributions and continuing productivity, a critical element for Thandika was always about enhancing the career of younger generations and facilitating the careers of his peers. In this, like countless others, I am a beneficiary of the immense generosity of spirit of Thandika.

In all these, Thandika was always driven by giving voice to Africans and elevating African voices. His was not simply being Africa-focused but facilitating the authentic interlocation for Africa and its peoples.

Mzee, you are indeed a remarkable Mwalimu and an exemplar – a shining light that leads the way.

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### A Great Mobilizer of African Intellectuals

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Ibbo Mandaza

I have known Thandika since 1978, during the days of contagious optimism about the future of Africa. This gave birth to the likes of the Lagos Plan of Action and such academic fora as the African Association of Political Science (AAPS) and CODESRIA itself, in which Thandika Mkandawire was not only one of its founders but the driving force behind the mobilization of African intellectuals across the continent and in the diaspora.

At independence in Zimbabwe in 1980, I had, as one the first batch of African civil servants and intellectuals in the new and emergent state, the honour and privilege to invite and interact with such prominent intellectuals, activists and musicians as Thandika himself, Walter Rodney, Dani Nabudere, Claude Ake, Okwudibia Nnoli, Abdoulaye Bathily, Yash Tandon, Mohammed Babu, Frank Bafloe, Abdallah Bujra, Ahmeede Darga, Michere Mugo, Patricia McFadden, Peter Anyang', Nyongo, Guy Mhone and Bob Marley. Subsequently, we had CODESRIA

second Thandika Mkandawire to the Ministry I was heading, to assist me in the establishment of the Zimbabwe Institute of Development Studies (ZIDS), with a collection of such of the country's young and energetic scholars that included Sam Moyo, Lloyd Sachikonye, Elinor Batezat-Sisulu, Brian Raftopolous, Thomas Shopo and Rudo Gaidzanwa.

It was against this background that with the sponsorship of CODESRIA and at the initiative of Thandika, Zimbabwean scholars produced the seminal book, *Zimbabwe: The Political Economy of Transformation, 1980-1986*.

AAPS, CODESRIA and ZIDS led logically into the birth and development of the Southern African Political Economy Series (SAPES) Trust, established in 1987 as part of the institution-building tradition of which Thandika Mkandawire remains to this day a towering giant in African scholarship.

Therefore, it is most appropriate and poignant that we should be honouring this brother and comrade in the country of his

birth, from which he was in exile, 1964 to 1994, for his commitment to the African Struggle, our Struggle.

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## Outstanding Intellectual Capacity

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Abdalla Bujra

Thandika's intellectual capacity is outstanding and well known. But his personality – essentially his incredible sense of humour, his love of arguments and night clubs has maintained our close relationship for almost 15 years. It is difficult to forget Thandika, even if at times you want to.



A group phot of participants at the event

## Helmi Sharawy –Accolades for a Distinguished Scholar

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*On 11 May 2016, a round-table was organised in Cairo, Egypt, to celebrate the life and work of Professor Helmi Sharawy. The round-table which was held on the back of the Gender Symposium organised by CODESRIA and the Arab and African Research Centre (AARC), provided an opportunity to celebrate one of the leading scholars in Africa.*

*Helmi Sharawy is considered as one of the leaders of our community. He was the founding director of the AARC, and he played a pioneering role in the development of CODESRIA, in the promotion of the study of Africa, and in the formation of a number of institutions and associations, such as the African Association of Political Science (AAPS). He was elected and served two terms as a member of the CODESRIA's Executive Committee.*

*He is currently the vice president at the Arab and African Research Centre in Cairo, Egypt and its director from 1987-2010. From 1960 to 1975, he was the coordinator for African Liberation Movements office at the African Association under the auspice of the President's Office of African Affairs. Then he became a consultant to the Ministry of Sudan - Egyptian Integration Program (1975-1980). Academically, he taught "African Political Thought" at Juba University, South Sudan (1981-1982).*

*Helmi Sharawi was selected as the expert for Afro-Arab Cultural Relations at Arab League ALECSO in Tunisia until 1986. Between 1970-2011, he published 13 books in Arabic and four in English. Some of the books are: Angola Revolution (1978), Arabs and Africans Face to Face (1985), Israel in Africa (1986), Culture of Liberation (2002), Africa in Transition for 20-21st Century (2008), and The Sudan: On the Cross Roads (2011).*

*Below are some of the tributes delivered in his honour at the round-table.*

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### Helmi: More than a Comrade in Struggle

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Samir Amin

Dear Helmi,

Personal serious circumstances do not allow me to be physically present at the morning ceremony in your honour. You know that I regret it and that I am here in spirit, with you, and with all the brothers and sisters of CODESRIA here present.

Helmi, you are not just a colleague in research, a comrade in struggle. You are much more than that. You and I were among the very first Egyptians who understood that our national struggle is part and parcel of the struggle for the reconquest of its independence of all the peoples and nations of Africa, that independence which was stolen by the imperialist conquerors. You and I were in agreement that Egypt and Africa are one, since thousands of years and must remain one and united. You and I supported from the first day Bandung (1955) and the first Afro Asian conference of political parties and states out of which came out the Organization of Afro Asian peoples' Solidarity, held in Cairo in 1957.

Since then, you have been deeply involved in the continuous struggles of all African peoples for the reconquest of their independence, supporting the armed liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies, in Zimbabwe, Namibia and apartheid South Africa.

Helmi, you were with the other Egyptian sister Shahida, among the first people who contributed since the early 70's to the concept of CODESRIA as a Centre able to contribute to promoting an independent African thinking, an independent African theory and practices of transformation of their societies and of their social progress, along with all the African vanguard thinkers.

Helmi, we owe you also the success of the Arab and African Centre of Research. It is not by chance that the Centre is Arab and African, unite and not separate the struggles of all the peoples of that immense region of the world. As director of this centre you have created what was needed.

I am personally proud to have been chosen to chair it. But I know that you and nobody else have made it such a success. You are now the Vice chairman, the real chairman. We owe it to you.

I personally loved your recent paper in Al Tahaluf, where you stressed the importance of fighting for the progress of a lucid democratic spirit in the ranks of our party and of our large movement in the ranks of all citizens of Egypt and of Africa.

I promised to write a solid contribution that we owe you. I shall do it.

Let us continue, all of us: you Helmi, you all, Ebrima and CODESRIA, attending brothers and sisters, to struggle successfully for African independent programmes of sovereign, popular and democratic progresses.

Helmi, convey my love to Tawhida.

From me and Isabelle.

## Beacon of Afro-Arab Solidarity

Abdalla BujraMuslim

Once again, excellent decision to celebrate Helmi Sharawy who has been a beacon of Afro-Arab solidarity and a strong supporter of CODESRIA from its early days. Apart from his own writings, his translation into Arabic of critical articles and publications of CODESRIA and other publications is an out-standing contribution to Pan Africanism and Afro-Arab solidarity.

As early as from 1958 to 1979, Helmi Sharawy coordinated "The office of African Liberation Movements", in the African Society in Egypt. He has been also teaching African Studies in a number of Arab universities. Despite all that I, personally, value most: "Sharawy's efforts to promote Egyptian people's awareness of being Africans".

This is his anti-imperialist battle to forestall the colonially maintained division between North African countries and Africa South of Sahara. This is his struggle towards a liberated, unified and developed Africa.

## A Comrade and a Friend

Shahida Elbaz

It is rather difficult to write objectively about a person you deeply know for a very long time on many and different levels. To me and to my late husband "Archie Mafeje", Helmi was a comrade, a close friend, and to me a brother, in the Egyptian sense, which could be demanding by both sides at times.

The first thing I noticed about Helmi Sharawy when I met him was his solid identification with being an African citizen, with all what it takes, in terms of political and intellectual commitments, as well as related practical duties to realize his believes in Africa's liberation and development.

## Helmi: Promoter of Knowledge and Defender of Righteous Causes

Nouria Benghabrit

We reiterate our gratitude to our distinguished scholar, promoter of knowledge and defender of righteous causes across the world.

Mohamed Sharawi HELMI has, for decades, promoted solidarity between Egypt and the three continents, between the Arab world and Africa.

His contribution to the operation of CODESRIA since its foundation has been relentless and we hope it lasts longer again.

Kind regards, Helmi!

A Generous Brother



From left: Dr Shahida El Baz, Dr Ghada Waly, Dr Ebrima Sall and Prof Helmi Sharawy

## A Great Moral and Political Support to Generations of African Scholars

Issa Shivji

**H**umble to the heart, Helmi Sharawy has been a great moral and political support to generations of African scholars. He is one of those who never attain a celebrity status, yet in the celebration of others they have had their contribution that often goes unsung. In the 50s and 60s, Helmi supported a whole generation of freedom fighters,

in the 70s and 80s, he did 'behind-the-scene' work to found such important pan-African organisations as African Association of Political Science and CODESRIA. Since then he has continued to build bridges between scholars and intellectuals across the Sahara. Be assured Comrade, your work and exemplary integrity have not been in vain. Decent human beings live forever just as great ideas.

## Helmi Sharawy, the Search for a Pan-African Praxis

Cláudio Alves Furtado

**G**enerally, honors tend to be posthumously given when the honored has no way to experience them. Fortunately, CODESRIA has broken, with some regularity, this bad habit.

It's more than just to pay this tribute to one of the deans of CODESRIA, Helmi Sharawy! I could share with him the last CODESRIA Executive Committee. It was a deep and enriching experience! Systematically, he would ask me what was going on in Guinea-Bissau, land of Amílcar Cabral whom he met as a young man in Cairo. He was concerned not only with the prevailing instability in that country, but also he wanted to understand how and why Cabral's heirs did not follow his legacy. Sharawy expressed this concern, once again, when we held a meeting of the Executive Committee in Praia, Cape Verde. During the visit we made to Ana Maria Cabral, Cabral's widow, with a lack of discretion - typical of a great researcher - he put the embarrassing questions.

The permanent questioning of the need of CODESRIA to perform more activities in the African Portuguese-speaking countries as well as in the Arabic ones, the search for a greater involvement of young people and the strengthening of Pan-Africanism were always present in his interventions.

Helmi, Helmi, Helmi, definitely a thinker, an intellectual and a Pan-African!

## Guru and one of Africa's Foremost Intellectuals

F.E.M.K. Senkoro

**I**t is impossible, and almost outrageously unfair, to write so short an appraisal of the intellectual life of Professor Helmi Sharawy – such a guru and one of Africa's foremost intellectuals. I will, thus, just give snippets of my discussion with this walking encyclopaedia, especially on African culture, and will reserve the finer details for later projects.

I do not even remember when I first met Helmi. It must have been in one of the CODESRIA conferences or symposia. His interest in, and contributions on, my presentations in such conferences, especially on popular culture, always showed to me a social scientist who had managed, in his life, to break the wall between social sciences and the humanities.

In Professor Sharawy, I discovered how it is very important to re-imagine the future of Africa by reflecting on the past. He always narrates, with relish and fondness, his first visit to Tanzania (then Tanganyika) on the occasion of that country's independence in December 1961. But he constantly too, emphasizes the importance of the memories of how Africa underwent and survived the most brutal experience of slavery and colonialism and, currently, capitalism/ imperialism. My discussions with him mostly centre on how Africa's forefathers created a culture that endured the atrocious forces of history and survived to give us African indigenous knowledge that includes popular folk culture. Although Helmi and I differ slightly on our definitions of popular culture (his emphasis being on popular folk culture rather than mine that is open-ended to include even the modernized and digitalized culture), we basically agree on one point: the abysmal achievements from modernization so far, and the fact that to date the majority of African people continue to live in abject poverty, call to question the side-lining of the cultural dimension of development.

My discussions with him, and his contributions to my presentations; and even his active participation in organizing the International Conferences on African Culture that are held in Cairo almost on yearly basis, insist that the inclusion of culture in general and popular culture in particular, in the development equation, is a learning process that can lead to changed outlooks and practices. The deconstruction of long-held prejudices against African indigenous knowledge and culture is a complex route, and admitting these into the mainstream enhances involvement/confidence of its custodians and provides the missing ingredient in the struggle to reduce poverty and self-denigration of the African people.

Among my numerous discussions with Helmi, one point that keeps on coming up is how prescriptions from the West on how the continent could develop have, indeed, deepened the poverty level of the majority of the African people. For the bigger part, 50 years of independent Africa have, to say the least, degenerated Africa into the abyss of poverty, diseases, and ignorance; and there is need to re-examine where the rain started beating us. Such re-examination necessarily calls for a

critical analysis of our situation so as to discover ways of managing in a better and more efficient ways, the political, social and economic milieu of Africa. Our discussions ultimately suggest that among other factors to be considered is the necessity to re-take Africa's indigenous knowledge and popular culture, and as a primary step, the recording and use of African indigenous languages. This is why Helmi's preoccupation with such languages and the cultures embedded in them that has seen him cover Kiswahili and other languages in his writings and publications. This interest and the interest in African culture in general is an excellent example of Professor A Generous Brother Sharawy's continued search for African identity.

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## A Generous Brother

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Maréma Touré Thiam

Having the opportunity to exchange quite often with Helmi, during the various meetings organized by CODESRIA, either as part of the Gender symposiums or during general assemblies or other key events, I learned to appreciate him as a colleague and a senior, so much so, that there are no adequate words to describe him.

Helmi, the generous brother, always eager to make us comfortable in Cairo and ensure, with his lovely wife, that I bring

something from his admirable land; Helmi, the activist, the Pan-Africanist, the Humanist or just simply Helmi the combatant always at the frontline for righteous causes. Given his CV trying with difficulty to capture the multidimensional career of a critical intellectual, one can quickly deduce that the golden thread of his life is, undoubtedly, the continuing struggle against enslavement and social injustice.

Helmi Sharawy quickly realized, as Leopold Sedar Senghor proclaimed on 31 October, 1961, addressing the UN General Assembly, that "there is freedom only in the fullness of personality and we should BE to unite." From this awareness, he drew an attitude and meaning for his life, totally dedicated to the solidarity of peoples and to regaining the status of a subject for Africa, African men and African women.

By harmoniously combining Pan-Arabism and Pan-Africanism, Helmi makes a vital contribution to the cultural unity of our continent. By co-organizing, in a diligent and committed way the gender symposiums, which eventually integrated into what is considered as the charm of Cairo by activists of gender equity and equality, and also through his contributions and interventions, Helmi gives meaning to that other reality which extends Senghor's statement: there is fullness of personality only in equality of all components of the human race and in the transcendence of gender, race and social class barriers."



Prof Sharawy with some of the participants

## Helmi Sharawi is a living Embodiment of Respect for Others and Respect for All

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Aminata Diaw

**M**y first encounter with Helmi Sharawi dates back to 1989, at the General Assembly of the African Association of Political Science (AAPS). As a young teacher at the Cheikh Anta Diop University of Dakar (UCAD), I discovered for the first time, a community that I made mine later as it perfectly embodied the values that gave meaning to my life and which pertained to the sovereignty and development of the African continent.

With Professor Abdoulaye Bathily and my friend and colleague Mamadou Diouf, I met illustrious figures of the African intelligentsia: Dani Nabudere, Okwudiba Nnoli, Samir Amin, Helmi Sharawi and many others. This encounter was decisive in my life and in my intellectual trajectory: in the 80s when the Bretton Woods institutions thought for us Africans, decided for our states, I was reinforced by the fact that alternative thought existed somewhere in Africa, embodied by men and women who had an unwavering faith in the destiny of this continent.

Among all these figures embodying lives of struggle against and refusal of domination and alienation, one particularly struck me, that of Helmi Sharawi, "my Egyptian father" because it is from that encounter that I had the privilege to be called "my Senegalese daughter" by Helmi. Helmi Sharawi has the gift to make everyone feel comfortable, especially by giving to everybody the extraordinary impression to be a privileged interlocutor. Every moment spent with him is a window to a sequence in the history of this continent for which he has been a witness or an actor.

Through his gentleness and kindness, the features of such exceptional beings endowed with fine intelligence who can forget their greatness to adjust to other people's level, through his ability to listen, Helmi Sharawi is a living embodiment of respect for others, respect for all.

This respect goes hand in hand with a strong, unshakable, not negotiable conviction in something that seems to be the horizon of meaning in his life as evidenced by his concluding words in *Political and Social Thought in Africa*: "My small family was extended to reach the limits of Africa, North and South, and East and West. We welcomed revolutionaries and freedom fighters, and intellectuals and artists at our home, and shared with them the hard times and the good ones".

This faith in a united and sovereign Africa which masters its destiny makes Helmi a genuine pan-Africanist who may as well be interested in the issue of revolution and even manuscripts in Ajami. Of our several encounters during CODESRIA meetings or gender symposiums, I remember this ever reaffirmed lesson: Africa must be for us a lifetime project!

Thank you for the life lesson and long life to you, my dear Egyptian Daddy! Helmi Continues to Nurture a New Generation of Researchers.

## Eager to Nurture Young Scholars

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Rawia Tawfik

**A**s a young scholar, I feel indebted to Prof. Helmi Sharawi, not only for the original knowledge he produced which shaped my understanding of the African continent, but also for his eagerness to nurture a new generation of researchers which will continue his mission. Since the beginning of my career as a researcher of African politics, Prof. Sharawi has been one of the few leading scholars in the field who closely followed my work, and frequently challenged me to develop it. The monthly forum he convenes at the centre for Arab and African Studies stands as a model for intergenerational dialogue and stimulating exchange of ideas.

## A Great Mentor

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Abeer Rabei

"You are African; you have to consult African references in your research. Analyzing people-state dynamics is more important than studying the structure of political institutions. Codesria has announced the annual institute, try to apply. I found this book in my library and it is related to your M.A study. The monthly meeting of Africanist group will be next Wednesday, don't forget and tell other colleagues"

These are part of Prof. Helmi's generous advices and support. Prof. Helmi incubates Egyptian young scholars who specialized in African studies and he keeps affording precious ideas and methods to enhance our academic career. Much gratitude and appreciation Prof. Helmi Sharawi.

## So Kind, So Considerate

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Fatim Ndiaye

**D**ear Prof. Sharawi, through this tribute, I would like to express my appreciation to you for the friendship and companionship we have had for over 30 years. I could never forget the good words and the gentleness you always showed when I came to pick you up late at the airport "Oh! Fatima it is so late? Why are you not sleeping? The driver can come to pick me! All this to relieve me, and it gave me a lot of courage to face the rest; you have contributed to the success of CODESRIA and I thank you because CODESRIA means everything to me. It is my second family; May Allah bless you. Long life and good health to you professor so that you can continue to give your support to the institution. Amen. Long live CODESRIA! God bless you! Amen.

## A True Pan-African

Marie Ndiaye

To a friend,

Writing this tribute, I realize I have known Professor Sharawy for 27 years now. A lifetime!

It is a great honor to have him as a friend, a considerate and caring friend who brought me a gift from Egypt whenever he came to CODESRIA meetings.

Last month in Malawi, I told him how much I would have liked to be in Cairo at the time of tributes, thanks, appreciation and sharing.

Tributes from friends and comrades hailing from all over Africa.

Thanks from all the generations that have benefited from his knowledge and support.

Appreciation from all the men and women who once crossed his path. Sharing of slices of the unique life of a true Pan-African.

Congratulations Professor.

## Introduction to Helmi Sharawy's Book *Political and Social Thought in Africa*, (CODESRIA, 2014)

Samir Amin

Helmi Sharawy has directed the Arab and African Research Centre (AARC) in Cairo since its creation in 1987. Under his energetic guidance, the AARC has become in Egypt, the Middle East and Africa, generally a partner that cannot be ignored in any serious cultural or political debate concerning the challenges that confront the peoples of all of these regions.

Despite the stringent administrative tasks imposed by his directorship of the AARC, Helmi has never failed to bring his own personal contributions into such debates. The collection of contributions chosen for this publication in English is clear evidence of the wide range of subjects he has covered. Such contributions entail a critical reading of the relations between the Arab and African worlds in the past and present; the expression of the cultural dimensions of their liberation struggle; the role of civil society in their current struggles; and the perspectives of such struggles open for a possible renaissance".



The Round Table Session

# Reports

## Open Access and the Future of African Knowledge Economy

Reports of the 4<sup>th</sup> CODESRIA Conference on Electronic Publishing, Dakar, March 29 - April 1 2016

### Preamble

The Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) held its Fourth Conference on Electronic Publishing titled *Open Access and the Future of African Knowledge Economy* from 30 March to 1 April 2016. The Conference attracted 35 scholars and experts from about 20 countries in Africa and around the globe who gathered in Dakar, Senegal, to discuss various aspects of the theme. The Conference also had representatives from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), which has its headquarters in Paris, France; the Argentina-based Latin American Council of Social Sciences (CLACSO) and Senegal's Ministry of Communication and Culture.

The countries represented at the meeting included: Nigeria, South Africa, Senegal, Cameroun, Sudan, Kenya, Uganda, Egypt, Zimbabwe, Ghana, Congo Brazzaville, France, the United States, the United Kingdom, Argentina, India, Italy, Ireland, and the Netherlands. The three-day conference was organized around an opening ceremony, nine panel sessions, and a closing ceremony.

### The Opening Ceremony

The conference opening ceremony, moderated by CODESRIA's Programme Officer, Dr. Williams Nwagwu, featured the following speakers: CODESRIA's Executive Secretary, Dr. Ebrima Sall; UNESCO's Programme Manager, Dr. Bhanu Neupane; Vice Chancellor of the University of Ibadan, Nigeria, Professor Abel Idowu Olayinka; Vice Chancellor of ICT University, Cameroun, Professor Beban Sammy Chumbow and the Chief of Staff to Senegal's Minister of Communication and Culture.

Dr Sall welcomed the participants to the meeting, and focused his remarks on the challenges to scholarly communication,

**Peter O. Nwosu**  
California State University  
Fullerton, USA  
**Williams E. Nwagwu**  
& **Ebrima Sall**  
CODESRIA, Dakar

knowledge production, dissemination, access, and visibility in Africa. Among the challenges are low sustainability of regularly published journals, difficulty in increasing the visibility of African scholarship, the increasing commercialization of knowledge and the high cost associated with dissemination of print publications, and the large teaching load of faculty in African institutions of higher education, which affects their ability to allocate sufficient time to research. He highlighted CODESRIA's leadership role in addressing a number of these challenges via methods such as the OA convening in Dakar, building strategic partnerships to advance policy initiatives, with African governments and multi-lateral agencies such as UNESCO and CLASCO, and launching the African Citation Index, expected to go live in 2016, to provide exposure to research conducted by African scholars.

Professor Olayinka spoke of the challenges of both conventional publishing and OA scholarly communication in Nigeria. For conventional publishing, such challenges include: the high cost of postage, slow delivery speed, the quality of the peer-review process, low sustainability of print journals, high journal subscription costs, and access and copyright restrictions. OA challenges include: access to and speed of the Internet (bandwidth), awareness of OA benefits, and OA's reputation and respect within the academic community. Professor Olayinka noted that his university, with its 26,000 students and 1600 academic staff, does not have an OA policy. He noted that the University of Ibadan would

leverage the advances in technology and scholarly communication to fashion a homegrown OA policy to advance faculty research, dissemination, and visibility. The policy would address the peer review challenges confronted by open access in order to assign equal weights to publications disseminated through print publications or through OA journals.

Professor Chumbow's remarks focused on the value of OA in an increasing global knowledge economy and the need for the African scientific community to employ OA technologies to drive change and development in Africa. Dr. Bhanu Neupane, UNESCO's representative at the conference, expressed the organization's commitment to the expansion of OA in Africa, including the development of stronger South-South dialogue and cooperation on OA and scholarly communication to advance the visibility of African scholarship and to use such visibility to support the continent's development agenda.

The Minister of Communication and Culture (represented by his Chief of Staff) commended CODESRIA for ranking among the three best in Africa in the 2015 *Go-To-Think Tanks Index* and renewed his government's commitment to work with CODESRIA in advancing research in Africa. He noted that the government of Senegal provides funding support to enable Senegalese scholars pay article publication charges for peer-reviewed scientific journals.

### Open Access: Concepts and Issues

This first session intended to provide a theoretical and the evolutionary information about OA movement featured three presentations. The presenters were Peter Ogom Nwosu from the California State University, Fullerton, California in the United States; CODESRIA's Williams Nwagwu; and Eve Gray of the University of Cape Town, South Africa.

In his presentation, Nwosu traced the history of OA through the birth and implementation of an idea rooted in the Budapest Open Access Initiative (BOAI) of December 2001. The goal of OA, according to him, was to remove certain access barriers such as production and subscription costs, restricted access to scholarly journals and pressure on library budgets. The paper traced the development of OA from 1966, dividing OA's history into five major periods: The beginning years of electronic publishing (1966-1989), which included such online repositories as ERIC and BITNET; The pioneering years (1990-1999), which saw major developments in OA such as the African Journals Online (AJOL); The innovation years (2000-2004), which saw increased discourse on OA, formal organizing, coalition building, and development of guidelines such as the Budapest Open Access Initiative, the Bethesda Statement on Open Access Publishing, and the Berlin Declaration on Open Access to Knowledge in the Sciences and Humanities; The consolidation years (2005-2009), which saw a growth in OA journals; and The enduring years (2011-present), where scholars in various regions, especially in the Global South, have focused on expanding the frontiers of access to new knowledge through the internet. The latter is the basis for the CODESRIA Open Access Conference.

The paper highlighted a few impediments to creating an enabling environment for OA in Africa: limited awareness about the benefits of OA, ambivalent response of African scholars to OA, and the different policy environment for OA. The paper concludes with a call to action- an African Declaration on Open Access, urging conference participants and CODESRIA, as the foremost pan-African research agency, to set an agenda for 2026 with clear milestones for shaping the discourse on Africa's full and active participation in the definition and the content of the global OA project.

Why do researchers do research? This was the core question in Dr. Nwagwu's paper. Relating this question to OA, he noted that research is done to inform, enlighten, and educate. The paper relates the role of the town crier in traditional society to that of the university teacher (researcher) in the modern era. The town crier, who pasted his reports on notice boards, was rewarded by the community to perform his function, just as the

university teacher is paid to conduct research and write research reports that should be made available to the public. These reports are then published in journals for public consumption. According to him, scholarly publishing started with open access model.

He traced the origin of open access to the beginning of formal science in 1675, noting that the first journals were not commercial goods, but that they were circulated free of charge in the interest of the public good. He also noted that the current conflict between scholars and publishers over the negative impact of pay-walls on scholarly papers, is not new, dating it back to 1922. According to him, UNESCO attempted to address this problem by commissioning a study by Phelps and Herings (1959). The 'Separates Distribution Model' which was recommended by Phelps and Herings involved using radio and television broadcasts, tape recordings, microprint and auxiliary publications to share scientific information. Nwagwu described the present day revolutions in the management of scholarly publications such as open access and use of social media as a mere resurgence of old consciousness.

Eve Gray's paper discussed how OA could be deployed to make African research available to Africans and other users, despite attempts by huge external commercial publishing groups to monetize the research. The paper posits that OA should be key in the African struggle to decolonize research because it represents a change in the medium of scholarly communication. However, she also noted that several forces appear to be threatening this change: the increasing use and presence of academic publishers in the African academic community and other parts of the world; the impact factor regime; and the green and gold routes for OA, which are being advocated by publishers to weaken the fight for democratization of scientific publishing, making the OA movement vulnerable to the manipulation of the wealthy publishing companies like Elsevier that have promised to establish OA journals for African publications. Another major threat in OA publishing in Africa is the reward systems that are skewed in favour of authors publishing in journals indexed by Euro-American indexing organisations.

Key issues that emerged from discussions during this session included: the

absence of OA policies in most African countries and universities; the urgency for such policies to enhance African participation in the OA project; the inability of many African universities to develop, as South Africa has done, a list of journals in which their researchers are expected to publish to clarify the requirements and expectations for the academia; the reward systems in African universities and other higher education institutions, which often demean the value of OA journals; the problem of predatory OA journals which is seriously affecting African scholarly publication and the need to develop a citation index of African origin for proper bibliographic control of African scholarly literature.

### Open Access: New Challenges

This session, chaired by Muthu Madhan, featured three presenters: Pippa Smart, a publishing communication consultant from Oxford, United Kingdom; Beban Sammy Chumbow, ICT University, Yaoundé, Cameroun; Dominique Babini of the Latin American Social Sciences Council, Buenos Aires, Argentina; and Daisy Sellematsela of the National Research Foundation, Pretoria, South Africa.

Smart's presentation, entitled "Open Access: Avoiding Unforeseen Consequences," centered on the global context of OA publishing. Noting an increase in the number of OA publications by about 38 per cent between 2003 and 2013, the paper also highlighted researchers' concerns about copyrights, licensing, and the republishing of research articles. She observed that less than 50 per cent of the sampled researchers indicated that they did not want others commercialise their research papers, while a great majority were happy for others to reuse their works. However, the same research could be accessed free of charge by a group of consumers while others pay for it. The paper advised OA publishers and authors should be more knowledgeable about publishing rights.

Beban Sammy Chumbow's presentation focused on the role of language and OA knowledge in supporting Africa's development agenda. The author reminded participants that most African governments have long-term development visions that require OA knowledge to support the development process. Open access knowledge can benefit Africans,

## Reports

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he noted, but it is not accessible due to language barrier. In this respect, the paper called for a strong focus on the four pillars of the knowledge economy: knowledge production, knowledge dissemination, knowledge management, and knowledge appropriation. He concluded by proposing a model of the knowledge appropriation process relevant to the discourse on OA in Africa.

Dominique Babini's presentation entitled "Accord on Guiding Principles for Open Access to Research Data (ICSU, TWAS, IAP, ISSC)" discussed the principles of open data responsibilities of research institutions and universities. She explained that the guidelines, which were developed by an ICSU-IAP-ISSC-TWAS working group, holds that research data needs to be open. The author equally advised that it is necessary to upload research data in institutional repositories for them to be valued and reutilized. She identified the challenges of culture and the technical and content issues.

In her presentation entitled "The Spectrum of Possible Open Access Opportunities in Africa: Funding and Sustainability," Daisy Selematsela sought to explain South Africa's National Research Foundation (NRF) OA statement for the country. The statement requires that research data be deposited in a trusted repository with the caution that what is published also reflects the integrity of the author. The statement explains that within the context of the NRF, raw data, such as what is jotted down during field studies, is an important part of the repository content. Based on Selematsela's presentation, the state and practice of repository in the continent is weak. She indicated that some frequently asked questions on OA adoption include the kinds of research to cover, how to disseminate the information and the available funding, and whether there will be embargoes limiting when the research will be made available to the public, among others. In addition, OA challenges highlighted in her presentation include its alignment with national priorities, its alignment with key and emerging research strengths, its links with international activities, and the challenge of predatory journals, among others. She concluded by emphasizing the role that senior researchers could play as mentors in supporting junior researchers not to fall prey to predatory journals.

From these presentations, a number of key conclusions emerged: OA policies should be developed to serve as guidelines to scholarly communication and the benefits of OA far outweigh the potential problems of emerging predatory journals in the OA environment.

### Open Data and Data Sharing

This session featured four presentations: "Current data sharing practices amongst communities of scientists in resource constrained environments" by Brian Rappert of the University of Exeter, United Kingdom; "Open research data: implications for scholarly publishing in sub-Saharan Africa" by Omwoyo Bosire Onyancha of the University of South Africa; "Africa in the open access environment: advancing research productivity to global visibility" by Ifeanyi J. Ezema and Omwoyo Bosire Onyancha of the University of South Africa and the University of Nigeria, respectively; and "Knowledge, indexation, and research productivity in India: experience of Indian Citation Index" by Prakash K of the Indian Citation Index, New Delhi, India.

Rappert's presentation focused on what gets in the way of open data and what to do about it in resource-constrained environments. For researchers, constraints include the absence of skills training on OA use, funding challenges, transport problems, low internet bandwidth, and confusing OA with predatory publishing. Other constraints include personal, communal, organisational, economic, epistemic, and infrastructural factors, which affect data engagement conversion factors and the dissociation between open data theory and open data practices.

Onyancha's paper sought to find out how much of African research data is available globally. The paper noted that OA is not only for research articles, but also for patents, datasets, and software. The Data Citation Index was used to get Sub-Saharan Africa's globally available data. Sub-Saharan Africa had 846 out of the 3 million submissions, and South Africa ranked highest in terms of open research data sharing. The author recommends the sharing of open research data because it leads to improved research impact, increased institutional visibility, and increased research collaboration. It also ensures the sharing of research findings, an improved level of scholarship, and improved development. The author called

for the development of a citation index for Sub-Saharan Africa.

Ezema and Onyancha's paper discussed the benefits of OA for developing countries: cost reduction for library subscriptions, increased visibility, and enhanced global rankings. The Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ), Directory of Open Access Repositories (OpenDOAR), and Registry of Open Access Repositories (ROAR) guided their study. They found that South Africa is the leader in Africa in term of using ROAR and DOAR, 90 per cent of the content on repositories are research articles, followed by theses and dissertations. DSpace is the most used software (73%), followed by EPrints (9%) while English, French, and Arabic are the most used languages (in that order) and local languages are the least used. The authors noted the need to improve ICT infrastructure for the African OA environment to improve and democratise access to information in Africa.

Chand's paper on indexation discussed the Indian Citation Index and its role in promoting open access. According to him, the Indian Citation Index (ICI) has 900+ journals, covering 50 broad subject categories. About 290+ titles are on OA: 152+ titles are in the health sciences, 41 are in pharmacology and pharmaceutical science, and 34 are in biological sciences. There are also 174 countries, 44 of which are African, whose research outputs appear in ICI indexed journals.

### Case Studies/Roles of Institutions about Open Access in Africa

This session featured case studies and the role of institutions in advancing OA, with presentations from Omer Hassan Abdelrahman, University of Khartoum, Sudan; Wanyenda Chilimo, Technical University of Mombasa, Kenya; Adalbertus Kamanzi, Virtual University of Uganda, Kampala; Jos Damen, African Studies Centre, Leiden, Netherlands; and Romeo S. Madouka, *Centre d'études et Politiques économiques*, Brazzaville, Congo.

Abdelrahman's presentation was a case study of the University of Khartoum's institutional repository system. The paper traced the development of the repository in the university and explored the attitudes of graduate students. The paper addressed issues such as current status of institutional repository, copyright, and management. It also makes the conclusion

that electronic thesis and dissertations are the most frequently used in such repositories at Khartoum.

Chilimo's presentation focused on institutional repositories (IR) in Kenya, which she sees as the second largest contributor to repositories in Africa. The study was based on five of Kenya's universities: Strathmore University, Jomo Kenyatta University, University of Nairobi, Kenyatta University of Science and Technology, and Pwani University. The conclusion from the paper was that academics from most universities are not much aware of OA publishing and institutional repositories. The paper recommends the need for OA and IR awareness given the value of OA in knowledge development.

Kamanzi and Damen discussed the role of African institutions in promoting OA, focusing on the challenges and opportunities. The presentation described the benefits of OA to Africa. They recommended that African governments and institutions promote OA to enhance its benefits to the continent's developmental agenda. Modouka's paper was a comparative analysis of the use of ICTs in Asia and Africa. It observed the divergent experiences in the use of ICTs in Africa and Asia, and it argued that there was the need to seriously inculcate the inclusion of African local languages in the use of ICTs.

Overall, all the presentations were punctuated with lively, rigorous and constructive debates surrounding the various topical issues on OA and the case studies that were presented.

### **Awareness about Open Access in Africa**

Four papers were presented in this final session of the conference. Elie Walter Mbeck, *Université de Yaoundé 1*, Yaoundé, Cameroun, gave a presentation which re-confirmed the impressions at the conference about the limited awareness of OA across most universities in Africa. His paper was based on a survey of four universities in Cameroun. These universities produced 1200 articles, and a total of 250 respondents were sampled. Findings indicate that only 40 per cent of the respondents know about OA and 37 per cent have published in OA journals, while 63 per cent published in subscription-based print journals. Only 20 per cent of post-graduate students have heard of OA. The study also found that

researchers use OA websites without actually knowing that they are open access services. Incidentally, the biggest universities in Cameroun are not aware of OA, while the university libraries have very weak infrastructures for the development of OA repositories. The paper recommends awareness raising, adequate funding of research and development of the ICT infrastructure in the country's universities.

Chiparuasha and Chikwanda's paper from Bindura University of Science Education in Zimbabwe highlighted the development and benefits of OA in their country, focusing on the experience of their university's institutional repository. This public university established its repository in 2008, with the IR policy approved in October 2014. The repository currently has over 800 records. Using survey design and analysis of the website, the presenters found that the IR contents include post print, ETDs, conference papers, books, and book chapters, among other items. University librarians acquire the skills of management of the repository from in-house training, workshops, library school, personal training, and ICT support staff. Users of the repository include academic and administrative staff as well as students. Promotion of the use of the repository was through word of mouth, information literacy, web pages, social media, posters, and meetings. The study identified the following challenges facing the repository: poor infrastructure, resistance from researchers, intellectual property rights, and underutilization of uploaded contents.

Awareness and use of OA educational resources by students in Cameroun universities were the focus of a paper by Jude N. Kimengsi, Emmanuel E. E. Oben, Jeff M. Molombe, and Fiona M. Mojoko, all from the University of Buea, Cameroun. The study targeted final year, postgraduate students and library staff of the University of Buea and Catholic University of Cameroun (CATUC). Findings indicate that very few students are aware of OA journals. The majority of the few that know about them got the information from library staff or lecturers. Sixty-six per cent of post-graduate students and 20 per cent of undergraduate students got the information through the Internet. The university has an E-Library, but the majority of the students do not know about it. The paper then suggested a number of strategies

for creating awareness, including implementing an OA week and training librarians on OA knowledge and skills.

Munamoto Chemhuru from Great Zimbabwe University discussed OA and the African indigenous knowledge system (IKS). The system argues that OA is a good platform for wider dissemination of African indigenous knowledge, which hitherto has been suppressed. IKS has been an oral issue for a very long time, and many of them have been lost because they were never recorded. There is, however, a debate as to whether to open up IKS to the wider global community, bearing in mind that much of the knowledge is transferred within a family cycle or clan. The paper concludes that there is a space for IKS in the OA platform since it has been transmitted freely from generation to generation. The following issues were raised during the session: The possibility of opening up IKS to the public when many are shrouded in secrecy and only transmitted within a family, the implication of wider dissemination of IKS to the global community when there is no patent for them, the challenges associated with adoption of OA in African universities, handling job loss and skills acquisition among librarians in the era of OA and open access and the issue of endangered languages.

### **The South-South Panel – Scholarly Community Open Access Publishing in Africa**

#### **Objectives of the Panel**

The South-South Panel was convened by CODESRIA, UNESCO and CLACSO, and chaired by the UNESCO's representative, Bhanu Neupane. The panel comprised of seven other members: Williams Nwagwu (Africa), Muthu Madhan (Asia), Mandy Taha (Arab countries), and Dominique Babini (Latin America) each of whom discussed OA with respect to their regions. Three other experts (Eve Gray, Susan Murray, and Susan Veldsman) discussed general South-South OA matters.

What emerged from the presentations from the four panel members was a potpourri of similarities and variations in regional OA matters and implementation. Nwagwu traced the history and challenges of academic publishing in Africa, and he observed that the industry never prospered. He cited a number of challen-

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ges to OA in Africa: the absence of the infrastructure (e.g. power supply) and capacity to support publishing, along with its cost-intensive nature; changing policy terrains such as the collapse of the publishing business in Nigeria following the indigenization decree in 1979; the controversies of the 3-P journals (probable, potential or predatory journals); the generational divide about the value of OA; absence of OA scholarship; the absence of OA policies, statements, mandates, and initiatives (except in South Africa) at the national and institutional levels; the problem of article publishing charges (APC) and the fragmented nature of science policies in Africa, among others. He called for intra- and inter-country collaboration, saying it is critical for expanding the OA footprint in Africa.

Discussing OA in the Arab world, Mandy Taha noted that with 22 countries and 381 million people in the region, the research infrastructure is weak due to poor funding for research. There are variations in spending among the 22 countries, with Qatar spending the most and Algeria the least. In terms of the OA environment, no national policies or initiatives exist. Only Algeria has institutional mandates. Overall, the key challenge to OA in the Arab world is the absence of general awareness about its benefits.

Muthu Madhan discussed OA in Asia, focusing on China and India. OA emerged in India in 2000, and it has been growing slowly. Madhan notes that for OA to remain valuable, it has to be both affordable and mindful of the region's context. He cited the current research evaluation system as a problem, noting that the impact factor was invented for a different purpose, but that it is now used to evaluate and recruit professors. He also cited the high cost of APCs as a major inhibitor to OA publishing and wondered why Indian scholars should be subjected to such fees to sustain multinational publishers in the global North.

He noted that three funding agencies in India have established policies for publication in repositories, and that China is creating similar conditions through the Chinese Academy of Sciences. He noted that repositories are highly negligible in terms of cost; they are maintained and hosted in the cloud, and there are human resources capacity exists. Overall, Asia is expanding OA through efforts on

institutional repositories. Asian countries that have made strides in this regard include Cambodia, Laos, Nepal, Mongolia, Myanmar/Burma, and Thailand.

Latin America has made huge strides in OA. Discussing the region's progress, Dominique Babini noted that OA is not outsourced to commercial publishers but it is rather funded mainly through the government, and published research is open. There is not a tradition of APC for scholarly journals. Repositories are new and focus mainly on theses and journal articles. Regional agreements on repositories exist among nine countries, and they currently contain more than one million digital objects; there is also \$1,000,000 initiative funded through the Inter-American Development Bank. Babini noted that there is a strong tradition of cooperation in Latin America for OA because scientific information is not seen as a commercial venture.

The panel included a guided conversation on general OA matters in the South-South. In her remarks entitled "The trap of multinational publishers' megajournal project," Gray drew participants' attention to current social media misinformation about OA, and she lamented that the OA movement appears to be losing its values. She cited the new mega-journal project by Elsevier, which makes no mention of Africa in its documents, while claiming that it is intended to address African research. She warned that Elsevier, as a commercial publisher, and its megajournal project, which challenges the current publishing consciousness, coupled with its research evaluation system, should be rejected. She described the mega-journal project as a business designed to colonize science in Africa, exploiting the absence of infrastructure and capacity in the universities, absence of marketing and low production expertise, lack of digital integration and high cost of collaboration

Susan Murray's presentation entitled "OA and Deceitful/Dodgy Publishing," discusses what to do in the Global South about doubtful publishing. She provides a framework through which the academic community might view dodgy publishing platforms: taking public funds from authors and sharing funds with shareholders in the name of profits; creating a reward system for promotion and tenure that does not advance scholarship and predatory journals masquerading as

credible journals, and more. Murray provides some suggestions as follows: rethinking the use of impact factors as an evaluation system; carefully examining the list of predatory journals beyond what Beall provides; learning from the approach used by Latin America; and drawing lessons from the work done by the African Journal Online's (AJOL) publishing standards framework, and its policy on blacklisted journals.

Susan Veldsman's presentation on "Whodunit: Must we publish abroad?" examined OA from the South African experience and discussed what the country has done to improve quality and encourage research productivity within the higher education community. In South Africa, the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET) accredits scholarly journals; 297 South African titles are currently accredited, in addition to those listed in the Web of Science, among others selected databases. Some 48 per cent of these titles are OA (146 titles), while 40 per cent (59 of the 146 titles) of those are listed on the Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ) and 22 per cent are indexed by Web of Science. About 16 per cent of South African journal titles are published abroad by Taylor and Francis, a small percentage by Elsevier, and 15 per cent by NISC in partnership with Taylor and Francis. UNISA Press also partners with Taylor and Francis.

She informed about the new policy on research productivity in South Africa which redefined a South African journal as one in which the editor is South African. Prior to the development and implementation of the publishing guidelines in South Africa, scholars cited three major reasons for publishing in journals abroad: recognition, promotion and ratings. Since the development of the publishing guidelines, there has been a steep rise in publications, with incentives from the government driving the research agenda and research output.

The outcome of the panel's deliberation could be summarized as follows:

### OA and Science Communication in the Global South: Major Problems

1. Lack of recognition of the role and significance of scholarly communication in development discourse
2. Increasing commercialization of scholarly knowledge / Increasing cost of publishing

3. Low level of consciousness/understanding about OA a befitting scholarly communication as strategy
4. Poor funding/incentives for research and research publishing
5. Poor human, material and finance infrastructure
6. Weak/absence and overwhelming influence of foreign science policies
7. South North knowledge/capital flight due to "gold-rush" in the north/ The persisting impact factor pressure
8. South South disconnect due to cultural differences

### Enhancing OA Publishing in the South

1. What is open access movement and what should it mean in the development agenda of the Global South? How do we build and sustain capacity in open access in the universities, research institutions and government?
2. How do we generate the support and participation of governments and their agencies as well as policymakers? What mechanisms should be adopted in institutionalizing open access in the region? What are the roles of policymakers, researchers, students and other publics and institutions in enhancing the role of open access in the South in this regard?
3. Can the Global South successfully cope with the current APC regime often at the market prices of the North, and which often outstrips the salaries of researchers in the South?
4. How will the Global South strengthen the quality of publications and publication channels in the South to meet world class standards? What mechanisms should be put in place to demystify the mantra of publishing abroad for foreign visibility instead of publishing at home for local utility?

### Emergence of New Enclosures and dealing with them

1. The Article Processing Charges (APC), a fee supposedly payable by the institution of the author or a funding agency to defray the cost of publication production is posing a constraint to open access development in the South.
2. APC in the North is paid by governments on behalf of their scholars through their institutions, but many governments in the South cannot

afford or will not be willing to fund APC.

3. APC is causing a disruption in the birthing of open access movement in the South - the global pressure in academe to publish or perish has spawned exponential sprout of fake e-journals that copy the APC model.
4. The evidence that African scholars are paying APC through their salaries or borrowing, has prompted the multinational publishers to repackage and rebrand the APC model to destroy the benefits of open access in Africa, for example, through the African Megajournal project.
5. Scholars in the South must uphold knowledge production and dissemination managed by the scholarly community, taking advantage of OA publishing platforms that provide unique opportunities for publishing research findings.
6. Universities and research institutions should build open access initiatives, such as journals, megajournals and repositories using routes that discourage APC.

### Strengthening the Scholarly Community to Lead OA Publishing in the South

1. Raise awareness/consciousness/knowledge about OA and build OA technology skills among university/institute administrators, lecturers and students
2. Raise awareness/consciousness/knowledge about OA and build OA technology skills among education ministries, universities to scholarly communication
4. Rebranding and re-orientating the universities, their presses and libraries to play the role of information packaging, production and distribution
5. Encourage and support universities to establish OA initiatives and prioritize publishing in OA journals and depositing in repositories
6. Incorporate OA and Creative Commons in the curricula of the universities

### The State of Scholarly Publishing and Open Access in Africa

This session featured four presenters: Stephanie Kitchen of the International African Institute, London, United Kingdom; Dayo Zogang Rosine, a

doctoral student at the Université de Ngaoundéré, Cameroon; Susan Murray, African Journals Online, South Africa; and Franck Aurélien Tchokougueu, a demographer from Cameroon. Stephanie Kitchen's paper provides an overview of OA developments in African Studies and anthropology journals. It discusses the progress of ten, mainly British, Africanist journals in extending access using some of the criteria set out in John Willinsky's *Access Principle*. The paper suggests that the development and aggregation of institutional repositories may offer a faster route to green OA for journal articles in Africa and the UK, as well as making other publication types, including research theses, available online.

Dayo Zogang Rosine's presentation assessed the efficacy of digital tools in scholarly publishing. He noted that digital tools are new in Cameroon, but that they present new opportunities for knowledge production and dissemination geared towards social development. He cited the example of the consortium of libraries and research, a collaboration involving the use of electronic communication, to disseminate information in Cameroon. He called for the creation of national groups to help disseminate information about OA and for improved Internet connectivity in the country.

Susan Murray's paper was based on a survey done by AJOL in 2014. The survey received 330 responses from 32 African countries. Some of the findings of the study indicate that most journals in Africa:

- are standalone journals managed by academics during their spare times
- maintain a print version alongside the online version – this makes journal publishing expensive
- are characterized by resource and financial scarcity
- constrained operate in a context where authors are encouraged to publish overseas
- face a general confusion between a journal being online and a journal being OA
- lack government support and involvement

Franck Aurelien Tchokouagueu's paper discussed factors related to the quality of works published in OA in Francophone Africa. These factors include: the low level

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of funding for research, the need to incentivize publication of journals on an OA platform, and the use of peer-review committees to create an optimum system for improving journal quality.

Overall, the issues of capacity, quality, technology infrastructure, resistance among African researchers to the digital format, mentoring younger scholars and doctoral candidates, resource sharing, establishing and maintaining a list of accredited journals, predatory journals, and quality control dominated the presentations and subsequent discussions.

### The Workshop on Open Access Policy

This workshop session was led by Iryna Kuchman from EIFL, Italy. Kuchman discussed the different types of OA (immediate or delayed with restrictions); benefits to institutions (e.g., preservation of output, indexing and tracking, use and reuse, profile, and collaboration); and benefits to individuals (e.g., visibility, usage and impact, impact, safe and permanent location, publication list).

She highlighted examples of best practices in OA repositories from around the globe such as in the following places: Liège University in Belgium; the European Commission; several universities in the United States; University of Nairobi has one of the strongest OA policies with about 70,000 items in its repository; some universities in Ethiopia; Kwame Nkrumah University in Ghana; Covenant University in Nigeria; University of Zambia; Bindura University in Zimbabwe. South African universities have institutional repositories: University of Johannesburg, University of Cape Town, University of the Western Cape, and Stellenbosch University, among others.

She discussed OA Policy and Guidelines for research performing organizations. In developing OA policies, questions to ask include: What is the goal of the policy? What are the guidelines to the policy? The guidelines are living documents and provide opportunities for adaptation and change. Both the policy and guidelines must go through approval and adoption, for example, by the faculty or academic senate, and they must be signed off by the president, vice chancellor, or rector of

the institution. The document should also consider the following:

- Provision for office or individuals responsible for policy implementation, including amendments to policy guidelines or policy;
- Implementation details must be left to the implementing office;
- Clarity about OA routes (green or gold); university policy must preserve faculty freedom and the guideline document should address details.
- Open educational resources (OER): OA policy should include OER. Repositories should be linked to both OA and OER and policy should be developed based on the nature of the institution and benefit to students.

### The Closing Session and adoption of the *Dakar Declaration*

The closing session was chaired by the Vice Chancellor of the University of Ibadan, Nigeria, Professor Abel Idowu Olayinka. Following the executive summary by Professor Nwosu, Professor Olayinka read the draft *Dakar Declaration on Open Access in Africa and the Global South*. After addressing issues raised by some members, the declaration was adopted.

### Commitments

Several commitments were made at the closing ceremony.

- The head of the UNESCO delegation, B.R Neupane, promised that UNESCO would provide the following support to OA in Africa:
  - Resources to support countries in policy development
  - Capacity building: provide a detailed curriculum/module on OA for training university librarians
  - Continuation of the South-South dialog on OA
  - Resources to evaluate competencies and indicators on OA
  - Support for the development of country-specific information for Global OA portal, and
  - Work to take the Dakar Declaration to the highest levels of Governments in Africa.

- Prof. A.I Olayinka of the University of Ibadan remarked that his experience during the conference has been rewarding and promised to initiate an OA policy for his institution as well as extend the message to sister universities in Nigeria.
- Prof. B.S Chumbow, Vice Chancellor ICT University Cameroonian, remarked that Cameroonian participants were already working hard on dealing with the issues at home, and he urged participants to go back home with the message of OA.
- CODESRIA's Executive Secretary Ebrima Sall noted that the issues addressed by the conference and the Dakar Declaration will guide the agency's work in advancing science policy in Africa. He pointed out that the presence of the vice chancellors, who participated in the conference, would assist in the implementation of the outcome of the conference. He promised to use CODESRIA's influence to disseminate the decisions at the conference to other gatherings of African leaders and intellectuals.
- The Senegalese Minister of Communication and Culture, Mr Mbagnick Ndiaye, thanked the participants for finding time to come to Senegal for the conference and congratulated CODESRIA for organizing the conference. He described the three-day meeting as a landmark event for Africa and informed that his ministry would initiate steps to develop an OA policy for Senegal as well as provide a supportive environment for OA initiatives. He urged CODESRIA to turn the Dakar Declaration into a historic document like the Kampala Declaration on Intellectual Freedom.

### Concluding Remarks

The papers presented at this important conference underpinned the pertinence of open access publishing model for strengthening research capacity and improving state of public enlightenment in Africa, but they also recognize the need for multi-stakeholder awareness, infrastructure and funding to ensure that the benefits of the movement are reaped while the movement is contemporary.

## Paradigms of Knowledge Production in Africa: Reflections from the Centre for African Studies, Maputo

**C**entro de Estudos Africanos (Centre for African Studies) at Eduardo Mondlane University, organised a series of seminars in March 2016 to mark the 40<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the institution. With the theme "Paradigms of Knowledge Production, Challenges in the Relationship with the State and Opportunities for a Repositioning of the CEA", the seminars provided an opportunity to "reflect on the CEA's strategy for the next 10 years, the role of centres for African studies in researching the history of Africa and how social science research institutions in Africa are funded".

Founded in 1976, the Centre for African Studies (CEA) is part of the Eduardo Mondlane University whose main aim is to promote research in the social sciences and humanities through individual and joint projects, and conduct educational extension activities

The week-long activities took place on the campus of Eduardo Mondlane University. The opening and closing ceremonies were attended by the Chancellor of the University and Government officials responsible for the Education and Research sector. Among them were Professor Orlando Antonio Quillambo, Chancellor, Professor Leda Florinda Hugo, Deputy Minister of Science, Technology, Higher and Technical Education, and Professor Armindo Saul Atelela Ngunga, Deputy Minister of Education and Human Development. In addition to these high-level personalities, there was Professor Luis Covane, former Minister of Culture, who took an active part in the deliberations.

The scientific week organised by the CEA was an opportunity to cast both a retrospective and a prospective glance on the work of the Centre. The retrospective glance was cast at the exciting life of an institution that emerged from a struggle and the primary purpose of which was to accompany, at the theoretical, ideological and political levels, the national liberation venture and the foundation of a new Independent State. Research-wise, the early years of the institution have been characterised by this initial impetus spurred by an exceptional man: Aquino

**Nkolo Foé**  
Vice President  
CODESRIA

de Bragança, founder of the CEA, who died as hero in 1986 at the same time as the father of Mozambique's Independence, President Samora Machel.

For the commemorative ceremony marking the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary, the leading historical figures of the CEA who are still alive were present. These included: Silvia do Rosario da Silveira Bragança; Bridget O'Laughlin – who gave an emotional testimony, but with dignity, on the attack that, in 1982, took the life of another historical figure of the CEA, Ruth First, in an office of the Centre; Jacques Depelchin, Sergio Vieira, Carlos Serra, Yussuf Adam, Mota Lopes, Colin Darch, Anna M. Gentili, Luis Brito, etc. They all seized the opportunity offered by the narrative on the origins of the CEA to expound the basic philosophy of this monument, its scientific aims and its political ambitions. These men and women who came from various back-grounds and various continents were all united by the same militant faith, which is still alive and well, despite the passage of time.

The fact that they have accepted, though they often came from elsewhere, to associate within the framework of the CEA, in order to help in the emergence of a new world, amply demonstrates that for them, the socialist and internationalist ideal was not an empty term. In their testimonies, they celebrated each in their own way this ideal, in its various forms: anti-capitalist, anti-colonial, antiapartheid, etc.

During the week, the recent past of the CEA was reviewed by the generation of researchers trained by the historical figures, and that took over from them as scientific leaders, administrators, etc. This generation was mainly represented by Professors Teresa Cruz e Silva and Isabel Casimiro, former Directors of the CEA. With proven scientific competence, this generation was able to bring to fruition the legacy received. It is indisputable that this generation shares the same militant

faith with the pioneers; but it would appear that some of its members had lost their first illusions in terms of promises of national independence, social justice, gender equality, etc. On the face of this generation, disenchantment and a form of scepticism could be read easily. It is this scepticism that seems to have sharpened its critical faculties, made of methodological, theoretical and ideological vigilance.

How, then, is the problem of scientific articulation of critical social and political issues raised today within the CEA? There are interesting clues in the research outlines in the five-year Strategic Plan which the current management team defended during the work. It seems that these lines of research attest to epistemological, methodological and ideological changes underway within CEA. In fact, they deal with health, population and development; environmental management; governance; citizenship; language and communication; identity; globalisation; and historical memory.

The lines of research thus defined clearly show that the new generation of researchers based at the CEA has adapted to the changes which, for a couple of decades now, have been taking place in social sciences on the global stage. These changes relate to the dominance of *consensual topics* around the issues of health, population, environment, ecology, citizenship, governance, democracy, language, communication, identity, diversity, multiculturalism, gender, memory, etc.

Such changes probably mean a "more peaceful approach" of scientific and social issues, and increased involvement by researchers in their research subjects, with the idea of commitment having undergone complete change in meaning. Today, the CEA seems to have resolutely engaged in a deep process of *aggiornamento* that requires, of course, a real commitment to "change", "openness" and "modernity", both epistemologically and methodologically.

Such is, it seems, the price to pay for being anchored to the "global market of

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knowledge", whose requirements in terms of competitiveness and quality are known. Besides, this is how the current leadership clearly poses the problem of the future of the CEA, in the face of the challenges of rare resources and competition experienced nowadays by research organisations as well as researchers themselves. During the week, the difficulty for social science research to exist today without recourse to donors and without compliance to their requirements in terms of agenda, quality and competition was clearly stressed.

The director of Mozambique's National Research Fund, Victoria Langa, touched all of these issues in her presentation of the outlines of the government's research funding policy. This presentation showed that the research funding promoted by the Mozambican government integrates the major rules which nowadays regulate research funding worldwide, in terms of quality requirement and competitiveness.

The CEA seems to have already agreed to apply to itself these rules because, as a response to the requirement for quality and competitiveness, the CEA leadership proposes the following: institutional capacity building, performance, diversification of funding sources, partnership negotiations, and good management (good governance).

At that stage of the debate, the critical question of the usefulness and cost-effectiveness of social science research was inevitably raised. To this question posed even by States – faced with the accounting vision of the world – Madam Victoria Langa gave an intelligent answer, showing that the usefulness of social sciences cannot be measured in terms of financial profitability, as their primary and ultimate vocation is to be producers of society, of policy, in short, of community. This purpose of social sciences being sufficient on its own, they no longer need theoretical or practical justification other than themselves. As one participant noted, the scientific work on society is the surest and most economical way of preserving social peace, maintaining harmony in society and increasing understanding between individuals, groups and communities.

I completed my stay at Eduardo Mondlane University by attending the Seminar of Prof. Jacques Depelchin held on 10 March in the morning. The Seminar entitled "Paradigmas de produção de Conhecimento: Desafios na Relação com o Estado

e Oportunidades para o Reposicionamento do CEA", was a vibrant plea for African research that is part of the long term of history. This is the reason why Egyptology and legendary figures as Cheikh Anta Diop and Théophile Obenga were at the centre of this teaching.

The stated goal of the course was the following: how to rebuild, in Africa, the teaching of history, anthropology, political sciences, philosophy, etc., from new educational material – Egyptian and African texts themselves – generated by multilingual translation – ancient Egyptian-African languages?

Jacques Depelchin's approach, which is original, necessarily raises clearly – at last – the fundamental methodological and epistemological issue of orientation and destination of the currently dominant "postcolonial" African historiography. We need to understand why this historiography seems to be more concerned with novel issues like "fragmentation", "fiction", the break with "monumental" history, "anarchy", de-foundation", "out-of-nation", the "pathos of origins", "nativism", etc.

Underlying this important Seminar, these debates can no longer be avoided, especially at a time when the CEA is revisiting its past, because the issues recalled above were introduced by postcolonial historiography with the express aim of destroying the "great narratives" of emancipation, freedom, nation, progress, African unity, reason, modernisation, national independence, etc, all of which were the very foundation of the creation of the CEA. Prof. Depelchin's course was, therefore, well inspired.

### Final remarks

Born to support national liberation struggles and carried by the internationalist spirit of its pioneers, the CEA was, from its inception, a public institution with regional and pan-African vocation. It is as such that it accompanied the decolonisation and social movement in Mozambique, certainly, but also in Zimbabwe, in Namibia, in South Africa and in other former Portuguese colonies in Africa. The immense personality of Aquino de Bragança, the internationalist zeal of his comrades in the struggle, the regional immersion of FRELIMO and its leaders, and their engagement with nationalist movements in South Africa, in Zimbabwe, in Namibia, etc, could only lead the CEA to these horizons.

For the CEA to return to its initial regional and pan-African vocation, there is no need to seek to invent a personality of the dimension of Aquino de Bragança, or even to recreate a context of political and ideological ferment identical to that of the mid 1970's. It would be an illusion. Yet, there are solutions lying in the precious achievements of the past. These solutions are mainly based on the existence of infrastructure – the CEA being among the sub-Saharan research institutions best endowed with infrastructure and equipment – and of a team of top-level researchers with high regional, continental and African prestige; this is particularly the case of Prof. Teresa Cruz e Silva (former President of CODESRIA) and Isabel Casimiro (current member of the Executive Committee of CODESRIA). These respected figures and many others within the CEA can gather around them researchers from the sub-region and the region, to create a regional Centre of Excellence specialising in the areas defined in a Strategic Plan that is more ambitious than the one presented by the current leadership.

The benefits of a regional Centre of Excellence would be many. For example, it could allow the State of Mozambique: 1. to reposition itself at the centre of the strategic game as guarantor of the sustainability of the historical legacy the CEA is; 2. to resume the diplomatic initiative as driver of the development of research in the field of social sciences; 3. to share with the States of the region the costs associated with the funding of research.

The creation of a regional Centre of Excellence would also allow researchers from the region and the continent to profit from the rich experience of the CEA in research organization, programme design, and openness to strategic partners like Brazil.

Yet, one of the highlights of the commemorative week of the CEA was the presentation of the book by Ruth First, *The Mozambican Miner*, republished by Prof. Marco Mondaini, Coordinator of the Instituto de Estudos da Africa at the Federal University of Pernambuco (Brazil). Now, based on its experience and prestige, the CEA can serve as a platform and a relay to all similar initiatives, to enable the African social science community to develop better targeted, better framed and more concerted cooperation, not only with Brazil, but also with all its international partners.

More concerted action at the regional level would allow better use of resources, more rigorous support to junior researchers and more rational definition of the partnership policy, in order to respond more effectively to the many expectations of all our international partners.

Establishing the CEA as a Centre of Excellence would help facilitate the integration of African campuses. This is one of the old dreams of CODESRIA. Such integration would significantly facilitate the movement of researchers and students, in the sense of a South-South partnership; the development of joint research programmes; the sharing of publications; the upgrading, at reasonable costs and with relevant programmes, of research departments, faculties, laboratories and centres historically lagging behind. For example, I took advantage of my stay at Eduardo Mondlane University to visit the young Faculty of Philosophy created in 2010.

The (short) meeting I had with Mr José Blaunde and a few other young teachers in this faculty enabled me to measure the huge gap that exists between Maputo and other African universities which are

historically well ahead in this particular area. Yet, left to fend for themselves, as they are at this point in time, and isolated from the major African research networks and cut off from philosophical reflection, the young Mozambican colleagues are at risk of premature sclerosis. Establishing within Eduardo Mondlane University a genuine philosophical hub requires: that the CEA integrates it in its activities and provides it with a viable platform enabling the members of this Faculty to open to Africa and the world, in an organised framework; that the Faculty includes the programmes of CODESRIA where young teachers at the Master's and doctorate levels would benefit from high-level supervisory staff, for example in the field of methodology (Cf. the sub-regional Methodology Workshops, the Scientific Writing Workshops, etc); that the Faculty has programmes integrating the key epistemological and methodological issues, like those developed by Jacques Depelchin in his Seminar on the paradigms of knowledge production; etc. CODESRIA is willing to support such initiatives.

Last, the establishment of the CEA as a Centre of Excellence would enable researchers in the sub-region and in the region involved in its activities to avoid the fatal trap of competition – a competition imposed by the ruthless struggle for access to scarce resources. Cooperation and mutual assistance must be one of the main thrusts of its research policy.

The future of the CEA seems secured to me. During my stay, I could see the deep commitment of the Government of Mozambique to this national historical legacy. The fluidity and the movement between the academic world and the political world are a great asset to ensure this future. Therefore, there are levers to enable the CEA scientific community to persuade the Government of the Republic of Mozambique that this future also lies in the reintegration of the CEA – a precious legacy of the history of Southern Africa – in the sub-regional and regional environment in which it was established. Then this body will have to celebrate with Africa, but above all with humanity, the progress which developed it, incubated it, hatched it and raised it./.

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## Developing Capacity for Africa's Economic and Social Transformation

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*Report from the 25<sup>th</sup> ACBF Anniversary Conference in Harare, Zimbabwe*

The African Capacity Building Foundation (ACBF) held its 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary conference in Harare, Zimbabwe, 3-5 May 2016. The theme of the conference was "*Developing Capacity for Africa's Economic and Social Transformation*". The celebrations coincided with the 3rd Pan-African Capacity Development Forum (CDF3) and kicked off with vigorous debates centered around the issues of capacity gaps for Africa's Economic and Social Transformation and the institutional imperatives that are needed to address these gaps. With Agenda 2063 very much in focus, the key message highlighted on Day 1 was the continent's need for capacity building. In the Words of the ACBF's Executive Secretary, Prof Emmanuel Nnadozie, "*Capacity remains the missing link in achieving the development agendas in Africa*." He noted that Africa continues to face a myriad of problems, among them youth unemployment, poverty, low industrialization,

**Ibrahim Oanda**  
CODESRIA

declining commodity prices, and poor infrastructure development. This begs the question, why? The answer, according to him, lies in "the central issue" of "the lack of capacity" on the continent. This has been proven by various studies, including those by the ACBF itself. "Therefore capacity deficiencies remain a binding constraint to Africa's economic and social transformation," he asserted. Prof Nnadozie insisted that Africa still needed to develop the capacity to successfully design, implement, and monitor its policy measures and reforms. More than economic growth, the continent needs to transform its economies sufficiently enough to create wealth and jobs, reduce poverty, minimize inequalities, strengthen productive capacities, enhance social

conditions, and achieve sustainable development.

Interestingly, this is the whole idea underpinning the AU's Agenda 2063 and the UN Sustainable Development Goals. It is important to note and remember that it is only through economic and social transformation that Africa will ensure optimal use of its natural resources, promote industrial development, and develop resilience to commodity price shocks.

Regarding the skills needed to implement the first 10 years of the African Union's Agenda 2063, the following are needed, but currently lacking:

- In terms of agriculture scientists and researchers, Africa has a current projected gap of 1.6m and a projected 1.8m to aim for by 2023.
- Africa has an estimated gap of 2.8m water and sanitation engineers. Currently, Africa has a projected gap

## Reports

of 4.3m engineers, while it should be aiming for 8.3m by 2023.

- While it imports over \$60 billion of food per year, Africa has 55 per cent of its arable land lying fallow. And only 5 per cent of the land is irrigated
- Africa has 13 tractors for every 100 hectares of arable land; the global average is 200.

Mr Willard Manungo, the permanent secretary in Zimbabwe's Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, in his opening remarks praised the ACBF for the work it has done across Africa in the past 25 years, testifying that Zimbabwe was a key beneficiary of the ACBF's half-century work. He noted that "the esteemed gathering of diverse minds offered ample opportunity for us as a continent to introspect different ways and means of strengthening capacity development for the advancement of the continent."

The Opening keynote address was delivered by Anthony Mothae Maruping, Commissioner, Economic Affairs; African Union Commission. He noted that African stakeholders and leadership started developing transformative strategies in 2011/12 when formulation of Common African Position on Post 2015 Development Agenda (CAP) commenced and in 2013 when 50 years of achievement by the OAU/AU was celebrated and the decision to develop a vision and strategic framework for the next 50 was taken. Africa has thus been ahead of the curve in this regard. This was well before another wave of commodities prices collapse. Besides, he underscored the fact that a number of African countries are already transforming their economies having domesticated Agenda 2063 (A2063) and SDGs with either technical support or on their own. Domestication involves assimilation or infusion of the relevant contents of A2063 and SDGs into the national strategic action plans. The same is being done at Regional Economic Community (RECs) level. In addition domestication exercise involves popularization and consolidation of ownership of A2063 by the stakeholders in the public, private sector and civil society domains.

Noting that Agenda 2063 is likely to have more impact in Africa's development compared to previous blueprints, Maruping noted the remarkable compatibility between the Agenda 2063 and the UN's SDGs. He said that reporting channels have been established at two levels to

track progress both of the Agenda 2063 and the SDGs. (1) On the African Union side the technical team will report to the AU Co-ordination Meeting of CEOs. That forum will report to the AU A2063 Ministerial Follow up Committee. That in turn will report to the AU Executive Council and then to the AU Summit. This has been in operation in the last two years. (2) On the global side the technical team will report to CEOs (co-ordination meeting); then to a platform that is in the process of being formed in the form of "Africa Regional Forum on Sustainable Development". That will report to the UN ECOSOC and UN DESA High Level Political Panel and then to the UN General Assembly. On this basis, he asserted that there is a much higher chance of Agenda 2063 being more of a success than previous frameworks. The process has been meticulously executed every step of the way. No stone has been left unturned. Every necessary corrective measure to avoid repeat of slip-pages of the past has been amply addressed.

An accelerated, inclusive, and transformative real growth with equity is no longer an option but an imperative for Africa so that the continent can, in a significant way, create jobs, tackle poverty and gain rapid, resilient and sustainable socio-economic development. All relevant stakeholders are agreed that this should be the way forward. Maruping said Africa should not allow itself to be "pacified" by the sweet talk of the continent having achieved high economic growth rates in recent years because Africa's population has been growing in equal volume, if not higher. In effect, there is a cancelling out going on, or in other words Africa needs high growth rates to satisfy the demands of its ever-growing population. Moreover, the said growth rate figures, according to Dr Maruping, are just a "mathematical fluke" as they are often associated with post-conflict countries that are starting again from zero. "Let's regard this growth rate talk with caution and not be pacified by it and relax," Dr Maruping urged the continent.

He, however, conceded that the capacity building challenges to be surmounted by Africa in order to achieve the goals of the AU Agenda 2063 are enormous. He praised the "sterling work" done by the ACBF in the past 25 years, saying it is Africa's premier institution to address these challenges. "Therefore, the ACBF should be enabled and supported by all stakeholders to adequately carry out its mandate," Dr Maruping pleaded.

A participant, Mrs Monique Kande, from Congo, noted that Africa needs to direct investments towards production in order to mobilize internal financing to improve production. "It is common cause that in most of Africa, the productive capacity of women is very limited" she said. She bemoaned the fact that women "work the fields using hoes, but when mechanization comes in the form of tractors, it is not women who receive the tractors; the women continue to receive hoes. The tractors are given to politicians and they rot behind their houses."

Contributing to the same debate, Mr Emmanuel Ndlangamandhla, the executive director of the Coordinating Assembly of NGOs in Swaziland, said civil society organizations (CSOs) had expanded in scope, size and capacity as Africa continued to experience economic and social transformation. According to him, CSOs "are playing a key role in serving as the voice of the citizens of Africa, while also acting as service delivery agents to complement governments' efforts, especially in hard to reach areas.

In the plenary session that preceded the debate, many questions were raised: For example, how does Africa build citizens' capacities? And which capacities are necessary? If Africans don't have the skills in negotiation, how can they benefit meaningfully from global trade? How do we situate the fact that a high percentage of food consumed in Africa is produced in Asia?

Responding to some of the questions, the Swedish Ambassador to Zimbabwe, Lars Ronnas, said governments had a duty to protect citizens and to provide services. "The state should set the standards and provide the financing to make sure that there is equal distribution of services. Those CSOs that provide services, maybe they are better at delivering, should be contracted to do it on behalf of the state."

The second day of the meeting saw more intense discussions on capacity building around the theme of 'Developing Capacity for Africa's Economic and Social Transformation'. "Future generations will never forgive us, if we do not provide the required support and attention to a pan-African institution such as ACBF," said Hon. Phelekezela Mphoko, the Vice President of the Republic of Zimbabwe as he officially launched the ACBF's Silver Jubilee celebration. Zimbabwe's Minister for Finance Patrick Chinamasa declared, "We are committed to seeing Africa succeed."

The focus of the day was largely on making arguments for continued support of the ACBF. Zimbabwe's Vice President Phelekezela Presided over the opening. The ACBF executive secretary, Prof Emmanuel Nnadozie, set the scene for the day with a wide-ranging speech thanking member countries for the support they had given the Foundation over the past 25 years. Abdoulaye Mar Dieye, the UNDP regional director for Africa, fired the audience with the assertion that the "Africa rising" narrative can no longer be denied. "Africa has over the past decade made the greatest economic gains than any other region in the world", Dieye insisted. "The largest 11 countries in sub-Saharan Africa have seen growth rates of over 51 per cent in the past 10 years according to Bloomberg, twice the global average of 23 per cent. "At the same time, poverty is declining. Since 1996, the average poverty rate in sub-Saharan African countries has fallen by about one percentage point per year, and between 2005 and 2008, the portion of Africans living on less than \$1.25 a day fell for the first time, from 52 per cent to 48 per cent."

Mrs Mary Manneko Monyau, the AfDB officer in charge of the Zimbabwe Field Office said that "energy is the engine that powers economies and creates a prosperous society". She echoed the assertion that, "Africa cannot remain in the dark in nearly 140 years after the light bulb was invented." Adding that "African countries must be in the driving seat and domestic resources must be the key". "Africa certainly has untapped potential to generate the resources needed for its socio-economic transformation." she pointed out that "remittances to Africa have risen from \$11 billion in 2000 to over \$62 billion in 2014. Sovereign Wealth Funds assets under management in Africa have risen from \$114 billion in 2009 to \$162 billion in 2014. Pension funds currently stand at \$334 billion. And Africa today generates about \$500 billion in domestic taxes." Based on this, the AfDB is now encouraging African leaders to think differently to mobilize all these domestic resources to accelerate development.

Dr Soumana Sako, a former Executive Secretary of ACBF and also a former prime minister and finance minister of Mali, raised issues against donors who try to be backseat drivers, remote control in hand. He likened their approach to African development to a car being driven while being managed by remote control. Such

donors, Dr Sako said, should stay in the car, so that if the car should crash, they and the African driver would crash together.

The Zimbabwe VP praised the ACBF for the good work done in the last 25 years, saying, "25 years ago, wherever one looked in Africa, the state of capacity had been very alarming. But while admitting that a lot still needs to be done, the picture is quite different today with most African countries supported with capacity building – thanks to institutions, such as the ACBF." Based on this good work, the Vice President called on "fellow Africans who have a vision for the continent in the spirit of pan-African solidarity" to support the ACBF for the implementation of sustainable capacity building solutions for inclusive socio-economic development. The VP declared that "*Future generations will never forgive us, if we do not provide the required support and attention to a pan-African institution such as ACBF*".

This echoed what Prof Nnadozie had pointed out regarding Africa's capacity needs. The continent's current share of global engineers stood at 35 engineers per one million people, compared to 168 for Brazil, 2,457 for the European Union, and 4,103 for the United States. "Just in 2011, over 10,000 medical graduates who were born or trained in Africa migrated and were registered to practice in the United States alone. The continent has only 2 per cent of the world's doctors though it bears around 24 per cent of the global burden of diseases. And only 28 per cent of students in Africa are enrolled in science and technology." Africa therefore needs to support the ACBF for it to support Africa to overcome these challenges.

During a side event, it was noted that the lack of accountability and political will are a critical explanation for Africa's lack of development. The event which focused on the multi-sectoral inter-linkages between health, human development and Africa's capacity for social and economic transformation was held on the first day of the Third African Capacity Development Forum. Speakers decried the shortage of medical doctors and persistent violence against women across Africa, as they raised other challenges facing the continent, including the lack of potable water, illiteracy and malnutrition, among others. The picture painted was dismal. According to the speakers, 69 per cent of Somalis and 54 per cent of Congolese have no access to potable

water. And when it comes to the effects of climate change, Chad typifies the continent's dilemma. Lake Chad, for instance, has lost more than 10 per cent of its 1963 size. The chair of the side event, Prof Abdi Issa, the Managing Director of HESPI in Ethiopia, led the charge when he called attention to the lack of political will on the part of leaders in implementing decisions. Beyond inadequate accountability and the lack of political will, Prof Issa contended that tackling these issues in a holistic manner was most crucial to the continent's development, especially meeting targeted goals under the UN Sustainable Development Goals and the African Agenda 2063. Mr. Rotimi Sankore of Afri-Dev Info said if Africa did not act on the issue of accountability, little could be achieved. He pointed out that most African leaders gave priority to cabinet members who helped their political careers as against those who were in the core development and health sectors.

The third and last day of the meeting was focused on the theme, "*Moving forward into the next 25 years ... From building to retention*". In the words of the ACBF Executive Secretary, "while the past 25 years had been successful in terms of the achievements made by the ACBF and its member countries, especially in terms of human capital and institutions, much more remains to be done". He drew the attention of participants to the ACBF's Strategic Plan 2017- 2021 and its four pillars – enabling effective delivery of continental development priorities; supporting countries to achieve tangible development results; enhancing private sector and civil society contribution to sustainable development; and leveraging learning and knowledge to attain greater development effectiveness. He highlighted the importance of high-level tripartite education dialogue among the private sector, training institutions, and African governments on how to develop capacity for implementing Agenda 2063 and the SDGs. He asserted, "Capacity utilization, capacity retention and capacity harmonization, including the sustainability of capacity projects are key issues," pointing out that "African universities should educate African young people to solve Africa's problems". If people get the education that is Africa-specific, the chances are that they will utilize it here rather than going somewhere else to practice," he noted.

Making the closing keynote speech, Dr. Hesphina Rukato former deputy CEO of NEPAD shared a memory of the excitement that met the adoption of NEPAD in 2001. Yet less than 20 years later, she noted, "the Africa we want, others have always wanted it before us: For roughly 50 years, Africans have been articulating the desire for "The Africa that we want", but to achieve success, it is imperative that the conversations go along with urgent and sustained action at the grassroots level.

She pointed out that it seemed the excitement has dissipated, leading her to question "why are we now jumping onto the next bandwagon before we have implemented any of the things that we have talked about before?" She observed that three things in particular impeded Africans from the needed self-analysis. The first was what she called "gate-keeping", whereby we protect leaders from the actual realities of the situation on the ground. The second was our failure

to empower the citizenry, training them to be "computers rather than decision makers". The last was not creating a space where civil servants could tell the truth without fear for their safety. Closing her speech, Dr. Rukato reiterated a statement with which she started the address: "This Africa we want, others have wanted it before us. Since I was born I have wanted it..." However, wanting alone was not enough: We need to move faster and we need to sacrifice more and to be more serious".

## 25 years after the Kampala Declaration on Intellectual Freedom and Social Responsibility: Progress Report, Critical Perspectives and Future Prospects

The commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the Kampala Declaration on Intellectual Freedom and Social Responsibility, held from 9 to 11 April, 2016 in Lilongwe (Malawi), was a great opportunity for CODESRIA to objectively assess its core commitment: ensuring and promoting for all and across the African continent the establishment of a scholarly community which, in a conducive environment, reflects on and implements the necessary transformations for the welfare of the largest number of people. Not only does this commitment demonstrate CODESRIA's priority, it also highlights a form of radicalism in the positive sense. This is related to the idea that freedom is not an option but a necessary and sufficient condition for any society faced with both itself and the world; any society trying to address its problems and understand what is befalling it. The promotion of intellectual freedom, a broader concept exceeding the very field of academic freedom and incorporating all those who are involved in and striving for the emergence of intellectual products; journalists, writers, artists, etc., is also indicative of the deep-rootedness of CODESRIA's ideals in a democratic culture where debate and controversy are the primary conditions for building peaceful citizenship across the continent.

The Lilongwe Conference helped to successfully assess how intellectual freedom is concretely implemented in the variety of African experiences, 25 years after the Kampala Declaration. One of the strong points and highlights of the event, was the critical assessment of the Declaration.

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CODESRIA

Some speakers called for greater embodiment of the principles promoted by the Kampala Declaration. This is particularly the case of Fred Hendricks and Mkan-dawire, who delivered two Keynote Lectures, but also Delmas Tsafack who made a critical assessment of the Declaration, through a socio-historical analysis. They formally expressed its method: wider dissemination, ownership and constant discussion of the philosophy it promotes, not only within the small community of scholars, but also in the entire society. The commitment for the future was to set the 'theme' of intellectual freedom in the public space and make it the means by which everyone within a community can have a critical intellectual relationship with their fellows, discuss with them, and even contradict them; in short, co-produce meaning.

During the conference, using some contextual and sociological approaches to intellectual freedom helped to measure the gap between principle and reality, and to assess both structural and cyclical difficulties, hindering the implementation of the Kampala Declaration. In some countries such as Morocco, for which Brahim El Morchid made a detailed analysis of some adverse effects of higher education privatization on the quality of content, there is an organizational and pedagogical orientation subject to the market laws and the logic of profit; success, at what-

tever the cost, is used as a marketing tool to reinforce and/or increase the capital investor which appears here to be made up of students and their families. Such an approach tones down the nature of transmission in the academic space of its symbolic value and of what it represents.

In the same vein, the conference was an opportunity to realize if it were still necessary, the consistency of a solid fact which is, despite significant progress in the trade union level, conflictuality in itself that seems to organize the academic field and, beyond this, the social field. Whether in Senegal (Seydi Ababacar Ndiaye, Buuba Diop), Nigeria (Sule-Kano Abdullahi, Chyniere Kopokolo) or the Democratic Republic of Congo (Jacques Tshib-wabwa), there are apparent restrictions on freedom of speech; the right to express one's opinions without fear of reprisal which is one of the major breaches to intellectual freedoms. These restrictions may emerge as a result of political and administrative devices that curb them through a type of territorial organization of the academic structures that produce socio-spatial injustices within educational community (Jacques Tshibwabwa), or through a blatant financial dependence of public research altering its independence by forcing it into damaging adjustments (John Ishengoma), etc.

According to the majority of the Lilongwe conference participants, if one cannot brag about the 25 years of implementation of the Kampala Declaration, it is far from a failure. This is evidenced by the very choice of Malawi as the conference venue.

Indeed, this is one of the first countries on the continent, along with Ghana, to have incorporated the principles of the Kampala Declaration in its fundamental

law; which indicates at least formally and legally some notable progress to replicate across Africa. However, the major point of consensus at the meeting was that the

paramount urgency in Africa was far beyond a "textual consecration" of intellectual freedoms, but rather their concrete embodiment in the whole society.

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## Women's Struggles Today: Perspectives from the Gender Symposium in Cairo, Egypt

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**C**ODESRIA held its annual gender symposium in Cairo from 9 to 11 May, 2016. This edition focused on the theme of "Women's Struggles Today."

At the opening ceremony Dr. Shahida El Baz, Director of the Arab and African Research Centre (AARC), Dr. Ebrima Sall, Executive Secretary of CODESRIA, and Professor Helmi Sharawi, Vice-President of AARC, emphasized the need for more human, more inclusive societies that are more responsive to struggles for gender equality. Reacting to their remarks, Dr. Ghada Waly, Minister of Social Solidarity, also focused on the concept of inclusiveness, recalling the need to connect with Africa (which she illustrated through the cultural drums festival in Cairo organized by the civil society and attended by 13 African countries). She also magnified the exemplary cooperation between AARC and CODESRIA which, she said, demonstrated the vitality of the Pan African vision of both institutions. The young scholars of the AARC, diplomats and other personalities like Dr. Mervat Al-Tellawy, former President of the National Council for Women, graced the opening ceremony with their presence.

The theme of this year's Gender Symposium, based on reflections from the experiences in Algeria, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Egypt, Kenya, Mali, Niger, Senegal, South Africa, Sudan and Uganda, was aimed at examining the challenges imposed today on the struggle of African women by the current trajectory of the African States which looks like an "ambiguous adventure" of democracy (the Arab Spring, constitutional changes, empty political debate and fragmentation of the political space). To which extent does the observed security drift, both at global and local levels, and the exacerbation of violence it generates impact on the struggle of African women today? How do women build spaces for contesting and for influencing public policies for greater consideration of their rights

Aminata Diaw  
CODESRIA

and liberties? One of the objectives of the Symposium was also to create opportunities to question the female leadership figures emerging on the continent today, the new forms of women's organizations and the features of women's social movement in the current context. What are the new issues addressed by the agenda of women's struggles and how are they impacted by social networks and other ICT infrastructure? What have been the responses of states and other segments of society?

These issues and others were at the heart of the reflections in the thirteen papers delivered during the 2016 edition of the Gender Symposium mainly focusing on the following four thrusts:

- Women's struggles today: discourses, practices and epistemological challenges;
- Women's struggles today: trajectories and national perspectives;
- Between the local and the global: new challenges in women's struggle;
- Women, power, and politics.

The discussions were fruitful and helped to identify a number of research areas and perspectives.

- The need to re-examine the policy to face the new epistemological challenges in the theoretical management of women's struggle today: through subversion and deconstruction, the reversal of perspective, by questioning interstices (at private/public space level- and disciplinary level) and memories;
- Managing the evolution of women's struggle in relation to what is referred to as "the gender market";
- The issue of writing the history of women, their struggles between private and public spaces;

- The discourse of women on religious issues (especially in the context of the liberalization of the media space and religious radicalism);
- Research on how public policies take account of gender disparities effectively or not;
- Analysis of women's biographies and autobiographies.

The second highlight was the tribute on 11 May to Helmi Sharawi, a former member of CODESRIA's Executive Committee. The words by Dr. Ebrima Sall and Dr. Shahida El Baz in the introductory paragraph of the booklet which collected various written testimonies in honor of Helmi Sharawi are highly indicative of the philosophy underpinning such an event, "*Celebrating those who have made great contributions to the advancement of scholarship and the strengthening of our community is also one good way of making our community more cohesive and much stronger.*"

This idea strongly emerged from testimonies of poet Zein Alabdine Foad, Ambassador Samir Hosni, the former Minister of Culture, Prof. Emad Abu Ghazi, of Prof. Abdul Gafar and Aminata Diaw, which were in perfect harmony with the written testimonies of Samir Amin, Abdallah Bujra, Issa Shivji, Nouria Bebghabrit, Claudio A. Furtado, F. E. M. K. Senkoro, Maréma Touré Thiam, Fatim Ndiaye and Marie Ndiaye.

The fact that young researchers from AARC, including Abeer Rabei, Tawia Tawfik, also wanted to pay tribute to him, remains the most eloquent expression of Helmi Sharawi's character: an intellectual concerned about the issue of continuity within the African social science community. Many of his friends and family made very moving testimonies about this convinced and tireless Pan-Africanist who relentlessly worked beyond barriers, to understand Africa as a whole and in its diversity.

# Announcements

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## Second CODESRIA/CASB Summer School in African Studies and Area Studies in Africa

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Dakar, Senegal 22 to 27 August 2016

### Interdisciplinarity in Area Studies: Basic and Applied Research

The Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) and The Centre for African Studies Basel (CASB) call for applications for the 2nd CODESRIA/CASB Summer School in African Studies and Area Studies in Africa.

The Summer School sets out to stimulate and consolidate interdisciplinary approaches in research on Africa, but also on other regions of the world undertaken from within the African continent. It focuses on African Studies as an instance of area studies and seeks to identify themes that are theoretically, conceptually and methodologically relevant to the reflection on the intellectual challenge of Africa as an object of knowledge and its contribution to general scholarship while inquiring into the relevance of the findings to African approaches to other regions. The goals of the Summer School can be broadly defined in the following manner:

- The Summer School allows PhD students, under the guidance of senior scholars, to engage critically with new theoretical, conceptual and methodological developments in African Studies and Area Studies in Africa in general and make them relevant to their work;
- The Summer School stimulates PhD students to reflect on the potential relevance of knowledge on Africa to the task of improving our theoretical, conceptual and methodological tools both for the disciplines as well as for interdisciplinary work;
- The Summer School fosters among PhD students a sense of belonging to a community of scholars in pursuit of knowledge and scholarship;
- The Summer School encourages junior scholars to work towards carving a space for African Studies or Area Studies in Africa in general in the broader field of scholarship and in this way helping to place Africa right at the centre of knowledge production.
- The Summer School serves to identify young scholars who wish to develop or finalise a PhD-project in the field of African Studies and Area Studies in general and to further support them in their pursuit of their career goals.
- The Summer School is offered with the generous support of the Oumou Dilly Foundation (Switzerland) in cooperation with CODESRIA and aims at strengthening the links between the community of scholars organized in the CODESRIA community and scholars from the African Studies community in Switzerland.

### Experts

- Elísio Macamo (Summer School Director), Associate Professor of African Studies at the University of Basel (Switzerland)
- Ralph Weber, Assistant Professor of European Global Studies at the University of Basel (Switzerland)
- Jean-Bernard Ouédraogo, Directeur de recherche au CNRS/EHESS (France), Rédacteur en chef de la revue *Method(e)s* ;
- Nkolo Foe, Professeur titulaire en philosophie à l'École supérieure de Yaoundé I, Cameroun

### Format

The Summer School will be structured in such a way that each thematic issue will form the focus of a workshop. The first two thematic issues, namely (1) research design and (2) analytical design are theoretical in orientation. They will deal with texts addressing issues in the philosophy and methodology of the social sciences. The remaining three thematic issues, namely (3) practical design, (4) policy design and (5) evaluation design are practical, hands-on blocks which draw from participants' own research projects, country profiles and institutional backgrounds to translate research results into policy action.

Already in advance, the participants prepare written input based on their own research as well as on readings. During the course they form workgroups preparing inputs for and playing an active role in the different sessions

### Application & Registration

The summer school is open for PhD students enrolled at an Institute of Higher Education in any country. We encourage the application of PhD students enrolled in African and Swiss institutions. Travel, accommodation and meals during the summer school will be provided for participants enrolled at institutions in Africa.

Participants will be selected on the strength and merits of:

1. One duly completed application form;
2. A cover letter;
3. A five-page application in which they explain: (a) what they are working on, and (b) how their work relates to the topic of the Summer School;

In addition, applications must be supported by a CV and two letters of recommendation.

Please submit your application as PDF to [area.studies@codesria.sn](mailto:area.studies@codesria.sn) (until 31 May 2016).

## 2016 Child and Youth Institute: African Futures and the Futures of Childhood in Africa

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Dakar, 17 – 28 October, 2016

The Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) is pleased to announce its 2016 Child and Youth Institute that will be held for two (2) weeks, from 17 to 28 October 2016. The institute is one of the components of the Child and Youth Studies Programme and is aimed at strengthening the analytic capacities of young African researchers on issues affecting children and youth in Africa and elsewhere in the world. The institute is designed as an annual interdisciplinary forum in which participants can reflect together on a specific aspect of the conditions of children and youth, especially in Africa.

### Objectives

The main objectives of the Child and Youth Institute are to:

1. Encourage the sharing of experiences among researchers, civil society activists and policy makers from different disciplines, methodological and conceptual orientations and geographical/linguistic areas;
2. Promote and enhance a culture of democratic values that allows to effectively identify issues facing children and youth on the African continent; and
3. Foster the participation of scholars and researchers in discussions and debates on the processes of child and youth development in Africa.

### African Futures and the Futures of Childhood in Africa

The theme of 2016 child and youth institute is "African futures and the futures of childhood in Africa", and explores the interface between the future aspirations of children and versions of African futures in order to develop insights into how children are both living embodiments and prospective agents of social transformation in African societies.

### Laureates

Applicants should be PhD candidates or scholars in their early career with a proven capacity to conduct research on the theme of the Institute. Intellectuals active in the policy process and/or social movements and civil society organizations are also encouraged to apply. The number of places offered by CODESRIA at each session is limited to ten (10). Non-African scholars who are able to raise funds for their participation may also apply for a limited number of places.

### Application for resource persons

Applications for the position of resource person should include:

1. An application letter;
2. A curriculum vitae;
3. Two (2) published papers;
4. A proposal of not more than five (5) pages in length, outlining the issues to be covered in their three (3) proposed lectures, including one on methodological issues;

### Applications for laureates

Applications for the position of laureate should include:

1. One duly completed application form in word format;
2. An application letter;
3. A letter indicating institutional or organizational affiliation;
4. A curriculum vitae;
5. A research proposal not more than ten (10) pages including a descriptive analysis of the work the applicant intends to undertake, an outline of the theoretical interest of the topic chosen by the applicant, the relationship of the topic to the problematic and concerns of the theme of the 2016 Child and Youth Institute ;
6. Two (2) reference letters from scholars or researchers known for their competence and expertise in the candidate's research area (geographic and disciplinary), including their names, addresses, telephone numbers and email addresses;
7. A copy of the passport.

### Submission of Applications

All applications should be sent electronically to: [child.institute@codesria.sn](mailto:child.institute@codesria.sn).

For specific questions, please contact:

**CODESRIA CHILD AND YOUTH INSTITUTE**

Tel.: (221) 33 825 98 21/22/23

Email: [child.institute@codesria.sn](mailto:child.institute@codesria.sn)

**Deadline for the submission of applications**

**15 July 2016**

Announcements

## STIAS launches Iso Lomso Fellowships for Early Career Researchers

Iso Lomso, "the Eye of Tomorrow" in isiXhosa, is a new fellowship programme that will boost the careers of some of the brightest minds in African academia.

Early career African researchers who have completed their doctoral studies during the preceding eight years are invited to apply for the fellowship. For the 2016 call at least three candidates will be awarded a three-year Iso Lomso fellowship.

Fellows will spend various periods of residency at the STIAS Wallenberg Research Centre in Stellenbosch to pursue their research projects. They will also receive support to attend international conferences, convene workshops, and visit a sister institute for advanced study in North America, Europe or elsewhere.

"Iso Lomso signals our conviction that Africa's emerging scholars are more aware than ever of the importance of carving out their research niche", says STIAS Director, Prof Hendrik Geyer. "Africa's emerging position in the knowledge society means that the continent's research productivity is growing exponentially and STIAS provides a unique space to fuel this growth."

Iso Lomso recognises that for many younger academics the pressures of teaching, administration and contract work means

they receive little support and incentive to develop their research strengths. This programme will provide sustained research support to meet this need.

It fills the gap that often exists between completion of a Ph.D. and becoming an established scholar. While in residence, Iso Lomso fellows will find themselves in the company of leading scholars from around the world and from different disciplines. Informal research guidance from other fellows will form an integral part of life at STIAS.

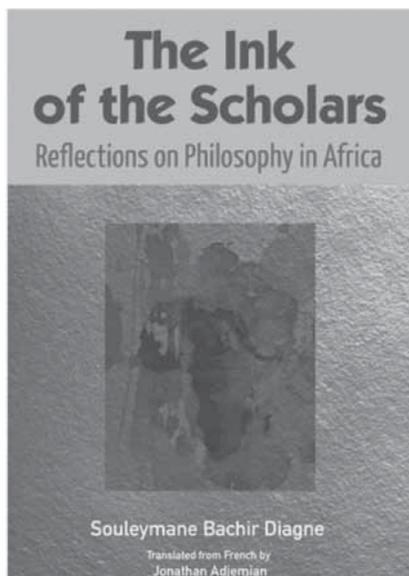
A unique element of Iso Lomso fellow-ships is that STIAS will offer lecturer replacement support to the home institutions of fellows during times of residency at STIAS. It also provides for a child care subsidy in the case of women fellows who are accompanied by young children during periods of residence at STIAS.

The call for applications is now open and can be found at [www.stias.ac.za/iso-lomso/](http://www.stias.ac.za/iso-lomso/)

Applications for the 2016 call close on **25 May 2016**. For any enquiries, contact the STIAS Programme Manager Dr Christoff Pauw, [cpauw@sun.ac.za](mailto:cpauw@sun.ac.za), tel. +27 21 808 9331.

### The Ink of the Scholars *Reflections on Philosophy in Africa*

Souleymane Bachir Diagne  
(Translated from French by Jonathan Adjemian)



What are the issues discussed today by African philosophers? Four important topics are identified here as important objects of philosophical reflection on the African continent. One is the question of ontology in relation to African religions and aesthetics. Another is the question of time and, in particular, of prospective thinking and development. A third issue is the task of reconstructing the intellectual history of the continent through the examination of the question of orality but also by taking into account the often neglected tradition of written erudition in Islamic centres of learning. Timbuktu is certainly the most important and most famous of such intellectual centres. The fourth question concerns political philosophy: the concept of "African socialisms" is revisited and the march that led to the adoption of the "African Charter of Human and Peoples' Rights" is examined. All these important issues are also fundamental to understanding the question of African languages and translation.