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

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

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Editorial

Professor Sam Moyo, a Great Intellectual, and a Great Leader

New Executive Committee Members

Tributes to Professor Sam Moyo

Sam Moyo: Speeches from the Archives

CODESRIA 14th General Assembly

Rethinking CODESRIA's Future, *Fatima Harrak*

Summary Report of CODESRIA 14th General Assembly, *Ibrahim Oanda*

Imagining and Creating the CODESRIA of Tomorrow, *Fatima Harrak*

To talk or not to talk to terrorists, *Ken Walibora*

Reports

Bandung+60 Conference Report, *Ebrima Sall*

Speech at World Social Science Forum 2015, *Dzodzi Tsikata*

Declaration of the 3rd World Social Science Forum

Honorary Degree for Professor Takyiwaa Manuh

Academic Freedom Still Matters! *Carlos Cardoso*

Debates

Trends and Issues in the Social Sciences and Humanities, *Ebrima Sall*

Black Pain Matters: Down with Rhodes, *Francis B. Nyamnjoh*

Scars of Memory and Scales of Justice, *Babere Kerata Chacha*

The Human Project and the Temptations of Religion, *Lansana Keita*



This quarterly Bulletin is distributed free to all social research institutes and faculties in Africa to encourage research co-operation among African scholars. Interested individuals and institutions may also subscribe. Contributions on theoretical matters and reports on conferences and seminars are welcome.

Contents

Editorial	
Professor Sam Moyo, a Great Intellectual, and a Great Leader	1
New Executive Committee Members	3
Tributes to Professor Sam Moyo	5
Sam Moyo: Speeches from the Archives	
We are proud that CODERIA has Sustained itself over the Decades.....	26
The Political Economy of Transformation in Zimbabwe: Radicalisation, Structural Change and Resistance	
<i>Sam Moyo</i>	28
CODESRIA 14th General Assembly	
Rethinking CODESRIA’s Future: Priorities to Consider	
<i>Fatima Harrak</i>	39
Summary Report of CODESRIA 14 th General Assembly: Creating African Futures in an Era of Global Transformations	
<i>Ibrahim Oanda</i>	42
Imagining and Creating the CODESRIA of Tomorrow is a Preoccupation for each one of us	
<i>Fatima Harrak</i>	59
To talk or not to talk to terrorists: That is the question of these unhappy times	
<i>Ken Walibora</i>	60
Reports	
Bandung+60 Conference Report	
<i>Ebrima Sall</i>	61
World Social Science Forum 2015: Transforming Global Relations for a Just World	
<i>Dzodzi Tsikata</i>	62
Declaration of the 3 rd World Social Science Forum	64
Sussex University Confers Honorary Degree on Professor Takyiwaa Manuh, Former President of	
CODESRIA’ Scientific Committee	65
Academic Freedom Still Matters! The Case of Maati Monjib and Nuno Castel-Branco	
<i>Carlos Cardoso</i>	66
Debates	
Trends and Issues in the Social Sciences and Humanities in Africa	
<i>Ebrima Sall</i>	69
Black Pain Matters: Down with Rhodes	
<i>Francis B. Nyamnjoh</i>	74
Scars of Memory and Scales of Justice: Rethinking Political Assassinations in Post-colonial Africa	
<i>Babere Kerata Chacha</i>	94
The Human Project and the Temptations of Religion	
<i>Lansana Keita</i>	98

Editorial

Professor Sam Moyo, a Great Intellectual, and a Great Leader

Just as we were preparing this bulletin for publication, the extremely sad news of the passing on of CODESRIA's former President, Professor Sam Moyo, reached us. Professor Moyo was in New Delhi, India, to participate in a conference on "Labour Questions in the Global South". The vehicle in which he was travelling got involved in a crash on Friday, 20 November, and Sam died in the early hours of Sunday 22 November 2015.

Professor Moyo has been an active member of CODESRIA since the 1970s. He was elected Vice-President of CODESRIA in 1998, and during the 12th General Assembly held in Yaoundé, Cameroon in December 2008, was elected President of CODESRIA, a position he held until December 2011. Sam was a great intellectual, a great leader, and an institution builder. He was renowned for his diligence, commitment to research and scholarship, as well as his immense sense of humour. He was also well known as a relentless crusader and untiring advocate of social equality and justice. He will be sorely missed by the entire social science community in Africa and in the Global South. This edition of CODESRIA Bulletin features some tributes in his honour. Issa Shivji's poetic tribute captures the sense in which his colleagues and compatriots understood the timelessness of his contribution to African development:

"I come not to mourn you, Comrade

I'll shed no tear, my friend

I refuse to say 'pole'; to say 'sorry'

Why should I?

I refuse to bury you

How can I?

For you live

You live in me

You live in many across the globe

Who loved you

Whose lives you touched

Whose hearts you cuddled

Whose minds you tickled

I come to celebrate your living, Comrade

I'll toast to your ideas, my friend

Over a glass of sahara, and a plate of 'nyama choma'

In Rose Garden, in Sao Paulo, in New Delhi

I'll sing praises of Sahara, that unites the continent

As you did

I'll pontificate on Sahara, that embraces civilizations

As you preached and practiced

I know this is not a poem, nor a flowery prose

Porojo it may be

Who cares?

It's for my friend and comrade

For my compassionate companion

Straight from my heart and soul

Yes, it's for my friend and comrade

For, he lives"

Indeed, Sam lives on!

In this issue, we also report on CODESRIA's 14th General Assembly held in Dakar, 8-12 June 2015. The General Assembly was, as expected, a gathering of a cross section of the CODESRIA membership, who include some of the best scholars, researchers and respected academics from all over Africa and the Diaspora. The theme of the scientific conference of the General Assembly was "*Creating African Futures in an era of Global Transformations*." The themes of the scientific conference of the triennial CODESRIA General Assembly usually reflected the dominant concerns of the moment. The need for the structural transformation of the African and world economies that have been built upon and are exacerbating social inequalities and environmental problems is now very widely recognized. These days, the concept of "transformation" is, in fact, so widely used that it ought to be critically examined. The CODESRIA and the UN Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) *Journal of African Transformation* launched during the CODESRIA General Assembly has the ambition of becoming the platform for such debates, many of which are now closely linked to debates about the trajectories of our economies and societies, and about possible and desirable futures. At a time when the African Union (AU) is deploying efforts aimed at building "the Africa We Want", which is what the AU's *Agenda 2063* is about, and as the United Nations System was actively working towards the adoption of a new, post-2015 global development agenda whose aim, it is argued, is to build a "World We Want", the African research community could not have chosen a better theme for the scientific conference of its 14th General Assembly. Social science has been, and will continue looking at

transformations in their complexity, "historicizing the present", but also examining representations of the future. The critical analysis of societal projects (of all scales) and of the narratives and counter-narratives framed around them is indeed part of the normal business of social science. This issue of the bulletin carries a summary of the presentations, debates and resolutions emanating from the General Assembly, as well as the profiles of the new Executive Committee members elected at the General Assembly, led by the erudite Dzodzi Tsikata as President, who took over from Professor Fatima Harrak. The election of Professor Tsikata as the fourth woman (out of the last five Presidents) to be elected to the position in the last 13 years does say something about gender in the life and work of CODESRIA.

Also in this issue of the bulletin is a report on a commemorative conference of the Asia-Africa Conference first held in Bandung in April 1955. The Bandung Conference marked the birth of the Non-Aligned Movement, and what has come to be known as the 'Bandung Spirit'. The commemorative conferences were held in Jakarta and Bandung in April 2015 and October 2015. Participants in the October conference included many scholars and activists from Asia, Africa, and Latin America. CODESRIA was represented by the Executive Secretary, Ebrima Sall who attended the conference with Fatima Harrak, immediate past President of CODESRIA.

We return to the theme of transformation. The World Social Science Forum (WSSF) was this year held in Durban, South Africa, in September 2015 and was as usual organized by the International Social Science Council (ISSC) and co-hosted by CODESRIA and the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) of South Africa under the patronage of UNESCO. The Forum focussed on: *"The transformation of global relations for a just world"*. It was a significant gathering of scholars and policy-oriented intellectuals drawn from all the regions of the world and across different disciplinary interests in the social sciences and humanities. The Forum provided "a platform for presenting new knowledge and insights, re-thinking received wisdom, charting new directions, promoting innovation in the research-policy-action nexus, and nurturing new international partnerships". This bulletin brings you closing remarks by CODESRIA's President made at the closing ceremony of the conference as well as the Conference Declaration.

The "Debates" section of this edition of the bulletin carries interesting debates on some contemporary issues in Africa. In his insightful piece on "Trends and Issues in the Social Sciences and Humanities in Africa" Ebrima Sall looks at key issues to consider in any serious review of the state of the social sciences and humanities. He looks at the institutional base for knowledge production in Africa and how it has been evolving. He relates the complexity of the institutional landscape in Africa to the "six Cs" identified by Paul Zeleza which include; corporatisation of management, collectivisation of access, commercialisation of learning, commodification of knowledge, computerisation of education, and connectivity of institutions. As part of his conclusion, he makes a strong case for multi-disciplinarity, inter-disciplinarity, and trans-disciplinarity in confronting the various challenges on the African continent.

Francis Nyamnjoh's article "Black Pain Matters: Down with Rhodes" looks at issues of race, racism and marginalisation in South Africa against the backdrop of organised student protests which rocked South Africa universities, unleashing a renewed clamour for transformation in higher education in that country. In "Scars of Memory and Scales of Justice" Babere Kerata Chacha, draws attention to the menace of political assassinations in post-colonial Africa and underlines the urgent need for justice and tolerance as well as an end to impunity by the political class. Lansana Keita's piece on "The Human Project and the Temptations of Religion" reflects on the relationship between science and religion and raises several interesting issues on the reliance on faith in explaining religious phenomena among adherents of the Abrahamic religions of Christianity, Islam and Judaism.

We end the tributes to Sam Moyo with some of his papers.

As Nana Busia says in his tribute, "scholars of the stature of Sam never die". Indeed, Sam lives on!

Ebrima Sall
Executive Secretary

Alex Bangirana
Head, Publications

New Executive Committee Members



Dzodzi Tsikata

President of CODESRIA

Dzodzi Tsikata is an Associate Research Professor at the Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research (ISSER) at the University of Ghana where she has worked since 1991. She holds a Ph.D in Social Science from Leiden University in the Netherlands.



Nkolo Foe

Vice President of CODESRIA

Nkolo Foe is Professor at the Ecole Normale Supérieure of Yaoundé 1. He was also former Head of Department of Philosophy, after working at the Institute of Human Sciences where he was Head of Research.



Andre Mbata
Mangu

Andre Mbata Mangu holds a doctoral (LLD) and a Masters (LLM) degrees in constitutional, public and international law from the University of South Africa (UNISA). He is currently a Research Professor in the College of Law at UNISA and Professor at the Faculty of Law of UNIKIN.



Khalid Ali
El Amin

Khalid Ali El Amin holds a PhD in Political Science; the Political Economy of Development from the University of Leeds, the UK. He currently works as an associate professor at the Development Studies and Research Institute of the University of Khartoum.



Kenneth Inyani
Simala

Kenneth Inyani Simala is a linguist and former Dean, Faculty of Education and Social Science, Masinde Muliro University of Science And Technology. He is also the Executive Secretary of East African Kiswahili Commission (EAKC).



Puleng LenkaBula

Puleng LenkaBula is a Professor of Ethics. She undertook her undergraduate and graduate studies in South Africa, Lesotho and Canada. She is Dean of Students at the University of South Africa and is active in many academic and ecumenical organisations.



Hassan Remaoun

Hassan Remaoun is a sociologist and historian. He is a professor at the University of Oran. He is also a researcher at the National Centre of Research in Social and Cultural Anthropology (CRASC) in Algeria.



Isabel Maria
Casimiro

Isabel Maria Casimiro is a sociologist and lecturer at Centre of African Studies, Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo, Mozambique. A feminist and activist, her areas of specialisation include women human rights, feminist movements, development and participatory democracy.



Slaheddine
Ben Frej

Slaheddine Ben Frej is a Sociologist, lecturer and researcher at the University of Tunisia in Tunis. He is a member of the Editorial Board of CODESRIA's journal: *African Sociological Review* and has authored several publications.



Rokhaya Fall

Rokhaya Fall holds two PhDs in history and in the history of Black Africa. She is currently Head of the Department of History in the Faculty of Arts and Humanities at Cheikh Anta Diop University in Dakar, Senegal.



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Early Version: 30 December 2015

Final Versions: 14 February 2016

Tributes to Professor Sam Moyo

Professor Sam Moyo, a Great Intellectual, and a Man of Integrity

CODESRIA President 2008-2011

The Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) deeply regrets and mourns the passing away of its former president, Professor Sam Moyo. Professor Moyo was in New Delhi, India, where he was attending a conference on "Labour Questions in the Global South". The vehicle in which he was travelling was involved in a serious accident in the evening of Thursday, 19 November, and Professor Moyo died in the early hours of Sunday 22 November 2015.

Sam had been an active member of CODESRIA since the 1970s. He coordinated a number of CODESRIA working groups and research networks, and was a tireless and inexhaustible resource that CODESRIA heavily relied upon. Several of his most important ideas were first carried in CODESRIA publications. In 1998, he was elected Vice-President of CODESRIA. During the 12th General Assembly held in Yaoundé, Cameroon in December 2008, Sam was elected President of CODESRIA, a position he held until December 2011. He continued to play a vital role in the life and work of CODESRIA, attending General Assemblies, representing CODESRIA at many events, hosting activities in Harare, advising on research programmes, contributing to the deepening and broadening of intellectual exchanges across the Global South and providing wise counsel to the leadership.

Sam was Africa's leading intellectual voice on land and agrarian transformation. Over long periods when there was little policy interest in land reforms, he and a few other scholars kept the issues alive through rigorous empirical research and theorizing about Africa's land and agrarian questions in the context of globalization. Throughout an intellectual career that spanned decades and produced a massive body of work, he consistently championed the rights of Africa's smallholders as well as its landless and dispossessed communities and chronicled the struggles of agrarian social movements for equitable land rights. He followed up his research with engagements with policy makers, civil society organisations, research networks on agrarian issues as well as social movements. He was much in demand in Africa and beyond as a policy advisor on land and agrarian issues.

**Prof. Dzodzi Tsikata, President
Dr Ebrima Sall, Executive Secretary
CODESRIA**



Sam showed great courage in his robust engagement with Zimbabwe's land reforms. He charted a course of independent research which eschewed sensationalism and illuminated the scale and significance of land redistribution represented by the Fast Track Land Reform Programme which saw over two hundred thousand Zimbabwean households acquiring land for their livelihoods. In spite of the fact that this was for a long time a very lonely undertaking, which incurred the disapproval of the different sides of the debates on Zimbabwe's land reforms, he was much respected and admired not only within CODESRIA, but in the wider community of progressive intellectuals within the Global South for his consistency and the quality of the evidence he produced to back his positions. The growing acceptance of Sam's positions in the wider land and agrarian studies community sadly failed to give him full credit for his pivotal role in changing the debate about Zimbabwe's land reforms.

Sam was full of life and lived life to the full. He was warm, kind hearted, humble and respectful of every member of staff at CODESRIA. So was he with the countless numbers of younger scholars and colleagues he mentored over the years. We will miss a man of integrity, a committed pan Africanist, a loyal friend, and a great leader.

Ending his short but extremely productive journey in this world in India speaks volumes of Sam's commitment to scholarship and to the cause of the peoples of the Global South. This commitment was much in evidence in his leadership of the Agrarian South Network, a tri-continental research network on agrarian issues he co-founded with colleagues from Africa, Asia and Latin America.

On behalf of the Executive and Scientific Committees, and the staff of CODESRIA, we would like to offer our sincere condolences to Sam's partner Beatrice, his mother Madam Mavis Moyo, his daughters and his wider family and friends, the staff of the Harare based *Africa Institute of Agrarian Studies* that he founded and led for many years, and to the entire CODESRIA community, which was his extended family.

Hamba Kahle, Sam. Go well.

23 November 2015

Researcher and Institutional Builder

In my current state of shock I cannot write much by way of an intellectual tribute to Sam Moyo and his rich life. Such an undertaking will have to wait.

Thandika Mkandawire

I met Sam in the late 1970s in Dakar at the IDEP library – IDEP was at the time run by Samir Amin and was a veritable pan-African intellectual magnet. Sam had an uncle who lived in Dakar so he spent his holidays from Fourah Bay College (Sierra Leone) with him. A few years later we were to meet again in Harare where I had been seconded by CODESRIA to advise on setting up the Zimbabwe Institute of Development Studies (ZIDS). Sam belonged to the band of young, enthusiastic graduates who had chosen the uncertainty of a job with the new institute over a much more secure job in government.

Sam immediately demonstrated his zest for research and his prodigious working capacity. His involvement with the Institute went beyond doing his own research. He took the task of building the institution very seriously and enthusiastically accepted any tasks demanded of him. And over many years that combination of serious researcher and dedicated institutional builder was to manifest itself on many occasions and in many institutions he was associated with, earning him great esteem.

One memorable characteristic of Sam was his intellectual tenacity to delve into a subject with all the energy he could muster. The "Land Question" in Zimbabwe took huge amounts of his time and energy. There were four aspects to his preoccupation. The first aspect was a passion for social justice. The second aspect was simply intellectual drive to understand one of the most important social processes in the Third World – the land reform in Zimbabwe – whose significance was being downplayed by scholars from an amazing range of ideological persuasions for whom the massive transfer of property was reduced to something about "Mugabe and his cronies". The third aspect was his insistence on having African voices

heard on critical matters relating to Africa and his belief that this demanded rigorous work and institutional backing. And finally there was keenness to link African research to research elsewhere in the "Global South".

His position on the land question was principled and no threat of withdrawal of funding of his institute bent his intellectual integrity. He was bitter and disappointed by the de-campaigning of the Institute by fellow scholars with close links to funders.

I once sent him a link to an article in the New York Times citing his work on land in Zimbabwe. This was no minor thing given what had been a systematic effort to blackout the work of his Institute and the financial strangulation it was being subjected to. But he took it all in stride. However I do know for sure that he took pride from the knowledge that he and his team had beaten the media blackout. He also knew he had won the intellectual battle.

Towards the end of his life he had shifted his interests towards two new concerns. One was the productivity of the newly acquired farms and the other was the emerging social differentiation in the new agrarian dispensations. These are two questions that arise after any major land reform such as the one that Zimbabwe carried out. He had problems raising funds for this research programme. It is sad that death has denied him the time to pursue research in these areas.

His departure has deprived us not only of a major scholar but also of one of the outstanding pillars of the African social sciences institutional architecture.

Sam loved the research community and was generous with his time as many scholars visiting Harare will testify.

Sam and I became close family friends. Members of my family and I will miss his humility, care, warmth and kindness.

An intellectual Tour de Force

Walter Chambati

Dear Colleagues

It is with a heavy heart that I write to inform you of the passing on of Professor Sam Moyo early this morning in New Delhi, India after a tragic car accident on Friday evening. We are all shocked and devastated beyond measure. An intellectual tour de force, source of inspiration and humanist with a big heart has passed on.

Regards.



Selfless, Committed and Totally Reliable

Mahmood Mamdani

I no longer recall when exactly I met Sam. Maybe it was in the late 70s at CODESRIA, or in the early 80s at the Zimbabwe Institute of Development Studies.

The late 1990s, though, was the time we truly got to work together, closely and intensely. The two of us were at the helm of CODESRIA's leadership, as President and Vice President. The next two years were a time of deep and sharp differences in policy, and it often seemed as if there was no end in sight.

I remember a particularly difficult episode a year down the line. We had an emergency meeting in Dakar but Sam said he could not be there because he was to have a delicate operation in a few days. I explained what was at stake and asked if he could postpone the operation by a week. He warned me that he would not be able to sit for long in his current state. But the next day, he was in Dakar. During the meeting, he kept on shifting the weight of his body from one side to the other, now leaning on one buttock, then on another. He was obviously in great pain, but it never showed on his smiling face.

That was Sam, selfless, committed to a fault, totally reliable. He was the person you would want by your side if you expected hard times ahead. But no matter how difficult the times, as during those years, I never saw him turn vindictive against anyone. Later, we would look back on that period as something of a crossroads in the history of CODESRIA. Then, however, it was hard and painful. It was the kind of ordeal that can forge enduring friendships. Sam was that kind of a friend.

In those years, I also learnt that Sam was a mathematical genius. As soon as we would land in Dakar, he would head for the Accounts office, take charge of all the books, and go through them meticulously. No matter how long it took, 12 or 24 hours, Sam would work until he would have a report ready for discussion between the two of us. Soon, word went around that it would be foolhardy for anyone to try and pull a fast one on Sam.

Students and scholars came to CODESRIA for different reasons, some for the thrill of travel, others to be part of a Pan-African conversation on issues of the day, and yet others to access otherwise scarce resources for research. Sam shared all those motives but, above all, he was among the few who unfailingly gave more than he received. When it came to facing temptation or intimidation, his was a towering presence. Sam stood for integrity and steadfastness, a calm intelligence and a cool deliberation, a level head in a crisis situation, and a free spirit in a party that was sure to follow every difficult episode.

Sam was one of the few who presented a seamless blend of this capacity for sobriety, integrity and joy that marked the CODESRIA crowd – all with a cigarette in one hand no matter the time of day, and a glass of beer at the end of the day. The ground on which this companionship was nurtured was the city of Dakar. We came to it from different corners of the continent, all marginal in one way or another, all looking for freedom, most of all the freedom of expression, as if gasping for oxygen. Out of that common endeavor were born close associations and lasting comradeships.

Sam's major scholarship was in the field of agrarian studies. Always unassuming, he seldom talked of his own scholarly work unless someone raised it first. For me that

occasion came in 2008 when the *London Review of Books* invited me to write a piece on Zimbabwe. The land reform was the big issue at the time. I pulled together whatever studies on the subject I could lay my hands on. Three sources stood above all others as original and reliable: one from the Institute of Development Studies at Sussex, another from the University of Western Cape and then Sam's work at the African Institute of Agrarian Studies in Harare. As I read these sources, and the press reports on their findings, I learnt something about the politics of knowledge production and its recognition in the public sphere. Two facts were crystal clear to me: one, that Sam had been several steps ahead of the others; and, two, that his work was the last to be recognized. It was almost as if the press went by a rule of thumb: when it came to ideas, the chain had to originate in a Western University, and the link go through a South African institution, before it came to an African researcher.

I discussed this with Sam. He smiled, as if to say, what's new? At home, his critics were at pains to paint him as partisan. If he showed that the land reform had improved the lot of a large number of the landless, those in the opposition discounted it as the claim of someone with the regime. But if he refused to give blanket support to the regime, those with it said he must have hidden links to the opposition. When it came to public policy, Sam took the cue from his research, always fearless, unafraid, and hopeful. He was a voice listened to by all, especially when he was the target of criticism. Whatever their disagreement, all knew that Sam was not susceptible to corruption, and that he would not offer an opinion unless it was informed by deep research.

The last time I saw Sam was at the CODESRIA General Assembly in Dakar in June. Only two months before, we had been together in the city of Hangzhou in China at a conference organized by the Inter-Asia School to celebrate the 60th anniversary of Bandung. The hospitality was overwhelming. Every meal was like a banquet; every plate on the table was renewed before it could be empty; wine and drinks flowed. Sam was relaxed, as he reminisced of our efforts to build CODESRIA over the past decades, and reflected about future plans for the African Institute of Agrarian Studies. I recall this as if it was yesterday: Sam, smiling, trusting, reassuring, strong, purposeful, and thoughtful, yet again doing what he was best at, charting a road none had travelled before, but at the same time taking you along.

This is one journey, dear Sam, that you take alone. You leave this world as you came into it, alone, but this world is a better place, and we are better off, because we had the privilege of being part of your world. The loss is great and the heart is heavy, and it is hard and painful to say good-bye. As we grieve for our loss, we also celebrate your life.

In Memory of Prof Sam Moyo: A Committed Freedom Fighter

I would like to express my deepest condolences to the family, friends and colleagues of Professor Samson Moyo. His untimely passing was a great shock to me and to other South Africans who knew him. I feel his loss very deeply as he was a friend as well as a collaborator in various projects. He was wrenched from us at the height of his powers as a leading African intellectual, an activist and an institution builder.

I knew Sam for many years – from the time of our liberation struggle against apartheid in the mid-1980s. I met him through the SAPES network led by Dr Ibbo Mandaza. He had fought for the liberation of Zimbabwe and he was committed to the cause of a free, democratic, independent and prosperous African continent. His dedication continued throughout his life.

This is demonstrated by all his work and more especially his intellectual work for the benefit of our continent. Sam was held in high esteem by the intellectual community in Africa and beyond. He served for many years in CODESRIA, the Council for the Development of Social Research in Africa, successively as a Member of the Executive Committee, Vice President, and finally, from 2009 to 2011 as President

Sam's specific areas of interest was agrarian studies, in particular policy regarding agriculture, food, land reform and the environment. After working in these fields as a professor at the University of Zimbabwe and as a government advisor,

Dr BE Nzimande,
MP, South African Minister of
Higher Education and Training

he demonstrated his social entrepreneurship and institution-building skills when he established the African Institute of Agrarian Studies.

Sam was a true internationalist. His very passing in India, on a work assignment far away from his home, is testament to his internationalism and his understanding that the challenges that face humanity are universal. His internationalism is also demonstrated by his contributions in South Africa. Several years ago, I decided to establish a National Institute for Humanities and Social Sciences and asked him to assist us and to bring with him his experiences and deep knowledge of social science research across the continent. He accepted my request without hesitation and when the Institute was formally established two years ago, Sam became a valued, useful and influential member of its Board.

Despite all his accomplishments, Sam remained modest and unassuming. He was a kind and gentle person and had an easy way with people. He was the type of individual that you very quickly felt at ease with.

My grief at his loss is shared by the South African government and all South Africans who knew Sam Moyo. Our grief is profound and sincere; we will do all we can to ensure that the path that he trod will be followed by others and especially by younger academics and the youth.

Hamba kahle, Sam, brother and friend..

A Pan-Africanist

In deep sorrow we mourn the sudden and untimely death of Sam Moyo, profound scholar and progressive activist, beloved comrade, Member of the Executive Committee of IDEAs. Sam was in New Delhi, India to participate in a conference on "Labour Questions in the Global South" when a car he was travelling in was involved in a terrible accident. Two other friends and colleagues (Marcelo Rosa and Paris Yeros) were injured but Sam was very critically hurt. After a valiant struggle for survival, he passed away in the early hours of 22 November 2015.

Sam was much more than a guiding spirit in many of our activities. He illuminated our lives and work with his sharp intellect, passionate commitment, exemplary integrity and extraordinary energy. His strong sense of Pan African consciousness and wider South solidarity enriched his and our academic endeavour and public dissemination. His analytical insights always provided a fresh and penetrating

Jayati Ghosh and IDEAs Team

perspective that enabled us to better understand the complexities of agrarian change and economic realities in Africa and elsewhere.

His death leaves a void that is impossible to fill. We will miss his warmth, affection, generosity and humour and of course his irresistible charm that could disarm the keenest adversary. In particular we will always cherish his ability to live life to the fullest, even in adverse circumstances. Our hearts go out to his family and his innumerable friends in Zimbabwe and across the world. For many of us, this cannot be farewell. A bit of Sam has enriched us forever and will live on inside us.

We hope to have more on Sam Moyo in the days ahead, to honour him and celebrate his extraordinary life. Please send your tributes, memories and other contributions to:

webmaster@networkideas.org and jayati@jnu@gmail.com.

An Erudite Scholar and a Fine Gentleman

Enna Sukutai Gudhlanga
(Zimbabwe)

I am deeply saddened by Prof Sam Moyo's passing on in India where he was attending a conference on the Labour Question in the Global South. The academic fraternity has really been robbed of a giant who was eager to mentor both seasoned and upcoming scholars. We have been deprived of an erudite scholar and a fine gentleman. I will never forget the assistance he gave to our CODESRIA CRN Team, the project culminated in a book which was published in 2015 by CODESRIA titled: *Gender, Politics and Land Use in Zimbabwe, 1980-2012*. The Land and Agrarian Studies question will never be the same without Prof Sam Moyo. We have been privileged to know and learn from the prolific Professor par excellence of our time. Fare thee well Prof Sam Moyo, may your soul rest in eternal peace. May your family, the AIAS family, the CODESRIA family and the whole academic fraternity be comforted.

A Fighter for a more Equal World

Teresa Cruz e Silva
Former President of CODESRIA
Centro de Estudos Africanos
Universidade Eduardo Mondlane

With a lot of sadness and apprehension, during the last weekend we received the news of the car accident in New Delhi, your struggle for life and the heavier news that you were not anymore among us. It was and, still is so hard to believe in the new reality of your physical absence!

It is difficult to accept that a fighter for a more equal world, a friend always cheerful and generous, or that an academic always worried with the reality of our continent has left us. However, we have the joy of knowing that the spread of your wisdom among different generations of scholars, young people and your daughters, will immortalize your life.

To your family, your friends, to CODESRIA to whom you gave an important part of your knowledge, and to the entire academic community, we would like to express our deepest solidarity and our deepest condolences in this difficult moment.

A Luta Continua!

Sam Moyo will live forever!

A Scholar and Social Crusader

Emmanuel Yenshu Vubo

This news of Sam Moyo came as a veritable shock indeed. Sam died on the battlefield of science as he travelled to attend this conference on issues that were not only an intellectual passion for him but a social crusade in which he was engaged. But how horrible such a death. Let us pray the very good All-knowing and Almighty God that He would grant repose to Sam's soul in His bosom. We will surely miss his critical insights, commitment and devotion to the cause that he served with us and the entire African social science community. Adieu Sam.

A Tribute to our Colleague and Friend, Sam Moyo

Fatima Harrak

It was such a shock to hear about Sam's passing.

Sam was a brother, a friend, a scholar, a dedicated pan-Africanist and a person who infected everyone with his great spirit.

From our first meeting in Yaounde, Cameroun, where he was elected as President of CODESRIA to working by his side as his deputy for three years, Sam Moyo always had about him a passionate dignity that made him an inspiring leader and a great human being to be around. Energy, commitment, integrity are all words that captured the moral fiber of this man.

In addition to his renowned scholarly contribution to the study of peasant social movements, agrarian reform and land struggle in Africa and his exceptional leadership abilities, Sam was also a caring, generous and selfless person who loved life and believed in the goodness of people. I experienced his kindness as I succeeded him at the head of CODESRIA when he offered his unconditional support and advice.

Sam was one of a kind and will be sorely missed as a colleague, scholar and friend but never will he be forgotten by those who were fortunate enough to have known him!

Une grande perte pour l'Afrique

B. Elmorchid
Marrakech University

Cher(e)s collègues

Je tiens à m'associer à votre peine et apporter tout mon soutien à ses proches et à ses amis en ces durs moments que la vie nous impose. L'Afrique vient de perdre l'un de ses plus grands chercheurs en sciences sociales.

Veuillez accepter mes plus sincères condoléances.

Tributes

An Independent Intellectual

William Martin (Bill)

My gratitude to Tendai and Fred, for reminding us, warming us, with these difficult summations of Sam in a time when thinking much less writing is so very difficult to do. Surely the flood of warm memories will cohere as we gather everywhere to celebrate Sam's inestimable gifts to us and our unimaginable loss. What Fred, Tendai and others highlight was really a key source of Sam's gentle, persistent greatness: his deep, unrivaled commitment to an independent African intellectual life and community, and his corresponding eschewing of the easy slide into the traducing hands of those who possess intellectual, much less state, inducements and rewards. May his example continue to inspire us in our weaker moments – and the next generation.

An Inspiration

Rama Salla Dieng
Member of CODESRIA
SOAS-University of London

Dear Fellow members of CODESRIA,

Please accept my condolences for the loss of our Professor Sam Moyo. I am writing the word 'loss' unwillingly. It is so hard to accept the news. I had turned to land studies because of his great passion and commitment at the first Pan-African land grab conference in 2013 in Addis, because of his writings, those of Prof Tsikata, Prof Olukoshi and Prof Amanor. It is because of him that I later focused most of my research at SOAS on land, proud to quote his brilliant analysis of the "African Land Question". And it is because of him that I am now doing my PhD on "land grabbing in Senegal"

I met him again at the third PanAfrican land conference in Harare in September 2015!

The last day of the conference, I was sitting with Prof Moyo listening to his advice, preaching the need to have a Global South approach. I can still hear him telling me to be Qondi's old sister in London, at SOAS when I return.

I was supposed to see him again in January 2016 at the AIAS Summit and was working towards finalising my paper.

So soon!! We have lost a GIANT. May God console us and welcome him in Paradise. May his soul rest in Perfect peace.

We need to keep reading him, engage with his work, furthering it (a difficult venture!) but the best way to pay a tribute to his rigor!

A luta continua

A Committed Pan-Africanist

Tendai Murisa
Executive Director, TrustAfrica

This is so sad and obviously very tragic. We have lost a committed Pan-African intellectual. He was bigger than Zimbabwe.

Sam's reach was global but he remained very grounded and engaged in local debates.

For some of us who have been his students he was always available to mentor, read our various versions/drafts of thesis, direct us to new debates and helped in the process to understand his very dense work. I will miss him so much.

We only take comfort in two things – he has left us with a great heritage of scholarship and rigor and he also perished whilst still engaged – he did not for whatever reason abandon the struggle despite the many opportunities for cooptation by the state. I am sure you are also aware that he turned down a number of top regional positions in many donor organizations because he chose to remain true to his intellectual calling despite the every day challenges of donor politics etc.

We are poorer without Sam.

L'Afrique et le monde intellectuel en deuil

Baba Maal
Artiste / Musicien

C'est une grande perte pour l'Afrique et le monde intellectuel.

Paix à son âme.

Que le Seigneur l'accueille dans son paradis !



An Ode in Memory of Chimusoro Sam Moyo

Bella Matambanadzo

An unimaginable loss has happened. Our phenomenal intellectual pan African giant on land issues, Professor Sam Moyo, has died following injuries sustained during a terrible car accident in New Delhi, India. We are in disbelief. We are waiting for him to come home. We feel ripped apart with pain.

We grew up following you in our townships. We nicknamed you Sekuru 'Chimusoro', the one with the very big head. All our parents wanted us to be exactly like you. At the end of every school term, you would come home with a report card full of number ones. Your arms would be laden with trophies and certificates for best student in this subject; outstanding record in that.

Your mother, Gogo Mavis Moyo's face would beam with enough joy to light up the whole continent. She was a woman of her own accolades, a pioneer black female broadcaster at a time when radio was segregated by racism. But somehow your achievements made her glow in the way that only a mother can do.

We always marveled at the shiny silver cups with your name on them. Playfully, you would fill them with cherry plum juice and serve us to drink along with candy cakes. The pink icing would crease between our fingers. Domestic chores, serving those around you, never bothered you. You had such a deep sense of the hospitality of food, and the power of sharing drinks with those you loved, that we always felt welcome to your side. Our great tree that bore so much fruit. Yes we would laugh, but you would steer us to talk about the thing that mattered most to you; and even if we did not know it then, to us. How to fully reclaim the land that was stolen by the colonial forces.

Throughout your life, you carried your intellectual smarts with so much ease. In your later years, when your trophies had turned to degrees, you would seek us out so we could sit in your seminars. At that time I think you were at the Zimbabwe Institute of Development Studies (ZIDS). Later on you moved to SAPES and taught the SARIPS Masters Programme with radical feminists like Dr Patricia Macfadden you made our brains sweat. In the beginning we would all look at each other unable to write down some of the big words and theories you used. And yet you persisted. Sharing your know-ledge with us, crafting an epistemology around land and agrarian rights. Together you showed us why land was a critical resource for women to have ownership and control over.

When we tried to call you Prof, you would smile and say, 'vafana vangu, ndinonzi Sam - my youngsters, I am just Sam.' It didn't matter that you had 'eaten many books' as the saying used to go. You would listen to our elementary theories, nurture us with love and suggest, 'let's write a policy brief on this subject. That's how we will change the world'.

You lent your brilliance to the environmental think tank Zero, pulled us into the Senegal based CODESRIA and intro-duced

us to people who wore Dashiki shirts as a form of political expression. People whose papers you had photo-copied for us to read. This was before computers. It was the time of type-writers. Your scrawl was impossible to decipher, but we knew that if we didn't figure out your handwriting, there would be trouble. You could not abide intellectual laziness.

On Boodle Road, in Harare's Eastlea suburb you set up the African Institute of Agrarian Studies (AIAS). It was nothing short of a bold move. This was Zimbabwe in the early 2000s when land invasions were at their apex. Nothing could deter you. Not physical threats, nor slurs to your name. And who can forget the raid of your home office in Borrowdale. You put your ubiquitous cigarette to your mouth and shock your head. 'Why did they have to mess my papers up? I had order here'. I would look at the piles and piles of papers you had and wonder what kind of order you meant. Your office was a project for a neat freak.

Last year, we danced until dawn in your front garden. Your lawn groaned underfoot of our stampede. It was your 60th birthday party. Food, music, friends and land politics. The delicious chocolate cake was a creative meme of your desk. Cellphone, books on land with the spine carrying your name. And of course your friends from all over the world filled your yard. Or skype feed.

By your side was your sweetheart and partner, the top human rights lawyer Beatrice Mtetwa. We marveled at how possible it was for two wonderful, strong and brilliant human beings to love each other so much. It made us feel good to see you dancing. It was as if no one else was around as you smiled at each other and twirled each other to Hugh Masekela's trumpet. Power couples that publicly show each other affection and validation are so very rare in our activist civil society worlds. We were hoping for a huge international African wedding and had decided we were going to be in the bridal party. I don't know how we will comfort you Beatrice. I don't know how we will comfort Gogo Moyo. What will we do for Sibongile and her sisters?

On the days I forgot to call to check on you, you would ring. And demand our company. 'Is Nancy (Kachingwe) around? Where is Saru? Let me make you Oxtail. Bring your friends over'. You always offered your home to us, whether you were there or not.

Thank you for giving us so much of you Sekuru Chimusoro.

Siyabonga Moyondizvo. We will forever carry you in our hearts. Broken as they are by your untimely and devastatingly painful death. Alone, so far away from the homeland you fought so hard for.

Tributes

A jamais dans mes travaux et dans ma mémoire

Ahmat Hessana
Membre du CODESRIA

Je suis profondément choqué par la nouvelle de la disparition du Pr SAM MOYO.

Il a forgé en moi une méthodologie spécifique aux études foncières, après ma participation à l'Institut sur le genre 2014.

En rentrant à Yaoundé dans l'avion, j'ai dévoré passionnément son ouvrage qui a fait de moi un chercheur du foncier.

C'est ce que je retiens de lui, bien que je ne l'aie pas ren-contré une seule fois.

Je vais le citer dans mes travaux sur le foncier.

Au CODESRIA, ma proposition: imprimons son portrait sur fond de la dernière des couvertures des ouvrages que nous produirons et sur nos badges ; ceci pendant le nombre de jours prochains qui sera égal à l'âge auquel il est décédé.

Tu es à jamais dans mes travaux et dans ma mémoire.

Cruel Death

Solani Ngobeni
Director: Publications
Human Sciences Research Council

It was tragic to receive the news of Prof. Moyo's passing. I cannot come to terms with the fact that the same sage with whom we attended the CODESRIA General Assembly this past June in Dakar, Senegal is no more. We also attended the South African Association of Political Sciences Colloquium at the University of Johannesburg in August. How can death be so cruel?

May His Soul Rest in Peace!
Regards.

A wonderful Generous Friend

Jimi Adesina

The sense of utter desolation that one feels at the news of the loss of Sam is beyond words. Sam was a wonderful and generous friend, an inspiring colleague, an immensely active and courageous scholar, and a remarkably dedicated member of CODESRIA and one of its leading lights.

Fighting for Equality and Justice

Isabel Casimiro

Dear comrade, activist of several struggles in Zimbabwe, African continent and the world I am still in shock, not wanting to believe. We know we all die. But even so it is always hard to deal with death, and of someone so committed with land and so many other issues that divide human beings.

We met in Harare long ago, in the 90's at the Hivos Advisory Group (HAG) and then with the Sapem activities, board, conferences.

And we met at CODESRIA.

We will go on fighting for equality and justice!

Condolences to the family!
See you Sam.

A luta continua!

Sam Moyo nos acompañará siempre en las luchas por un mundo más, humano e igualitario

Pablo Gentili
CLACSO / Secretario Ejecutivo

Queridos amigos y amigas,

Recibimos la triste noticia de la prematura muerte de **Sam Moyo**, miembro del Comité Ejecutivo de IDEAs y ex presidente del Consejo para el Desarrollo de la Investigación en Ciencias Sociales (CODESRIA), la institución hermana de CLACSO en África.

Sam fue un destacado estudioso de la economía política en Zimbabwe. Se encontraba en Nueva Delhi, India, para participar en una conferencia sobre "Cuestiones laborales en el Sur global", cuando el auto en el que viajaba sufrió un grave accidente. Luchó hasta último momento por la vida, pero falleció ayer, 22 de noviembre de 2015.

Sus temas de estudio fueron la ecología política, las nuevas ruralidades, las organizaciones no gubernamentales y los movimientos sociales. Publicó varios artículos, capítulos de libros y los siguientes libros (como autor, co-autor o co-editor): *La cuestión agraria en Zimbabwe*; *El proceso de adquisición de tierras en Zimbabwe 1997/8: impactos Socio-Económicos y Políticos*; *La Reforma Agraria bajo el ajuste estructural en Zimbabwe*; *Las ONG, el Estado y la política en Zimbabwe*; *Política Energética y Planificación en el Sur de África*; *Seguridad Ambiental en el Sur de África*; *Organizaciones campesinas y democratización en África*; *La recuperación de la Nación: El retorno de la cuestión nacional en África, Asia y América*; entre otros.

Sam fue un activo colaborador del **Programa Sur-Sur** de CLACSO y CODESRIA. Su obra: ***Recuperando la tierra. El resurgimiento de movimientos rurales en África, Asia y América Latina*** fue publicada por nuestras instituciones y está disponible para descargar completa en nuestra Librería Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales.

(http://www.clacso.org.ar/libreria-latinoamericana/buscar_libro_detalle.php?id_libro=69&campo=autor&texto=moyo)

Su fuerte sentido del panafricanismo y su solidaridad con los pueblos del Sur nos han enriquecido permanentemente y nos acompañarán siempre.

CLACSO despidió a nuestro querido y admirado **Sam Moyo**, sabiendo que esté donde esté, nos acompañará siempre en las luchas por un mundo más justo, humano e igualitario.

Respected Intellectual

Patrick Bond

Greetings, with tragic news from Ebrima, whom you remember is the secretary of the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa:

We just received this evening the sad news of the passing away of Professor Sam Moyo, former President of CODESRIA. Sam was in India for a conference and got caught up in a bad car accident and got seriously injured. We've been getting regular updates about his condition all day from our colleagues in Delhi. Unfortunately he didn't survive the serious injuries he sustained. May his soul rest in peace.

Sam was from a peasant background and rose to become one of Zimbabwe's - and Africa's - most respected intellectuals. You will all remember him from Hong Kong and Chongqing/Chengdu video in commemoration of Vinod: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zJoDhMGTtKA&feature=youtu.be>

At 10:30 in this wonderful video tribute to Vinod, you find Sam, briefly expressing gratitude for the experience. The skillful film-maker found him in several other places which bring back such warm memories.

At our Centre for Civil Society here in Durban, Sam played such a wonderful role, especially since he started visiting in 2012 and co-supervising our PhD students in 2014. He was one of our Honorary Professors, and there is some information about his career here:

<http://ccs.ukzn.ac.za/default.asp?10,86,8,164>

It was the trip to Chongqing that allowed us to arrange that position, one of many reasons I always look back four years, with such admiration for our hosts.

I was last with Sam in Harare in August, at an excellent talk he gave about Zimbabwe's agricultural sector: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q-Y6iBl3BOE> and this is a great explanation of his theory of the tri-modal land structure in Africa: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p5--ZntJGh4>

In June, he was awarded for his enormous contributions to Marxian political economy at the World Association for Political Economy conference in Johannesburg; he was also made a vice-chairperson of that organisation.

For those interested, see attached for a list of Google-Scholar citations of his most popular works and more YouTube links. Below is the beginning of what I think is the last article he published, and his last interview. If you would like more of his published work, at least some of his articles and a book that I can send as files, just let me know.

This is all very rough, just a chance to say that we are losing an exceptionally important intellectual and comrade this weekend, and we owe it to ourselves and our tradition – and to all who struggle to fuse knowledge and social progress, wherever we may be – to keep reminding ourselves of Sam's legacy. And his generosity of spirit. We will be posting further memorial statements about his work and remarkable life at <http://ccs.ukzn.ac.za> this week

Sadly.

Irreparable Loss

Gladys Lechini

Dear Ebrima

So long without getting in contact with you. I hope you are both well

I am writing to you this time just to share my regrets and sorrow for the demise of our friend Sam Moyo.

Although we have not met for a long time, since I had to leave CLACSO, I have the best remembrances of the old times together.

My sincere and profound condolences for this irreparable loss.

Toujours le même

El Hadj SANE
Human Resources Director
atlantic.sn

Cher Ebrima,

C'est avec grande stupéfaction que je viens d'apprendre le décès accidentel de notre ami le Professeur Sam Moyo. Je voudrais vous présenter à toi, Bayo, Francine, l'ensemble du personnel du Codesria et à la famille de Sam mes condoléances les plus attristées.

Ce que je retiens surtout de Sam c'est de le trouver à chaque rencontre avec toujours son calme, la bonne humeur et un petit sourire à l'endroit de tous. Une grande perte pour le Codesria. Que le bon dieu l'accueille dans son paradis.

Reçois toutes mes amitiés.

Tributes

Astute Intellectual

Prof Puleng LenkaBula

Dear Claudio and colleagues,

What a loss... I think these are the words I can humbly share with you now. It is really a sad situation to lose a colleague who was full of life, loved his work and was intellectually astute with a broad footprint in many disciplines and particularly on the land questions and agrarian issues, in very detailed way... I am saddened by the loss. May his soul rest in peace.

Kindest regards.

Giant of a Scholar

Jessie Kabwila Ph. D.
Department English, Chancellor
College, University of Malawi

I am still trying to get to terms with this devastating piece of news. The loss of Professor Sam Moyo has really shocked me and reminded me that life is too short. We have really lost one giant of a scholar. Very sad for the CODESRIA family.

Friend and Comrade

Rémy Herrera

Dear all,

This is a so hard news... so sad to hear it...

Sam was a so wonderful friend-comrade-brother.

We will all continue his struggle, together.

Fraternité,

Simplicity Without Ambiguity

Evans Osabuohien

The death of Sam is a great loss to Africa in particular and the generality of the Global South.

The few times I had one-on-one discussions with him, I was greatly humbled by his simplicity cum humility void of any ambiguity.

The important lesson we all should learn from him is that 'it is honorable to pursue a course we believe in to the very end.

This did Sam.

As they will say in the military, he died in the very active service better.

Adieu, our beloved Sam

He impacted our Humanity

Lesiba Teffo

Colleagues,

Big Brother Sam Moyo touched us and impacted our humanity, and influenced our intellectual growth in a profound way. I align myself with the sentiments that seek to honour him. Keep thinking on the best way how, and I will convene a meeting in January to chart the way forward. I am also thinking about a *festschrift*. Sis Thoko Didiza has some suggestions as well.

In the arena of human life the honours and rewards fall to those who show their good qualities in action (Aristotle).

Regards.

In Memory of Sam Moyo

Abdul Raufu Mustapha,
University of Oxford, England

It is hard to think of Sam in the past tense. It is deeply saddening to come to terms with the loss of this illustrious academic and son of Africa. The last time I saw Sam was at the CODESRIA General Assembly in June 2015, in Dakar. Sam was his usual warm and generous self. Clear in his commitments, perceptive in his observations, and gentle in making his point. We spent many a moment slipping out of the sessions to have a cigarette outside the hotel. Sam, a seasoned smoker; I, a serial quitter. Those were moments of chit-chat, comparing notes, exchanging views, and generally enjoying each other's company. I will forever miss the warmth and friendship of this kind soul.

Sam was also a profound academic. He invited me once to teach at the Summer School in Agrarian Studies that his institute in Zimbabwe organized. He assembled academics from Brazil, India, and different parts of Africa at Rhodes University in Grahamstown, South Africa. I learnt so much at this gathering that I was supposed to be teaching in! Sam's personal work on Zimbabwe's multi-faceted land reform process is a study in academic courage, integrity, and commitment. He trusted himself, stuck to the truth as he saw it, and dirtied his hands in doing difficult fieldwork. He was

characteristically generous to others when they finally saw the light and came over to his way of seeing the issues.

Sam was also a Pan-Africanist of the highest calibre. His Pan-Africanism was not shown in bombastic phrases, but in practical, real-life, ways. He never failed to answer any question one had about goings-on in Zimbabwe. He stuck to the key issues; I don't ever remember Sam having a bad word to say about anybody. Occasionally he would make a point, followed by a chuckle. His commitment was to the long suffering peasantry of Zimbabwe. He was also frequently refreshing his knowledge of Nigeria by seizing the opportunity of our infrequent meetings to ask questions about friends, people, and events. Now and again, he would switch to Nigerian pidgin-English to relish a point. He might have left Nigeria many years ago, but he never let go of the country. In his heart and concerns, Sam remained one of us. Above all, Sam's Pan-Africanism shone brightly in the invaluable duty he did for African academia by helping to steer the ship of CODESRIA at a very critical period in the life of this important institution.

I will sorely miss you Sam – courageous academic, and selfless scholar in the cause of Africa. Above all, I will miss a friend I have come to trust and respect. Our meetings will never be the same without you.

My deepest condolences to his family, especially his mother, his children, and his close relations. May you all, and his colleagues at the Agrarian Institute, carry on the work where Sam left off.

Riche et impressionnante production scientifique

Abdelatif Rebah

Chers amis,

C'est une bien triste nouvelle que celle de la disparition tragique du Professeur Sam Moyo, chercheur et spécialiste des questions agraires et économiques de notre continent. C'est une perte que la communauté des chercheurs engagés dans les luttes libératrices de leurs peuples ne peut que ressentir. Personnellement, sans avoir eu l'honneur de le connaître, j'ai pu en prendre l'immense mesure en prenant connaissance de sa riche et impressionnante production scientifique. Et c'est dans la continuation de ce combat d'idées pour l'émancipation nationale et sociale des peuples, je pense, que le meilleur hommage peut lui être rendu. Merci à vous tous de Our Global University de m'avoir permis de partager cet hommage. All the best !

Researcher and Enlightened Political Analyst

Victor Hugo Jijon
Movement Pachakutik from Ecuador

Dear friends,

The tragic accident that took the life of Professor Sam Moyo has deprived us of a great researcher and enlightened political analyst on the agrarian question in Africa that has contributed significantly to the orientation of liberation struggles. I have not been lucky enough to know him personally, but reading his books and his many articles helped me a lot to know and spread in my country, Ecuador, and in several forums in Latin America, social unrest and political conflicts in several African countries.

Sam has undertaken a great flight, but his departure is only physical because his thoughts and expectations of emancipatory political transformation will remain an essential reference in all continents.

An Intellectual not a Farmer; An Academic not a Politician

Fred Hendricks
Rhodes University
Grahamstown, South Africa

The news of Sam's death reached me on my arrival in Johannesburg yesterday morning. While it was not unexpected, given the extent of his injuries, I still hoped that he would somehow survive. Just before I boarded the plane in Delhi on Saturday night, Praveen sent me an sms saying, "Sam is sinking further"

I feel bereft beyond words by his untimely departure and by how very close he was to us in the Guest House when the accident happened. On our way to Praveen's house for dinner, we saw the damaged car of his fatal accident. Since the news we received about the extent of the injuries was understandably unclear at the time, it did not immediately appear that this was serious because they were actually taken to the hospital in a famous Delhi three-wheeler. But, when I saw the car, and how damaged it was I became inwardly worried and jittery.

My last memory of Sam, a very appropriate one at that, was in the car on our way to the conference on Friday morning, when he announced that Praveen had stocked his fridge with a tray of beers which he invited us to share that Friday night. We will never ever have the joy of sharing a drink with him again and there are so many other never evens, that I just can't think straight today, in the knowledge that he is not with us any more.

Tributes

I met Sam about 30 years ago at a conference and we've been in touch ever since because our research interest coincided. Most recently he was a key member in our SANPAD project which produced the book, "The Promise of Land". Our paths also crossed in the Committee designed to prepare the way for the establishment of the National Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences and of course in the Agrarian South Network as well as in CODESRIA.

There are two aspects of Sam that impressed me most about his integrity: (i) He was offered a farm as part of the Fast Track Land reform Programme, which he refused saying that he was an intellectual not a farmer. (ii) He was also offered a ministerial job, which he refused saying he was an academic not a politician. These are rare and admirable qualities.

Let us honour the memory of his life and work in appropriate ways across the world.

With deeply felt sadness.

Tireless and Unwavering

Praveen Jha
Centre for Economic Studies and
Planning Jawaharlal Nehru University

To mourn Sam is impossibly difficult for me. It seems like a most cruel and twisted nightmare. Nightmare is not even the right word – as nightmares end but this will not.

As some of you know, for well over a decade I was fortunate to be very close to him, both professionally and personally. Along with a network of comrades from different parts of the world, particularly the Global South, Sam was tireless and unwavering in his quest for a humane and just social order. One of the institutional expressions of our shared dreams, journeys and at times hunting together has been the Agrarian South Network. He was not only the cementing force of it but also its heart. The heart has been wrenched away and we gasping for breath.

I can speak forever for the great scholar, activist and everything else about Sam that has been shared in the massive outpouring of grief from all over the world. But I am speechless at the loss of my brother Sam. Let me hide behind a few words from a Neruda poem titled "So Many Different Lengths of Time" which have been haunting me since the early horrible hours of 22 November 2015.

" So how long does a man live, finally?

And how much does he live while he lives?

We fret, and ask so many questions-
then when it comes to us

the answer is so simple

A man lives for as long as we carry him inside us
for as long as we carry the harvest of his dreams
for as long as we ourselves live

holding memories in common, a man lives.

His lover will carry his man's scent, his touch

His children will carry the weight of his love

One friend will carry his arguments

Another will hum favourite tunes

Another will share his terrors

And the days will pass will baffled faces

Finally a day comes when he will have

ceased to be separated by death

So how long does a man live after all?

A man lives for many different lengths of time."

I only wish the longest possible life for Sam, through his hugs, touches, arguments, inspiration and his inexorable quest for a progressive social order, that many of us experienced in our interactions with him. We will never give up on you Brother Sam.

If the metaphor of 'Gods Own Good Man' is an apposite one – it certainly holds for Sam.

For Inter-Asia School: In memory of Professor Sam Moyo (1954-2015)

Pr. Kuan-Hsing Chen,
National Chiao Tung University
Hsinch, Taiwan

My last contact with Prof. Sam Moyo was on September 18, 2015. The e-mail exchanges were about concrete steps to open channels of intellectual interaction between Africa and Asia after the Hangzhou (China) Forum on "Bandung/Third World 60 Years". Like always, Sam responded quickly and enthusiastically, listing a series of possible programs such as translation of essays and books, summer school and exchange for postgraduate students, and biannual intellectual forum. Now, with his sudden departure from us, I am not certain to what extent we will be able to implement and continue what he has suggested but will have to try our best to continue his "will to organize".

Sam was a new friend. Most of us involved in the Inter-Asia School project only met him very recently in the Hangzhou gathering in April 2015. But Sam has immediately become an old friend once we were with him. His warm personality, openness, honesty, ability to act on the spot, and of course love of beer and cigarette have won friendship and respect from anyone around him. I wonder whether he always travels lightly with a carry on bag; once landed in Hangzhou, with huge jet lag, he began to work and tune in smoothly. Over the dining tables and post conference tour to the tea field and West Lake, we all further learned about his erudite knowledge, infinite curiosity of popular life, and immense sense of humor.

Before Sam left Hangzhou for home, he proactively initiated the idea for some of us from Asia to join CODESRIA's Assembly to happen in June. Two months later, Ikegami Yushihiko and I (representing the Inter-Asia School) landed in Dakar. For this reunion, Sam became the host of Africa to welcome

the two first time visitors from Asia. In his hotel room, before the Assembly started, we did a long and engaging interview with Sam on the formation of CODESRIA from the 1970s onwards. He generously shared with us his reflexive analysis and introduced us to several core members of the organization to talk to in the following days to come. During this most intense meeting ever, from morning till evening every day for five days, we as outsiders began to have a sense of great achievement this African circle of thought, which has nurtured and produced brilliant scholars like Sam, and in turn Sam and others has contributed to build a community of trust for the next generations to grow. In the past 40 some years, CODESRIA's Pan-Africanism is able to construct a solid modern intellectual tradition capable of analyzing difficult issues and troublesome problems from a continental perspective, breaking down the barriers of the nation-state boundary, and in dialogue with global community of knowledge. Sam's kind invitation created a precious occasion for us to see what we need to learn from the African intellectual community and what is absent in Asia and beyond, though we understand the formation of CODESRIA has had its own unique conditions. Prof. Sam Moyo has left us with the friendship of a genuine human being for us, living in Asia and having the privilege to work with him as a comrade, to treasure for rest of our life, but, most importantly, a legacy of his tri-continental work, to which he has been committed and we will need to uphold. Sam will always be with us if we will continue the incomplete intellectual project of Africa, Asia and Latin-America links.

A Poem for Sam Moyo

Kofi Anyidoho

There was this thing about **Sam Moyo**:
 A forever sparkle in his eyes
 A certain gliding motion in his walk
 A heart the size of Love
 forever trembling with care and tenderness
 A voice that soothes even in rage-
 amidst CODESRIA's countless arguments
 his voice comes home with a soothing balm
 A mind the pointed sharpness of laser beams
 A Soul firmly Rooted in Ancestral Agrarian Soils
 And oh! even the Smoke from his Serial Cigarettes
 Curls into a Slender Prayer
 Reaching out to God.

Accra, Ghana. Nov. 25, 2015

I come not to Mourn you

Issa Shivji
 University of Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania

I come not to mourn you, Comrade
 I'll shed no tear, my friend
 I refuse to say 'pole'; to say 'sorry'
 Why should I?
 I refuse to bury you
 How can I?
 For you live
 You live in me
 You live in many across the globe
 Who loved you
 Whose lives you touched
 Whose hearts you cuddled
 Whose minds you tickled
 I come to celebrate your living, Comrade
 I'll toast to your ideas, my friend
 Over a glass of sahara, and a plate of 'nyama choma'
 In Rose Garden, in Sao Paulo, in New Delhi
 I'll sing praises of Sahara, that unites the continent
 As you did
 I'll pontificate on Sahara, that embraces civilizations
 As you preached and practiced
 I know this is not a poem, nor a flowery prose
 Porojo it may be
 Who cares?
 It's for my friend and comrade
 For my compassionate companion
 Straight from my heart and soul
 Yes, it's for my friend and comrade
 For, he lives

Thank you Sam Moyo

Bridget O'Laughlin

Like many I feel a tremendous sense of personal and collective loss at Sam's passing. There is so much to thank him for: the model he built at the African Institute for Agrarian Studies for politically engaged, nationally based serious academic research in Southern Africa; explaining the complexity of what was going on in Zimbabwe even as mainstream media (and academia) polarised the debate into you are either with Mugabe or you are against him; for his energising contributions to keeping the project of land reform in Southern Africa on the fire; and for his indomitable humanism and empathy. My condolences to his family, his colleagues, his comrades and to us all.

Tributes

I Will Miss Sam

Pierre Sane

Dear Ebrima,

I received your message while in Nigeria. I read it once and immediately shut down my computer. It was so brutal. I was in shock. I was supposed to have a Skype conversation with Sam on the following Wednesday and he had called my office in my absence to confirm he had received the documentation and would be back in Harare by Wednesday.

And then this! For a week at unexpected moments my thoughts would drift towards him and the injustice (the way I felt it) of it all. I came across Sam early after Zimbabwe independence in Harare. I was then at IDRC in Nairobi and my organisation was determined to accompany the research community of nascent Zimbabwe. He was at ZIDS with Tandika and was inseparable from his mate Tom Shoppo who also had an untimely death. Since the early 80s we have kept in touch despite leaving far apart. I enjoyed his company so much. I will miss him.

RIP

A sip, a Laugh, a Legacy: Prof Sam Moyo

Masego Madzwamuse

We sat down for a drink and to catch-up on work. We argued and discussed different projects Sam was busy with at the time. I ordered my usual gin and tonic and he asked for a savanna light; then as if to make it lighter, went on to dilute it with water. We looked at him perplexed and asked why on earth anyone would add water to savanna and his response was: 'I am trying to watch my drink'. Without much debate this was understood by all who sat at the table that night. The subject was closed and we moved on to other pressing and exciting matters. The land question, agrarian reform in Zimbabwe, political transition and the land grabs dogging the continent.

What is but a small blot to a man's image, especially one whose ideas had shaped your thinking for as far you could remember? Studying sociology I had become curious about the land question in Africa. In a conversation with my father, I had asked him about this. We are told the San are the oldest inhabitants of Southern Africa and yet in Gantsi my mother's home area most of the San settlements were to be found on the outskirts of the budding town, on the fringes of national parks, the biggest cattle ranches in the country and so forth. And my father had said the San villages encircle the Gantsi Town, they are observing the movements of the new occupants of their land and one day they will reclaim what is theirs. There a

curiosity was born; I wanted to understand how dispossession of this magnitude takes place and what leads to a state where injustice is really a normalisation of the abnormal. Under the guidance of my mentor and supervisor Dr Onalenna Selowane, I went about reading what I could get my hands on to learn about land, rights, politics, identity and social justice – and right up there were the works of Prof Sam Moyo.

You see Sam was a great thinker and fearless scholar. A political economist of note. At the height of the political crisis in Zimbabwe and the Fast Track Land Reform Programme or invasions if you wish, Sam was amongst the few scholars who acknowledged that land reform in Zimbabwe had benefitted small scale farmers, the rural poor. In his various writings he argued that the popular assumption about failed land reform in Zimbabwe was wrong. Instead, land reform programmes despite benefiting the elite had been redistributive. The poor had gained more than others and the extent of such benefit had been wide enough to trigger significant progressive changes in the agrarian structure.

To quote Prof Moyo writing about the land reform discourse in the early 2000s this is what he had to say; 'the debate has focused on the immediate political motives of the FTLRP, selectively highlighting its aspects of 'violence', 'disorder', and 'chaos', claiming that the ruling Zanu PF elite and the state instrumentalised the FTLRP for electoral support and that only Zanu PF cronies benefited. By neglecting to examine the character and scale of redistribution of the FTLRP, and not looking at it from a longer historical perspective, the literature on Zimbabwe's agrarian reform is deprived of a crucial viewpoint.¹

Prof Moyo drawing over three decades of research went about to set the record straight. This was a highly unpopular view but he stuck to it. Sadly enough it is the work of Ian Scoones that is often cited to tell the story of the success of the land reform in Zimbabwe and its impact on the lives of small-scale farmers. The New York Times even ran a story back in 2012 about the new black tobacco farmers, beneficiaries of the fast track land reform process – the title was 'In Zimbabwe Land Takeover, a Golden Lining'² Sam Moyo did not glorify the fast track land programme though he also critiqued the land reform process and pointed out its flaws, acknowledging the uneven distribution of land among beneficiaries of the land reform programme. He acknowledged that some especially the political elite had received larger allocations than others. This in turn influenced skewed access to farming services and infrastructure. But that said, the bottom line was the peasants had benefitted. While the article in the NYT was celebrated, Scoones widely quoted, Prof Moyo received wide criticism for the same views. We don't acknowledge and celebrate African scholarship enough. We second guess our own and often we are quick to label and discredit them.

The Agrarian Institute was born and Prof Sam Moyo's legacy lives on

But that was Sam's work on Zimbabwe. He dedicated his scholarship to other parts of the continent too. He was a Pan-Africanist of note. He served as the President of the Council for the Development of Social Research in Africa (CODESRIA) from 2009–2011). He was a research professor at the Zimbabwe Institute of Development Studies, and taught at the Universities

of Calabar in Nigeria as well as Zimbabwe and served on the boards of many organisations.

With most of his achievements what stood out for me was the African Institute of Agrarian Studies. Prof Moyo set up the Institute in late 2002. The main objective of taking on such a bold step was to influence land and agrarian reform policies through multidisciplinary social science research, policy dialogues, training and information. Sam never lost sight of one thing he was passionate about. This would not be an institute that would do research for the sake of it. He ultimately wanted to mobilise scholars to provide advice and mediate in the policy making processes so as to improve rural livelihoods. He often lamented the limited relevant knowledge and training programmes to tackle the contemporary agrarian crisis that is emerging in the continent. The low agricultural productivity, food insecurity, unemployment, poverty, and unsustainable natural resources utilisation, while redressing the growing loss of rights to land, food and a clean environment. To respond to this challenge, Prof Moyo argued that a critical mass of analysts and civil society advocates needs to be built to influence shifts in the policy environment. This should also promote civil society organisations to better support the advocacy of those whose rights are infringed upon. His argument was the current knowledge production and policy analysis institutions have, due to their limited disciplinary curricula failed to fill this gap. They serve too few potential agrarian analysts and focus on limited market and business models. Their learning processes cater for a narrow range of views and exclude the perspectives of those who use political economy and rights-based approaches to policy making and advocacy.

Out of this critique, the Agrarian Institute was born and its flagship programme the Agrarian Summer School was launched. The Summer School contributes to filling this gap by providing training to postgraduate students and civil society activists in Africa, and promoting research relevant to understanding and addressing agrarian justice and inequitable resource rights on the continent. This programme was a reflection of Sam's commitment to building skills for critical thinking and mentoring young scholars. He drew on his social capital to bring together some of the best brains in the field who spent days of their time teaching young scholars and providing them with feedback on their research. Guest lecturers have included the likes of Prof Paris Yeros University Federal do ABC Brazil, Prof Dzodzi Tsikaka University of Ghana and current President of Codesria, Praveen Jha and Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi among others. Partners in the Agrarian Consortium that emerged out of these efforts include the Rhodes University, Haki Ardhi, University of Dar es Salaam (Tanzania) and Civil Society Organizations, HAKIARDHI The Land Rights Research & Resources Institute (Tanzania), and Trust for Community Outreach and Education (South Africa) and other in research and training of postgraduate students, with the support of key research institutions in Brasil (Federal Universities of ABC and Brasilia) and in India (Jawaharal Nehru University Centre for Economic Studies and Planning). The Agrarian Summer School is widely recognised in the region and internationally, there is growing demand within the Global South for participation in it. Many who have been through his hands have gone off to do great things.

The last time I saw Sam was in August and over a glass of wine, lots of laughter and this time nothing was diluted, we plunged straight into another heated debate over a highly political and controversial issue. That of Cecil the lion. That evening many questions were asked, whose narrative is it? What was the impact of the international campaign on the livelihoods of rural communities who rely on tourism and sustainable use of wildlife resources for their local economies? Where was the voice of the African scholars and practitioners in the conservation field? What do communities have to say, where is the platform? The questions went on and on. That was Sam; there was laughter, sipping and critical thinking.

Sam you are one of whom it can be said that "akekho ofana nawe" (there is none like you). Rest in eternal peace dear brother, colleague, mentor and comrade!!! You planted many ideas and these will live on!

Notes

1. See Moyo, S. Three decades of agrarian reform in Zimbabwe. 2011. In *Journal of Peasant Studies*. Vol. 38, No. 3, July 2011, 493–531
2. See Lydia Polgreen, 2012. In *Zimbabwe Land Take Over*, a Golden Lining. <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/07/21/world/africa/in-zimbabwe-land-takeover...>

An Intellectual and an Activist

Michael West

The singular life that was Sam Moyo has left a legacy that is as sprawling as his labor. As an intellectual and an activist, Sam was identified with multiple causes and movements, in and out of Zimbabwe and Africa. Most conspicuously, though, in the public arena he was associated with the land question. For exactly a century and another quarter this year, the year of Sam's passing, since the cursed implantation in 1890 of British colonialism, land has been the single most persistent theme in the politics, economy and society of Southern Rhodesia turned Rhodesia turned Zimbabwe. All serious students (and even some not-so-serious ones) of Zimbabwe, then and now, whether employing the nonfictional or fictional form, have had to confront in one way or another the land question, or its multiple relations, which is to say every other serious social question. No scholar of Zimbabwe, barring none, writing in whatever field, in whatever era, of whatever political stripe, has matched Sam in dedication, perception and rigor on the land question. More than anyone, too, he globalized the Zimbabwean land question, ensuring its inclusion on the agenda of masses and movements struggling over land anywhere and everywhere in the world. He did so, again, in the face of great odds, his pen arrayed against princes and powers near and far, in and out of Zimbabwe, from state houses to mass media to cloistered academy. His life, labor and legacy stand tall and erect, a monument to scholarship and struggle alike.

The Pan-African World has been Robbed of one of its Finest and Progressive Scholars: A Tribute to Sam Moyo

Nana K. A. Busia, Jr*

Once again Africa has lost one of its finest and progressive towering intellectuals to an accident; yet another robbery.

When the sad and painful news of the death of a brother, comrade, and teacher like Professor Sam Moyo occurs, there is a high temptation of getting into a conspiracy theory mood of some sort. One such theory is the possibility of an invisible hand behind a cleanly hatched plot to take away from us the few Africans who are dedicated to our perennial and protracted struggle. Such conspiracy theories are lent credence by the timing of these incidents; when such dedicated intellectuals are needed the most.

Examples of incidents that make sense only within the context of a conspiracy theory abound in our political history. At the political revolutionary front, no serious observer of the African political landscape is naïve to waste time to debate the issue of whether or not there is a conspiracy and a hidden hand when we lost, as it were, the Samora Machel, Thomas Sankaras, John Garang, Chris Hani et al to "accidents" or seemingly home grown assassinations. Those questions, to all intents and purposes, are settled in the minds of progressives however mysterious they are still made to appear.

But to lose some of our best and finest intellectuals/activists of the likes of Claude Ake, Tajudeen Abdul-Raheem, Sam Moyo, et al, to accidents makes it appear as if these accidents are also planned to rob us of our progressive intellectuals who are carrying out revolution by other means: activist scholarship directed at delivering the desired social justice.

In the midst of the contemporary scramble for land in Africa by trans-national companies under the pretext of extractive sector led growth in the southern African region as whole and South Africa in particular, Africa can ill afford to lose a precious gem like Sam Moyo, our beloved learned guru and passionate scholar of the political economy of land of our time.

Sam Moyo, affectionately called Sam by friends and colleagues, like all great scholars of his stature, you meet and know them before you meet them in person. In other words, I, like many others, read some of his writings and met him several times in footnotes in the usual academic citations: "see Moyo, S.," and also saw his writings quoted copiously by academics, students, and policy makers.

Even though I am not a student of agrarian studies in the formal sense, my interests in all matters pan-Africanist, drew me to his passionate and incisive scholarship in regard to such issues. This "Damascus moment" followed a book I read

as a student in 1989 which I found to be an original thinking in understanding the different typologies of state systems in Africa, especially the peculiarity of state systems in the southern African context. This book was entitled: *Zimbabwe: The Political Economy of Transition*, edited by Ibbo Mandaza and published by CODESRIA, 1987.

This book, in my humble view, built up on an earlier seminal work by Hamza Alavi, "The State in Post-Colonial Societies, *New Left Review*, 1972. The thesis developed by Hamza Alavi unarguably equipped academics and practitioners with a good conceptual framework for analysing and understanding the characteristics of the post-colonial state and even predicting certain scenarios of the same.

In the said book, *Political Economy of Transition*, Mandaza, Moyo et al, persuasively distinguished post white settler colony from the "normal" post -colonial societies. Specifically, they provided a sound paradigm in explaining the political economy of post white settler countries like Rhodesia–Zimbabwe, South West Africa–Namibia, and South Africa.

Sam Moyo's chapter in the book dealt with his favourite theme of his celebrated expertise, the 'Land Question'. It gave the reader a very profound and penetrating analysis of the difficult question of land ownership and its redistribution in a post white settler colony and how the same processes do impact class structure of post independent Zimbabwe and production in the agricultural sector of its economy. This was my own baptism of the land politics in southern Africa and how that spills over into issues of human rights.

The Southern African Regional Institute for Policy Studies (SARIPS) was established during this same period, mid-1980s, and Sam was one of its founding researchers. Informed by the experiences of the region, the Institute produced numerous high quality publications on race, class and gender. Those were the days when one waited for the monthly publication, the SAPEM. Sam wrote numerous articles on land reform and related it to complex issues of development, democracy, and human rights. They were so well written that even "lay persons", like myself, felt we were experts of the land question in southern Africa. Small wonder then that Sam made enormous contribution to the Zimbabwean land reform by heading technical teams that advised the president.

The more I read Sam, the more I respected him as not just *academic qua academic* but a scholar with a clear sense of mission and vision: social justice in Africa. He was against the politics of dominance. Sam believed, as was stated by one of Africa's great thinkers, Thandika Mkandawire, that Africa's sovereignty should be extended to the "realm of scientific mastery of the continent's reality and destiny".

Truly, most of Sam's works exposed mythologies of concepts and notions of land in Africa by "external", especially neo-liberal scholars. He deconstructed a lot of held theories on land as they related to peasants, state intervention, role of the market, who really were the producers food crops and cash crops in post white settler Zimbabwe. He was never shy of debating and exposing contradictions, paradoxes and ironies in arguments by advocates of the *status quo* on land issues in Africa. Above all, he was an empiricist who sustained all his arguments with well researched data.

Encountering Sam Moyo

In 2004 when I was appointed by the United Nations (UN) as a Senior Legal & Policy Advisor to Zimbabwe, effectively I was the advisor on international human rights law in the country. Barely a week after my arrival in the country, I asked my driver to take me to SAPES to try and see Ibbo Mandaza, and Sam Moyo in person having met them only in "books" until then. When I got there, luckily I met Ibbo who was at post. After introducing myself and exchanging pleasantries I was given a visitors book to write in. I stated my admiration for the progressive scholarship as championed by Ibbo and Sam Moyo and wrote about how I met them when I read their book on political economy of transition especially the theory of post white settler colony and the land question. I inquired about Sam, but he had left and a two month effort to track him was in vain.

In August of that year, 2004, the government had proposed a Bill to regulate the activities of NGOs. On the face of it, this should have been treated like any other proposed Bill of a legislature. But not in post 2000 Zimbabwe, after the land reform. It was a highly polarized society, with several levels of cleavages but mainly between the government, African missions, especially SADC countries on one hand, and the opposition MDC, donors, and some NGOs on the other hand.

According to the government, the Bill was the best thing that ever happened since it was going to, in its view, regulate the activities of NGOs which were covertly involved in partisan party politics. To the other group, it was a draconian piece of legislation aimed at undermining freedom of association and expression in the country, and therefore a human rights issue. I had the unfortunate task of analysing and advising the UN on the proper line to take on the Bill in line with international and regional human rights standards. I presented the UN's position which was balanced and seen as fair; a win-win situation for all actors.

Consequently, President Mugabe made it known to the Parliament that he was persuaded by the UN argument and will not sign the Bill into law. This situation brought me into contact with a spectrum of the national and international actors in the country, including one Sam Moyo whom I was told, wanted to see me about the NGO Bill. I wondered if it was the same Sam Moyo, whose works I had read and had unsuccessfully tried to track down. It happened to be him! At our meeting, his first reaction was that the legal analysis I had done was contextual, fair and balanced. I told him how pleased I was to meet him in person, an encounter which led to us signing a covenant of brotherhood in our hearts and re-affirming our mutual belief in the pan-Africanism.

Zimbabwe was never the same for me as he became my prop and guided me through a lot of political landmines. Sam was intellectually honest and had made it a point to be on the side of justice. In the polarized Zimbabwe of that time, each group took an absolute position with no room for grey areas. A scholar like Sam would not simplistically and blindly follow any group. He took a fundamental position that land reform was to empower poor peasants and ordinary folks that each group felt he was not on their side.

Sam knew when invocation of human rights was really about the rights of people and when certain national strategic

interests were wrapped up and presented as human rights. He lamented the appropriation of international law and human rights for hegemonic politics in peripheral societies by dominant actors in the global system.

I learnt a lot from Sam. I eventually contracted him as a consultant to develop a framework for a dialogue between NGOs and the government on the difficult and politicised issue of civil society's relationship with the government. To this day, I have not come across any such comprehensive study that presents different typologies of civil society organizations in the country and the complex interface with government, donors and how these factors play themselves out in CSOs work in the country. It was hailed as a masterpiece and blue print which guided our work in the UN then.

With Sam the Professional, Political were also Personal

Feminist scholars in their deconstruction of held notions by patriarchy have taught us many things. To them, no assumption is God/Allah given or natural. One such a case is the divide between the public and the private. For instance, in international human rights law, they concede that there is a private sphere and public realm, but rights are better protected when these separate spheres exist in an organic relationship. Feminist scholars therefore enjoin us to analyse progressives on personal level to test their consistency. To all intents and purposes, Sam passed that test with flying colours.

In recent years, the donor factor has resulted in some African states, civil society, and even academic actors all playing games to survive including shielding scientific truths that in their mind a donor may not like to hear. Sam would have none of this dilemma. Sam as a scholar was first and foremost a scientist who incessantly searched for the truth employing concepts and dispassionate methodologies.

However, his value position was the quest for social justice. Throughout the years that I knew him, he never apologized for that. This explains the principled position he took in favour of land reform in Zimbabwe and his disagreement with the market-driven argument that any state intervention in the land would distort the market. He was always looking out for the poor and the disenfranchised in our societies. I remember engaging him on Goran Hyden's theory of uncaptured peasants and the experience of *Ujama* in Tanzania as an experiment that died at birth because land should not be made available to any poor peasant to "waste" as Goran Hyden et al argued.

This engagement was a deliberate provocation to get his insights about the *status quo* in South Africa and the media-driven sensational discourse on Zimbabwe post 2000 land reform. His answers were always analytical, nuanced and dispassionate. He always arrived at conclusions that had social justice and human rights as the end state and showing that these goals are not inhibitive to efficient agricultural production.

He never, like Amicar Cabral, romanticised the peasants and their abilities and limitations. On the private personal level, Sam was the same; very nice and just person, who took friends,

Tributes

brothers and sisters seriously. His house in Harare became a home and a rendezvous for comrades and brothers, and was very good at entertaining. I was always invited to his house in Harare for an event. And he saw to it that every guest was very happy *chez lui*.

Each time I got visitors such as Tajudeen visiting me in Zimbabwe, I knew the first guest would be Sam. We could discuss intellectual issues until dawn. He was very good with his beers with Taju as I watched on as an amateur. Later, in 2008, when I had to go to Sierra Leone to take up another assignment with the UN, I made sure I advised the UN to get him over to help with land issues in that country, and between 2009 and 2010 he did a brilliant job for the government with policy papers on land reform in that country some of which have already informed new legislation and repeal of others.

Whenever he visited, he stayed with me for some time and as always, his company was joyous with incredible high sense

of humour and satire. I will forever miss Sam's giggles and teases of Africans. Nothing amused him most than pretentious petty bourgeois life style of some of the political classes.

Sam will Live Long After his Death

My personal consolation at this painful hour is that scholars of the stature of Sam never die, for generations to come, no student, serious academic, and policy maker can produce any credible study or policy document on complex issues of land in Africa, without ploughing through the numerous works handed down by Professor Sam Moyo. He did a lot of good for the pan-African world. We will all sorely miss Sam! Viva Sam!

* Fellow/Guest Lecturer, International Law, School of Advanced Study, ICWS, University of London & Member of the Inner Temple, Inns of Court of England & Wales. Former Senior Legal and Policy Advisor of the UN in Zimbabwe, 2004-2007.



Professor Sam Moyo's funeral

Today was an incredible day. Zimbabweans came to mourn a beloved son, and were impressed by all the outpourings from around the world. Praveen Jha's tribute had a beautiful Pablo Neruda poem in his tribute which was read at the burial service as was Shivji's poem to Sam. Also read was Madam Zuma's letter. Mourners came from far and near and included members of government in Zimbabwe and South Africa. The academics present were asked to be pallbearers, so we all went and carried Sam's coffin to the hearse. There was a lot of high emotion at different points, but the most difficult was when Quondisile spoke so movingly about her father's love for his daughters. The music was sublime and very comforting.

After the service, we drove to Glen forest, a new private cemetery to bury Sam. Those who wanted to, were invited to put a single white rose in the grave. There was a CODESRIA delegation of eight – myself, the current Executive Secretary, two former executive secretaries, one executive committee member and one former executive committee member, one staff member and a former staff member.

Now we have laid Sam to rest, may the healing process begin and may we begin to work in different ways to be true to his legacy.

Dzodzi Tsikata

Sam's Children were the Light of his Life

Dede Amanor-Wilks

One of the amazing things about Sam Moyo is that though he led a thoroughly professorial life, writing papers, attending conferences and publishing books and articles, Sam always had time for people. He loved people in the greatest sense and that love was returned in equal measure, as shown by the outpouring of emotions since his fatal accident two weeks ago.

From the start of our marriage in 1992, it was apparent that family life was very important to Sam. Every Sunday we visited Gogo (Sam's mother, Mavis Moyo) and some of his siblings in Harare, Lindiwe and Phahla, or Rhey and Julie, or Mabhena and Winnie. Outside Harare, Sam always looked for opportunities to visit Nkosana in London, John and Sharon in Lusaka, and Mike in Gweru, or Josh Nyoni who was practically a brother. Other regular family visits were to Gogo Khethiwe and Khulu Liberty Mhlanga, or to Auntie Sheila, or to the Mubis and Munyatis. Among other close friends who were like family members, Sam considered Chloe Paul as a kindred spirit.

Sam's children were the light of his life. Sibongile, Thabisile, Samantha, Qondisile and Zandile brought him such joy and inspired him to build and keep building for the future. Because of his busy travel schedule, Sam could not attend every school event of his children, but he made time to mentor them. When they were young his mentoring was about monitoring their behaviour and inculcating decent values. As they grew older, it was about their education and professional development. Sam loved going on trips with family and regularly took the girls to Victoria Falls or to places like Bulawayo, Great Zimbabwe, Lake Kariba, Hwange National Park, South Africa, Beira and Chobe National Park.

Equal to Sam's love for people was his love of ideas. By pulling together people and ideas, Sam created great value in the world. He was an institution builder who drew people to his cause. With Yemi Katerere, he had set up the Zimbabwe Environment Research Organisation (ZERO) while on the staff of the Zimbabwe Institute of Development Studies of the University of Zimbabwe. After the SAPES years with Ibbo Mandaza, Sam created the African Institute of Agrarian Studies and a recent great innovation was the establishment of Agrarian South journal. Sam's engagement with Codesria was always pivotal and he valued deeply his relationship with scholars such as Thandika Mkandawire and Adebayo Olukoshi, not to mention the numerous South African scholars whom he visited and was visited by frequently. Among feminist scholars with whom Sam engaged during the 1990s, Elinor Batezat Sisulu, Patricia McFadden, Micere Mugo and Ama Ata Aidoo were important figures. From his youthful days as a student in Sierra Leone during the Rhodesian era and later as a teacher in Nigeria, Sam

continued to nurture relationships with like-minded intellectuals he had connected with outside his home environment, such as with the Trinidadian scholar David Johnson.

Sam's talent for adding value put those who lived or worked with him under great pressure. Anyone who stepped into his home office would be put to work, researching issues, editing documents, staying up till 3am to ensure work would be submitted on time because Sam was always very professional about meeting his deadlines.

Sam's kindness was legendary. He always extended a helping hand and would never reject any plea for assistance. There were weekend invitations for almost everyone he met and at Christmas he would invite development partners who had not been able to make it home. His kindness and his dynamism ensured that there were always people in our home, including many enduring friends who are mourning this week all over the world.

Sam and I enjoyed a fruitful marital and intellectual collaboration for many years. Though our marriage ran aground in the 2000s, we remained great friends, regularly in touch over our mutual interests, primarily the children and also, inevitably, the inexhaustible topic of the political economy of Africa.

Sam Moyo; Our Colleague, Mentor, and Friend

Godwin Murunga

Finally, we rested Sam Moyo; our colleague, mentor, and friend; our inspiration on how to conduct research and make your conclusion irrespective of what political persuasion one wants to pigeon-hole you into. Sam's body was interned at Glen Forest Cemetery, very close to his home. Tears have a way of deciding when to flow liberally and they did today. What can we say, who will we rely on for refined theoretical and conceptual analysis that was located in sound empirical data? It certainly is a tough question to ask; difficult to answer and of course the Daily Nation did not help much with its misplaced title to my column. But at least, at a personal level, I was blessed to walk with a titan when I served on the CODESRIA Executive Committee. Life has afforded me rare privileges in the academy; it continues to afford me those privileges. I can only be grateful. My colleagues Bhengkosi Moyo, Pinkie Mekgwe, Tendai Muriso and Adebayo Olukoshi; my sister Thoko Didiza were present and we were sitting together. There were many others including Ebrima Sall, LenkaBula Puleng, and Mzee Thandika Mkandawire.

A la Mémoire de Sam Moyo

Samir Amin et
Bernard Founou-Tchuigoua
Forum du Tiers Monde et Forum
Mondial des Alternatives

La disparition brutale de Sam Moyo nous a laissé sans voix. Sam était un ami personnel très cher.

Sam comptait parmi les fondateurs des activités que nous animons depuis plusieurs dizaines d'années dans le cadre du Forum du Tiers Monde et du Forum Mondial des Alternatives. D'emblée, lorsque nous nous sommes rencontrés, nous avons compris qu'il était, au-delà de ses qualités de chercheur scientifique cultivé et intelligent, un militant courageux et déterminé de la cause des peuples et des nations, de la sienne (le Zimbabwe) et de celles de l'Afrique et du Grand Sud. Notre collaboration étroite n'a donc jamais cessé de nous rapprocher chaque jour davantage.

Les travaux majeurs de Sam s'organisaient autour de la question agraire. Sam avait compris que le déploiement de la stratégie de l'impérialisme ne pouvait rien produire d'autre que la destruction sauvage et tragique des mondes ruraux et paysans en Afrique et en Asie.

Sam avait pris toute la mesure de la mise en œuvre systématique de cette politique criminelle à partir de l'expérience de son propre pays : des millions de paysans expropriés pour donner les terres de leurs ancêtres à quelque milliers de colons. Il en avait saisi le sens dramatique et de ce fait pris résolument parti pour la réforme agraire entreprise par Mugabe, quelles qu'en soient les limites que Sam mesurait, et dénoncé l'hypocrisie de la Grande Bretagne qui se refuse toujours à honorer ses engagements dans ce domaine.

Sam ne se contentait pas d'analyser la réalité et d'en dénoncer la tragédie. Il a apporté une contribution majeure à la formulation de l'alternative humaine en réponse au défi ; et dans cet esprit précisé ce que pourrait être un projet souverain de développement authentiquement national et populaire, porteur d'avancées démocratiques et, dans son cadre, d'un projet de renouveau de la production paysanne. Il savait situer le combat pour l'avancée de cette alternative dans son cadre politique national et international ; il savait que ce combat était indissociable de la lutte des peuples contre l'impérialisme d'hier et d'aujourd'hui. Il avait le courage d'en analyser les tenants et aboutissants et de confronter les propositions qu'il en déduisait aux mauvais arguments des défenseurs du prétendu néolibéralisme.

Sam était devenu un pilier de nos groupes de réflexion sur la question agraire en Afrique et dans le Sud. A ce titre il avait organisé de magnifiques tables rondes – entre autre à l'occasion de nos interventions dans les Forums Sociaux Africains et Mondiaux – permettant aux meilleurs des spécialistes des trois continents, engagés dans les luttes avec leurs peuples et leurs paysans, d'examiner ensemble ce qu'il y avait de particulier à chacune de leur expérience et ce qui les réunissait dans un combat commun pour l'émancipation sociale et politique de toutes les nations concernées. Sam était le Vice

Président du Forum Mondial des Alternatives pour l'Afrique australe. Il était le directeur de l'*African Institute for Agrarian Studies* ; et cette institution majeure comptait elle-même parmi les membres les plus actifs du « réseau de réseaux » que constituent le Forum du Tiers monde et le Forum Mondial des Alternatives.

Les travaux de Sam et de ses collègues ont fait l'objet de nombreuses publications remarquées. Deux ouvrages collectifs parus quelques mois seulement avant la mort tragique de Sam portent l'empreinte de sa magnifique contribution :

The struggle for food sovereignty, Alternative Development and the Renewal of Peasant Society today ed by Remy Herrera and Kin Chi Lau (Publication du Forum Mondial des Alternatives, Pluto Press, London 2015).

Réponses radicales aux crises agraires et rurales africaines, sous la direction de Bernard Founou-Tchuigoua et Abdourahmane Ndiaye (Publication CODESRIA, Dakar 2014).

L'un des auteurs de ce dernier ouvrage, notre ami Issaka Bagayogo est lui également disparu en 2015.

Les textes produits par Sam sont et resteront au centre des préoccupations de tous ceux qui poursuivent son combat pour l'Afrique et ses paysans.

The Grim Reaper came too early for my brother, Sam

Jomo Kwame Sundaram

Sam and I met through Codesria two decades ago, and CODESRIA made possible much of our subsequent camaraderie and even collaboration. There was a special affinity we shared, but I truly admired how he had strived patiently over so many years to advance his nuanced analysis of the Zimbabwe agrarian reforms against the dominant Western narrative of it being an unmitigated disaster. Even his eventual international vindication was due to the Western publication of a UK collaborator's study rather than to appropriate acknowledgement of his own pioneering findings. But as others have noted, Sam put this in perspective and was appreciative of the vindication and did not begrudge the others for a moment.

At the risk of sounding like an unoriginal cliché, Sam truly sought not only to interpret the world, but also to change it. The world has changed and all of us with it.

When I joined the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) in mid-2012, there were few people I could turn to, who had retained serious interest in agrarian challenges in the face of the changing fads of the last few decades. Thus, as my attention returned to agrarian issues in recent years, I came to rely on his counsel ever more. Consequently, I saw more of Sam than almost any other collaborator.

Years before, we had surveyed the self-destructive trajectory of the major better Western academic journals on agrarian problems, but it was Sam who acted on this analysis with his

initiative, Agrarian South. Sam's commitment was also evident in his efforts over the years, which others can better testify to.

In Ghana last year, while addressing inequality, he articulated – for posterity – a masterly overview of the three main agrarian transformations in Africa with his typical modesty. This year, in Accra again, he sensitized trade union activists in Africa to the agrarian question. Before that, in Hangzhou, a capital of China centuries ago, he spoke to the contemporary relevance of the historic 1955 Afro-Asian solidarity conference. In between, while in Rome, he took time off with my wife to tour historic sites in the eternal city. In Durban in September, we conspired on what we should and would do together next.

El Che spoke of the revolutionary being profoundly inspired by love. Sam loved his daughters and his partner Beatrice, always speaking of them with great affection and pride. He was always loyal to his friends, but also found ways of acknowledging and addressing differences. As an experienced political activist, he painstakingly tried to persuade others to seek compromises in the larger interest. Yet, he also knew when to act decisively.

A luta continua. I believe Sam would echo Joe Hill in saying, don't mourn, organize.

Goodbye Sam: Brother, Comrade, Fighter and Friend

Amina Mama

Kotoka International Airport, Accra, was the last place I ran into Sam, seated in the departure lounge after a workshop on the land questions that he devoted his intellectual life to. We shared a beer, talked with intimacy about his life and mine, how both are inflected with the disparate ancestral and present-day contradictions that typify our generation, and discussed how these might inform both intellectual endeavours and activism. On this occasion, Sam reflected on the early days he spent in Calabar, Nigeria, and how the very different organization of land that he found in West Africa transformed his hitherto Southern African thinking. We reminisced too, recalling earlier visions of what the African scholarly community could become. A favourite we shared is the often-discussed dream of an 'African Bellagio' (which we would name differently, of course), possibly on the shores of Lake Malawi, where African scholars and researchers could overcome the vagaries of our variously precarious conditions, coming together to concentrate our best energies and skills, to re-inspire and re-connect, and to pursue the redistributive transformations that lie ahead, that we know must happen.

A complex personal history may go some way to explaining Sam's remarkable, incisive and visionary intellect, and the manner in which this was coupled with all-embracing generosity of spirit. The rigorous scholarly work he carried out in collaboration with so many was driven by Sam's deep commitment to serving, and facilitating the liberation of oppressed and marginalized peoples, across the South. His roots in rural Zimbabwe as well as in urban township communities lent him profound insight into the land-questions that continue to stall justice and democratization, but which – properly addressed – would end poverty and inequality in Zimbabwe, the rest of Africa, and across the former colonies of the South. His multiple racial and cultural identifications made him a voracious traveller who was able to engage deeply with people across ideological, cultural, national and disciplinary borders, to vigorously debate ideas wherever he went, inspiring and mobilizing across generations.

Few, if any, of us could pass through Harare without being invited home, to 'gist,' to drink and eat the pots of food he would produce with abandon. Sam stirred many things beyond belly-filling food. *Chez Sam*, we ate well, but most of all we feasted on the intense intellectual and political debates he also liked to stir up, stretching our minds as well as our bellies. Few of us will forget the winning embrace of his smile or the warmth of his big brotherly hugs – these earned him the affection that girded the respect colleagues, friends and community felt for him.

The African Institute for Agrarian Studies, established in 2002 was the pioneering initiative that Sam dedicated himself to for the last thirteen years of his energetic career, a remarkable endeavour that grew to span three continents, bringing together people-focused land expertise from African, Latin America and Asia. His death in India, tragic and shocking as it is for us all, occurred when he was doing what he was most committed to, what he most loved. Colleagues and fellow travellers, we owe it to Sam to continue to pursue his vision, and to collectivise the mission he discovered in the course of his brutally foreshortened life, for posterity, for the liberation of the still dispossessed.

Sam was no angel, as the women he has loved in the course of six decades of a life fully lived can surely testify. At the same time, his unadulterated *joie de vivre* was one of his most endearing features – even as we worried about his health at times! We need not have. Death was to take him away from us ahead of his old age, and at the prime of his activist-intellectual life. This tragic end also snatched Sam away from a new chapter in his personal life, with his equally courageous fighter for human rights, Beatrice Mtetwa. Beatrice, my heart goes out to you – your pain must be unimaginable, inconsolable. Know that you have the love and support of us all, and a life to live, people to serve.

Sam will surely live on in our hearts, our ideas, in our actions, and in our vision of a liberated and just Africa.

Goodbye Beloved Comrade.

Sam Moyo: Speeches from the Archives

We are proud that CODESRIA has Sustained itself over the Decades

Acceptance Statement by Sam Moyo after his election as CODESRIA's President at the 12th General Assembly in Yaounde, 2008

I would like once more to thank all those represented at the 12th General Assembly of CODESRIA held in Yaounde, for placing the confidence in me by electing me the new President of CODESRIA for the coming three years. Having been involved with CODESRIA over the last 30 years I am extremely honoured to be able to serve CODESRIA in its support to the various generations of African scholarship in the social sciences. I will always remember that it was through the CODESRIA that some of us were first able to publish an article, under the mentorship of its then leadership, and drawing inspiration from the vitality of the emerging and growing community of African scholarship. I am gratified that many of our senior scholars are here to witness the broader base of younger scholarship that has evolved from their vision of establishing CODESRIA.

We are proud that CODESRIA has sustained itself over the decades, through successive executive leaderships. In particular, I want to reiterate my personal gratitude, as well on behalf of the General Assembly, to the out-going Executive Secretary, Prof. Adebayo Olukushi for his sterling work and dedication to CODESRIA, over the last eight years. His was a complex challenge, at times highly conflicted, of managing the most recent leadership and organisational transition that CODESRIA has undergone. For, it was not too long ago that the institution faced the threat of division and loss of direction or even collapse!! We recognise his efforts towards resuscitating the CODESRIA Secretariat's tireless service to African scholars whose vision remains to sustain a flourishing social science intellectual community, and to develop effective systems of promoting knowledge production and dissemination on the continent.

I wish also to congratulate the other 9 scholars who were elected, from Africa's 5 regions, to the present Executive Committee of CODESRIA. We thank them all for accepting the onerous but honourable task of serving the social science community for next 3 years. Together, the new Executive Committee is committed to fulfil their primary responsibility of overseeing the effective implementation of CODESRIA programmes within the framework of the CODESRIA Charter, policies and procedures. Indeed, it has been emphasized here that we will need to strengthen the accountability of CODESRIA, not only in terms of the use of its resources, but also in terms of improving its inclusiveness, reporting to and communication with the membership, as well as by mobilising wider participation in a broader range of programmes. Fortunately, this specific task, as pronounced here by participants at this General Assembly, of consolidating the new de-established governance system, while refining and

streamlining the scope and quality of the planned programmes has been underway for a few years.

It will however be important in pursuing this task to adapt to the emerging dynamic context of change. First, there is growing interest in the work of and knowledge produced through CODESRIA by a broader base of African scholars and civil society activists, as well as by some governments and Pan Africa institutions. Second, there is greater attention being paid to the social science research and publications emerging from Africa, among scholars and analysts outside of Africa, particularly in the 'west', and more recently in the 'south' and 'east'. These tendencies place greater demands on CODESRIA to promote the capacity of African scholars not only to meet by the adequate (quantitatively and qualitatively) needs of these constituencies, within a focus and direction led by the African scholarship, but also to consolidate the critical African perspectives, within the wider hegemonic world of knowledge production.

Third, the material and social circumstances which we live in have in the last few years been changing dramatically. The unfolding financial and economic crises, following on the back of the earlier food and energy crises, within the context of relentless wars and conflict, are rapidly undermining the social and political conditions of Africa's growing poor. Indeed, the structural changes and the reconfiguration of state and international poor relations which are underway, are so significant that the very premises of knowledge making and the nature of knowledge required by African societies and the rest of the world, have a *per force* to be adapted. This will require that CODESRIA revisits most of the dominant conceptual frameworks and epistemological perspectives, as well as the phenomena or issues, that it has focused on over the last 15 years, and lead the production of alternative knowledge. Thus, as we redefine and streamline the existing intellectual agenda and programmes, CODESRIA needs to innovate.

Therefore, the second major task of the Executive Committee and Executive Secretariat is to design new programmes that can consolidate CODESRIA's position within the social science community and in society. Various speakers at the 12th General Assembly suggested a range of initiatives which CODESRIA could pursue in response to the above changing context, and create the basis for future work. One is that CODESRIA may need to ensure that African scholars are at the centre of articulating the nature of the current world economic crisis and its configuration in Africa and, lead the intellectual redefinition and of the developmental agenda and

social adaptations required to withstand the crisis, in order to sustainably reproduce African society in the world context. Related to this, CODESRIA may need to more innovatively address the perennial specific socio-economic problems which affect Africa. A case in point is the need to resolve Africa's agrarian questions, *vis-à-vis* various models of agrarian change, which have recently been placed on the agenda by external actors. In particular, the African food issue, within the fragile context of a deficient world food production, trade and energy system, and the threat of climate change, requires our attention, as do other specific issues.

Furthermore, it has been argued here that African social scientists will need to create adequate fora through which to lead the debates a variety of these 'ground' themes. Another pressing issue for instance is promoting an understanding of the nature and sources of the conflicts faced by the continent, as well as the strategies required to manage these. The idea of regional integration, including the experiences of Pan Africanism and sub-regional economic cooperation, as vehicles for moving the continent out of poverty and underdevelopment, as well to influence politics at the world stage, also need to be thoroughly re-examined by scholars and debated in position.

CODESRIA on the one hand faces the challenges of facilitating and grooming young social science scholars and of nurturing change within the academe, while promoting the rebuilding of the appropriate institutions responsible for university training and basic research. On the other hand, CODESRIA needs to mobilise the whole range of scholars (from the first to the latest generations) to engage at the world stage in debates on the major social and political issues facing the continent. This requires promoting more rigorous research and the more

effective organisation of the sound knowledge which is being accumulated on and about the continent.

A critical dimension of such innovation will be to find more effective and flexible tools, which can be used to attract and mobilise a wider range of middle to senior African scholars on the continent, as well as abroad, to play a more meaningful role in the execution of CODESRIA's wider mission. All of this will mean deepening the CODESRIA membership, reforming or refining existing tools and widening the instruments used to implement the programmes.

In addition the Executive Committee and membership of CODESRIA will need to intensify their support to the Secretariat's efforts to create a stronger basis for the institutions financial and organisational sustainability. This will include strengthening the Endowment or Development Fund of CODESRIA on the one hand. On the other hand it requires serious efforts to re-invigorate CODESRIA's relationships with relevant African institutions, particularly through initiatives which contribute to promoting the rebuilding of the capacities of African universities and related research initiatives. Altogether, the consolidation of CODESRIA as an institution is necessary not only to ensure its continued relevance and sustainability, but also to engender the creation of strong and independent African voice.

In conclusion, I wish to commend CODESRIA's search process for its appointment of Dr Ebrima Sall as the incoming Executive Secretary. I can not think of a more suitable person for this job, in terms of commitment, diligence and dedication to the ideals of CODESRIA. As a deep repository of the CODESRIA experience and institutional memory the efforts of the Executive Committee in support of the Secretariat can be expected to be less daunting.



From left: Bonaventure de Santos, Ebrima Sall and Sam Moyo at the General Assembly

The Political Economy of Transformation in Zimbabwe: Radicalisation, Structural Change and Resistance¹

Keynote Lecture by Sam Moyo at the 13th General Assembly of CODESRIA, Rabat 2011

Introduction: Radicalisation, Structural Change and Reform

The dynamics of the world economic crises at the turn of this century have evoked a new generation of radicalisms across the globe, including the so-called Arab Spring. Notwithstanding their distinctive characteristics related to their varied specific conditions, radical movements have been innovative in confronting universal social and political challenges. Zimbabwe's Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP), which officially began in 2000, is one such experience of radical reform which redressed settler-colonial land dispossession and racialised inequalities. Despite the resultant social and structural transformation, and the scope for a progressive development agenda and democratisation it represents, the land reform was widely dismissed as a case of African 'despotism', and subjected to 'regime change'. This was not surprising given the pervasiveness of neoliberal triumphalism, and the persistent dominance of social theories that characterise the African experience with little regard for historical context and the evolving social facts on the ground.

Zimbabwe does not represent an 'ideal type' model of reform or one which deserves uncritical emulation. It is not a model of socialist revolution, for it did not result in one (Moyo and Yeros 2005, 2007a, 2011b). Nor can we teleologically foreclose the long-term socio-political character of the outcome. Rather, it represents one of the rare instances of political and economic radicalisation which resulted in a redistributive outcome due to innovative socio-political mobilisation processes, interventionist state reforms and ongoing resistance, notwithstanding its attendant social and political contradictions. Yet, little scholarly attention was paid to the political and economic origins of the social crisis that triggered the radicalisation (Moyo 2001; Moyo and Yeros 2005), and to the wider implications of the outcomes of the Zimbabwean reforms for the subcontinent (see Moyo and Yeros 2007a and b).

The roots of the radicalisation in Zimbabwe lie in persistent local and national resistances to the racially structured model of capitalist accumulation achieved through colonial conquest from 1890. Extensive social displacement and territorial segregation, the super-exploitation of local and regional labour, and discriminatory agrarian policies, had represented an extreme social injustice. This condition was not redressed by the decolonisation pact of Zimbabwe in 1980, while the neoliberal economic policies adopted from 1990 exacerbated the situation, which degenerated into social crisis (Moyo 2000). This, in turn, provoked labour protests and galvanised popular land occupations which fuelled the radical nationalist reforms which escalated from 1997 (see Moyo 2001).

Radicalisation in Zimbabwe entailed confrontation by an array of social forces (classes) with settler-colonial power structures,

capital and imperialism. The process escalated through the contradictions of a revolutionary situation, including an internal reconfiguration of political mobilisation in the former settler colony, and against external sanctions and political destabilisation. It entailed experimentation with a new economic structure with a diversified set of external economic relationships and continued resistance through new forms of rural mobilisation, indigenisation initiatives and a foreign policy based on positive non-alignment. The anti-colonial land movement blended with contemporary resistance movements in the contemporary context of primitive accumulation, highlighting the centrality of the emancipatory dimensions of the agrarian question, rather than the economic concerns often associated with agrarian reform (see Moyo, Jha and Yeros 2013).

This experience represents an example of resistance emerging out of the social crises generated by neoliberalism within a small country of apparently limited geo-strategic importance, other than its integral value as a former settler-colonial beachhead of imperialism, endowed with extensive mineral resources. Zimbabwe has rowed against the current scramble for African land, mineral resources, energy and consumer markets, at a time of significant material changes at the world system-level. Indeed, new geo-strategic facts are being established on the ground, in relation to the rising involvement of 'emerging powers' in competition for resource control, as well as the re-militarisation of US strategy in Africa (see Moyo, Jha and Yeros 2012; and Yeros forthcoming). While progressive internal reforms invite aggressive external interventions and polarise politics, the experience shows that innovative national and regional responses can be mobilised effectively in their defence against Western aggression and monopoly finance capital. Foreign policy was effectively used to mobilise regional solidarity and support, capitalising on the room of manoeuvre created by the rise of China (Moyo and Yeros 2013).

Intellectual authority over the narrative on Zimbabwe's land reform remains contested with regard to the causes, the nature and effects of the land reforms. Eurocentric perspectives, which rely on the ubiquitous organising concept of 'neopatrimonialism', in which the only relationship that exists in society is between rapacious black capitalists and their ethnicised client networks, held sway for a while (Moyo and Chambati 2013). Failing to understand the contradictions of Zimbabwe's radicalisation, such 'authorities' only saw a 'destructive party accumulation project' (Raftopoulos 2010:706) and not the radicalisation of various forces, including the semi-proletariat and aspiring black bourgeoisie, against monopoly capital. Various intellectuals and the Western media took recourse to racialised discourses of 'corruption' and 'orchestration', and vilified the whole of the land movement (see Johnson 2009), alleging that only the political elites benefited from the reforms.

The fact that the outcome was extensively redistributive, despite the disproportionate gains of some elites and the retention of some large-scale foreign-owned agro-industrial estates and conservancies, was posited earlier on (e.g. Moyo and Yeros 2005; Moyo *et al.* 2009; Moyo 2010), but this is only recently being corroborated as a novel outcome (Scoones, *et al.* 2010; Matondi 2013; Hanlon *et al.* 2013). Although a full recovery of agricultural output to the 1990s levels (which ought not to be seen as ideal targets) is slowly coming to fruition, the reforms continue to face various internal and external political and economic constraints (Moyo and Nyoni 2013). However, agrarian relations have improved substantially, with agrarian labour relations having been diversified within the new land tenure relations (Chambati 2013) and the scope for smaller producers on some markets having been opened wide, as popular participation in and benefits from the wider agrarian economy grow (Moyo and Nyoni 2013).

Despite the emerging consensus on some of the basic outcomes, there remain important differences in our understanding of the political and socio-economic implications of the reform, and the policies required to progressively advance popular welfare. Neopatrimonial perspectives which obscure the structural power of monopoly-finance capital, because they reduce all social relations to localised and ethnicised categories of domination and resistance, continue to argue for further market liberalisation to counter state interventions. Liberal populist frameworks applaud the new livelihoods being realised as evidence of autonomous peasant agency *vis-a-vis* the state (Scoones *et al.* 2010) obviating the need for enhanced interventions, and highlight the fact that some black farmers are doing as well as the previous white farmers without the privileges derived from state subsidies (Hanlon *et al.* 2013). Others persist in their belief that the return of private property relations will stimulate recovery (Matondi 2012), despite the limits imposed by the external squeeze on the economy.

The systemic role of monopoly capital and extroverted markets in shaping the emerging uneven accumulation trajectory and the absence of credit for food cropping, as the re-insertion of big capital into the new agrarian structure ensues, tends to be glossed over (Moyo 2011b; Moyo and Chambati 2013). The new market contradictions that have emerged from price repression inscribed in the growth of contract farming in the capitals from the East and West, as well as domestic white and black capital compete to capture the new landholders' products, suggesting the need for renewed state interventionism. Yet, the importance of recent state interventions in favour of small and new producers is being occluded in emerging discourses which argue for competitiveness on world markets (despite their volatility), and decry the 'evils' of 'dependence' on state 'subsidies' (USAID 2012). Thus, accumulation from below remains constricted, and new forms of social differentiation increasingly polarise the benefits of the reform.

Four aspects of the results of research conducted on the FTLRP since 2000 by a range of scholars, under the rubric of the African Institute of Agrarian Studies (see Moyo and Chambati 2013), and their implications for reform elsewhere, are discussed namely:

- The coordinated mobilisation of a national land movement for land reform, beyond the erstwhile market and bureaucratic framework, through a multi-class, decentralised and anti-bureaucratic formation, united by radical nationalism;
- A process of structural reform that sought, as a matter of state policy, the accommodation of various social forces as concretised in a tri-modal outcome of land distribution, leading to competing modes of agrarian production;
- The re-configuration of agrarian markets through state intervention to sustain the recovery of production, despite the resurgence of social differentiation and competing accumulation strategies; and
- The emergence of new rural movements seeking progressive agrarian

reforms and indigenous control of natural resources, in the recent context of the scramble for Africa resources.

Historical context of the Fast Track Land Reform

To understand the radicalisation of Zimbabwe after its neoliberal turn in the 1990s, the nature of capitalist agrarian accumulation and the character of the decolonisation pact must be clarified. Racial monopolistic control over land, water resources, farm subsidies, and public infrastructural investments had by 1930 established about 6000 white settlers on large-scale 'commercial' farms based on private property relations. Their accumulation trajectory derived from the super-exploitation of migrant labour from the reserves created at the expense of African peasantries relegated to marginal lands (Amin 1972), and discriminatory agrarian markets and subsidies. From the 1950s, the accumulation trajectory was augmented by the creation of large-scale agro-industrial estates, also heavily subsidised by the state (Moyo 2010). By 1970, Zimbabwe's bimodal landholding structure, based on the incomplete dispossession of peasant lands, had resulted not in creating 'enclaves', but a functional dualism which repressed labour and peasant farming. Farm output had shifted from peasant food production towards export commodities and urban markets, dominated by large farmers in alliance with state marketing boards and monopoly capital. This accumulation model was in crisis by 1975, following the oil crisis and the escalating liberation war.

Since decolonisation in Southern Africa was delayed in the 1960s, a combination of armed and political struggle led to military victories in the Lusophone territories, and negotiated transitions from 1980 in Zimbabwe, 1990 in Namibia, and 1994 in South Africa. An integrated, thirty-year regional conflict, involving the destabilisation of the region by the Apartheid regime in South Africa, saw aggression being used as a lever of negotiation, until the whole region succumbed to a generalised pact in the 1990s, at the close of the cold war (Moyo and Yeros 2013). This entailed peace, independence and majority rule, in return for property guarantees, and economic opening to monopoly and finance capital, such that decolonisation and neoliberalism coincided; the one being conditional on the other (*ibid*). The Anglo-American guarantors of the Zimbabwe negotiations promised financing for the proposed market-led land redistribution programme, but such support was limited (Moyo 1999).

The pact was always unstable, despite the defeat of previous plans which had sought to retain white political privileges indefinitely. In Zimbabwe, some in the nationalist movement led by the Patriotic Front parties (ZANU-PF and PF-ZAPU), viewed the pact as a strategic objective-seeking piecemeal reforms, and eventually the growth of a black middle class, while others saw the pact as a tactical move, intended to consolidate political gains and prepare for the next phase of the struggle. For imperialism, it was a tactical retreat intended to cut its losses, and to use economic statecraft to regain its monopoly position. This contestation was never fully resolved as the diverse elements among the security forces and their political parties sought control of the military apparatus and as South African destabilisation seriously unsettled the balance. This fuelled the Matabeleland conflict from 1982 to 1987, while the generalisation of the pact to Namibia and South Africa, raised false hopes for a regional peace and development dividend.

In the 1980s, Zimbabwe had been hailed as a model of political transition for the settler societies of Southern Africa, whereby majority rule was conditioned on property guarantees. It was also lauded for enhancing food security, despite the prevalence of food insecurity among 30 per cent of its population (Moyo 1986), and it was considered a pilot project for market-led land reform despite its failures to redistribute adequate land (Moyo 1995). Although white political privileges were phased out, Zimbabwe remained a racially divided society, in which the defence of 'human rights' served mainly to protect white property and race-based privilege. Neocolonialism in Zimbabwe, not only relegated the majority population to a permanent process of semi-proletarianisation and super-exploitation, it also constricted the emergence of a black middle class with roots of its own in the economy. The structural violence inherent in this 'post-white settler' type of neocolonialism (Mandaza 1985) was never pacified by piecemeal reforms, and when the country entered structural adjustment, even the visible social gains of the prior decade were reversed (Yeros 2002).

From a longer historical perspective, the accumulation needs of the petty- bourgeoisie could not be realised as the new neoliberal conditions of the 1990s created obstacles to accumulation and entrenched racial differentiation. The petty- bourgeoisie was soon forced back into a popular, inter-class black alliance against the *status quo* dominated by settler and foreign capital. The process was also fuelled by the social crisis (wage repression, retrenchments, etc) which generated greater labour militancy around 1995 and the escalation of scattered land occupations from 1996, reviving historic land movements (Moyo 2001). The sudden emergence of a political opposition backed by white farmers, capital, NGOs and western states, further entrenched the polarisation of land and electoral politics. Zimbabwe's liberal model was thus unravelled as expropriatory land reforms took hold thereafter (Moyo 2001).

At the time Zimbabwe's Fast Track Land Reform took off, a new wave of large-scale land and resource grabbing had been underway in Africa from the 1990s, especially in countries such as Mozambique and Zambia with land concentration and the privatisation of landed property creeping in, while the extroversion of agrarian production relations and markets

persisted (Moyo 2008). This escalated in the mid-2000s, following a series of world-wide energy, food and financial crises. Under degenerating world-systemic conditions, the merchant path² of smaller scale and scattered land concentration, which had been emerging in the 1990s in non-settler Africa, was being overtaken by a wider process of large-scale land alienation led by foreign capital itself, often with domestic allies. This alienation is now installing a new 'junker' path³ in non-settler Africa, as the accumulation trajectory rapidly evolves beyond the structures inherited at independence in the 1960s.

The African agrarian question is increasingly focused on the social questions of exclusion, inequality, food insecurity and poverty, resulting from growing land dispossession, the super-exploitation of labour and unequal trade and financial flows (Moyo, Tsikata and Diop 2013). Demands for popular sovereignty over land, minerals, oil and natural resources, now referred to as 'resource nationalism', place the political dimension of land rights ahead of the agrarian question of reversing 'backwardness' through industrial development. The politics of land is most explosive where the inequalities fuse class with race, nationality and ethnic differences, as well as with the gender inequities derived from the pervasive patriarchal order. Indeed, while the nascent domestic petty bourgeoisie, in alliance with transnational capital and donors, is actively involved in the current land grabs, resistance to this process is a constant feature.

What makes Zimbabwe relatively unique or different now is that it has proposed new ways of deepening the transition to majority rule by means of radical land reform, and as happened elsewhere in Africa after decolonisation, through an 'indigenisation and empowerment' programme, focused on the mining sector. This has challenged the dominant neoliberal orthodoxy, ignited 'resource nationalism' to challenge Africa's potential 'recolonisation', and raised expectations for far-reaching land reforms in other former settler colonies.

Radicalised Land Reform Movement: Decentralised, Anti-Bureaucratic Alliance

The land movement was initiated by popular rural and urban mobilisation under the leadership of liberation war veterans, against the immediate policy of the ruling party and the state. The nationalist leadership stepped in during 1997, when it risked losing its most critical social bases, the peasantry and the war veterans, given that the latter permeated the security forces of the state apparatus. Its purpose was to control and co-opt the land movement, as well as to open a political space for the expression of pent up land demands among layers of the population, including many land occupations which were not directly organised by war veterans. Most crucially, the state accommodated the interests of the aspiring black bourgeoisie through a bifurcated land redistribution programme, providing for both peasant and small-scale capitalist farming. It also spared from redistribution certain farms owned by foreign capital, the state, and public trusts, ostensibly to maintain some critical food supplies and agro-industrial capacity, while promising to indigenise the foreign capital (Moyo 2010).

From the beginning, streamlining the land movement was critical to the state. It created District Land Committees in all

the provinces, and supported the Committees of Seven on each farm, while diminishing the powers of local war veterans who were the vanguard of the land movement. In their place, civil servants, chiefs, and other war veterans, not connected directly to local struggles, were installed, thereby broadening and diluting the representation and class character of the land movement. Over the following years, gaining firm control over the movement was, however, made difficult by the war veterans' decentralised and anti-bureaucratic character, whose agency was enabled by historic and organic roots of social mobilisation developed during the armed struggle, and their encouragement of pre-existing localised land occupation movements. This structure of the land movement is the first distinctive feature underlying the success of this mass mobilisation,⁴ unlike other representative organisations, including the formally constituted Zimbabwe National Liberation War Veterans Association (ZNLWVA). Unlike mass mobilisations elsewhere, in Zimbabwe, this decentralised structure was unified by the principle of radical nationalism.

The second distinctive characteristic of Zimbabwe's radicalisation was the extensive rural-urban spread of the land movement, in terms of active membership and physical participation in the land occupations.⁵ The leadership of the land movement included local peasant leaders, local war veterans, spiritual leaders, some chiefs, and various working class activists, intellectuals, and political party leaders, in a cross-class alliance. Such local leaders played a vanguard role in galvanising the mobilisation of long-standing grievances over land and racial inequality. Political parties, farmers' unions, trade unions, and NGOs had not only lacked sufficient interest or organic roots in the land question, they were also structurally incapable of bridging the rural-urban gap in the interest of mass mobilisation. The land movement incorporated urban elements into rural land occupations and promoted land occupations in urban areas for residential purposes. This overcame the occupational corporatism of trade unions and farmers' unions, and the often divisive strategies of political parties, at a time when bureaucratic sclerosis and various sources of political polarisation had accentuated the rural-urban divide.

The ZCTU was eventually co-opted by foreign donors,⁶ together with a broad array of liberal, urban-based, middle-class, donor-dependent NGOs, including the National Constitutional Assembly (NCA). By the time the ZCTU founded the Movement of Democratic Change (MDC) in 1999, the 'pro-democracy' forces had been completely overwhelmed by white-settler interests and foreign donors (see also Gwisai 2002). Black farmers' unions representing the peasantry had also during the 1990s, distanced themselves from the land reform agenda (Skalnes 1995), as petty-bourgeois interests prevailed among their ranks, focusing their advocacy on access to state subsidies and price-setting. Although they did not expressly oppose the land reform, they were unable to mobilise a constituency interested in repossessioning land. On the other hand, the white-settler Commercial Farmers' Union (CFU), in alliance with GAPWUZ (the farm workers' trade union), mobilised both its membership and international public opinion against the land reform.

The relationship of the land movement to the nationalist leadership has posed conceptual difficulties since the ruling party, having succumbed to structural adjustment, changed

course in the late 1990s towards a radical approach, while seeking to control the land movement. The 'pro-democracy' alliance, which claimed to be the vanguard of 'progressive' politics in Zimbabwe, sought credit for the ruling party's opting for a radical land reform programme (Raftopoulos 2009), as if there was no real political or historical basis for such radicalisation. With the mounting evidence of extensive land redistribution challenging neopatrimonialist claims of ethnicised elite capture, there is now a veiled acknowledgment of the vanguard role of the land movement. This role is however rendered as a mere component, together with the MDC alliance, of a broader 'passive revolution', that has 'remained largely under the control of the state', and putatively one that has 'largely politically marginalised the majority of the population' (Raftopoulos 2010:707). Such an interpretation obscures the distinctive features of a rare mass mobilisation, involving a range of forces which confronted the white agrarian monopoly and the imperialist alliance as a whole, to the effect of broadening the social base of the economy.

Part of the conceptual difficulties facing those who have opposed the petty-bourgeoisie outright arises largely because some political elites gained more than others through the A2 scheme. Masuko (2012) and Sadomba (2012) have argued that black capital never really broke ranks with monopoly capital and that it acted solely on the latter's behalf to control the land movement. Yet, the process of radicalisation integrated diverse class interests, including the petty-bourgeoisie and the semi-proletariat, against the white agrarian faction of monopoly capital. The breaking of ranks with monopoly capital is exemplified in the fact that the state redistributed over 5,000 properties, over and above the estimated 1,000 properties that were actually occupied by the land movement, and such acquisitions persisted beyond the immediate election contests (Moyo 2011a). While this radicalisation did not result in a socialist revolution, or in a generic 'passive revolution', the white agrarian establishment was essentially liquidated at farm level both economically and politically.

The role of the petty-bourgeoisie and the nationalist leadership, their use of the state, and their relationship with the movement can best be understood in terms of the character and function of the 'radicalised state'. By 2000, the state underwent a peculiar transformation, through a suspension of its bureaucratic coherence (its 'bureaucratism'), with many of its personnel mobilised in the interest of Fast Track Land Reform (Moyo and Yeros 2007a). The constitution of District Land Committees overrode local bureaucratic structures,⁷ but it also established *fast-track* procedures and new capacities for the expropriation and redistribution of land, while also reforming laws and amending the constitution to underpin the action and defend land occupiers against eviction. One may rightly fault the ruling party for streamlining the land movement and creating space for the petty-bourgeoisie, but it is not the case that it fulfilled a reactionary role, for it did not defend the *status quo ante*. Contrary formulations do not adequately recognise the existence of *real* intra-class conflict, between petty-bourgeois and monopoly capital, black and white elites, and among black elites.

This suggests that Zimbabwe's radicalisation entailed another rare phenomenon of petty-bourgeois radicalism, shaped by pressures from the land movement, as well as by blatant

external political interventions and sanctions. That the petty-bourgeoisie also became an agent of change presents very difficult political questions, as previous African scholars have noted (Fanon 1967; Shivji 1976). However, there is a problem in attributing radicalisation solely to certain local-level war veterans, against all the rest who vied for land, although the land movement did coalesce varied streams of land occupiers. Instead of one 'genuine' category of radicalism, there are different radicalisms, each with its own *class* project.

Others who claim to stand aloof of the difficult political questions have deployed a liberal-populist 'people *versus* state' dichotomy, rendering the whole land and agrarian reform process solely as a consequence of the agency of the landless against an indifferent state at best, or a 'commandist' and 'clientelist' state, at worst (see Scoones *et al.* 2010; Hanlon *et al.* 2013). Class analyses that reach similar conclusions do so only by downplaying the radicalisation of the petty-bourgeoisie and treating it as if it never really broke ranks with monopoly capital.

It would be more correct to say that the nationalist leadership in recent years had come to represent mainly *un-accommodated* bourgeois interests, which indeed have liberation convictions of their own, but which are under the illusion that they can reform monopoly capitalism so as to sustain a 'patriotic bourgeoisie' into the future. This situation explains the current scattered pressures for 'indigenisation' programmes in strategic industries, as opposed to more collectivist solutions (Moyo and Yeros 2011b, Moyo 2011b). It also partly explains the violence that accompanied land reform, mainly off the farms, as the nationalist leadership was unable to commit 'class suicide' and submit itself to the evolving and expanding popular demands on the ground (Moyo and Yeros 2009, 2011b). The bifurcation of the Fast Track Land Reform, the strategy of indigenising agro-estates and other industries, and the recurrent violence are manifestations, not only of class conflict, but also of *intra*-class conflict between petty-bourgeois interests and monopoly capital.

A related weakness may be attributed to the war veteran movement which became 'tactically sterile', and paid dearly for this when the state's Murambatsvina project assaulted urban settlements in 2005 (Sadomba 2013). An uninterrupted escalation of the revolutionary situation would have required that the land movement undergo organisational and ideological innovation founded in proletarian mobilisation and wider strategic concerns. Masuko (2013) argues that the land movement did go beyond the single-issue platform of land reclamation by promoting a plethora of associational forms that sprouted in the resettlement areas (see also Murisa 2013). While such associational forms are the kernel of progressive politics in the countryside, including their issue-focus on service provision by the state (agricultural inputs, social infrastructure, markets, credit, and subsidies), they are not articulated into a radical mass agrarian movement. This opportunity is dissipating, as the liberal 'pro-democracy' movement, comprising the donor-funded MDC, NGOs, and settler farmer elements, seek to mobilise such associations in service of a new market integration agenda.

The radicalised nationalist leadership could also be faulted for allowing other petty-bourgeois tendencies, since aspiring capitalists, lacking other means to bid for land, mobilised sub-national, ethno-regional claims to land 'rights' to exclude non-local competitors (Moyo 2011a). This tendency continues, and could escalate as land bidding is re-focused on the enlargement of existing landholdings at the expense of smallholders, and as bidding spreads to the redistribution of retained private and public agro-estates.

Such contradictions among the black petty-bourgeoisie could undermine its radical nationalist economic posture although these are essentially the ongoing tendencies of a class which remains profoundly insecure. Should the main 'enemy' come to be seen as 'internal' (including 'ethno-regional' or party political partisans), there could be regression to a neocolonial type of politics, malleable to foreign interests.⁸ Yet, this is not a foregone conclusion "or a perennial and decontextualised 'ethnic' possibility in African politics" but reflects shifting strategies of accumulation, subject to pressures from above and from below. The re-grouping of popular forces is all the more necessary given the new tendencies of class formation at the top and the changing strategies of monopoly finance capital.

Structural Reform, Renewed Developmentalism and Economic

Nationalism

The land reform radically restructured land ownership, but it did not 'oust capital', which itself is now re-grouping (Moyo 2011b). Instead, a broadly based tri-modal agrarian structure has been instituted, consisting of peasant, small-scale capitalist and large-scale estate farms (which are being indigenised). There was a deliberate promotion of competing trajectories of accumulation, mustered through the mediation of contradictory land struggles and class interests, and combined resistances to the opposition to reform by capital and Western donors. This outcome suggests another distinctive characteristic of the radicalisation process.

This agrarian structure is based on differential landownership regimes (state-sanctioned usufruct permits, non-tradable leases, and freehold or state property, respectively); different forms of integration into markets; varied forms of labour relations and varied linkages to non-farm activities and assets. This, in turn, gives rise to different types of producers vying for different forms of labour mobilisation and competing accumulation strategies (Moyo 2011b, 2011c). This has unravelled the legacy of the settler-colonial 'labour reserve' structures, by amplifying the smallholder sector and incorporating a significant 'merchant' path, while retaining elements (albeit downsized) of the 'junker' and 'state' paths (see Moyo and Yeros 2005a).⁹ This has also restructured farm labour supplies and labour utilisation.

The diverse elements of this structure are not entirely unique to the continent, but their clear demarcation in state policy, and the dynamics by which they have been established, do make this case unique. Moreover, the reform brings Zimbabwe closer to the rest of Africa's agrarian structures by breaking

up the large-scale farming established during the nineteenth-century, and broadening the small-scale capitalist sector, which had also been introduced by the colonial regime, while preserving some 'strategic' agro-industrial estates (Moyo 2011b).

The fundamental question is whether Zimbabwe will be able to sustain, via this tri-model structure, an introverted process of accumulation 'from below', given the tendencies and contradictions of this new agrarian structure, with regard to the new type of labour reserve that has emerged, incipient land markets, the persistence of the core agricultural exports and the re-insertion of finance capital through markets, credit and contracts. Moreover, the attendant processes of class formation and the contestations over accumulation and the policy regime, remain intrinsically fluid, given also the contradictions imposed by the extant sanctions regime.

For instance, one of the immediate consequences of Fast Track is the re-emergence of informal land rental markets between the 'better performers' and the 'weaker' ones, often between A2 and A1 farmers, respectively (Moyo *et al.* 2009). Both macroeconomic constraints and labour shortages, on both A1 and A2 farms, have contributed to this tendency. Land sharing is also common, although this often occurs among A1 farmers' kinship networks, as well as between all resettled farmers and farm workers, gold-panniers, and 'squatters' who have yet to be settled formally (Moyo *et al.* 2009). Such tendencies represent local class differentiation across all agro-ecological regions and heralds future conflicts over access to land and natural resources.

Although land tenure is generally seen to be secure, boundary and access disputes could intensify (Moyo 2013). One of the terrains of struggle that could intensify is the status of leasehold on A2 farms, which is being challenged by domestic and foreign elements which advocate the conversion of the current leasehold land rights into freehold tenures. In this case, small-scale capitalist farmers would find allies in private banks, which typically justify their refusal to finance resettlement farmers on the supposed absence of 'collateral'. Another terrain of struggle is the land tenure status of the remaining farm workers, some of whom have been re-inserted into labour-tenancy relations (Chambati 2013). Yet, state policy still remains committed to both leasehold tenure and the protection of farm workers against eviction from A2 lands.

Re-peasantisation and the break-up of the settler agrarian monopoly has diminished the labour reserve of the past and undermined the functioning of the colonial cheap-labour system. By 1999, half of this labour-force consisted of non-permanent, casual labour, reproducing itself precariously between the LSCF and the Communal Areas, on real farm wages which had collapsed to 24 per cent of the Poverty Datum Line. Super-exploitation was facilitated by a racialised, quasi-feudal labour-tenancy system, together with a patriarchal system of customary authority, which continued to undermine the bargaining power of the semi-proletariat as a whole (Moyo and Yeros 2005).

Land reform has absorbed surplus labour into petty-commodity production for own consumption and the market, and pried open access to natural resources and related land use values that previously were enclosed in the properties

monopolised by white farmers (see also Chambati 2011). The immediate manifestation of this has been a shortage of labour, which has deprived especially the small-scale capitalist sector of the prior abundant workforce willing to work for wages below the cost of social reproduction.

That the labour reserve diminished and the bargaining power of labour altered does not, of course, mean that the labour reserve economy has been extinguished. The persistence of simple reproduction among smallholders and the reconstitution of the small- and large-scale capitalist sectors, under the weight of Western sanctions, continue to re-create the structural conditions of super-exploitation, even among the new self-exploited peasantry. Super-exploitation is further abetted by residual labour-tenancy on some new farms, as well as the exploitative intra-family and gender-based labour relations. Yet, the unravelling of racialised relations of personal dependence and the expansion of the smallholder sector has altered the balance of power among the three modes of farming. It is here that the new political struggle is now being fought.

State Interventionism, Indigenisation and New Developmentalism

Both small- and large-scale capitalist farmers have a structural interest in policy measures that will oblige small producers to work for wages below the cost of social reproduction. This interest would be reinforced should an export-oriented accumulation strategy predominate. But these two types of farmers are not identical, given that small-scale capitalist farmers, many with significant resource vulnerabilities, may also be co-opted by the state into production for domestic markets and industries. In fact, this objective has largely been their principal orientation to date. At the same time, smallholder farmers will themselves undergo differentiation, thereby adding to the labour pool. Yet, this may also be mitigated by inward-looking policy measures that both reinforce the conditions of smallholder production and induce the growth of cooperativism and rural industries capable of re-organising the labour process.

The political struggle between the three modes of farming and the attendant disputes over labour remain imbalanced and will be determined by a number of factors, including the character of state interventions against monopoly capital.

The dominant factor in shaping the accumulation trajectory is, however the structural power of monopoly capital, which opposed the radicalisation process and undermined progressive agrarian change by imposing severe limits on Zimbabwe's economic recovery. From the beginning of the Fast Track, financial isolation and a capital strike had led to a severe shortage in the economy, leading the state towards an interventionist economic strategy, initially without a comprehensive plan to defend against sanctions (Moyo and Yeros 2007a). A plan emerged as the internal and external contradictions escalated, although the key constraint was how to finance the plan. This interventionism under contemporary neoliberalism is the fifth distinctive characteristic of the Zimbabwe model.

It entailed controls over prices, trade, capital, and agricultural markets, the monopolisation of grain purchases by the Grain Marketing Board, and the setting of food production targets,

as well as targeted subsidies to agriculture and industries, to bolster an erstwhile import substitution industrialisation. State-owned agro-estates, together with state interests in mining, banking, and other firms led this strategy, which includes the production of local agro-fuels against a rising fuel-import bill. An agricultural mechanisation policy sought to enhance motorised draught power, although the bulk of this was allocated to small- and large-scale capitalist farmers to compensate for the labour shortages that emerged (Moyo 2011a; Moyo and Nyoni 2013). State subsidies in electricity, fuel and transport facilities were also effected, albeit at low levels associated with the fiscal constraints. This plan reflected both the class bias of the state and its reaction to the generalised strike by private banks and, bilateral and multilateral donors.

Eventually, hyperinflation, political conflict and informalisation of economic activity compelled the state to attempt normalisation with international capital. It is through this process that the state 'interrupted' the momentum of the revolutionary situation, including the assault on urban land movements in 2005 to establish 'order' (Moyo and Yeros 2007a, 2009, 2011b). Indeed, the heterodox plan lacked the foresight to defend against the ensuing capital strike, which could have been better resisted by a policy of immediate nationalisation of banks and strategic industries. Thus, the state became susceptible to carrot-and-stick strategies by foreign capital, leading to its refusal to fully default on debt.

Normalisation has led to cooptation back towards an extroverted strategy through various mechanisms (Moyo 2011a, 2011b). The land redistribution policy on agro-estates is essentially a comprador 'indigenisation' strategy, which enables black capitalists to become majority shareholders in agro-estates, thereby succumbing to the logic of plantation agriculture and its associated financial circuit. The expansion of outgrower contract farming, linked to a similar external financial circuits, locks small-scale capitalists into the agro-estates for the production of sugarcane for the European market (under the ACP-EU Lomé Convention). So do the tobacco and cotton contracts tied to Chinese and Western capital.

Dependence on external finance, inputs, and markets has exercised overriding power in tilting, once again, the internal balance between social classes, while Western sanctions against Zimbabwe, including those against the parastatals spearheading the economic recovery, reinforce this. The adoption in 2008, at the peak of hyperinflation, of a neoliberal policy on currency, 'dollarisation' capital, trade, and agricultural markets may have been a tactical retreat, but it entrenches the cooptation.

Nonetheless, counter-tendencies suggest that the policy of normalisation has not totally extinguished the dirigisme of the state and the new black bourgeoisie, which is still acutely vulnerable to a monopolistic world market, and remains in conflict with international capital. The popular classes, from which the nationalist leadership must still claim legitimacy, are even more vulnerable. The state has not abandoned the ISI policy, or its intention to mediate pro-actively in favour of black capital and, secondarily the smallholder farmers. The Zimbabwean state persists with its policy of building national

food self-sufficiency and to substitute for imported petrol by expanding the cultivation of sugarcane on agro-estates owned by the state and public trusts to produce ethanol for domestic transport, may have various local industrial spin-offs (Moyo 2011b). Such investments include via joint ventures with foreign capital, from the East, West, and South, under the 'Look East Policy' (LEP) inaugurated in 2004.

The class character of state power, the strategies of the black bourgeoisie, and the re-grouping of social forces are the three further factors that will co-determine the balance of forces, as suggested by the escalation of the indigenisation strategy beyond agriculture to secondary industries, banking, and mining. Generally, indigenisation is a multi-class strategy, whose class character has oscillated in accordance with the correlation of forces as the policy regime shifted.

In the 1980s, it shifted from a popular land reform policy to one geared towards the creation of a black bourgeoisie via affirmative action with respect to land and state commerce. The former continued throughout the 1990s, under structural adjustment, without much success, until its radicalisation during the Fast Track Land Reform Programme. Then, under the subsequent normalisation from 2005, the strategy shifted back to a bourgeois strategy, geared towards creating majority shareholding for black capitalists. Yet, a further elaboration of the policy from 2010 envisions joint ventures between state-owned enterprises and foreign firms. This policy is increasingly reflected in the mining sector (e.g. diamonds), which has enormous potential to fill foreign-exchange gaps.

Upon the discovery of massive diamond deposits, a struggle ensued, especially from 2007 onwards, for the control of the industry, against both small miners who entered the fray, as well as corporate capital of South African and Western origin. The strategy on diamonds, and the possibility of circumventing sanctions, led to a confrontation with foreign capital and small miners, and this entailed repression of the latter. In the event, the West, ostensibly in solidarity with the repressed small miners, resolved to broaden its sanctions tactics by invoking the 'Kimberly Certification Process', alleging these were 'conflict diamonds'. When Zimbabwe won Kimberly certification, the United States unilaterally imposed sanctions on the diamond mining firms in partnership with mining parastatals.

Nonetheless, state policy on minerals seems to be stabilising and is positioning the state to reap future profits, via joint ventures looking both East and West. The accommodation of Chinese capital has been central to this strategy. Similarly, the expansion of platinum production by Western multinationals was compelled by the threat of losing concessions to the East. Meanwhile, high-ranking state personnel have positioned themselves in the state-owned Zimbabwe Mining Development Corporation driving the joint ventures, which has undermined the legitimacy and transparency of the strategy.¹⁰

It is notable that the indigenisation policy has been elaborated, beyond the re-distribution of majority shareholding and joint ventures, towards a higher degree of social access, in the wake of popular agitation. This transformation involves the imposition of conditions on foreign firms to undertake investments in physical and social infrastructure, such as roads, schools, and clinics, as well as the allocation of shares

to 'community and employee trusts'. The strategy reflects a renewed attempt, in response to more general criticisms of class bias, to broaden the benefits of indigenisation, especially of mining, to the rural areas. It also reflects the continued need of political elites (combining both ZANU-PF and MDC leaders) to respond to the reaction by capital, and to meet popular demands for state support in light of forthcoming elections.

Overall, these policies reflect the persistence of a specifically *nationalist* accumulation strategy promoted by black capitalists with connections to the state. For, despite having sunk roots of their own in the means of production, they remain vulnerable to both monopolistic forces and the need to maintain legitimacy *vis-à-vis* popular forces. Black capital continues to seek to consolidate its position by recourse to a pro-active state, against what it considers to be its main obstacle: Western monopoly capital.

New Agrarian Movements: Rural Cooperativism and Democratisation?

The sustainability of the current outcomes, and the potentials for further progressive reforms, will depend on the politics of the popular classes after land reform. While the larger farmers have been gravitating towards production for export markets (albeit still in minority numbers), the basic pillar of food sovereignty will remain the smallholder farmers, together with a significant portion of small-scale capitalists, who, for instance, dominate the rapid recovery of tobacco production. There has been a clear shift in the orientation of production towards food grains and pulses, to which the new land beneficiaries have dedicated 78 per cent of their cropped land. And, while national maize yields per hectare have suffered severe setbacks under conditions of drought, expensive inputs and sanctions, beneficiaries in wetter agro-ecological regions have performed much better (Moyo 2011c).

But the economic potential remains enormous, considering that land utilisation rates are already at 40 per cent « that is, the land utilisation level of the extroverted LSCF sector prior to Fast Track. But notable in this regard is that, on average, the A2 farmers with larger landholdings crop below 20 per cent of their land, while a few surpass the 50 per cent mark. In the absence of broad-based investments in infrastructure, fertiliser, and machinery due to credits supply constraints, fulfilment of the agricultural potential will be delayed. Furthermore, differentiation across class and regions will deepen, with adverse consequences for national cohesion and the weak rural movements. The emerging struggles over production, land access, tenure, and labour, as well as over the much-needed social services in general, require organised social forces capable of tilting the balance towards smallholders and farm workers (Moyo 2011c).

The most promising development is the emergence among 40 per cent of small producers of new local cooperative movements to pool labour, savings, and infrastructure, procure seeds and fertilisers, channel extension services, bid for producer prices, and negotiate labour contracts (Murisa 2012). Among the farm workers, there are group negotiations for access to land and improved conditions of work, although their poor representation by the national agricultural labour union (GAPWUZ), which has never been in favour of agrarian

reform (Chambati 2013), is notable. Some of the farmer groups are orchestrated by state extension agents and private contract farming firms, while others are led by the war veteran groups. Yet others draw on kinship relations and existing former farming associations in the Communal Areas (see Murisa 2012).

De facto, the state had extended customary authority to resettlement areas, both as a cooptation tactic and a low-cost dispute-resolution mechanism, but the new constitution of 2013 limits their authority to Communal Areas. The state also co-opted chiefs through their inclusion into the A2 farming scheme and mechanisation, but it excluded chiefs from exercising real authority over A1 land permits and A2 leases. It has also maintained their subordination (in some power relations) to elected authorities in local government. Meanwhile, their cooptation into a new class position, where this has occurred, raises new questions regarding the trajectory of this institution, notwithstanding the ethno-regional structure of Fast Track having extended the kinship basis of customary authority. It has nonetheless been observed that beneficiaries from non-contiguous areas have not always embraced their new chiefs (Murisa 2012).

Rural cooperativism also holds the unique potential to transform gender relations and customary authority, to defend land rights and progressive agrarian change, as such, authority was the social and political pillar of historic super-exploitation, particularly of women. Fast Track Land Reform tripled the proportion of rural women holding land in their own right, yet women remain greatly under-represented (with below 20 per cent of all farm units). The land movement also opened political space for women, which was filled in mass numbers. Women however seldom held leadership positions in land committees and local farmer associations (see Murisa 2012). While new cooperativism is the most realistic vehicle for withering away the retrogressive patriarchal aspects of customary authority, there are class contradictions here too.

Quite critically, facing various agrarian demands from such organised groups and other influential actors, the state has remained interventionist since 2003. For instance, the state has also been active in supporting farmers' groups via agricultural extension officers, contrary to suggestions that new farmers have not received state support (e.g. Scoones *et al.* 2010; Cliffe *et al.* 2011) or that they have been re-tribalised (Worby 2003). The various measures which show that the small producers have thrived because of rather than lack of state support include: the protection of land occupiers, despite allowing some evictions to occur; the expanded role of marketing boards; trade protection; some subsidies to agro-industry and farmers (credit, inputs and machinery) before and after dollarisation; the ban on GMOs; and so forth.

Overall, it is clear that intervention into this fluid field by a new social agent based on cooperative and democratic principles can further erode customary authority, empower women, integrate farm workers and smallholders into agro-industrial production units, and expand the potential for the formation of alliances among cooperative producers nationwide. Such agency may fulfil the aspirations for popular agrarian change which are necessary after Fast Track, but this should go much further than welfarist measure to create efficient worker-controlled cooperatives to sustain the

struggle against monopoly capitalism, and retain pressure on the reconfigured state.

These social dynamics may shape the future of rural and national politics, depending on the ability of rural cooperativism to deepen its scope and branch out to form wider political alliances. The resurrection of mass rural politics requires building up the new producer associations into an advanced, united, and autonomous cooperative movement of rural workers, capable, not only of obtaining *ad hoc* services, but also of dislocating the new black bourgeoisie from its political pedestal (Moyo and Yeros 2007a).

Concluding Remarks: Lessons from Zimbabwe

While the internal dynamics, including the class character of the land reform, the indigenisation strategy and ongoing social struggles will determine the ability of the state to sustain an inward-looking accumulation process and its legitimacy, the security context and the foreign policy have been crucial in creating the external conditions for sustaining the radical reform. In this context, despite Zimbabwe's relative geopolitical insignificance, the re-radicalisation of land reform has challenged outright the controlled character of the transitions to majority rule in settler-colonial Africa. For this reason, it has been characterised as an 'unusual and extraordinary threat' to the USA (President George Bush 2002), and subjected to a host of sanctions and isolation.

It is only the new SADC security framework which, despite all its prevarications, is anchored in a mutual defence pact that has effectively prevented the militarisation of the Zimbabwe question (Moyo and Yeros 2011b). Zimbabwe's Look East Policy is 'complementary, rather than [serving as] an alternative to engaging with the West' (Patel and Chan 2006:182) as it has neither turned its back on Western capital, nor accepted investment from China and the rest of the East or South without conditions. The LEP was pursued as a method of circumventing Western sanctions, while pressuring the West back into investing in Zimbabwe, on conditions consistent with its indigenisation and empowerment policy. This outcome raises wider questions about the external conditions which enable or undermine radical reform, particularly the nature of relations with neighbouring states.

Furthermore, while Zimbabwe has particularities of its own, the structural and social sources of radical change are firmly rooted in most societies of the Global South (see Moyo and Yeros 2005a, 2011a). This is not to say that radical change depends on mere 'will', and that political resignation should be answered by naïve voluntarism. The correlation of forces in every situation should be assessed, with the intention of changing it, not preserving it. This also means that a clear understanding of the state apparatus and state power must be developed. A blanket anti-statist policy of 'changing the world without taking power', which remains so hegemonic among social movements, ought to be replaced by a strategy and tactics which seek to alter state power and unravel the state apparatus in the interest of the oppressed; i.e. towards radical agrarian reform.

For mass mobilisations to endure the countervailing forces that will inevitably align against them, they must take seriously the agrarian component of society. The objective

should not be merely to accumulate forces for change, but also to initiate a longer-term process of structural change and national resistance, of which the agrarian question is a fundamental component. All societies in recent years that have entered a process of radicalisation have discovered that their food dependence and their domestic disjuncture between agriculture, industry, and energy are crucial sources of vulnerability. This potential weakness means that mass mobilisation must also take seriously the project of 're-peasantisation' as an explicitly *modern* project, and as the only alternative in conquering autonomous development in the South (Amin 2012; Patnaik 2012).

The particular Zimbabwe experience suggests that redistributive land reform remains necessary to redress existing racial, social and spatial inequalities to advance socially inclusive agrarian societies and promote wider rural livelihoods, accommodating a diverse range of classes and ethno-regional entities, in the context of an innovative national development strategy. An African vision for agrarian change cannot be modelled around Eurocentric experiences of industrial transformation, which pretend to have arisen from a pacific evolution of economies of scale and a natural process of integration into the global neoliberal capitalist world based upon 'comparative advantage'. This is neither a plausible nor feasible alternative. In countries such as South Africa and Namibia, what remains of the legacy of the Apartheid agrarian model is a deepening of class-race inequalities and the ongoing concentration of land ownership and capital, and social deprivation.

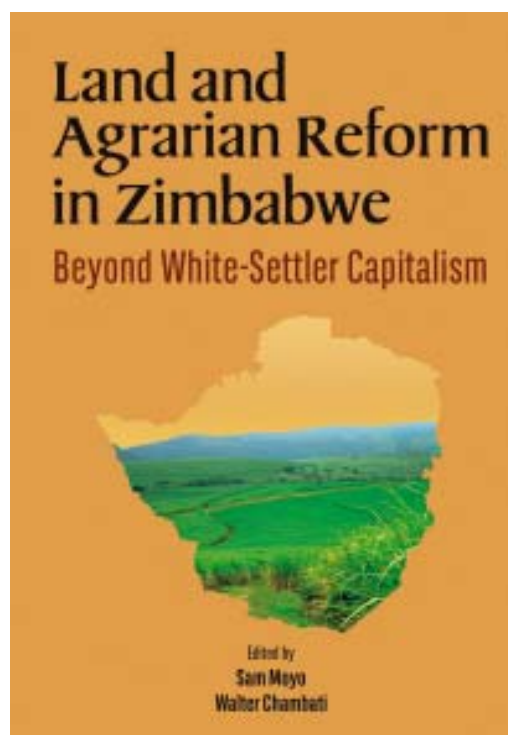
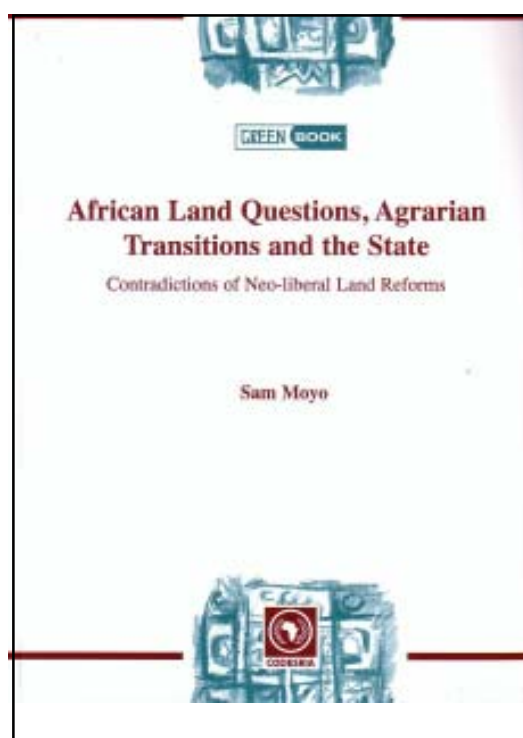
The challenges of broadly based agrarian transformation, in light of the uneven balance of forces require serious consideration, including more innovative state interventions that seek to promote a progressive accumulation trajectory, entailing new strategies of rural development. To prevent the persistent super-exploitation of wage labour and small producers in the context of globalised agrarian markets, the current weaknesses of small producer and market cooperatives will have to be addressed to countervail existing limited state agricultural protection and support. This requires both increased popular mobilisation and progressive reforms in the state.

Notes

1. The material in this speech was reworked from a chapter by Sam Moyo and Paris Yeros (2013): *The Zimbabwe Model: Radicalisation, Reform and Resistance*, In Moyo, Sam and W. Chambati (eds), *The Land and Agrarian Reform in Zimbabwe: Beyond White-Settler Capitalism*, Dakar: CODESRIA (2013).
2. A merchant path consist of non-rural capital, including merchant capital, petty bourgeois elements, bureaucrats, military personnel and professionals who gain access to land. They farm on a smaller scale than capitalist farms but are integrated into export markets and global agro-industry.
3. The junker path, formerly of landlords turned capitalists, has its variants in the white settler societies of Southern Africa, and it operates in tandem with transactional capital.
4. Formally constituted and bureaucratised organs of political representation, such as political parties, farmers' unions, trade

- unions, and NGOs failed to mobilise a radical land movement (see Moyo 2001; Yeros 2002; Moyo and Yeros 2005b).
5. Some contemporary parallels include Bolivia and, to a lesser degree, Venezuela (see Moyo and Yeros 2011a).
 6. By 1995, trade unions, led by the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) had completely abandoned land reform as a political project (Yeros 2002). The ZCTU had pried away from the control of the state in the late 1980s, and articulated a critique of structural adjustment in the early 1990s, but it gravitated towards a political project of 'good governance' and 'regime change', promoted by foreign donors and international trade unions.
 7. Something that the 'chaos' theorists have seen as the 'destruction of the state' (Hammar *et al.* 2003)
 8. The immediate manifestation of such a tendency would be the escalation of factional politics both within the ruling party and within the MDC (see Moyo and Yeros 2007b).
 9. Class analysis of the new Zimbabwe must come to grips with the tendencies and contradictions of this tri-modal structure, and avoid theories of 'rentier economy' (Davies 2005) or 'crony capitalism' (Bond 2009), or notions of 'passive revolution', which are based on nebulous assessments of the new class relations (*e.g.* Raftopoulos 2010).
 10. For some 'pro-democracy' forces (*e.g.* Cross 2011), this critique has become opportunistic, calling for the nationalisation of black capital but not Western capital!
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CODESRIA 14th General Assembly

Rethinking CODESRIA's Future: Priorities to Consider

Fatima Harrak
Former President
CODESRIA

The outgoing President of CODESRIA's Executive Committee, Fatima Harrak, has identified five areas of concern the Council must focus on as it repositions itself for the challenges of the twenty-first century. In her report at the 14th General Assembly of CODESRIA held in Dakar, June 2015, she identified some of the Council's challenges and proffered various recommendations to overcome these challenges. Excerpts of her speech:

It has been a great privilege, but also an immense challenge, for me and for the outgoing Executive Committee I worked with, to serve CODESRIA during the last three years and half.

- Let me proudly present to you my companions in this journey:
- Helmi Sharawy, from Egypt: the most dynamic and the youngest at heart
- Mwallimu F.E.M.K. Senkoro, from Tanzania: the sage
- Emmanuel Yenshu Vubo, from Cameroun: the most reflective
- Dzodzi Tsikata, from Ghana: the barrister
- Kenneth Inyani Simala, from Kenya: the passionate Mwallimu
- Jessie Kabwila-Kapasula, from Malawi: the political animal

Claudio Alves-Furtado, from Cap Vert, Etanislav Ngodi, from Congo Brazaville & Puleng Lenka Bula, from South Africa – respectively sociologist, Political scientist and Dean of Students specialist of Ethics and leadership. This trio is the youngest, and proved to be the most resourceful and innovative element of this Executive Committee.

Working with this group of brilliant and engaged pan-African scholars who all have CODESRIA at heart – and who in their majority (7/10) served their first term of office in a CODESRIA governing organ – was both pleasurable and gratifying. The challenges we had to face together as a unit during our mandate brought us close to each other and it was always in a climate of *entente*, even of complicity, that we performed our duties.

Teaming up with the Executive Secretary, Ebrima Sall, well known to the constituency for his scrupulousness and his identification with CODESRIA, has also been a motivating experience.

Please find here, dear Ebrima, the expression of our gratitude to you and your aids and staff for your kind support and always courteous collaboration.

On behalf of the Executive Committee I would like now to highlight some of the achievements of this Executive Committee since its election in December 2011, the details of which will be elaborated by the Executive Secretary in his report to this Assembly.

The 2012-2015 Framework Special, Focus 14th AG

Global environment

The global environment during the second decade of the twenty-first century is characterized by an exacerbation of the financial crisis. The debate prompted by Thomas Picketty's book is symptomatic of the ambient anxiety about the future of Capitalism as a result of the increasing scarcity of resources, the greater debt, and the intensifying popular resistance to sustaining the burden of the politics of austerity (the Greek case is indicative).

At the same time as the US and the European Union (the previous economic engines of global expansion) have exhausted their potentialities and are in open decline, the new centres of growth, the BRICS, which provided a new impetus for world growth during the first decade, are also showing signs of de-acceleration.

The political and military outlook is also bleak, even hopeless: NATO, led by the US and the EU are engaged in declared imperial wars, directly or through proxies, and a number of other so-called civilizational clashes around the world, including in Africa (North Africa, the Sahara and Sahel).

Situation in Africa

These developments have all left their imprint on Africa, but there is also a specifically African context.

- In essence, Africa today is at the crossroads. It is saddled by a myriad of political, social and economic challenges which have left many countries politically unstable.

Yet, the paradox of a continent richly endowed with natural resources and still struggling with grinding poverty is illustrative of the African economic structural challenges. These political and economic conditions have triggered a wave of forced migration sometimes with tragic results.

In North Africa a wave of popular protests promised a new dawn of democratic revolutions, but the Spring did not naturally progress to a bright summer of democracy; it has even regressed, in some cases, and the progress towards the institution and/or consolidation of democratic governance disrupted and the return to military, despotic and repressive rule legitimated by the so-called "war on terrorism".

The dismantlement of the State in Libya and the total destruction of its economy, society and political order has offered yet another African base, after Somalia – and

an inexhaustible source of funding – for the combatants of the "war of civilizations", a war now proclaimed in North, Central and West Africa.

The Ebola crisis in West Africa, which we have lived with directly in CODESRIA, came to demystify and deflate the Afro-euphoria and the "Africa Rising" narrative. It displayed to the world the dramatic and persisting damages inflicted on African states and societies by Structural Adjustment Policies, and which the Millennium Development Goals did not succeed in remedying

Now that the MDGs have come to an end, the time has come for Africa to pause for an evaluation of this experience before embarking on a "post 2015 Sustainable Development Goals" agenda that the UN and other international development agencies are currently working on, on its behalf!

State of African higher education and social science research

In the field of African higher education and social science research, the second decade of the twenty-first century has been marked by:

- Growing awareness by African stakeholders, including some political leaders, of the value of higher education in achieving their visions of prosperity, peace and integration... Whence the tremendous growth in the higher education and research sphere in Africa and the phenomenal increase in the number of public and private universities, research centers and institutes, think tanks and research NGOs, and the multiplication of initiatives geared towards encouraging higher education, research and innovation – even if the share of Social Sciences in this effort is insignificant.
- the creation of more African funding institutions, public and private, and the implication of some BRICS countries in funding research and higher education projects in Africa.

Nonetheless,

- Higher Education in Africa continues to be fragmented, increasingly privatized and internationalized, and it continues to suffer from brain drain and the "expert/consultancy syndrome"

- African governments continue to prioritize the teaching and research in STEM (Science Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (with few exceptions) for which they provide infrastructure and funding (national and endowment funds).
- Social sciences in Africa continue, therefore, to operate under conditions that are seriously under-equipped and under-resourced, both in African universities and in independent research institutions and NGOs. This means that African social scientists and social science research institutions are still in a situation of dependence vis-à-vis international donors and funding agencies.
- And today these resources are no longer reliable, nor are they always adapted to the local research priorities.

Obviously, these developments had direct bearing on the functioning, scientific production as well as on the working conditions at CODESRIA.

The cutback and delay of disbursement of funds from some of our key donors did constitute one of the major challenges we faced during our mandate. Both the financial crisis, and the fact that some of our partners were funding newly created social science research institutions in Africa, explains the difficult situation in which CODESRIA found itself during the last three years. This brought home the obligation to confront the challenge of diversification of our funding sources.

The other difficulty we faced during our term was the Ebola crisis which made it obligatory for CODESRIA to suspend many of its activities. This situation also brought home the urgent need to develop the capacities of CODESRIA, both technical and human, for assimilating and integrating ICTs in its functioning.

The convulsions in North and Sahelo-Saharan Africa caused the halting of some of our activities but were also the source of lively intellectual debates and an inspiration for a substantial number of research proposals and activities at CODESRIA.

Another difficulty faced during this period was the fact that the Secretariat had to work with a reduced workforce as the result of the voluntary and involuntary parting of a number of senior staff.

Notwithstanding all these inconveniences, however, important achievements have been made by this Executive Committee.

Achievements since the 13th GA

Institutional development

The general disenchantment induced by the predicaments of the 13th General Assembly made that the Executive Committee elected in Rabat had among its major tasks, if not its main task, the revision of the governance mechanisms of CODESRIA. What was required of us was the initiation of an internal evaluation of the root causes of the malaise we witnessed in Rabat, an evaluation that was to lead to the renewal and revitalization of the membership, governance and management of CODESRIA and the re-actualization of its intellectual agenda.

Kicking off this process to a start was not easy; that is why we consider that coming to this General Assembly with an internal review is a major achievement of this Executive Committee.

It is an Internal Review in three parts:

- (1) An Internal Review on Membership and Governance, chaired by Professor Thandika Makdawire with the participation of Dr. Pierre Sané and Professor Aki Sawyer. This review was finalized in February 2015 and the report, recommendations and proposed Charter amendments circulated to CODESRIA membership in early March, for examination and discussion in this GA;
- (2) An Internal Review on Management, chaired by Prof. Zenebe Tadesse with the participation of Profs Akwasi Aido and Temba Masilela, launched in April 2015. A preliminary report of this review will be presented to the GA for information;
- (3) And a third internal review concerning CODESRIA's intellectual agenda, is chaired jointly by Profs. Elisio Macamo and Mustapha Raufu with the participation of Profs. Pamela Mbabazi and Dickson Eyoh. This review was launched in March 2015 and a preliminary report of the committee will also be presented to this GA for information.

The work undertaken – or underway – by these three review teams and the spirited and fertile debate we will have around their documents, will assuredly unfold into a new vision and new directions for CODESRIA.

Another important contribution of this EC to the institutional development of CODESRIA is the elaboration and adoption of a Code of Ethics for the members of the Executive Committee. This was our way of contributing to strengthening accountability, guarding against conflict of interest and abuse of power and establishing a moral protocol for this governing organ of CODESRIA. This document may serve as a model for the development of a more general code which will bind all officeholders at CODESRIA.

Together with the Secretariat, this EC has also been able to put membership issues on a stronger footing, by urging for the compilation of the list of members, adopting a membership policy and almost completing the modalities of payment of membership dues through electronic means.

This EC has also overseen the preparation and adoption of several policy papers the aim of which was the rationalization of CODESRIA's work and the reinforcement of responsibility.

Intellectual Agenda

The mandate of this EC coincided with the launching of a new strategic plan to cover the period 2011-2016. Work started on this plan since 2009 but could only be finalized in 2012, with the contribution of the EC and the SC.

Our mandate also coincided with the celebration of CODESRIA's 40th anniversary. Various activities of CODESRIA during 2013 were held under the umbrella of the anniversary celebration but the grand celebration was, for logistical reasons, held in June 2014 under the theme of "Forty Years of Research and Knowledge Production for Africa"

Apart from these two big events this committee has had to regularly oversee the completion of various activities of the research, training and publication programmes, with a particular concern for the rationalization and refocusing of our efforts and our resources (decentralizing, privileging research over micro-methodological training, optimizing use of ICT, delegating to African universities...)

More needs to be done in this direction and we are counting on the Internal Review on Management to initiate change where routine and entrenched ways of doing things have been difficult to extricate.

CODESRIA has been involved in many other exciting intellectual activities which the Executive Secretary will expound in his report.

Challenges

Communication

CODESRIA continues to suffer from a communication deficit (or a "communication challenge" as a colleague put it), in spite of a cognizance of the difficulty and an expressed will to tackle it.

We still have difficulties disseminating our research and projecting CODESRIA within and outside the continent.

Efforts have been made by the secretariat in the form of the development of the website and the social media associated with it. Some of CODESRIA's publications and journals have also been put online, partnerships have been made with commercial publishers and distributors, the process of renewal of tenure for periodicals' editors has been started ...

However, this deficit of communication persists and exists on more than one level; it exists within the institution and between CODESRIA and its constituency.

In spite of the progress made on membership matters, including the long-sought-after list of members and the Membership Review, a lot remains to be done in order to strengthen relations with both individual and institutional members, reach out to the young generation of scholars, especially from the among the marginalized communities – such as the Arabophone, the islanders and researchers in zones of conflict or instability.

The monthly *Newsletter* is a welcome initiative but it is not regular and it needs an editorial team that will invigorate and energize it; more than that, it does not dispense from direct contact, real or virtual, whenever that is feasible. That is why we have continuously urged for:

- a structured Outreach Program for EC members,
- holding of more meetings and activities of CODESRIA outside of Dakar, thus allowing a decongestion and decentralization of our programmes and stimulating the exchanges between the leadership and management of CODESRIA on the one hand and the researchers, universities and research institutions in various parts of the continent, on the other.

During our term, two of this EC's meetings were held outside of Dakar, one in Cap Vert and one in Mombassa, and two outreach missions were organized for EC members to Tunisia and Congo; the lessons learned from these limited experiences pledge in favor of more mobility for CODESRIA activities and more collaboration with African research and higher education institutions.

I cannot end this section without underlying the necessity of improving communication on some other levels:

- between the EC and the CODESRIA staff, and
- between the EC and our funders
- between the EC and the ES

The two meetings that this EC had with our Nordic donors and its encounter with the CODESRIA local staff represent a good step in this direction. These reunions have been very informative and have given us greater awareness of the problems of the local employees and a better understanding of the complexities of the funding milieu.

Communication between the EC and the ES is a governance and managerial matter which needs to be approached through organizational reform.

Sustainability

Like the communication syndrome, the issues of diversification of funding sources and long term financial sustainability have been worrying CODESRIA – as well as its key funders – for some time now. It is now a pressing question.

We have yet to imagine and lay down a strategy, a fundraising campaign for long term, independent and sustainable funding to support CODESRIA's administrative costs and the execution of its scientific programmes.

We have been speaking of the establishment of an Endowment Fund for a long time but moving very slowly in that direction. At the same time, numerous plans and suggestions for mobilizing resources from the continent (Gulf, ADB, Angola...) have been proposed, but not followed up.

We hope that the efforts of this and other Executive Committees to ensure that the Endowment Fund is established will be continued and sustained by the incoming Executive Committee.

We not only need to be more resourceful and more aggressive in our pursuit of the diversification of our funding but we also need to address the emergent and spreading phenomenon of small grants and small funders.

Recommendations

May I close this statement by recommending to the attention of this venerable assembly the major concerns of this EC as it ends its mission:

First concern: the completion and implementation of the three reviews and the concretization the vision for a CODESRIA for the twenty-first century;

Second concern: the diversification, sustainability and independence of our funding and the definitive resolution of the question of the Endowment Fund;

Third concern: the configuration of a decentralization scheme for our programmes and activities as one of the means of facing up to many challenges: communication of research and with scholars;

outreach to young and emerging intellectuals, marginalized regions and scholarly communities; concretization of relations with institutional members; co-funding of a number of activities...);

Fourth concern: the responsible use of ICTs. Driven by CODESRIA's goals and needs, serious thinking must be given to integrating this technology for the efficient management of both the administrative and scientific pursuits of the Council; and

Fifth concern: the intellectual agenda of CODESRIA. While this agenda should be globally engaged, we must be attentive that it remains locally relevant and focused around themes of priority not only to our constituency but to our continent. And while cultivating collaboration between scholars of Africa and those of the global south and between African researchers and their peers in the rest of the world, we must see to it that the knowledge produced by this Council continues to be context specific and

geared towards African needs as formulated by the continent's intellectuals.

It is the enthusiastic engagement of these intellectuals, and the commitment of the African human and social science community of scholars at large, manifested in the presence of so many of you here today (and the so many others who could not come), that give meaning and value to the work of CODESRIA. Thank you, dear members of CODESRIA, for your loyalty and unfailing engagement.

May I in the name of all of you, and in the name of the outgoing EC, express our appreciation to our funders and partners, some of whom have been backing us and valuing our work from the very beginning; we are grateful for their trust and their sponsorship.

Together we can fashion a dynamic and resourceful CODESRIA for the twenty-first century!

Thank you for your kind attention.

Summary Report of CODESRIA 14th General Assembly: Creating African Futures in an Era of Global Transformations

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

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

Ibrahim Oanda
CODESRIA
Dakar

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

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

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

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

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

The roundtables focused on the following issues:

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

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

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

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

Opening Speeches

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

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

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

Speech by the President of CODESRIA, Dr Fatima Harrack

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

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

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

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

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

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

1st Working Session of the Scientific Conference

Chair: Dzodzi Tsikata (Vice-president of CODESRIA)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Chair: Fatima Harrak

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

Discussion and adoption of charter amendment proposals

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

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

Reports of the Review Committees

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

Report of the Intellectual Agenda Committee

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

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

management of the publication process needed improvement.

Report of the Management Committee

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

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

Reports from the Round-Tables

Round Table: "Inventing Our Future"

Chairperson : Mahmood Mamdani

Presenters :

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

Presentation by Adam Habib

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

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

Presentation by Adebayo Olukoshi

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

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

Presentation by Yang Guang

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

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

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

Presentation by Benjamin Soares

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

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

Chairperson : Cheikh Ibrahim Niang
Presenters :

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

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

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

Round Table 3: Discussion Session on "Understanding and Transcending

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

Chairperson: Anyang'Nyong'o

Presenters:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Presenters:

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

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

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

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

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

that requires South-South Cooperation to redress.

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

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

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

Round-Table 5: Industrialisation, Trade and Structural Transformation

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

Summary of Presentations

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Some of the questions raised during the discussions

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

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

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

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

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

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

Round-Tables 6 and 7: The Africa We Want

Chair: Thandika Mkandawire

Presenters

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Reports from the Parallel Sessions

African Popular Culture and The Imagination of Alternate Futures

Chair: F.E.M.K. Senkoro

Presenters:

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

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

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

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

Towards more democratic futures – making governance beneficial to all Africans

Presenters:

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

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

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

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

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

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

The African Diaspora in the Recreation of Africa's Futures

Presenters

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

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

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

Decoloniality and African Futures in the Twenty-first Century

Chair: Nkolo Foe

Presenters:

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

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

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

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

Presenters

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

Summary of Presentations

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

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

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

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

Neo-Liberalism and the Financialization of Natural Resources in Africa

Presenters

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

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

Regional Integration and Pathways to African Futures

Presenters:

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

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

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

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

Fashioning African Futures: Disciplinary, Interdisciplinary and Gendered Perspectives

Presenters

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

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

as equality and gender tend to affect only women.

Regional Integration and Pathways to African Futures

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

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

Towards more Democratic Futures – Making Governance Beneficial for all Africans

Presenters

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

Summary of Presentations

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

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

Pathways To Sustainable Developed Community

Chair: Odile Ndoumbé Faye

Presenters:

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

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

Designing and Building Resilient and Socially Inclusive Societies

Presenters:

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

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

Towards More Democratic Futures – Making Governance Beneficial for all Africans

Presenters

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

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

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

Toward more Democratic Futures: Making Governance beneficial for all Africans

Presenters:

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

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

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

Towards a New Research Agenda for CODESRIA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Administrative Aspects of the GA

Nomination and electoral panel report and elections

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

The reports focused on:

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

The following were elected:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

Imagining and Creating the CODESRIA of Tomorrow is a Preoccupation for each one of us

Mr. Chairman,

Dear colleagues,

As we come to the end of the 14th GA of CODESRIA, let me thank you for what, together, we have been able to accomplish this week.

What we have accomplished goes beyond the charter amendments and the election of a new Executive Committee; a New President and Vice President. Anyone who has followed the rich discussions of the scientific conference, around the keynote speeches and the round tables, has now seen the convening power of CODESRIA on issues affecting Africa's future and also the importance of the contribution of the human and social science research in the imagination of this future.

Imagining and creating the CODESRIA of tomorrow is also a preoccupation for each one of us.

As I mentioned in my report to this venerable assembly, we are all aware of the current financial challenges. This means that we must strive for diversification, sustainability and independence of our funding and be more pro-active in developing an Endowment Fund.

We must also work for the completion of the review process and implementation of the proposed reforms of our organization

We are called upon to configure a decentralization scheme for our programmes and activities as a way of reaching out to young African scholars and emerging intellectuals and activating relations with our institutional members.

Fatima Harrak
Former President
CODESRIA

Driven by CODESRIA's goals and needs, serious thinking must be given to integrating ICTs for the efficient management of both the administrative and scientific pursuits of the Council.

The Intellectual Agenda of CODESRIA

While this agenda is globally engaged we must be attentive that it remains locally relevant and focused around themes of priority, not only to our constituency but, to our continent.

While cultivating collaboration between scholars of Africa and those of the global south and between African researchers and their peers in the rest of the world, we must see to it that the knowledge produced by this Council continues to be context specific and geared towards African needs as formulated by the continent's intellectuals.

It is the enthusiastic engagement of these intellectuals, and the commitment of the African human and social science community of scholars at large, manifested in the presence of so many of you here today (and the so many others who could not come), that give meaning and value to the work of CODESRIA. Thank you, dear members of CODESRIA, for your loyalty and unfailing engagement.

May I in the name of all of you and in the name of the outgoing EC express our gratitude to our funders and partners, some of whom have been backing us and valuing our work from the very beginning; we are grateful for their trust and their sponsorship.

Together we can fashion a dynamic and resourceful CODESRIA for the twenty-first century!

Lastly, let me express my gratitude to the outgoing Executive Committee for the friendship we have built and the excellent work we have been able to realize during the past three years and half.

Let me, in the same spirit, congratulate and welcome the incoming President, Vice President and Executive Committee. In the name of the outgoing Executive Committee, I extend to you our best wishes for a very successful mandate.

May I also take up this opportunity to reiterate, in your name, our gratitude to the Government and People of Senegal for their solicitude, hospitality and multifarious contribution to the success of this General Assembly.

My appreciation goes to all those, near and far, who in one way or another have made this meeting a success.

But my – and our – very special thanks go to the Executive Secretary, our colleague Ebrima Sall, the Senior Management and all the Staff of CODESRIA who have worked like one hand and were a major cause of the success of the Assembly.

God bless you all, wa - salamu 'alaykum.

To Talk or not to Talk to Terrorists: That is the Question of these Unhappy Times

This year's general assembly focused on the future of Africa and tackled a whole range of issues the continent grapples with, including terrorism and radicalisation of the youth.

As a solution to the problem of terrorism, prominent political scientist, Prof Mahmood Mamdani of Columbia and Makerere Universities, recommended that governments consider holding talks with terror groups such as Al Shabaab, Al Qaeda and Boko Haram.

He argued that refusal to engage these groups in negotiations only serves to further embitter and embolden them. Prof Mamdani said this during a panel discussion on the connection between fundamentalism, terrorism, and radicalisation of youth chaired by former Kenyan Cabinet minister, Prof Anyong Nyong'o.

Prof Ousmane Kane of Harvard underscored the increasing importance of religion to Africans, noting that research shows that twenty-first century Africans often spend more time and money on religious activity than those of the previous century.

Ken Walibora

Prof Kane shared his recent research, which indicated that more than 98 per cent of Africans considered religion the most important thing in their lives, with Senegal taking the lead in levels of religiosity.

Prof Jibril Ibrahim of the Centre for Democracy and Development (Nigeria) stated that the rise of religion, and by extension fundamentalism, is down to the failure of the postcolonial state in Africa and the commodification of religious practice.

Religion is good business in Africa, shown by the fact that Nigeria has seven of the 10 richest religious leaders in the world. However, the scholars noted that despite the heightened level of religiosity, crime has also increased tremendously.

Religion and terrorism, to my mind have now become inextricably bound up together. Clearly certain interpretations or misinterpretations of religious scripts

have justified and fuelled radicalisation and terrorism.

By the same token, there is room for an efficacious religious de-radicalisation process as a counterterrorism strategy. The movement led by Muslim clerics and scholars in Kenya, Building Resilience Against Violent Extremism (BRAVE) is a case in point, sending, as it does, the message via the media that killing non-believers is not a jihad but murder and they quote the Koran.

But admittedly, detoxing the minds of individuals and groups convinced that there is a heavenly reward for maiming and killing is an arduous and uncertain process. It will require listening to what the terrorist says and what he does not say because the door has been shut on him. It will require listening to the silences.

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Sources: <http://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/OpEd/comment/To-talk-or-not-to-talk-to-terrorists/-/434750/2775208/-/item/1/-/havamjoz/-/index.html>



One of the Round Table sessions at the General Assembly

Reports

Bandung+60 Conference Report

The Bandung Spirit

The Asia-Africa Conference held in Bandung in April 1955 was a turning point in world history. It marked the birth of the Non-Aligned Movement, and what has come to be known as the 'Bandung Spirit'; an expression of the determination of the peoples of the South to fight colonialism and all forms of foreign domination, as well as racial, gender, and other forms of inequality, and bring about sustainable, people-centered development. The 1955 conference brought together representatives of 29 countries, mainly from Asia (including Japan and China), and Africa (which had representatives from the following countries: Egypt – represented by Gamal Abdel Nasser; Gold Coast/Ghana – represented by Kojo Botsio; Ethiopia; Liberia and Sudan), and several observer countries. Former Yugoslavia was also represented by Marshal Tito, while Sukarno, the then president of Indonesia, was the host. In April 2015, on the invitation of the Indonesian government, 119 countries were represented at a commemorative conference held in Jakarta and Bandung.

In October 2015 another commemorative conference was held in Jakarta and Bandung. The debates at this conference were more robust, and participants included many scholars and activists from Asia, Africa, and Latin America. This conference was structured around the following themes, reflecting dimensions of the diversity of life: culture, ecology, economy, politics, religion; and two cross-cutting themes which are history

Ebrima Sall
Executive Secretary
CODESRIA
Dakar

and gender. CODESRIA was one of the co-organising institutions, and was represented at the conference by Professor Fatima Harrak, immediate past President of CODESRIA, and I. Ahead of the conference, a selection of the conference papers were published in a book titled **Bandung at 60: New Insights and Emerging Forces** edited by Darwis Khoduri. CODESRIA is one of the co-publishers, and the book was launched at the conference.

The conference was held at three venues: (i) at the LIPPI (the Indonesian Research Council) headquarters in Jakarta; (ii) in the same hall where the 1955 conference was held in Bandung; and (iii) at Trisakti University in Jakarta.

The discussions were scholarly, but sometimes took on a militant tone, partly because of the participation of activists in the conference. This mix of academic and activist perspectives is also reflected in the framing of the declaration that was issued at the end.

The conclusions reached and the decisions taken include the following:

- The need to keep the Bandung Spirit alive and well, building on the rich heritage of the many years of struggles of the peoples of the South, while promoting an under-

standing of the spirit in today's terms: as a quest for emancipation for the peoples of the Global South, and an aspiration for global transformation towards global justice and, in the words of Manoranjan Mohanty (who was at the conference), a Global Swaraj ; it is the same spirit that led to, and has, over the years been driving the World Social Forums and struggles for freedom and for a better world; it is also the spirit behind the creation of organisations and networks such as CODESRIA, CLASCO, and IDEAS;

- Bring Latin America and the Caribbean into the 'Bandung Movement', and explore possibilities for holding similar conferences in Latin America and Africa;
- Strengthen research and academic cooperation across the Global South within the framework of a Bandung Studies Programme.

A lot has changed in the world since the Asian-African conference was held in 1955. The Cold War is over. Colonialism in its crude forms has been abolished. But there are many old and new challenges, many new frontiers, and many battles to be fought at all levels – from the very local to the global. The "Bandung Spirit" must therefore stay alive and well. The Bandung+60 Declaration speaks to some of the contemporary challenges that the peoples of the Global South are facing (which include the global inequalities of power and the ecological challenges), and calls for Asian-African-Latin American solidarity.

World Social Science Forum 2015: Transforming Global Relations for a Just World

The Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) and the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) co-hosted the third World Social Science Forum (WSSF) which took place in Durban, South Africa, in September 2015. The WSSF is a global event of the International Social Science Council (ISSC) that brings together researchers and stakeholders in international social science co-operation to address current topical global issues and future priorities for international social science. The Forum promotes innovative and cross-disciplinary work, cross-science collaborations in the natural and human sciences, and engagement with donors and decision makers in the science community worldwide. While delivering the closing remarks at the occasion, Dzodzi Tsikata, President of CODESRIA's Executive Committee emphasized the need for the social sciences to produce knowledge which can be used by different constituencies - policy makers, business, social movements and the general public to strive for a more just world.

The closing remarks is presented here in full

Dear colleagues and fellow participants,

After four remarkable days of excellent presentations, the sharing of ideas and important debates on one of the most serious challenges of our time, there is not much left to say except to say thank you and to call on all of us to act. I hope you are leaving here inspired and rejuvenated to re-examine your research, policy and advocacy agendas and have begun to ask new questions about the rising inequalities between and within countries and regions of the world.

It is gratifying that the problem of inequalities is taking centre stage once again, after many decades on the sidelines of social science research when poverty took the centre stage and became a proxy for inequalities. In prioritising inequalities at this forum, this community of social sciences is responding to

Dzodzi Tsikata
President CODESRIA
Dakar

longstanding and increasingly urgent concerns within the policy space and the wider society that inequalities constitute a huge threat to peace and democracy as well as to sustainable development. For CODESRIA, this reaffirms our firm belief that the social sciences should be proactive in producing knowledge which addresses some of the most fundamental problems of our times, while remaining rigorous autonomous and not ensnared in the service of the powers that be.

The decision to hold this forum in South Africa, in the city of Durban has been inspired. It enabled researchers, policy makers and activists from across the world to get a feel of a country whose citizens engaged in a sustained and inspiring struggle against inequalities and prevailed. While the struggle for a just society is still not fully won, South Africa offers the example of what is possible when people organise to overthrow an entrenched system of inequalities in order to restore the citizenship rights and the dignity of the majority. Being here has reminded us of the importance of social movements in the fight for a more equal world. It enables us to interrogate the positioning and demands of different social actors in the quest for a just society. All over the world, young people, women's movements, workers movements and a range of new social movements are leading struggles for a better world, and our research going forward needs to account for these.

Many questions raised by the papers presented and the discussions that have followed at this conference are building blocks of a broad and solid research agenda on inequalities. For example, we spent several sessions discussing the nature of global inequalities in the economic, social and political domains, and several speakers have drawn

attention to the fact that these global inequalities are deeply implicated in intra-country inequalities. Going forward, we need to examine more closely the inter-linkages and relationships between global and in-country inequalities. This would make it possible to advance both academic and policy debates beyond whether to blame endogenous or exogenous factors for the rising inequalities.

Questions have also been raised about the measurement of inequalities and which indicators bring us to a better understanding of the multifaceted character of inequalities, its structural elements and its drivers, and take us beyond a narrow focus on economic inequalities. A dimension of accounting for inequalities is the question of whether we should be concerned about inequalities of opportunities or inequalities of outcomes. Given that some indicators e.g. access to education and access to land, are both opportunities and outcomes, a forward looking social science would take inequalities both in opportunities and outcomes seriously.

One uncontroversial issue is the importance of inter-disciplinary work which addresses the different domains of inequalities and their interconnections. It came up in different ways- from the excellent plenaries and parallel sessions which involved conversations among different disciplines, direct calls for the inclusion of different disciplinary perspectives in future work on inequalities, and the celebration of the life and work of Arthur Lewis, the Caribbean economist, whose remarkable achievements demonstrated clearly the importance of taking cognisance of different disciplinary perspectives and also going beyond economic issues in understanding the challenges of development. In any case, gender and women's studies and feminist scholars have long demonstrated the value of inter-disciplinary research. Their longstanding focus on understanding and interrogating the intersections of social relations and their deep understanding of power relations

and inequalities offer many insights to the social sciences into how best to approach the study of inequalities, but also how to ensure the relevance to research of different constituencies. The social science community has much to learn from paying attention to the work of this constituency.

Going forward, our research agendas should therefore take cognisance of not only the range and complexities of the inequalities we have identified, but also interrogate policy efforts and activism to address these. As well, new developments in the policy space require our attention. The recent inclusion of inequalities as a stand-alone goal in the SDGs, the adoption of Agenda 2063, the AU's ambitious programme of structural transformation and regional integration are just two examples. The social sciences need to produce knowledge which can be used by different constituencies-policy makers, business, social movements and the general public to strive for a more just world.

Each of us should participate to the best of our abilities and inclinations, and join

with others to enlarge our efforts. In this regard, our organisations such as CODESRIA, the HSRC and the ISSC should deepen their collaborations with others across the globe to provide the solidarity and the space to strengthen the social sciences. In doing this, we should continue to address the inequalities and hierarchies in knowledge production and the control of knowledge dissemination within the social sciences themselves. Only then can we prove equal to the task of participating in the transformation of unequal relationships at all levels of levels- national, regional and global.

Before I take my seat, I would like to say express on behalf of CODESRIA, our profound gratitude to the Forum chair, Professor Olive Shisana, and to the dynamic staff at HSRC who hosted us and were responsible for execution of WSSF 2015. Together, they delivered a well-organised and innovative programme which ensured that conversations took place between the different constituencies who have a stake in the building of a just and prosperous world. I also would like to express our deep gratitude to the chairs

of various committees and their members- Prof Shisana, chair of the executive and programme committees, Prof. Vasu Reddy, chair of the local organising committee, Ms Bridgitte Prince, chair of the scholarship committee, Profs. Adebayo Olukoshi and Jayati Ghosh, co-chairs of the scientific and abstract review committees, and Dr. Temba Masilela, chair of the logistics committee. I also want to thank the incoming head of the HSRC, Crain Soudein, and the ISSC President and its current and former executive directors, and the entire board and secretariat, particularly Heidi Hackman, Vivi Stavrou and Mathieu Denis. I want to acknowledge the years of hard work of these committees which came to fruition in the last four days.

I would also like to thank all those who supported the WSSF in diverse ways, particularly SIDA, NORAD and DANIDA.

Finally I want to wish the organisers of the next WSSF success and urge all of us to continue participating actively in the planning and execution of future WSSF.

Thank you.



Declaration of the 3rd World Social Science Forum

16 September 2015

Hosted in Durban, South Africa, the World Social Science Forum 2015 took place against the backdrop of multiple transitions that affect global governance, resource utilisation, social relations and quality of life leading to increased global inequalities. The Forum is the most significant gathering of scholars and policy-oriented intellectuals drawn from all the regions of the world and across different disciplinary interests in the social sciences and humanities.

It serves as a platform for presenting new knowledge and insights, re-thinking received wisdom, charting new directions, promoting innovation in the research-policy-action nexus, and nurturing new international partnerships.

Issues of justice and growing inequalities at global, regional, national and local levels and their impact on the quality of life of populations as well as on the sustainability of resources justifies the theme for the 2015 World Social Science Forum "Transforming Global Relations for a Just World". The theme built upon critical issues that permeated debates during both the 2009 and 2013 editions of the Forum which focused respectively on the themes "One Planet – Worlds Apart" (2009) and "Social Transformations and the Digital Age" (2013) and addressed issues of power asymmetries, injustices, disparities, disjunctions and the divide that pervaded contemporary global realities.

Organized by the International Social Science Council together with the co-hosts – the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) and the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) under the patronage of UNESCO – the Forum shone a spotlight on the nature and dimensions of injustice and inequality, including:

1. Macroeconomic policy choices and their impact;
2. The extent and consequences of income and asset inequalities;
3. Inequity in global governance, where the views of the majority of states are excluded in making major decisions regarding global affairs in various institutions and fora;
4. Agreed international legal instruments that uphold human rights are not fully implemented;
5. The impact of inequality in terms of patterns of production and consumption influencing the sustainability of resources;
6. The impact of gender, race and class inequalities, as manifested in unequal access to education, health, resources, employment and other social benefits;
7. Generational inequalities that exclude a majority of the youth and the elderly;
8. Wage inequalities and labour unrest;
9. Poverty and experiments in combating inequality; and
10. Lessons learned from the action of social movements, civil society, and governments, as well as policies, programs, and best practices.

Over 1000 people from 84 countries came together in Durban, South Africa to share their experiences on research undertaken in the areas of injustice and inequality and to analyse the impact of these scourges. The Forum brought together leading thinkers and policy makers from around the globe with the objective of furthering collective understandings of inequalities for the purpose of addressing injustice. Participants addressed the trends, magnitude, nature, causes, manifestations and drivers of inequalities and injustices. This encompassed not just issues such as access to basic services including water, sanitation, health, education, and housing, relations among peoples, and overall quality of life, but also the national and international processes that generate inequality. The Forum provided a platform for seeking solutions to and effective strategies for these injustices and sharing experiences among people from the different countries. The Forum also enabled participants to witness local manifestations of inequality in Durban, South Africa as well as the efforts of non-governmental and community based organizations to address injustice and inequality. Participants learned and shared lessons that can be adapted to different settings.

Inspired by this experience, we, the participants of the 2015 World Social Science Forum held on the 13-16 of September, 2015 in Durban, South Africa under the theme of "Transforming Global Relations for a Just World," are concerned with the consequences of injustice and inequality for the quality of life for global populations as well as with the sustainability of global resources. As a result, we declare that we shall:

- (a) Pursue theoretical and empirical research including development of reliable and multi-dimensional indicators on inequalities and injustices;
- (b) Produce evidence to highlight issues requiring urgent attention and action, support advocacy and inform policies to respond to them;
- (c) Support efforts to address asymmetries, disparities, divides, and lack of autonomy in knowledge production through the creation of transformative knowledge programs;
- (d) Participate in programs and efforts that aim to end injustice and inequality;
- (e) Make every effort to reduce income inequalities and promote equity, starting with scientific institutions where we have influence;
- (f) Support measurable progress to overcome inequalities, including through the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals;
- (g) Promote policies, programs, and values that act to end gender inequality;
- (h) Promote the integration of youth in work places through providing them with the necessary skills to enter the labour force;

- (i) Support efforts to achieve legally binding and universal agreement on avoiding dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system; and
- (j) Promote inclusive societies based on universal values and human rights.

The World Social Science Forum and the World Social Science Report advances social science research and awareness of these issues.

We believe that together, bolstered by our social science knowledge, skill and power, we will contribute to end injustice and inequality globally, regionally and locally as well as in our own work and home spaces.

Sussex University Confers Honorary Degree on Professor Takiwaa Manuh, Former President of CODESRIA' Scientific Committee

Prof. Takiwaa Manuh, former Chair of the CODESRIA Scientific Committee (2009-2011), had an Honorary Doctor of Laws (LLD) conferred on her by the University of Sussex. Below is her acceptance speech:

Chancellor of the University of Sussex, Sanjeev Bhaskar,

The Vice Chancellor, Professor Richard Farthing,

Madam Mayor of Brighton and Hove,

Deputy Vice-Chancellor, Pro-Vice Chancellors,

Members of Convocation,

Graduands,

Parents,

Members of Family and friends who are here,

Distinguished Guests,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I have been delighted and honoured to join all of you at this graduation ceremony at the University of Sussex, and I am truly humbled by the honour done me by the university in conferring upon me an honorary doctor of laws degree in recognition (quote) 'of my contributions to the fields of law, gender and politics'.

Distinguished guests, inevitably on occasions such as this, one calls to mind the different individuals and groups who have contributed to one's progress over the years- family members, teachers, mentors, colleagues and friends and one's networks, both professional and social- and to thank them for their support, encouragement and belief in one's abilities to succeed.

In particular, I would like to thank my late parents, one self-educated, the other unlettered, but both utterly committed to educating all their many children, female and male. I recall my mother, rebuffing her father, an educated man, who complained about the seemingly never-ending levels of education that some of us daughters were entering- 'what would marriage do for them,' she parried? I also recall my father's pride as I left to pursue graduate education in Tanzania, and the support my parents afforded me when I left my young children behind, after



I became a single parent, to go, first to the US, and then to Colombia, on a United Nations University Fellowship. How I wish they could be here with us today, to watch me receive this honour, and to swell with pride!

Ladies and Gentlemen, in the part of the world where I was born, it was not at all a certainty some fifty-odd years ago when I attained school-going age that I would actually be enrolled in school, or remain in school and progress all the way to tertiary education and beyond. It is a testament to the progress that has occurred almost everywhere now that the right of girls to an education, skills and training, is almost uncontested and actually promoted, as we saw with the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) that are now ending, and reiterated in the successor and more ambitious Sustainable Development Goals that are set to come into place later this year.

But it is not only in the area of girls' education and women's rights that some progress has occurred, but also in the area of politics in Africa. There is now a general commitment to democratization and the rule of law to the extent that even autocratic governments which wish to remain in power want the veneer of democracy and try to extend their rule through elections, however stacked these may be.

And Africa has largely moved beyond 'the basket case' scenario described by the Economist magazine some years ago. It is recognized that several African countries are among the fastest growing economies in the world. However the challenge remains of translating these impressive growth rates into decent jobs and skills for the teeming populations of young people, of bridging the rising inequalities, and stemming the tide of some of the desperate migrations that we read about in the news almost every day.

Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, all these issues and more are currently being discussed at the Third International

Conference on Financing for Development (FfD), that opened yesterday in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, the city where I now live and work. That Conference has gathered over 7,000 delegates to deliberate on actions, strategies and commitments for financing sustainable development, protecting the environment, and promoting social inclusion for a fairer and more just world. But I am happier to be here with you all this week than in that conference with the heads of state and all the important personalities!

Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen, I cannot end my address without mentioning what the University of Sussex has meant to me over the years. Sussex calls to mind high teas- scones, clotted cream, strawberry jam, and tea- fish dinners, stimulating intellectual discussions with friends and colleagues, social justice and internationalism. I recall in particular, Anne Whitehead and her many years of field work in Ghana, and the work of Kate Young and her colleagues.

The IDS was one of the places I visited with British Council sponsorship as we were planning to establish our Women's Studies programme at the University of Ghana in the late 1980s, and more recently the IDS was the location for our Pathways of Women's Empowerment Research Project Consortium that grouped colleagues from Latin America, the Middle East, Asia, Europe and Africa, under the leadership of Andrea Cornwall, that has done exciting and comparative work on so many aspects of women's lives in our respective continents. The findings about the necessary and contingent conditions for women's

empowerment including both the agency of women themselves and their movements as well as the policy actions and resources that states need to commit, remain to be taken up, particularly in the post-2015 agenda.

Finally, I turn to you, graduands of today. You are entering a fast-changing and turbulent world. There are several uncertainties and challenges and you can take nothing for granted. But the world you are entering has also experienced significant progress, including in the areas I've described today.

So graduands, this is what I want for you:

- That today, you will use the technology available to you to post selfies of yourselves and your family and friends who have helped you achieve this milestone;
- That throughout your lives, technology can help you to engage with the world and build on the progress I've described today in women's rights, the rule of law, and democracy;
- That you continue to learn and seek knowledge after you leave Sussex.
- And that you take what you have learned here and what you learn since to make a difference.

Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, Distinguished Guests, I thank you all once again for the honour bestowed on me, and I look forward to my new association and status with the University of Sussex!

Academic Freedom Still Matters! The Case of Maati Monjib and Nuno Castel-Branco

In recent months, the African scientific community has been faced with two cases of serious violation of freedom of expression and academic freedom. The first one involved Carlos Nuno Castel-Branco, an economist, co-founder of the Institute of Social and Economic Studies (IESE) and professor at the University Eduardo Mondlane in Maputo, Mozambique. Professor Castel-Branco had to face criminal proceedings for alleged slander against the former president of Mozambique, Armando Guebuza, over a message that the scholar posted on his Facebook page on 4 November 2013, entitled "Letter to President of Mozambique". In his letter, Castel-Branco criticised some of the policies of the then President and contended that these policies were responsible for the multifaceted crisis in that country.

Although he was eventually discharged and acquitted by the court, Professor Castel-Branco's arraignment was a clear

Carlos Cardoso
CODESRIA

violation of his fundamental right to freedom of expression and raises new concerns about the issue of academic freedom in some parts of the African continent. The second case concerns the travel ban that was imposed on Professor Maati Monjib, a historian and member of CODESRIA's Scientific Committee by Moroccan authorities recently. Monjib, a political analyst and human rights activist, was a founding member of the 20 February Movement Support Council, which sought reform in Morocco during the Arab Spring. On 31 August 2015, on his return from Montpellier (France), he was unjustly detained by the authorities at Mohamed V Airport in Casablanca. This ugly episode was followed by a series of provocative acts deliberately perpetrated

by the police on his person. The Moroccan authorities also prevented him from travelling abroad in order to participate in a scientific activity, forcing Monjib to embark on a hunger strike to press for his rights. These two cases are not isolated cases. Certainly there are numerous similar events that have not come to the attention of CODESRIA or that were not made public due to limitations in the functioning of the press and also due to the repressive acts of intolerant government authorities in several countries in Africa.

For instance, on 17 March 2015 in Morocco, an investigative journalist, Hicham Mansouri, was imprisoned for 10 months while working on an article on state surveillance. Ibn Rochd Center for Studies and Communication, an organisation which focuses on the freedom of press, of thought and of expression, democracy and cultural development, was forced to shut down by Moroccan authorities. A similar organisation, Freedom Now –

Comité de protection de la liberté de la presse et d'expression au Maroc (Committee for the protection of freedom of the press and of expression in Morocco) was denied registration by the authorities.. These and other recent crack downs on individual journalists and human rights



Maati Monjib

activists show growing restrictions on freedom of expression in Morocco.

The frequency of executions perpetrated against members of the research community and universities on the continent, which contributes to the establishment of a climate of

"Every African intellectual shall enjoy the freedom of movement within his or her country and freedom to travel outside and re-enter the country without let, hindrance or harassment"

— Kampala Declaration

fear and restricts the development of a conducive atmosphere for productive academic and social life is worrying. These acts of repression stifle intellectual debate and make censorship a rule. The cases of Castel-Branco and Monjib may especially be taken as paradigmatic examples of what is happening in the academia and in African societies in general in terms of ensuring freedom of expres-

sion and academic freedom in particular.

With the wave of democratization that swept through several African countries in the early 90s and the improvement of citizen rights conditions that followed them, one would have thought that the time of persecution and the imposition of obstacles to the free exercise of freedom expression had passed. But the recent cases of violation of academic freedom, to which should be added the recent events that took place in South African universities, with students demanding for equal access to education and an end to racism in the delivery of higher education, leading to violent confrontations between students and authorities, are proof that the struggles for freedom of expression and academic freedom in particular must continue. Indeed, we may argue that there is an intrinsic connection between academic freedom and the global emancipatory struggles of citizens.

In the cases involving Castel-Branco and Monjib, we are dealing with high-level academics whose voice is likely to influence the critical positioning of citizens about the public acts and the fight for freedom of expression in their countries. Beside his position of an Associate Professor in Economic Development and Industrialization at the University Eduardo Mondlane, Carlos Nuno Castel-Branco is Research Associate, Department of Development Studies at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London and Senior Research Fellow at the Institute for Development Policy and Management (IDPM), University of Manchester. His areas of interest include economic growth policy, economic transformation and social system of capital accumulation in Mozambique and

Sub-Saharan Africa. He is a member of the Mozambican Association of Economists (AMECON) and Mozambican Academy of Sciences.

Apart from being a professor and journalist, Maata Monjib is also a university re-



Nuno Castel-Branco

searcher, human rights activist and president of *Freedom Now*. He has facilitated various debates between Islamists and secular activists in Morocco. He has also instituted a prize for investigative journalism Prize in Morocco. He is also founder and director of the Ibn Rochd Center for Studies and Communication in Morocco.

It is important to reiterate that the practice of the research profession is inseparable from the exercise of free and critical thinking. The right to do research is a right which is recognized by fundamental law. Also, the right to freely communicate research findings is an inalienable right which cannot be separated from the right of citizens to freely express their views on current topics of national interest.

In this context two articles of the Kampala Declaration are worth mentioning. These are the article 3, which states that "no intellectual shall in any way be persecuted, harassed or intimidated for reasons only of his intellectual work or opinions" and the article that states that "every African intellectual shall enjoy the freedom of movement within his or her country and freedom to travel outside and re-enter the country without let, hindrance or harassment" (Kampala Declaration, CODESRIA, Dakar, 1995).

"No intellectual shall in any way be persecuted, harassed or intimidated for reasons only of his intellectual work or opinions"

— Kampala Declaration



CODESRIA Book Series

Land in the Struggles for Citizenship in Africa

Le foncier dans les luttes pour la citoyenneté en Afrique

The variety of land questions facing Africa and the divergent strategies proposed to resolve them continue to evoke debates, increasingly, in response to the underlying problems of land tenure, there are land movements of all shapes and orientations, some informal and others quite revolutionary in their agenda. However revolutionary, land movements have tended to ignore the land tenure interests of women, pastoralists, youth and indigenous people. Several of these longstanding and emerging issues in land tenure include the role of the state in land tenure reform, urban land questions, the nature of land struggles and movements, and, the impact of land tenure developments on particular social groups and countries. An overarching concern is the extent to which land rights are being commodified, through the conversion of land held under customary tenure systems, into marketised systems. The consequences of this include growing land concentration, land tenure inequalities, diminishing access to land by various sections of society, including the poor, women and less dominant ethnic-religious groups.

This volume brings together different studies on Africa's land questions, exploring emerging land issues on the continent in terms of the wider questions of development, citizenship, and democratisation. The chapters discuss the land question through a variety of themes. Some focus on the agrarian aspects of the land question, while others elucidate the urban dimensions of the land question.

Sam Moyo is Executive Director of the African Institute for Agrarian Studies (AIAS) in Harare, Zimbabwe, and serves as Editor-in-Chief of an international journal on agrarian studies. He is former President of the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA). Prof S. Moyo holds a Ph.D. in Rural Development and Environmental Management from University of Northumbria, United Kingdom.

Dzodzi Tsikata is Associate Professor at the Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research (ISSSER) at the University of Ghana. Her research is in the areas of gender and development policies and practices, land tenure reform and large-scale commercial land deals, and informal labour conditions.

Yakham Diop holds a Ph.D. in Geography from the University of Paris 8 Nanterre in 1998, is the Ambassador of Senegal in the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire, is an Assistant Professor at the Department of Geography of Université Cheikh Anta Diop de Dakar et responsable du Master « Aménagement et Développement en Afrique » (ADUA). Spécialisée de la géographie urbaine, économique et régionale, il participe à l'enseignement de nombreux étudiants en France.



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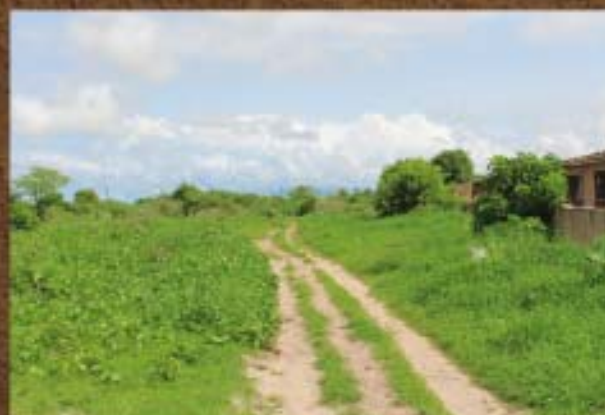
Land in the Struggles for Citizenship in Africa
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CODESRIA Book Series

Gender

in the Construction of the Democratic Developmental State

Awakes about globalisation and neo-liberalism have led to the development of a number of reconstructive strategies aimed at strengthening the form in which democracy is exercised. However, such strategies continue to neglect legitimate concerns about the marginalization of women, thus raising the spectre of replicating past exclusions on a grand scale. Most policies and projects in Africa have been 'gender blind' and have failed to appreciate the different roles, needs and constraints of men and women. Such policies and projects have failed to meet their goals when women's contributions at both household and project level are overlooked, their need for economic incentives are misunderstood and resources relevant to their productivity are misdirected to men.

Gender issues are truly challenging and, to attain gendered political institutions, women issues must be posed in a democratic manner, in both their specificity and in their connection to the general contradiction of society. Persistent exclusion of women from formal politics requires reform of democratic institutions, since these institutions are not automatically gender-equitable.

This volume, among other things, debates whether gender considerations in democracy will positively impact the possibility of a developmental state in Africa or will have no effect at all. The volume concludes that development should not be seen within the constricted confines of economic growth and wealth creation which can impact negatively on issues of equity and livelihoods, leading to the exacerbation of the feminisation of poverty.

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Gender in the Construction of the Democratic Developmental State

Edited by
Susanna Yene Awasom
Irene Pogson



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Debates

Trends and Issues in the Social Sciences and Humanities in Africa

Keynote Lecture delivered at the National Dissertations Workshop Organised by the National Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences (NIHSS) of South Africa Johannesburg, 29-30 July 2015

- Dr Sarah Motsoetsa, CEO of NIHSS
- Professor Sitas and Dear Brother
- My Brother Professor Adam Habib
- Professor Nhlanhla Mkhize, Chairperson of SAHUDA
- My Friends Profs Gillian Hart, David Dzanton, Fred Hendricks, Jide Oloyode, Hennie Kotze, and Darlene Miller
- NIHSS Programme Directors Nthabiseng Motseme and Yolanda Davids
- Colleagues,

I would like to begin by congratulating Prof. Sitas and Dr Motsoetsa for not only having done the excellent job of leading the consultations that led to the adoption of the Charter for Humanities and Social Sciences, but also for the establishment of NIHSS, which is a direct result of the earlier work on the Charter.

I would also like to thank you for inviting CODESRIA to be a partner in the African Pathways Project. This workshop is another important milestone in the advancement of the social sciences and humanities in our continent, and in the collaboration between NIHSS, CODESRIA and SAHUDA.

It is therefore both an honour and a privilege for me to be here today, and to speak to this important gathering.

The topic that was chosen for me is: *The State of the Social Sciences and Humanities in Africa*. That is a very broad topic. So, I asked myself what would be the best way of speaking about the state of the social sciences and humanities in Africa to an audience of great scholars, and hundreds of doctoral students who are aspiring to become great scholars in the social sciences and humanities.

Ebrima Sall
CODESRIA, Dakar

The SSH: Trends and Issues

Fifteen years ago, I wrote a working paper on *The Social Sciences in Africa: Trends, Issues, Capacities and Constraints* that was published by the New York Based *Social Science Research Council* (SSRC). The paper was my contribution to an ambitious project aimed at "*Mapping Human Capital Globally*", which was, in fact, an attempt to review the state of the social sciences around the world through a series of studies on Asia, Europe, the Middle East, the Americas, etc. and I did the review of the social sciences in Africa.

In that working paper, I looked at four sets of issues; and will look at the same issues in this presentation, because they still are among the key issues to consider in any serious review of the state of the social sciences and humanities. The issues are the following:

- i) The institutional base for knowledge production in Africa and how it has been evolving, with different generations of institutions and the diversification of institutional types and modes (from what were in the early sixties just a few 'traditional' universities that were almost all public universities, and almost all contact universities—the main exception being UNISA), to the many hundreds – that are now thousands – of public and private higher education institutions (HEIs) of all shapes and kinds, many of which are engaged in mixed modes of delivery, and have not only contact students, but also distance learners; etc. particularly

with the revolution in the ICTs, and the formidable advancement of internationalisation: virtual universities, off-shore campuses; public and private institutes, centres and laboratories; etc. The diversification of sites of knowledge production was just overwhelming. Today, barely 15 years after I completed the study, the complexity of the institutional landscape has become much greater than anybody could imagine at the time. What Zeleza called the "six Cs" – corporatisation of management, collectivisation of access, commercialisation of learning, commodification of knowledge, computerisation of education, and connectivity of institutions – have reached enormous levels (Zeleza 2004). Many of these changes are global, but with a particular meaning for scholarship in Africa that we need to fully understand.

- ii) The second set of issues had to do with the social science disciplines: those considered to be the core disciplines of the social sciences and humanities (sociology, political science, anthropology, history, economics, etc.), as well as the multidisciplinary fields of study: cultural studies, human rights studies, conflict and peace studies, gender studies, development studies, etc. The modes of institutionalisation of these disciplines in the academy are interesting to note. The fragmentation of the disciplines and fields into sub-disciplines and sub-fields in the name of specialisation is also fascinating; under the dominant neoliberal context – neoliberal globalisation – the development of a market logic in the social sciences (some call it the "marketization of the social sciences"; see Burawoy's review of the Gulbenkian Commission report

Opening the Social Sciences; Burawoy XXX), has both increased the fragmentation of the social sciences and humanities, and brought about changes in the ranking of the disciplines and fields of study, and changes in the criteria for determining even what is HE, or SSH research of high quality, and what is not. The Gulbenkian Commission, set up by a Portuguese foundation, the Calyxte Gulbenkian Foundation, was led by Immanuel Wallerstein, and had among its members a linguist (Valentin Mudimbe, a physics Nobel laureate (Ilya Prigogine), etc. was truly multidisciplinary and its task was to review the social sciences globally and identify trends. In its report the Commission argued that the future of the social sciences is in their further opening. This was in the mid-nineties of the last century. Ten years later, Burawoy, in his review argued that what actually happened was not the further opening of the social sciences, but their increased fragmentation as a result of their marketization: in the name of specialization, many new fields, sub-fields and sub-disciplines have emerged, thus increasing the boundaries and what I would call 'enclosures' within the social sciences. These days, 'relevance' – market, or policy-relevance – is often used to determine 'quality', and set priorities. The major trends also include the rise to prominence of the disciplines that seem to have greater market value and produce more marketable skills, students and other kinds of products, such as the STEM/STEAM; and MODE II (Giddens) type knowledges, and the neglect of the "public good" in HE and research (Singh; Sawyerr). Disciplines like history experienced great difficulties – CODESRIA actually launched an "SOS African History" initiative to support the discipline. These changes are also global, but with a particular meaning for scholarship in Africa that we need to fully understand.

iii) The third set of issues I looked at was related to the scholars themselves, particularly those in the human and social sciences. In a paper published in CODESRIA Bulletin in 1995, Thandika Mkandawire, a former executive secretary of CODESRIA, identified "Three Generations of

African Scholars" (see Mkandawire 1995; Mkandawire 1997). I think we can now talk about four or five generations. From the generations that studied or did their research under conditions of colonialism, or the Cold War, or apartheid, to the generations of the age of the internet and of neoliberal globalisation, there are great differences: the historical experiences are different; the worldviews are different; the issues facing the societies in which they are evolving are different; the ways data collection and research, teaching, publishing, even conferencing are done have all changed (NB we now have not only Skype conferences, but also "webinars", etc.). The MOOCS are another good example of the changed ways; these changes are global, but with a particular meaning for scholarship in Africa that we need to fully understand.

iv) The fourth and last set of issues I looked at are the research themes that we have been taking up, and the debates in the social sciences and humanities that we have been having in Africa. I give a few examples:

a. Decolonizing the social sciences and humanities; i.e. the need to transform what Mudimbe calls the "colonial library" – that has not only African, but also Oriental and Latin American variants (see the Said's *Orientalism*; and Dussel's *The Invention of the Americas*, published 12 years before Said's *Orientalism* but dealing with the very same issues). The colonial library side-lined the other libraries that preceded it (Kane). As was noted in a conference that CODESRIA organised with Point Sud in January 2013, the 'colonial library' also covered many more aspects of life than texts and ways of knowing. It was in fact pervasive, for it shaped African music, dances, bodily expressions, etc. The colonial library, I would argue, has also metamorphosed into a larger 'imperial' library that lives to this day. The transformation of the colonial library is therefore just a first step towards the transformation of the larger "imperial library", and the transformation of the global epistemological order (Zezeza 2004). The great African leader Amilcar

Cabral used to say that "we need to think with our own heads, in the context of our own realities". Put differently, we need to look at social reality in our own societies and in the world around us with our own eyes, using our own lenses, rather than using the conceptual and theoretical frameworks or lenses we borrowed from Europe. We need to look at the world from where we are, rather than trying to look at the world from where other people are.

b. The challenge of autonomy has been and still is a major challenge for the social sciences and humanities in Africa (Adesina xxx; Sall and Ouedraogo 2012); the independence of the mind is a pre-condition for the independence of the nation and the continent. Thabo Mbeki, former president of South Africa, in his attempts to promote African Renaissance, called for the rebuilding of Carthage which, he argued, was a metaphor for African independence. I think we must also rebuild Timbuktu, the metaphor of African intellectual triumph. The parallels between Carthage and Timbuktu are interesting to note. As Mbeki reminded us, for 150 years, every Roman emperor set himself as a primary task the conquest of Carthage, in what is present day Tunisia; because Carthage was flourishing and competing Rome for 'global' prominence. In the end, one of the Roman emperors succeeded in conquering Carthage. Timbuktu, in the 15th and 16th centuries, i.e. several centuries after the fall of Carthage, also became a prominent centre of scholarship that attracted scholars from far and near, until it was invaded by Morocco and its greatest intellectuals like Ahmed Baba were deported to Morocco (see *The Meanings of Timbuktu* edited by Jeppie and Diagne; and Kane's *Non-Europhone Intellectuals*).

c. Our own identity and our history – the debates about ethnicity and nationhood, and those on 'Africanness' involving Mafeje and others, and those about "African modes of self-writing" (Mbembe), are good illustrations. So are the debates on ethnic and national identities, and the attempts to re-write our histories (as part of the decolonisation of our past.

The need to re-write history was also felt after the Rwandan genocide, and after apartheid). There is a "General History of Senegal" that is also currently being written, following the UNESCO General History of Africa. Dominant historical paradigms are being challenged in many of these cases, using and recognising as legitimate a whole range of new sources and methods of inquiry, and re-framing dominant narratives. This struggle over identities and for the reclaiming of our pasts and futures has actually been going on for a long time, and have been central to the work of almost all the great pan African intellectuals such as Cheikh Anta Diop.

Other themes and issues explored include the following:

- i) The emancipation and independence of Africa, and liberation from apartheid
- ii) The transformation and development of African economies and societies
- iii) Crises and structural adjustment
- iv) Politics and Governance in Africa, and the challenges of building inclusive, democratic and developmental states and governance systems on our continent
- v) Regional integration
- vi) Environmental change
- vii) The Health challenges – maternal and infant mortality; HIV/AIDs, malaria; today we also talk about EVD (Ebola)
- viii) Education, and HE
- ix) Youth and youth cultures
- x) Gender
- xi) Globalisation; the BRICS; etc.

And so forth and so on. The list is long. Colleagues, and friends, I can take each one of these sets of issues and demonstrate that most of the trends I observed 15 years ago are still unfolding. If anything, they have become more complex, but they still exist.

The points I want to make are the following:

- i) The factors that have a role in determining the state of the social sciences and humanities in Africa are many and varied.
- ii) The criteria for assessing the social sciences and humanities to determine

whether they are 'healthy' or not are also of different kinds; one can use the bibliometric data, or the citation indexes, most of which are developed in the North, to count the number of articles in what are considered to be the only "international peer reviewed / referred journals" (a category from which journals produced by scholars in Africa are often excluded); etc. etc. and come to the obvious conclusion that in global terms, Africa hosts very few international journals, produces very little, all disciplines combined; and among the disciplines, the SSH produce even less; African universities are not ranked very highly, whether it is in the Shanghai rankings or in other global rankings. Our think tanks are also not ranked very highly (see the annual GOTO Global Think Tank Reports published by the Think Tanks and Civil Society Program of the University of Pennsylvania). Within Africa, the real 'scientific countries' are South Africa, followed by Nigeria, Egypt, and Kenya. There is certainly great value in these rankings and citation indexes. But the stories they tell are very partial. They also tend to mirror the inequalities of power at the global level (see WSSR 2010, on "Knowledge Divides").

- iii) More important: the exercise itself, i.e. determining the state of the social sciences and humanities, whether it is in Africa or elsewhere, is not a neutral or value free exercise. For instance, African scholars have demonstrated through our research that SAP was very problematic and was not likely to lead to the positive transformation of African economies, societies or politics, and came up with serious criticisms of the Structural adjustment policies imposed by the Bretton Woods institutions (WB and IMF) on the world 20 years before former senior officials of the Bank came round to admitting that there were problems with SAP. Africans continued debating SAP and its effects long after SAP had ceased to be seen by scholars else-where as an important subject of scholarly debates. As a matter of fact, for many mainstream economists and political scientists, there was nothing wrong with the Bank's policies or those of

the IMF: the problems were said to be with us and with our economies. I don't think that today the Greeks would agree with such views that are also expressed by social scientists, including African social scientists. These days, the scholars who dare to challenge the dominant discourses about the private sector or about the market, or about globalisation are in the minority.

Therefore the epistemological issues and the methodological issues are as important in the assessment of the state of the social sciences in Africa as they are to the research and writing of the doctoral dissertations that you are working on or about to embark upon.

These are some of the reasons that led to the creation of a pan African social science research council called CODESRIA, so as to promote social science research and research based publishing in Africa.

CODESRIA is also interested in developing an African indexation system. The reasons are the same as those that made CODESRIA engage in publishing journals, including a journal of social science methodology (with Ouedraogo and Hendricks as editors), and an Africa Review of Books, an African Sociological Review (Jide and Fred present here have been lead editors of that review), etc.

That is also why CODESRIA is investing in the nurturing of new generations of scholars and collaborating with NIHSS in a great project like the African pathways Project.

Therefore, what I would do in what is left of the time allocated to me is to review some of the major trends and issues in the social sciences and humanities in today's Africa, with particular reference to the CODESRIA experience.

As we speak, CODESRIA itself is engaged in two processes:

- i) a comprehensive internal review that includes a review of its intellectual agenda and
- ii) preparations for a meeting to review and plan for the further advancement of the CODESRIA African Humanities Programme to be held in Accra on 28-29 August.

CODESRIA and Where the Social Sciences Seem to be Going

A good way of getting to know where the social sciences and humanities (SSH) in Africa are is to look at Africa's problems and the problems of today's world and see how the SSH are addressing them. The SSH are concerned with society and social relations. The major challenges facing our societies, our continent, and our world at each given moment therefore tend to become the subjects of research and debates in the SSH. Colonialism, decolonisation, nation/state building, pan Africanism; apartheid, post-apartheid transformation, development, democratisation; climate change, globalisation, conflict, what Wole Soyinka calls the 'new imperialisms' (Soyinka 2009), or the "liberated zones and spaces" (Micere Mugo); or the ITCs revolution, and so forth and so on.

One major complicating factor is the fact that the world and the societies we live in are unequal, and those inequalities have found their way into the world of knowledge production itself. The social and global divides are mirrored by knowledge divides. The power relations at the global and country levels tend to shape and be shaped by knowledges of various kinds, produced in different locations. Euro-American domination of Africa and other regions of the world goes hand – in – hand with the dominant position that the Euro-American academy occupies in the global intellectual community. Put differently, the global epistemological order tends to mirror the global order. The transformation of the epistemological order is therefore seen by many as an integral part, if not a pre-condition for the transformation of the global order.

It is therefore not by mere chance that the theme chosen for the third World Social Science Forum in Durban (to be jointly hosted by HSRC, CODESRIA and the ISSC, in September 2015) is: "Transforming Global Relations for a Just World".

The SSH in Africa have been and still are engaged in that battle, a battle that was at first aimed at decolonising the SSH and transforming what Mudimbe calls the colonial library, that is similar to the battle against what Edward Said called 'orientalism' – and we know from a recent article by Farid Alatas of the National University of Singapore that orientalism is still a

major problem in Asian scholarship, as indigenous and endogenous intellectual production is still largely overlooked as scholars tend to give pre-eminence to Western scholars and scholarship (Alatas 2015).

Indeed, as the mechanisms of domination reproduce themselves and metamorphose into new forms, so do the concepts and theories that inform them. The question is whether we in Africa in particular, and in the global South, have been keeping up with the evolution of not only the forms and mechanisms of foreign domination, but also other forms of domination within our own societies, and whether we have been able to interrogate the concepts and theories that we use to produce knowledge. My good brother Professor Vusi Gumede put it nicely in one of his interventions at a recent conference he co-hosted at UNISA: "have we been able to look at our societies and the world around us from where we are and not from where other people are"? (Gumede 2015 – paraphrasing Cabral's famous quote: We must "think with our own heads, in the context of our own realities".

I go back to the first question I asked: how have the SSH been addressing the problems of Africa and the world of today?

I think it no longer is a question of whether or not we are, in Africa, researching the issues that are high on the national, regional and global policy agendas, such as poverty, inequality, global warming, regional integration, post-apartheid transformation etc. Because there is a lot of work being done on all those issues.

There are, however, a few exceptions; a couple of issues that we are yet to take up as fully as we ought to be doing, such as the study of representations of the future in our continent (e.g. the whole debate about the African Union's *Agenda 2063*). At the 14th General Assembly of CODESRIA – and the scientific conference of the CODESRIA General Assembly is a good barometer for getting a sense of where the SSH are in Africa, particularly with regard to issues related to the theme of the conference – some of the most highly respected scholars of this continent argued that the business of social science is not to engage in what one of them called 'star-gazing'; i.e. trying to predict what the future holds. The best thing we could do, it was further argued, is to "historicize the present". Now, these

colleagues for whom we have enormous respect, obviously do not consider futures studies as a field in which the social sciences should venture.

Yet prospective or futures studies is a whole field of study that is well recognised as a legitimate field of study that is now well – institutionalised in universities in Europe and North America. But that is a very under-developed field in Africa where the African Futures Institute of UNISA is among the very few such institutes in Africa (Al Ahram Strategic Studies Centre also has a focus on futures).

In this year's edition of the annual CODESRIA Governance Institute that began in Dakar two days ago, the director, Abdallah Cisse, who is a lawyer by training and has been dean of the law faculty of Gaston Berger University for many years, is working hard to introduce participants to prospective analysis. The theme is "Cybersecurity, Sovereignty, and Governance in Africa". His argument is that in matters related to cybersecurity, the books and journal articles on those issues are often outdated by the time they are published, because the changes are extremely rapid. More fundamentally, he argued, a society that is not capable of imagining a future for itself is a society that has no future. Or at best it will have its future determined for it by others. And we have many people and institutions that may or may not be well – meaning who are offering us 'advice' about how to understand China's role in Africa, how to manage our economies etc.

The time of politics, as Aminata Diaw Cisse, a colleague of mine often argues, is not the present but the future, because it is about anticipating what could happen, and planning where that is possible. Part of the problem we have in Africa is that managing emergencies seem to occupy the best part of the time of our policy makers. Souleymane Bachir Diagne has also argued that a prospective approach and what he calls a "political culture of time" are indispensable for development (see Diagne 2005; Diagne 2013 Diagne 2014; and Diagne 2015). Diagne is a philosopher who has been a member of the EC of CODESRIA for six years, after which he became the chair of the scientific committee for five years, part of which time Archie Mafeje was a member of the same Scientific Committee.

It is however important to note that there is a major difference between the Social sciences and the humanities when it comes to discourses on, and representations of the future. Just one illustration: in the early nineties, Ama Ata Aidoo, a great writer from Ghana, wrote a story titled "*She-Who-Would-Be-King*", that is about a ten-year old girl who said she would like to be the president of her country when she grows old, but was told that the men won't allow that. 50 years later, her daughter was elected the first president of the newly formed Confederation of African States – sort of realization of Nkrumah's United States of Africa. This is in 2026. The men, who were amazed, said the president of the whole of Africa cannot be a president, it must be a king. And because it is a woman who has been elected president of Africa, then she must be a "She-King" (see Adam et al.). Kofi Anyidoho argues in an article on Ghanaian literature and pan Africanism that Ama Ata Aidoo is among many other writers discussing the future.

The social sciences in Africa are therefore far behind the humanities in that regard.

Another area where the SSH in Africa are also not really engaged is area studies in Africa; i.e. in the study of other regions – not "African studies", but the study of other regions of the world from where we are in Africa: there are extremely few research centers and institutes in Africa that specialize in the study of other regions of the world. We therefore are not producing knowledge on or about the trade and other partners and competitors of Africa. At a conference on China-Africa relations that CODESRIA in 2011 in Nairobi, one colleague presented a review of 900 more or less recent publications on China-Africa relations and the review showed that only 7 per cent of the publications were produced in Africa! This means that the bulk of the knowledge informing policies on China-Africa relations are produced outside of Africa. The situation is changing, but very slowly, as more Chinese studies centers and programmes are being established, and Asian studies in Africa are beginning to get organised (there will be an Asian Studies in Africa conference in Accra in September 2015). However, until today, we have almost serious no French studies, British studies, European studies, American studies, or Latin American and Caribbean studies centers in Africa (Sall 2013).

Therefore if, with a few exceptions, we now are researching and debating almost all issues, the key question then really is that of the extent to which our work is driven by conceptual frameworks that speak to African concerns and to African agency (the concepts of 'afrocentricity' and of 'epistemologies of the South' are to be examined in respect to these concerns). Also important is the extent to which our scholarship speaks to the class and equity issues.

The notion of epistemologies of the South raises the issue of the transformative nature of our scholarship, particularly in the social sciences and humanities. What we have called "Command science" (*la science du commandement*; Sall and Ouedraogo 2012), should not be allowed to completely side-line the science that problematizes conventional wisdom or echoes and amplifies the voices or the voiceless.

Furthermore, it has now become extremely difficult to differentiate agency literature from academic literature, both because the big agencies (development banks and organizations, etc) are producing so much and effectively disseminating their production and pushing hard for the adoption of their perspectives on issues, but also because they employ scholars to write many of their reports.

All this underscores the significance of consultations that led to the adoption of the Charter for the Humanities and Social Sciences, and the creation of the NIHSS that brought us here today.

It is in that regard also that we, in the SSH, must continue to interrogate the dominant narratives about Africa: the negative and the seemingly positive narratives; right up and including the narratives about the BRCIS; 'Africa awakening'; Africa resurgence (Zezeza's latest book); and 'economic emergence' in Africa (18 countries have plans for economic emergence); and *the Africa We Want* that the AU is now at the fore front of, with its Agenda 2063, and the narrative framed in terms of the *World We Want* (title of the Rio +20 Outcome document).

There are many efforts to reclaim our history, and our future, and part of that necessarily involves efforts to reframe the narratives about Africa or frame counter or new narratives.

But we must also interrogate the counter-narratives and the alternative narratives, including the seemingly progressive, or even revolutionary ones among them.

To conclude, I would like to say that social science, dear colleagues, is facing challenges everywhere in the world. The World Social Science Reports of 2010 and 2013 bring this out very clearly. But the challenges we face in Africa appear to be particularly daunting, for three reasons:

- i) We are at the receiving end of the global power relations, including the power relations in the scholarly community and in the larger knowledge production world where big institutions established to promote or sustain the global order also, pose as serious "knowledge institutions" that 'only disseminate, but also get their production and views adopted. This has a direct bearing on what goes for 'good' social science or humanities research and production, and what gets side-lined.
- ii) We still have a long way to go in our efforts to look at the world from where we are, given the great influence that external factors still play in our scholarship (Mudimbe; Zezeza).
- iii) Very few of our policy makers are really convinced that the SSH are of vital importance, and that it is important to provide adequate resources for them. The fascination for the STEM is just too high. In Senegal, a national dialogue on the future of HE in the country, led by a great African philosopher, one of our greatest, recommended to the government to prioritise the STEM as the best way of ensuring that Senegal becomes an emerging power in 25 or so years. One reason for doing that, it was argued, is the fact that student enrolments in the SSH are far bigger than enrolments in the STEM. But also because the STEM are seen as the key to solutions to unemployment, and under-development. Yet even in the USA, a report of the American Academy of Social Sciences and Humanities titled *The Heart of the Matter* released in 2013 argued very strongly that if the US wants to preserve its dominant role in world affairs it must invest in the humanities and social sciences.

There are, however, great opportunities as well. As noted in WSSR 2013 on global

environmental change, we live in a new age: the age of the Anthropocene, one in which the human factor is more determining than ever. Which means that the social sciences and humanities are more relevant than ever, and that relevance is now more and more acknowledged. If climate change was provoked by human beings more than anything else, then obviously human beings must be at the source of the solutions to it. This points to the importance of the SSH.

In reality, the humanities are entering into new areas and fields, which has led to the construction of new sub-fields of study such as the 'medical humanities' and 'digital humanities'. The range of disciplines represented here is a good illustration of the expansion of the fields covered by the SSH.

This makes the case for multi-disciplinarity, inter-disciplinarity, and trans-disciplinarity even more important.

The SSH, the WSSR 2013 concludes, must therefore be bolder, and better.

That is a conclusion that we must take for ourselves in Africa. As you work on your doctoral dissertations, you must say to yourselves that the ground-breaking theories will come from you. After all, that is what every PhD thesis should be about: bringing something new from a theoretical or other point of view. Theory building is where we are probably weakest, but it is where we must make great advances, and you have opportunities for making important theoretical contributions.

Remember, research in the SSH is not so much about inventing formulae for resolving this, or that problem—which does not mean that we should not try to find answers and solutions to our perennial problems of development etc. — it is, as Mahmood Mamdani rightly argued, about asking the good questions, i.e. about how we think!

And that is what made all the great scholars great.

I thank you for your attention, and I wish you well!

Reference

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Black Pain Matters: Down with Rhodes

This is a brief but detailed account of the Rhodes Must Fall student campaign that unleashed the clamour for transformation in higher education, which has rocked universities across South Africa since April 2015. It is an excerpt of a much longer account titled: "Sir Cecil John Rhodes: The *makwerekwere* with a Missionary Zeal." The excerpted sections are: (a) Black Pain Matters: Down with Rhodes; (b) Not Every Black is Black Enough; and (c) UCT Fires on All Cylinders.

Black Pain Matters: Down with Rhodes

The Demand for Rhodes' statue to be moved or removed from the University of Cape Town campus may have taken many by surprise, but the statue's inconvenience as a blot on the intellectual landscape of UCT had been noted and expressed in the past, since the years of the Archie Mafeje Affair, even if its removal was never formally requested before. The RMF protest started on Monday, 9 March 2015 on the Upper Campus of UCT¹, while the VC, Dr Max Price, was away in Dakar, Senegal, attending the African Higher Education Summit.² In her capacity as the acting VC, Deputy Vice-Chancellor (DVC) Sandra Kloppe issued a statement confirming the protest action. She condemned in the strongest terms as "unacceptable" and "reprehensible" the actions of "An

Francis B. Nyamnjoh
University of Cape Town

individual among the protesters [who] threw excrement at the statue of Cecil John Rhodes." She concluded her statement with the reiteration: "UCT endorses freedom of expression. We encourage open debate, as all universities should do, and urge our students and staff to participate in discussions that contribute to responsible action."³

The "individual" who threw a bucket of human excrement at Cecil John Rhodes' statue was not quite acting as an individual. Apart from that some students reportedly followed his example by throwing urine and pig manure at the statue, while others covered it with a white cloth, "as if to hide the imperial stain,"⁴ Chumani Maxwele, the "individual" referred to by the acting VC, saw himself as acting on behalf of a group of students who saw themselves as products of a history and a sociology of collective debasement, violation and victimisation by outsiders who came claiming the status of superior beings and bearers of superior values. He argued that black students would not want to study in a university suffocating with relics of colonial plunder,

including having to graduate in a hall named after the imperialist, Leander Jameson, over twenty years into a democratisation process that should already have proven itself by darkening some of the landscape with images and representations (of ideas and ideals, heroes and heroines – dead or alive, individual or collective) that black students could relate to.⁵ The students had had enough of repeated claims that transformation cannot happen overnight, as if the institution were some sort of science fiction where a night is longer than twenty-one years. Maxwele was that "individual" who refused to be treated simply as *an individual*. A black South African politics student at UCT who was no stranger to protests, Maxwele, regarded as a most inconvenient youth in many a conservative circle, saw himself as a spokesperson for an intellectually and emotionally wounded black community of students, and by extension the rest of black South Africans who were yet to feel and feed on the purported fruits of liberation. Whether or not the anger and frustration and demand for which he served as vehicle was "the result of an inculcated sense of entitlement born of expectation,"⁶ Maxwele and his fellow student protesters were determined to make their long silence heard. As Kuseni Dlamini captures it, the "protests reflect South Africa's unfinished business,"

reminding South Africans of "the burden of our history that could not be wished away with the ushering in of the new constitution which guarantees everyone freedom and equality," and "tell us that fundamental freedoms without inclusion and benefit from the economy and society are insufficient to guarantee all citizens a feeling of belonging and empowerment"⁷. Maxwele was acting on behalf of the black majority described by Greg Nicolson as still having a most raw deal over 20 years into the new South Africa when he writes that statues such as Rhodes and Paul Kruger are only "a symbol of all that remains to be done, of real transformation":

We still operate on the unequal and bigoted socio-economic conditions generally talked about in the past tense. In schools, universities and workplaces black people still face hurdles that white people don't and many whites refuse to adjust their perceptions of race to put themselves on an equal footing. Despite hundreds of years of oppression against blacks, whites often see affirmative action initiatives as an injustice, even though the large majority of black people still face systemic challenges just trying to work towards a sustainable and dignified life.

Over 20 years into democracy, after hundreds of years of brutality, things haven't changed fast enough. The [African National Congress] ANC could have done better, clearly, but spaces described as the avenues to opportunity, universities and professional workplaces, remain white, exclusive, often only tolerating a rainbow-nation-trickle of blacks who face extra hurdles. If they fail, their performance reflects a race. If they succeed, well, what an exception!

[...]

While almost everyone seems to want change, they want it without fuss, without shaking the status quo. They want to open a conversation (maybe an inquiry?) within the current system while their symbols of being remain untouched. But that leads to stasis, as it has, with the idea of transformation dropped into white noise.⁸

Maxwele and his fellow protesters recognised the importance of symbols as "vessels of identity and knowledge of the collective and its power," and as a thing

that "emotionally ties us to who we think we are, where we've come from, and what we represent."⁹ In his repeated interventions on the apparently disgusting gesture, Maxwele reiterated that pouring excrement on the statue honouring Sir Cecil John Rhodes, the British colonial mining magnate and segregationist who died 113 years ago was intended as a metaphor "to explain our collective black pain," and express "our collective disgust"¹⁰ at the resilience of colonial education and symbols and institutional racism at UCT and the country at large. He had acted for those perplexed by the fact that, more than twenty years after the alleged end of apartheid, so little transformation had taken place in a university that claimed post-apartheid credentials and loved to portray itself as Africa's premier university¹¹. Indeed, the situation had remained the same¹² – some would say it had worsened – since Mahmood Mamdani's experience of the institution's (1996–1999) lack of an Africa-focused intelligentsia and hostility to Africa-focused thought (Mamdani 1998a&b), captured in the following words:

At the University of Cape Town, I witnessed a university administration that paid lip service to 'transformation' but was so terrified of losing control of the process of change that it came to see any innovative idea as a threat to its position and power (Mamdani 2007: xiii).

Siona O'Connell, a lecturer at the Michaelis School of Fine Art at UCT, expects management to take transformation beyond "renaming campus roads and commissioning memorials of slave burial sites on UCT property."¹³ Writing in September 2014, O'Connell argues that as a campus at odds with itself, UCT is:

[...] trying to make sense of a multicoloured landscape with a dogged determination using the tools, frames and languages of the past. It is a university that has been home to many messy affairs of particularly darker shades, including the Mafeje affair of 1968, the Mamdani affair of 1998 and the Centre for African Studies affair of 2011. One can't help but see a pattern that draws attention to the inability of this university to transform itself as an institution that values all its various publics in a contemporary

South African moment that demands a radically new way of thinking if we are to escape a repeat of the likes of Marikana.¹⁴

According to Martin Hall – who was with the Department of Archaeology when Mamdani was at UCT and who responded in defence of the institution to one of Mamdani's critiques of UCT turning African Studies into a new home for Bantu Education (Hall 1998) –, "Mr Maxwele's protest has electrified longstanding resentments about the ways in which the past is remembered and celebrated. [...] Wearing a brightly coloured safety helmet and two placards – "Exhibit White Arrogance UCT" and "Exhibit Black Assimilation UCT" – Mr Maxwele emptied his bucket in front of the press, who had been tipped off to attend." Quoting Nelson Mandela, Hall observes that it is hardly surprising, that South African museums and national monuments should be seen as alien spaces when they have excluded and marginalised most of South Africans. It was Mandela's hope that democracy would afford South Africans "the opportunity to ensure that our institutions reflect history in a way that respects the heritage of all our citizens"¹⁵.

If one insists that Maxwele was an individual in his action, he was no ordinary individual. His individuality had been crushed by a history of repressive encounters with the violence of dominance which Rhodes and UCT had come to incarnate. The violence of colonialism and apartheid had denied him the luxury of fulfilling his ambitions as an individual. He belonged to that amorphous, homogenous and voiceless darkness whose purportedly primitive savagery offered a perfect license for others to penetrate and enlighten their circumstance with the benevolence of civilised savagery. Such ambitions of dominance did not allow him or any other black man or woman to aspire to be an individual – at least, not on their own terms. How then could he be anything but a collective? If the term individual had to be applied in his regard at all costs, he was more of a composite individual, whose agency, whatever it was, could not rise and shine because others insisted he did not deserve the status of a human being even, regardless of what he thought of himself or what he looked like. Whatever he was or wasn't, is or isn't, is aptly captured by

the title of Bloke Modisane's book: *Blame Me on History* (Modisane 1986 [1963]).

It is thus hardly surprising that Maxwele's views were shared by a "collective of students and staff working to purge the oppressive remnants of apartheid in pursuit of a truly African university."¹⁶ Reference to *collective black pain* and *collective disgust* was not to deny individual agency and diversity among black South Africans. Rather, it was intended as a strategic essentialism (in the struggle for equality, restitution or reparation) in the same spirit that essentialisms were strategically deployed in the colonial and apartheid pasts by the imperial and settler white minority as a technology of exploitation, dispossession, debasement and domination. In many regards, for black South Africans to recognise their own pain, is to have come of age. Under apartheid, survival depended precisely on not dwelling on such pain that fed the repressive machinery of the violent regime and those it benefitted. In the following passage, Modisane gives us insight into how many a black South African coped with such mass produced and zealously disseminated pain under apartheid:

I have no use for human feelings, I stripped myself of them that day I looked upon the battered remains of the man who was my father; I pushed down the pain, forced it down, refused to cry and never cried since; every pain, every hurt, every insult I pushed down and held down like vomit; I have graduated bloody well, I cannot feel anything, I have no emotional responses, I am incapable of being humiliated, I have long ceased to experience the sensation of feeling a hurt. I am a corpse. (Modisane 1986 [1963]: 77)

For blacks to actually own up to pain on bodies as monuments of centuries of torture¹⁷ the way Maxwele speaks about can only be explained by the likelihood that they must have invested much hope and aspiration in the declaration that apartheid had come to an end and that its victims could now dream about reactivating their humanity. To feel pain is to have hope, and to believe that human agency can result in creative innovations. Yet, if such hope is repeatedly frustrated even as freedom is celebrated, one is entitled to pinch oneself every now and again with the question: "Are you free or are you dumb?" in the manner of the

Vodacom advert, *Nightshift*. This is how Achille Mbembe understands the current urgency and impatience in clamours for decolonisation by the RMF and related movements, spearheaded by the eruption of rights-claiming and rights-denying wounded bodies, piling up, swearing and cursing, speaking with excrements and in allegories and analogies, asking to be heard. Thus to Mbembe, what we are hearing from the protesting students "is that there have not been enough meaningful, decisive, radical change, not only in terms of the life chances of the black poor, but – and this is the novelty – in terms of the future prospects of the black middle class." The students are impatient that, over twenty years into the so-called free and new dispensation, South Africans are yet to disrupt "enough the structures that maintain and reproduce 'white power and supremacy'," and that ensure that the majority mostly black South Africans continue to be "trapped in a 'bad life' that keeps wearing them out and down." They are revolting against the terms of engagement dictated to them, terms that have only compounded their predicament. The students are screaming in no uncertain terms their dissatisfaction with the lacklustre manner in which those in charge have gone about the business of transforming a skewed, racialized South Africa into an inclusive, egalitarian country.¹⁸ To Mbembe, the anger and impatience of South African youth should be read as an accusation that those charged with transformation:

[...] have not radically overturned the particular sets of interests that are produced and reproduced through white privilege in institutions of public and private life – in law firms, in financial institutions such as banking and insurance, in advertising and industry, in terms of land redistribution, in media, universities, languages and culture in general.

'Whiteness,' 'white power,' 'white supremacy,' 'white monopoly capital' is firmly back on the political and cultural agenda and to be white in South Africa now is to face a new-old kind of trial although with new judges – the so-called 'born-free'.¹⁹

Sir Cecil John Rhodes' statue was attacked as a symbol of "Eurocentric, narrow-minded racism," and as a way of drawing attention to the unfinished and someti-

mes un-started business of transformation beyond symbols. Jonathan Jansen, VC of the University of the Free State recognised this when he acknowledged in a newspaper column that the protests are about a deeper transformation of universities – including the complexion of the professoriate – that remains largely unchanged, twenty-one years after the alleged end of apartheid.²⁰ Singling out the English speaking universities, Jansen elaborates:

"The three English universities in upheaval – Rhodes, UCT and Wits – struggle with second-order challenges of transformation. Having enabled access to black students over the years – also not without a struggle, despite their liberal pretences – the students now rightly demand greater recognition through who teaches them, what is taught, how the past is remembered (symbols such as statues, for example) and how they are made to feel (institutional culture) at universities where they still roam around campus like visitors. This is the heart of transformation, and these universities are only now beginning to realise what anger simmered below the epidermis of the superficial politeness of English culture, and boiled over with #RhodesMustFall."²¹

Adam Habib, VC of University of Witwatersrand agrees:

The Rhodes statue was simply a trigger point for a broader unhappiness about race, racism, and marginalisation at the University. The universities, particularly the historically white ones, have been immersed in a bubble. They assumed that their intellectual atmosphere and their middle class constituencies protected them from a social explosion around race. But this was not to be because there is legitimacy to the criticisms of the students. How can there not be when there are universities 20 years after our democracy that still have more than two thirds of their students white? How can there not be unhappiness when there are universities that are organised around racialised federal principles, which when an incoming vice-chancellor tries to change, he becomes subject to attack by external right wing organisations including AfriForum and Solidarity? How can these students not feel offended when even in the more liberal and historically English speaking universities like UCT and Wits,

the curriculum is not sufficiently reflective of our history or speaks to our historical circumstances.²²

In an open letter on the website of UCT posted 19 March 2015, several students wrote that removing the statue would "end the unreflective public glorification of Rhodes at the expense of the legitimate feelings of those the statue offends on a daily basis."²³ Gillian Schutte²⁴ criticises the tendency by the privileged class to react with "shock and outrage," "decry the animalistic behaviour of the filthy-bodied, filthy-mouthed, uneducated poor," and criminalise the desperation of the protesting black majority, instead of opening up to understand and address the very conditions of hardship and inequality that have caused the protests, however outrageous. It is all too common, she argues, for the elite of this privileged class to "use elitist theory to delegitimise the intellectual premise for black protest in supercilious articles brimming with white supremacy masquerading as academic thought." She labels as "top-down" and "infantile" reactions that seek "to criminalise black struggle and to silence black rage," and condemns the deft insistence by the privileged class on their own meanings and values when black people, suffocated by excessive repression resort to poo protests.²⁵ On the use of human faeces by historically repressed blacks to make their point to the economically and politically powerful, Gillian Schutte writes:

At a time in our history where the collective is brutally suppressed and black anger is presented on mainstream media as the ultimate violence, the marginalised masses find new and inventive ways to make their grievances heard.

If this means spewing the human waste which they are forced to live in into the sanitised public spaces of the well-heeled, then we should applaud their bravery and inventiveness.

In a neo-colonial world order where democracy and human rights for the rich means 'shoot to kill' for the poor, it stands to reason that protest becomes a desperate cry for the recognition of the collective and individual humanity of the disenfranchised.

Like it or not, defecation is the most visceral and inevitable aspect of

being human no matter what your class, race or gender.

By importing the unfettered faeces of the poor collective, who live with dismally inadequate sanitation, into the deodorised spaces of those who are able to flush their own faeces away in toilets, they are successfully exposing the extreme and dehumanising cruelty of a capitalist system which privileges some and entirely deprives others.²⁶

Xolela Mangcu, an Associate Professor in the Department of Sociology at UCT, has been at the forefront of the call for the injection of a significant number of black South African academics into UCT and other universities in post-apartheid South Africa²⁷. At the University Assembly to discuss the Rhodes Statue and Transformation at UCT he told the VC: "Max, I find it racially offensive that whenever the issue of black professors comes up and you are asked about it, the issue of standards must come in."²⁸ Nhlapo²⁹ and many others have subsequently based their arguments on statistics provided by Mangcu. At UCT where by 2013 there were only 48 black South African academics out of a total of 1,405 – that is 3 percent, and not a single black South African woman full professor –, black students and staff are expected to bear institutional racism with a stiff upper lip, and to be subservient to the call of an intellectual tradition and logic of practice steeped in colonial symbolism and the celebration of primitive savagery as an essence of being black and African. In a country where only 4 per cent – 194 out of 4000 – of the professors by 20 July 2014 were black South Africans³⁰, it is hardly surprising that "One hundred and fifty years of Black intellectual thought remains outside the social theory curriculum in South Africa."³¹ Mimicry and hypocrisy are central to the game of keeping up appearances in order to be remotely visible as a black member of staff or as a black student. White privilege and arrogance reward with token inclusion those who are able to discipline their true feelings and embrace what they are fed without question. As Amina Mama, former Head of the Africa Gender Institute at UCT, argued during a meeting with the "RMF writing and education sub-committees," given that most vehicles for scholarly communication in South Africa and globally continue to be owned and controlled by whites, it becomes very diffi-

cult for writing that challenges colonial thinking and models to be tolerated and made visible. This predicament was reiterated by 15 RMF students when the Johannesburg Workshop in Theory and Criticism housed by the Institute for Social and Economic Research (WISER) at the University of Witwatersrand made the pages of its *Salon* available to them³². Gamedze and Gamedze titled their introduction to Volume 9 of the publication "Salon for What?" and in it argue that "to be a radical African intellectual is to challenge, on fundamentally personal, institutional and societal levels," the "form of alienation that colonial education encourages," and that it is somehow ironic for the RMF students to have to resort to a publication named "Salon" to express themselves. That notwithstanding, it is important that they are able to write what they want to write, the way they want:

We write to assert our humanity as Black people, and to assert that, while the imagination that stems from this unrecognised, in-between condition is indeed flashy, exciting, 'avant-garde' (in its un-investigatedness) our humanity is at its root. [...] we [must] continue to write, and while we must navigate the inevitable 'Salon' of western knowledge structures, we are aware that we are writing in ways that these knowledge structures have not prescribed.³³

We just have a feeling that there is something about writing that allows us to subvert the structures that have oppressed us and continue to do so, and while this space of writing is contested, we are armed to enter this contest in ways that cannot and do not occur to our oppressors. We write different, and so we feel that writing is important. It is important to write ourselves, to write our own story. We know that many, who are not us, have BEEN writing about us and have painted us in many different ways, of which none are creative nor imaginative enough. We are here to represent ourselves and share our thoughts on our situation and on what we are up against. We are thinking about how we might create something new: how we might pursue writing in a way that represents and humanises us as energetic and hurt bodies.³⁴

Transformation can only happen, Shose Kessi argues, if black academics and

students can unapologetically foreground black pain as a legitimate concern:

The idea of logical reasoned argument outside of affect is nonsensical and serves to legitimise the idea that intellectual projects and academic freedom exist outside of historical structural analyses. It serves as a smokescreen that invisibilises whiteness or white feelings. I cannot count the number of times I have been in classrooms, meetings, and committees where the feelings of white students and staff dominate the space in suffocating ways that exclude and silence – under the guise of ‘logical reasoned argument’. The burden of black academics in these spaces is often one of appeasing and negotiation for fear of being dismissed and labelled as irrational, at best, or, at worst, for fear of the white backlash that typically spirals out of control. Black pain and anger is pathologised and condemned whereas white people’s anger is cajoled, understood, and considered rational.³⁵

According to Panashe Chigumadzi, the founder and editor of Vanguard Magazine, being what is generally referred to in South Africa as a coconut is no reason for one to be blind to, ignore or dismiss the reality of racism. Drawing on her personal experience, she explains:

At the age of six I had already begun the dance that many black people in South Africa know too well, with our names just one of the many important sites of struggle as we manoeuvre in spaces that do not truly accommodate our blackness. I had already taken my first steps on the road to becoming a fully-fledged coconut, that particular category of ‘born free’ black youth hailed as torchbearers for Nelson Mandela’s ‘rainbow nation’ after the fall of apartheid; the same category of black youth that are now part of the forefront of new student movements calling for statues of coloniser Cecil John Rhodes to fall, and for the decolonisation of the post-apartheid socio-economic order.

We all know what a coconut is, don’t we? It’s a person who is ‘black on the outside’ but ‘white on the inside’. This term came into popular South African usage in apartheid’s dying days as black children entered formerly white schools. At best,

coconuts can be seen as ‘non-white’. At worst, they’re ‘Uncle Toms’ or ‘agents of whiteness’.

I’ve chosen to appropriate the term and self-identify as a coconut because I believe it offers an opportunity for refusal. It’s an act of problematising myself – and others – within the landscape of South Africa as part of the black middle class that is supposed to be the buffer against more ‘radical elements’.

Instead of becoming the trusted mediators between black and white, we are now turning to conceptions of blackness and mobilising anger at the very concept of the rainbow nation. The fantasy of a colour-blind, post-racial South Africa has been projected onto us coconuts, but our lived experiences are far from free of racism.³⁶

Regardless of the blackness one targets, global or local, national or pan-African, to quibble about the reference to black pain is to want to erase a history in which blacks were defined and confined through particular encounters as a collectivity and not simply as individuals by their colonisers armed with ambitions of dominance that were sometimes veiled or disguised by claims of *mission civilisatrice* and continue to be rationalised by the nebulousness of claims to modernisation, development and globalisation. However loud the silence of some in their apathy to black pain may be, to proclaim this in public is to deny that universalisms, if not arbitrarily imposed, are always negotiated and navigated through the encounters of particularisms. Common denominators come not from hiding the personal but from taking personal experiences to the emotive public distilleries of contextually relevant forms of rationality. In the case of South Africa, to quibble about black pain is also to force black South Africans to live a post-apartheid lie that the playing field has been levelled and race and the benefits it accords and denies are no longer important, even as no concerted effort has been made, in real terms, to right past wrongs.³⁷

As a numerical majority, black South Africans are miffed by their incapacity to assert themselves in the age of freedom³⁸. They are impatient and flabbergasted that whiteness continues to be such a powerful force and to impose its vocabulary of provocation and victimhood on blacks despite political independence. Of the

multiple pains blacks succeeded in freezing under apartheid, post-apartheid South Africa seems to have mitigated little more than the pain of political disenfranchisement. It has reawakened material desires and aspirations that had been numbed *à la* Bloke Modisane who is cited above describing numbing as a survival strategy in the days when freedom was an extravagant illusion. Little wonder that the language of black pain now proliferates, especially among those who feel they have invested effort enough at schooling themselves in the values enshrined by the whiteness that has dominated them body, mind and soul for so long. What use is it to be termed middle class in post-apartheid South Africa only to be differentiated as “black” in that middle-classness because one, however corrupt in one’s capacity to accumulate in a hurry, can hardly measure up to the traditional middle class (white remains firmly white) because of decades (if not centuries) of accumulation and the passing down of wealth through successive generations of the family? And how can a black South African born post 1994 celebrate the generic category of a born-free when he or she cannot freely compete with their white counterpart because of persistent material and structural inequalities?³⁹ According to a survey of born-frees conducted in the course of the Rhodes Must Fall campaign, many born-frees declared they were likely to resort to violent protests because of the persistence of inequalities in the country.

According to the report, “unemployment rates are higher among younger people, women and Africans.” On the expanded definition of unemployment, the rate among African males aged 15 to 24 years is 67% compared with 75% of African females.

Violent protests in SA have almost doubled in the last three years and it is suspected that the economically disenfranchised youth may play a huge part in it.

Born frees are also receiving poor quality education, said the report, with literacy and numeracy scores in Grade 3 in this group barely above 50%. This has a major ripple effect later on as only 51% of matric candidates pass their final school-leaving exam.

The report found that “people aged 14 to 25 years old account for 29% of the country’s prison population.”

To speak of collective black pain and collective black disgust is to demonstrate that one is not duped by hollow claims of a common humanity and equality for all and sundry in a world structured by and around interconnecting global and local hierarchies informed by considerations or categories such as race, place, class, culture, gender and generation.

Bearing this in mind, one can understand how and why Rhodes' statue along with an untransformed UCT was seen by the protesting students as a chilling reminder of a history steeped in blood and ruthless indifference to the humanity of black South Africans. To Maxwele, his generation of black South African students is ready to succeed where its parents failed in tackling white power and privilege until satisfactory concessions are made. If a letter addressed to the Chairperson of UCT Council, Archbishop Njongonkulu Ndungane, by another student Rekgotsofetse 'Kgotsi' Chikane⁴⁰, who describes himself as "A student who wants transformation he can see," is anything to go by, Maxwele's dramatic "poo" intervention was meant as shock treatment for an institution that has systematically resisted transformation. The letter begins with a series of what the author terms plaguing questions, amongst which are the following:

Why must it be that a student at the University of Cape Town (UCT) is pushed to the point of having to throw faecal matter over the statue of Cecil John Rhodes in order to have a conversation about transformation at UCT? How is it that we are now at this point?

Chikane is frustrated by:

[...] the fact that there is no plan for real transformation on campus. Transformation that I can see. Honest transformation. Transformation that means something.

Chikane is worried by the "disconcerting" silence of the chair of UCT Council, a black South African like himself and a man of God, over the "institutionalised racism" that continues to stand in the way of transformation at UCT. To the author neither the VC nor the UCT Senate can be trusted to lead the process of "meaningful transformation" in the institution. To him, the discussion around the transformation of curricula and race relations "is largely ignored or recklessly diluted by those in decision-making positions." Policies

purportedly aimed at bringing about racial transformation are yet to yield tangible outputs and to have a meaningful impact. UCT has not only failed to transform, it has achieved little in opening itself up to represent black South African aspirations in any significant way. Chikane describes as "weak" the VC's repeated defence that the university cannot attract quality black South African academics because it cannot afford to offer competitive salaries to entice young black graduates to continue studying. The university is seriously in need of the injection of black academics and African perspectives to disabuse itself of the reputation among students of "being a European university stuck at the bottom of Africa." The "systemic" and "subliminal" form of institutionalised racism at UCT is, in his estimation, worse than that in any other university in South Africa. Chikane elaborates:

It is the form of racism that makes you ignorant about your subjugation because you are never challenged to seriously engage on critical matters. It's the form of racism that allows those who enter UCT from a position of privilege to never have to question their privilege. The privilege of being able to walk past a statue of Saartjie Baartman in the library and have no idea that simply placing her on display, with no justification, is an insult to her legacy and painfully offensive to many students.

Like his fellow students, Chikane was totally frustrated with the excesses of the conquering *amakwerekwere* represented by Cecil John Rhodes, a statue of whom was implanted in mocking imperial defiance high on the campus of the university, enjoying a magnificent view of the city and contemplating outer space. By smearing Rhodes' statue with excrement and covering it with garbage bags and signs of protest, the students were screaming their revulsion with the callous indifference that university authorities had repeatedly displayed vis-à-vis their plight in an institution in which they felt like perfect strangers or *amakwerekwere*. The statue of Rhodes, erected to celebrate an oppressor and imperialist who was able to buy his way into prominence with land and wealth he acquired through dispossession of their forefathers and foremothers, was a symbol of oppression and white privilege

— an impediment to real transformation. It was neither here nor there that some of the students protesting had benefited from funding by the Rhodes estate, or that the university was built upon land that was bequeathed to it in Rhodes' will. They were sick and tired of the arrogance of *amakwerekwere* like Rhodes who had turned the bona fide sons and daughters of South Africa and earlier generations of migrants into beggars and strangers in their own land. Instead of opening up to the idea of a truly inclusive and reconciled post-apartheid South Africa in the spirit of the "rainbow nation" propagated by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the white establishment, in the estimation of the protesting black students, had clung to their privileges in a business as usual sort of way, while paying lip service to transformation⁴¹. The outcome has been, as Trevor Noah puts it in one of his comedy sketches: "We [in South Africa] used to be the 'rainbow nation'; now the colours are going their own way"⁴².

Anthony Butler⁴³ believes that by "speaking out frankly about the shortcomings of UCT's transformation strategy," black students were demonstrating "why they are better placed than their lecturers to understand their own experiences of being black." They were also offering their fellow undergraduate white students the opportunity to introspect and contemplate on their often taken for granted privileges. Not just their "affluent suburban backgrounds, well-resourced schools, and the societal dominance of their home languages," but also, and perhaps more importantly, the:

[...] less obvious aspects of their advantage: an expectation that when they underperform it will not be attributed to their race; a capacity to succeed that is not attributed by others to affirmative action; a happy expectation that potential employers will assume they are competent because of their skin colour; and an ease in negotiating the legacies of colonialism and white domination.⁴⁴

The protest spread as more and more students joined, and politicians, the media (both conventional and social) became part of the fray. In a statement issued by Gwede Mantashe, ANC Secretary General, the ANC National Executive Committee (NEC) "unequivocally" expressed support for the protesting "students in

their determined demands for transformation at universities across the country." NEC declared: "We appreciate that statues are mere symbols of our racist history and believe that the transformation needed must be concerned with entrenching fundamental and far-reaching structural, systematic and cultural change; reflective of the aspirations and realities of our democratic and non-racial order." Twenty years into democracy have made transformation a non-negotiable matter of urgency.⁴⁵ Higher Education and Training Minister Blade Nzimande, for example, vowed to turn 2015 into a year in which he would "uncompromisingly" push for the transformation of the country's universities, adding: "There remains an urgent need to radically change the demographics of our professoriate; transform the curriculums and research agendas; cultivate greater awareness of Africa; eliminate racism, sexism and all other forms of unjust discrimination; improve academic success rates and expand student support."⁴⁶ Speaking in her capacity as shadow Minister of Higher Education for the Democratic Alliance, as well as former DVC for University of Witwatersrand, Belinda Bozzoli admits that South Africa still has a long way to go in eradicating racism, and that "Proper reconciliation hasn't been truly achieved yet." To her, "Reconciliatory ideas vanished from politics with Nelson Mandela's death," and the purported lack of no money for new academic posts in South Africa would make it difficult for universities to open up any time soon to the inclusion of more black South African academic staff.⁴⁷ Mbuyiseni Ndlozi, spokesperson for the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) called for the reconstruction of public monuments in non-oppressive ways, adding that the party would continue to "agitate" and provide "ideological perspective" on the removal of colonial and apartheid era statues and monuments. Inspired by the RMF protest, a statue of Paul Kruger was allegedly defaced by members of the EFF in Tshwane, and a memorial statue in Uitenhage Market Square in the Eastern Cape was reportedly set alight by members of the EFF. The student protests had given the party's campaign to remove colonial and apartheid statues and monuments added impetus. It was only logical, Ndlozi argued, that with the end of apartheid, public spaces configured in the image of the repressive forces of the apartheid era be reconfigured to reflect the

dreams and aspirations of the new South Africa.⁴⁸ Anglican Archbishop Thabo Makgoba of Cape Town was of the opinion that: "The campaign against symbols of the injustice of our past, along with service delivery protests and public outrage over corruption, reflect the anger of South Africans at the inequalities that continue to plague us." He called on all and sundry to "harness the energy being poured into protest into rigorous self-examination and action to expand the current campaigns into a creative, society-wide drive for real transformation."⁴⁹

The demonstrators mounted a "Rhodes Must Fall" campaign on Facebook and related social media, along with a Twitter account: #RhodesMustFall.⁵⁰ The "Rhodes Must Fall" Facebook page – which described itself as "a collective student, staff and worker movement mobilising for direct action against the institutional racism of UCT"⁵¹ attracted sympathy posts from far and wide including from student movements in universities across the world.⁵² It must be added though, as some of the students at the University Assembly made evident from some of the derogatory posts they read out – posts referring to blacks as monkeys, pigs, primitive savages and morons because "you can take them out of the bush but you can't take the bush out of them" – and filled with a catalogue of other negativities –, that not all the Facebook posts were supportive⁵³. Transformation became the catchword, catchall and catchon about the unfinished business of recalibration of the hierarchies of humanity that had informed relations, privilege and poverty in apartheid South Africa. In this way, the Rhodes statue was merely an entry point for a series of demands seeking recognition and representation for those who felt hard done by the privileges of the white *amakwerekwere* that presided over their destinies, diminishing the self-esteem and sense of identity of especially black students and academics who felt they deserved better especially within a new and purportedly free South Africa. It is thus significant that many white students initially drawn to the protest persuaded by the general outcry in favour of mental decolonisation and transformation of curricula and relations within the institution, and the removal of the stature of Rhodes as a symbolic gesture, soon

found themselves being made to feel that they were weeping more than the owner of the corpse. For those of them who sought to become more involved, they were made to understand that their role was strictly limited to one of solidarity and support in a struggle that was clearly black. In other words, they questioned or were made to question, how it is possible for a *makwerekwere* in the image of Rhodes – a white, born-free or not, local or foreign – to seek to convince anyone that he or she could feel the pain of the oppressed black other, or claim to be in the same boat? To some black students, whites who joined the protest were merely keeping up appearances, making as if Cecil Rhodes and his excesses were all that is to blame for the predicaments of black South Africans and black Africans on campus in general. Did they really think that all that was needed was to name and shame Sir Cecil John Rhodes (as an individual as if he had lived his life entirely as an island with neither ancestry, kin, progeny or relationships with others) – the white *makwerekwere* who debased, humiliated and undermined Africans with impunity so as to appropriate their resources? If Rhodes, however iconic, was the only problem, why did his excesses and material superabundance or wealth appear to have trickled down through the ranks and generations, as if flowing in the blood of his white brethren to contaminate even the post-apartheid generation of so-called born-frees? Why did his legacy of a highly concentrated monopolistic economy persist? Why is the economy still firmly under white control? Could the fact – as evidenced by the "Fees Must Fall" and "End Outsourcing" student protests which subsequently rocked universities countrywide⁵⁴ – be blamed entirely on the incompetence and corruption of the new ANC mostly black elite in power as some have tended to insinuate?

Not Every Black is Black Enough

It is commonplace to be caught between and betwixt any and everywhere in the world, especially in South Africa where it is all too easy to be crushed by the giant compressors of the regressive logic of ever diminishing circles of inclusion (February 1991; Adhikari 2005). Colonialism and apartheid functioned best through hierarchies of humanity and their multiplicities of agentic possibilities. It was the best form of divide and rule. Post-

apartheid South Africa and South Africans are in no hurry to give up on categories that have served them so well. So, it is hardly surprising that in the current clamour for decolonisation epitomised by RMF, some attitudes and declarations leave one in little doubt that not every black is black enough, both among nationals and foreigners. Just as there is a hierarchy of whiteness, so too is there a hierarchy of blackness. Neighbouring Botswana, which went through similar debates on citizenship, belonging, rights and entitlements in the late 1990s and early 2000s captures in a most fascinating way the complexities and intricacies of belonging and attitudes towards citizenship and foreigners which South Africa is currently experiencing, and from which South Africans can draw vital lessons for a future of inclusion (Nyamnjoh 2002, 2006).

In the current RMF and transformation debates, by insisting frequently that the statue was only a symbol or a metaphor for the wider lack of transformation at UCT, the protesting students echoed and were echoed by academic staff with similar concerns about the predominantly white reality of the institution despite the allegedly post-apartheid landscape of the country. Mangcu wrote several pieces featured by the national media, complaining of the snail pace of transformation at UCT, an institution where Whites dominate teaching positions and there are too few black South African academics at professorial level. He pointedly insisted that it was scandalous for UCT to have too few black South African academics, especially at professorial ranks, and yet claim to be a South African university. It was even more scandalous that out of a total of 1,405 academics at UCT, there was not a single black female professor of South African nationality amongst them. Mangcu makes a distinction between black South Africans, Coloureds and Indians, as do fellow South African academics and the State as well. Here is an excerpt from one of his articles on the matter:

First, by 2013, the number of black South African academic staff at UCT was 48 out of a total of 1 405 — that is, 3%. This was an increase from 46 in 2009. That is a net gain of two black people over five years. And listen to this: there is not a single black South African woman who is a

full professor at UCT. Not one, in 2013! That statistic is unacceptable in an inclusive democratic society.

Of the 174 South Africans who are full professors at the university, there are only five black South Africans (2.8%), six coloured males (3.4%) and two coloured females (1%). There are 10 Indian male full professors (5.7%) and only one Indian woman (0.5%). In short, Steve Biko's Blacks — blacks, coloureds and Indians — constituted just about 12% of the full professors at UCT who were South African in 2013. As Biko pointed out, the fate of coloureds, Indians and Africans in South Africa will always be interconnected on the margins. Yes, you guessed it right, 85% are white South Africans (148 out of 174). The parallels with the Land Act of 1913 could not be more striking.

In my faculty at UCT, the humanities, where you would expect pioneering research about our future, there are only two black South Africans who are full professors. There was a 100% increase with the appointment of a new dean of the humanities to bring us to a whopping two out of 47 full professors in the humanities. And they are in one department, sociology.⁵⁵

Put differently, Mangcu was complaining that UCT was dominated by *amakwerekwere* of yesteryears (whites, coloured, Indians) — some of whom with divided loyalties by virtue of carrying more than one passport — and that even 20 years into the so-called liberation of the country from the yoke of apartheid, those claiming the status of bona fide black native sons and daughters of the land were yet to feel genuinely integrated into an institution that was supposedly theirs. Instead, the university authorities resorted to filling the place up with *amakwerekwere* of another kind, blacks from north of the Limpopo, as if every black was black enough in the South African context. This is a nuance which was aptly pointed out by Professor Sakhela Buhlungu, Dean of the Humanities Faculty at UCT (who, in recognition for his demonstrated leadership on drawing attention to the unfinished business of transformation, has earned the reputation of champion of transformation⁵⁶) when he denounced as "most dishonest, most hypocritical and cynical" the common practice by universities in South Africa to "cop-out" from expectations of redress, equity and ac-

cess by counting as "equity candidates" for recruitment "international scholars, who just happen to be black." At the risk of unsettling a number of his fellow academics, Buhlungu subscribes to "three categories of academics: white South African academics, black South African academics and international scholars," and calls for "balance across the categories." In other words, he recognises the *amakwerekwere* within (white South Africans, who happen to be mostly those playing "tricks" and being hypocritical about transformation and to whom one black equals another, South African or not) and the obvious *amakwerekwere* in their varying degradations (non-South African whites and non-South African blacks — those who are recruited to the detriment of meaningful equity and redress and whose recruitment is often justified/rationalised with arguments to the effect that South African universities need to be competitive internationally).⁵⁷

This begs a few questions about "decolonisation," the label that has found traction with the current RMF campaign. When does decolonisation entail Africanisation?⁵⁸ And when does it mean South-Africanisation only, without the whiteness? When does decolonisation as Africanisation enter into a meaningful conversation with decolonisation as whiteless-South-Africanisation? Above all, when do decolonisation as whiteless-South-Africanisation and Africanisation enter into worthy epistemological conversations with decolonisation as a universal aspiration à la Frantz Fanon and à la Steve Biko (as neither South Africa nor African can claim monopoly over victimisation by colonisation and apartheid as a racialized technology of subjugation and domination) that may or may not coincide with being African or with being South African, both in the general, generous and inclusive or exclusionary, parochial and autochthonous sense of these identities? This teething problem of decolonisation is a replay of the debate in the 1960s in the rest of Africa, the time most countries gained a semblance of independence⁵⁹, even if South Africa's predicament is that decolonisation is happening at the same time as accelerated globalization, which in a way complicates the situation remarkably, through the mass production of black migrants by the collapsing economies of many African states. But even in the 1960s, as Fanon notes in *The Wret-*

ched of the Earth, narrow nationalism was already inciting nationals to violence against foreigners while calling for opportunities to be confined to citizens (Fanon 1967: 125-6). When is decolonisation more than simply opening out to engage with African and South African issues, knowledge and epistemology? What reason is there to quibble about making knowledge production focused on South Africa and Africa the central concern of a university that purports to be South African and African, and therefore to imply that it thinks, teaches and relates to the world from that vantage point of being South African and African? What manner of transformation is sufficiently accommodating of the complexities and nuances of being African or South African in a nimble-footed world where everyone is a potential *makwerekwere*, powerful or not, and where autochthony makes sense only in terms of how ready one is able to include history beyond that which is convenient for one and the interests one is defending for the moment?⁶⁰

In a Facebook post reacting to an article by Achille Mbembe on the "State of South African Politics," Mojalefa Murphy – "a South African born Nuclear Physicist" and "skilled generalist and activist" – echoes Buhlungu's sentiments. He argues that to keep postponing redressing past injustices and providing for equal citizenship with black South Africans, university authorities in South Africa who remain predominantly white, prefer to reach out to and co-opt black African academics from the rest of the continent such as Mbembe to provide token black presence on campuses in order to give the impression of racial reconfiguration in the name of transformation. Murphy may be right that it is no secret that foreign black Africans "are generally preferred for employment in white managed South African outfits both in the public and private sector," possibly to foster the white supremacists' agenda of "exploiting the economy corruptly to feather nests abroad." In reward for their support, African academics in "white institutions of higher learning" are known to "sail through with ease" while many black South African academics are "overlooked for promotion to senior and professorial positions." It is wrong, he concludes, for whites and their black conformists in South Africa to "interpret the justifiable anger at whiteness as hatred for whites."

Black anger is nothing but an expression of collective black psyche as informed by the lived traumatic experiences of blacks for centuries of racial assault by white supremacists⁶¹. Such divide and rule practices as described by Murphy, if truly intended, ought to be condemned without mitigation. It is equally in the interest of those invested in decolonisation as both a local and global pursuit to understand and circumvent the game of divide and rule championed by an ideological predisposition to a world of interconnecting local and global hierarchies informed by factors or considerations such as race, ethnicity, place, class, gender and generation.

While some non-South African blacks may be perceived to be co-opted to serve the interests of white supremacists, a prioritisation of transformation as redress and equity for South African blacks exclusively, however justified contextually, disenfranchises or delegitimizes any compelling claims to black pain that non-South African black academics may have at UCT as an institution dominated by the privileged interests and taken-for-granted perspectives in tune with the *habitus* of being white in South Africa. Such exclusionary or selective indicators of blackness and black pain give the impression that black pain at UCT is experienced by degree and that however much solidarity non-South African blacks bring to the struggle, their black pain is always susceptible, a priori, to being defined and related to as inferior – the pain of black *amakwerekwere* or outsiders within – to the pain of black South Africans who overtly or covertly consider themselves as authentic sons or daughters of the native soil, those who really should have been in charge, had not the white *amakwerekwere* of yesteryears epitomised by Rhodes, conquered and tamed them with violence and superior technology, injecting and implanting themselves and their progeny as a more or less permanent blot on the native landscape.

Seen thus, the following critical reaction to Mbembe's piece alluded to above by Shose Kessi – a black senior lecturer of Tanzanian nationality in the department of psychology at UCT – would need qualification and nuance, to reflect the ever diminishing circles of inclusion even when race is a common denominator.

Being black or white is not all that there is to the transformation debate, which is also, and often more importantly, about rights and entitlements as nationals and citizens of a specific nation-state. In such localised autochthonous struggle for social visibility, resources and power, the new generation of *amakwerekwere* who are black, often powerless and dispensable, and who hail from Africa north of the Limpopo, matter very little whatever the magnitude of their own frustrations with the deeply colonial nature of the university institutions that have hired them, or where they are students. They are caught between and betwixt forces that often know little compromise. Seen in these terms, *amakwerekwere* such as Kessi, their commitment to genuine transformation notwithstanding, could easily find themselves in awkward situations (not dissimilar to those in which so-called born-free white students have found themselves when they have come out to show solidarity with their protesting black colleagues) where they are perceived and related to as if they were perfect strangers at a funeral weeping more than the owner of the corpse, or as fighting fights in which they have no stakes. Paradoxically, it seems to matter little what non-South African blacks think or feel, as they are open to caricature either way in the game of narrow nationalism that South African blacks find themselves compelled to play, systematically stifled as they have been by the callous indifference of whites and whiteness.

Kessi, a black African *makwerekwere* senior lecturer at UCT, is keen to highlight an all-black predicament in the institution. She presents herself as belonging to "the Black Academic Caucus" at UCT – "a group of over 80 black academics representing all faculties [...] engaging in institution-wide conversations and actions to address the exclusion of black experiences and scholarship in the area of curriculum, research, staff recruitment and development, and institutional culture" –, identifies with the struggle to the extent that it is inclusive of all blacks, and expresses what to her are all-black concerns. To her, black scholarship, whether by black South Africans or by *amakwerekwere* from beyond the Limpopo and in the diaspora, should prioritise the needs and aspirations of blacks. It should be scholarship that takes

into account the social and historical contexts of blacks, and in the particular case of South Africa and the continent, "the material, symbolic and structural conditions brought about by colonisation and apartheid." Important in such scholarship are "the affective and bodily experiences" of black scholars and black people. It is a scholarship that seeks to "dismantle the racist masculinist culture of our institution (city, country and continent) and [...] whiteness and patriarchy in the lived experiences of black staff and students." It is a scholarship that challenges a tendency in "rational" talk to portray black people as always the "problem" – either as helpless passive victims or as people whose sense of judgement is eternally clouded by too much emotion. To Kessi, it is precisely such emotion that is needed to understand the thingification, undermining, and experiences of exclusion of black bodies in the institution. Such emotions awaken consciousness of how the past invades the present and how to move forward. Far from closing off dialogue, Kessi argues that expressing "black pain" can be instructive on the workings of "oppressive power [...] and the intricate levels and dimensions at which it operates." To her, "Engaging with black pain develops a new level of consciousness where the affective experiences of exclusion are at the root of how critical reasoned argument can emerge and lead to decolonising and transformative practices."⁶² Kessi illustrates her point thus:

When black students protest at being silenced in classroom debates, at being taught with materials that exclude or devalue their bodies and cultures, at having to live through the rape culture of our residences, these painful experiences inform the learning, teaching, and cultural practices that need to change. When black staff protest at being denied promotion, at being rejected by ethics committees, or at being depicted as incompetent simply because of their race or so-called 'black accents,' these experiences inform the teaching, research, and governance practices that need to change. In fact, all of these experiences tell us of the ways in which the dominant white male culture at UCT is perpetuated at the expense of black, women, and

LGBTQ experiences and intellectual excellence. As an academic institution that is forging and inspiring the minds of future generations, challenging these dynamics is fundamental to creating a society that fosters inclusivity, dialogue, and wellbeing.⁶³

The fact of blackness as an attribute of being a particular type of human, ascribed, achieved or imposed, is not the monopoly of any particular African country, nor of the continent, calls for a conceptualisation and articulation of decolonisation of knowledge production and consumption that is carefully nuanced to provide for the complex intersections of race, ethnicity, geography, class, gender and generation. Even at our most legitimately aggrieved, we cannot afford to resort to the zero sum games of dominance of the oppressors, as this would only compound our subservience and predicaments.

UCT Fires on All Cylinders

As the Rhodes Must Fall protest grew in intensity and stature, the university authorities went to work, firing on all cylinders, or just about, in an attempt to concoct a solution.⁶⁴ The VC and his senior administrators also admitted that UCT had tended to test the waters instead of confronting transformation head on. A few quotes by senior management and spokespersons at different points of the protest illustrate this assessment. Gerda Kruger, in her capacity as spokeswoman for the university affirms: "[UCT] has acknowledged that we have been slow to address certain facets of transformation, such as curriculum reform [...] we are committed to listening, discussing, debating and finding answers"⁶⁵. Management "held meetings with students and set up white boards around the statue, wrapped in black plastic, where students could write down their opinions." In a circular UCT's first response to these calls for action was to convene a discussion about "Heritage, Signage and Symbolism" led by DVC, Professor Crain Soudien⁶⁶. But before this could convene there had been further protests centred on the Rhodes statue, then swathed and taped in black rubbish bags. By the time these first negotiations with the university administration were convened, the student representative council position had hardened. The president of the Student Representative

Council (SRC), Ramabina Mahapa, said: "I understand it is part of history, but the institutional representation of black people at this university is negative." From here, the RMF movement escalated rapidly, culminating in a march and the occupation of the university's administration building, Bremner. VC Max Price responded with university-wide debates and a special meeting of the university senate to consider proposals. Upfront, he said that he and his executive favoured removing the statue, but only the university council could take the final decision. An emergency meeting of the council was called for 25 April. Meanwhile, the stand-off rapidly became a national issue. Students at Rhodes University in Grahamstown went on protest in sympathy, and higher education minister Blade Nzimande gave his support for moving the statue⁶⁷.

The extended debate considered various options. One was to leave the statue standing where it was but include a plaque at its base acknowledging the "injustices of colonial conquest enacted under Rhodes' watch." In addition, the option to leave Rhodes where he was would have to be "accompanied by another artwork to be located alongside Rhodes, to 'speak back' by way of alternative values and convictions." To the VC, it was the very strategic location of Rhodes' statue at the focal point of the university that had attracted connotations of being a "founder, hero, patron, role model and (an) embodiment of UCT's heritage."⁶⁸ Hence his personal opinion that the statue should be moved:

"I just think it should not be there – it should be moved. This will not compromise our ability to record and debate the role Rhodes played in the city's and continent's history. And it will not change our acknowledgment that UCT acquired its site from the Rhodes estate, and the positive contribution it has made to our institution and its students"⁶⁹.

Despite his conviction that there was "a significant view that the statue should be moved," the VC opted for an extended consultation because "there has never been any formal consultation or organised discussion on this matter, and it would not be appropriate for the UCT executive, or council, to make such a recommendation without undertaking such a discussion"⁷⁰. Adekeye Adebajo,

executive director of the Centre for Conflict Resolution at UCT, was among those who criticised the university for being rather officious in its response to the protest, "with a questioning of the methods of some of the students; an insistence on the need to follow "procedures" for "peaceful and safe" protests; encouraging "open debate and responsible action"; and threatening to take legal steps against any "unlawful behaviour"⁷¹ The VC responded to Adebajo, accusing him of distortion of his views on Rhodes:

Adebajo succeeds in completely distorting the view I hold on Rhodes. First, he fails to mention that I, personally, have repeatedly stated that I regard Rhodes as a villain, the perpetrator of ruthless exploitation of indigenous people, land expropriation, illegal wars and vicious conquest.

Second he fails to remind readers that I, as well as the entire senior leadership group of the university, have publicly expressed our view that the Rhodes statue must be moved.⁷²

The VC defended his decision to consult extensively despite his personal conclusion that the statue should be moved, by reiterating the following: "UCT is an argumentative university. This is an abiding strength: it shows our engagement with the issues of our times and our interest in ideas that matter. Undoubtedly the students are leading a national debate."⁷³ While some felt that UCT had wasted time deliberating the obvious, others like Adam Habib, VC of University of Witwatersrand, felt UCT had not deliberated and conversed deeply enough before a decision on the Rhodes statue was concluded.⁷⁴

Following nearly a month of protests and meetings, Senate voted in favour of moving Rhodes' statue as follows: Votes in favour: 181; Votes against: 1; Absentions: 3⁷⁵. The decision was endorsed at a special meeting of Convocation on Tuesday 7 April 2015, and on Wednesday 8 April the university's council decided unanimously to remove the statue to be temporarily housed for safekeeping in an unnamed storeroom approved by the Western Cape Heritage Resources Council, pending a formal application to the council to have the statue removed permanently, in accordance with the

National Heritage Resources Act.⁷⁶ The Chair of UCT Council, Archbishop Njongonkulu Ndungane asked for accelerated and acceptable roadmap of transformation. He credited the students in particular for the historic removal of Rhodes' statue:

What sparked this was a cry from the students. That transformation needs to be consolidated. Cecil John Rhodes, for the sins of his past, as an imperialist and a racist [...] stands in contrast to the values that this university enhances. And so Management of this university got into a process of consulting various structures of the university, including Senate, and terminating in our meeting last night when Council voted unanimously as recognition of what the students are saying and a demonstration of our commitment to transformation.⁷⁷

On Thursday, 9 April, 2015, at 5.37 pm, the contentious "statue of Cecil John Rhodes was lifted a short distance by a huge crane from its pride of place. [...] pelted with whatever members of the gathered crowd could get their hands on, as it was lowered onto its waiting transport," while "Some onlookers stood in silence, a few took selfies and some sang and danced."⁷⁸ As the statue was driven off, the SRC vice-president of external affairs Zizipho Pae said moving it was paving the way for the "real work" of transforming UCT to begin. Other students waving banners that read "We have only just started," concurred. The students had won a victory on a statue, and they would continue to occupy Bremner building, re-christened "Azania House," until their demands for racial transformation were met. "This movement is not just about a statue, it's about decolonizing the colonial structure, the curriculum and everything it stands for," some insisted. On their transformation shopping list were plans to lobby in coming months "for the promotion of black lecturers and the enrolment of more students from disadvantaged communities," and to follow up on a proposal they had submitted requesting that "the names of various other 'colonial landmarks' at the university, including Jameson Hall, be changed. Jameson Hall was named after Leander Starr Jameson, a confidant of Rhodes."

The protests spread to other formerly white universities such as University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, Rhodes University in Grahamstown, Stellenbosch University, and the University of KwaZulu Natal. But reverberations have also been felt at universities such as North West, Tshwane and the Western Cape.⁷⁹ In all of these institutions, as Tasneem Essop, a Masters student in Political Studies and the Secretary-General of the 2013 SRC at University of Witwatersrand, puts it, black African students were in "rage against the forms of institutional racism that students have been told to live with." The students were protesting and taking to social media to challenge "the silencing of black students" in colonial institutions that no longer had a place in post-colonial and post-apartheid South Africa. As Essop argues, in all of these universities the protests spoke to "a much broader failure in higher education since 1994 and a much deeper problem of exclusion" for black South Africans. She maintains that the increased number of black students and black staff on campus does not matter much if institutional racism and inequality are not tackled at a structural level. "Having been a student leader at Wits University, I know all too well the consistently frustrating pace of transformation at our institution. Wits, like most other former white universities, has a deep-seated, institutional and systemic form of racism that is swept under the carpet." It is quite possible, she argues, for the majority of students in a programme to be black, and yet, for a student "to go through a humanities curriculum without meeting one African, female lecturer and without learning anything outside of a deeply Eurocentric curriculum." Faced with such intricacies, transformation requires careful and meticulous thinking through to get it right. Without such meticulous care and thinking through, current clamours for transformation are likely to end in failure just as did past initiatives in the 1990s, Essop warns. To her, if fewer black postgraduate students graduate as is often the case, this is "partly because of socioeconomic circumstances outside of universities which force them to enter the workforce earlier, rather than to remain in academia," and partly because of the failures of universities to take the financial, social and academic conditions of black students seriously. "Many black students have had to come to terms with

the fact that, despite their relative privilege at universities, they do not benefit from the structures of the academy in the same ways as white students." Like the RMF campaigners, Essop's sights are set beyond the symbolic: "Once the symbols – the statues and names – have been removed from our campuses, the same rage that we see now, must be focused on the heart of these academies. That will be real battle to transform the often invisible structures and mechanisms that sustain institutional racism."⁸⁰

At Stellenbosch University, which insists on Afrikaans as the exclusive language of undergraduate instruction, protests to open up the university inspired a film by Dan Corder of Contraband Cape Town, working with Open Stellenbosch titled *Luister* [Listen]⁸¹. Produced in just 17 days, *Luister*, a 35-minute documentary, is made up of interviews with 32 students and one lecturer at Stellenbosch University, detailing their experiences of racist abuse, discrimination and exclusion. The film is centred on responses to the question: "What is it like to be a black person at Stellenbosch University?" All 32 student interviews were filmed over six hours on 2 August 2015. The following quotes of pronouncements by students stand out in reviews and discussions of the film in social media and newspapers: "I feel like it's wrong to be black [...] I sometimes ask myself when I'm alone, why did God make me black when a lot can happen in a good way when you're otherwise?"; "The colour of my skin in Stellenbosch is like a social burden [...] I mean just walking into spaces, there's that stop, pause, and stare where people cannot believe that you would enter into this space"; "Being black within the Stellenbosch community you know that you're not accepted and you kind of ask yourself what's wrong with me, like what did I do wrong?"; "In the beginning I actually started to assimilate, you know, wanting to lose myself and attain whiteness. Maybe this will work better and they'll accept me more because I'm trying to be like them. And I realised that I cannot do that. I'm not willing to sell my soul to whiteness. I have to be proudly black." Released 17 August 2015, the film had attracted over 343,222 views (3,784 likes, 735 dislikes on YouTube) by 5 October 2015 when I accessed it. It has trended on social media in South Africa, attracting the attention of political leaders of all leanings. Debate over the film

reportedly resulted in the suspension of Metro FM host Unathi Msengana, and to Stellenbosch University management being summoned to appear in Parliament for an urgent meeting on transformation.⁸² Transformation is hardly merely a case of add a little black and stir, while continuing with the same structure and the same rules. Commenting on *Luister*, Jonathan Jansen calls on white Afrikaans universities to make peace with the fact that African students are rightly knocking on the doors of learning simply to gain access to public institutions, and ensure that these students are protected from the risks to which they are exposed in universities where they are a racial minority. He elaborates:

As I have said over and over again, in a country shaped by centuries of white supremacy, and with a violent history of trying to push Afrikaans down the throats of black people (Soweto 1976), race will always trump language in the transformation debates. In other words, because of our history the right to access will always take on much more political significance than language rights. The longer leaders of the Afrikaans universities take to accept this simple truth, the more their campuses will be the target of upheavals for years to come.⁸³

As a direct result of the protests spearheaded by Open Stellenbosch, on Thursday 12 November 2015, Stellenbosch University management announced its decision to discontinue insistence on Afrikaans as the primary language of instruction with effect from January 2016. Here is an excerpt of the statement:

Language should be used in a way that is oriented towards engagement with knowledge in a diverse society and to ensure equitable access to learning and teaching opportunities for all students. Since English is the common language in South Africa, all learning should be facilitated in at least English to ensure no exclusion due to language. The University remains committed to the further development of Afrikaans and isiXhosa as academic languages.

[...]

The primary language of communication and administration at Stellenbosch University will be English, with Afrikaans and isiXhosa as additional languages. The

additional languages may not be used to exclude anyone from full participation at the University. This implies that all communication at Stellenbosch University will be in at least English, including meetings, official documents, and services at reception desks and the call centre, etc.⁸⁴

This announcement was celebrated by the Open Stellenbosch campaign group with a Facebook post that read: "The Language Policy Has Fallen".⁸⁵ In a BBC report, Milton Nkosi adds: "Dropping Afrikaans means that, psychologically and symbolically, the walls of apartheid are still crumbling 21 years after racial segregation was officially removed from the statute books."⁸⁶

Back at UCT, senior management are busy putting together what they deem will be a solid foundation to begin the serious business of meaningful transformation. They are aiming to engage all constituencies and to be inclusive. The VC is particularly keen to bring on board "those who have felt marginalised," and "those who may have unpopular or rather different views on where and how to change the university." He seeks to provide for co-creation and co-ownership of and unity around the roadmap for change and into the future at UCT, to ensure that the university is truly "a place where all staff and students feel at home and valued."⁸⁷ In the interest of proceeding with a collective transformation project, the VC announced "an executive decision to grant an amnesty in respect of all protest-related incidents that occurred between the first protest on 9 March 2015 and 18 May 2015," insisting that "No disciplinary action will be brought against any student or staff member in respect of these events." Furthermore, "I have written to the Student Representative Council (SRC), Rhodes Must Fall (RMF) and Transform UCT, to inform them of the executive decision, and I trust that as a result we will move swiftly to begin meaningful discussions on the way forward." In addition, referring to a group of students who had occupied a building, the VC wrote: "We have provided RMF and those occupying Avenue House with a dedicated venue in a hall next to Avenue House, and they will have to leave Avenue House at the latest middle of Monday, 18 May 2015." He urged that the amnesty should not be seen as a sign of "capitulation to pressure"⁸⁸.

On the urgent and important business of transformation, the VC outlined the measures taken by UCT Council at a special sitting on 22 April 2015 during which several SRC proposals were considered. Council agreed to establish a task team (including student members) to review the names of buildings and works of art across campus, in the interest of creating an environment conducive to diversity. Also established was a task team to review the current function, role and powers of the Institutional Forum and explore how it could play a more effective role in steering and negotiating transformation. A review of the functioning of DISCHO (the Discrimination and Harassment Office) was scheduled to take place before the end of 2015. Provision was made to extend membership of the Curriculum Review Task Team, a subcommittee of the Teaching and Learning Committee, to students, and a different framework for thinking about curriculum reform was to be developed. A review of the structures, resources and functioning of Transformation Services Office was scheduled. Faculties were encouraged to hold open assemblies and fora where students are encouraged to voice their experience within the faculty, drawing on the example of the faculties of Health Sciences and Law where the initiative was already underway. It was announced that the employment equity plan for 2015 to 2020 had been intensively debated and was scheduled to be tabled in Senate and Council in June 2015. A review of the functioning of the system of employment equity representatives, particularly in selection committees, was underway. Funding was being sought to invest in "ensuring that the career paths of every black academic in the junior ranks is individually mapped out, with requirements for the next promotion clearly spelled out with a plan for personal development, including pairing up with senior mentors." It was announced that the composition of promotions committees was undergoing review in all faculties, to provide for greater transparency, rebuild trust and fairness, and ensure that the changes were effective for the 2015 promotions calendar. It was also announced that Transform UCT (a grouping of black academic staff) had participated in the annual Academic Heads of Department (HOD) workshop on the role HODs could play in transformation at department level. A day-

long workshop or summit to design the agenda for tackling transformation was planned. The list of things done and planned was not intended to be a comprehensive statement of UCT transformation plans, but rather an indication that things were on the move with renewed energy and devotion. The VC concluded with this appeal: "Once again, I invite all departments, staff and students, the SRC, Transform UCT, RMF, the trade unions and transformation structures to seize this opportunity to plot the course for UCT to achieve leadership and excellence in transformation..."⁸⁹

This programme of action approved by Council was followed by the appointment of Associate Professor Elelwani Ramugondo as "Special Advisor to the Vice-Chancellor on Transformation".⁹⁰ Here is an excerpt of the statement announcing the appointment:

The Rhodes Must Fall protests, as we know, were about much more than the statue. They reflected deeper underlying frustrations with the pace of transformation. The response of all constituencies within the University of Cape Town – from Council to students, Senate, faculties, professional and support staff, unions, to the Institutional Forum (IF) – has been an overwhelming commitment to take much bolder steps and to focus more energy and resources on the multiple dimensions of transformation that lie ahead. This needs dedicated attention from my office, and also additional coordination as leadership across the university – the deans, academic heads of department, executive directors, Student Representative Council and IF – all drive new transformation efforts within our respective spheres of governance and influence.

In order to ensure the necessary executive focus on the transformation project over the next 12 months, I am appointing a Special Advisor to the Vice-Chancellor on Transformation, who will work in my office, help me keep abreast of all the initiatives and advise me on ways of accelerating the various programmes across the university. This is since I cannot possibly be directly involved in them all while still performing the VC functions that I must inevitably carry out. While in no way being a gatekeeper

to my office, she will also be available to meet with any groups and individuals who wish to raise issues related to transformation policy and practice – whether these are concerns or proposals.

I am pleased to announce that Associate Professor Elelwani Ramugondo has accepted my invitation to become my Special Advisor and will take up the position on 18 June 2015 for a 12-month period.

Associate Professor Ramugondo has been at UCT since her student days, having obtained her BSc Occupational Therapy (1992), her MSc and her PhD here. Her career as a faculty member started as a lecturer in a development contract post in 1998, and she has moved up the ranks, having been promoted *ad hominem* to associate professor in 2010. She served as head of the division of Occupational Therapy from 2010 to 2013. Associate Professor Ramugondo has supervised or is currently supervising seven PhD and 13 Masters students, amongst whom eight are black South Africans.⁹¹

Among her many qualifications for the position, Associate Professor Ramugondo was said to have "led some interesting innovations in curriculum reform within her discipline and profession." Her portfolio included working with "the task teams being established to review names of buildings and artworks." She was expected to "attend faculty assemblies to hear the issues raised," get "involved in the reviews of the Discrimination and Harassment Office and the Transformation office," oversee "the new plans to accelerate employment equity and career development," identify "issues in the institutional climate that need to be addressed," and time permitting, "join the expanded curriculum review process." She was also to serve as "an assessor member of the IF and University Transformation Advisory Committee".⁹²

Harry Garuba, a Nigerian Associate Professor who heads the School of African and Gender Studies, Anthropology and Linguistics, is sceptical that committees such as those set up by the VC can deliver the rooted transformation of curricula and syllabuses needed to definitively banish Rhodes' legacy. "I don't want the discussion around

curriculum reform to die a slow, deliberative death, as so many issues do when landing at the feet of committees." He labels as "disingenuous" past explanations advanced by university management for the "disgraceful paucity of black professors." Of essence are conversations and debates about the nature and form of a decolonised curriculum in South Africa. Because others have travelled this road before, Garuba argues, South Africa does not need to start at ground zero. There are lessons of earlier debates and conclusions reached on the continent and elsewhere to draw on. Examples cited include the University of Nairobi, where Ngugi wa Thiong'o and two of his colleagues initiated a transformation debate that challenged the English department to open up its usual continuities in British content to include writings in English from Africa and elsewhere. They demanded the insertion of Kenya, East Africa and Africa at the centre of their research and teaching, and sought to reconceptualise university curricula relevant to their context, and not merely an extension of the West into Africa. What the debate in Kenya that eventually led to a major curriculum transformation in East Africa teaches us is that curriculum transformation is not simply a question of adding new items to an existing curriculum. It requires a radical interrogation of the very basis for constituting the object of study.⁹³

Transformation should aim to activate and bring into conversations sensitivities and sensibilities informed by African live-worlds, experiences and predicaments. He invites us to "recognise the cultural and scientific production – the knowledge – of previously devalued groups of people." Borrowing from Edward Said, Garuba argues that a possible way forward could be a contrapuntal approach, which "takes into account the perspectives of both the colonised and the coloniser, their interwoven histories, their discursive entanglements – without necessarily harmonising them or attending to one while erasing the other." Such contrapuntal thinking should take place at every level, and should include a pedagogy that seeks to integrate in a significant way the knowledge of the marginalised into what one is teaching. It is not enough to have moved Rhodes' statue. This must be followed up with moving "the hegemonic gaze of the Rhodes that is lodged in our ways of

thinking, in our curricular and pedagogical practices, our professional practices as teachers, academics, scholars and students. We need to take a critical look at our everyday routine." In short, we need to remove the Rhodes that lives in our disciplines and the curricula that underpin them".⁹⁴

There is reason to doubt just how ready to turn the page UCT really is. Since the Mahmood Mamdani years (1996-1999), there has been more rhetoric than substance about transformation (Nyamnjoh 2012a&b; Morreira 2015), if the address on the challenges of curriculum transformation to the RMF students by the current A.C. Jordan Chair and Director of Centre for African Studies at UCT, Professor Lungisile Ntsebeza, is anything to go by (Ntsebeza 2012, 2014).⁹⁵ It is equally worrying that despite its offer of amnesty, UCT has not resisted the temptation to spot and discipline those it perceives as scapegoats for the current RMF campaign. In this regard, it has singled out Maxwele (who has dared to think, speak, write and act as he sees fit in the interest of the collectivity for whom he is determined to take leadership on matters of social, intellectual and economic transformation) for exemplary discipline and punishment. In the totalising and often totalitarian logic of systems under attack, it is hardly surprising, given Maxwele's prominence and leadership role in the RMF campaign, that UCT as an institution would seek to undo him in any way it could. The obvious, for an institution that purports to thrive on consultative democracy even when the problem is the majority white establishment and its logic of practice, was to resort to legalisms and pro-establishment civilities. Not only was Maxwele accused to have done the unthinkable by smearing Rhodes with human waste,⁹⁶ he was portrayed as no stranger to insubordination to constituted authority (including when he purportedly showed President Jacob Zuma's motorcade the middle finger on a Cape Town street in February 2010), alleged to have threatened whites with extinction, and was suspended from the university in May following an altercation with a female white lecturer over study space on campus during a public holiday.⁹⁷ Maxwele was charged, inter alia, with having "raised his voice at the lecturer; shouted aggressively that 'the statue fell, now it's time for all whites to go'; and

showed aggressive behaviour, which included banging on her office door," and to have said: "'We must not listen to whites, we do not need their apologies. They have to be removed from UCT and have to be killed.'" ⁹⁸ The statement suspending him for two months read: "On May 7, Mr Maxwele was given a provisional suspension order because his continued presence on the campus was considered to pose a threat to the maintenance of good order. This provisional suspension order was made final after a hearing."⁹⁹

Accusing the university of intimidation, conspiracy and of using his suspension to achieve political ends by silencing the voices of student activists, Maxwele challenged the suspension and released his own version of events, complaining about the tendency in the white world to criminalise and treat as dangerous savages black men.¹⁰⁰ He was dissatisfied with the manner in which the university had handled his own complaint on the matter: "My complaint has not been dealt with to date when the complaint against me has been handled with haste and decisiveness," he claimed.¹⁰¹ The university released a statement refuting Maxwele's¹⁰² claims, an amnesty which Maxwele dismissed as "purely political",¹⁰³ and citing its offer of "amnesty to protesters for a specific period during which they illegally occupied two UCT buildings and disrupted a council meeting" as evidence of its fair-mindedness in dealing with the RMF campaigners. The suspension was eventually overturned on technical grounds by the independent university student disciplinary tribunal¹⁰⁴. Disappointed with the outcome, the university resolved to issue afresh a suspension order, and to accord Maxwele a right of appeal within 72 hours, a procedure ignored previously. According to Maxwele, UCT acted without due course when they suspended him a second time, despite his vindication by the discipline appeals committee. Following his resuspension, Maxwele turned to the Western Cape High Court for justice. The court granted an interim order allowing him to register and attend classes and tutorials.¹⁰⁵ It took a High Court ruling in his favour for the suspension to be set aside. To him this was evidence of UCT wanting to silence him at all costs.¹⁰⁶ To interested observers like Nhlapho, the disciplinary proceedings

against Maxwele was added proof that "UCT, a white university, wants black students to submit to white domination without complaint, or that their complaint be processed within the defined legal channels, processed and reduced within a white dominated system, when 47% of whites in South Africa already think Apartheid was "not that bad"¹⁰⁷

Notes

1. See <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/UCT-students-in-poo-protest-against-white-imperialism-20150310-2>, accessed 01 October 2015.
2. Upon his return, he issued a statement on 18 March, detailing the measures and programme of action on Rhodes statue protests and transformation. See <http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=9034>, accessed 05 October 2015. This is an excerpt of his statement:

Last week's student protests have resulted in a massive outpouring of anger and frustration – much about the issue of the statue, much more about experiences of institutional racism, aggravated by students' perceptions that they are not being heard, or that their demands are not achieving the response they seek. There are also similar frustrations experienced by a number of our members of staff. There have also been many voices critical of both the mode of the student protest, and the view that the statue should be removed. Given this recent escalation of debate and protest, I think it appropriate to replace our original programme with a more accelerated process to facilitate a more rapid decision about the statue.
3. See <http://www.iol.co.za/news/uct-rhodes-statue-protest-both-sides-1.1831688#.VfWLGpce4TZ>, accessed 17 September 2015.
4. Adekeye Adebajo <http://www.bdlive.co.za/opinion/columnists/2015/03/23/debate-over-rhodes-is-one-of-transformation>, accessed
5. Adekeye Adebajo <http://www.bdlive.co.za/opinion/columnists/2015/03/23/debate-over-rhodes-is-one-of-transformation>, accessed
6. Simon Lincoln Reader, <http://www.bdlive.co.za/opinion/columnists/2015/03/27/one-monument-cannot-capture-all-countrys-ills>, accessed 03 October 2015.
7. See <http://www.iol.co.za/sundayindependent/rhodes-scholars-play-a-vital-role-in-sa-1.1843802#.VfWkSJce4TZ>, accessed 03 October 2015.
8. Greg Nicolson <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2015-04-09-op-ed-statues-of-thought-and-symbols-of-resistance#.VfWKb5ce4TZ>, accessed 03 October 2015.
9. Greg Nicolson <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2015-04-09-op-ed-statues-of-thought-and-symbols-of-resistance#.VfWKb5ce4TZ>, accessed 03 October 2015.
10. <http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2015/4/6/anti-racism-protesters-in-south-africa-take-aim-at-a-statue-with-poop.html>, accessed 17 September 2015.
11. Admits the protests to bring down the statue, UCT retained its position as the highest ranked university in Africa, giving it the status of the Harvard or Cambridge of Africa, both universities globally ranked first and third, as well as being first ranked universities in the USA and UK respectively. See <http://www.destinyconnect.com/2015/05/27/uct-still-africas-top-ranked-university/>, accessed 03 October 2015.
12. See Siona O'Connell, UCT: A Campus at Odds with Itself, <http://mg.co.za/article/2014-09-08-uct-a-campus-at-odds-with-itself>, accessed 17 October 2015.
13. Siona O'Connell, <http://www.iol.co.za/capeargus/what-uct-s-not-telling-their-first-years-1.1806441#.ViKF1ise4TZ>, accessed 17 October 2015.
14. See Siona O'Connell, UCT: A Campus at Odds with Itself, <http://mg.co.za/article/2014-09-08-uct-a-campus-at-odds-with-itself>, accessed 17 October 2015.
15. See Martin Hall, <http://www.bbc.com/news/business-31945680>, accessed 01 October 2015.
16. See <http://mg.co.za/article/2015-05-14-this-is-the-year-varsities-will-transform-blade>, accessed 30 September 2015.
17. This is how a female student at the UCT University Assembly: The Rhodes Statue and Transformation described it in a poem when she took the stage to express her frustration at being repeatedly told and expected to forgive and forget her white exploiters and debasers. See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eWVJnBVnyPc>, accessed 07 October 2015.
18. See <http://africasacountry.com/2015/09/achille-mbembe-on-the-state-of-south-african-politics/>, accessed 01 October 2015.
19. See <http://africasacountry.com/2015/09/achille-mbembe-on-the-state-of-south-african-politics/>, accessed 01 October 2015.
20. <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/UCT-students-to-protest-over-racial-transformation-20150319>, accessed 01 October 2015.
21. See <http://www.timeslive.co.za/thetimes/2015/09/04/The-Big-Read-The-storm-rages-unabated>, accessed 03 October 2015.
22. Adam Habib, http://www.wits.ac.za/newsroom/newsitems/201504/26107/news_item_26107.html, accessed 05 October 2015.
23. See Open letter from former SRC presidents: 'Rhodes must fall', <http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=9037>, accessed 06 October 2015; See also <http://allafrica.com/stories/201503230163.html>, accessed 01 October 2015.
24. A founding member of Media for Justice, a social justice and media activist as well as a documentary film-maker.
25. See Gillian Schutte, <http://www.iol.co.za/sundayindependent/becoming-a-master-of-subterfuge-1.1907710#.VfWmypce4TZ>, accessed 01 October 2015.
26. See Gillian Schutte, <http://www.iol.co.za/sundayindependent/becoming-a-master-of-subterfuge-1.1907710#.VfWmypce4TZ>, accessed 01 October 2015.
27. See Xolela Mangcu's Ripping the veil off UCT's whiter shades of pale University's move to 'downgrade' race fails to hide the truth about inequality, 6 July 2014, Sunday Times, p. 18. See also: <http://www.bdlive.co.za/opinion/2014/11/03/sas-black-academics-are-getting-raw-deal>, accessed 06 October 2015; Xolela Mangcu, 10 steps to develop black professors, City Press, 20 July 2014.
28. See University Assembly: The Rhodes Statue and Transformation, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eWVJnBVnyPc>, accessed 07 October 2015. On this point Mangcu was echoing a point made emphatically by Jonathan Jansen at the 21 October 2014 Public debate: Transformation in higher education at the Baxter Concert Hall, that the idea of standards is often mobilised to exclude those not wanted, as very few universities in South Africa, UCT included, can demonstrate the standards they often claim when challenged to be more inclusive. See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=thiiUDeIySw>, accessed 08 October 2015.
29. Tokelo Nhlapo, <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2015-03-11-ucts-poo-protest-violence-is-a-perfect-reaction#.VfXL4Jce4TZ>, accessed 04 October 2015.

30. See Xolela Mangcu, 10 steps to develop black professors, City Press, 20 July 2014; Max Price, Addressing the shortage of black and women professors, <http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=8891>, accessed 06 October 2015.
31. See Xolela Mangcu, What a less Eurocentric reading list would look like, <http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=9275>, accessed 06 October 2015.
32. See http://www.jwtc.org.za/the_salon/volume_9.htm, accessed 12 October 2015.
33. See http://www.jwtc.org.za/the_salon/volume_9.htm, accessed 12 October 2015.
34. See http://www.jwtc.org.za/the_salon/volume_9.htm, accessed 12 October 2015.
35. Shose Kessi, <http://thoughtleader.co.za/blackacademiccaucus/2015/09/25/of-black-pain-animal-rights-and-the-politics-of-the-belly/>, accessed 01 October 2015.
36. Panashe Chigumadzi, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/aug/24/south-africa-race-panashe-chigumadzi-ruth-first-lecture>, accessed 03 October 2015.
37. How can one quibble about black pain in what Mbembe describes as the only country in which a revolution took place which resulted in not one single oppressor losing anything? See <http://africasacountry.com/2015/09/achille-mbembe-on-the-state-of-south-african-politics/>, accessed 01 October 2015.
38. See <https://medium.com/@tomolefe/a-long-comment-on-mbembe-s-state-of-south-african-politics-5cd1030a1990>, accessed 01 October 2015.
39. According to a survey of born-frees conducted in the course of the Rhodes Must Fall campaign, many born-frees declared they were likely to resort to violent protests because of the persistence of inequalities in the country.

According to the report, "unemployment rates are higher among younger people, women and Africans." On the expanded definition of unemployment, the rate among African males aged 15 to 24 years is 67% compared with 75% of African females. Violent protests in SA have almost doubled in the last three years and it is suspected that the economically disenfranchised youth may play a huge part in it.

Born frees are also receiving poor quality education, said the report, with literacy and numeracy scores in Grade 3 in this group barely above 50%. This has a major ripple effect later on as only 51% of matric candidates pass their final school-leaving exam.

The report found that "people aged 14 to 25 years old account for 29% of the country's prison population."

See "Born free but still in chains: South Africa's first post-apartheid generation," <http://www.biznews.com/briefs/2015/04/29/sas-born-frees-likely-to-drift-into-violent-protests-says-report/>, accessed 03 October 2015.
40. See <http://www.iol.co.za/news/uct-rhodes-statue-protest-both-sides-1.1831688#.VfWLGpce4TZ>, accessed 17 September 2015. For a similarly critical open letter on the Rhodes Must Fall Movement addressed to the President of UCT Convocation Barney Pityana, by Leigh-Ann Naidoo, a PhD student in Education at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, see <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2015-04-14-open-letter-to-barney-pityana-on-the-rhodes-must-fall-movement/#.VfWV15ce4TZ>, accessed 17 September 2015. Naidoo concluded her letter with this call to action: "Don't stand by and watch these students and their message and action be criminalised. They are speaking truth to power as you once did. And you know what it feels like to be served with legal papers, bannings, trials, and police harassment. Perhaps Max Price will go to sleep at night feeling accomplished to have contained and shut down the possibility for real change driven by brave black staff, students, workers and alumni. But will you?" In his defence, Professor Barney Pityana reportedly said, "amid a chorus of boos and jeers": "'It is untrue that I said the statue must stay [...] I said it is important to raise this issue at all levels and to think about how to handle history [...] the only reason why I am here is to facilitate debate [...] if my presence is not helpful I am more than happy to step down.'" See <http://www.bdlive.co.za/national/2015/03/26/pityana-replaced-as-co-chair-of-rhodes-debate>, accessed 2015. See also University Assembly: The Rhodes Statue and Transformation, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eWVJnBVnyPc>, accessed 07 October 2015.
41. See <http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2015/4/6/anti-racism-protesters-in-south-africa-take-aim-at-a-statue-with-poop.html>, accessed 17 September 2015.
42. See Trevor Noah, Its My Culture Full Show, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DBYgnTlaG4c>, accessed 06 October 2015.
43. See <http://www.bdlive.co.za/opinion/columnists/2015/03/27/uproar-at-uct-has-only-been-good-for-it>, accessed 17 September 2015.
44. See <http://www.bdlive.co.za/opinion/columnists/2015/03/27/uproar-at-uct-has-only-been-good-for-it>, accessed 17 September 2015.
45. See <http://www.politicsweb.co.za/party/anc-nec-backs-rhodes-statue-protests-at-uct>, accessed 02 October 2015.
46. See <http://mg.co.za/article/2015-05-14-this-is-the-year-varsities-will-transform-blade>, accessed 30 September 2015.
47. See <http://allafrica.com/stories/201503230163.html>, accessed 01 October 2015.
48. See <http://www.bdlive.co.za/national/politics/2015/04/07/eff-calls-for-public-spaces-to-be-reconstructed>, accessed 02 October 2015.
49. See <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/UCT-protesters-vow-to-continue-occupation-of-building-20150410>, accessed 02 October 2015.
50. See <http://allafrica.com/stories/201503230163.html>, accessed 01 October 2015.
51. See <https://www.enca.com/south-africa/cecil-rhodes-statue-should-be-moved-uct-vice-chancellor>, accessed 05 October 2015.
52. See for example, <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/American-students-support-RhodesMustFall-Campaign-20150326>, accessed 17 September 2015. In a message of solidarity posted on The Rhodes Must Fall Facebook page, members of the Black Student Union at the University of California, Berkeley, USA wrote: "We write to express to you our strongest solidarity as you embark in the courageous struggle to take down one of Africa's biggest enemies, and colonizer, Cecil John Rhodes." "We believe that, when we as Black students and youth organize ourselves in a disciplined manner, the decolonization of our education and the total liberation of our people is inevitable." Other displays of support came from universities within South Africa, and also from universities outside of South Africa such as Oxford University and the University of the West Indies. See <http://mg.co.za/article/2015-03-26-rhodesmustfall-protest-spreads-to-other-campuses>, accessed 05 October 2015.
53. See University Assembly: The Rhodes Statue and Transformation, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eWVJnBVnyPc>, accessed 07 October 2015. The students who read out these posts requested management do disengage itself through positive action to demonstrate that

- they were not complicit in perpetuating such racist innuendos.
54. For short critical analyses of the protests' achievements and shortcomings, see Vito Laterza and Ayanda Manqoyi, <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2015-11-06-looking-for-leaders-student-protests-and-the-future-of-south-african-democracy/#.VkiN67-3ud8>, accessed 15 November 2015; and David Dickinson, <http://theconversation.com/fee-protests-point-to-a-much-deeper-problem-at-south-african-universities-49456>, accessed 16 November 2015. Both articles insist on the much deeper structural inequalities and challenges at South African universities and the wider society that need urgent attention. On his part, Paul Kaseke makes a case for student leaders to "be elected on merit, not party affiliation," arguing that the momentum and solidarity generated by the student protests were soon dissipated once the party political considerations of the various student leaders were prioritised over and above the broader interests and concerns of the student body. See <http://theconversation.com/why-student-leaders-should-be-elected-on-merit-not-party-affiliation-49549>, accessed 17 November 2015. Kaseke's point is buttressed by the situation at the University of the Western Cape, where students continued the protests despite the announcement on zero fee increment by President Zuma, calling on the university to write-off student debts worth more than R270-million, and resorting to violence and physical confrontation to make their case. In an article title "UWC caught between a rock and a hard place," Thulani Gqirana bemoans the "demands that lack legitimacy" as well as "a student leadership not elected through a democratic process," and "who lack negotiation experience". See <http://mg.co.za/article/2015-11-17-uwc-caught-between-a-rock-and-a-hard-place>, accessed 17 October 2015.
 55. See Xolela Mangcu's Ripping the veil off UCT's whiter shades of pale University's move to 'downgrade' race fails to hide the truth about inequality, 6 July 2014, Sunday Times, p. 18. See also: <http://www.bdlive.co.za/opinion/2014/11/03/sas-black-academics-are-getting-raw-deal>, accessed 06 October 2015; Xolela Mangcu, 10 steps to develop black professors, City Press, 20 July 2014.
 56. See for example, Public debate: Transformation in higher education, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=thiiUDelySw>, accessed 08 October 2015. This debate, which took the form of a panel discussion, was chaired by Sakhela Buhlungu. Titled 'The University and Society' and hosted at the Baxter Concert Hall on 21 October 2014, participating panellists were Dr Max Price, UCT's Vice-Chancellor, Professor Jonathan Jansen, Rector and Vice-Chancellor of the University of the Free State, and Professor Mamokgethi Phakeng, Vice Principal: Research and Innovation at the University of South Africa.
 57. See <http://mg.co.za/article/2015-03-06-brazen-trickery-in-transformation>, accessed 30 September 2015.
 58. Further reflections on this issue, see for example, Achille Mbembe, <http://wiser.wits.ac.za/system/files/Achille%20Mbembe%20-%20Decolonizing%20Knowledge%20and%20the%20Question%20of%20the%20Archive.pdf>, accessed 09 October 2015; <http://wiser.wits.ac.za/content/podcast-achille-mbembes-public-lecture-decolonizing-university-12046>, accessed 09 October 2015.
 59. Many African countries have since regretted the fact that they obtained token political independence – usually derogatorily referred to by critics as "flag independence" to the detriment of the economic independence they ought to have sought vigorously in order to avoid the excessive economic dependence on former colonial masters and the West at large in the postcolonial era. Kwame Nkrumah's slogan – seek ye first the political kingdom and all else shall follow – was an extravagant illusion to which the post-apartheid ANC government seem to have fallen prey.
 60. See <http://www.destinyman.com/2015/04/23/ucts-latest-move-towards-transformation-may-not-be-the-best-way-forward/>, accessed 03 October 2015.
 61. See http://www.mediaforjustice.net/achille-mbembes-state-of-south-african-politics-undermines-black-south-africans/?fb_action_ids=10154170807341124&fb_action_types=og.likes, accessed 01 October 2015.
 62. See Shose Kessi <http://thoughtleader.co.za/blackacademiccaucus/2015/09/25/of-black-pain-animal-rights-and-the-politics-of-the-belly/>, accessed 01 October 2015.
 63. See Shose Kessi <http://thoughtleader.co.za/blackacademiccaucus/2015/09/25/of-black-pain-animal-rights-and-the-politics-of-the-belly/>, accessed 01 October 2015.
 64. See the following statements by Vice Chancellor Max Price, beginning from 18 March, when returned from Senegal: Rhodes statue protests and transformation <http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=9034>; Appointment of Special Advisor to the Vice-Chancellor on Transformation <http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=9212>; UCT and Rhodes Must Fall sign agreement <http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=9175>; UCT grants amnesty to protesters <http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=9155>; Urgent update on the Rhodes statue and Bremner occupation <http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=9100>; Response to Sunday Independent article: 'Adebajo distorts Price's view on Rhodes' <http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=9068>; Update on Rhodes statue and occupation of Bremner Building <http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=9063>; Progress in discussing the removal of Rhodes statue <http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=9051>; Price applauds students for bringing transformation issues into focus <http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=9042>. His deputies and other instances of senior management were equally busy.
 65. See <http://www.bdlive.co.za/national/2015/04/10/botha-statue-may-be-toppled-next>, accessed 17 September 2015.
 66. See CT Talks: Heritage, Signage and Symbolism <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4NngpJ00M5Ho>, accessed 06 October 2015.
 67. See Martin Hall, <http://www.bbc.com/news/business-31945680>, accessed 01 October 2015.
 68. See <http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/western-cape/vice-chancellor-statue-should-be-moved-1.1833822#.VfXERpce4TZ>, accessed 02 October 2015.
 69. See <http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/western-cape/vice-chancellor-statue-should-be-moved-1.1833822#.VfXERpce4TZ>, accessed 02 October 2015.
 70. See <http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/western-cape/vice-chancellor-statue-should-be-moved-1.1833822#.VfXERpce4TZ>, accessed 02 October 2015.
 71. Adekeye Adebajo, <http://www.bdlive.co.za/opinion/columnists/2015/03/23/debate-over-rhodes-is-one-of-transformation>, accessed 02 October 2015.
 72. Max Price, Response to Sunday Independent article: 'Adebajo distorts Price's view on Rhodes', <http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=9068>, accessed 06 October 2015.
 73. See <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/UCT-leadership-want-Rhodes-statue-moved-20150325>, accessed 02 October 2015. See also Hello Slaapstad, a vide on

Rhodes Must Fall by Yazeed Kamaldien, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z2PV5D9LtA0>, accessed 07 October 2015.

74. Adam Habib, http://www.wits.ac.za/newsroom/newsitems/201504/26107/news_item_26107.html, accessed 05 October 2015. It is ironic though, that Habib would fail to practice the very deep, engaging deliberative conversation when confronted with the case of Mcebo Dlamini, the University of Witwatersrand SRC President, who posted his admiration for Adolf Hitler on Facebook, outraging the South African Union of Jewish Students, among others. Dlamini was summarily expelled from the university, leading him to complain: "If I was a white student, I wouldn't have been charged." See <http://www.thedailyvox.co.za/if-i-was-a-white-student-i-wouldnt-have-been-charged-dlamini/>, accessed 05 October 2015; see also, <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/SRC-presidents-comments-racist-and-offensive-Wits-VC-20150428>, accessed 05 October 2015. Subsequently, Habib was described as a dictator by striking students protesting "a 10.5 per cent fee hike," with some referring to him as "Adolf Habib." The fee increase was said to affect black students in particular, who continue to feel marginalised and to be plagued by poverty. In the words of Mcebo Dlamini, "We continue with the struggle to educate black people. Wits must lead society but they neglect us. Our families look up to us to change this poverty cycle." When the protesting students held VC Habib hostage, the university Council was summoned summarily and the decision to increase tuition and residence fees was suspended, at the end of a meeting that lasted 21 hours. See <http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/gauteng/habib-held-hostage-by-students-1.1931589#.ViIShCse4TY> and <http://mg.co.za/article/2015-10-17-wits-protest-habib-forced-to-hear-student-demands>, accessed 17 October 2015; <http://www.timeslive.co.za/sundaytimes/stnews/2015/10/18/Victory-for-students-as-Wits-backs-off-on-fees>, accessed 20 October 2015. See also a call for affordable university student fees "to allow for greater access to the poor, poor working class and even middle class families" by Deputy President Cyril Ramaphosa, <http://www.msn.com/en-za/news/education/ramaphosa-calls-for-affordable-university-fees/ar-AAfu7Yv?li=AAaxc0E>, accessed 17 October 2015. The fees protests dubbed "#FeesMustFall" on twitter caught on like wildfire, spreading to other universities,

including Rhodes, UCT and Stellenbosch, resonating with students across the country, and attracting international support and solidarity from university students globally. For details, see for example, <http://www.timeslive.co.za/local/2015/10/19/Rhodes-shuts-down-as-students-blockade-entrances>; <http://www.timeslive.co.za/sundaytimes/stnews/2015/10/19/UCT-appeals-for-calm-ahead-of-Tuesday%E2%80%99s-fees-protest>; <http://mg.co.za/article/2015-10-19-rhodesmipmustfall-brings-rhodes-university-to-a-standstill>, accessed 20 October 2015. These protests were evidence not only of well-structured (even if spontaneous and lacking in a central coordinating leadership beyond the party political affiliations of the individual members of the different SRCs involved) student movements countrywide, but also of repeated statements by leaders of the RMF movement that bringing down the statue was just the beginning of a long list of items on their transformation menu, including the right to free education promised them in the constitution and repeatedly reiterated by the ANC leadership, including the late Nelson Mandela. Following an emergency meeting of university leaders nationwide in Cape Town on Tuesday 20 October 2015 with the Minister of Higher Education Blade Nzimande, a meeting at which students were represented, an agreement was reached to cap fees increase at 6% for 2016. The striking students rejected the agreement, insisting on zero per cent increase. On Wednesday 21 October, universities nationwide were grounded by student action, the highlight of which being the mobilising of the police to disperse with violent force a group of UCT and Cape Peninsular University of Technology students who descended on Parliament building in Cape Town, requesting to be addressed by Minister Nzimande. When the student protests persisted and intensified, President Zuma organised an emergency meeting at the Union Buildings with vice-chancellors, chairs of university councils and student representatives on Friday 23 October, at the end of which they resolved in favour of "a zero increase of university fees in 2016." A task team to address a package of important related issues was also agreed upon. Among the issues the team would follow up on were demands for free education, the need to address institutional racism in universities, the question of the extent of institutional autonomy for

universities, and the challenge of transformation of curricula and higher education in South Africa. "Government understands the difficulty faced by students from poor households and urges all affected to allow the process to unfold to find long term solutions in order to ensure access to education by our students," President Zuma urged. See <http://www.scribd.com/doc/286630723/President-Zuma-no-fee-increase>, accessed 23 October 2015. For short critical analyses of the protests' achievements and shortcomings, see Vito Laterza and Ayanda Manqoyi, <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2015-11-06-looking-for-leaders-student-protests-and-the-future-of-south-african-democracy/#.VkiN67-3ud8>, accessed 15 November 2015; and David Dickinson, <http://theconversation.com/fee-protests-point-to-a-much-deeper-problem-at-south-african-universities-49456>, accessed 16 November 2015. Both articles insist on the much deeper structural inequalities and challenges at South African universities and the wider society that need urgent attention. On his part, Paul Kaseke makes a case for student leaders to "be elected on merit, not party affiliation," arguing that the momentum and solidarity generated by the student protests were soon dissipated once the party political considerations of the various student leaders were prioritised over and above the broader interests and concerns of the student body. See <http://theconversation.com/why-student-leaders-should-be-elected-on-merit-not-party-affiliation-49549>, accessed 17 November 2015. Kaseke's point is buttressed by the situation at the University of the Western Cape, where students continued the protests despite the announcement on zero fee increment by President Zuma, calling on the university to write-off student debts worth more than R270-million, and resorting to violence and physical confrontation to make their case. In an article title "UWC caught between a rock and a hard place," Thulani Gqirana bemoans the "demands that lack legitimacy" as well as "a student leadership not elected through a democratic process," and "who lack negotiation experience". See <http://mg.co.za/article/2015-11-17-uwc-caught-between-a-rock-and-a-hard-place>, accessed 17 October 2015.

75. See statement issued by Pat Lucas, dated 27 March 2015, titled, Further Info on UCT Senate Vote in Favour of Moving Rhodes' Statue.

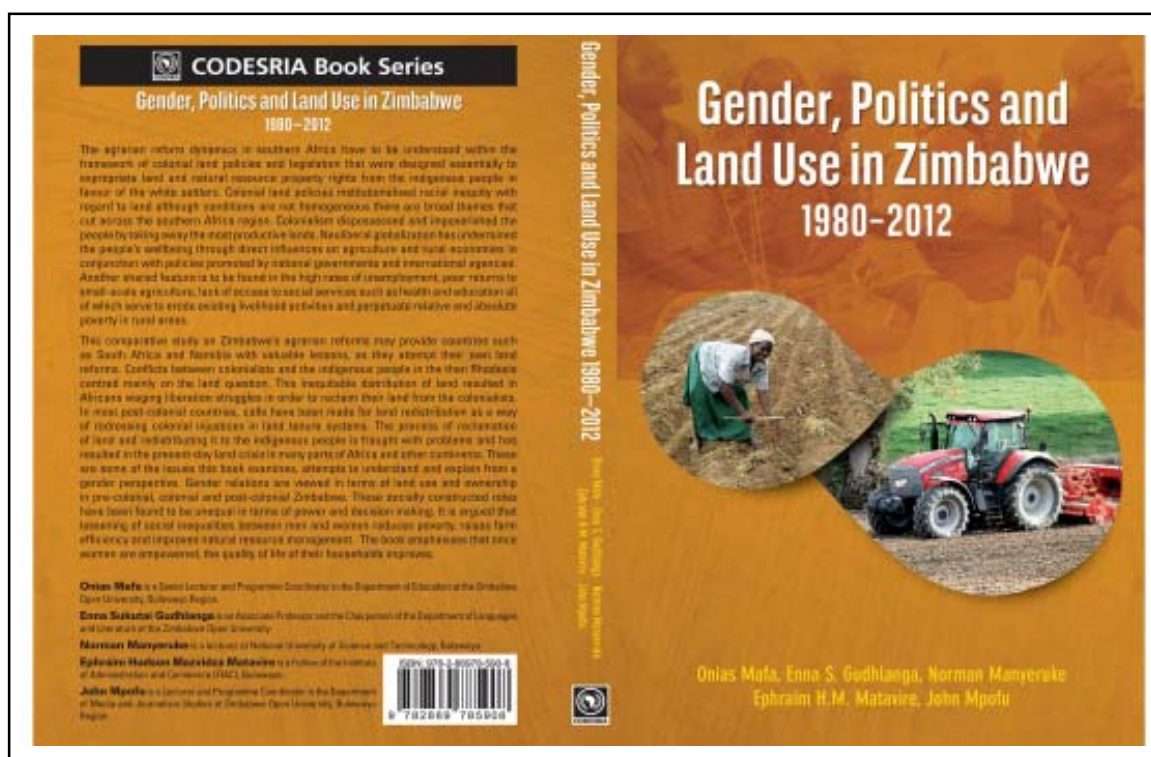
76. In September the university issued an update on the application for a permanent removal, announcing that it had sought and obtained an extension of the deadline for the submission of the application for permanent removal of the Rhodes Statue and Heritage Statement, from 28 September 2015 to 12 November 2015, in order to allow for extensive comments from all parties concerned. See <http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=9367>, accessed 05 October 2015.
77. See The short rise and long fall of Rhodes statue, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y-rTQrybZpk>, accessed 07 October 2015.
78. See <http://www.bdlive.co.za/national/2015/04/10/video-the-short-rise-and-long-fall-of-rhodes-statue>, accessed 17 September 2015.
79. See Kwezilomso Mbandazayo, United Front Interim National Co-Convenor, <http://www.politicsweb.co.za/politics/students-should-unite-in-struggle-against-failed-u>, accessed 05 October 2015.
80. Tasneem Essop <http://www.thedailyvox.co.za/student-rage-and-the-battle-for-transformation-at-sas-universities/>, accessed 05 October 2015. For more at University of Witwatersrand where students have joined the revolutionary bandwagon, and "standing up to the conditions of whiteness their parents accepted, confronting a colonial history manifest in the present," as Greg Nicolson puts it, see his review of a documentary titled "Decolonising Wits," by Aryan Kaganof, <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2015-07-15-decolonising-wits-a-disconnect-of-content-and-context/#Vfhlbpce4TZ>, accessed 05 October 2015.
81. See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sF3rTBQTQk4>, accessed 05 October 2015.
82. It led to the production of a documentary *Luister* [Listen], a film exposing South Africa's ongoing racism problem, with Stellenbosch University as a case in point. <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/07/luister-south-africa-film-racism-stellenbosch>, accessed 05 October 2015. See also, Greg Nicolson, <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2015-09-01-stellenbosch-luister-could-lead-to-change/#VfmAjpe4TZ>, accessed 05 October 2015; for the Stellenbosch University appearance before Higher Education Portfolio Committee in Parliament, see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3cufFANKfUg>, accessed 05 October 2015.
83. Jonathan Jansen, <http://www.rdm.co.za/politics/2015/09/03/campuses-in-sa-are-in-turmoil.-what-s-the-root-cause-of-the-upheaval>, 05 October 2015.
84. See <http://www.sun.ac.za/english/Lists/news/DispForm.aspx?ID=3172>, accessed 13 November 2015.
85. See South Africa's Stellenbosch University aims to drop Afrikaans after protests, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-34807291>, accessed 13 November 2015.
86. See Milton Nkosi, Why South African students want to be taught in English, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-34811562>, accessed 16 November 2015.
87. See <http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=9155>, accessed 20 September 2015.
88. See <http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=9155>, accessed 20 September 2015.
89. See <http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=9155>, accessed 20 September 2015.
90. See <http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=9212>, accessed 21 September 2015.
91. See <http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=9212>, accessed 21 September 2015.
92. See <http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=9212>, accessed 21 September 2015.
93. See Harry Garuba, <http://mg.co.za/article/2015-04-17-what-is-an-african-curriculum>, accessed 04 October 2015.
94. See Harry Garuba, <http://mg.co.za/article/2015-04-17-what-is-an-african-curriculum>, accessed 04 October 2015.
95. See also Decolonizing the Curriculum by Prof Lungisile Ntsebeza filmed by Wandile Kasibe, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JF8KVQSQcnk>, accessed 08 October 2015. In his address, Ntsebeza, who says he is not out to change anyone's course, discusses a university wide course he envisages on the teaching of Africa, including the possibility of offering a major in African studies. The fact that he is still talking in rudimentary terms is an indication that little of substance, especially structurally, has changed in the teaching of Africa at UCT since the Mamdani years. For additional insights and reflections provoked by RMF, see Cherry Bomb, on colonial legacies and the violence of liberal whiteness at UCT – April 2015, <http://fleurmach.com/2015/07/14/on-colonial-legacies-and-the-violence-of-whiteness-at-uct-april-2015/>, accessed 09 October 2015; Puleng Segalo, <http://www.ru.ac.za/media/rhodesuniversity/content/equityinstitutionalculture/documents/Reflections%20on%20Conference%20-%20P%20Segalo,%20UNISA%20.pdf>, accessed 09 October 2015.
96. Clearly revolted by the act, Simon Lincoln Reader represents it as follows:

Desecrating anything with human faeces is one of the most contemptible forms of protest; in the context of the University of Cape Town debacle, it was worsened by the reality that staff — black staff — were left to sanitise the defiled statue of Cecil John Rhodes. It has been near-impossible to gauge the objective due in part to the blinding incoherence of the protest leader — a troubled boy who has an impressive rap sheet of attention-seeking. See <http://www.bdlive.co.za/opinion/columnists/2015/03/27/one-monument-cannot-capture-all-countrys-ills>, accessed 03 October 2015.
97. See detailed UCT press statement on the matter, <http://www.uct.ac.za/dailynews/?id=9198>, accessed 03 October 2015.
98. See <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Maxwele-My-comments-about-whites-just-allegations-20150608>, accessed 03 October 2015.
99. See <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/UCT-students-suspension-lifted-on-technical-grounds-20150612>, 03 October 2015.
100. See <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/UCT-rejects-Maxwele-conspiracy-theory-claims-20150609>, accessed 03 October 2015.
101. See <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Poo-flinging-UCT-student-says-suspension-is-politically-motivated-20150511>, accessed 03 October 2015.
102. See <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Students-suspension-not-related-to-protests-UCT-20150515>, accessed 03 October 2015.
103. See <http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/western-cape/uct-amnesty-purely-political-maxwele-1.1860007#VfXD8Jce4TZ>, accessed 03 October 2015.
104. See <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/UCT-students-suspension-lifted-on-technical-grounds-20150612>, 03 October 2015.
105. See <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Interim-order-allows-Maxwele-to-attend-UCT-classes-20150722>, accessed 05 October 2015.

106. See <http://citizen.co.za/772402/maxwele-wins-case-against-racist-uct/>, accessed 04 October 2015.
107. Tokelo Nhlapo, <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2015-03-11-ucts-poo-protest-violence-is-a-perfect-reaction/#.VfXL4Jce4TZ>, accessed 04 October 2015.

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Scars of Memory and Scales of Justice: Rethinking Political Assassinations in Post-colonial Africa

"We are mourning here ... not his death but the manner in which he met his death. Even if it takes 100 years, we want to know why he was killed and by who... The Daily Nation, March 17, 1975. Mwai Kibaki, On JM Kariuki's assassination in Kenya.

Preamble

Many African independent states have been unable to sufficiently marshal their enormous human and material resources to achieve a lasting political stability, economic growth and sustainable development. Since independence, many countries have witnessed an extensive, disturbing and systematic history of politically motivated killings and assassinations. The African regimes have presided over shocking and sometimes brutally effective record of inhumane laws, harassment, imprisonment, torture and other forms of oppression to terrorize, silence or otherwise neutralize those with dissenting views to the establishment.

Sadly, while such state perpetrated atrocities have been committed against citizens, there has never been any form of official acknowledgement or apology. For instance, Kenya had been ruled by regimes which have had no respect for human rights, the rule of law, social justice, transparency, accountability and other trends of democracy. It is against this background that a Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC) was established in Kenya to expose the colonial menaces of land grabbing, massacres; the immediate post-independent frames of assassinations, as well as the late independence skeletons of state killings, the 'ethnic clashes'; and the economic scandals.

Today, nations throughout the world are coming to terms with their pasts; Europe with its colonial history, America its dark past of slavery, South Africa's vicious apartheid and Germany with the scars left from two totalitarian regimes. Within this evolving process of dealing with the past, the issue of compensating victims has often been at the forefront of the public discourse.

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Introduction

While speaking to a group of scholars at the Taylor Institute of Oxford University, on a topic titled: *Scars of Memory and the Scales of Justice*¹. Wole Soyinka, struggled to engage in a rather controversial subject of memory and forgiveness when he openly wondered how modern societies should respond to the commission of despicable acts in public life occurring on a systemic level; Commissions of acts such as slavery in the US, apartheid in South Africa, or even tyranny through the hands of individual tyrants in Africa. Soyinka concluded that forgiveness as "a value is far more humanly exacting than vengeance... yet cannot swallow the proposition that it will, by itself, suffice". Most importantly though, in this juxtaposition, and like E. P. Thompson, Soyinka admonished historians who rescue the "casualties of history ...from enormous condensation of posterity²....by reconstituting the vanished components of the world we have lost...

These casualties are the heroes who suffered or were wounded or even killed either as individuals or as a group while states and governments made efforts to erase their memories from the public sphere. Consequently, to help societies to heal and bring to justice past atrocities committed by those in such autocratic regimes, historians would indeed engage in tenuous exercises of indulgence by evoking those memories and bringing them to people's attention.

In a similar controversy over the subject, Americans too were recently caught by the *fin-de-siecle* disposition of past centuries memories. This was revealed at a conference organized by the Omuhondro Institute at Elimina Beach, Cape Coast Ghana in 2007. One of the participants reported that he had made a request to the then American President, George Bush

II to grant permission to set up a museum of memory to commemorate slave trade and slavery. The reluctant Bush is said to have replied and told him that the 'strength of Americans lies in what they forget and not necessarily what they can remember....why then bring bad memory to them again?' This was indeed a very controversial answer concerning the use of memory and quite significantly; history.

Indeed, Kammen's *Mystic Chords of Memory* adequately hooks us onto this wagon of argument, when he notes that Americans too are devoted to memory. Kammen proves this character by chronicling the growth and development of historical societies, erections of historical monuments, government funding for preservation, and academic and popular sentiments through documented testimonies, public lectures, and private letters. He demonstrates America's pragmatic approach to memory; the things they choose to remember and the things they choose to forget. A major theme in his exposition is the ways in which nations have utilized the past in order to reconstruct an adequate national identity.³

Collective memories work much the same way; they foster and define group identities, telling a group of people where they have come from, who they are and how they should act in the present and future.⁴ In comparison, Kenya still stubbornly clings to its past; it has an uncertain past haunted by a series of mysterious murders and state sponsored killings and for this reason, for many decades now, the country is faced with an uncertain future that is characterized by ethnic mistrust and fear. This is the ultimate reason why TJRC was formed, not only to help Kenyans to venture and expose their dark past and come to terms with it, but to also account for the ills that have shaped their history.

Nevertheless, alongside such understanding of Soyinka and George Bush II on official national memory, as concretised in remembering or forgetting, we know that numerous sub-national memories are often maintained and transmitted on a more informal basis. For

instance, while official memory of political Mau Mau assassinations and extra-judicial murders was suppressed through decades of state-endorsed amnesia, published memoirs of former fighters and detainees of the rebellion allowed Mau Mau to stay alive in the public memory.

In the wider African context, orality as captured in historical narratives play a big role in maintaining and transmitting memories. What do relatives or friends of the victims of assassination or state sponsored killings remember and feel about this? What grudges do they have? How can they be addressed? The key role of orality, and in this case; the narratives of the established commissions of inquiries play a vital role as primary foci of memory.⁵

Through the truth commissions and public hearings, a window of opportunity has opened to help those whose memories had been suppressed to speak out and express their fear, anger and pain. In addition, the duty to remember and address the past is essential in helping ensure that future generations 'never again' repeat such violations, and the ability of memorials to preserve and communicate memory and history is invaluable in the process.

Pierre Nora has argued that material sites of memory can become more about the production of history than the preservation of memory; distinguishing between the two where memory 'remains in permanent evolution, open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting' while history is 'the reconstruction, always problematic and incomplete, of what is no longer'.⁶ The construction of memorials, monuments, public holidays and special days may allow re-remembering. Memorials can only fulfil their role if they have some meaning to society, allowing the transfer of memory through active processes of remembrance such as intended visits to, and engagement with them. While the Kenyan state may be applauded on the facilitation of the existing monuments and national holidays, it is still not sufficient enough to sustain such memories.

In this regard, therefore, historical review of political assassinations and extra-judicial killings in Kenya will to a large extent, ameliorate social and political dilemmas that has shrouded and become part of the continent's institutional architecture. However, the path from

public history-telling in this country to national political transformation is often elusive and biased. This is so, mainly because Kenya is in a state of denial. It is denying its past and its present and it is denying its future. The Kenyan state is suffering from what Onyango-Oloka calls a 'calculated historical amnesia' or what has been referred to as 'selective amnesia'. Kenyans tend to choose what to remember and what to forget.

Memory is often seen as a prerequisite for healing the wounds of the past, and therefore a necessary condition for reconciliation, both on an individual level as well as in politics and society. For only those who remember the past will be able to prevent the recurrence of evils from the past. It would therefore be morally callous and possibly unjust to simply dismiss every historical injustice as superseded by the passage of time. Unfortunately, all former heads of state in Kenya have dismissed the past and admonished citizens to forge ahead and forget the past in popular aphorism: *tusahau yaliyopita tuanze upya* meaning, *lets forget the past and forge ahead*.

As a general issue, the challenge of dealing with any historical injustice touches on a wide range of deeply contested yet essential concepts in contemporary political philosophy, among them; nature of justice, rights and responsibility. It is however, ultimately true that truth commissions do in no way give definite answers to those yearning for the actual things as they happened, but will be able to identify those that are considered historical injustices and will try as much as possible to deal with the subject of truth and answer the following questions; How much normative weight should we give to the past in deliberations about what we owe to each other? Which historical injustice matters and why? To whom are reparations owed (if any)? Who should pay them? What form of reparation? Understanding and dealing with moral consequences of the past is one of the most important political issue of our time, and yet also the most intractable.

In fact, in matters of theorisation of transitional justice, contributions from historians have always been conspicuous in their absence as Hannah Franzki argues *...if anything, the 'turn to history' of societies wishing to come to terms with their violent past is perceived as an encroachment on or a distortion of*

academic historiography.⁷ However, in reviewing Berber Bevernage's book *'History, Memory, and State-Sponsored Violence'* Franzki thinks that it is a proof that such an engagement is pertinent to both the field of transitional justice and history in itself as a discipline. An analysis of truth commissions and their practical use of history sheds light on the 'politics of time' that are at work in transitional justice practices.

Political Assassinations, the State and the Scare of Nationhood: A Theoretical Perspective

Political assassinations, just like as in war have bred insecurity at unprecedented proportions in many concerned countries around the world. The assassination's historical importance lies in a horde of factors; the most pertinent being the global context in which it took place, its impact on politics since then and the overall legacy of the assassinated as national or political leaders. Rightly, assassinations are amongst the highest profile acts of political violence, and conventional wisdom holds that such events often have substantial political, social, and economic effects on states.

It has been argued that states are among the most prolific killers; this reflects the fact that assertions of state power are necessary factors in the establishment of social order. The elites holding power in a state often use killing to maintain their political authority and use the lethal power of the state to do so. The range of killings undertaken by such despotic regimes include; execution, war, massacres, and genocide. Such killings occur in a unique context in which killing may become bureaucratized. Salient sociological issues include the nature of nationalism, the capacity of the state to legitimate killing, and the creation of command killers.⁸ However, why do assassinations occur especially in developing countries?

In a paper titled: *Why Kill Politicians?* Bruno S. Frey⁹ developed a model of analysis on what he calls 'the Demand to Assassinate Politicians'. He identified different motivations for launching an assassination. One, is to achieve political change or as Schumpeter¹⁰ and Downs¹¹ supports: to survive in elections; the second, is pegged on the premises that the expected effect on policy is larger when there is one politician in charge than

if the policy is determined by a committee of (equal) politicians. This person, Frey argues, it may be a King, a President or a Prime Minister, plays a prominent role and has some unrestricted room to act according to his or her preferences. He or she therefore becomes the object of dislike or hatred by a number of individuals some of which may exert a demand for killing the ruler. However, assassination may also occur when there is no well-determined succession rule. Again in a centrally planned economy, and in a society without well-developed civil units -such as independent trade unions, churches and private clubs-there is a stronger incentive to kill the ruler.

Assassinations can also occur in a more fractionalized a society, for instance, the more distinctive ethnicities and religions there are, the more their interests differ, and the more aggressive they are, the more difficult it is for a ruler to satisfy their preferences, and the more likely he or she will be attacked. It can also occur where there is a strong international engagement of a country extends the borders of influence of national politicians and therewith makes the ruler more involved in fractional strife. As a result the demand to assassinate the ruler is larger. Finally, assassinations at some extreme cases may be executed to attract media attention by the would-be assassins camouflaged as hired mercenaries.

Assassinations in Africa have been employed as a political tool since independence, marking, altering, or determining the course of events through modern African History. It has been said that terror and assassinations is the mainspring of despotic government. Even in contemporary times, the sins of assassination and its forms continue to plague most countries. In addition, acts of violence, such as ethnic tensions and *coup de tats*, executions, and civil wars, have continued to haunt societies and political systems in the twenty first century Africa.

Apart from affecting or killing the victim, assassinations have direct consequences upon critical social-economic and political institutions and the targeted individual nation as a whole.¹² As studied and expounded by political theory and history, assassinations and assassination attempts of critical political personalities have far-reaching political and societal consequences and repercussions. For

instance, the sudden and unexpected murder of a head of state or high-ranking official would not only interfere with a nation's political effectiveness, but also promulgates terror and unrest within a government.¹³ Most significantly, assassinations and attempts to assassinate often disturb or change the focus of domestic and foreign policy within a nation.

Today, the International law differentiates between state-sponsored and non- state-sponsored assassinations.¹⁴ When an assassination is committed by a group that is not linked with a government or by an individual acting alone, it is not state-sponsored. There have been many well-known assassinations of this type throughout history. Assassinations that are not backed by states are usually treated as murders in the nations where they occur. Because no state is answerable, they usually do not infringe upon the international law.¹⁵ Except in the case of international criminal law, only states can be held accountable for violating international law.¹⁶

Assassinations generally reflect a violation of the international law against treachery in war or aggression in times of peace.¹⁷ Further, it is possible, although less likely, that individuals or groups of individuals accused of assassination could be held responsible for committing genocide or crimes against humanity. Assassination could therefore rise to the level of a crime against humanity only if it was part of a systematic or prevalent pattern of attacks against a civilian population.

In Kenya, Tom Mboya's assassination can rightly be viewed as a classic country's root of evil manifested in that in less than a decade after independence, it became a stumbling block to the ideals of national unity, economic independence and pan-African solidarity that Mboya had championed, as well as a shattering blow to the hopes of millions of Kenya for freedom and material prosperity.

No matter how we look at it, the mere threat of assassination has always played a pivotal role in the history of human politics. It has also had a profound socio-economic impact upon all nations. Today, political leaders all over the world are routinely protected from motivated and opportunistic assassins. Nations adapt to this threat by implementing defensive strategies, which require the expenditure of time, effort, and resources.¹⁸ In sum, political assassinations in Africa have

punctuated most political regimes; Egypt, historically, has had the most assassinations at 16, followed by South Africa (12), Algeria (11) and Nigeria at 10.

Exemplified below are some of the most prominent assassinations committed in Africa since attainment of independence of States more than 50 years ago. Congolese Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba, a pro-communist was assassinated in 1961, while Sylvanus Olympio, leader of Togo was killed in 1963. Hendrik Verwoed, the Prime Minister of South Africa was stabbed to death in Parliament in 1966 and in the same year, Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi who was Nigeria's military Head of State and the Prime Minister Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa were exterminated in bloody military coups.

In the 1970s, political murders continued with the murder of Ugandan Chief Justice Benedicto Kiwanuka in 1972 and that of the Archbishop of Uganda, Janani Luwum in 1977.¹⁹ Steve Biko, South Africa's anti-apartheid crusader was battered to death by would be law custodians in police custody in 1974, while Francois Tombalbaye, the President of Chad, followed suit a year later. In Nigeria, President Murtala Mohammed could not escape the assassin's bullet in 1976.

Liberian President William Tolbert Jr led the list of those assassinated in the 1980s when he was gunned down during the 1980 military coup. Pragmatic Egyptian President Anwar Sadat was shot during a military parade in 1981, while in 1987, Burkina Faso Head of State Thomas Sankara succumbed to the bullet.

While multipartism swept throughout Africa following the disintegration of Eastern Europe in the 1990s political murders were still an eyesore in Africa. Rifaat al-Mahgoub, speaker of the Egyptian parliament in 1990 was the first casualty while Samuel Doe, the President of Liberia could not be spared of the ritual the same year. Chris Hani, the leader of South African Communist Party could not survive to witness a rainbow state as he was eliminated in 1993, while the sky was never to be the limit for Rwandese President Juvenal Habyarimana in power as the plane carrying him was brought down in pieces in 1994. Ibrahim Bare Mainassara, President of Niger was equally vanquished in 1999 but the shooting of Congolese President Laurent Kabila in 2001 by his own body guards was utterly shocking. The list could go on.²⁰

In the wider East Africa, however, Kenya seems to be the most assassination happy nation with less than 10 major political murders, while Burundi three Prime Ministers were assassinated; Louis Rwagasore (1961), Pierre Ngendandumwe (1965) and Joseph Bamina (1965). Uganda has had two assassinations during the dictatorial regime of Idi Amin though in his book *State of Blood* Henry Kyemba who was trusted Minister in the regime puts the figure at 150, while Tanzania has recorded only one assassination, the 1972 murder of the first President of Zanzibar and first Vice President of Tanzania, Sheikh Abeid Karume.

Kenya has had six major political assassinations the most prominent being the murders of Pio Gama Pinto, Tom Mboya, J. M. Kariuki, Bruce MacKenzie, Robert Ouko, and Crispin Odhiambo Mbai. The sequential cases of political assassination in Kenya as well as the mysterious circumstances in which they have occurred have put the country in a turbulent situation. The inconclusive state in which they have remained and the 'bloody' political war that emerged in some part of the country, heightening particularly the contest between the Luo and Kikuyu have turned the Kenya political terrain into a boiling cauldron, where the nation is often but rudely awoken to the news of yet another conflict.²¹

Conclusion

Since independence, successive regimes have employed political assassinations and state sponsored killings to silence those with dissenting views and entrench themselves into leadership and further silence the masses. Viewed in the lens of modern Kenya, these killings have raised sentiments of repugnance and maddening bust of indignation. To a country living under a law-abiding and ultra-human government, there is certainly something repugnant in the conduct of leaders who being bound to afford protection, allow such to occur; a replica of the worst dictatorial government of our next door neighbour Idi Amin whose state sponsored gangs-State Research Bureau massacred thousands of Ugandans both professionals and civilians who were perceived to be a threat to the despotic regime.

While motives have varied; from expediency of punishing certain crimes, getting rid of political competition,

weeding ambitious politicians, perceived "dissidents" of the government or those who posed as "threats" to power, state involvement and subsequent cover ups using decoys in a well-oiled and premeditated assassination machinery have been employed in the majority of political murders. Propaganda and Commissions of Enquiry are often used as smoke-screens to get into "the bottom of the matter," but are nothing more than public relations exercises to mask the motives and faces behind the assassinations. Prominent figures in government are normally involved. Key witnesses into the assassinations disappear or die mysteriously. No real perpetrators, for that reason, have ever been brought to book and majority of those found guilty were only scapegoats of the regime and the security system which is extensively used in most of the political assassinations.

Notes

1. W. Soyinka, 'The scars of memory and the scales of justice'. Olof Palme Memorial Lecture, Taylor Institution, University of Oxford, 16 November, 2000.
2. Cf. E.P Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York, 1968), p. 12, Emphasis is mine.
3. David Thelen, "Memory and American History," *Journal of American History* vol. 75 (1989): 1118.
4. See also, John Gillis, "Memory and Identity: The History of a Relationship" in *Commemorations*, ed. John Gillis (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 7.
5. Editorial, *Sunday Nation*, 25 March 2007. Also in Patrick Gathara, 'The British War in Kenya', *The New Black Magazine*, 31 July 2007. Available
6. Pierre Nora (1989) 'Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Memoire*', *Representations* (26): 7-24, 8. For a fuller discussion, see David Goldsworthy, *Tom Mboya: The Man Kenya Wanted to Forget* (New York: Africana Publishing Co., 1982). p.229.
7. Hannah Franzki, Challenging the Politics of Time in Transitional Justice – How to Think the Irrevocable: Bevernage's *History, Memory, and State-Sponsored Violence* in *Theory & Event*, Volume 15, Issue 2, 2012
8. Tony Waters, *When Killing Is a Crime*, Boulder, USA, 2007, p. 18
9. Bruno S. Frey, *Why Kill Politicians? A Rational Choice Analysis Of Political Assassinations*, Working Paper No. 324, University Of Zurich And CREMA –

Research Center For Economics, Management and The Arts, May, 2007

10. Schumpeter, Joseph A. *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*. New York: Harper, 1942.
11. Downs, Anthony, *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper and Row, 1957.
12. Anderson, Chris A. "Assassination, Lawful Homicide, and the Butcher of Baghdad." *Journal of Public Law and Policy* 13:291, 1992.
13. Beres, Louis R. (1992). "The Permissibility of State Sponsored Assassination during Peace and War." *Temple International and Comparative Law Journal* 5: 231.
14. Heaps, Willard A, 1969. *Assassination: A Special Kind of Murder*. New York: Meredith Press.
15. Wiebe, Mathew C. (2003). "Assassination in Domestic and International Law: The Central Intelligence Agency, State-Sponsored Terrorism, and the Right of Self-Defense." *Tulsa Journal of Comparative and International Law* 11:363.
16. The United Nations Charter prohibits the aggressive use of force by one state against another. The Charter also prohibits interfering in the territory or affairs of another state. Chapter I of the Charter requires that all states must "settle their international disputes by peaceful means" and must "refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force". When a state sponsors the assassination of the leader of another state, it violates this basic rule of international law. For further details of this read for example, Wiebe, Mathew C. (2003). "Assassination in Domestic and International Law: The Central Intelligence Agency, State-Sponsored Terrorism, and the Right of Self-Defense." *Tulsa Journal of Comparative and International Law* 11:363.
17. Wiebe, Mathew, Ibid, See also Zengel, Patricia (1992). "Assassination and the Law of Armed Conflict." *Mercer Law Review* 43:615.
18. Ronald F. White, '3 General Theory of Assassination' in *Assassination Research* Vol. 5 No. 1, 2007. p.3.
19. U.S. Department of State, 2012.
20. For a more profound study of immediate post-colonial independence assassination, see for example, Ali A. Mazrui, *Thoughts on Assassination in Africa* in *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 83, No. 1 (Mar., 1968), pp. 40-58,

21. See for example, John O. Oucho, *Undercurrents of Ethnic Conflict in Kenya*. This book analyses the ethnic conflict in Rift Valley Province in the nineties at the end of cold war and when multi-party democratic politics were being reintroduced in the country. Its central thesis is that ethnic conflict in the country then was a function of several issues, among them ethnocentrism. The author particularly

pays attention to the long history of Luo-kikuyu conflict. For a wider debate on the rift between the Luo and Kikuyo, see also Ayodo, Awuor. 1996. "Luo." The Heritage Library of African Peoples. New York: Rosen Publishing Group, Inc. 15-16; DuPre, Carole E. 1968. The Luo of Kenya. Washington, DC: Institute for Cross-Cultural Research; IRIN (Integrated Regional Information Network): United Nations Office for the

Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. www.irinnews.org and Stewart, Frances. 3/2008. "Kenya, Horizontal Inequalities and the Political Disturbances of 2008." Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity. Department of International Development, Oxford University. <http://www.crise.ox.ac.uk/copy/Kenya%20note%20for%20discussion.pdf>, accessed 20/02/13

The Human Project and the Temptations of Religion

The world in which we live today is impacted on by many conflicts involving religion. Much of this religious conflict is taking place on the African continent which is an obvious cause for concern. In this regard consider the conflicts that erupted in Central African Republic, Nigeria, Mali, Somalia, Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Niger, Chad, Sudan, Kenya, etc. Since we live in a supposedly scientific age with its concomitant secularism, this would seem a bit surprising. According to prominent theorists in the history of anthropology such as Emile Durkheim (1915), James Frazer (1890, 1922), Lucien Levy-Bruhl (1923), E.E. Evans Pritchard (1937), Levy Strauss (1966), et al., human history is characterised by increases in human technological and scientific advancement through the ages. For example, it is common knowledge that human technology improved its scope through the successive stages of the Lithic (Stone) Age, the Bronze Age, and the Iron Age. At the same time, according to the anthropologists mentioned above, human cultures have gone through successive cognitive stages according to which the first stage was the age of reliance on magical thinking whereby humans in their attempts to explain phenomena imbued inanimate objects with animistic powers. Thus, rocks, trees, rivers, etc. all were seen to exercise conscious powers over humans who in turn became their votaries and engaged in regular ritual practices including sacrifices meant to appease and adulate them. Such sacrifices often involved the ritual slaughter of animals and the sacrificial killing of humans.

But despite the fact that certain animals were being sacrificed some acquired the status of being sacred as in the case of Indian Hinduism, where the cow, the

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monkey, and the tiger were designated as sacred. As time progressed, the votary objects were anthropomorphised as they acquired human characteristics. They became gods and goddesses and, although residing in other realms, managed and controlled human affairs. Ancient Egyptian and Greek gods are of this category. The endpoint of all of this was that as knowledge of the empirical world grew, agency in matters involving causality was ascribed increasingly less to anthropomorphised deities but to humans themselves. Humans became the measure of all things for many thinkers and less reliance was placed on the invented deities. But only a minority of humans have attained this stage of cognitive development. Religious belief still holds sway for the vast majority of the world's population.

But continuing with the issue of the evolution of human metaphysical thinking, in this instance religious thinking, one notes that for most of human anthropological history humans were disposed to create their gods in polytheistic fashion. There was always a chief god but there were other gods who were seen to be occupied with specific aspects of human existence. Another aspect of note concerning human-created gods is that they were not perceived as beings of moral perfection. They were powerful and influential but not morally perfect. Apart from Ancient Egypt, the case of the Yoruba of West Africa is interesting in that one has here a polytheistic culture with a transcontinental reach in the sense that the Yoruba deities are

highly influential in places like Brazil and Cuba in the Western Hemisphere.

But what is of specific interest for this paper is the fact that there developed a specific branch of god worship that was strictly monotheistic according to which the sole god was imbued with infinite power and an infinite moral scope that was directly and indirectly 'goodness oriented'. Reference here is to Abrahamic religions of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam that are adhered to by the majority of the world's population. There was a precursor to this form of deity in the monotheistic religion of the Ancient Egyptian heretic pharaoh, Akhenaten. The founder of psychiatry, Sigmund Freud (1939) argued in *Moses and Monotheism* that the monotheistic concept of the Jews was adopted from Akhenaten's heretical formulation of a single deity. And it was this possibly adapted monotheistic religion of the West Asian Hebrews (Jews) that set a large portion of the world on the path towards monotheism. The initial Hebrew narrative from Moses to Christ was later adapted to the Arabian culture of West Asia. Yet there are other notable metaphysical systems that hold sway over a significant portion of humanity. They are the Asian metaphysical systems: Hinduism and Buddhism. One interesting feature about them is that there is no ultimate finality for the living human individual given that physical finality is rescued through the concepts of reincarnation and karma. The human body dies but its spiritual *doppelganger* lives on to enter another newly born individual. The life fortunes of the newly born would then be determined by moral debits and credits of the soul's previous life. Buddhism maintains both reincarnation and karma but in the context of an evolving

consciousness which is distinct from the original human form of Hinduism. But the most noteworthy characteristic of both metaphysical systems as religions is that there is no single deity endowed with infinite physical and moral powers. In this regard both metaphysical religious systems are quite distinct from the Abrahamic religions according to which a single deity holds total sway.

The most interesting characteristic of the Abrahamic deity is that he is male and deemed to be not only infinitely powerful but also infinitely 'good' in the strictly normative sense of that term. The directions offered to humans by this deity are relayed to the adherents by chosen individuals named 'prophets' who are then assigned special status by the adherents themselves. What is of crucial importance in the monotheistic paradigm is that the belief in the whole narrative is determined by faith, thus the truth claims that constitute the narrative are not subject to doubt. Empirical and causal proof that is required of the natural sciences does not apply in this case. *Credo quia credo* serves as the bulwark against any epistemological query. This characteristic of the monotheistic paradigm facilitates its totalising ontology. The monotheistic faiths – unlike empirical science – offer a complete explanation of all phenomena in time and in space under the holistic supervision of the all powerful deity, the ultimate arbiter and controller of all events and phenomena. That is the version of truth accepted on faith by the faithful. Empirical science founded on experiment and critical analysis cannot rival this ontological structure of belief because science accepts the fact that knowledge is fallible and that there is no provable theory of everything. Thus the monotheistic religions continue to be dominant on account of the epistemological limitations of even holistic scientific theories. In fact, totalising attempts to understand the world under the rubric of science have been condemned on the basis of promoting what is called scientism.

Yet no such caveats exist regarding the faithful of the monotheistic religions. The term religion derives etymologically, as many sources claim, from the Latin verb 'ligare' which means to bind. In other words, religions bind their adherents to belief systems based on an unalloyed faith. In this regard, there are many among the faithful who act with utmost confidence on the dictates of their faith. It is

this lack of circumspection that leads to unreflective behaviour that brings violence, pain, and grief to many humans.

Humans, as sensory beings existing in a world of empirically sensed phenomena, place great store by truth, i.e., the actual state of affairs. It is for this reason that science has gained in ascendancy. Its truth claims can be readily confirmed or refuted. Theorist of scientific methodology, Carl Popper, argued effectively that what endows a scientific theory with its cognitive tenor is its capacity to withstand regular and increasingly robust tests which could prove it falsified. This explains the fact that scientific claims that were once taken as valid and sound but were subsequently shown to be false abound in the annals of science. Still, on account of its successes, science has proven to be a great epistemological temptress on the basis of its effective empirical yield. Similarly, the temptations of religion abound on account of its faith-bound temptations. But yet, faith like science needs an auditor. If not, peace will be perpetually threatened as the historically numerous wars based on religious identity demonstrate. Africa is immensely and unfortunately plagued by this phenomenon in present times.

In all this, what then is the human project? On account of the fact that humans have been biologically equipped with a central nervous system unique among nature's biological creatures, it would seem incumbent on them to optimise their efforts to get an understanding of the universe in which they live. This has been the case at two levels: the empirical level and the metaphysical level. The history of humankind is characterised by attempts to increase knowledge of the workings of the empirical world for survival purposes. This was the basis for the improvements in human technology and the foundations of empirical science. Certain regularities in nature in terms of cause and effect were observed and such became the later basis for the establishment of scientific laws. But empirical knowledge though testable would not be enough for full cognitive satisfaction. Empirical knowledge understood in terms of cause and effect could offer answers to 'process questions', that is, to questions asking how phenomena occur but such knowledge was ill-equipped to explain the ultimate meaning and significance of phenomena, in other words, the ultimate 'why' questions. This is not to

deny of course that scientists – especially theoretical physicists – have been attempting to answer the ultimate 'why' question, as in the case of Hawking(2010) as the latest popular example of such. Yet even though such explanations offer 'theories of everything' they do not answer the metaphysical questions of ultimate cause in terms of the 'why' question. One popular question of this nature is 'why is there not nothing' instead of the existence of phenomena. One possible answer is that it is impossible that there could ever be nothing since nothing, by definition, is an identifiable something. The cognate argument is that if phenomena exist they must exist for a purpose.

It is at this point that metaphysical systems enter the picture often in the guise of religious theory. The basic claim is that full explanatory knowledge of the universe cannot be obtained through empirical investigation but only through a posit that an extrasensory consciousness endowed with cognitive and moral sensibilities is the ultimate agent and cause of all phenomena. The monotheistic Abrahamic religions are clear on this matter. Everything is explained by way of the consciousness of this ultimate arbiter. But the posit goes beyond this with respect to the Abrahamic religions. Only certain chosen individuals can have access to the knowledge and moral principles promulgated by the ultimate arbiter. Such knowledge is epistemologically insulated and beyond the reach of critical analysis. Adherents to the particular faiths and their own subjective beliefs are then premised on faith or belief *qua* belief. But there is a problematic with this confident foundationalism. It has ultimately led to dogmatic beliefs that ultimately produce contentious sectarianism. Consider the multiplicity of interpretations that one finds in Christian monotheism. Such sectarianism also exist in Judaism and Islam but to a lesser degree.

But there is sectarianism in other forms of human knowledge and such could take on disputatious forms especially when human ideological interests are involved. In the natural sciences, for example, extant theories are always being improved on or challenged. In the case of theoretical physics there are a number of theories competing for dominance. Kuhn's popular text, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1961) testifies to this. Normal science punctuated by revolu-

tionary science is the rule as natural and biological science wend their way forward as they seek to increase the stock of human knowledge of the empirical world. There are often theoretical disputes bordering on human and ideological interests as was the case concerning AIDS research. Peter Duesberg, a theoretical chemist of much repute suggested alternative explanations for the relationship between the HIV virus and AIDS and was practically ostracised from his scientific community as a result. He was labeled an 'AIDS denialist' and effectively became a *persona non grata* in his scientific community. And even before Duesberg there is the classic case of Giordano Bruno, an Italian 16th century polymath who was immolated at the stake for promoting heretical beliefs including the heliocentric theory which ran counter to the dogmatic theological belief that the universe was a geocentric one.

It would seem however that the major determinant of dogmatic faith in any particular human ideology is that concerning human interests. Wherever human material and intellectual interests are threatened, the default position becomes an increased dogmatic faith in the received doctrine. This is indeed the case in the social sciences. Consider the case of the fierce ideological struggles between those theorists who sought to promote their own interpretations of how to put into practice state structures following Marx's critique of capitalism. Take the case of the Soviet Union where the struggle between those who followed Stalin's brand of communism and those who followed Trotsky eventually led to the murder of Trotsky. But the much more fierce ideological struggle took place between the West and the Communist world from 1917 to 1991 when the Soviet Union was dismantled and was replaced by Russia. In this ideological struggle both sides assumed theoretical and empirical certitude regardless of what the empirical facts demonstrated.

But the saving grace here for knowledge was that both social science ideologies of free market capitalism and the command economy system of communism both operated in the context of the material world. Hence their constituent claims could be falsified according to the principle of falsifiability. This principle works on the basis that a given claim is proven false if adequate countervailing evidence could be provided. Thus there

were theorists who claimed to have mustered adequate empirical evidence to show that both economic theories were false. But the issue here is that there were always grounds for saving the proposed theories given that parametric boundary conditions were not fixed. The fact is that the social sciences do not lend themselves to strict experimental conditions as in the natural sciences. But regardless of those constraints there was still the basis for the refutation of existing theories in both ideologically supported areas.

In the area of faith-based religious theory, matters are somewhat different. The fact that the epistemic foundations of those who believe on the basis of faith are assumed to exist in the metaphysical realm insulates such beliefs from critical evaluation based on empiricist criteria. Thus, beliefs based on religious foundations, when firmly held, are held on the basis of faith. The problematic here is that agents whose beliefs derive from an epistemic faith are absolutely convinced that relevant actions are fully justified since doubt is not countenanced. It is on this basis that beliefs based on such cognitive security without any scintilla of doubt or circumspection can often be an epistemic temptation to humans as agents. Once cognitive structures are set in place on the basis of early conditioning or psychological needs, cognitive probings based on epistemological analysis and strict logical analysis would not, in most cases, be successful. The psychological payoffs are much too rewarding for old beliefs to be so easily jettisoned. The question is under what conditions could Cartesian doubt be created? Matters are compounded by the assumption that the Abrahamic deity is "all good" and his actions are optimal for all of mankind. But there is the perennial question of how to explain what many call 'evil events' taking place in a world governed by a benevolent deity. That is the eternal question that theodicy grapples with in perpetuity.

Despite the rise of empirical science over the last five centuries, the vast majority of the world's populations base their holistic belief structures on foundations that are diametrically opposed to those of a much more effective empirical science. The issue here is that empirical science is incomplete in its findings and has not succeeded in establishing an empirically derived theory of everything. At the base of all these are two key issues which

empirical science has not addressed fully. The first issue concerns human mortality. Human self consciousness is so advanced that humans are the only living organisms that can ponder their own ultimate mortality. The Abrahamic religions answer this issue with the promise of an everlasting hereafter. The second issue concerns the purpose and meaning of existence. Theoretical and empirical science is not equipped to deal with the issue of the ultimate purpose and meaning of existent phenomena, especially the purpose of human existence. For the adherents of the Abrahamic religions the issue of purpose and the ultimate significance of phenomena is explained within the content of the will of the Abrahamic deity, the conscious and moral arbiter of all things. In this regard the cognitive gap afforded by the limitations of science and secular knowledge is filled by the metaphysical content of religion believed purely on the basis of faith. Thus the human mind is tempted by religion to lend purpose and significance to human existence, and especially so for those who argue that there are two forms of belief. One form is based on belief based on evidence supported by causality; the other is based on evidence supported mainly on faith. The cognitively insulating idea here is that epistemology which plays such an important role in auditing material evidence and causality is rendered otiose in this instance. The temptation is there but can one legitimately bifurcate the thinking attributes of the human mind in that way?

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