

Editorial

Repositioning CODESRIA – Contributing to Africa's Future

Members of CODESRIA and the African social science community will assemble in Dakar, Senegal, 8-12 June 2015 for the 14th General Assembly of the Council; an event which is usually the largest assembly of African scholars in the social sciences and humanities on the continent. This year, about 400 participants from across Africa and beyond will be at the General Assembly to share ideas and collectively reflect on issues vital for the development of the continent.

The theme of the General Assembly, 'Creating African futures in an era of global transformations', underlines the increasing focus of the CODESRIA on the future as a project to be actively constructed. This commitment is partly reflected in the broad objective of seeking to contribute to the various efforts that seek to mold a better future for the African continent. The African Union Agenda 2063 is a leading project in this important endeavour, and one that CODESRIA seeks to contribute to.

The Council realizes that, as an organization dedicated to basic research, the fundamental contribution it can bring to this exercise of creating our future is to continue to produce cutting edge knowledge on Africa in the world. The range of themes covered in the twelve peer reviewed journals that the Council publishes or supports, and the books published over the years show that CODESRIA has been doing just that. This, however, is no reason for CODESRIA to rest on its laurels.

After over 40 years of existence, the Council's determination to continue approaching the future from a position of strength as the leading producer of social scientific knowledge in Africa is again manifesting itself in an ongoing review of its governance, intellectual agenda, and management processes. The reports of these reviews will be discussed at the GA and should help CODESRIA reposition itself for greater relevance as the leading pan-African research organization on the continent.

Beyond the discussion of the internal review committee reports, the business sessions of the GA, which will be held on 8 and 12 June 2015, will also involved the consideration of suggestions for charter amendments and the election of a new Executive Committee and President.

The academic conference of the Assembly will last for three days and will witness four keynote addresses, seven plenary roundtable discussions and around 26 parallel panel sessions. The variety of themes that will be addressed during the

conference are all deliberate in their focus and projection towards an Africa of the future.

The diverse and cosmopolitan form that CODESRIA's General Assemblies always take is a testament to the Council's belief and commitment to an Africa in which national, linguistic, gender and geographical boundaries are of little consequence in interpersonal and intercommunal relations. It is a commitment to the old Pan-African dream of an Africa that is united in its diversity and that can interact with the rest of the world from a position of equality.

Unfortunately, the recent xenophobic outbreaks in South Africa demonstrate the fact that the ideal of diversity and cosmopolitanism are not always sacrosanct in many minds and communities on the continent. While South Africa has, rightly received much bad press on account of the attacks, incidences of xenophobia and xenophobic attacks are becoming all too common on the continent. In the worst cases they have led to open violence that has taken countries like Kenya, Cote d'Ivoire and the Central African Republic to the brink. But much less visible outbreaks in the Forest Region of Guinea, for example, often leave scores dead and go largely unreported.

Among the pieces in this volume are short but thought-provoking reflections by two prominent African scholars – Francis Nyamnjoh, and Achille Mbembe – on the South African xenophobic incidents.

The work of the late Professor Ali A. Mazrui was defined by the message of openness and the critical engagement of the intricacies of the richly variegated, complex and hybridized identities in Africa. While we could describe him as a Kenyan, it is more proper to describe him simply as a ground-breaking African intellectual who led the way in the challenging but important task of re-imagining the African past and fashioning an African future after decades of colonial intellectual and physical violence. The bulletin contains a tribute to him.

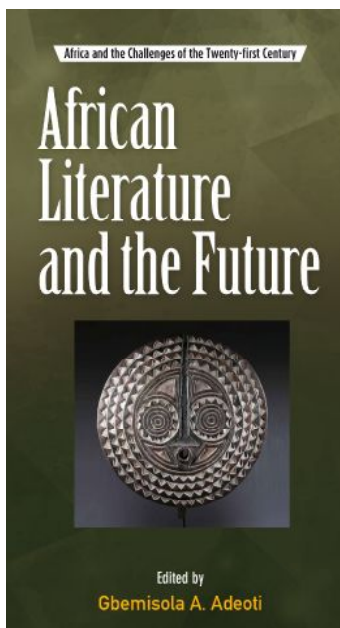
Ebrima Sall
Executive Secretary

Alex Bangirana
Head, Publications

Ato Kwamena Onoma
Programme Officer, Research

African Literature and the Future

Edited by Gbemisola Adeoti

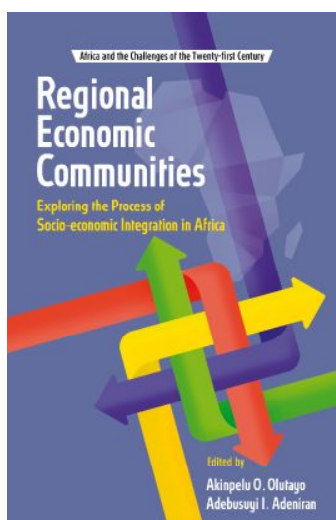


Many African countries got independence from their colonisers over five decades ago, but the people and the continent remain largely, mere spectators in the arena of their own dance. The post-independence states are supposed to be sovereign, but the levers of economic and political powers still reside in the donor states. Not in many fora is the complex reality that defines Africa more trenchantly articulated than in imaginative literature produced about and on the continent. This is the crux of the essays collected in *African Literature and the Future*. The book reflects on Africa's past and present, addressing anxieties about the future through the epistemological lens of literature. The contributors peep ahead from a backward glance. They dissect the trend and tenor of politics and their impact on the socio-cultural and economic development of the continent as portrayed in imaginative writings over the years.

One salient feature of African literature is the close affinity between art and politics in its polemics. This is well established in all the six essays in the book as the authors stress the interconnections between literature and society in their textual analyses. On the whole, there is an overwhelming feeling of angst and pessimism, but the authors perceive a flicker of hope in spite of daunting odds, under different conditions. Thus, they depict the plausible fate of Africa in the Twenty-first century, as informed by its ancient and recent past, gleaned from primary texts.

Regional Economic Communities

Edited by Akinpelu O. Olutayo & Adebunsi I. Adeniran



This book examines how the existence of overlapping regional institutions has presented a daunting challenge to the workings of various Regional Economic Communities (RECs) on the African continent. Majority of the African countries are members of overlapping and, sometimes, contradictory RECs. For instance, in East Africa, while Kenya and Uganda are both members of EAC and COMESA, Tanzania, which is also a member of the EAC, left COMESA in 2001 to join SADC. In West Africa, while all former French colonies belong to ECOWAS, they simultaneously keep membership of UEMOA, an organization which is not recognized by the African Union (AU). Such multiple and confusing memberships create unnecessary duplication and dims the light on what ought to be priority. Various chapters in this book have therefore sought to identify and proffer solutions to related challenges confronting the workings of the RECs in different sub-regions of the African continent. The discourses range from security to the stock exchange, identity integration, development framework, labour movement and cross-border relations. The pattern

adopted in the book involves devolution of related discussions from the general to the specific; that is, from the continental level to sub-regional case studies.

CODESRIA Membership and Governance Review

Internal Review Committee Report on Membership and Governance

Introduction

Dear Colleagues,

The dates of the 14th General Assembly of CODESRIA are fast approaching. The Scientific Conference of the General Assembly (GA) will be held, 8-10 June 2015, and the business/governance session will be held on 11 and 12 June 2015.

One of the important items on the agenda of the governance session is the review of the CODESRIA Charter. On behalf of the Executive Committee of CODESRIA, I would like to bring to your attention the report of the CODESRIA Membership and Governance Review Committee that was set up by the Executive Committee nearly two years ago, together with the comments of the Executive Committee on the report.

Following the recommendations of the Membership and Governance Review Committee, the Executive Committee

Ebrima Sall
Executive Secretary
CODESRIA
Dakar

would like to invite CODESRIA members to consider amending the CODESRIA Charter during the 14th General Assembly, along the lines proposed in the CODESRIA Charter Amendment Proposals attached that I would also like to bring to your attention.

The Charter Amendment Proposals will be discussed during the governance / business session on the 14th General Assembly that will be held in Dakar on 11-12 June 2015, immediately after the Scientific Conference, and members will be invited to adopt them.

I would like to invite all members and friends of CODESRIA to read and discuss

the report of the Membership and Governance Review Committee and the Charter Amendment Proposals of the Executive Committee, and share their views on both documents with the Executive Committee, and with other CODESRIA Members. Please send your comments to the following email address: executive.secretary@codesria.sn

The CODESRIA *Newsletter* and CODESRIA *Bulletin* are also open to members who would like to write articles related to the report of the Review Committee, or the Charter Amendment Proposals.

The theme of the Scientific Conference of the 14th General Assembly is "*Creating African Futures in an Era of Global Transformations*". The discussion on CODESRIA Membership and Governance and the Charter Amendment Proposals are about creating the future we want for CODESRIA.



Journal of African Transformation

Reflections and Policy Practice

The Journal of African Transformation is an inter-disciplinary peer-reviewed journal published by the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA). Published in French and English, the Journal of African Transformation seeks to contribute to the Pan-African project of integrating the continent across linguistic lines and countering the balkanization of knowledge and practice across these lines. The journal seeks to bridge the gap between research and practice and give socio-economic practice on the continent a firm basis in research. With contributions from both researchers and practitioners, its articles routinely seek to draw out their practical policy implications and make recommendations for policymaking.

ISSN 2411-5002

Internal Evaluation: Membership and Governance

Introduction and Background

This year marks the 40th anniversary of CODESRIA. This is as good a point as any to pause not only to celebrate CODESRIA's remarkable past but also to reflect collectively on the institutional demands and the challenges of the future. The Executive Committee has chosen this process of reflection as the core preoccupation of this year of celebrations. This report is written in the spirit of both celebration and reflection on an organization one of whose strengths has been, over the years, its capacity for self-reinvention. The critical tone of the report should, therefore, be understood as stemming from a concern not about failure but about managing success. We take as given, CODESRIA's strengths and consequently devote little time to them. We, instead, focus on problems that have over time been identified by the governing bodies of CODESRIA and the research community, and that have become a source of increasing unease. These problems have been eroding the institutional coherence of CODESRIA and, if unaddressed, could ultimately undermine the entire organization.

CODESRIA has over the years emerged as the premier social science organization in Africa. Its major challenge is managing and sustaining this success, which is today threatened by a number of inappropriate institutional features that have a bearing on its scientific leadership and standing.

CODESRIA as an institution has been subjected to a wide range of external evaluations of its research programmes, its administrative capacity, its financial and scientific management, its publications, outreach, etc. It has also had its own internal evaluations on all these issues. This is as it should be, as CODESRIA must fully control the continuous reform of its governance structures if it is to retain its scientific autonomy.

One source of CODESRIA's success and resilience is the culture of self-evaluation and self-criticism that has allowed the organization to overcome serious challenges and to adjust to new situations. This is the spirit in which this review was undertaken.

**Thandika Mkandawire
Akilapa Sawyer
& Pierre Sané**

Much has changed over the past 40 years. Today CODESRIA has to function in an environment that is significantly different from when it was set up, and from the 1980s and 1990s when CODESRIA dramatically increased its range of activities. For a start, CODESRIA is no longer the only pan-African network engaged in the social sciences. Second, the research community which it serves is operating in radically different conditions, both in terms of quantity and quality of research and teaching institutions and of incentives for research. Third, there is a revival of the African university with new demands on CODESRIA, which for many years had functioned in the context of the crisis of the African university. Fourth, there has been a proliferation of institutions in which social science research and thinking are taking place – ranging from consultancy agencies to full-time research networks. This is leading to both diversity and fragmentation of the social sciences and the social science community on the continent. Fifth, the social science community has expanded enormously and there are today more post-graduate students than when CODESRIA was founded. Sixth, the new information technologies are shaping networking among researchers and their institutions, obviating certain roles of traditional networks, while highlighting new locations and forms of coordination and leadership. Finally, there is a fierce battle among institutions for visibility and intellectual presence, given the explosive expansion of the internet and the obsession of funders with "impact" or public reach.

In the light of all this, CODESRIA needs to revisit its mandate, goals and institutional capacity to function in a changed environment. More specifically, it needs to re-examine its governance structures, which have enormous bearing on the legitimacy, coherence and scientific capacity of the Council.

We are convinced that at the heart of any institutional reform must be a reexamination and redefinition of what are the dominant criteria for the selection of leadership in CODESRIA – General Assembly, Executive Committee and Secretariat.

Over the years the rules governing the institution have been periodically adjusted in response to emerging challenges and opportunities. Although some major reforms have been deliberate and well thought out, quite a number have been of an *ad hoc* nature. While the flexibility implied by this succession of reforms may have contributed to the stability of the institution, their accretion has had many unintended consequences. The cumulative effect has been increasing incoherence in the governing structure and arrangements, making the governing bodies, especially the General Assembly, fraught with tension. Already, in the late 1990s, the Governance Reform Committee talked about "crisis that requires a surgical operation to arrest what is threatening to develop into a crisis of legitimacy"¹

Terms of Reference

The original objectives of the review were:

- Strengthening of the Secretariat to ensure better management of critical events such as the GA;
- Reinvigoration of CODESRIA's intellectual agenda and the consolidation of its programmes, so that it ensures and enhances its leadership role in the field of African human and social science research; and
- Strengthening of its governance structures to allow it to respond efficiently to the growing and changing needs of its constituency.

Following consultations between the Review Team, the Executive Committee and the Executive Secretary, a narrower agenda was agreed upon, taking into account the limited time available for the task. It was further felt that the Secretariat and the intellectual agenda required separate and specialized review. In the circumstances, this review is limited to consideration of the following specific issues in the original terms of reference document:

1. Review of CODESRIA membership policy, the nature of the current membership, membership rights as well as responsibilities;
2. Review of the rules for elections – who is eligible and who can vote, proxy voting, internet voting, etc.;
3. Review of the mandate, composition, mode and criteria of selection of the Scientific Committee, as well as its relations with the EC and the Secretariat;
4. Review of membership, terms of office, criteria of selection and procedure of election of the President and members of the Executive Committee; allocation of responsibilities and relations among the Executive Committee, the Secretariat and the Scientific Committee;
5. Review of the CODESRIA Charter in order to identify gaps and terms needing to be amended (as in the case of the review of the governing bodies, membership and rules of elections); and
6. Examination of any other issues that the Committee considers important for improving CODESRIA's performance and relevance.

Our understanding is that we are not supposed to "evaluate" CODESRIA. CODESRIA has been heavily reviewed over the years. We understand that our mission is to provide a basis for reforming CODESRIA's structures and revisiting its activities. More specifically, our understanding is that the real challenge is to design an organization that serves its principal purpose– "the development of social science research in Africa". In recent years, too many of our institutional arrangements have tended to serve other purposes (such as political balance) that, whatever their value, may have little scientific purpose or merit.

Institutions do not only set norms and constraints on people's behaviour but also act as focusing devices drawing people's attention to one aspect of reality and not another. They also generate incentives towards certain actions producing outcomes that are not context specific, and are not intended. One consequence is that institutional designs that work in one context may not work well in another. Institutions also create path dependence/inertia which allows certain norms to persist beyond their intended purpose or predisposes indi-

vidual action towards particular choices. They may also attract or create interest groups that will resist reforms.

One other aspect of institutions is unintended consequences. For instance, the Charter provisions "regionalizing" CODESRIA's representation, intended to guarantee inclusiveness and a truly pan-African participation, have in some cases led to regional affiliation trumping intellectual orientation and competence.

This points to the need for an institutional framework that blunts the perverse incentives that have contributed to debilitating practices, while promoting a culture of intellectual excellence that privileges collaboration over scientific endeavour.

Institutional reform is not always an easy exercise. It has to overcome received ideas and existing interests and the inertia that is inherent in "institutionness". An institution that changes at every drop of a hat would cease being an institution. This underscores the importance of combining change with continuity.

Approach

The evaluation is based on a review of the governance documentation of CODESRIA and consultation with relevant members of the social science community through discussions at scientific meetings and electronic communication.

In addition to extensive reading of official documents of CODESRIA and reports of previous evaluations of CODESRIA by external agencies, we have relied on internal debates within CODESRIA, conversations with many African scholars and persons who have been active in CODESRIA in one form or another and, ultimately, on our personal knowledge and insights of CODESRIA both as insiders and outsiders.

Central Premise

We start from the position that both the mandate and character of CODESRIA must be driven by an abiding concern for the intellectual enterprise of social science research in Africa and its contribution to social development. In the matter of governance, this places a premium on aspects related to its scientific management. There is deep concern within the scientific community about CODESRIA's governance structure: its relevance to the current conditions, its adequacy to the tasks it has taken on,

and its scientific standing and credibility among its constituency and supports. While these concerns have to do with a variety of subjective perceptions about the organization, there can be little doubt that a major source of concern relates to governance. The governance deficits are highlighted during General Assembly meetings, and during transitions in the Secretariat and Executive Committee. Dissatisfaction with the governance structures was heightened by the events surrounding the 2011 General Assembly, as is made explicit in this excerpt from the draft Terms of Reference:

The problems experienced during the 13th General Assembly of CODESRIA (held in Rabat in December 2011) prompted a passionate debate among CODESRIA members about the necessity of an institutional review. The administrative and programmatic lapses in the organization of this General Assembly, the extraordinarily high number and diversity of participants, the perception that certain groups and countries were over-represented or under-represented, and the difficulties surrounding the election of the Executive Committee, caused disquiet among sections of CODESRIA's constituencies.

There are two separate issues here. One has to do with the management of the General Assembly. The other has more far-reaching implications as it goes to the heart of the matter: the character and governance of CODESRIA as an organisation.

Although the original terms of reference referred to the 2011 General Assembly meeting in Rabat, Morocco, we believe the problem goes beyond that Assembly.

The governance failures and the discontent they breed within the community affects several of CODESRIA's most important *acquis*, namely, credibility as a scientific organization in which academic merit is central; the confidence of our institutions of learning and research that involvement in CODESRIA's work signals merit and, thus, assists the institutions in evaluating their own standing as well as the performance of their staff; and belief by young researchers that any credentials (participation in workshops, receipt of grants or publications, etc.), or mentoring provided directly or indirectly by CODESRIA will add to their academic standing and enhance their scholarly

ambitions. All these could be easily undermined by poor governance structures to the degree that they impugn the integrity of the scientific processes of CODESRIA and raise even the slightest doubts about the competence of its decision makers.

The mandate and nature of CODESRIA demand that aspects of its work take into account other concerns, especially in terms of staff recruitment, appointment to committees and access to its programmes. But none of that should compromise the central focus on merit. Failure on this front has sometimes led to accusations of bias but, as noted in the SIDA evaluation:

... there is no other way to address the suspicions of bias than being meticulously transparent and professional in all processes of assessment and selection.²

History

Although the acronym CODESRIA has been maintained, it has stood for different things at different times. First as the *Conference of Directors of Economic and Social Research Institutions in Africa*; then as a *Council for the Development of Economic and Social Research in Africa*; and, finally, as the *Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa*. In all its forms, however, the acronym speaks to the central purpose of CODESRIA – the development of social science research in Africa. Thus, whatever the institutional reforms proposed, it is important to bear in mind this central objective. Other considerations, important as they are, must be subsidiary to this, and all the bodies of CODESRIA must be aligned to this central mission.

The origins of CODESRIA can be traced to a conference on "Economic Research in Africa" organized in Bellagio, Italy, on 27 September-2 October 1964, under the auspices of the Rockefeller Foundation. The purpose of the conference was to review the type of research that had taken place in post-colonial Africa. Significantly, of the 10 directors of research institutes invited, only two were African – Professor Adebola Onitiri from the Nigerian Institute of Economic and Social Research at the University of Ibadan, and Professor Omer Osman from Sudan. The rest were either French or British. The seed of continued collaboration among African economic research institutions was to be a newsletter to be edited by the African Institute

for Economic Development and Planning (IDEP), through which member institutes would exchange information and conduct debates on critical issues about research in Africa.

Three years after the Bellagio conference, Professor Onitiri organized a pan-African Conference of Directors of Economic and Social Research Institutes in Africa (CODESRIA) at NISER, University of Ibadan. It was the first of many to follow. In those early years the organization was an informal body, its main activity being to convene the directors of research institutes. The second meeting in 1971 was held at the Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, under the directorship of Dharam Ghai.

The first meeting of the Executive Committee of CODESRIA was held in Dakar on 1 February 1973. Institutionally, the meeting had particular significance for securing the autonomy of CODESRIA from the host institution – IDEP. The charter was amended, especially with respect to the mission of the Council.

At the Nairobi Conference, IDEP was designated as the official CODESRIA Depository Centre (CDC), with Samir Amin, IDEP's Director, elected Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee. Soon thereafter, the role of CODESRIA was redefined from being merely an informal organization of directors and a depository of research, to one of animating analytical research. Professor Onitiri spent his sabbatical at IDEP and, together with Samir Amin, helped lay the foundation for a new, more formalized CODESRIA. Drawing lessons from the Latin American Council of Social Sciences (CLACSO), the team transformed CODESRIA into a body that would carry out research on a broad range of themes. CODESRIA thus became a "council" for sustained work, rather than simply an event-driven (conference) organization with a documentation centre.

To enable it to carry forward its new mandate, CODESRIA received a small grant from the World Bank for its Secretariat, while the Ford Foundation promised to fund the Documentation Centre.

Objectives

As the name suggests, CODESRIA's main scientific mission was the "development of social science research in Africa". This scientific purpose was always associated with the Pan-Africanist ideal of bringing

African social scientists together to conduct research appropriate to the continent. There was always a tension between, on the one hand, representation on the basis of scientific quality and, on the other, the exigencies of pan-African inclusiveness and diversity, the latter concerned to ensure equitable representation along regional or linguistic lines. In many ways, the current governance problems of CODESRIA mirror this tension, which has, in some instances, led to the scientific considerations for leadership of CODESRIA being compromised by political expediency.

The scientific objective would favour such criteria as merit, scientific competence and familiarity with the management of research. The more political objective privileges attributes such as representativeness along linguistic or regional lines. While a combination is obviously necessary, it is vital to strike a very careful balance to ensure the attainment of the core objective of the organization – in the case of CODESRIA, leadership of a scientific enterprise.

There is a general unease over whether, indeed, CODESRIA's systems of selection bring on to the governing organs adequate capacity for the credible scientific oversight of the Council's key programmes. We insist that despite the importance of other objectives of CODESRIA such as pan-African inclusiveness, the foundational criteria for assumption of any key position in CODESRIA must reflect scientific merit. This must be a central preoccupation of CODESRIA.

Few evaluations of CODESRIA have addressed the issue of governance and the scientific quality of persons eligible for appointment or election to CODESRIA's governance institutions. In those few cases, the question reconciling the focus on merit with regional, language or gender balance, has loomed large. For instance, the SIDA Evaluation of 2007 observed as follows:

One issue arising from the local visits stands out. How can a correct balance be struck between academic merit and regional belonging? The report has paid special attention to development of the Council's capacity to undertake independent scholarly assessments and peer reviewing. The achievements are noteworthy and go a long way to satisfy the need for reasonably objective criteria. But what about

'regional balance'? ... It is widely accepted, for instance, that regions that have been marginalized because of the inevitable dominance of English and French should be specially accommodated. But should it be at the expense of academic merit? What is 'academic merit' anyway in a context marked by very different academic traditions? ... Should it be the policy of the Secretariat to correct such imbalances or should it rely on an autonomous assessment of merit alone? There is no obvious solution to this dilemma. One is to adhere religiously to a procedure based on merit while using other means ('special initiatives' etc.) to ensure that potential constituencies that have been marginalized, nationally or continentally, are included in the network while simultaneously raising awareness about the differences in outlook and academic traditions. Another route is to be even more explicit on the regional considerations by which merit-based recruitment is adjusted to secure greater balance and address historical inequities. In any case, the transparency of procedures is paramount in ensuring confidence and cooperation. It is also important that the criteria agreed are effectively communicated, understood, and accepted within the scholarly community, not just by those who have been in a position to benefit from the Council's services. ..., the criteria themselves must be sufficiently explicit to stand public scrutiny.³

The Crisis in the University

CODESRIA cannot isolate itself from what is happening in the African university and research environment. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the initial years of CODESRIA, research centres were quite prominent as funders of CODESRIA activities. It is remarkable that the first three pan-African conferences were organized by member research institutes – by NISER in 1967, by IDS (Nairobi) in 1971 and IDEP in 1973. In the 1980s, many African countries were faced with serious balance of payments problems that compelled them to seek financial assistance from the international financial institutions. These institutions did not confine themselves to providing balance of payments support but also insisted on involvement in a wide range of African economic issues. More immediately relevant to CODESRIA was the position ta-

ken by key donors on higher education. The donors' new understanding was that the social rate of return of higher education was lower than that of other levels of education. The consequence of this understanding was massive withdrawal of funding for African universities. In addition, many African governments turned against African universities, which they saw as havens of opposition or producers of useless knowledge.

Since then, and particularly during the crisis of the African universities in 1980s and early 1990s, the CODESRIA Secretariat has become relatively stronger and increasingly less dependent on the resources of its member institutions. Foreign exchange constraints had become so severe that even those members who were willing could not pay because of currency conversion problems.

Furthermore, the internal hierarchal structures of African universities and the repressive political and academic environment in which they operated tended to push young researchers towards CODESRIA, which, free from those constraints, allowed more space for intellectual initiative. This new constituency of younger scholars did not feel represented by Directors of research institutions and the Deans and Heads of university faculties and departments. Therefore, they pushed for individual membership. Compounding matters was the growing African Diasporic academic community which also sought representation, either as a "region" or as individuals.

One consequence of the "crisis" of the African university at the time was that, for young researchers, CODESRIA provided a useful avenue for career advancement through its programmes and projects: small grants and the intellectual prestige attached to them, publication outlets, workshops and specialized institutes. Although some have viewed this self-interest-driven adhesion to CODESRIA as opportunistic and against the political spirit behind CODESRIA, it should be recognized as evidence of the success of CODESRIA in its scientific mission. What became and remains problematic is the view that being a beneficiary of CODESRIA entitles one to privileged access to the decision-making bodies and processes of CODESRIA.

The curious aspect of this development was that participation in CODESRIA's scientific activities was never premised

on membership – one did not have to be a member to access CODESRIA's research funds and other resources, or to participate in its various scientific activities!

New Challenges

Revival of African Universities

The single most important feature of the new environment within which CODESRIA operates today is the revival and expansion of universities in Africa. In tandem, the social science research community has expanded dramatically, as African governments have responded to the acute demand for higher education and the need for the production of faculty trained within the African continent. Much of the functioning of CODESRIA in the 1980s and 1990s was, in effect, making up for the failures of the African university and trying to maintain a scientific community buffeted by dwindling research facilities and an often repressive environment. This explains, in part, the wide range of activities embarked on by the Council.

Changing Donor World

Another feature of the contemporary scene is that after years of detachment from African universities, many funders are now paying attention again to the universities, providing them with more resources. Although CODESRIA always insisted on the centrality of universities both for its *raison d'être* and its sustenance, it did, by default, benefit from a shift of donor support from universities to research networks during the period of the crisis of the African university. Today, CODESRIA must perform in an environment in which the case for networks is not always self-evident!

New Institutions

A third feature has been the proliferation of institutions populating the research environment today that were not in existence when CODESRIA was conceived. In addition to the many new private universities, some of which are mere extensions of foreign universities, there are also many independent institutions and think-tanks that conduct research and training outside the universities.

Distribution of Resources – Quota or Open?

CODESRIA has many resources of value to researchers: research grants; access to research networks and meetings; publi-

cation outlets for books and monographs; training workshops; documentation and information, etc. As CODESRIA has matured, it has become an important source of resources for researchers and African social science institutions generally. It is precisely in relation to access to these resources that the tension between merit and inclusiveness has been most acute. Thus, in the selection of beneficiaries of CODESRIA's programmes and resources, to what extent should considerations of inclusiveness, language and regional balance, gender and age be allowed to modify considerations of merit? In striking the right balance in this matter, the greater the variety of criteria and considerations that guide the allocation resources, the greater the need for efficiency, integrity and credibility of CODESRIA's governing bodies.

Research Culture

While for much of the 1980s and 1990s, the major constraint on African social science research was the poor research infrastructure, this is no longer so pronounced, in light of the considerable improvements that have been made in a number of countries through new investments in the universities as well as advances in technology. There is a growing realization that an additional factor was the weakening, during and since the "lost decades", of a research culture driven by scientific curiosity, peer pressure and the university rewards system. Competing with it was the growing consultancy culture in which the consultancy report was more rewarding than a published academic paper. It has been a real struggle weaning many researchers away from this latter culture.

Membership

At the core of the governance of CODESRIA is its membership base, and yet that remains one the most unclear and most contested aspects of the institution. The question of membership is a recurring one in both internal and external commentaries and evaluation reports on CODESRIA. Given the governance arrangements of CODESRIA, the character of its membership determines the composition of the General Assembly, the election of members of the Executive Committee and, ultimately, the appointment of the Executive Secretary. Membership is, thus, at the root of many of the governance issues CODESRIA has had

to grapple with over the years. This, of course, has a significant impact on the scientific work of the Council.

To appreciate the salience of the membership issue, it is necessary to understand the evolution of the membership base of CODESRIA.

In the original charter of CODESRIA (1976), membership was defined as follows:

There will be two categories of membership – full and associate. Full membership of the Council shall be open to such national, sub-regional and regional institutions located in member countries of the OAU and of the Economic Commission for Africa as are engaged in research related to economic and social development with or without training activities.

Associate membership shall be open to other African and foreign institutions, including training institutions. In those African countries where there are no eligible institutions as such, the Executive Committee shall encourage the setting up (of) Research and Training Institutes. Only full member institutions will have the right to vote at meetings of the Council.

The Executive Committee will consider applications for membership and admit members provisionally subject to approval at a General Assembly Meeting of the Council.⁴

In the same year, some amendments were made to reconcile CODESRIA's statutes with its application for observer status with the OAU. The following changes in CODESRIA's Charter were made.

The following sentence was added under "Title":

"... The Council shall function under the auspices of the OAU. The OAU Charter shall be binding on CODESRIA"

The change further specified that the location of CODESRIA's Secretariat would rotate among African countries after a reasonable stay in one country. A change of the location of the Secretariat could be made by a majority vote of the members of the Executive Committee. More specifically, it delineated the constituencies for membership of the Council according to the OAU's division of Africa.

These changes were fully incorporated into the Charter in 1982, with no further changes in membership.

Adhesion to the OAU Charter meant that regional representation was viewed through the lens of the OAU. This had a significant impact on how CODESRIA grouped member states. The result was a division of the constituency of CODESRIA along the OAU regional map, with five regions. This has had a lasting effect on membership and the composition of the Council's governing bodies, as it fuelled increasing insistence on representation in the governing bodies along regional lines. Overlaid on this regional structure has been the linguistic division of the continent with its own exigencies of representation. Much of the politicization of issues within CODESRIA has also, unfortunately, played out along those lines.

Almost from its very inception, CODESRIA has been contested terrain. Two issues regarding membership have arisen at various stages. The first relates to the determination of membership – who can become a member of CODESRIA and how? As noted above, CODESRIA started with membership confined to directors of social science research institutes. This was the Latin American CLACSO model in which members consist of research centres which may be full members of the Council "provided they establish their academic policy in an autonomous manner". The incorporation of a new member is subject to the approval of the General Assembly, which can also revoke the membership of an institution. CLACSO, with membership consisting of research centres, was complemented by FLACSO, which has a membership consisting of faculties of social science. Thus, the adoption of a CLACSO model for CODESRIA proved restrictive without a FLACSO complement. CODESRIA, therefore, decided to work on a broader front and include faculties. At the time, African social scientists had begun to organize themselves in professional associations such as the African Association of Anthropologists, African Association of Political Scientists, etc. These associations, together with others, such as the Association of African Women Researchers on Development, sought representation in CODESRIA. Also in the wings were regional social science organizations such as OSSREA (Organization for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa) and SAUSSC (Southern African Universities Social Science Conference), to whom

CODESRIA had provided seed money or support for specific activities.

The inclusion of faculties and associations as members of CODESRIA was finally codified by amendments to the Charter. This effectively merged the CLACSO-FLACSO models in a new one, but without fully thinking through the implications. For instance, what was the situation of research centres that actually belonged to a faculty? Did the payment of membership by a faculty cover all centres under its mandate? To compound the situation, some National Working Groups that CODESRIA had supported on a project-by-project basis sought a more permanent relationship with CODESRIA, and were sometimes perceived as "branches" of CODESRIA, although this had no basis in CODESRIA's Charter.

The inclusion of Associations was liable to bring along additional problems, as they were based on individual membership. Some of these Associations became quite active in CODESRIA and sought to align CODESRIA institutions with their own institutional arrangements. To complicate matters, ideological and intellectual problems emerged. Some of the associations, mainly the African Political Science Association, viewed CODESRIA's Executive Committee as being dominated by conservatives or the academic establishment, and not in sync with what was seen as CODESRIA's scientific stance. It was felt that this establishmentarian leadership could only be wrestled out of power by allowing individual membership.

This state of affairs lasted until the 7th General Assembly of 1992, when the Charter was amended to allow for individual membership. Membership now consisted of the following categories:

1. Full individual members;
2. Full institutional members;
3. Associate individual members;
4. Associate institutional members;
5. Honorary members.

It is important to recall and appreciate how this came about. As noted by the Governance Committee (2002):

...the [CODESRIA] Charter designed to achieve these lofty objectives could hardly have anticipated the dynamics and restiveness of the Social Science community on the continent in the '80s and '90s, as the third generation of Social Scientists

stormed the General Assembly following the liberalization of membership during the 7th General Assembly in 1992. A motion, which was to transform the composition and temper of the General Assembly, was passed. Although considered an innocuous motion aimed at changing the name of the organization, it was a name 'signalling the attainment of a condition of formally embodying an assembly of all social scientists' rather than just economic and social researchers in Africa. The motion resulted in a new CODESRIA Charter approved at that General Assembly. Unfortunately, it has never been clear to successive evaluators as to who originated the Charter and in response to what problem(s), or whether the procedure and conditions for amending and or adopting a new Charter were fulfilled.

What appears to have happened was that the institutional members of CODESRIA – the "real members" – some of whom had not paid their membership dues for years, were pressured by the younger and more activist researchers (the so-called "Third Generation"), who had come for the scientific conference held on the occasion of the General Assembly, into conceding major changes to the Charter, which opened the door to individual membership without careful forethought about its implications for the way CODESRIA organizes and works.

Problem of Member Institutes

As indicated above, CODESRIA's membership was initially confined to institutes of development research and then extended to faculties of the social sciences. For a number of reasons these institutes failed to play their proper leadership role and lost authority within CODESRIA.

First among the reasons for this loss of influence was non-payment of membership dues, in part as a result of difficulties with getting convertible currency for the purpose – an unsurprising factor in the 1980s and 1990s.

A second problem was the high turnover of leadership of African research institutes, captured by one evaluation teams thus:

The heads of the member institutions tend to rotate frequently, thus having little knowledge of CODESRIA'S

ongoing affairs; and, they have no legitimacy vis-à-vis the executive bodies of CODESRIA inasmuch as the institutions they represent do not pay their membership fees nor are they involved in supporting CODESRIA's regular activities.

A third factor was the limited time heads of institutions at the time devoted to continental organisations. This can be illustrated by an experience in 2005. CODESRIA scheduled a conference of Deans of social science faculties, and put out a call for papers. The poor response to this call is captured as follows in the report of the Executive Secretary:

Perhaps, the most important of these – and certainly one that is worth bringing to the attention of the EC – is the Conference of Deans of Faculties of Social Sciences and Humanities which was billed as one of the most significant of the new initiatives which the Council would be undertaking in a long time. The Conference was very widely advertised early in the year and, following guidelines proposed by the EC at the 62nd EC held in Kinshasa, prospective participants were invited to submit abstracts of papers they would wish to present for consideration. Regrettably, however, at the end of the over six months given for the development of abstracts, the number of applications received was very low – about 20 for a continent with over 1,000 public and private universities which offer training in the Social Sciences and Humanities. This low level of subscription to the conference was reflective not only of the depth of the crises of African higher education but also the weak position of the social and human sciences within the system. For the problem that arose was not so much that deans of faculty were not aware of the initiative – many reported that they saw or received the announcement – as that they did not have the time or the will to propose an abstract. And of those who sent abstracts, only a handful really addressed themselves to the call for applications that was issued; the others went on a trajectory of their own as if the intellectual content of the announcement did not matter. In consequence, there was no option than to postpone the Conference to the end of the first quarter of 2007."⁵

Many of these problems are related to the question of membership. Quite a number of senior scholars think CODESRIA is for the younger generations who need the research grants and benefit from many capacity building networks.

So in a profound sense, one of the main problems is re-engaging the institutions in the affairs of CODESRIA both as members and sources of support, and remaining interesting and useful to the senior scholars.

Individual Membership

We now turn to the impact of individual membership, especially on the selection of the leadership of CODESRIA. First, we must recall that a large number of younger researchers that came to the General Assembly in 1992 had come primarily to present scientific papers at the accompanying conference, for some their first such conference. However, as individual "members", these young scholars suddenly found themselves involved in a political process in which their votes were being sought by individuals about whom they knew nothing. Some even ended up as elected members of the Executive Committee of CODESRIA, an organization about which they knew next to nothing!

This constituted a serious breach of the spirit of the Charter and had all the features of a putsch.

Things came to a head at the General Assembly of 1998, when, in a cynical exploitation of loopholes in the Charter provisions, people were quite literally brought in from the "byways and alley ways" of Dakar as newly recruited members to vote in the election of the President and Members of the Executive Committee. That loophole exists to this day, as long as individuals can join as members at the General Assembly and proceed to vote on vital matters of the institution. Some of the consequences of this – the rancour, factionalism and regionalism and the loss of moral authority of the leadership of CODESRIA – are discussed at length in the *Governance Report of 2002*. In conclusion, the Report calls for:

... a fundamental review of the governance structures and the provisions relating to (a) the membership of the General Assembly, (b) the composition of the Executive Committee, and (c) the criteria and procedure for the appointment of the ES, and (d) the relationship between different organs of governance.

It must be noted that this reading of the consequences of the reform in membership is not unanimously shared. The Strategic Plan of CODESRIA considers this opening of membership a positive step:

The amendment of the Charter in 1992 to allow for individual membership of CODESRIA, i.e. the broadening of the constituency and the membership of CODESRIA was a reflection of the growth and diversity of the social science research community, and the multiplicity of sites of knowledge production as well as the mobility of the researchers.⁶

Members' Rights and Responsibilities

The second issue has to do with members' rights/authority and responsibilities. Any system based on membership must create channels of accountability, the exercise of rights and carrying out of duties.

In response to an attempt at getting clarity on the matter, the following considerations were suggested by CODESRIA's President Fatima Harrak at a meeting of the Executive Committee which discussed the Rabat General Assembly:

- The maximum time between two mandates before being eligible again;
- Conditions to be met in order to vote in the General Assembly;
- The profile required of candidates for election to the Executive Committee;
- Mechanisms permitting renewal of membership to assure continuity;
- The possibility of voting by proxy or from a distance;
- The way representativeness should be defined;
- Equitable representation not confined to countries at the centre of their regions.

Some have suggested a further broadening of the membership. For instance,

In the discussions which followed the Executive Secretary's presentation [at a meeting of the Executive Committee], it was stressed that CODESRIA had to be considered as a platform at the service of African intellectuals as a whole, and not simply serving universities and researchers. Thus research on social movements, mass movements and democratic movements must play a part in CODESRIA's priorities.⁷

The regionalisation of representation has not resolved other demands because of conflicting claims within the regions themselves. In some cases, the large regional constituency has marginalized some groups. Thus lusophone Africa finds itself squeezed between the three main languages and there have been suggestions that special arrangements be made to ensure representation along language lines.⁸

Inclusiveness and Intellectual Openness

One recurring theme has been the reconciliation of collegiality, democracy and participation on the one hand, and on the other, the institutionalization of a scientific organization in which merit and mentorship play important roles. This tension is at the core of some of the problems of CODESRIA.

Related to this is the debate about the ideological direction of CODESRIA. One strong view that emerged from the joint IDRC/SAREC/Ford Foundation Evaluation⁹ of CODESRIA in 1996 was the "ideological bias" of CODESRIA:

Involvement and identification with CODESRIA was perceived to hinge also on another aspect of the organization, namely its representative character. There is in fact a majority who think that CODESRIA does not adequately express the manifold composition of the African social sciences as they actually exist.

In the IDRC review, one strong point apparently voiced by a diverse group of people was that "CODESRIA should have no ideological commitment, i.e. it should not ascribe itself to any particular school of thought or politico-intellectual tendency".

There are two aspects here: one is an institutional adherence by CODESRIA to one specific ideology; the other is the dominance of any particular paradigm within the African social scientific community which may be reflected in the numerical strength of one position in the organisation. In more recent years, the "Left" has bemoaned the "right-wing" shift of CODESRIA, again reflective perhaps of what is happening in Africa's intellectual community. It is important that these shifts are seen as not based on the *diktat* of the executive bodies of CODESRIA or, as in many other research networks in Africa, by donors. Here, once again, the transparency and integrity of CODESRIA institutions are vital in main-

taining a credibly open intellectual endeavour.

Regionalization and Decentralization of CODESRIA Activities

The issue of representativeness has also been related to that of the visibility of the institution. It has been suggested in various ways that CODESRIA is too remote from its community. A number of solutions have been proposed.

One has been to move its main activities around geographically. The General Assembly has thus been held in Yaoundé, Maputo and Rabat. These events have proved extremely costly and unwieldy, with the Rabat one bordering on a disaster.

The Governance team led by Professor Issa Shivji suggested sub-regional General Assemblies from which representatives to the General Assembly would be selected.

Others have suggested decentralisation and the setting up of sub-regional offices of CODESRIA, while still others have proposed the setting up of regional social science organisations.

The idea of decentralisation of management has not been well received in CODESRIA. The 10th General Assembly in Kampala in December 2002, considering the recommendations of the Governance Review Committee that had been established in 1998, decided against sub-regional offices and assemblies. It, however, recommended decentralisation of activities i.e. holding certain activities on regional lines.

The IDRC Evaluation of CODESRIA had reached the same conclusion after extensive interviews with the African Social Science Community:

In the periodic debates about ways to ensure that CODESRIA with its pan-African vocation has greater visibility and more regional participation, decentralization has emerged as one policy option. Very few respondents considered decentralization, by which we mean out-posting of CODESRIA Secretariat staff to other regions in Africa, a viable option. While recognizing that opening CODESRIA regional offices would increase its visibility and expand regional participation in its programs, the most common reasons advanced against decentralization were that it would be too costly and might erode the PanAfrican perspective of the CODESRIA.

Executive Committee members were the strongest opponents of decentralization (83 percent). As one might expect, most Cooperating Institutions also opposed decentralization (57 percent). No one indicated that decentralization would improve program execution. Although Secretariat members commented on the advantages and disadvantages of this decentralization none of them registered their position of this option. One logical alternative to institutional decentralization is the decentralization of programs through subcontracting arrangements with local institutions.¹⁰

Interestingly, donors who had pushed for decentralization of CODESRIA have themselves closed down their regional offices for both administrative and financial reasons.

General Assembly

Internal Debates about the General Assembly

The problem of the General Assembly has preoccupied virtually every Executive Committee since the inception of CODESRIA. A few examples highlight the problem. A report of the General Assembly of 1988 starts its report of procedures by noting that, "There were lengthy discussions to finalize the work agenda of the Sixth General Assembly and to settle procedural matters".¹¹ Among the issues discussed were membership and the right to vote in the General Assembly.

The General Assembly was to be attended by representatives of member institutions. Initially it was to meet biannually but this was extended to triennially.

For the 8th General Assembly, the Executive Committee (38th Session, 24 June 1995) had agreed on the following criteria for the invitation of Individual Members:

- Coordinator of a CODESRIA programme;
- Author of paper for the General Assembly accepted by the Paper Selection Committee;
- Representative of a professional association;
- Ex-Executive Secretaries and ex-Deputy Executive Secretaries;
- Laureate of Gender Institute;
- Representative of fully paid-up member institutes

In its 40th Executive Committee meeting (3-4 November 1995), the issues of the Charter and General Assembly that were discussed included:

- Voting rights – the role of institutional and individual members;
- The role and rights of professional associations;
- The election of the President and the principle of rotation;
- The potential conflict of interest between the regional representation of the President and his pan-African mandate.

Regarding voting modalities at the General Assembly, the Executive Committee was constrained to state, "As for voting modalities during the General Assembly, it was decided that since the latter is sovereign, it could settle the question during deliberations."

A small committee was to be set up to address these issues.

The Minutes of the 58th Meeting of Executive Committee meeting held in Dakar on 29-30 March 2003 raise the issue of regional quotas for participants at the General Assembly. Apparently, an earlier meeting of the Committee had taken a decision to limit participation of any region to a minimum of 10 percent or a maximum of 25 percent of delegates to the General Assembly. However the decision was reversed. It was then decided that the selection of delegates presenting papers to the General Assembly would be undertaken by the Scientific Committee "on the basis of merit but with attention paid to gender, linguistic and disciplinary diversity". Since the selection of papers by the Scientific Committee was based on anonymous submissions, the quota could only be ensured during a second round of allocations.

Evaluations and the General Assembly

The IDRC Evaluation of CODESRIA argued:

To begin with, CODESRIA was perceived as having little or no internal democracy, arguments were raised with respect to the bureaucratic tendencies in its functioning. The General Assembly was viewed as an ineffective or easily manipulable body because: the members (i.e. the directors of member institutions) have

at best only a (sic) cursory information about CODESRIA; they do not want to get involved in the setting up of the more general policies of an organisation from which they feel estranged.¹²

Executive Committee

The Executive Committee is at the centre of the management of affairs of CODESRIA. How it is constituted, its legitimacy and scientific standing in the research community has huge implications.

The original Charter states this about membership:

In between the General Assembly Meetings, the affairs of the Council will be directed by an Executive Committee. The Committee shall consist of six members, elected by the General Assembly. The six members will elect among themselves a Chairman, who is appointed by the Executive Committee. He shall be an ex-officio member of the Committee. Only persons belonging to full member institutions will be eligible for election. Members of the Executive Committee will have a tenure of two years, but a retiring member will be eligible for re-election.

Not more than one elected member of the Executive Committee will belong to national institutions in the same country. In electing members of the Executive Committee, adequate attention will be paid to balanced geographical and language representation.

The 1982 revisions changed the number of members of the Committee from six to eight and their tenure was extended from two to three years.

It is interesting to note that there were no regional specifications about the members of the Executive Committee. Names would be proposed to the General Assembly entirely on the merit of individuals and, when seconded, be put to secret ballot. There were, nevertheless informal attempts to achieve regional balance in terms of representation.

Regional Representation

By 2005, this non-specification of regional representation had been replaced by a more specific representation of regions as initially defined by the OAU. According to the revised Charter adopted during the 11th General Assembly of

CODESRIA held in Maputo on 10 December 2005, Members of the Executive Committee were now to be elected by the General Assembly, representing equally the following regions:

- Central Africa;
- Eastern Africa;
- North Africa;
- Southern Africa;
- West Africa.

Each region would propose three candidates to the General Assembly, which retained two as full members of the Executive Committee. The third candidate would have the status of a substitute member and not more than one elected member of the Executive Committee should come from the same country;

The new Charter failed to attach objective scientific criteria for selection/election. The only criterion highlighted was regional representation, a point underscored by the Governance Review Committee as a source of the "deep crisis of governance" of the 1990s.

It is also important to recall that this regional representation paid no attention to the number of countries in the various regions or the population size of the academic community of member states and of the region as a whole.

One danger of this regionalisation of membership was that individuals actually saw themselves as representing their region at Executive Meetings. In a meeting where regionalism was evoked, the Executive Secretary noted "that although members of the EC were nominated by sub-regions for commendation to the General Assembly in plenary session, they were in fact elected to their position by the entire General Assembly and are, therefore, not necessarily representatives of sub-regional interests. They are located in the different sub-regions but they hold a pan-African brief. It was, therefore, important to avoid any temptation either to overplay the sub-regional card or assume a role of sub-regional gatekeeping especially as it pertains to activities taking place in the different sub-regions."¹³

The most important implication of this change is that it cemented the primacy of regional representation above all other possible bases of representation.

As the Committee on Governance observed:

It is not an exaggeration to suggest that the current crisis in CODESRIA is at least partly the crisis of governance, no doubt played out on a larger canvass of various forces outlined briefly in the last chapter. Its origin can be located in the provision in the 1995 charter which made representation regional without attaching objective criteria for selection/election. Article 18(a) of that charter states, inter alia, that 'members of the Executive Committee shall be elected by the General Assembly representing equally the following regions: Central Africa, East Africa, North Africa, Southern Africa, (and) West Africa. Sub-section (b) of the same article stipulates that 'each region proposes three candidates to the General Assembly, which retains two as full members of the Executive Committee. The third candidate will have the status of a substitute member.' Article 17(c) stipulated that 'no more than one elected member of the Executive Committee shall come from the same country.' Notwithstanding the foresight embedded in this provision, CODESRIA has been plunged into a deep crisis of governance, partly due to the overplay of (linguistic) regionalism and, which resulted in the forced resignation of its third Executive Secretary since inception. This is a crisis that requires a surgical operation to 'arrest what is threatening to develop into a crisis of legitimacy, not only for the organs of governance, but even more fatally, for the organisation as a whole. To get at the root of this crisis, it is important to take a historical swipe at the origins of these organs, their elaboration over time and sources of conflict that culminated in the crisis of succession, whose ripples will remain for years to come.'¹⁴

Election of President and Vice-President

Another significant change was that a President and a Vice-President for CODESRIA would be elected by the General Assembly from among members of the Executive Committee and its governing organs.

Professionalization of the Secretariat

It is clear from the original documentation that the Secretariat of CODESRIA was expected to be a small operation whose location could be moved around. The

presumption was that African academics would take up jobs as professionals for short stays and return to their respective jobs. Consequently, there was no provision for career paths within the organization. One strong argument for such a position was to encourage a steady flow of new minds to the Secretariat and to combat bureaucratic entrenchment. We believe this matter of the Secretariat needs

a specialised review and management audit.

Scientific Leadership of CODESRIA Activities

A central task of CODESRIA decision-making bodies is managing or overseeing the "development of the social sciences in Africa". This is fundamentally an

intellectual responsibility of the Executive Committee.

Some Elements for the Future

The Governance Review Committee made suggestions about membership as indicated in the box below.

BOX

Recommendations of the Governance Report on Membership

Originally CODESRIA's membership was confined to directors of university-based research and training institutes. Over the years, it has been found that, in practice, individual scholars have been far more active and are largely responsible for the successes of CODESRIA. The 1995 Charter provides for both institutional and individual membership open to all 'African universities and organisations' engaged in social science research and training and African social science researchers respectively. Both these categories are full members but curiously, the Charter provides that 'only institutional members shall have the right to vote.' In practice, as far as we are aware, this provision has not been adhered to and in fact is inconsistent with other provisions of the Charter.

We are of the view that CODESRIA's practice should be affirmed by the constitution. It should have both institutional and individual membership but a careful balance must be maintained between these categories insofar as representation is concerned. In our detailed recommendations, we have taken account of the fact that representation of institutional membership ought not to overwhelm individual membership representation and institutes from one region ought not to dominate. This is to maintain regional balance.

Associate membership, open to both institutions and individuals, should also continue.

All members, whether full or individual, should be fee-paying and fees should be payable three years in advance. In the past CODESRIA, for reasons of difficulties in transferring funds, etc., has not been strict about enforcing payment of fees. These reasons are no longer valid and members should be able to pay reasonable fees.

We recommend two categories of membership: full and associate.

We recommend that both full and associate membership should be open to individuals and institutions.

We recommend that all categories of members must pay appropriate fees and this requirement should be strictly observed. (The eligibility for membership is discussed in the next section.)

Proposals/Recommendations

Introduction

As appears from the history outlined above, a critical feature of CODESRIA's governance arrangements has been *a persistent lack of clarity about membership of the Council and its incidents* – who/what is entitled to be a member, with what rights and obligations? From the exclusively institutional membership with which it started, the Council, under the pressure of events and through a series of *ad hoc* accommodations, mutated into a mixture of institutional and individual membership. This occurred without a deliberate thinking through of

the full implications of the serial adjustments for the desired membership, governance structure and workings of the institution. A particularly telling factor in this process was the holding of CODESRIA's major scientific conference on the occasion of the General Assembly and at the same site, which made it difficult to exclude conference participants from exercising membership rights, including voting for office holders at the General Assembly on payment of "membership" fees – some without having considered or applied for such membership ahead of the Assembly!

Again, despite the formalisation of individual membership by the Charter in 1992 (the 7th GA), key questions have remained unanswered. Among these are questions as to eligibility criteria and the incidents of individual membership, the relationship between individual and institutional members and the weighting, if any, of voting and representational rights of the two categories of membership.

Compounding this have been major gaps in relation to the qualities required of office holders and the processes for leadership selection. There are no stated criteria for eligibility for appointment to the Presi-

dency or the Executive Committee other than that of being a CODESRIA member, therefore, no formalised process for assessing eligibility, and only a crude process for election – by regional groupings convening *ad hoc* at the General Assembly. While this loose approach may have been adequate in the initial phase when membership was limited to a relatively small group of institutions, with leaders who knew each other and were established figures on the social science scene, the approach became increasingly dysfunctional as the constituency became larger and more diversified, and as formal membership was expanded.

It became easy to take undue advantage of these governance deficits, as has occurred regularly over the past two decades or so. Despite efforts to address the problem, this has resulted in the most embarrassing near-disasters at every General Assembly since then, contributing to a loss of control over the quality of its elected leaders and some loss of credibility of the Council's scientific leadership and standing within the social science community. It is the considered view of this Review Committee that without addressing these issues in a deliberate, decisive and consistent manner, and setting up a robust governance structure and process, CODESRIA will continue down the path which the current Executive Committee, reflecting the views of most members of the community, wishes to arrest.

It is appreciated that governance reform cannot be undertaken without reference to a clarification and affirmation of the vision and values and thus, the essential identity of the institution. Furthermore, such reform will have clear implications for management structures and practices. The following proposals are, therefore, to be taken together with the intellectual vision review and management audit currently under way.

With that proviso, the following proposals and recommendations made in respect of:

- i) Membership
- ii) Governance and Leadership
- iii) Management and Administration; and
- iv) Charter Amendment

are put forward for consideration by the Executive Committee and further processing as appropriate.

Membership

To move away from the current state of paralysing ambiguity, it is necessary to rationalize and formalize the basis and incidents of *membership* of CODESRIA, as distinct from access by institutions and individuals to its grants, scientific activities and other programmes. This distinction should pose no serious problem as membership has never been a condition for access to CODESRIA grants or participation in its scientific programmes, activities and other benefits.

It is proposed that membership of CODESRIA continue to be open to African centres/institutes, professional associations and networks involved in social science research and teaching, as well as to individual social science and humanities researchers. Further, a person, institution or other body seeking membership should meet set eligibility criteria, put in an application and undertake to be bound by the CODESRIA Charter and Code of Ethics. In addition, every member should pay appropriate membership dues. Thus, while participation in its work will continue to be open to institutions and individuals on merit, eligibility to membership of CODESRIA and its incidents should be clearly delimited.

Eligibility for Membership

Full Membership

Institutional Membership: open to African social science and humanities research and teaching centres and units within and outside universities; discipline-based and issue-focused professional associations and networks; national research bodies; and not-for-profit research NGOs – all accredited under applicable laws, having standing within the scientific communities to which they belong, with a letter of support from a member in good standing.

Membership of such centres, units, networks, professional associations and NGOs confers no special rights or benefits on individual staff or researchers, except where such individuals represent their centre, or other body.

Individual Membership: open to African members and Fellows of social science

and humanities faculties and departments of universities, independent research centres, units, networks, professional and issue-focussed associations and not-for-profit NGOs; independent African researchers, writers and public intellectuals with a record of continued engagement in intellectual production; and African students engaged in doctoral studies in the social sciences and humanities.

Associate Membership: As in the Charter, Associate Membership is available to non-African institutions and individuals who otherwise meet the criteria for Full Membership, as set out above.

Honorary Membership: As in Charter, but for the substitution of the phrase "... African social sciences and humanities..." for "... African social sciences ...".

Process

Current as well as prospective institutional and individual members shall apply for membership to the Secretariat, which shall vet all applications in light of the eligibility criteria and make recommendations for approval by the Executive Committee.

Incidents of Membership

Full members, the following rights, privileges and obligations flow from membership of CODESRIA. First is participation in the governance of the Council through the right to vote and to hold positions at all levels of the Council, as well as to participate in or be represented at the General Assembly and on its committees and other organs. These rights are balanced by an obligation to uphold the highest standards in their scientific work, support the vision, principles and programmes of CODESRIA, and abide by the CODESRIA Code of Ethics.

Associate Members [as in Charter, with modifications]

Voting Rights

Unless otherwise specified, votes shall be so weighted as to accord 40 percent to institutions, 60 percent to individual members.

Code of Ethics

In line with the proposed re-visioning and reinvigoration of CODESRIA, a Code of Ethics must be drawn up and made binding on all members and office-bearers of the Council.¹⁵

Governance and Leadership

Governing Organs of CODESRIA

- (a) The General Assembly
- (b) The Executive Committee

General Assembly

The General Assembly, as the primary governance body, is constituted by members – institutional and individual – and participation in its work must be on a basis that ensures appropriate representation of the entire constituency in its disciplinary, gender, generational, language, and sub-regional diversity. To that end, *participation at the General Assembly shall be open to all fully paid-up members, who have had that status for at least three months prior to the General Assembly, whether present or by remote means.*

We have proposed new processes for the election of office holders which do away with the practice of using regional caucuses for the purpose at the General Assembly, and the needless tensions they have occasioned in the recent past. That should help create an atmosphere conducive to the broadest possible participation in discussions at the General Assembly. Indeed, consideration might be given to allowing non-member participants in a concurrent scientific conference to take part in such discussions, *but without the right to vote*. Given the age and calibre of participants at such conferences, their presence would be a positive for CODESRIA – enriching Assembly discussions with a "young" perspective, and, perhaps, helping to recruit the next generation of CODESRIA members.

Executive Committee

Eligibility for Office

On the issue of eligibility for office in CODESRIA, and given the essentially scientific nature of the mandate and practice of CODESRIA, it is necessary to make explicit and binding what has been implicit from the beginning, namely, *the primacy of scientific credentials, integrity and standing in the community, and familiarity and concurrence with the CODESRIA vision, as the bases for the selection of the President, Members of the Executive Committee and the Executive Secretary*. Complementary criteria include experience and credibility within the scientific community, and a record of Pan-Africanist social scientific

work. It will also be necessary to ensure an overall balance of disciplines, geographic/linguistic divisions, gender and generations, etc. *But the latter considerations must not be allowed to undermine CODESRIA's essentially scientific standing and credibility.*

Composition

The Executive Committee shall consist of 15 elected Members, made up of the President, the Vice-President and 13 Members, with the Executive Secretary as a non-voting Member.

Eligibility to Executive Committee Membership

Each Member of the Executive Committee, which provides leadership to the Council and answers directly to the General Assembly, must satisfy the eligibility criteria for leadership, with appropriate modifications, and be elected according to the process outlined below. Only persons or institutions that are and have been full members for at least the preceding three years shall be eligible for election to the Executive Committee (President, Vice-President or Member).

To ensure inclusiveness in this vital organ of the Council, the current Charter provides for the allocation of two seats on the Executive Committee to each of the five African Union regions, with an informal understanding regarding linguistic representation. The current practice is for this allocation to be done by regional caucuses meeting on the occasion of the GA and each region proposing three names out of which the GA elects two for a total of 10 Members. The Charter further provides that adequate attention be paid to balanced gender, generational, sub-regional, linguistic, and disciplinary representation.

Tenure of Members: It is not proposed to alter the relevant provision in the Charter.

Functions It is not proposed to alter the relevant provision in the Charter, except for the deletion of the provisions relating to the establishment of a Scientific Committee (Art 20 g) and TITLE X).^{16]}

President

Effectively, the "Leader" of the African social science community, the President of CODESRIA must have impeccable social science credentials and track record. This

cannot be assured by the current practice, by which the President is elected by the General Assembly from the list of members newly selected for the Executive Committee by regional groupings convened for the purpose at the General Assembly, with no explicit reference to scientific merit, special qualifications, or functions. To correct the situation, a different, more deliberate approach is proposed below.

Tenure

No change from current practice – one term, non-renewable.

Election of Officers (President, Vice-President, Executive Committee members)

Over the past two decades and more, the General Assembly has been so overwhelmed by the process and tensions around the election of officers that other vital business, such as the receipt and discussion of reports from the Executive Committee, and the debating and approval of strategic plans and the expenditure programme, have attracted little attention or interest.

To correct this by facilitating a more deliberate and informed process for the election of our leaders, and to allow space for important substantive work to be done in an appropriate atmosphere at the Assembly, we propose that *the election of the President, Vice-President and Members of the Executive Committee be conducted mostly in advance of the General Assembly, through an electronic/postal process*, as follows:

- A five-member **Independent Nominations Panel** shall be appointed by the Executive Committee at least 12 months ahead of the General Assembly. The responsibility of the Independent Nominations Panel will be to solicit/receive and process nominations of candidates for the Presidency, Vice-Presidency and membership of the Executive Committee that is to assume office at the Assembly. Membership of the Panel should be as follows: (i) one former President, (ii) four highly respected members in good standing, drawn from the entire membership of the Council, with due regard to disciplinary, regional, linguistic, gender and generational factors.
- Nominations for institutional and individual candidates, with CVs and

such other details as set out in the Bye-Laws, shall be solicited from all members in good standing by electronic and other means. After the set period, nominations received shall be scrutinised, validated and assessed by the Panel in accordance with the set criteria for membership eligibility. Final slates of eligible candidates for the Presidency, the Vice-Presidency and the two categories of membership of the Executive Committee shall be developed, with justifications, by the Panel and circulated to all members in good standing to cast their votes for candidates of their choice for the various positions of President and Vice-President, institutional and individual members of the EC. The notices shall include a reminder to all voters of the high value attached by CODESRIA to diversity – disciplinary, regional, linguistic, gender and generational.

- Upon receipt of the results, the Panel shall collate, validate and rank the votes for the various positions – President, Vice-President, institutional member and individual member – and declare the results of the elections as follows:
 - (i) For the position of President, the candidate receiving the highest number of votes in that category shall be declared President;
 - (ii) For the position of Vice-President, the candidate receiving the highest number of votes in that category shall be declared Vice-President;
 - (iii) For institutions, the five candidates receiving the highest number of votes in that category shall be declared members of the EC; and
 - (iv) For individual candidates, the eight receiving the highest number of votes in that category shall be declared members of the EC.
- The slate of successful candidates, made up of
 - (i) the names of the candidates elected President and Vice-President;
 - (ii) the names of the five institutions elected members of the EC; and
 - (iii) the names of the eight individual persons elected members of the EC;

and accompanied by the full profiles of all elected candidates, shall be submitted to the EC for announcement to the full membership of the Council, which shall occur at least three months before the GA at which the new EC is to be inducted into office.

Management/Administration

The Executive Secretary

The Executive Secretary, who heads the Secretariat and, under the authority of the Executive Committee, leads the operations of the Council, shall be appointed by the Executive Committee, as at present. In order to ensure that she/he has credibility within the community and with the EC, as well as capacity to manage the enterprise, care must be taken to ensure that the Executive Secretary has a solid background of academic and managerial experience.

Relationship between Executive Committee and Executive Secretariat

The day-to-day running of CODESRIA is by the Secretariat headed by an Executive Secretary appointed by the Executive Committee. A recurring theme in many CODESRIA documents is the accountability of the Executive Secretary to the Executive Committee. At the same time, successive Executive Secretaries have complained about a tendency of the Executive Committee occasionally to go beyond its normal oversight functions. This is acknowledged as one of the problems that would have to be resolved if CODESRIA is to secure its future.¹⁷

After careful consideration of the issue, and taking into account the views of both the Executive Committee and the Executive Secretariat, the Review Committee affirms the view that, ultimately, the answer lies in the calibre of persons elected or appointed to the respective positions, their appreciation of their functions, and their adhesion to the Charter of CODESRIA, and their integrity.

Management Audit

There is urgent need for a thorough management audit to determine the *proper establishment* and *job descriptions* within the Executive Secretariat, as well as to consider the introduction of a *performance management system* to bring the

Secretariat up to top international standards. Also to be assessed are the Secretariat's *ways of working, particularly in respect of relations with the Executive Committee*. This is an undertaking currently under consideration by the Executive Committee.

Charter Amendment

For the reasons advanced in this Report, the relevant provisions of the CODESRIA Charter of 2005 need to be clarified and rationalised along the lines outlined in this Report, and as set out in the attached draft amendments to the Charter. Upon approval by the Executive Committee, these amendments may be tabled as such, before the next General Assembly for approval and adoption in accordance with the Charter.

Alternatively, the Executive Committee may opt to present the proposed amendments to a Constituent General Assembly, i.e., one convened along the lines set out in this Report for the specific purpose of approving the proposed Charter amendments. This would obviate having to deal with the old-style General Assembly, with the attendant risk of running into the very problems that the new proposals seek to avoid.

Whichever position is taken, the Executive Committee will have to undertake a widespread and sustained communication and canvassing process to clarify the background and make the case for the proposed changes and the process adopted for bringing them into being.

Notes

1. Report of the Governance Committee, CODESRIA, 2002.
2. Ibid.
3. SIDA Evaluation 07/26 Consolidation and Renewal Prepared by Björn Beckman, Inga Brandell, Lloyd Sachikonye, Mohamed Salih, Department for, Research Cooperation, CODESRIA in the New Millennium. 2007. Page 19.
4. Charter of CODESRIA, 1976.
5. Report of the Executive Secretary, CODESRIA 65th Meeting of the Executive Committee, 7-10 December 2006, Port Louis, Mauritius.
6. CODESRIA STRATEGIC PLAN FOR 2012-2016: Extending the Frontiers of Social Science Research and Bringing Social Science Research to Public Issues.

7. CODESRIA 78th Meeting of the Executive Committee, 4, 8-9 June 2012, Dakar (Senegal).
8. CODESRIA 78th Meeting of the Executive Committee, 4, 8-9 June 2012, Dakar (Senegal).
9. CODESRIA Evaluation 1996: Herschelle S. Challenor, Clark Atlanta University; Aaron Gana, University of Jos. P.117.
10. CODESRIA Evaluation 1996 Submitted by Dr. Herschelle S. Challenor, Clark Atlanta University and Dr. Aaron Gana, University Of Jos.
11. Report of the Sixth General Assembly of CODESRIA, held in Dakar December 1988.
12. CODESRIA EVALUATION REPORT Sponsored Jointly by IDRC, SAREC and the Ford Foundation August 1985.
13. CODESRIA 60th Meeting of the Executive Committee, 4-5 August 2004, Kinshasa, Democratic Republic of Congo.
14. Report of the Governance Committee, CODESRIA, 2002, Page 22.
15. The existing Code might be amended to make it generally applicable.
16. We do not recommend a separate scientific committee established by Charter. The co-existence of two autonomous bodies both reporting to the General Assembly has been a source of friction. It has also encouraged the view that the leadership of an organisation such as CODESRIA could be separated from the Council's scientific task. Our assumptions about the scientific leadership of the Executive Committee and rigorous selection process proposed, assume that the composition of the Executive Committee will be sufficient to provide the broad scientific leadership required. The Executive Committee is free to appoint a Scientific Sub-Committee, with membership beyond itself. It may also call upon individual scholars to take on tasks, as is the practice, for instance, in the Small Grants Programme.
17. Report of the Sixth General Assembly of CODESRIA, held in Dakar in December 1988.

Comments on the Report of the Internal Review Committee on Membership and Governance

February 2015

The Executive Committee of CODESRIA (EC) is grateful to the Internal Review Committee for Membership and Governance (IRC/M&G) for its constructive report, received on February 27, 2015, which provides a thorough review of CODESRIA's history and a useful framing of the current challenges it is facing. The EC is, therefore, circulating the full report of the IRC/M&G to the entire membership of CODESRIA to promote deliberation and debate on its contents.

Accompanying this report are the EC's following observations:

1. The EC attaches a lot of importance to the examination of the relationship between the EC and the Secretariat. It believes that it was an omission not to take up this issue in the report. The EC's mission of oversight needs to be explained and detailed and the processes and mechanisms for its exercise elaborated for the sake of both the EC and the Secretariat, notwithstanding who is in the EC or in the Secretariat. The EC is convinced that what is admittedly a "recurring" complaint on the part of both EC and Secretariat cannot be reduced to a question of personalities. It is precisely to avoid

**The Executive Committee of
CODESRIA**

challenges of personality that clear rules must be set and mechanisms created in order to regulate the oversight function and uphold mutual accountability.

2. The Executive Committee believes that one of CODESRIA's strengths is the diverse character of its membership (generation, gender, geography, language, discipline, ideology...). To the organisation's credit, CODESRIA has tried – and succeeded – in managing this diversity and ensuring balance and inclusivity in both its programmes and governance. The EC does not believe that this diversity in anyway undermines CODESRIA's "scientific standing and credibility".
3. On CODESRIA's character as a social science research institution, the EC is of the view that CODESRIA's trajectory has been to affirm the value of the social sciences in their broadest definition and the impor-

tance of transdisciplinarity as an approach. This is done in keeping with the very evolution of the social sciences.

4. The report has a detailed consideration for the question of membership and significant recommendations for Charter amendments, which are most welcome and which will be tabled at the GA for adoption.
5. While the EC agrees with the report's observation that participants and beneficiaries of the Council's work do not have to be members of CODESRIA, it invites more reflection on the benefits that individual and institutional members of CODESRIA should have beyond their participation in governance. In addition to belonging to a unique pan- African community of scholars, there are benefits which already exist which could be made more explicit in the areas of publication, representation, hosting, networking, collaborations and partnerships. The EC believes that this would strengthen the case for membership and support the building of a healthy membership base.
6. The IRC/M&G report sees CODESRIA's evolution in terms of strengthening its institutional mem-

bership base, and several of its recommendations for governance reform derive from this premise. The EC believes that the case for moving in this direction still needs to be made, and whether and how this can be done requires further reflection. Therefore, the EC plans to table this item for deliberation during the General Assembly.

Therefore, whether and how to implement the weighting of votes and representation, proposed in the report, will only be decided after further consideration of the case for strengthening institutional membership.

7. The EC considers that that the IRC/M&G report did not make the case

for the abolition of the Scientific Committee and its replacement by an enlarged EC that will take up its function. The EC, therefore, will invite further deliberation on this issue at the GA.

8. On implementing the amendments which are carried by the General Assembly the EC agrees with the IRC/M&G report that some transitional arrangements may be necessary if the proposed Charter amendments (and bye-laws) on elections are accepted. In this regard the EC believes that three scenarios are possible:
 - a. The amended Charter comes into force immediately, but is implemented only partially by

holding elections using the provisions which can be feasibly activated.

- b. The amended Charter comes into force immediately and is fully implemented by not holding elections at the 14th GA, but instead establishing the electoral panel to implement its provisions fully in accordance with the bye-laws. Therefore a special GA will be held within 12 months during which the new EC assumes office.
- c. The amended charter comes into force the day after the GA and therefore elections in the 14th GA are held under the old rules (regional caucuses etc.)

Comments on the Report on Membership and Governance

My comments are those of an ordinary individual member of CODESRIA, who has been grateful to be able to attend a number of CODESRIA research workshops as well as at least three General Assemblies so far. My comments are also those of someone who has been immensely inspired by the work of CODESRIA, the scholars who make up its community, what it has stood for, and what it inspires in a younger generation amongst whom I number myself.

The report of the Committee is welcome and contains a number of important recommendations. As the Committee has described it, CODESRIA has gone through a number of changes over the years, including the change in the meanings of the acronym itself. These changes have been in response to issues as they arose and were the products of critical self-assessment. In my estimation, while many other continental organisations and networks have floundered, CODESRIA has gone from strength to strength, and much of that has to do with the calibre of the leadership, and the capacity for critical self-reflection and renewal over the decades. The ability to stand back, and assess the organisation, its strengths and weaknesses, and to develop credible and strategic changes in a consensual and democratic manner has enabled the organisation to weather some difficult periods organisationally and politically. These significant changes have come about when assessed against the broad aims of the organisation – which are, it seems to me, to provide intellectual leadership and insight onto various questions that have animated African

Suren Pillay
Centre for Humanities Research
University of the Western Cape
South Africa

societies, and to do so in a way that builds on a pan-African vision of thinking Africa, as part of the world and also as a unity with many diversities. Each assessment so far has been undertaken in relation to what form best corresponds at specific moments to the broad overall goals. And each change has addressed these. To its credit, CODESRIA's membership has always understood the need for a tactile, dynamic organisational form that was weary of becoming a sluggish orthodox bureaucracy slow to respond to the shifting socio-political and economic contexts in which it operates, at a continental and global level. But each assessment and their solutions can over time lead to unintended consequences. If not checked by critical self-appraisal from within the community, these can create organisational stasis, crises and eventually loss of stature and purpose. I concur with the general observation of

the Committee that the organisation is in some respects at its strongest, but that it also might be at one of those strategic turning points, where reforms might be required to best consolidate its past, and enable the future carrying out of the Charter's aims.

There are two key issues that, as I understand the report, need to be realigned to bring the form and the function of the organisation into synchronicity in the most optimal manner- that is intellectual leadership on the one hand and representivity on the other. Both endeavors have been important to the creation of a truly Pan African community of scholars, linking North and South, and honouring the linguistic lingua francas as best as possible. Both were strategic political choices. The translation of these into an organisational form has been the issue that has constantly been grappled with- how best to create a Pan African community of scholars that nurtures the most insightful, critical perspectives on African societies by African scholars themselves? The provision of this scholarly and intellectual mission must be unambiguously central to what the organisation cultivates, stands for, and is known

for. Younger scholars have been animated by, and inducted into the world of scholarly and intellectual production because they have often been captivated by the quality of the scholarship and debates that was produced by scholars in CODESRIA. Scholars from within CODESRIA were writing the most critical and insightful work and had something distinctive to say that commanded attention, thought and engagement. The organisation can name with no element of exaggeration an enviable pantheon of world renowned political and development economists, historians, sociologists, political scientists, philosophers, literary scholars and anthropologists.

They are all known for thinking Africa in distinct and original ways, in theorising and conceptualising the continent and the world in non-derivative forms, and for attending to the questions that concerned African societies the most. The organisation and its community is known for being responsive to the demands of what it means to be a scholar of Africa in Africa, and for being able to eschew dogma or uniformity in the answers to that question. The question we have to ask frankly of ourselves is, does the current form of regional representation best cultivate these merits of the organisation? It seems to me that the Committee is correct to suggest that as a starting point we need to reconsider the way leadership is elected so as to maintain the illustrious record of the way leadership is provided. These can be done in ways that do not sacrifice representation.

My three observations arising from the Committee report, would be:

- (i) I concur that that the regional caucuses and the choice of members of the executive committee from regions in the current manner does not work adequately. Changing the election of the EC along the lines suggested by the report need not sacrifice diversity and representation overall in the organisation. The core activities of the organisation, driven by research thematic, if properly constituted, establishes *in practice* a better way to achieve the goals of representation. These are already expressed by composition and constitution of the multinational and national working

groups, and the training institutes and workshops. The research networks that address the thematic, by their nature, cross borders, and cross linguistic boundaries, blend generations and genders. They will be constituted in ways that are attentive then to representation and diversity but they will be driven by a research question. The best kind of representation might then be in the actual research and writing, rather than from the previous solution of having regional representatives on the EC, who might be inclined to exercise their mandates as regional rather than continental ones.

- (ii) The organisation might best be driven by three year cycles of a *fewer number of research questions* and thematic, with shorter more immediate responsive ones being added at the discretion of the Executive Committee. I suggest fewer and more focused research questions and themes, because as the Report notes, the African research environment has expanded greatly since CODESRIA came into being. There are more universities, more independent research institutes and more think tanks. The opportunity is now there for CODESRIA to not have to attend to every question and issue, but to attend to those that others who are, for example, driven by immediate policy concerns, are not able to attend to. These allow us to nurture and bring to fruition longer, more critical and in-depth research projects, such as historical research, or more abstract and trans-disciplinary ones, like the theorisation of our societies, whether it be their economic life, or their key concepts such as democracy, citizenship, justice, culture and aesthetics, wars, secularism, spirituality and religiosity, 'tribe' or race. Working to complement the more immediatist developmental and policy oriented research of many other research institutes and think tanks might be the unique space that CODESRIA offers to a community of scholars over the long term. For example, it was the long duree perspectives cultivated by CODESRIA that has given us the remarkable insights on dependency theory, of non-Europhone intellectual worlds, of colonial citi-

zenship and subjects and the making of genocides and civil war. Greater depth in thinking a problem rather increased expansion in solving all problems might be both possible and politically necessary at this strategic juncture driven by short term solutions.

- (iii) I support the election of an Executive Committee weighted towards the senior standing of the member as a scholar committed to the goals of the Charter, and with a track record in this regard. The EC should provide the intellectual leadership of the organisation. It should therefore be made up of scholars who carry with them the appropriate level of seniority while at the same time paying attention to a mix of regions, languages, genders and their dynamic energy. But the bias must be towards the merit and standing of the individual as someone who can offer respected collegial intellectual guidance to the rest of the scientific community, and who reflects that in their work, conduct and person as embodying the aims of the Charter. If so constituted, I would agree with the Report, that the need for a Scientific Committee would no longer be clear. The organisational and intellectual leadership of the EC would then work with the Secretariat in a seamless and complimentary manner, with less potential for ambiguity in roles, more so complicated potentially by the existence of the Scientific Committee. My observations are in no way a comment on the current state of these relations, since I am not in a position to comment on them, but rather about the form which might best avoid potential problems that could arise where there are ambiguities in the roles of committees, or potential sources of conflicting authority.

I wish to thank the Secretariat for distributing this important report, as well as the thoughtful comment by the EC on the report, and for inviting us all to be a part of this significant debate and conversation. No doubt from this transparent exercise the organisation will once more prove its dynamism and capacity for wisdom that inspires the rest of us to follow its lead.

CODESRIA Charter

Proposed Amendments

February 2015

PREAMBLE

(No change)

TITLE I: Name, Legal Status and Location

Article 1

Name

(No Change)

Article 1a:

While the Council was previously known as "the Conference of Directors of Economic and Social Science Research Institutions in Africa" and "the Council for the Development of Economic and Social Research in Africa" the acronym CODESRIA and the objectives of the Council have remained the same. All official documents carrying the previous names of the Council remain valid.

TITLE II: Objectives

(No change)

TITLE III: Functions

(No change)

TITLE IV: Members

Article 6

(No change)

Article 7

A full individual member is an African scholar involved in the social sciences or humanities, who is:

- (a) a member or Fellow of a Social Science or Humanities Faculty or Department of a University;
- (b) a member of an independent research centre, unit or network;
- (c) a member of a professional association or not-for-profit organisation;
- (d) any other researcher, writer or public intellectual with a record of continued engagement in intellectual production or activity; or
- (e) a student undertaking postgraduate studies

who is engaged in social science and humanities research, training and/or

publishing, and has applied for and been admitted to membership of CODESRIA.

Article 8

A full institutional member is an African

- (a) university, research centre or unit within or outside a university;
- (b) discipline-based professional association or network;
- (c) national research body; or
- (d) not-for-profit organisation who is engaged in social science and humanities research, training and/ or publishing, and has applied for and been admitted to membership of CODESRIA.

Article 8A

An institutional member shall be represented only by a designated member of the institution in respect of matters relating to CODESRIA.

Article 9

An associate individual member is a non-African scholar engaged in social science and humanities research, training or publishing, who has applied for and been admitted to membership of CODESRIA.

Article 10

An associate institutional member is a non-African university, research centre, institute or not-for-profit organisation that is engaged in social science and humanities research, training or publishing, which has applied for and been admitted to membership of CODESRIA

Article 11

CODESRIA may from time to time confer honorary membership on individuals in recognition of their contribution to the African social sciences and humanities, and the objectives of CODESRIA.

Article 11A

An institution or individual that intends to be a member of CODESRIA may submit an application for that purpose in the form and the manner set out in the Bye-Laws.

Article 12

Full and associate members shall

- (a) accept the Charter of CODESRIA
- (b) uphold the highest standards in their scientific work and conduct;
- (c) support the vision, principles and programmes of CODESRIA;
- (d) participate actively in the activities of CODESRIA;
- (e) abide by the CODESRIA Code of Ethics; and
- (f) pay the requisite membership fees.

Article 13

Full individual or institutional members may:

- (a) participate in the governance of the Council through the right to vote and hold positions at all levels of the Council; and
- (b) participate in the General Assembly and in its committees and other organs.

Article 13A

To maintain the vision and integrity of CODESRIA, a Code of Ethics shall:

- (a) be drawn up for CODESRIA; and
- (b) be binding on all members, office-holders and staff of CODESRIA

Article 14:

(No change)

TITLE V: Official and Working Languages

(No change)

TITLE VI: Governing Organs of CODESRIA

(No change)

TITLE VII: The General Assembly

Article 17

(No change)

Article 17A

- (1) Participation in the General Assembly shall be open to a person who



- (a) is a member in good standing; and
- (b) has been such a member for at least three months before the General Assembly.

(2) Notwithstanding subsection (1) a person who is not a fully-paid up member but who is participating in a concurrent scientific conference organised by CODESRIA may participate in discussions at the General Assembly but shall not have the right to vote on any matter that requires the decision of the General Assembly.

Article 17B

- (1) Only full institutional and individual members who have been members of CODESRIA for at least three years shall have the right to vote in accordance with the relevant provisions of this Charter.

TITLE VIII: Executive Committee

(No change; as in the Charter)

Article 18

(No change)

Article 18A

A person qualifies to be a member of the Executive Committee if that person:

- (a) is a member in good standing;
- (b) has a record of continued engagement in intellectual production or activity;
- (c) has integrity and standing within the CODESRIA community; and
- (d) is familiar with and shares the vision of CODESRIA.
- (e) has attended at least one GA

Article 19

The elections of the EC shall be conducted by an Electoral Panel according to the procedures specified in the CODESRIA bye-laws.

Article 20 – 25

(No change)

TITLE IX Executive Secretariat

(No change)

[No change]

TITLE X Scientific Committee

(No change)

[No Change]

TITLE XI: Finances

(No change)

[No change]

TITLE XII: Donations

(No change)

TITLE XIII: Rules of Procedure

(No change)

TITLE XIV: Amendments to the Charter

(No change)

TITLE XV: Dissolution

(No change)

TITLE XVI: Final and Transitional

(No change)

Notes to Charter Amendment Proposals

February 2015

Article 1A: This proposed charter provision detailing CODESRIA name changes aims at enabling CODESRIA to validate the names used previously by the organisation and which still appear in official and valid documents of CODESRIA.

Articles 7-13: The changes proposed in existing articles as well as the proposed new articles detail the criteria for membership as well as the benefits and responsibilities of membership. These provisions contribute to the effort to

rationalise and formalise the basis of membership as distinct from access to CODESRIA's services.

Articles 17A and 17B: These proposed articles detail and formalise one of the benefits of membership -- participation in the governance of CODESRIA. They are meant to differentiate between participation in the scientific conference organised in parallel with the General assembly and participation in the general Assembly itself.

Article 18A: This new article makes explicit the criteria of eligibility to membership of the Executive Committee, the highest decision making body of CODESRIA in between general assemblies.

Article 19: This article replaces regional caucuses with an Electoral Panel that oversees CODESRIA elections. The rationale is to formalise and improve election processes and free the General Assembly from the diversions created by elections in order to focus on matters pertaining to the organisation's development.

Debates

Reflecting on the Future from Africa

For our fifth round table on this fortieth anniversary of CODESRIA, we have resolved to raise the question of the next forty years and beyond, by beginning to both think about the dynamics that will shape the face of future Africans, as well as ask ourselves which analytical tools will allow such exploration. It is within this forward-looking approach that the Executive Board of our organisation has entrusted me with the honor of saying a few words in this address.

My first point relates to a question raised during the presentation of the round table; the question of reconciling on one hand, an approach at the center of which the imagination of the future inherently resides, and on the other, I quote: "an ethos of respect for the tradition and history many agree constitute the essence of the meaning of to be African." It is true that self-affirmation, and the affirmation of an African world presence in time has involved, and still involves the writing of the history of the continent. It is also true that for the past forty years, CODESRIA has never failed to give to research in this area the priority that such fundamental discipline requires. Specifically, our organisation has promoted research in the critical area of intellectual history of the continent, a history still largely to be written or rather re-written, against the dismemberment and de-historicising of Africa. I refer to the dismemberment that divided the continent into an Egyptian area linked to Asia, a North African area whose Mediterranean tropism was an appendage of Europe and finally, what Hegel – the one who gave value to this philosophical vivisection- called "Africa proper". Given that "Africa proper" became an isolate outside of the intellectual commerce that sustained ideas, its de-historicising could not but follow. It was therefore, only natural that the result from this state of affairs should be a division of labor between the colonial discipline of Orientalism dedicated to Mediterranean areas of the continent, and that of an

Souleymane Bachir Diagne
Columbia University
USA

invented static science of Africa, namely ethnology. It should further be noted, as Edward Said has demonstrated, that Orientalism is a posture and a look that essentializes. CODESRIA's contribution has been instrumental in bringing about the paradigm shift which today, is moving us away from a sort of ethnologisation aiming at the immutable essence of a stubbornly oral civilisation, toward the reconstruction of a true history of written scholarship in Africa, the very one to which Cheikh Anta Diop called attention. I quote here the subtitle adopted by Ousmane Kane for the French translation of *Meanings of Timbuktu*. This volume on the Malian town's manuscripts that Shamil Jeppie and I edited is a symbol of this history, a history that is intelligible only when one conceives the Sahara as it always was: an inland sea dotted with numerous roads, a sea many times crossed over, not only by flows of goods and slaves, but by books, ideas and scholars as well. The theme "Thinking on Africa" is precisely dedicated to some titles that CODESRIA has published over the last decade that symbolize the paradigm shift occurring from the "four corners" of the continent. And when I say "four corners" I mean this expression literally, bearing in mind, in addition to Dakar of course, other important centers linked to our organisation such as the one led by Shamil Jeppie at the University of Cape Town, the Institute of African Studies in Rabat under the long-standing directorship of our president Fatima Harrak, and the Centre in Cairo directed by Helmy Sharawi which devotes considerable work to African manuscripts in Ajami. This account gives me the opportunity to pay tribute here to the pioneering work of the historian John Hunwick, founder of ISITA (Institute

for the Study of Islamic Thought in Africa) at Northwestern University.

That said, if this recalling of the need to replenish the African intellectual history illustrates the concern for an ethos of respect for tradition and history, such respect is effective only if it does not represent the sign that the father of forward-thinking, Gaston Berger, called retrospective stubbornness. If our history is indeed as Césaire wrote, the "who and what we are," our truthfulness to what we are can only be realised in the movement to become just what we have to be. Such is the essence of the forward-looking approach. What it tells us is that as history goes so does memory: it is not a passive repository of that which is hence available to us merely for contemplation, or perhaps replication; it is that which only exists to be mobilised in the present, and engaged with the present in the movement to invent the future. Forward-thinking then, contrary to what the Kenyan philosopher John Mbiti would submit, is not the prerogative of any culture; neither is it naturally present, nor naturally absent in any. Rather, it denotes the ability of the human being to build a political culture of the time. History, therefore, simply teaches us that the very motion that opens the door to the future shapes the principle that commands the actions to be taken, and that the meaning of it all is not dictated by the past, but originates from the future.

The issue is not merely theoretical; it is rather practical, and eminently so when one considers the African youth - a topic out of which CODESRIA has every reason to make a real obsession. This youth, much too often seen storming waves and barbed wires to reach an elsewhere it holds to be the only medium leading to a promising future, is much less concerned about its identity and what it really is, than about its future. It is this youth that urges us to come out of this retrospective stubbornness to determine from the future what to think and do today. That is the

starting point for our reflection on the forty years ahead; those are the questions, not of identity but of the future, that we must learn to formulate and for which we must invent proper tools. Allow me to bring to mind, in a somewhat inevitably simplified way, some of these major issues for the future: the issue of equality of religions, that of education, and that of Pan-Africanism.

Equality will be, in fact already is, urgently and insistently the big issue of the coming decades. It is engraved at the heart of all other questions all over the world, particularly in our continent. On the world stage, it takes only one look at the extraordinary success of the book *Capital in the Twenty-First Century* by economist Thomas Picketty to be convinced of such a claim; it was acclaimed to be *The Capital* rewritten in our time. The book essentially sets the metrics and analysis that forces us to see, bar the "Thirty Glorious Years", the relentless continuous increase in inequality. Facing this destiny, we saw a promise emerge, the kind born out of inextricably political and ethical movements, be it activities modeled on Occupy Wall Street or the protest of those who, reiterating Stéphane Hessel's intractable anger, took the name "the Indignants". The promise is what the philosopher Etienne Balibar calls the "equaliberty proposal", a concept that intimates a connection between the two ideals that neoliberal capitalism presumes separate: the demand for liberty and that of equality. As one in the "equaliberty proposal", the they form a requirement for the decades to come. In *The Economist* journal's view, Africa's status has moved from that of a region on a downward slide for which there was little hope, to that of a "Rising continent", now a new frontier for investment. There is indeed reason to believe that we are at a turning point, and that the obvious seeds of change are real possibilities of emergence. In his interviews published in the issues of *Le Soleil* dated June 7, 8 and 9, 2014 Ebrima Sall, with good reason, and contrary to the pessimistic discourse often instinctively delivered about the continent, points to some indisputable improvements that have been accomplished. In the same breath, he mentions the part played by intellectuals in general, with particularly attention to those who keep CODESRIA alive in the reflection "on better understanding the situation and challenges in

formulating policies to change the living conditions of African people. " And that is because therein lies the whole mission of our organisation: " to understand in order to formulate policies "; understand that the coming years will see the reflection delve further still into the probable and foreseeable consequences of emergence in the context of neoliberal globalisation on our continent, i.e. deep inequalities between regions, and within our young nations in which living together and democracy will then be undermined. Many examples may be cited to substantiate this claim, but the one that immediately comes to mind is Brazil, the new prosperity of which is sang around the world; Brazil, where the Lula government has had undeniable success in promoting access for the many to conditions that define the middle class, but where those left behind by this emergence also understand that their demands for a more just and equal society cannot be concealed, neither by bursts of celebration of this new economic power, nor by the soccer festival held there a few months ago.

Setting the target of equality at the center of the forward-looking reflection means paying utmost attention to education, and that brings me to my second point. Speaking on the topic of education in the interview I have already mentioned, Dr. Ebrima Sall mentions the considerable effort that has been made with the multiplication "almost everywhere (...) of schools and institutions of higher learning. " Be that as it may, these institutions " almost everywhere " presently exist in such a state of crisis that it raises doubts as to their ability to truly fulfill their ascribed mission of manufacturing the future and fostering equality. The question of how to return them to this fundamental mission will remain on our minds in the years ahead. In fact, it has been raised in the third round table devoted to "Crises and revolutions." On this topic, I will briefly consider two key points around which the issue must be formulated: the promotion of science and technology, and that of the necessary anticipation of rapid changes that are now emerging in distance learning.

On the first point, it is clear at present that emergence dictates that our continent faces the challenges of knowledge economies through significant development of the so-called STEM disciplines (Science, Technology, Engineering, and

Mathematics). Countries that have built their economic progress on such development, and those involved in the competition to stay ahead in this field are living proof that such a direction is needed. Needless to say, such an orientation must not only be unwavering, but it cannot in any way, undermine the importance of Humanities and Social Sciences. This is, as the Secretary General of CODESRIA rightly stated, the human factor. The idea is not simply that the social sciences and humanities have the irreplaceable function of placing the human factor at the heart of development, but moreover, that they are necessary for STEM development policy. Indeed, a humanistic culture is not an external accessory to scientific and technological expertise; on the contrary, it gives it its full meaning. This idea is truly well – captured in the acronym STEAM as it naturally inscribes the Arts, in the sense of both creativity and intelligence of the human significance of our choices and actions, in a necessary complementarity with the so-called hard sciences and technology.

The second point I would like to raise concerns distance learning. A novelty not so radical after all, but which has become such a phenomenon over the past three years, that it has been labeled a "revolution" because it foretells of profound changes from which no institution of higher learning will escape. Like Janus, MOOCS (the online courses offered to the vast majority of students), typically present the face of risk and that of opportunity simultaneously. It is our responsibility to demonstrate our ability to anticipate and to creatively adapt to available technologies for the solution of our problems. This would mean finding a way to ensure that, with the new technologies of information and communication applied to distance education, we establish definite ownership modeled on what is happening with mobile telephony.

I now come to the third big question indicated above, that of religion. On this issue, we must first recognize that, for a long time, African social sciences have lacked foresight. That was understandable considering that the field essentially developed in connection with the nationalist and socialist projects: religion simply did not fit in the framework, and the tools for thinking on religion were simply not elaborated. It is therefore, all the more remarkable that in 1960, Léopold Sédar Senghor

should deem it important, perhaps even urgent, to write an article which called for "Muslim -Christian co-operation" for nation building on the continent – a necessary cooperation in view of the inevitable disappearance of traditional religions, he explained. A kind of cooperation in the role of education and edification that is their own was, according to Senghor, the only guarantee for harmonious coexistence of the Abrahamic religions on the continent. Presently, the social sciences cannot ignore the fact that we live a time in which the most serious crises most naturally find expression through the language of religion. A time in which religion produces constructed, ready-to-wear identities so often that

governments are not always able to maintain among citizens a common will to live together. For our future, we must forge our own tools of analysis of this multifaceted reality imposed on us, and our organisation's research agenda should reflect the urgency of executing a theoretical volte-face in the same vein as sociologist Peter Berger. It is known that he was one of the theoreticians of the so-called secularisation theory, a theory which holds that modernisation means ipso facto disappearance of religion, of public and social space first, and then gradually, of individual consciences. Having supported this view, Berger ventured to claim in the late 1990s, that the same process was also a factor in

generating powerful movements against secularism: one had to know how to think on religions and secularisations together.

I will end with a brief concluding note to essentially say that the horizon upon which CODESRIA's reflections are inscribed, is and will remain, Pan-Africanism, renewed today in its philosophy, generous as ever, but above all pragmatic. Will the next forty years reveal the United States of Africa to be more than merely a distant dream? We must hope for that, but more importantly, we must build it because, as its father philosopher Gaston Berger reminds us, the meaning of forward-looking reflection is that the future is not that which inevitably shall be, but that which, together, we invent.

Still Engaging Issues: Wisdom, Experience and Theoretical Ideas for the Future

Combative as it could be, compared to the immediate chaos out there as super-powers are fighting and positioning in anticipation of another new post era, intellectual work can still serve as something like a safe house. It is work that can be done quietly in one's privacy. It is work in which one can shut out the shouting, the pundits and the lies. This does not mean that scholarly work does not have its own lies and show of anxiety. It simply means that there is a heightened awareness and consciousness that demand a much deeper sense of principles and commitment, and less of petty politics, but more of time input.

The more debate I listen to over our global economic future, the more certain I am that regional and global inequalities between nations will not find a balance in the near future. The changing economies driven by the fight for energy supply show that the main super powers are in for major economic adjustments, and developing countries might have to fend for themselves. In this, I am glad of the aspect of my work that is focused on indigenous knowledge. The future suggests that this is the locus of self-sufficiency and sustainability. The scholarly challenge then is to tease out a dialectics with democratic participatory progressive future from this socio-cultural grassroots perspective.

Ifi Amadiume
Dartmouth College
USA

Theorising working democratic perspectives at the base is the frequently proffered alternative to the inequalities and disadvantages manifested in broader organisations that were once seen as a magic wand for regional, continental, international, and even global unity. In relation to grassroots Africa, regional institutions of integration such as NEPAD, APRM, AU, AUC, and the various regional organisations of West Africa, East Africa, Southern Africa, Central Africa, Northern Africa and the Sahel are designated instruments of regional and continental integration for socio-economic development. They like the international organisations such as BRICS, etc. present the problem of inequality between member nations, especially with Africa in the international and global ones. Lacking the power of strong self-financing, participating nations also have the problem of weak member investment and having to rely outside for financing.

With much emphasis on regional integration as a solution to democratic participa-

tion and cooperation, it is necessary to tease out the question of inter-linkages between financial institutions and these regional organisations for integration, more particularly, how they serve weaker member states and people at the grassroots. The tokenistic presence of very few women points to more exclusive boys clubs and therefore more inequalities and poverty at the grassroots. We need to rethink the philosophy of regional integration. Is it political or ethical given the facts of local, national and international competition? Whose interest in the end really is served in these relationships, sometimes in spite of the political goodwill motivating some of these organisations?

A rethinking of the philosophy of regional integration includes the examination or the considering of the place of national culture in trade and politics beyond market values. There is usually strong recommendation for the use of indigenous products or a respect for local production, manufacture and local markets. In other words, local markets are the economic and cultural live-veins of Africa and the second home of women at the grassroots. Therefore national culture is a political and not a moralising issue. What would African folk traditions say at this vital local - global level concerning the decline of their textile industry, for exam-

ple? This is a most interesting question, seeing how structurally important textile like language is to African cultures, myths and religions.

Needless to say, our concerns continue to revolve around issues in relation to an African-focused perspective or an Africa-centeredness. It is from this perspective that I was theoretically inspired by my colleagues during CODESRIA's 40th Anniversary Conference in Dakar, Senegal in 2014. The theme of the conference was "Building on 40 years of Research and Knowledge Production in Africa". I can see that theoretical advances have been made in the past few years from the presentations of my learned colleagues, and in a remarkable Africa-centered direction. Ebrima Sall sums it up very well by saying that Africa has taken up the issue of autonomy, setting its own lens from which to engage issues. This means that to theoretically stand strong, we must archive and build a strong research foundation, and think Africa. These are not completely new ideas, but the doing is what feeds on the new, and a follow-up to the work that were done by great African scholars who are now leaving us in their persons, but passing on their precious and invaluable works.

I am particularly grateful to have been present to learn of the General History of Senegal Project (HGS) from its coordinator, Professor Iba Der Thiam, former Vice President of the National Assembly of Senegal. Amongst an impressive list of professors, Heads and Directors of Research Centers and Associations, he made the wishes and recommendations of those giants of African Studies to come true. They must be dancing in their graves. I too feel proud that I have been a scholar of the great scholar Cheikh Anta Diop. It was a great day. Professor Thiam was magnificent as he unfolded the plan for the HGS project. Senegal has a mass of knowledge like all African nations, yet, little of it is known, due to lack of documentation and archiving. The HGS project aims to produce 50 to 60 volumes of documentation in all national languages and involve 150 committed researchers. Many of these researchers will also come from the grassroots. The research will focus on indigenous knowledge, history and experiences of slavery, and all periods of history. Several committees will be formed and experts, researchers and scholars from everywhere are invited to participate, as

the project has the full backing of the government of Senegal. According to Professor Thiam, the Ministry of Culture will publish the volumes, including a Dictionary of Senegal. CODESRIA was invited to participate, and Fatima Harrak graciously acknowledged that Senegal and her government have always supported CODESRIA and its scholars. That is a good thing, given that this support is unconditional.

Here then is a formula for documentation and a challenge to other African countries that already have not embarked on such a necessary and important project. This kind of documentation is different from the work produced in the UNESCO History of Africa series due to the focus of input from indigenous knowledge. Empty spaces in the documentation of indigenous knowledge systems remain a vexing problem for intellectuals in research and theoretical work about Africa. This is particularly in the work of decolonisation and the issue of autonomous knowledge production, the ground on which we stand to converse and take on discourses. It pertains to what we bring from Africa to the intellectual bargaining table, or discourse table, if you prefer.

Such a project that covers all periods of history, delving into indigenous knowledge and the experiences of forced enslavement, voluntary and forced migrations would provide much needed resources for further development and advancement of existing theories. Theories of African Matriarchy, Gender, pan-Africanism, Afro-diasporism, Afro-cosmopolitanism, African Renaissance, Ethnicity, Negritude, Race, Class, Afro-centrism, Hybridity, Nativity, Identity, Representation, Syncretism, Créolité, African Feminism, Sexuality, Holism, post-Coloniality, African economic and political theories, Development, Environmentalism, etc. would benefit from a bottom up discourse with an input from internal indigenous knowledge systems. It will mean that at all time African contributions will remain the subject and focus of discourse.

Some Key Points with Theoretical Implications

Souleymane Bachir Diagne put forward the idea of a future that we will succeed in inventing together, rather than a future that will happen. He therefore called for a

renewed strong and pragmatic pan-Africanism. Diagne emphasised the term postulate in relation to the process of preparedness for the future. Postulation can be seen as a keyword that captures thinking and planning for the future. Jimi Adesina preferred the term or the idea of endogeneity in Social Sciences for understanding ourselves in ethnographic data toward a deeper knowledge of the subject. Otherwise it is dilution. This term dilution is important and speaks to the problem of empty spaces, and the questioning of the quality and relevance of imposed ethnographic data. It is about subject self-knowledge. Fatou Sow tied activism around the neck of feminism, and therefore focused on gender equality, which really is basic to everything. While Elisio Macamo insisted on the importance of constructive theories, Diagne saw the importance of inventing project tools for the future. He also would have us bring in folk traditions. For Macamo it is about now; it is about working and strengthening the working tools of young scholars.

Thinking Africa involves learning from indigenous texts, as Shamil Jeppie pointed out. To that I added that it also involves theorising indigenous gender, and that recognition and citation of Africans are essential to acknowledgement of theoretical contributions and further advancements of ideas and scholarship. It was generally agreed that there is a bad practice of skipping local theoretical productions and looking to the North. A deeper look into Africa's own history is important, for example on the question of women's empowerment, there is internal evidence of women who fought for their rights since the 6th Century.

In Issa Shivji's distinction between nation-building and national liberation, he placed theoretical emphasis on newness. Self-definition involves the process of finding a new society and creating a new self. This perspective easily exposes the existence everywhere of the unfinished tasks of revolutions. Presumably, he is saying that things do not standstill from where a revolution was aborted because reactionary forces step in and take over. Therefore, there is need for a new one, and that is how to bring about the creation of a new society and new selves. I think that Samir Amin is saying something to Shivji when he says that the revolution has not changed the system, but the

people. This is the case of the state holding up the revolution, and being regressive about change.

Puleng Lenka Bula pointed out a difference between a relevant and an irrelevant revolution. A relevant revolution advances the community. There was good general discussion with the suggestion of reconsidering theories of revolution. We need to distinguish between an upheaval and a revolution. A national populist revolution is not necessarily democratic. It is good to hear old gurus of theories of the state and the peasantry revisit old disputed grounds. This is more so in the complex and chaotic contemporary with interesting dynamics of social and border compositions and the usage of technology. Current upheavals are not like what we might now call the romantic times of class perspectives and the idealisation of peasant revolts throwing up romantic heroes, revolutionary leaders, poets and intellectuals! What is spoiling and dirtying revolutions, one might ask? It's food for thought. We really should pay close attention to Akosua Adomako Ampofo's clever phrasing of the question of "how to get young people to fall in love with CODESRIA". His point is about relating to the young generation who are interested to know and those interested in advocacy. On the question of the future, his term Afro-futures seems to me quite adequate, complementing emergence, postulation and even anticipation, all of which are active, and not just inactively waiting to once again be acted upon, like an object. I have used the term possibilities to convey the same ideas.

Shahida El-Baz rightly reminded us that globalisation is imperialistic, and that the hands of revolutionaries are tied. There only can be the truth of free choice for the people of African. Democracy can only mean freedom. This is a good reminder to the theorists. It is the same for OSIWA, a dear partner to CODESRIA. OSIWA believes in total liberation and the total development of the continent of Africa. Theory and practice should be in the service of truth. AAWORD too is a female partner to CODESRIA and Faye like Sow placed emphasis on the theme of gender equality and social justice, highlighting the threat on women from fundamentalists. It is even clearer now the

need to do more work on girls, as fundamentalism of all persuasions abuse girls. Violence on women also includes violence on girls. Yet, as Ayesha Imam pointed out, there is lack of policy for girls. I do not think that there are adequate theories for girls either. It is therefore important to re-engage with women and girls and their issues at all levels.

Women and girls have a strong presence in the agricultural sector of economies. Sam Moyo called for a return to the broader questions of development, the agrarian question in particular. This is a valid concern, given the shift of focus to the infrastructure and interesting theories around regional integration, trade and finance. Moyo pointed out that there is an intensification of neo-liberalism and large-scale capitalism necessitating serious concerns about land grabbing and food sovereignty, a point that was repeatedly emphasised by others. Samir Amin reiterated the dangers of capitalism and its use of military control in an imploding situation. He just sees implosions everywhere: China's globalisation, and imploding systems in Africa, north and south. What are his proposed solutions? He calls for a progressive democratisation of society, non-alignment on globalisation and constructive development, and like Moyo, food sovereignty.

Given all these issues that are symptomatic of imperialisms, Dzodzi Tsikata considered the questions of thought liberation and critical consciousness in order to be free from the so-called partners from the West. Similarly, Lennart Wohlgemuth suggested a change of attitude and the need for Africans to actually attack globalisation, not just complaining about it. Even though there is a suggestion to set clear standards, explicit values and transparent interests, it means having African perspectives and theories. Wohlgemuth prefers that this would be done aggressively. Adebayo Olukoshi rather than the suggested term aggressive, brought in the term emergence as a new term for alternatives and possibilities for the future, that is the future that according to Diagne we don't just sit and wait for, we postulate. Aminata Diaw agreed by insisting that Africa should make its own claims since capitalist development is not viable. The manifestations of capitalist non-viability are in lots of inequalities, population

growth, the market and China's presence in Africa. Pan-Africanism presents an alternative.

Manthia Diawara in my opinion works very much within the domain of the humanities, and possibly for this reason cannot be too pessimistic, but seeks openings, especially those of states and borders. This is why he contradicted Amin's theory of economic implosions due to the practice of capitalist economies by African states. For him, the examples of Nigeria and Benin are not on the same levels of development to predict their implosions. Instead, through the insertion of culture, we can begin to think Africa and the questions of nationalism and the nation-state. There is this tension between theorists of culture paradigms and those of the economy. To which do you attribute change? Such a question might suggest over-dichotomisation, since material reality is usually a lot more complex with overlaps and in-betweens.

Similarly, Frebus Wong's classificatory division of two civilisation paradigms between absolute and ecological is dichotomous. Under absolute, he lists the characteristics of power, profit, mega city and the western imagination of democracy, while rural, town and city are some of those of ecological. He also distinguishes between water cycle and carbon cycle. Agreed that capitalism, particularly advanced capitalism, as the main economic ideological practice of certain civilisations is not sustainable and eventually leads to depletion and collapse. The whole world does not neatly divide into these two paradigms, as there are clusters of some of these categories all over the place. However it is a useful conceptual tool toward a workable ecological and environmental theory for sustainability. His main critique however is on Eurocentric representation of Africa when Africa does not fall under the absolute or destructive kind of civilisation.

More Issues toward Theorisation: My Observation

It is important to consider why policy papers are different from critical analytical academic ones. Perhaps it is related to the distinction between consultancy and academic research, something that many African scholars have moaned about. Limiting situations compel consultancy.

There are problems such as the specificity of directives and the power control by funding agencies. Works, papers, reports and documents serving this purpose indicate that material problems are so real and so close, at the expense of theory and postulations that mistakenly appears a thing of privilege, when it is not. A theoretical engagement is concerned with a different sense of outcomes and lessons learned in a long genealogy of empirical data and discourse. Generally not anticipating, postulating and contesting future outcomes leave alternative thinking and resistance stunted. We can see why usually there is a general complaint about lack of theory. Theory is time consuming and a long road to travel in a context of underfunding, poor infrastructural and material resources. The much promoted arrangements of partnership between African and central institutions abroad are not necessarily a good solution, given the popular opinion that Africa must claim ownership of her own works and determine her own freedom and futures. She cannot do so by unequal and asymmetrical partnerships. I do not mean to entirely dismiss the richness of co-operation, but simply suggesting the alternative of building up and strengthening African institutions.

African institutions include political and democratic processes. Current manifestations of violence call for new ways of theorising conflict, violence, upheavals, terrorisation and post conflict nations. There seems a general berating of the failure of western liberal democracy paradigm, when we can recall an earlier conclusion that there is no other alternative (TINA), so what now? We do need Africa-driven analyses of the inadequacies of the western liberal democracy paradigm in the context of different African economic, social, cultural and religious histories, taking into account the problems of violence and corruption. What direction for Africa? What alternative politics? Hopefully, a focus on Africa and suggestions such as home grown and in-house alternatives will not be misunderstood as prescriptions for African isolation. They are recommendations to return to decentralisation, inclusiveness, accountability and participatory democracy and development. They are recommendations to bring into the big picture nitty-gritty details of the varied lives and systems that make up and constitute the grand narrative at all levels, from the local to the national to the international. The use of indigenous languages is important, as Africans at the grassroots are

not silent about issues that concern and affect them. New analysis of changing civil societies and change necessitate a bottom up involvement of the people or citizens.

Africa attracts much intellectual interests, and sympathies for her past negative experiences. In addition, there also is encouragement to move forward on her own terms. Language is a topic of particular interest, and the production of knowledge in indigenous languages. More importantly, there is a concern about how such knowledges fit into the fight for modernity. Can there be classics within this genre as standards of African legacy that we can be proud of? The use of the term fighting for the place of indigenous knowledge within modernity is a clear indication that colonialism is not over and the work and task of decolonisation and liberation continue. With archives, ancient and indigenous manuscripts in various centers, the work of documenting and translation breathe new life into them, and they come to life again, revealing their epistemological significances.

We can use our own resources to continue the project of decolonisation. We can use our own resources to build the tools of our independence, projecting into the future what we want to be.

Méthod(e)s: African Review of Social Sciences Methodology



Méthod(e)s: African Review of Social Sciences Methodology is a bilingual, international multidisciplinary journal publishing articles on social sciences research methodology in English and French. The journal also welcomes during the first stage of its selection process paper proposals in Arabic, Spanish, Portuguese and Mandarin Chinese.

The journal provides a forum to discuss various aspects of social science research and epistemology as they apply to historical contexts and engages in current debates on social sciences methodology. *Méthod(e)s: African Review of Social Sciences Methodology* examines the theoretical foundations and methodological problems encountered in the practical exercise of the social sciences in Africa as part of the global South (both in general and in individual countries) and serves as an international medium

for the publication of social research methodology across a wide range of social sciences disciplines, historical contexts and terrains. The journal publishes on-going and emerging methodological debates spanning a variety of approaches - both qualitative and quantitative - including mixed and comparative methods, as they relate to philosophical, theoretical, ethical, political, historical and practical issues. With an editorial board that encompasses scholars from different disciplines based at African and international universities alike, the journal, as an African initiative, aims to bring the new research perspectives arising from the social and historical specificities of non-Western societies to the global conversation on methodology and epistemology.

Xenophobia at Odds with South Africa's Rhetoric of Inclusivity and Human Rights'

Everyone in South Africa – citizens and foreigners alike – should be worried by the recent spate of attacks on black foreigners that started in KwaZulu-Natal and have subsequently spread to other parts of the country.

It is most unsettling that South African political leaders and policy makers are not doing enough to encourage South Africans to disabuse themselves of the illusion that their problems can be solved through the logic of exclusion and scapegoating of certain types of foreigners that has pervaded, para-doxically, since the dawn of democracy in 1994. What is happening in Durban and KwaZulu-Natal reawakens a monster that political leaders and policy makers should have sought a way to bury for good after the xenophobic violence of 2008.

Titled *AmaNdiya*, the controversial song claims to "begin a constructive discussion that would lead to a true reconciliation between Indians and Africans", and accuses South African Indians of opportunism and of enriching themselves to the detriment of blacks. In the song Ngema goes on to say that if the Indians are to be taken seriously as belonging to South Africa, they must display greater patriotism and stop straddling continents. Implied in his song is that the Indians risk losing their South African citizenship should they refuse to change their ways.

And if and when the Indians are gone in this bizarre nativity game of exclusionary violence and South Africa's problems are still unsolved, who is next? If the *Kill the Boer* song, the row over Premier Helen Zille's tweet on economic migrants from the Eastern Cape in the Western Cape and the Rhodes Must Fall movement are anything to go by, your guess is as good as mine who the next layer of "outsiders within" would be.

This regressive logic and the scapegoating of perceived outsiders is also well captured by the Nando's diversity advert released in June 2012. The advert articulates an idea of identity and belonging in South Africa that is both conscious and cognisant of the histories of mobilities of peoples that have made South Africa

Francis B. Nyamnjoh*
University of Cape Town
South Africa

possible, and that remains open to new and ongoing mobilities. Like other Nando's advertisements, the diversity ad is very provocative and ambiguous, and it understandably elicited mixed reactions, including a ban from being broadcast by the SABC. The ad starts with black Africans illegally crossing a barbed-wire border fence into South Africa. There is a voiceover and each time the voice calls out a name, the group of people who represent that particular identity are transformed into a cloud of smoke, as follows:

You know what is wrong with South Africa: all you foreigners. You must all go back to where you came from – you Cameroonians, Congolese, Pakistanis, Somalis, Ghanaians and Kenyans. And of course you Nigerians and you Europeans. Let's not forget you Indians and Chinese. Even you Afrikaners. Back to Swaziland you Swazis, Lesotho you Sothos, Vendas, Zulus, everybody.

In the end, only one person is left standing, a San man who, armed with a bow and arrow and ready to explore the wilderness, confronts the voiceover with these words: "I'm not going anywhere. You found us here." The ad concludes with the voiceover saying: "Real South Africans love diversity. That's why we have introduced two more items: New pericrusted wings and delicious Trinchado and chips."

To my mind, far from promoting xenophobia, this ad is challenging narrow and parochial identities, or ideas of being and belonging as a zero-sum game. It is

against prevalent regressive logics and ever-diminishing circles of being South African in a world characterised by the flexible mobility of people. It invites us to contemplate what it is to be South African, if every colour of its current rainbow configuration must go back to their Nazareth and be counted. If belonging is articulated in rigid exclusionary terms, where everyone however mobile, is considered to belong to a particular homeland somewhere else, a place they cannot outgrow and which they must belong to regardless of where they were born or where they live and work, then South Africa can only belong to one group of people, those who were there before everyone else: the San. They, who know only too well that they are the bona fide sons and daughters of the South African soil and its resources – the only authentic South Africans.

The immigration policies and practices of the South African state, as well as the xenophobic attitudes of some South Africans, contradict the rhetoric of inclusivity, human rights and ties to the rest of Africa that proliferate in official pronouncements and civil society discourses.

Yet we are reminded by ethnographies of everyday lives and living that being and belonging is a permanent work in progress – open-ended, complex and nuanced.

It is the duty of South African leaders (political, economic, cultural, intellectual, and others) and media to make this abundantly and repeatedly clear to all and sundry. Good leadership does not go to sleep between eruptions.

* Francis B. Nyamnjoh is a professor of social anthropology at UCT with ties to the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA).

"Afrophobia"? "Xenophobia"? "Black on Black Racism"? in South Africa

A frophobia"? "Xenophobia"? "Black on black racism"? A "darker" as you can get hacking a "foreigner" under the pretext of his being too dark — self-hate par excellence? Of course all of that at once! Yesterday I asked a taxi driver: "why do they need to kill these "foreigners" in this manner?" His response: "because under Apartheid, fire was the only weapon we Blacks had. We did not have ammunitions, guns and the likes. With fire we could make petrol bombs and throw them at the enemy from a safe distance". Today there is no need for distance any longer. To kill "these foreigners", we need to be as close as possible to their body which we then set in flames or dissect, each blow opening a huge wound that can never be healed. Or if it is healed at all, it must leave on "these foreigners" the kinds of scars that can never be erased.

I was here during the last outbreak of violence against "these foreigners". Since then, the cancer has metastasised. The current hunt for "foreigners" is the product of a complex chain of complicities — some vocal and explicit and others tacit. The South African government has recently taken a harsh stance on immigration. New, draconian measures have been passed into law. Their effects are devastating for people already established here legally. A few weeks ago I attended a meeting of "foreign" staff at Wits University. Horrific stories after horrific stories. Work permits not renewed. Visas refused to family members. Children in limbo in schools. A Kafkaian situation that extends to "foreign" students who entered the country legally, had their visas renewed all this time, but who now find themselves in a legal uncertainty, unable to register, and unable to access the money they are entitled to and that had been allocated to them by Foundations. Through its new anti-immigration measures, the government is busy turning previously legal migrants into illegal ones.

Chains of complicity go further. South African big business is expanding all over the Continent, at times reproducing in those places worse forms of racism that

Achille Mbembe*
Wits Institute for Social &
Economic Research (WISER)
University of the Witwatersrand
South Africa

were tolerated here under Apartheid. While big business is "de-nationalising" and "Africanising", poor black South Africans and parts of the middle class are being socialised into something we should call "national-chauvinism". National-chauvinism is rearing its ugly head in almost every sector of the South African society. The thing with national-chauvinism is that it is in permanent need of scapegoats. It starts with those who are not our kins. But very quickly, it turns fratricidal. It does not stop with "these foreigners". It is in its DNA to end up turning onto itself in a dramatic gesture of inversion.

I was here during the last "hunting season". The difference, this time, is the emergence of the rudiments of an "ideology". We now have the semblance of a discourse aimed at justifying the atrocities, the creeping pogrom since this is what it actually is. An unfolding pogrom to be sure. The justificatory discourse starts with the usual stereotypes — they are darker than us; they steal our jobs; they do not respect us; they are used by whites who prefer to exploit them rather than employing us, therefore avoiding the requirements of affirmative action. But the discourse is becoming more vicious. It can be summarised as follows: South Africa does not owe any moral debt to Africa. Evoke the years of exile? No, there were less than 30,000 South Africans in exile (I have been hit with this figure but I have no idea where it is coming from) and they were all scattered throughout the world — 4 in Ghana, 3 in Ethiopia, a few in Zambia, and many more in Russia and Eastern Europe! So we will not accept to be morally blackmailed by "those foreigners".

Well, let's ask hard questions. Why is South Africa turning into a killing field for non-national Africans (to whom we have

to add the Bengalis, Pakistanis, and who knows whom next)? Why has this country historically represented a "circle of death" for anything and anybody 'African'? When we say "South Africa", what does the term "Africa" mean? An idea, or simply a geographical accident? Should we start quantifying what was sacrificed by Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Tanzania, Zambia and others during the liberation struggle? How much money did the Liberation Committee of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) provide to the liberation movements? How many dollars did the Nigerian state pay for South Africa's struggle? If we were to put a price tag to the destructions meted out by the Apartheid regime on the economy and infrastructures of the Frontline states, what would this amount to? And once all of this has been quantified, shouldn't we give the bill to the ANC government that has inherited the South African state and ask them to pay back what was spent on behalf of the black oppressed in South Africa during those long years? Wouldn't we be entitled to add to all these damages and losses the number of people killed by Apartheid armies retaliating against our hosting South African combatants in our midsts, the number of people maimed, the long chain of misery and destitution suffered in the name of our solidarity with South Africa? If black South Africans do not want to hear about any moral debt, maybe it is time to agree with them, give them the bill and ask for economic reparations.

Of course we all see the absurdity of this logic of insularity that is turning this country into yet another killing field for the darker people, "these foreigners". But it would not be absurd, since the government of South Africa is either unable or unwilling to protect those who are here legally from the ire of its people, to appeal to a higher authority. South Africa has signed most international conventions, including the Convention establishing the International Penal Tribunal in The Hague. Some of the instigators of the current "hunting season" are known. Some

have been making public statements inciting hate. Is there any way in which we could think about referring them to The Hague? Impunity breeds impunity and atrocities. It is the shortest way to genocide. If these perpetrators cannot be brought to book by the South African State, isn't it time to get a higher jurisdiction to deal with them?

Finally, one word about "foreigners" and "migrants". No African is a foreigner in Africa! No African is a migrant in Africa! Africa is where we all belong, notwithstanding the foolishness of our boundaries. No amount of national-chauvinism will erase this. No amount of deportations will erase this. Instead of spilling black blood on no other than Pixley ka Seme

Avenue (!), we should all be making sure that we rebuild this continent and bring to an end a long and painful history – that which, for too long, has dictated that to be black (it does not matter where or when), is a liability.

* Achille Mbembe is a philosopher, political scientist, and public intellectual.

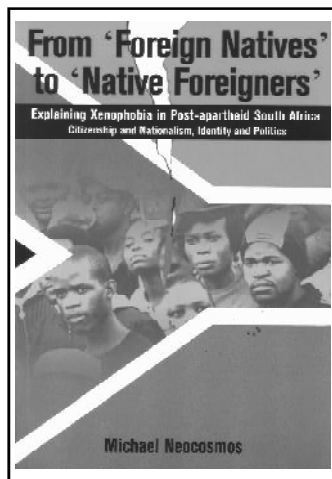
From 'Foreign Natives' to 'Native Foreigners': Explaining Xenophobia in Post-apartheid South Africa – Citizenship and Nationalism, Identity and Politics

From the "Preface"

As this work progressed, it became apparent that what was required in a study of xenophobia in South Africa today was not an empirical assessment of its extent, which by all accounts is indubitably (although contradictorily) widely prevalent in society as well as within state institutions, neither a description of its characteristics, as there are plenty of these already, but rather an explanation for its existence. Empirical studies of xenophobia in the country are in fact extensive and detailed. On the other hand, existing explanatory accounts are deficient as they are primarily asocial and apolitical, and hence are unable to suggest ways of overcoming the problem. Therefore, overwhelmingly, they tend to metaphorically throw their arms up in explanatory impotence. The core of this particular account must be explanatory if it is to make a contribution to our understanding. Fieldwork in the form of interviews with (mainly West) African immigrants to South Africa was undertaken in both Johannesburg and Pretoria in 2003, but this provided qualitative data which generally corroborated that of other studies, while at the same time providing greater ethnographic detail to popular experience. There was nothing particularly original or novel here. Much more important was to attempt an account of xenophobia which could combine theoretical sophistication with historical sensitivity. It is this which has been attempted in this work.

Michael Neocosmos
University of South Africa
Pretoria, South Africa

Some comments regarding the title may be appropriate at this stage. Archbishop



Desmond Tutu ('the Arch') used to make speeches in the 1980s wherein, in his customary manner, he would chuckle at jokes and encourage his audience to do the same. One of his favourites was the point that apartheid referred to Black South Africans as 'foreign natives' as it maintained that they were not South Africans but 'Transkeians', 'Bophutatswanans', 'Vendans' or whatever. How could such a thing be? Was not this a contradiction in terms, an indication of absurd logic? Tutu would note. This logic

was indeed absurd, but not much more absurd than any other state politics which, while adhering to a conception of citizenship as equivalent to indigeneity, attempts simultaneously to draw distinctions between different sections of the population living and working within the country. On the other hand, I use the term 'native foreigners' to refer to those Black South Africans in our new South Africa who, because they conform to the stereotypes which the police and home affairs officials have of 'illegal foreigners' today (their skin may be 'too dark' or whatever), arrested along with more genuine foreigners. The epithet is also applicable to South Africans of Asian descent who are often told that they do not belong in the country by xenophobic politicians in Natal. This shows that the absurdity continues. These expressions suggest not only that citizenship and xenophobia are manufactured by the state, both under apartheid and post-apartheid forms of rule, but also indicate a transition between two different forms of xenophobia, simultaneously with a continuity between state practices. These expressions imply the centrality of citizenship in understanding the phenomenon of xenophobia.

The main argument of this work, has been influenced by the philosophy of Alain Badiou for whom politics must be understood fundamentally to be a militant emancipatory practice, a prescriptive universality vis-à-vis the necessarily particularistic political prescriptions of the

state which is always that of a dominant minority. The argument here is fundamentally that xenophobia in South Africa is a direct effect of a particular kind of politics, a particular kind of state politics in fact, one which is associated with a specific discourse of citizenship which was forged in opposition to the manner in which the apartheid state interpellated its subjects. This statist notion of citizenship has been buttressed by a 'Human Rights Discourse' for which the politics of agency are substituted by appeals to the state for redress. It follows then that the solution to xenophobia cannot be found in state policies and hidden state prescriptions nor indeed can it be addressed by appeals to a mythical 'Human Rights Culture'. It can only be overcome through political prescriptions of a truly universal kind.

The core of the book argues that xenophobia should be understood as a political discourse and practice. As such, its historical development as well as the conditions of its existence must be elucidated in terms of the practices and prescriptions which structure the field of politics. In South Africa, its history is intimately connected to the manner in which citizenship has been conceived and fought over during the past fifty years at least. Migrant labour was 'de-nationalised' by the apartheid state, while African nationalism saw the same migrant labour as the foundation of that oppressive system. However, only those who could show a family connection with the colonial/apartheid formation of South Africa could claim citizenship at liberation. Others were excluded and seen as unjustified claimants to national resources. Xenophobia's conditions of existence, the book argues, are to be found in the politics of post-apartheid nationalism where state prescriptions, founded on indigeneity, have been allowed to dominate uncontested in conditions of an overwhelmingly passive conception of citizenship. The de-politicisation of an urban population which had been able to assert its agency during the 1980s, through a discourse of 'human rights' in particular, contributed to this passivity, it is argued. State liberal politics have remained largely unchallenged. As in other cases of post-colonial transition in Africa, the hegemony of xenophobic discourse, according to the book, is to be sought in the character of the state consensus. The core argument of the book ends by asserting that only a

rethinking of citizenship as an active political identity could begin to re-institute political agency, and hence, begin to provide alternative prescriptions to the political consensus of state-induced exclusion.

It would appear then that the events of May 2008 could possibly be seen to undermine the argument above, as here were the poor seemingly exercising their agency albeit in a manner contrary to the main argument of the book. Can the pogroms of May then be described as the exercise of popular agency? According to one author at least, 'the xenophobic discourse current in South Africa today represents the authentic effort of the subaltern classes to make sense of their conditions: nor is their reading irrational'. Not only is it not a 'false consciousness' inculcated by right-wing elites mobilising ethnic sentiment for their own political interests, it is 'profoundly democratic, albeit in the majoritarian sense ... the truth is that popular democracy in action is not a pretty sight'. The vulgarity of these assertions is simply quite staggering. The poor are authentically xenophobic, we are told. Reading on, the idea seems to be not only to make us grateful for our liberal democracy which 'provides institutional protection from the immediate expression of popular passions', we should also be thankful for not living in an African 'basket case' where leading politicians have been manipulating national sentiment (Glazer, 2008: 54-6). It is difficult to think of a more crass supposedly intellectual 'reflection' on the pogroms. Of course, none of these statements are backed up by any evidence whatsoever. Most are simply false. At the same time the author can conveniently use the occasion to take a swipe at supposedly cherished 'leftist' accounts and their extolling of the virtues of the masses. Thank God for sensible liberalism, the people (read the middle-class in the suburbs) can feel safe in its embrace and sleep quietly at night, knowing that the state is looking after their interests and protecting them from the mob. It is difficult to think of a cruder journalistic opinion piece.

What beggars the imagination is the poverty of thought for which if there is no evidence of crude manipulation by elites, then the crypto-fascism (a severe term perhaps but I can think of no other one) to be found among subaltern classes must be somehow 'authentic' and essential to the life of the poor. Are we to believe that this is because nativist exclusion is also

authentic? That it is primordial and thereby inherent in African society, even though all the evidence from tradition ('invented' or not) shows that African cultures had sophisticated mechanisms for integrating strangers? In actual fact there can be no such thing as an authentic politics. To state as much is to advance the crudest reductionism which the author wishes to point to in others. What is interesting about these otherwise vacuous statements is that they are precisely located within the exceptionalist view of South Africa which I show below constitutes one of the conditions of existence of xenophobia, not least among the middle classes. The pogroms, it seems, were an expression of a rational popular agency, even though it may not have been a morally defensible one. We need not look any further, the political choices of the poor mean that ultimately this is a problem of the poor who should be kept in their place; after all the middle classes, however xenophobic they may be, are far too civilised to do their own killing.

Can the poor then be seen as exercising their agency when they killed their fellow poor and thus contributed to their own exclusion and oppression? What I argue in this book is that this was indeed a political choice, but if we are to speak of agency, then it must be considered as the 'agency of zombies' as Francis Nyamnjoh would put it. After all, choices are made in relation to the limits of existing hegemonic political subjectivities, and in the absence of clearly formulated alternatives, it is the state which is the main creator and organizer of these. As Mamdani (2001) has pointed out in his analysis of the genocide in Rwanda, ethnic and national identities and differences can become institutionalised. The systematic differential treatment of citizens and foreigners in South Africa for many years, some having the right to rights and others not (*de facto* if not always *de jure*) has had similar effects. The various political actors in this country have allowed its political culture to provide the foundation for xenophobic and inter-ethnic violence. A choice exercised within such parameters is in fact a simulacrum of agency, a pseudo-choice; in reality it is no choice at all for it requires no thought, but the mechanical reiteration of the logic and statements of those in power. This is borne out empirically by this book.

Thus, if such subjectivities have become so hegemonic, so consensual that the majority of South Africans of all classes, racial groups and genders maintain similar xenophobic attitudes as attitude surveys show, then it would indeed be surprising if the majority of the poor (like the majority of the rich) were not bound by the same assumptions, the same questions and the same solutions. This no more implies a 'subaltern authenticity' than the apparent favouring of the death penalty by the majority of South Africans also implies authenticity. The fact of the matter is that many among the poor, as I show in some detail, resisted the dominance of hegemonic xenophobic discourse and provided political alternatives in practice, and even in one case, in theory. To do so, they had often to challenge the state consensus itself. The politics of xenophobia are therefore the outcome of struggles in society and to simply go along with state propagated ideologies – and hence to assert the authenticity and naturalness of nativism – is to fail to exercise a choice beyond the limits of these ideologies when such a choice is indeed possible. It is a failure to understand that what we are told is impossible can indeed be possible. At the intellectual level, it amounts to evacuating the possibility of thought beyond determination by state, class, race or ethnicity. It is to fall headlong into the ideology of given essentialisms for which nothing outside the obviously extant can be done. The intellectual is particularly guilty herself when, knowing precisely that society is generally oppressive of the other, she chooses to do nothing and simply waits for a disaster to occur before expressing her humanitarian concerns. As one of the characters in Marcel Pagnol's brilliant novels *Jean de Florette* and *Manon des Sources* states: 'those who knew and did nothing are equally guilty'. It would be difficult for many middle class South Africans to wriggle out of this, despite their subsequent expression of solidarity with the thousands of displaced in the period following the pogroms.

From the "Epilogue: May 2008 and the Politics of Fear"

We are the ones who fought for freedom and democracy and now these Somalis are here eating our democracy.

- (NAFCOC – National African Federated Chamber of Commerce and Industry – leader, Khayelitsha, Cape Town, *Mail and Guardian*, September 5-11, 2008)

The police are making as if we are criminals. We don't have firearms. We have babies and kids. Why are they so scared?

- (African refugee at the Blue Waters safety site in Strandfontein outside Cape Town, *Cape Argus* June 3rd, 2008).

An action can be illegal. A person cannot be illegal. A person is a person wherever they may find themselves.

- (Abahlali baseMjondolo, 'Statement on the Xenophobic Attacks in Johannesburg', 21/05/2008)

The explosion that occurred in South African townships and informal settlements in May 2008 traumatised the country for a while. The fact that sixty-two people died as a result of pogroms in which apparent foreigners, primarily from the rest of Africa, were sought out and killed, were violently expelled from communities, and their belongings looted in an orgy of plunder and mayhem, left the country reeling under a number of questions. How could such a thing happen in the 'rainbow nation'? How could Black South Africans act so callously towards their fellow Africans and brothers? How could people who have been living in the country for as long as 12 to 15 years be attacked by their neighbours? The public soul-searching lasted for a few weeks thereafter as the scale of the disaster sunk in. This phase of xenophobic violence displaced large numbers of people estimated between 80, 000 and 200, 000 (FMSP, 2009: 20). The number of people staying in shelters at their peak reached 24, 000 in Gauteng and 20, 000 in the Western Cape (loc. cit.). The government found itself completely outflanked and unable to respond, blaming at times a 'third force', at other times 'criminals' and 'trouble-makers and opportunists' as it hesitated, lost as to what to do. Well known xenophobic politicians appeared on TV crying over the plight of injured Mozambicans, while others, who had been out of the spotlight for a while visited mothers and children

to comfort them. Most national politicians appeared on TV condemning the violence and referring to the crisis in Zimbabwe and the lack of border controls, as well as to poverty and living conditions in informal settlements as the underlying causal factors of the violence.

Most victims were sought out by their attackers (men, women and children) because they were deemed to be foreigners and massacred, robbed, raped and their belongings stolen and their houses burned. The violence was sometimes organized and at other times spontaneous. It is therefore valid to talk in terms of 'pogroms' of foreign residents during this period. The humanitarian assistance which followed was also largely both disorganised and coercive, the government deciding to reintegrate people into townships (often against the will of both sides) but also failing to ensure their safety. What most commentators stressed was the underlying economic causes of the problem, blaming poverty and deprivation, yet it requires little imagination to see that economic factors, however real, cannot possibly account for why it was those deemed to be non-South African who bore the brunt of the vicious attacks. Poverty can be and has historically been the foundation for the whole range of political ideologies from communism to fascism and anything in between. In fact, poverty can only account for the powerlessness, frustration and desperation of the perpetrators, but not for their target. Neither can it account for the violence of their actions. Moreover, blaming xenophobic violence on poverty, relative deprivation or uneven development, is to blame the poor. In other contexts, poverty has not lead to xenophobic violence, and we shall see below that in certain instances, even in South Africa it did not do so. Xenophobia as a practice of more or less open form of discrimination and oppression, as this book shows, is widespread in South Africa and not restricted to those living in informal settlements. It is also a widespread phenomenon among the middle-class and particularly among state employees, as is the expression of prejudices towards Africans from the continent. ...

Insiders and Outsiders: Citizenship and Xenophobia in Contemporary Southern Africa

By Francis B. Nymanjoh

Published by CODESRIA, ZED, UNISA (2006) ISBN 978-2-86978-155-5

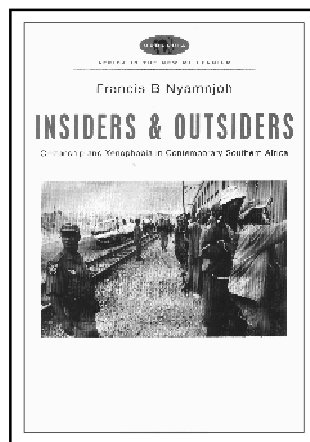
First published in 2006 by the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa, in association with Zed Books, *Insiders and Outsiders: Citizenship and Xenophobia in Contemporary Southern Africa* looks at xenophobia in Southern Africa, and what informs it. The author, a professor of social anthropology brings his considerable knowledge and insights to bear on the subject.

Using the examples of South Africa and Botswana, Professor Francis Nymanjoh provides an incisive look at one of the cruelest dichotomies of our time, namely, the tensions between the insiders and outsiders of globalisation. The author compares globalisation and the attendant promise of global citizenship to "a bazaar to which multitudes are invited but few rewarded." Unlike capital which moves from country to country with the most minimal of restrictions, labour finds restrictions at almost every turn – especially if that labour is non-white, and particularly if that labour is black.

African states are in a sense beleaguered. They are, as the author puts it, caught between international covenants and their citizens, who view the immigrants as a threat to their livelihoods. And this is what makes the focus on Botswana and South Africa especially fascinating. South Africa, in particular, has recently had a widely

Allan Mwesiga
Makerere University

publicised period of violent exclusionism. For South Africa, one explanation lies with the after effects of history, with the Apartheid narrative of white as superior, South African as superior-inferior, and



other Africans as the being the most inferior. Media scape-goating may have poured oil onto the fire but disaffected citizens lit the match and ultra-nationalists fanned the flames.

Further out, a number of African countries on the continent with collapsing economies need their nationals in "more successful and better organised sites of

accumulation" to support those who remain at home. Amongst those African countries are Ghana, Senegal and Ivory Coast who in their time of prosperity encouraged similarly exclusionist practices.

African immigrants or *Makwerekwere* as they are labelled in the case of South Africa, often face difficult choices. For them, giving up dignity and being placed into a situation of servitude as the author illustrates with maids in South Africa and Botswana, exploitation is a tough but acceptable lot. Deportation and the loss of income – income that ironically props up the conditions that cause them to migrate – are but two of the ever present threats they live with.

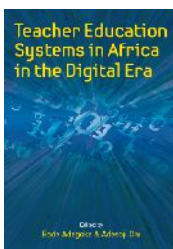
And often, even those who eventually gain citizenship, often fare no better in the eyes of the citizens. They remain outsiders.

If indeed, as the author observes, "ethnic or cultural citizenship" is winning more to its cause. There needs to be a definition of citizenship. There is also need for an examination of the nation-state and the specificities that make it impracticable as a basis for citizenship on the continent.

As the author argues we should question the expertise of the designer and not fault the popular ideal if a dress made to fit a "Barbie-doll entertainment icon" will not fit "a full figured person rich in all the indicators of health Africans are familiar with."

Teacher Education Systems in Africa in the Digital Era

Edited by Bade Adegoke & Adesoji Oni



Teacher education is vital for the realization of a nation's development aspirations. The conception, incubation and delivery of any national development policy, as well as the reform and implementation of extant policies, are driven by the quality of teachers and their products within a functional educational system. Indeed, national and global models of development, including the millennium development goals revolve round the frames of quality education, beginning with teacher education. It is therefore important to have functional teacher education systems in Africa to help its citizens explore the networking of the world as a global village. This is achievable through a systematic mobilization of national resources and visible commitment to the development of a modernized cadre of scientific and technological manpower. This book, *Teacher Education Systems in Africa in the*

Digital Era is a rich exposition of theories and praxes essential for the development of teacher education in Africa. The book has immense benefits for teachers, teacher trainers, funding agencies, other stakeholders and policy makers.

Xenophobia in South Africa: The Personal Account of a Sweet-footed African

This is an excerpt from *A Sweet Footed African: James Jibraeel Alhaji*
Published by Langa: Bamenda (2014)

I am a Cameroonian immigrant. I live in Cape Town. I have been in South Africa for almost 20 years. When some years ago there were outbreaks of violence here and there in South Africa against black immigrants from other African countries – those usually referred in most *makwerekwere* –, many journalists, along with academics and students came knocking to interview me. The questions they asked, however deep they tried to be, always left me thirsty and hungry, wishing they had gone this way or that way, explored this or that theme, dug deep, or followed a particular line of enquiry to a crescendo that did not always serve the purpose of overly simplifying the issues or my situation.

They would stop only when I was warming up to a serious conversation, warming up with surging questions of my own. I detested the tendency to see us, a priori, as a problem and the resistance, even by those who should know better, to see the extent to which we were more of a solution than an encumbrance.

Sometimes I followed the accounts of their interviews with me and other immigrants on radio or as articles in newspapers and on blogs. Although I have never read the more scholarly accounts in theses and dissertations written by students, or in books and journal articles by interested academics posing as migration experts, I have often wondered why very few of them have ever treated me as if I had a life prior to my arrival in South Africa.

Few want to know how I came to be here. They imagine and impose a reason on me for coming to this country, often in contradiction to what I tell them if they bother to ask. And, even as they are interested in my life in South Africa, their questions often leave me perplexed as to why they frame things in such terms as not to do justice to the fullness of my life

Francis B. Nyamnjoh
University of Cape Town
South Africa

and experiences as an immigrant in their beloved country. Many suppose that I am here to stay, that I would do everything to remain in South Africa, and that the country I come from is not worthy of modern human life, which is why – they suppose rather than ask me – I am running away, and have taken refuge – illegally, they love to insist – in South Africa, in my desperate quest for greener pastures. Nothing I say, or wish I could say in the interest of nuance, seems to matter in the face of such arrogant and admittedly, it must be said, ignorant accounts.

My frustrations with what I read and hear have pushed me to the conclusion that South Africans would perhaps understand and relate with much more accommodation if they were to get to know us, *amakwerekwere*, in our wholeness as human beings – as people composed of flesh and blood, people shaped and humbled by the highs and lows, whims and caprices of human existence – and not simply as statistics of inconvenience or as odd strings of phrases, often quoted out of context, to illustrate news stories by journalists in a hurry to meet deadlines. Sometimes the impression is strong in me, very strong indeed, that some are reluctant to allow such a thing as reality to stand in the way of a good story. Sensationalism craved to the detriment of the complex messiness and intricate interconnections of the everyday lives of South Africans and *amakwerekwere* in urban South Africa.

As I say, I haven't read anything academic, not being one myself, so I don't know how better or worse off they are

from journalists, in how they, in their scholarliness, capture our lives and predicaments as black African immigrants in South Africa. Whether or not they are less obsessed with documenting how best the South African state and people could control the influx of undesired immigrants flocking in like locusts to dissipate their industrialised economy – the leading economy in Africa, as they often stress, refusing as much as possible to give giant competitors like Nigeria (poised to overtake South Africa to become the leading economy in Africa in a few years) the slimmest of chances –, spread dangerous diseases and enshrine crime, chaos and foreboding, such academic accounts, like their counterparts furnished by journalists and mouthpieces of the various shades of the Rainbow, stand to benefit from more profound knowledge of *amakwerekwere* as flesh and blood steeped in histories, both personal and collective. If the intention and determination of the chroniclers of daily life in South Africa are to control *amakwerekwere* – real or imagined – what can a fly like me do to stop an almighty bulldozer elephant pregnant with zeal? But I believe that by contributing this very modest and personal account in as detailed a manner as possible, the elephants of South Africa are likely to find substance in it to make informed decisions vis-à-vis this strange species of flies they call *amakwerekwere*.

This is an excerpt from *A Sweet Footed African: James Jibraeel Alhaji*, as told to Francis B. Nyamnjoh, Published in 2014 by Langa: Bamenda.

ISBN: 978-- 9956792757, distributed by African Books Collective, and available at this link:

<http://www.africanbookscollective.com/books/a--sweet--footed--african--james-jibraeel--alhaji>

Ali A. Mazrui: A Great Man, a Great Scholar

In 2013 Ali A. Mazrui gave a lecture in Muscat (Oman) about Barack Obama, the 44th President of the United States, in which he suggested that Obama was a great man but not yet a great president. Mazrui said we would have to wait and see if Obama would become a great president. I think Mazrui was right. But we would not have to wait any longer to say: Ali A. Mazrui: A Great Man, A Great Scholar. On 12 October 2014, Ali Mazrui passed away at the age of 81. Mazrui was indeed a great man and an extraordinary scholar. This essay is a special tribute to him.

Keywords: Ali A. Mazrui; Power; Scholarship; Africa's Triple Heritage; Media; Postcolonialism

Introduction

I first met Professor Ali A. Mazrui on 13 June 2002, in Binghamton, New York, when my family and I arrived in the United States after I was appointed as a research associate in the Institute of Global Cultural Studies (IGCS) at Binghamton University. I was at the time teaching political science in Japan. We had barely finished unpacking our baggage in our hotel room when the phone rang. It was from Professor Mazrui himself! I was pleasantly surprised when I heard the charismatic voice on the phone, a voice that I had heard before only on TV and radio. I knew we would eventually speak with him in a day or two, but I never expected he would call minutes after our arrival. In any case, Mazrui warmly greeted us, welcoming us to Binghamton, and suggested that we could come over to his office if we were not too tired. It did not take us long to accept the offer. Minutes later there we were, at IGCS, in the Office of Albert Schweitzer Chair, as Mazrui was also known, a great scholar whom I admired a lot. It was an indescribable experience.

How I felt when I met Mazrui for the first time probably came close to what he said he had felt when he met one of his intellectual heroes, American political scientist James Coleman. Mazrui met Coleman in 1964 at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria.¹ Mazrui was intimately familiar with Coleman's scholarship before he met him. I had also known quite a bit about Mazrui's scholarship before I met him. I had just completed the manuscript for a book on him. The book, *Paradigm Lost, Paradigm Regained: The Worldview of Ali A. Mazrui*, was published under my authorship in 2002.² Mazrui said there was an element of hero-worship in his response when he met Coleman. So also was my own experience when I met Mazrui.

Seifudein Adem

Institute of Global Cultural Studies,
Binghamton University
USA

Imaginary dialogues

Let me begin with two imaginary dialogues about and with Mazrui. I suppose, first, a social scientist approaches me and says: since I never heard about Ali Mazrui, describe him for me in one or two sentences. I will be tempted to retort: can there be a social scientist who has not heard about Ali Mazrui? I allow for the possibility that this social scientist was from another planet before I concede that the question has nevertheless an immediate relevance: how could we describe Ali Mazrui in one sentence? I decide to summon up the judgments made by South Africa's Nelson Mandela and Ghana's Kofi Annan. In 1995, Mandela wrote, Ali Mazrui is "an outstanding educationist and a freedom fighter."³ In 2000, Kofi Annan described Mazrui as "Africa's gift to the world."⁴ I say to myself, I have found the answer to the intriguing question. Ali Mazrui is "an outstanding educationist and freedom fighter, and Africa's gift to the world."

The other imaginary dialogue is with Mazrui himself. In his *The Trial of Christopher Okigbo*, we recall that Mazrui let his fictional characters, all dead, speak to each other.⁵ But on this occasion I wish to speak directly to Mazrui in my imagination. I ask him: what do you think about the description of you by Mandela and Kofi Annan? His answer from "After-Africa" would have been something like this. First and foremost, let us bear in mind that Mandela's description of me is *mission-oriented*; and Annan's description is *mission-neutral*. If Mandela and

Annan were massively exaggerating about my place in the "Herebefore," Mazrui would add, their exaggeration was intellectually respectable. Indeed, there are important elements of truth in their description of me. The fact that one is in the "After-Africa" and the other still in the "Herebefore" is also only of marginal relevance from the point of view of the matter under consideration.

On obituaries and testimonials

The New York Times published Ali Mazrui's obituary by Douglas Martin on 20 October 2014: "Ali Mazrui, Scholar of Africa Who Divided US Audiences, Dies at 81." If Mazrui was to read this obituary, I thought, he would probably say that Martin has committed the two sins of the media in the age of globalization: *the sin of commission* and *the sin of omission*.⁶ First, a factual error was committed in Martin's piece, *the sin of commission*. The error was concerning the individual who sent Ali Mazrui to Britain for his secondary education. Martin wrote it was the the governor of a school in Mombasa, Kenya; in fact, it was the Governor of Kenya, Sir Philip Mitchell, who did so. There was also *the sin of omission* pertaining to Mazrui's 1986 TV series, *The Africans*. Martin mentioned in his piece what Lynne Cheney, who was at the time Head of the National Endowment for the Humanities, had strongly objected to the "anti-Western tone" of the TV series. But, advertently or inadvertently, Martin "omitted" a relevant statement made by the then Senator John Kerry of Massachusetts. In the US Senate, Kerry spoke in favor of the showing of the TV series to the American audience.

I agreed with Mazrui's imaginary stance, but I did not wish to stop there. I wanted to do what I thought Mazrui would have done (more eloquently) under the circum-

stances. I decided to point out this *sin of omission* and set the record straight. Shortly after we laid Mazrui's body to rest in Mombasa, Kenya, I wrote the following letter to *The New York Times*:

Dear Editor,

Douglas Martin's "Ali Mazrui, Scholar of Africa Who Divided US Audiences, Dies at 81" (Oct. 20) appears to minimize Mazrui's legacy, however inadvertently. Martin suggests that Mazrui's 1986 TV series, *The Africans*, was about Africa and nuclear weapons. It was much more than that. If Mazrui had said in the 1980s that Africa should go nuclear, it was an idea which he quickly abandoned, and since then, he has written extensively on a wide range of to-pics. Martin mentions Lynne Cheney's strong reservations about the series which her institution partially funded. For "balance," Martin should probably have also referred to what the then Senator John Kerry said about Mazrui's TV series: "While I cannot endorse all of the conclusions [of the TV series]...its showing has provided the American people with an all-too-rare look at Africa from an African perspective."⁷ Additionally, such a quote could have reinforced what the title implied.

Seifudein Adem

Associate Director, Institute
of Global Cultural Studies
Binghamton University
Oct. 24, 2014

Unfortunately, the letter I wrote was not published by *The New York Times*. But, separately, I drew the editors' attention to the aforementioned *sin of commission*, (more politely, of course). Even if *The New York Times* was entitled to its own opinion, I reasoned, it was not entitled to its own facts. The editors quickly added the following at the bottom of the online obituary: "An earlier version of this obituary referred incorrectly to the person who was impressed by a speech Mr. Mazrui gave on the Prophet Muhammad's birthday, leading to new educational opportunities. It was the governor of Kenya, not the governor of the technical school where he was working as a clerk." The newspaper also sent me a standard "thank you" note. Sometimes I wonder whether committing a factual error in journalism, as in some other vocations, is viewed as a more deadly sin than omitting a "relevant" fact. Or, would it be the case

that a "relevant" fact – like beauty – is itself in the eye of the beholder? In any case, I was gratified to know that in cyberspace "my" correction will remain attached to Ali Mazrui's obituary. It is a lasting expression of gratitude and appreciation. As Mazrui's intellectual biographer, it is also a good way for me to be remembered, if I am.

As I saw him

Let me now speak briefly to Mazrui's love of writing, his commitment to scholarship, his view of power and himself, and our relationship. We all knew Mazrui as a prolific writer, but perhaps few of us knew why he loved to write. The reasons, as he put it, included the following:

...this tremendous urge to communicate...This is why I write at all, why I write so much, why I write on such varied subjects. I have a constant urge to try and share with others what I think are glimpses I have had... When I want to communicate any particular thought that has occurred to me, a) I want to work it out and b) I want to communicate it to others. I have to work it out. I work it out in the writing. Having worked it out, I want somebody else to know what occurs to my mind, to my being.⁸

It is also widely known that Mazrui traveled a lot. What is perhaps less known is that he never came to campus even when he was in town unless he has a class, a meeting, or a special appointment. In addition to my weekly conversations with him in his beautiful house in Vestal, where we discussed current affairs and official business, Mazrui often communicated with me and our other staff through the fax machine. The more than 5,000 pages of hand-written correspondence with him which is currently at my disposal is, I think, another testimony to Mazrui's love of writing.

Ali Mazrui had a solid commitment to scholarship. When we were preparing a manuscript for the third volume of the Mazrui and His Critics book series, a suggestion was made by our editorial assistant that we should consider excluding those critiques of him which were "rude and unpleasant." When he learned about the idea, his reaction was quick and unequivocal. He said: "Excluding unpleasant material is good manners, but is not good scholarship!" And we obliged, of course.

Mazrui's most favorite quotation was from a book by his mentor at Oxford, John

Plamenatz: "The vices of the strong acquire some of the prestige of strength."⁹ He used different variations of this quote more frequently than any other in his writings. In my view, the fact that this was his most favorite quote meant at least three things. It meant that he understood well the nature of power. It meant that he became skillful in navigating comfortably through the corridors of power. And it meant that he did not have to distort facts for political purpose. It was perhaps such awareness about the nature of power which enabled him to be both a confidant and critic of some of Africa's postcolonial leaders. Mazrui had met with many prominent individuals of our time including those who are/were regarded as pariahs by the mainstream thought from which they deviated. (See Appendix).

Did Mazrui have a clear idea about what he sought to achieve or whether he had achieved it? Did he know that someday he would be so influential to be named one of the top one hundred public intellectuals in the world, as the *Foreign Policy* magazine did in 2005?¹⁰ Mazrui also made it to the list of David Horowitz's 2006 book, *The Professors: The 101 Most Dangerous Academics in America*¹¹ — another proof of his wider influence. In 2007, I thus asked Mazrui if he knew he would one day become such a great man. He said:

You are asking me if I ever realized that I was an African genius!! My answer is that I am convinced I fall short of a genius, although I have had fans who have regarded me as a genius from my days at Makerere in Uganda...I am flattered that there are people in the world who value me so highly, but let me pray that at least one of my children or grandchildren rises to the real ranks of which I have been so prematurely elevated.¹²

In a letter addressed to Mazrui on 6 October 2013, about one month before he was hospitalized (on 10 November 2013), I sought to reflect on the shared benefits of our scholarly bond. The letter, which was also copied to some academic departments at Binghamton University, included the following passage:

In the past seven years, you have given me the opportunity to work with you closely, allowing me to explore different areas of inquiry. The topics range from Africa's experience to Japan's predicament and from the end of the Cold War to the

rise of China. But your vast scholarship, too, has been a stimulating research project for me. In this context consider, for example, my two books which were published in 2013, and the other two, which are forthcoming before end of the year. These books are either about you, or are co-authored with you, or have in them a chapter by you – also a clear evidence of the fruitfulness and maturity of our intellectual partnership.

I was trying above to draw up the balance sheet of my association with him.

As he saw me

Many people knew Mazrui longer than I had known him. But I was perhaps closer to him in many ways from January 2006, when I arrived at Binghamton University, until he died in Vestal, New York, at around 8:12 pm on 12 October 2014. In this timespan I was almost always with him. I have been the Associate Director of IGCS which he created in 1991. I also traveled with him extensively, either as his driver or his health escort. Sometimes we jointly presented papers at conferences. So, was I Mazrui's "right-hand man," as one of his sons used to call me? An intriguing question! But Mazrui himself seemed genuinely appreciative of my contribution to the Institute. He wrote in 2012: "I can say categorically that one of the most valuable things which have happened to the Institute of Global Cultural Studies in the last two decades has been the appointment of Seifudein Adem." But why should I believe what he said about me? The answer is simple – he didn't have to say it. Furthermore, since I was in charge of the affairs of the Institute when Mazrui was on his extended lecture tours in the US and abroad, including the teaching of his classes (and my own), what he said does sound true.

Mazrui also gave me the opportunity to develop intellectually. He allowed me to learn more about him and his scholarship in various settings. As I said above, sometimes I escorted him during his lecture tours. I was, therefore, eager to know what Mazrui thought about my familiarity with his scholarship. The answer came on 12 February 2012, when I received from him an email message titled "Mazruiana for Heirs," accompanied with a list and copies of virtually all of Mazrui's books, articles, lectures, reports, tapes, and so forth. He wrote: "When I am gone you may find this 'guide to Mazruiana'

very helpful for the record." The email was also copied to some of Mazrui's sons and relatives. The gist of the message was this: "...you are the primary heirs—though Seifudein may know more about my work than most of any family-members!!" I was delighted because I understood what he meant. I also felt flattered. This was how Mazrui saw me in the evening hours of his life.

About me, Mazrui had made other observations too. On one occasion, he told me I was often successful in disguising my originality. At first I did not know whether he was suggesting that that was a good or a bad thing. On another occasion, he wondered why I was often too deferential. In response, I said, that was perhaps due to my Ethiopian upbringing and my extended stay in Japan (for thirteen years).

I cherish the time I spent with Mazrui. It afforded me the opportunity to study him and his ideas closely, which stimulated the growth of my own intellect. I have come to know what I had not known before, including some things about myself, and I have learned many things from him. Most of all, what I learned from him, I hope, was learning how to learn.

Mazrui's words of wisdom

Mazrui came from a great family. But, I think, he achieved greatness rather than being born with it. In any case, in 2008, I asked him if he had any advice for his younger followers. His answer was short: "I had vindicated the old English adage: 'If at first you don't succeed, try and try again.'"¹³

He was alluding above to a 1949 incident in Mombasa, Kenya. He nearly failed Cambridge High School Certificate Examination. The result he obtained – a third class grade – proved to be not good enough for his admission to Makerere College in Uganda. Mazrui became, in his own words, "a 'school leaver' – someone who had failed to get beyond secondary education."¹⁴ The Kenya Government had nevertheless a different idea. It suspected Mazrui had more potential than the result of the exam showed and gave him a second chance in 1955, sending him to England to complete secondary education. Mazrui did not disappoint. He went on to earn his first degree with distinction from University of Manchester in 1960. His second and third degrees

were, respectively, from Columbia University, USA, in 1961 and from Oxford University, UK, in 1966. Mazrui taught at Makerere University College, Kampala, Uganda, from 1963 to 1973, at the University of Michigan from 1974 to 1991, and at Binghamton University, New York, from 1991 to 2014.

An appeal to Pan-Africanists

Ali Mazrui had observed:

The absence of the written word in large numbers of African societies was...bound to create a sense of isolation to some extent in a temporal sense, keeping one African century from another in terms of stimulation and interaction, suppressing innovative heresies, burying genius under the oblivion of the dominant consensus of a particular age.¹⁵

Mazrui was explaining above the factors which might have contributed to Africa's scientific marginality. The good news is that literacy is now spreading in Africa.

Another piece of good news is that Mazrui had left behind thirty-nine books and hundreds of essays (published and unpublished) in which he mesmerized his readers. When *The New York Times* announced the death of Ali Mazrui, describing him as the "Scholar of Africa Who Divided US Audiences," it was a testimony to his unique ability to mesmerize and stimulate. But how well-known are Mazrui's ideas in Africa itself? Not as much as they should have been. Luckily, however, an annotated bibliography of Mazrui's most significant works from 1963 to 2003 was published in 2005 by the South African Librarian Abdul Samed Bemath.¹⁶ Mazrui's intellectual outputs from 2004 to 2014 have been similarly compiled by Bemath for inclusion in a book that is to be edited by this author and published in 2016.

The appeal, therefore, is to pan-Africanist individuals and organizations worldwide with the financial wherewithal to make the two books available more widely in all languages all over Africa. The books will help to track down Mazrui's extensive publications in which he treated wide-ranging issues with uncommon verve and flair. There is little doubt that the issues will continue to be relevant to postcolonial Africa. And the easy availability of these books could go some way towards ensuring inter-generational transmission of an eloquent African voice, Ali Mazrui's voice,

which is a voice of not only consensus but also dissidence. *The New York Times* portrayed Mazrui as a scholar who "divided US audiences." Mazrui should be allowed to stimulate African audiences, too.

Conclusion

In his only work of fiction, *The Trial of Christopher Okigbo*, Mazrui wrote:

Death is one more ceremonial transition. It constitutes a passing in some ways no more fundamental, and certainly no less fundamental, than the transition from pre-adulthood to the full status of the adult. Death is not an interruption but a continuation.¹⁷

This means Ali Mazrui is not dead after all – he only changed his address! I wish to hope so in any case. I knew Mazrui was a great scholar before I met him in 2002. After working with and for him for many years, I could now say he was a great man, too.

Notes

1. Mazrui, "The Makerere Conspiracy," 59.
2. Adem, *Paradigm Lost, Paradigm Regained*.
3. Quoted in Mazrui, "A Destiny in Five Dimensions," 16.
4. See Mazrui, "On Boundaries and Bloodline." Appendix 4.
5. Mazrui, *The Trial of Christopher Okigbo*.
6. Mazrui, "Africa's Role in Globalization."
7. Congressional Record No. 144. [Part III]. October 17, 1986.
8. Mazrui, "The Trial of Christopher Okigbo," 100.
9. Mazrui, "Islam and the West," 2.

10. *Foreign Policy*, October 14, 2005. [Online.]
11. Horowitz, *The Professors*.
12. Adem, "Ali A. Mazrui: Witness to History?"
13. Ibid.
14. Mazrui, "Growing Up in a Shrinking World," 474.
15. Mazrui, *Africa's International Relations*, 100.
16. Bemath, *The Mazruiana Collection Revisited*.
17. Mazrui, *The Trial of Christopher Okigbo*, 37.

Bibliography

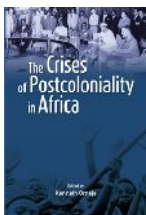
- Adem, Seifudein. "Ali A. Mazrui: Witness to History? An Interview." The Institute of Global Cultural Studies, Binghamton University, New York, USA, November 2007.
- Adem, Seifudein. *Paradigm Lost, Paradigm Regained: The Worldview of Ali A. Mazrui*. Provo, Utah: Global Humanities Press, 2002.
- Bemath, Abdul Samed. *The Mazruiana Collection Revisited: An Annotated and Select Thematic Bibliography 1962-2003*. Pretoria: Africa Institute of South Africa, 2005.
- Congressional Record No. 144 [Part III]. October 17, 1986.
- Horowitz, David. *The Professors: The 101 Most Dangerous Academics in America*. Washington, DC: Regenery, 2006.
- Mazrui, Ali A. "The Multiple Uniqueness of Barack Obama: A Great Man but Not Yet a Great President." Paper Presented at the Sultan Qabous University in Muscat, Sultanate of Oman, 9 February 2013.
- Mazrui, Ali A. "Africa's Role in Globalization: Subject or Object?" Address to the National Symposium to mark the 30th Anniversary celebration of Black Studies at the Ohio State

University, Department of African American and African Studies, Columbus, Ohio, 3-5 May 2001.

- Mazrui, Ali A. "On Boundaries and Bloodline: Annual Mazrui Newsletter. No. 25." The Institute of Global Cultural Studies, Binghamton University, New York, USA, 2001.
- Mazrui, Ali A. "A Destiny in Five Dimensions: Annual Mazrui Newsletter No. 20." The Institute of Global Cultural Studies, Binghamton University, New York, USA, 1996.
- Mazrui, Ali A. "Islam and the West: The Tensions of Cultural Globalization." Keynote Address at an International Conference on "The Globalization of Culture: Implications for the Islamic World and the West." Oxfordshire, Oxford, England, 29 September – 1 October 1995.
- Mazrui, Ali A. "Growing Up in a Shrinking World: A Private Vantage Point." In *Journeys through World Politics: Autobiographical Reflections of Thirty-four Academic Travelers*, edited by Joseph K. Kruzel and James N. Rosenau, 469–487. Lexington, MA and Toronto: Lexington Books, 1989.
- Mazrui, Ali A. "The Makerere Conspiracy: A View from 'Within'." *Africa Events*. May 1987.
- Mazrui, Ali A. *Africa's International Relations. The Diplomacy of Dependency and Change*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1977.
- Mazrui, Ali A. "The Trial of Christopher Okigbo." In *Writers in East Africa: Papers from a Colloquium Held at the University of Nairobi*, edited by Andrew Gurr and Angus Calder, 97-101. Nairobi, Kampala, Dar es Salaam: East African Literature Bureau, 1974.
- Mazrui, Ali A. *The Trial of Christopher Okigbo* [Novel]. London: Heinemann, 1971.

The Crises of Postcoloniality in Africa

Edited by Kenneth Omeje



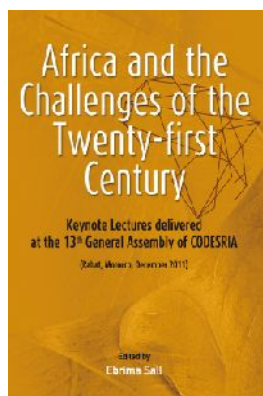
The Crises of Postcoloniality in Africa is an assemblage of transdisciplinary essays that offer a spirited reflection on the debate and phenomenon of postcoloniality in Africa, including the changing patterns and ramifications of problems, challenges and opportunities associated with it. A key conceptual rhythm that runs through the various chapters of the book is that, far from being demised, postcoloniality is still firmly embedded in Africa, manifesting itself in both blatant and insidious forms. Among the important themes covered in the book include the concepts of postcolonialism, postcoloniality, and neocolonialism; Africa's precolonial formations and the impact of colonialism; the enduring patterns of colonial legacies in Africa; the persistent contradictions between African indigenous institutions and western versions of modernity; the unravelling of the postcolonial state and issues of armed conflict, conflict intervention and peacebuilding; postcolonial imperialism in Africa and the US-led global war on terror, the historical and postcolonial contexts of gender relations in Africa, as well as pan-Africanism and regionalist approaches to redressing the crises of postcoloniality. 'In this book, the colonial trope of Africa is subjected to critical analyses from the points of view of postcoloniality. The result is a varied, complex, and interesting exposition of the contemporary challenges and dilemmas of Africa from the many standpoints of postcolonial theory. It makes a useful contribution to our understanding of modern African politics.'

Africa and the Challenges of the Twenty-first Century

88 pages ISBN: 978-2-86978-601-1

Keynotes Lectures Delivered at the 13th General Assembly of CODESRIA, 2011

Edited by Ebrima Sall



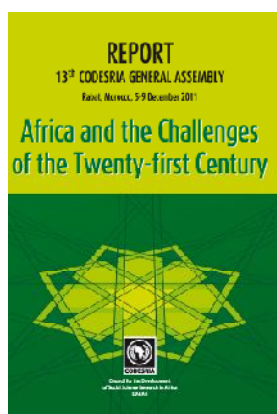
The Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa, CODESRIA, held its 13th General Assembly, 5-9 December 2011, in Rabat, Morocco. The theme of the scientific conference was: "Africa and the Challenges of the Twenty-first Century". Some of the reasons that influenced the choice of this theme were to do with how Africa should position itself in the new global political and economic order in the context of an increasingly complex neoliberal globalization. Changes in intercultural relations at the global level, climate change, poverty, rapid urbanization, the ICTs revolution, the emergence of knowledge societies, the evolution of gender and intergenerational relations, the role of religion in modern societies, the emergence of a multi-polar world and the phenomenon of emerging powers of the South are some of the realities of our world that are widely and extensively discussed by both academics and policy-makers. This book contains the statutory lectures of the 13th General Assembly. Each one of them speaks to major challenges that Africa and the Global

South are facing in this second decade of the 21st century: neoliberal globalization; capital flight; the land question; gender relations, with a particular focus on patriarchy; and universalism.

REPORT

13th CODESRIA General Assembly

Africa and the Challenges of the Twenty-first Century



The Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) held its 13th General Assembly 5 – 9 December 2011 in Rabat, Morocco. Held every three years, the General Assembly is one of the most important scientific events on the African continent. More than 600 participants from various disciplines and from about 30 African countries took part in the 2011 edition, during which partners and donors of the Council were also present. This triennial event offered African researchers the opportunity to reflect together on the main challenges of the world and, in particular, those confronting Africa and the social sciences. The theme was "*Africa and the Challenges of the Twentyfirst Century*".

In choosing the theme "*Africa and the Challenges of the Twenty-first Century*" for the 13th General Assembly of CODESRIA, the Executive Committee wanted to share not only the concerns but also the hope of building a better Africa in a better world. Five key lessons can be drawn from this General Assembly: diversity, commitment, recognition, in-depth scientific debate and the culture of audacity.

The diversity aspect was manifested in five dimensions:

- The geographical dimension: the participants came from thirty African countries, but also from Europe, Asia, North and Latin America;
- The multidisciplinary dimension: all relevant disciplines of the social sciences and humanities were represented – History, Anthropology, Philosophy, Sociology, Literature, Economics, Management Science, Information Science, Political Science, History, etc;
- The linguistic dimension: besides English and French, Portuguese was also used, and Arabic was introduced for the first time. This was a good sign towards connecting all the working languages of African researchers;
- The generational dimension: In addition to the presence of renowned scholars and researchers both from within and outside Africa, the 13th General Assembly registered a strong presence of young researchers of the third and fourth generations. This diversity promises to bridge the gap between all generations of researchers in Africa, with the new learning from the aged and experienced, and vice versa. Young researchers were therefore encouraged to invest more in developing new ideas for a better Africa; and
- The gender dimension: the 13th General Assembly of CODESRIA was also marked by a good presence of female participants and, more strongly, the emergence of two females as new President and Vice-President of the Council.

Africa Review of Books

Revue Africaine des Livres

Volume 11, Number 1

March/Mars 2015

Postcolonial Constructivism: Ali Mazrui's Theory of Intercultural Relations?

SEIFUDEIN ADEM

Le Soudan face aux dissidences

MUSTAPHA MEDJAHDI

Nigeria's Iron Lady

ADEKEYE ADEBAJO

Le Portugal et son impensé colonial

CRISTINA ROBALO CORDEIRO

The Great Lakes Region and Southern Africa in Historical and Contemporary Perspective

MOSES KHISA

Mémoires d'une combattante de l'ALN : un devoir de mémoire

KHEDIDJA MOKEDDEM