This edition of the Bulletin is special in several respects. First, it has been produced to mark CODESRIA’s 30th anniversary – symbolically an age of youth in full bloom, youth in search of wisdom. In a context where institutions are often prevented by all kinds of vicissitudes – both structural and conjunctural – from fulfilling their visions and missions, the challenges of existence, survival and growth are formidable. Any signs of success both in weathering the storm and becoming a catalytic symbol of the process of the African academy, such as CODESRIA has displayed thus far, deserve to be rewarded and celebrated. That is why the editorial team of the Bulletin joins the rest of the CODESRIA Secretariat, members, donors and friends in wishing the Council happy 30th anniversary and many more years.

There is a second reason why this edition of the Bulletin is special. As a youthful institution located in the most ‘youthful’ continent and in a context marked by transitions and changes, it is legitimate and responsible for CODESRIA to reflect upon the ways in which it has through investments in the youth contributed to the reproduction of knowledge and the African dream. The future of CODESRIA, and through it, the very future of the African dream and toil of the council’s founding fathers and mothers at harnessing the social sciences and humanities for development, depend on the quantity and quality of the African youth. But this youth are currently facing many challenges that risk denying them the opportunity of taking over the batons of scholarship and leadership to enshrine and enhance the achievements of the older generations. Amongst these challenges, the most lethal, the most devastating, the most crippling, the most insidious, the most dehumanising, the most threatening to scholarship, society and life in Africa, is the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

CODESRIA cannot afford to be infected by HIV/AIDS, to risk all it has achieved against so many odds and to die in its prime. That is precisely why it is placing youth and HIV/AIDS at the centre of research and publication activities for the coming years, and has chosen to share with its readership in this edition of the Bulletin, a special crop of papers on HIV/AIDS in Africa written by mostly young social scientists. The papers are the result of a planning and methodology meeting held in Dakar in January 2003, with financial support from the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA). They are intended not only to foster research on youth and HIV/AIDS, and research by the youth, but also to stimulate debate on the merits and shortfalls of current research with a view to charting a course for enriching research concepts, methods and themes in future.

HIV/AIDS is a social reality that scholars in Africa can hardly afford to ignore, especially as nearly two-thirds of the 40 million infected globally are right here on our continent. By all accounts, Africa is the hardest hit continent, with HIV/AIDS now topping the league table of killer diseases, particularly among the youth. Unlike brain drain that could always be harnessed into brain gain, losing African brains to HIV/AIDS is invariably always about going down the drain. The statistics are as grim as forecasts of the pandemic’s ramifications, and attitudes are increasingly fatalistic, not least amongst the infected and affected youth. Equally worrying are the continuous bickering, misconceptions and myths surrounding the disease, that have tended to divert the attention of scholars, including even those who should be doing serious research into how to understand and overcome this particular predicament facing Africans.

As can be expected, HIV/AIDS has attracted a lot of research on its causes and trajectories. Most of this research has yielded a great deal of knowledge about the nature of the disease, the way it is transmitted and the reasons why it is so devastating in its impact. However, the research carried out thus far has also been mainly in the biomedical sciences discipline. To the extent that an effort has been made to address non-medical concerns, the focus has been tilted excessively in favour of narrowly conceived and articulated behavioural change issues. Such issues sometimes obscure as much as they reveal, and all too often produce stereotypes that detract from the critical questions on the economic, political and socio-cultural dimensions of HIV/AIDS as these impinge upon and are played out by individuals, communities, countries, sub-regions, continents, international organisations, and multinationals.

There is indeed need for policies informed by serious multidisciplinary social science research. We desperately require more informed analysis of the social life of the pandemic by seeking to understand the social relationships it exploits, appropriates and redefines, as well as the consequences of such action on the economic, political and cultural dimensions of life within given contexts in Africa. There is also a case for exploring other more creative and more accessible ways common in the humanities (e.g. the novel, drama, poetry, music, dance, art, film, documentary, etc.) for reporting research findings.

In general, the need for more creative social science research is all the more urgent, given that the limited evidence available on the impact and trajectory of the pandemic points to a variety of shifts in relations of power and production, and in the arenas of politics and culture. A careful study of such changes is also justified by prospects for the formulation of more relevant policies to improve the capacity of individuals, families, communities and governments to respond to the challenges of managing different aspects of the disease. The new research initiative by CODESRIA should be seen as part of the effort to strengthen a social science approach to the HIV/AIDS pandemic in Africa that is the indispensable concomitant of the ongoing overall scientific attack on this latest and deadliest of human plagues.

Adebayo Olukoshi

Francis B. Nyamnjoh
Executive Committee Presidents (1973–2003)

Kazadi Ndumba Wa Dile  
1973–1976

Justinian F. Rweyemamu  
1976–1979

J. M. Mwanza  
1979–1981

Kankam Twum-Barima  
1982–1985

Claude Ake  
1986–1989

Taladidia Thiombiano  
1989–1992

Ernest Wamba dia Wamba  
1992–1995

Akilagpa Sawayerr  
1995–1998

Mahmood Mamdani  
1998–2002

Zenebeworke Tadesse  
2002–
Thirty years of continuous, uninterrupted existence for any institution in Africa or, indeed, anywhere else in the world, is by no means a small achievement. On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA), it is delightful to note that the organisation has not just survived—in itself an important achievement—but also grown to become an important institution in the African and wider international knowledge production and dissemination systems. From a small undertaking designed to make a modest contribution to the development of an African scientific community, the Council has, by the sheer hard work and collective will of its founders, leaders and members, emerged as a pioneer pan-African social research organisation and the premier African institution in its field. Placed in the context of the numerous difficulties that are associated with institution-building in Africa and the precariousness of funding for such initiatives, we clearly have every reason to celebrate.

Our joy is doubled by the fact that as it grew, the quality, range, coverage and availability of CODESRIA’s research output also underwent significant improvements, winning it several international awards. Its important role in promoting research and sustaining a networked community of researchers has been matched by the central position it has earned itself as a scholarly publisher in its own right. The last 30 years have also witnessed an increase in the range of opportunities which the Council has been able to offer to younger scholars and female academics.

To be sure, in the period since its founding, the Council has known periods of difficulty and uncertainty. What is exhilarating is that none of these periods has ever endangered the institution or obstructed its growth. In part, this is because of the efficacy of the structures and processes of accountability that were built into the functioning of the Council from the beginning and which made the process of institution-building possible. But it is also reflective of the capacity of the CODESRIA community to summon the requisite energy and courage to carry out reforms from within whenever the need has arisen. In this way, where other institutions have simply fallen by the way side at the slightest difficulty, CODESRIA has been able to convert its problems of growth into sources of strength for the further institutionalisation of all aspects of its work. Its experience in this regard inspires confidence and hope for the future. I would like on behalf of the Executive Committee to urge all members to take the opportunity of the anniversary celebrations to redouble individual and collective commitment to the ideals for which the Council was founded. I wish you all a happy and memorable 30th anniversary and look forward to many more years of success for CODESRIA.

NEW CODESRIA TITLES

AFRICAN UNIVERSITIES IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY
Edited by
Paul Tiyambe Zeleza and Adebayo Olukoshi
Volume I: Liberalisation and Internationalisation
Volume II Knowledge and Society
The major preoccupation of any Executive Committee (EC) is to foster research. We know that Africa lags far behind in this domain and so, for CODESRIA, the mobilization of the African scientific community should translate into greater intellectual output.

One of the major objectives of CODESRIA is to contribute to the development of social sciences in Africa. In this regard, for the EC, research and coordination of scientific work are the main activities that should guide the chief organs of the Council, particularly the EC. Research to CODESRIA means research–development. The idea here is to develop the kind of research that will produce useful results that can transform reality in accordance with the desired blueprint for society and the development strategy to be implemented. By developing the social sciences, CODESRIA helps us to understand society better; to understand human behaviour, in order to contribute in solving the problems of development. To this end, the EC, with effect from 1986 and particularly in the 1990s, laid emphasis on: expanding the scientific community, opening up to all the social sciences, upgrading scientific content and expanding the publications base. Independently of the responsibilities the EC assumes, it was necessary to develop research networks further as they stand to be the main actors to reinforce and widen the research community in Africa.

Expanding to all the domains of the social sciences steadily became a reality. Thus, the traditional economic topics expanded to include fields such as the environment, without leaving out geography. This direction must be followed for it is the best way to achieve the intergration of the African research community.

One of the major concerns of the EC was the need to have qualified researchers go through the texts. Similarly, in a bid to bolster up content, the ECs recommend that for MWGs and NWGs, seminars on methodology should be organized beforehand. This would strengthen the scientific basis of the group and build cohesion and methodological understanding within the team. Again, to ensure good governance and transparency, it is important to lay down rules for choosing coordinators. In this regard, a distinction had to be made between those preparing “Green Books” and coordinators. The person who prepares the “Green Books” is not necessarily going to coordinate the study. It was agreed that best works be selected on a competitive basis by the EC and that Coordinators should in turn be chosen on the same basis.

The Executive Committee and the Executive Secretariat of the Council have always made efforts to come up with publications. But it was in 1989 that efforts at improving the technical and publishing capacities of the publications service started bearing fruit. The number and quality of publications back then was already eloquent testimony of the vigorous publications programme. In other respects, the policy of translating publications both into French and into English is taking root. With respect to publication activities, we have always believed that action needs to be taken in three areas: editing, distribution and staff training.

I believe that good governance ultimately requires that an EC should think of succession by renewing its bases.

In light of my short six-year experience in the EC, three of them as head of the institution, we can say that for an EC to govern well, it should be composed of experienced and, above all, honest men and women. The honesty of all EC members cements around the president the solidarity he or she needs to govern well. The personality of the president, his or her experience, conviction and altruism are crucial to the achievement of their mandate.

Taladidia Thiombiano
President
Executive Committee, 1989–1991

Let Us Not Forget the Challenges that Lie Ahead

If there is any resemblance between institutional and individual life in the African continent, and I suspect there is, then institutions which survive the first five years are likely to have a more than even chance of surviving into a ripe old age. This is why thirty is a relatively young age for CODESRIA. Having survived the temptations of youth, we should prepare for the challenges of maturity. And if the times are anything to go by, there will be plenty ahead. My guess is that the biggest challenge in the coming decade is likely to come from the World Bank. Remember that, not so long ago, the World Bank argued that university education is a luxury and that African governments would be better served by investing educational resources in primary rather than tertiary education. Since the Bank seems never to pay for its own mistakes, its history is full of sharp twists and turns. The World Bank now accepts that we live in a knowledge-driven economy and that a relevant higher education is at the heart of successful economic development. Having failed in its attempt to close African universities by starving them of funds, the Bank is now getting ready to choke them with conditionalities that will go with the provision of much-needed funds. In the Bank’s vision, African universities should turn into vocational institutes, without an independent research mandate. As in the last round, this time too, CODESRIA will have to take the front seat in the defense of a research mission for the African university. The simple fact we must not forget is this: if the agenda for basic research on the African reality is formulated outside Africa, then the options from which Africa must choose will also be defined outside Africa.

Mahmood Mamdani
President
Executive Committee, 1998–2002
Executive Secretaries (1973–2003)

Samir Amin  
1973–1975

Abdallah Bujra  
1975–1985

Thandika Mkandawire  
1985–1996

Achille Mbembe  
1996–2000

Adebayo Olukoshi  
2000–
So, the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) is 30 years old! It feels almost unbelievable and yet it is true that the year 2003 already marks 30 years of the existence of CODESRIA, of the beginning of a journey which started with a few small, even tentative but nevertheless visionary steps and which, three decades on, has metamorphosed into one of the most important knowledge production and dissemination centres active on the African continent today. Those of us in the Secretariat who are fortunate to be in the service of the Council at this point in its history count ourselves uniquely lucky both to be part of this moment in the life of our organisation and to have the responsibility of putting together a worthy programme to celebrate the event. On behalf of the entire Secretariat of the Council, I would like to extend our felicitations to the members of CODESRIA and all those who have had occasion in the last 30 years to participate in one form or another in the scientific programmes of the organisation. Wherever you may be reading this message, I hope that you will be able to share in the spirit of joy and celebration that crowns this landmark occasion in the history of the Council even if you are unable to be with us physically in Dakar. And wherever they may be today, this 30th anniversary celebration presents an excellent opportunity for us all to recall the courage of the founders of the organisation and to salute their foresight anew. The celebration also offers us a chance to recognise the sacrifices made by the successor generation of scholars who took the baton from the founders and kept the flame of their dreams burning in various capacities as members of the institution’s Executive Committee, Scientific Committee, and Secretariat leadership, and as animators of various scientific programmes.

**History and context in the establishment of the CODESRIA mandate**

30 years in the history of any institution is recent enough, indeed well within living memory for us to be able to recall in detail, the dreams of those who founded the Council, the challenges which they faced both in terms of obstacles that had to be surmounted and opportunities that were grasped, the teething problems that were encountered, the personal and collective sacrifices that were made to get the institution going and standing, the strategic visions that were developed to grow it into the formidable force that it has become on the African and international terrains of knowledge production, and the pains and pleasures of the early, pioneering years. And yet, 30 years are also long enough for us to attempt to tease out important stages, patterns and landmarks in the process of institution-building, and of CODESRIA’s entry into an era of mature adulthood in a context where the environment of knowledge production and dissemination have undergone and continue to experience great transformations. These changes, as much to do with the macro-context of politics, the dynamics of the economy, the process of socio-cultural construction and overall framework of livelihood as with the environment of knowledge production, the governance of the higher education system and the technology of information and communication, have fed into internal institutional changes to make it possible, 30 years on, to offer a critical narrative of the CODESRIA story. (It has been proposed by the Secretariat to write such a story and the book resulting from the contributions of the authors who have been commissioned will be launched in the middle of 2004). Part of that narrative will, invariably, underscore the point that the Council is perhaps one of the greatest success stories of post-independence pan-Africanism. In this regard, there could be no better way of celebrating the 30th anniversary of the Council than by focusing the attention of African scholars in a collective reflection on the theme of Intellectuals, Nationalism and the pan-African Ideal.

When the Council was founded in 1973, just over 15 years after the proclamation by Kwame Nkrumah of the birth of a free and sovereign Ghana, the overall continental context was characterised by an admixture of the promises, potentialities, dilemmas, obstacles and difficulties of governing the structures and processes of independence. In particular, the political context that defined the African world was in the throes of rapid changes most eloquently symbolised by the rise, from the mid-1960s onwards of military and single party regimes. These changes, whose import consisted, at one level, of the narrowing of the post-independence political space in the countries that had attained their freedom from direct colonial rule, were, at another level, reflective of the gradual dissolution and dispersal of the nationalist anti-colonial alliance which fought the struggle for national liberation. The changes also embodied the impact which neo-colonial machinations had on political governance at a time when the East-West Cold War was at a new peak. Amidst these changes, contestations mushroomed in various African countries around the post-colonial social contract and the direction of the independence project. Within the framework of these contestations, the relationship between the state and the academy entered a phase of gradual deterioration which made issues of scholarly autonomy and academic freedom increasingly de rigueur in most countries. (This turn of events was certainly highly ironic given the fact that, as scholars such as Mahmood Mamdani have noted, the quintessential African university was a product of African nationalism, one of the more direct fruits of the nationalist independence project).
Although the economies of most of the countries were still generally functional and thus capable of supporting a minimum independent scholarly existence, the foundations of the crises of decline that manifested themselves with a vengeance at the beginning of the 1980s were in fact laid in the decade of the 1970s. The terrain of higher education across the continent was also itself witnessing some fairly rapid changes not just in terms of the expansion it experienced through the creation of new centres of advanced learning and research, as well as the enlargement of the existing ones, but also in terms of the continued “Africanisation” of curriculum and teaching positions, including the recruitment of lecturers and researchers from all over the continent and the African Diaspora. However, side by side with this process, the concept of the “regional” university, both de facto and de jure, serving a cluster of countries in the same regional neighbourhood also suffered a serious setback as new national institutions were created at the expense of existing joint multinational centres of training and research. The increasingly narrow, even outrightly hostile political environment, including a limiting conception and practice of the nation-building project that swept across the continent, discouraged the horizontal mobility of scholars as the 1970s progressed, further dimming the prospects for the survival of the “regional” university and serving to undermine the ideal of the university as a centre of excellence. In this connection, old forms of institutional diversity faded away, although new, if sometimes less vibrant and cosmopolitan diversities also emerged, including in institutions that were set up to be strictly “national” in composition and leadership.

European colonial rule in Africa was unique for its reluctance first to promote tertiary education on the continent and then to engage the modern educated elite as a serious social player when it eventually emerged and constituted a critical mass, opting instead to treat it with institutionalised suspicion and disdain. The international context of knowledge production was also one which reproduced aspects of the colonial logic and legacy not just by the content of knowledge that was produced about Africa and the methodology by which this was done but also by the vertical structure of power that defined the insertion of the modern African academy into the international knowledge system. The international division of labour that structured the participation of African scholarship in the global knowledge system did not allow much room for the legitimisation of African perspectives; instead, it facilitated the imposition of external intellectual agendas on the continent in a process that involved African researchers virtually as manual labourers useful for the collection of raw data to be processed by others into grand theories. As part of this unwholesome division of labour, many African institutions of advanced learning and research were tied to Western centres of knowledge as appendages in a relationship that confirmed their junior partner status. Indigenous African knowledge systems and African scholarship were marginalized and the structure of scholarly mobility that existed simply reproduced and reinforced the colonial partition of the continent, the isolation of African scholars from one another, and the history and legacies of colonial domination.

This was the broad background context within which CODESRIA was established in 1973. The Council was born as a child of history, with all of the responsibilities which that carried with it from the very beginning. Inevitably, it had both to embody and reflect the values and promises of the African independence struggle and the pan-African ideal in fashioning out its mission; equally importantly, it had to respond to the challenges of valourising African scholarship and projecting the voices of African researchers. Furthermore, CODESRIA was challenged from the outset to define a role for itself in a political climate that was increasingly hostile to independent scholarship and at a time when the process of post-independence socio-economic development had started to falter. As can be expected, the context weighed heavily on the detailed specification of a mandate for the Council. As set out in its Charter, this mandate consisted of:

(i) mobilising the African social research community to undertake fundamental and policy-oriented research from a perspective which is relevant to the demands of the African people;
(ii) encouraging and supporting comparative research with a pan-African perspective that expresses the specificity of development processes in Africa;
(iii) promoting the publication and distribution of the research output of African scholars;
(iv) promoting an African network for the dissemination of information in the social sciences;
(v) promoting and defending the principle of independent thought and research and the liberty of researchers;
(vi) encouraging cooperation and collaboration between African universities and social science research and training organisations; and
(vii) promoting contacts and developing interaction between CODESRIA and similar international organisations.

An impressive record of achievement and service

In the period since its founding, especially during the 1980s and 1990s, the Council has invested itself heavily in the task of charting a course that entailed complementing the work of the universities and centres of advanced research, playing the role of a key catalyst of innovative research, helping to sustain a community of scholars united by a search for excellence and originality, contributing to the growth of a multidisciplinary and comparative research culture, nurturing the development of a younger generation of scholars, promoting an inter-generational dialogue, and supporting autonomous, national-level and continental research initiatives that either fed into the building of local or regional capacities or promoted local and regional networking among scholars drawn from different disciplines and universities/research centres. Of critical importance was the role of the Council in breaking the linguistic and geographical barriers to knowledge production in Africa, as well as overcoming the isolation of African scholars and the dispersal of their energies. The national working groups (NWGs) and multinational working groups (MWGs) which virtually became the flagship research programmes of the Council were particularly instrumental in the realisation of these goals; they also became a crucial part of an informal system of performance measurement in a rapidly growing and interconnected community of peers. Furthermore, the NWGs and MWGs were at the core of the establishment of a networked community that was conscious of the historic mission of the scholar in a setting such as that which defines the African context.
Equally critical was the early investment which was made in the establishment of a publications programme which, once it was properly set up, provided African scholars with a credible outlet for the dissemination of their research findings, including a stable of journals which continue to be circulated widely in Africa as in the rest of the world. Indeed, over the years, the publications output of the Council grew in importance, quality and range, offering voice to African scholarship in an international knowledge production system where asymmetries were getting sharper by the day and remain an important characteristic feature. Some of the publications produced in the CODESRIA Book Series or supported within the research programmes of the Council have been the winners of prestigious international awards; others have been adopted as teaching texts in several universities within and outside Africa. Because they were distributed free of charge to African university and research centre libraries, the books, monographs, scholarly journals and research reports that were produced, apart from stamping an African presence on research and about the continent and being available in English, French and Arabic, also came to play a critical role in assuaging the worst consequences of the African book famine of the 1980s. The book famine was a direct product of the sharp decline in the funding for higher education by African governments which, faced with the most severe economic crises in the post-1945 history of the continent and a severe foreign exchange problem, not only cut back on funding to the universities and allocations for the purchase of books, but also imposed generalised austerity measures that resulted in the virtual drying up of support for research. CODESRIA’s programmes, in terms of their thematic orientation, methodological innovativeness and disciplinary, linguistic, gender and generational diversity, became important outlets for the maintenance of a minimum culture of research and scholarly publishing in many parts of Africa. Indeed, the Council’s research programmes and publications output developed into major sources of alternative analytic material both to a dominant and well-funded mainstream, and a growing consultancy industry that distracted the attention of an equally growing number of academics pursuing what Abdul Raufu Mustapha has described as multiple modes of livelihood.

The interventions of CODESRIA in support of research and scholarly publishing had to be sustained over the long haul because, in the framework of a continuing economic crisis and the neo-liberal onslaught of the 1980s and 1990s, African universities were exposed to systematic internal and external attacks that amounted to their being placed under a state of permanent siege. Hardest hit by this situation were younger scholars, those whom Thandika Mkandawire described in his perceptive essay on three generations of African social researchers as the third generation of academics trained entirely in Africa and coming of age at a time of decline and decay in the higher education system. Responding to the needs of this generation was to become one of the responsibilities of CODESRIA in the course of the 1980s and 1990s; the responses that were formulated set the stage for the launching of an integrated programme of training made up small grants for theses writing, an annual prize for the best theses produced in Africa, methodology training sessions, summer institutes, and short research fellowships. A text book project was also launched to respond to teaching and learning needs in the higher education system. The various initiatives that were developed for the benefit of younger researchers had the added benefit of networking the third generation of African scholars and encouraging an engaging dialogue between them and the older generations. For the more established scholars, programmes that permitted them to undertake extended periods of reflection on a particular theme were also introduced even as they were encouraged to take on mentoring roles in relation to advanced post-graduate students and mid-career researchers.

As can be expected, the relations between the African academy and the state, already under strain as the nationalist anti-colonial coalition began to unravel, and as the vision of nation-building espoused by political leaders came under increasing popular challenge, deteriorated even further in the 1980s in the environment of generalised repression that defined the management of the African economic crisis. Given the centrality of the protection and advancement of academic freedom to the CODESRIA institutional mandate, the Council developed a programme area designed to track the state of academic freedom in Africa and a special fund to support scholars in distress, including those who are victims of political repression. But female CODESRIA members were also to observe that the representativeness of the organisation’s agenda and the quest for the promotion of academic freedom could not be complete without the integration of Gender into the work programme of the Council and the pursuit of strategies for promoting the participation of more female scholars in its networks. This was without prejudice to the important role which the Council played in nurturing the Association of African Women for Research and Development (AAWORD) in its early, formative years. The struggles for the inclusion of gender into the CODESRIA agenda represented, among others, by such prominent scholars as Rudo Gaidzanwa, Ayesha Imam, Amina Mama, Fatou Sow, Marëma Touré and Paul Zeleza succeeded in closing a missing gap in the Council’s activity and institutional profile when, at the beginning of the 1990s, the process was set in motion for integrating gender, both as an analytic tool and research area, into the Council’s activity profile as a core programme. Although there are still important roads to be travelled in the march to a fuller engendering of the Social Sciences and Humanities, it is certainly indicative of the substantial progress that has been made in CODESRIA that today, there has emerged a generation of younger male scholars who are as much at ease in employing gender as an analytic category as female researchers active in the domain of Gender Studies. Furthermore, the Council made history when, at its 10th General Assembly held in December 2002 in Kampala, Uganda, a leading female scholar, Zenebeworke Tadesse, was elected President of the Council along side three other female academics who were chosen to serve on the Executive Committee.

**Responding to the challenges of changing context**

In 2003, as CODESRIA marks 30 years of its existence, the context within which the Council is celebrating its anniversary and which will also impact on programme development in the future deserves to be reflected upon. First, it is nearly 10 years since the election of Nelson Mandela as the first President of South Africa to be freely chosen by the peoples of South Africa in a universal adult suffrage which included the participation of the black majority. Marking the formal end of Apartheid, it also symbolised the end of the long, dark history of European colonial domination in Africa. The struggle for the release of Nelson Mandela from life imprisonment and for the end of the odious system of institutionalised racism that was Apartheid...
was one which united the entire CODESRIA community of scholars as did the unfinished business of national liberation in Southern Africa as a whole; ensuring the full reinsertion of the South African scientific community into the networks of African scholars is task which CODESRIA and its sister institutions are challenged to undertake, doing so with full sensitivity to historical injustices that still require to be corrected and the promise of new opportunities that could be tapped to the mutual benefit of all. The prospect of the emergence of a bright new era in African history which the end of Apartheid symbolised for many was reinforced by the emergence across the continent of popular movements for political reform, movements which crystallised in some cases into (sovereign) national (constitutional) conferences that, in most cases culminated in the demise of single party/military rule and the restoration of electoral pluralism. Furthermore, in tandem with the open agitation for political reforms, a variety of social movements, long repressed and sometimes forced to work in the underground, began once again to flourish even as civil groups of various hues came into existence. In different ways, members of the Council have been called upon by the sheer weight of the historical moment both to engage the reform process in defining their work and to orient the institution in a direction that will ensure that, in its role as a premier and pioneering African research organisation, it can continue to serve as a vehicle that is relevant to the popular aspirations for the democratic development of Africa.

But 1994 did not only mark the inauguration of Nelson Mandela as President of a liberated South Africa. It was also the year of the latest, most deadly genocide in the history of Africa, claiming the lives of about a million Rwandese. That tragic event was to pave the way for a season of great turmoil and prolonged tragedy in the Great Lakes region of Africa from which it is yet to recover. The invasion and virtual partitioning of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is perhaps one of the more dramatic outcomes of the phase of complex instability that has wracked that part of the continent. But it is also true that, in many respects, all the issues which have been joined in the Great Lakes conflict also speak to the larger political questions that have confronted Africa with a greater intensity than ever before in the period since the beginning of the 1990s. These questions, inter alia, centre around citizenship and citizenship rights; representation and participation; the state and the governance of the public arena; and the organisation of socio-economic development. They are the same questions that have been posed beyond the Great Lakes in the parts of Eastern and West Africa where conflicts have broken out, intensified or seemed intractable; they are also at the heart of the political debate in countries where various latent challenges to the post-independence nation-state project are taking place. The problems are compounded by deepening youth disaffection, diminished state capacity, the expanded boundaries of poverty and impoverishment, the continued adherence, under new guises, to orthodox, ideologically-driven macro-economic policies that simply prolong the maladjustment of African economies, and the heavy toll which the HIV/AIDS pandemic is taking in all spheres of life. In the face of these problems, members of the CODESRIA community must be at the forefront of original thinking that could provide workable frames for overcoming the difficulties that have arisen and establishing stable democratic systems for the development of Africa.

With regard to the terrain of higher education, the crises of funding and mission which set in as the 1970s wore on generally continues unabated although the World Bank may have modified its earlier position effectively calling for the abolition of the university. Where improvements have occurred, these have generally been as a result of the massive infusion of external (donor) funding. The question of the financial viability of the higher education system is, therefore, one which is still posed whether in the short or long-term. The massive expansion of student in-take in the face of an equally massive brain drain involving qualified and/or experienced staff and in the absence of a commensurate level of investment in infrastructure has meant that the public university has been put under greater pressure than it has ever known in its history. Issues of intellectual viability therefore arise also, feeding into the financial-governance ones to produce an overall picture that is still unsettling. Unable or outrightly refusing to invest in the public university, the credibility of governmental pressures for university governance reform has simply rang hollow in many countries even where there is consensus that reform needs to be undertaken. At the same time, private universities are mushrooming across the continent, many set up by Christian missionaries, others as a business proposition, a few others on a secular foundation but all posing the question of the university as a public good. The pressure on the public university has been exacerbated further by the growing trade in educational services that is developing within the ambit of the World Trade Organisation’s General Agreements on Trade in Services (GATS). CODESRIA’s primary constituency remains the African university and the scholars who are active within it; a key challenge for the future work plan of the Council must consist, therefore, of promoting the ideal of the university as a site of knowledge production that is anchored excellence, freedom of thought, and, ultimately, the goal of developing knowledge societies relevant to the achievement of a full, fulfilling and rounded livelihood by Africans.

Looking ahead to a future that is bright

As we enjoy the 30th anniversary celebrations and look beyond 2003 to the next anniversary landmark, our task will include a reflection on how to rise to the challenges of the future, including how to do so in a manner that will both give credit to the vision of the founders of the Council and pride to the future generations of African scholars. If for the detached Africanist, these challenges are met with a subjective, voluntaristic inclination either to choose to be “Afro-optimist” or “Afro-pessimist” according to changing personal moods, the policy whims of the new imperialism or the shifting fortunes of “area studies” in big power post-Cold War policy-making, for us in the CODESRIA community, the issues at stake cannot be framed in such simplistic terms. For, on the basis of our fundamental faith in the Africa and its peoples, our task will always consist of producing knowledge which carries transformatory meaning and benefits for the peoples of the continent. That was the most important consideration which fired the founders of the Council and, as noted in 1998 by Akilaga Sawyerr in his address to the 9th General Assembly, they went about its realisation with the zeal of self-sacrificing visionaries; it is a consideration that remains impeccable thirty years on. We can pay the architects of the CODESRIA ideal no greater tribute than to re dedicate ourselves to this most basic mission of the Council, doing so with the passion, rigour, dignity, integrity, openness and pride that is the African genius.
It is in this spirit of openness and integrity that this occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Council should also serve as an opportunity for some self-introspection and sober reflection. For while there is no doubt whatsoever that we have, as a community, achieved a great deal of which we can be fully satisfied, there are also significant aspects of our institutional experience and context which we need to remind ourselves about and face up to. I site a few of these here for our collective attention and consideration. First in this regard, is the Council’s overall programme management which is in constant need of improvement in order both to be responsive to the needs of the community and effective in realising set objectives in a timely manner that is not compromising on quality. This is not an issue which is given and slippages when do they occur, as they have sometimes done, can be costly. Second, we need to be conscious today more than ever before of the fact that the community of scholars has grown in size, interests and diversity. In tandem with its growth, the community has also become more demanding of service at the highest level. For the Executive Committee and the Secretariat, what this means, among other things, is that it will no longer do simply to project commitment; rather, commitment will have to be matched with professionalism. Third, the material conditions under which scholarship is taking place remain difficult for the vast majority of African scholars and, in the context of the growth of a commercially-oriented or missionary-based system of private higher education, the emerging trade in educational services and the boom in the consultancy industry, a basis exists for the expression of serious concerns about the future of independent research on the continent. In this connection, members of the CODESRIA community would need to address themselves more and more to the challenges of creatively retrieving and preserving the integrity, professionalism and public purpose of the entire higher education system. In this struggle, three new important initiatives which the Council has taken alone or in collaboration with others will play a critical role. These initiatives are the Journal of Higher Education in Africa, the Africa Review of Books, and the Critical Encyclopaedia of African Social Sciences. Furthermore, for all the attention which we have invested in the promotion of academic freedom, the struggle for the enthronement of respect for the liberty of the scholar remains an unfinished business; in fact, it has become even more complicated in certain respects. This is so in spite of the political reforms which have taken place in African countries in recent years, throwing up new democratic experiments which ordinarily could have been expected to be more accommodating of the liberty of the researcher. In addition to the state as a continuing source of attack on academic freedom, there are structures and processes within the academy itself which undermine scholarly independence and liberty. Among these structures and processes are: the increased cases of student campus cults that unleash pre-meditated and organised violence on teachers and fellow students alike in a flagrant attack on efforts at upholding standards, professionalism and integrity; an increasingly repressive university governance system that brooks no opposition or dissent at a time when the quest for the reform of the higher education system is on the high burner; a powerful donor-consultancy complex that has become ever more interventionist in seeking to set the research agenda and micro-manage the entire research process; a generally more pliant crop of scholars, who in the face of the precarious material conditions of the university professor, stand ready to dance to the tune of the highest bidder – whoever that bidder may be; private universities that go beyond the broad structuring of the curriculum to define the minute details of the content of what lecturers are permitted to teach; a campus hierarchical and environmental context which continues to be disadvantageous to female scholars, gender studies and younger researchers; and an overall institutional framework that is susceptible to the weaving of internal and external patron-clientelist relations in the knowledge production process. Clearly, as a community, we cannot afford to rest on our oars but must redouble our efforts personally and collectively for the protection and advancement of academic freedom in the years ahead.

If CODESRIA has been an important research catalyst over the last thirty years, playing a major role in the identification of new terrains – and it is the case that the Council has been widely acknowledged for the perceptiveness it has shown in delineating research themes – it is also true that there are many areas that remain either unexplored, insufficiently explored or in dire need of the application of social science approaches. The challenge which is posed here is clear enough and fortunately, the Council has an established history of a capacity for adaptation, flexibility and innovation to rise to the demands of any era. In the years ahead, we will need to muster that capacity afresh in order to explore new grounds, experiment with new methodological approaches, construct new conceptual tools, extend our interest in studying Asia, the Caribbean and Latin America, and incorporate the disciplines, issues, themes and communities that have so far been relatively marginal to our concerns over the last 30 years. In doing so, we will be living up to and, simultaneously, updating our responses to the demands of our Charter to promote the production of a body of knowledge that is holistic and organic to the context within which we work. Not neglecting to be thoroughly grounded in the history, philosophy and methodology of our primary disciplines, we will be required to intensify our investment in multidisciplinary work which involves an engagement with the other disciplines of the Social Sciences and the Humanities, and an intensified dialogue with the natural sciences. Tomorrow’s African social research cannot content itself any longer with simply being “case study” based; it must graduate to a point where the empirical and theoretical groundings we have achieved can be translated into the production of national, regional, continental and global comparative studies that yield new, original insights. In this quest, we can refer to the life and example of some of the very best that our community has produced – our Iri Amadiumes, Samir Amins, Paulin Hountondji, Joseph Ki-Zerbo Archie Mafejes, Thandika Mkandawire, Mahmood Mamdani, Ali Mazrui, Issa Shivjis, Ngugi wa Thiong’o, to cite just a few names – to draw inspiration. We look forward to welcoming many more participants in the new programmatic activities of the Council designed to promote comparative research and multidisciplinary dialogue.

Today, in 2003, on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of our founding, our institution’s annual budget stands at about USD8 million. Viewed in relation to the early years when the Council started out with less than USD100,000 to its credit, we have certainly come a long way. CODESRIA today has never been bigger and better endowed at any time in its history than it is today. But this success raises a number of other issues, not least among them the challenge of constantly improving and updating financial management procedures and practices of the Council.
and the challenge, which has now become very urgent, of addressing our minds to the construction of the financial autonomy of the organisation. As it pertains to the former, the issues which are involved are fairly well-known as they were brought strongly to the fore by the mismanagement that characterised the period 1997 – 2000 and which resulted in a cumulative deficit that nearly brought the Council to its knees. That experience was both symptomatic and symbolic of one of the more disheartening moments in the recent history of the Council. It is fortunate that the institution was able to summon the internal energy and courage necessary to redress the situation without waiting to be prompted by the funders or anybody else. But it is also an experience that must not be allowed to repeat itself. In this connection, the professionalisation of financial management and the internal administration of the Council which was already begun will need to be carried further with dedication and determination. However, this process must also be done in a manner which ensures that the administrative logic does not overwhelm the scientific mission of the Council: better internal financial and administrative governance should at all times be oriented in the programme development and delivery capacities of the Council. The community, through the General Assembly and the Executive Committee, already takes an active part in exacting accountability from the Secretariat. A redoubling of efforts in this direction can only prove healthy for the Council and this can be done without the micro-management of the Secretariat.

Regarding the challenge of building the financial autonomy of the Council, CODESRIA has been fortunate to have a core of institutional partners and funders many of which have stood by the organisation through thick and thin, and in several cases have consciously taken a long haul view of things. On this occasion of the 30th anniversary grand finale conference and celebration, I would like, on behalf of the General Assembly, the Executive Community, the Secretariat and all those who have participated in one form or the other in CODESRIA programmes, to thank these partners for their support and forbearance. In particular, I would like to single out for mention, the generous support offered by Sida/SAREC, NORAD, DANIDA, IDRC, CIDA, the United Nations family of organisations, various Dutch institutions, the Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, the MacArthur Foundation, the Carnegie Foundation, the Oxfam family of organisations, CLACSO, and, above all, the government and people of Senegal, our host country. All of these institutional, governmental, inter-governmental and funding partners have been enlightened enough to understand the importance of the integrity and autonomy of the research process and have either consciously kept a respectable distance or backed off when told that such a distance is necessary for a fruitful engagement with CODESRIA. In this sense, they are themselves visionaries who share in the CODESRIA heritage and for which we salute them. But their vision is one which must not blind the community of scholars to the importance of building an autonomous financial base for the Council. Defining strategies for grounding and diversifying the financial base of the Council so that it can be autonomous of some of the vicissitudes of the funding world and free of its financial fragilities must rank as one of the most urgent tasks of the membership. In this connection, the launching of a CODESRIA endowment fund which will take place in the course of 2004 will begin with a direct appeal to the membership to contribute to the first phase of the building of the fund.

As we celebrate 30 years of the existence of the Council, I see a future that is beautiful and bright not just for CODESRIA but also for Africa. It is a future in which, united behind a common purpose, we are all equal inheritors of a rich legacy on which the foundations of our democratic tomorrow will stand solid. Let us, therefore, celebrate this day conscious that the festival of ideas, debate, and cultural events that the Secretariat has put together for the 30th anniversary grand finale conference is but the first dance step we will be taking to that glorious dawn.

New CODESRIA Titles

**COMMENT PEUT ON ETRE OPPOSANT EN AFRIQUE: POLITIQUE PARLEMENTAIRE ET POLITIQUE AUTORITAIRE**
Sous la direction de Luc Sindjoun

**BASOTHO AND THE MINES: A SOCIAL HISTORY OF LABOUR MIGRANCY IN LESOTHO AND SOUTH AFRICA**
By Eddy Maloka
Solidarity Messages

It is with immense joy and gratitude for having been a part of the CODESRIA fraternity that I congratulate and salute everyone that has in one way or the other contributed to the making of the only truly Pan-African and credible social science research and research capacity-building institution in the world. My first direct contact with CODESRIA was in July 1994 when I was selected to participate in its first Gender Institute. This was for me a life and career-transforming experience: a high quality and well-organized intellectual feast for budding social science and humanities scholars from across Africa, with all aspects of it conceived and delivered by Africans.

The experience of sharing ideas and social experiences with peers from more than 10 different countries across the continent was a uniquely fulfilling one. It made me to resolve to, whenever in a position to do so, work pro-actively for people-to-people interactions by African professionals, scholars, and youth as a way of countering the continuing unhealthy Euro-American orientation of most privileged Africans’ external contacts. The institute itself hugely stimulated by interest in gender issues, triggered my subsequent engagements with a number of new research and action projects on gender, reproductive health, and sustainable development. Included amongst these pre-occupations was my membership of CODESRIA’s Gender Task-Force in 1996 which resulted in policies and programmes that have helped to make the structures and activities of CODESRIA exceptionally gender-balanced. I can say without a shadow of doubt that my overall CODESRIA experience provided a great boost to my academic, and later, development action career.

It also significantly expanded my social networks and I can today proudly count among my friends, citizens of Kenya, the Gambia, Côte d’Ivoire, Zimbabwe, Senegal, Uganda, Cameroon, South Africa, Ghana, and Democratic Republic of Congo whom I met via CODESRIA. In congratulating CODESRIA’s leadership, management, and staff for attaining the milestone of 30 years of active service to Africa’s social science community, I must also commend it for the generally high quality of its publications, many of which enjoy prominence within my library.

Given the dynamism of the current leadership of CODESRIA, one can only say the best is yet to come.

Congratulations!!

Babatunde A. Ahonsi, Ph.D
Senior Program Officer
The Ford Foundation
Office for West Africa
Nigeria.

The ultimate goal of Norwegian development co-operation is to reduce poverty. We are fully aware that our mission will be impossible if we do not rely on partnership. Our main partners are national authorities, civil society and the research community. It should be clear, however, that our partner in the South has the responsibility to identify the challenges of development, and find the remedies to meet them. Our experience after more than 50 years of development co-operation has taught us that local, national or regional ownership is a prerequisite for sustainability.

Development requires knowledge, knowledge on what creates and hinder development. Development assistance, therefore, is not just a matter of money. It is equally a question of dialogue and co-operation, of exchange of ideas and knowledge. As a partner NORAD may contribute ideas, knowledge, experience and money, but above all we seek to assist in building an indigenous knowledge base. Academic capacity building is an important objective in Norwegian development co-operation, and one of our primary goals is to promote the development of national knowledge in the South, and to boost the developing countries’ own ability to carry out research, and thus meet national teaching needs. For this purpose it is vital that researchers in developing countries gain access to international research based knowledge. And just as important that they engage in co-operation with researchers in the region to create South-South networks. We believe that problems most often are not confined to specific countries, few problems can be seen in isolation. Regional co-operation is an effective means of solving common challenges. By joint efforts and sharing of results, researchers may contribute to regional development, as well as to development in their countries of origin.

In 30 years CODESRIA has gained important experiences in co-ordinating joint efforts in social science research in Africa. At this decisive moment in the organisation’s history, we believe that CODESRIA has a great potential for promoting joint research on topics that are important for the development of the region. We are confident that you as scholars are just as concerned as us about the challenges that poverty represents, not only for African countries, but for the individual lives of Africans. As a pan-African organisation, CODESRIA has a special responsibility. This makes you an important partner for African researchers in the creation of a genuine African tradition in social science.

Happy anniversary!

Tove Strand,
Director of NORAD,
Norwegian Agency for Development Co-operation
Norway
It is with profound gratitude that we convey to CODESRIA our warmest congratulations on the occasion of your 30th Anniversary celebrations. We are grateful to have had the opportunity to follow CODESRIA over the years. Since its inception in 1973, the organization has played a pivotal role in aiding researchers and creating an environment conducive to reflection on the social sciences in Africa. Today, CODESRIA has evolved into an esteemed institution of reference, research and training.

The Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) noted with interest how CODESRIA in the midst of the upheavals experienced by the African economies in the eighties took over some research activities which hitherto were the responsibility of state funded research institutions. More than any other NGO in Africa, CODESRIA managed to maintain, motivate and develop a productive array of social science researchers. In this regard, you have contributed to strengthen the production of knowledge about Africa by Africans. The skills, expertise and organizational competences which has been acquired over time is evident in the quality of CODESRIA’s works such as the referee journals, monographs, working papers and periodicals.

CODESRIA’s efforts to address the eurocentric nature of postmodernism and power structure in Africa is highly commended, likewise the works on what factors in a society increase civic feelings, awareness, interest, participation and ability to sanction. CODESRIA has touched on the vital issue of environmental degradation and unsustainable use of natural resources from a social science perspective.

The efforts of the new CODESRIA leadership to promote and deepen internal transparency at all levels and improve on institutional resource management were noted with interest. Also worth commenting are the various new initiatives taken in 2003 such as the Lusophone Africa Initiative, the African Encyclopaedia project, the Africa Review of Books, the CODESRIA Distinguished Annual Lecture Series, the revival of studies on pre-colonial and colonial African history, the textbook programme and the launching of the Journal of Higher Education in Africa.

With regards to the latter, Sida believes that a society that wishes to build or maintain a pluralistic, accountable democracy will benefit from a strong system for higher education where the research university has a central role. For example, an understanding of what form of political democracy, devolution of power and decentralization which best suits a nation can be advanced on the basis of debates and research that starts in the universities. This is primarily the responsibility of the social sciences but the humanities also have a role to play. Research in the humanities is the home to the most careful reasoning about the ethical and moral values important to a society.

Sida is proud that CODESRIA is once again back on track and gradually becoming the flagship for social science research in Africa. In our wishes for the future, we would like to see CODESRIA having an important role for strengthening independent and critical social sciences in universities on the continent. A new generation of scholars needs to engage into the societal analysis and debate. The support and platform provided by CODESRIA is crucial in this context. We wish you all the best in your efforts to lift the organization to even greater heights.

President
Sida
Sweden

On behalf of the Faculty of Social Studies, University of Ghana, Legon, I will like to salute the Founding Fathers of CODESRIA for their vision in establishing CODESRIA, which is arguably Africa’s leading scientific research institution. Thirty years of the existence of CODESRIA have seen dramatic and qualitative improvement in interrogating political, social, economic, cultural and environmental issues and problems facing the African continent. This is because CODESRIA has been able to provide a haven for African scholars both young and old to critically and dispassionately address problems and issues confronting the continent. The findings of CODESRIA’s researchers have informed policies and programmes adopted by many African governments thus impacting, even if minimally, on standards of living of the people of the continent.

We are also proud that CODESRIA has provided research grants to younger academic colleagues, which have made them not only to complete their theses on schedule but also seasoned them to become good researchers and scholars. This is the surest way to mentor younger colleagues to face challenges of scientific research.

On this momentous occasion, we also salute all, especially the donor community, for their continued support and commitment to the cause of CODESRIA. It is our fervent hope and prayer that CODESRIA will grow from strength to strength to achieve more laurels. We believe that the next decade will be a more productive one for CODESRIA and its members.

Long Live CODESRIA !!!
Long Live Scientific Research!!!
Long Live Africa !!!

Joseph R.A. Ayee, PhD
Professor / Dean
Faculty of Social Studies
University of Ghana
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n the occasion of the 30th Anniversary of CODESRIA, we need to recall the moment this crucial event in the intellectual life of Africa actually started. It was a time of great change in African peoples’ march, where the national states leaders disappeared and the new colonial states were coming to be big reality supported by the imperial and new imperial forces (the financial capitalism of oil and the apartheid regimes in Southern Africa in the back drop of the a cold war at its peak. It was not by chance that the armed liberation struggles in Guinea Bissau, Angola and Mozambique were at their zenith.

African intellectuals were transcending a crucial moment of choice and commitment. The committed scholars chose to align with their peoples. A number of studies had been published on class struggle in Africa, Forum Tier Monde had been launched, and Samir Amin was moving between Dakar and Cairo and debates on the new international order were becoming more strident.

In 1973, CODESRIA became a reality in Dakar. It was poor but vigilant. It was a cultural and academic vision for the continent. A look at its publications over the years would reveal how the institution was developing itself autonomously and vigorously representing different walks of knowledge as part of a new intellection phenomenon.

Reading the list of publications and reports on symposia organised by CODESRIA will say a lot of things that I don’t like to repeat but I may mention only some few remarks. I may start with the weight of funding impact on the independent agenda of CODESRIA but More than any other NGO, the Council actually insisted to express itself, especially in the first two decades. Examples are its concern on the influence of multinational corporations and policies of structural adjustment which CODESRIA challenged vigorously. This stance can’t be separated from the conceptual framework of the “political economy” as discipline and facts on the continent and in the Council at the same time.

CODESRIA might have passed through some moments of losing vision when it lost its method and internal agenda but that was not for long time. We can also speak about an imbalance in publications or topics relevant to the regions, countries languages! Some could see the dominance of economic subjects, others could see lower presence of art and literature themes at least from sociological perspective. How much of the Arab African North have been present as well as the Arabic language? I have pondered why we don’t produce and disseminate some material of authentic value in Hausa, Swahili etc to keep alive the originality of our masses and their intellectuality? I have also thought that CODESRIA should think of playing the role of UNESCO for the OAU, by negotiation with the Secretariat of now AU? I mean -again- to look at the integrated role and multiplicity in character more than the bureaucratic nature of such organizations in Paris or ALECSO in Tunis or even the European Union?

In the end I hope to continue reviewing the role of the executive committee members who are responsible to see through the agenda planned and executed and being responsible in the regions they represent.

Helmi Sharawy
Arab Research Center

CODESRIA is not an ordinary institute of traditional pure research but a centre of applied research examining the problems of Africa and seeking solutions to those problems. Such an institute was needed then and is needed even more now because of the enormity and diversity of Africa’s challenges that include overcoming democratic deficit, promoting constitutionalism and coping with economic crises.

Initially, CODESRIA faced many difficulties. Africans created universities in their newly independent countries but distrusted scholars. It also did not endure itself to many because of its progressive ideas. Therefore it was quite an achievement for CODESRIA to have survived those difficult early years. Of course, credit for its survival goes to the dynamism of its leadership and resolve of its scholars. Credit also goes to the political leaders in Senegal who provided CODESRIA a safe harbour.

However, in recent years, distrust of research and scholars has given way to African leaders’ appreciation of research for meeting their information needs. In this new climate, CODESRIA stands at the threshold of a very exciting period. Its new challenge in the years ahead is for it to be one of Africa’s own think tanks on social and economic policy.

I recall that when Namibians were struggling for their independence, one of the challenges they needed to address concurrently with the struggle for independence was to prepare Namibians to assume positions of responsibility within the government of independent Namibia. Therefore, an accelerated process of training was started at the United Nations Institute for Namibia. I, as the Director of that Institute, soon realized that our students would benefit greatly if they spent some time at CODESRIA in Dakar. We therefore began a process of cooperation that was to yield enormous benefits for independent Namibia. I therefore thank CODESRIA for taking Namibian freedom fighters on board. Today, many of these students are scholars in their own right and are occupying important positions in the government.

During the last thirty years, CODESRIA has evolved into a research institute with impeccable credentials. Africa, too, is busy redefining itself. In this new climate, Africans must make use of CODESRIA’s research for the benefit of Africa. I have certainly benefited from its research during my tenure as the Prime Minister of Namibia, as the Executive Secretary of the Global Coalition for Africa, and during the process of completing my PhD thesis. I encourage others to draw on its competencies. We are proud that CODESRIA has grown to become a leading light in social science research. Scholars on Africa greatly value it. I salute it for the excellent work its scholars continue to do and congratulate it on its thirtieth anniversary.

Hage G. Geingob
Executive Secretary, Global Coalition for Africa
The celebration of CODESRIA’s 30th Anniversary in December of this year is a celebration of 30 years of achievement, and we would like to thank the CODESRIA Executive Committee, the CODESRIA Secretariat and the entire African social science community for building and preserving this institution that is of great value to the whole world.

Setting up such a council to promote African scholarship, to enhance the capacity of Africans to make their own reading of African realities and of the world, provide a regional forum for African scholarly voices and articulating them on the global forums, was not only a visionary move on the part of the founders, but also certainly one of the great African developments of the last century. Your institution has nurtured and accompanied the further development of generations of scholars, some of whom are now holding senior positions in the best universities and intuitions in the world. It has enormously contributed to the expansion of the frontiers of social knowledge worldwide. As the Nordic Africa Institute we can testify to this. After all, in our long-standing collaboration with the community of African scholars and institutions we benefited on numerous occasions from those who were products of or affiliated to CODESRIA’s activities. The award-winning books that CODESRIA has published are a testimony to the quality of the work done by CODESRIA. You have also provided African policy makers and civil society, and all the bilateral and multilateral cooperation agencies seeking to collaborate with Africa with an extremely rich and diversified body of knowledge and pool of expertise to draw from.

We note with pleasure that “success” has not in anyway made the leadership of CODESRIA less keen to move on and reach higher heights. Successive executive committees and executive secretaries of the Council have demonstrated extremely high levels of commitment and creativity in fulfilling the CODESRIA mandate, as the range and breadth of your programmes and publications show. This, again, is a demonstration of the quality of the leadership, and path-breaking roles that CODESRIA is playing not only in the study of Africa and the promotion of African scholarship, but also in knowledge production and dissemination, which has gained worldwide recognition.

We are therefore personally very pleased to have been meeting and collaborating with CODESRIA researchers and its leadership in various capacities, all through these first three decades of the Council’s existence. We at the Nordic Africa Institute are proud to have been able to work with CODESRIA in a number of very important areas, such as the recent seminar on Ivory Coast and the dynamics of conflict in West Africa, and for having been able to complement, if in a modest way, some of the work that you are doing through our own programmes and projects.

On the occasion of the 30th Anniversary of CODESRIA, we would therefore like to congratulate the African social science community, and congratulate the CODESRIA leadership and its staff for 30 years of hard work and great achievements. We look forward to many more decades of path-breaking CODESRIA work. We have great confidence in the capacity of your institution to face the challenges that lie ahead and to continue to make salient readings of the increasingly complex realities of Africa and the world. We also in our own interest look forward to building further upon the collaborative fundement established and to intensifying even more the cooperation between our two institutions and their research staff.

Best wishes,

Dr Lennart Wohlgemuth
Director

Dr Henning Melber
Research Director

The Nordic Africa Institute
Uppsala, Sweden

At the occasion of your 30th anniversary celebrations, the Pan African Association of Anthropology (PAAA) has the singular honour of congratulating CODESRIA for all its efforts in promoting research and knowledge production in the Social Sciences on the African continent.

During the last 30 years, CODESRIA has played a leading role in the training of young Africans in the Social Sciences. Through its grants, training and fellowship programmes targeting African researchers, and through the production of knowledge and the publication of books, journals and working papers, CODESRIA has offered African researchers in the social sciences possibilities of exchange and diffusion of knowledge. At this joyous occasion, the membership of the Pan African Association of Anthropology, wishes CODESRIA a long life in its mission of promoting the Social Sciences in general and Anthropology in particular.

Kindly accept, Mr Executive Secretary, our most sincere congratulations.

Best Anniversary Wishes

Happy Anniversary!

For the Pan African Association of Anthropology

Dr. Socpa Antoine
Executive Secretary

Established in 1973 during the crisis of the African universities that threatened the flourishing of non-conformist intellectual discourse, CODESRIA has over the years become an important regional research organization. Through its various grant schemes, it has succeeded in attracting some of the most promising minds in universities spread across the African continent and has enabled them to realise their full potential.

OSSREA would like to take this occasion of the 30th Anniversary to express its firmest solidarity with CODESRIA and to affirm its determination to work hand in hand with CODESRIA in our common aspirations to better serve the African research community.

With warmest regards,

Alfred G. Nhema
Executive Secretary

OSSREA
Organization for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa
Africa is commemorating. But what exactly is it commemorating? Not a sad event or a painful period of its history, but a major anniversary: the foundation of an institution, thirty years ago, that is contributing to the renaissance of our continent by enabling a better knowledge of it – CODESRIA. This great event, to which CRASC is proud to be invited, fills us with joy, for more than one reason. It provides us with the opportunity to represent not only Algeria, but also the whole Maghreb, and thereby helps us get out of a certain isolation from which most of our countries are suffering, and even the whole of Africa. Condemned to coping with cataclysms of all kinds, imposed by a cruel global order and a nature that is not less cruel, Africa seemed to be stuck in pain and tragedy. However, it decided to raise its head and take up all challenges. Thanks to CODESRIA, the great master of this commemorative ceremony, among others, there is Africa facing a new challenge: putting an end to this cliché of an Africa that is torn apart, carved up, and has got off to a “bad start” (to quote the famous expression of a non less famous writer), in order to impose itself as a continent of millennial diverse cultures, arts, histories and civilizations.

We must commend CODESRIA’s efforts to unite all these africas that are unknown to each other, that strive to put down the cultural and religious barriers that are locking up our societies; we should also commend the Council for having turned these barriers into bridges that are making countries closer to one another. By inviting CRASC and involving it in this pleasant experience, CODESRIA is taking up not a mere challenge, but an almost impossible project: contributing to building a bridge between Northern and Sub-Saharan Africa. CRASC is commending this initiative and would like to seize this unique opportunity to express its entire adherence to this project of an Africa, which, from Dakar, would reach Johannesburg through Algiers, Addis Ababa and all the other capitals on the continent. This Africa would be eager to discover itself, would go in search of its other parts and stop turning its back to itself. Just like North Africans who contemplate these countries obstinately and with fascination, as if they were the Garden of Eden. Making Africa marks a U-turn, and helping the North of Africa get interested in the Southern part, which it knows nothing about. Doing the best, so that others no longer secretly keep the knowledge for themselves. Doing the best, so that talents can express themselves, so that we can help release energies, and help Africa be heard here and elsewhere. We will never thank enough CODESRIA, which has taken up this task for long. CRASC is hoping to enhance this celebration by bringing in its voice as well as a North African presence, that will contribute to making the Africa Review of Books a genuine forum of intellectual exchanges. This commemoration is not a trivial formality. It will certainly be a landmark in this new Millennium that is already announced by the NEPAD initiative and the shift from OAU to the African Union. Is this the sign of a new era that is opening up for our continent? It is a certainty for CODESRIA, Forum for Social Studies and CRASC. Challenges, such as the launching of the ARB, helps to build up links that they must strengthen, by making this new African review a space for intellectual and cultural communication, which will give Africa a new chance. From then on, we will certainly be able to say that “Africa has got off to a good start”.

Nouria Remaoun
Centre Nationale de Recherche en Anthropologie Sociale et Culturelle, CRASC Oran
Algeria
Sinto-me regozijada por ter sido escolhida como lauréat lusófona para participar no segundo instituto sobre a infância e juventude em África, organizado pelo CODESRIA, sob o tema "Enfance et Jenénse au Temp du Sida". Como investigadora angolana e de um país onde, além de carecer de condições prementes para o exercício da ciência, a investigação científica está ainda longe de ser vista como uma prática igualmente importante para o desenvolvimento do país, regozijo-me igualmente por poder discutir, em, Dakar, com investigadores de diferentes países de África, sobre questões comuns e de particular importância a nível deste continente.

Além de permitir um estreitamento e fortalecimento de laços entre jovens investigadores africanos, bem como o alargamento da sua rede de contactos a nível internacional, o instituto em referência permitiu aos lauréats discutirem e partilharem experiências entre si e com os personnes resources participantes. O nível do debate científico, bem como o interesse revelado no questionamento e tratamento dos aspectos teóricos e práticos referentes aos métodos de investigação em ciências sociais permitiu um aprofundar e uma troca de saberes que levou os lauréats a repensarem os seus projectos com vista a melhorarem a sua prestação na análise dos problemas africanos.

Mas o mérito deste instituto é sobretudo o de aproximar os jovens investigadores africanos ao CODESRIA, deixando este de ser representado nas suas mentes como algo abstracto (porque conhecido apenas no papel ou de ouvido) e algo distante (porque sedeado num país distante ou apenas diferente daquele em que habita) para se tornar algo concreto e familiar. Com efeito, e pelo facto das actividades se desenrolarem na sede do CODESRIA, o instituto permite que os investigadores percebam o funcionamento deste organismo, conheçam os seus recursos e objectivos, interajam com o seu pessoal e se sintam acarinhados.

No meu caso particular, a participação nesse instituto foi para mim uma experiência indescritível, um grande momento para conhecer África mais de perto através dos meus colegas lauréats e de exercitar as diversas línguas através das quais nos comunicávamos. Com satisfação percebi que muitos dos obstáculos com que me deparo no meu percurso como investigadora, de um país como Angola, são agora removidos.

Rosa Maria Amélia João Melo, PhD.
Antropóloga, Investigadora do Centro de Estudos africanos e Asiáticos do IICT (Lisboa)
Sto. Antonio dos Cavaleiros
Portugal

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DURING August and September 2003, I participated in the Governance Institute Session on 'The African Power Elite: Identity Domination and Accumulation'. The Institute consist of eleven laureates selected from Mozambique, Kenya, Congo Republic, Benin, Nigeria and Cameroon and resource persons from Algeria, Nigeria, USA, and the Gambia. The Institute was directed by Solofo Randrianja from Madagascar. Each laureate presented his research proposal and it was criticised in an academic atmosphere by other laureates, resource persons, Director of the Institute and Professor Amady Aly Dieng.

The importance of the institute to younger scholars cannot be over emphasised. Academically, it was a very enriching exercise. The resource persons who acted as mentors of the laureates were really enterprising and shared their experiences and knowledge without any economy. The 1000 page photocopy gratis that was given to me as a laureate helped me to be equipped with research materials or intellectual wealth that could be of use through out my academic life. Younger scholars (lauréats equally derived a lot, from the good academic environment in CODESRIA. The entire staff of CODESRIA and the Institute injected germs of research/scholarship in younger scholars.

However, I would like to proffer some suggestions for subsequent sessions. The next institute should ensure that all the resource persons must submit their papers before the institutes activities takes off from the ground. These papers must not be previous publications lifted from books, which they published a decade ago. This is to avoid embarrassing the laureates who are at a loss at having seemingly nothing to contribute to fan an already published paper, and end up as students who are merely listening to a lecture. Second, the selection of resource persons should be revisited and scrutinized, with details of what is expected of them communicated well in advance. Finally, methodology should be given priority in the next institute.

In all, from my participation at the Institute, I garnered experience from colleagues, resource persons and the entire staff of CODESRIA cannot be neglected. It drew my attention to a wealth of literature and material previously unknown to me.

Walter Gam NkwI
University of Buea
Cameroon
Intellectual growth in Africa is fraught with several challenges that lead many young scholars to drift away into half-baked consultants for mushrooming organisations around the continent. However, for me CODESRIA has marked a change in my intellectual life. After finishing a Masters in Women Studies at Makerere University, Uganda, I was very excited to be part of the 1997 Gender Institute on Gender and Violence in Africa. Other than being an event to meet permanent friends, it was a refreshing moment to discover that questions of relevance both to theory and practice were being discussed in this institute. Another value was that for me from an Anglophone country, this was an opportunity to learn more about francophone literature and debates in social sciences.

In 1998, I was privileged to be part of the University of Legon–Northwestern University fellowship on Slavery in Africa. This was a very revealing exercise because other than being able to conduct a learning tour of all the slave routes in West Africa, the fellowship in Ghana raised questions about Africa, slavery and its Diaspora – questions that we continued to explore in Northwestern University.

I was also honoured in 1999 to participate in a Governance institute on State and Taxation in Africa. Here we were able to interrogate categories and narratives on taxation from a sociological perspective. This was a very intriguing time in terms of building myself academically in the realm of analysis of what for long has been a territory of economists, and I have continued with this work in my current research interests into the political economy of poverty policies.

CODESRIA for me is therefore an intellectual mother and nothing less.

My suggestion is that future institutes should try and develop innovative ways of bringing back some former laureates to present papers in an institute as a mode of continuity and intellectual evidence of growth. Shorter papers based on research proposals at the beginning of the institutes could also be published to add to the range of publications that come out of institutes and also boost the morale of the laureates who may be publishing for the first time.

CODESRIA is in many ways a textual institution but I believe that introducing non-textual methods of evaluation like short video clips done in one institute and shared with another would increase the innovativeness of what can be learned.

Finally, I think CODESRIA should continue to host institutes especially because these are the few times when intellectuals in Africa come together under their own umbrella and agendas. Alluta continua and long live CODESRIA!

Richard Ssewakiryanga
Center for Basic Research
Kampala, Uganda

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Many thanks for a wonderful workshop in Dakar. To CODESRIA colleagues, Bayo, Jean-Bernard and Francis thanks for taking time out of your busy schedules to attend the workshop and share ideas with us. A special thanks to Owen, Charles, Kit and Abu for contributing so much. Thanks to Virginie and Ada for organizing all the logistics. Last but not least, a big thank you all the fellows Antoine, Kawango, Monisha, Peter, Ayalew, Nthabi, Donald, Margarida, Martha, Richard, Rotimi and Stella – for the friendly discussions and the energy you put into trying to improve each others work. It was a real pleasure being with you all in Dakar and discussing these exciting projects.

Warmly,

Alcinda Honwana
Program Director
Children and Armed Conflict & Africa Programs
Social Science Research Council
New York

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Having made my way to the office and looking at mails in between too many meetings I have been delighted to receive warm-hearted news that everyone has returned well and has had similar experiences as myself of the workshop: thank you all so very much for a thoroughly interesting workshop – in particular, to the resource persons who made this happen (by their presence and by selecting people who are wise as scholars and socially).

I am very grateful that I was able to participate in this initial stage of the fellowship grants – and I hope that I will be able to also participate when the fellows will present their findings.

Warm regards from a cold place.

Catrine Christiansen
Nordic Africa Institute
Uppsala, Sweden
I participated as laureate in the Child and Youth Institute of CODESRIA, 2003. In my opinion, the CODESRIA institutes are important in the following ways:

* It provides a forum for African young scholars to interact and think creatively about major African contemporary concerns such as the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

* It is very educative in terms of various research methodologies for proper investigation of sociological and anthropological phenomena such as the impact of HIV/AIDS on African populations and socio-economic development.

* It fosters and strengthens networking among African scholars across diverse socio-demographic and developmental boundaries. The laureates would hopefully continue to interact and share ideas and experiences in problem-solving through scientific research and development.

* The Institutes serve as periods of exposure of the laureates to copious literature in various areas of social concerns, each one targeting themes of special interest, example the problems of HIV/AIDS, governance and gender issues in development. Thus laureates are exposed to considerable codified indigenous knowledge about Africa and African concerns.

* A number of laureates became computer literate and developed the necessary skills to access the internet for research information and documents during the 4-week Child and Youth Institute 2003. Thus there was improvement in not only the research skills of the laureates but also in their knowledge and attitudes to research. Every laureate apparently gained knowledge in research proposals writing and appropriate methodologies for their effective implementation.

* By building the capacity of young African scholars, the Institutes are very strategic in the empowerment of African scholars for the production of authentic indigenous African knowledge and improvement of skills. If sustained and improved, the Institutes are capable of de-colonizing the African mind which is presently dependent and consumer oriented.

* CODESRIA Institutes have often resulted in the floating of Multinational Working Groups (MWGs.) focusing their effort collectively on critical areas of research and development needs of African countries. If support of such MWGs. is sustained, they may become able to induce irreversible positive change in the ways African problems are handled at the political and socio-economic levels. In this way it could be possible to bring about political stability and sustainable economic growth to the continent.

* My participation has generally improved my research capability especially in the areas of demography and anthropology. Also my network of African researchers has increased considerably.

* To improve future Institutes, all the presentation of resource persons should be prepared in good time and translated as appropriate so that the laureates can follow the lectures easily and more fruitfully.

Dr. Z.C. Njoku
Research and Publications Unit
Institute of Education
University of Nigeria, Nsukka
Nigeria

I participated as a laureate in the Child and Youth Institute, on the theme The African Child and Youth in the Era of HIV/AIDS, which lasted from 6th October to 31st October 2003.

I can say that the Institutes are of great importance to young scholars in the social science research in Africa. First, it gives young scholars a chance to interact with one another, with the resource persons and the director. This provides an opportunity for one to get varying views and perspectives on a variety of topics that are discussed. This in turn greatly helps enrich the participants knowledge, attitude and orientation in academics, more so in research. This is because it brings together scholars from different academic background and orientation.

As a young scholar, it has provided me with a chance to improve on my skills in research; both methodological and theoretical perspectives. The institute has also exposed me to several journals and research organisations that fund and publish research reports. This is an area that many young researchers find difficult to penetrate. Many journals usually want contributions from renown scholars forgetting that ‘a child must crawl before starting to walk and finally run’. Young scholars must also start from somewhere’ a chance that CODESRIA has provided.

Funding research has become anathema to many African Universities. Few that still do, only give money to senior members of the academic fraternity. In this regard, the exposure provided by CODESRIA is greatly welcome. Above all, giving a chance to young scholars to come together and start a Multi-national Working Group in collaboration with senior scholars like the one we have informally launched.

However, to ensure that the appropriate level of discussions are maintained at the sessions, I recommend that CODESRIA organise the sessions in a way to allow all the resource persons to attend all the sessions like the laureates. That way the resource persons are aware of the degree and levels of debates before making their own presentation.

The opportunity is greatly appreciated. It should be extended to more young scholars.

Julius Jwan
Moi University
Department of Communication Studies
Institute of Human Resource Development
Eldoret
Kenya
Thirty years ago the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa took that journey and was on its first step to promote research based and appropriate to the African context with the aim of improving the general welfare of the African people.

Africa’s problems are myriad: ranging from droughts, floods, diseases, wars etc. Faced with these situations, many governments in Africa merely survive from hand to mouth and have none or limited funds allocated to research in their budgets. CODESRIA is the light at the end of the tunnel for Africa’s young scholars. They are given opportunities to discuss, debate, research and publish their work. CODESRIA to the young budding African scholar is the spring board to research and academic excellence. The Council gives hope to many scholars who would otherwise have remained unknown and unutilised.

The Child and Youth Studies Institute 2003 on the theme The African Child and Youth in the Era of HIV/AIDS was of paramount significance to me at personal and professional levels. I have witnessed and been affected by HIV/AIDS through the prolonged sickness and eventual death of close family members who left behind young grieving children not old enough to fend for themselves. From the monthly statistical returns I receive in my office two teachers on the average die a month, they too leave behind young children as most die in the age bracket of 30-40 years. Through the Institute I have been greatly enriched and enlightened from the shared experiences on HIV/AIDS in Africa from the Director of the Institute, the resource persons, and from fellow laureates. The presentations; discussions and debates have challenged and motivated me that through my work I will help make a difference to the children affected and infected by HIV/AIDS as the youth are our future.

Like the mustard seed the Child and Youth Institute must continue to grow into a big tree and continue to bear fruits, this can be done through the multi-national working groups for the production of comparative information and knowledge. Problems of Africa can best be solved by Africans themselves. CODESRIA has a big role to play in the facilitation of the network programs for the Child and Youth Institute so that the one-month workshop is not dumped on the academic shelves and forgotten once each laureate goes back to their respective country. Presentations by resource persons should be translated in CODESRIA’s working languages to enable laureates have access to the useful research work and presentations. This is due to the fact that some of the materials were written in either French or English yet the laureates came from both Anglophone or Francophone countries. More computers should be put at the disposal of the laureates. It was otherwise an academic session that has left an impact in my life. I sincerely thank the CODESRIA team for the opportunity accorded to me to interact with other scholars from Africa to highlight on the plight faced by the youths and to seek for solutions to these problems through my research findings.

Merci beaucoup
Beatrice Afandi Lukalo
District Staffing Officer
Busia, Kenya

I had an opportunity to participate in the 2002 governance session on the theme “Infra-state mobilization” I must confess that as a historian it was the first time to be confronted with techno-issues of political sciences and just discovered how necessary those imperatives of the discipline are necessary for any student of social science? Both our directors, professors Tukumbi and Mustapha loaded us with theoretical and conceptual tools necessary for the analysis of the infra-challenges to the African state. This therefore gave me skills that enabled me to have a clear vision over my paper titled: “From Mau Mau to Mwakenya and Now Mungiki! Rebels and Saboteurs in the Nation State in Kenya.” Whereby I examined strategies, of protests against the state which aimed at constructing alternative political, social and economic mechanisms that could replace or tame those imposed by the state.

Babere Kerata Chacha
Department of History
Egerton University
Njoro, Kenya

The type of intellectual exchange and social interaction that African young scholars need between and among their peers, as well as their resource persons. It sensitises African young scholars to the problematics of “catastrophic governance” that is prevalent in the continent and how they can contribute towards stemming the tide – by way of research.

No doubt, my participation in the Governance Institute has enhanced my analytical skill, research capability and my teaching career.

In view of the uncertainties that characterise air transportation in Africa, adequate allowance should be made between the date that participants would arrive Dakar and the time when the indispensable

To open up the opportunity for armies of African young scholars yearning to have a stint of the Institute, it is hereby modestly suggested that 20 Laureates (instead of 15) be selected for every Session. As a corollary to this, those who have participated in the Institute once should not be given a second chance. Since there are four resource persons for each Session, it is also modestly suggested here that there should be two Directors for each Session, for all that it is worth. Thank you.

Funso Adesola
Department of International Relations,
Faculty of Administration,
Obafemi Awolowo University,
Lagos, Nigeria
The strength and resolve of the 2003 Gender Institute on Gender, Science and Technology lay in its diversity of Laureates, resource persons and the vision for Gender science and Technology in Africa funnelled by the Directors. The pertinent, Gender concerns addressed were in areas of Education, Philosophy, Agriculture, Development, Psychology, Medicine and Information, Communication and Technology. Therefore as a young scholar, participating in this Institute was a boon. The proposal call for the Gender Institute 2003 was well thought out and thus even writing a proposal worthy for selection presents a first step to the world of research.

The theme of Gender, Science and Technology enabled one to debate, reflect and engage in varied theoretical implications of this theme for Africa and especially for women. The one-month session, helped unravel and echo the common, yet varied gender concerns of Science and Technology in Africa. This interaction probed and prompted by the Directors and Resource personnel sharpened my perspective and “excavation” into gender concerns in and for Africa. The vital inter-cultural dialogue encouraged by the Directors, brought to surface the commonness of Africa in present times, and her future through young scholars, bringing our Gender, Science and Technology concerns to the Global Arena. The concerns debated were; Patenting rights, Production and Manufacturing of goods, access and equity in education, communication technologies, African indigenous herbal treatments and the link between the North and South hemispheres in terms of Science and Technology.

These different experiences (hard to come by!) presented the background to the critical day-to-day discussions and new perspectives, experienced at this Institute. To augment the debates was the availability of the CODESRIA staff (always ready to assist) library facilities, meeting sessions with the Directors or resource personnel, lecture sessions, Internet facilities and photocopying services. All this demonstrated the commitment with which CODESRIA put in the Institutes work, laureates, academic development of Africa, mentoring and nurturing young African scholars. Collaboration with each other in Africa is vital as participation in the Institute demonstrated by presenting the laureates (from Morocco, Cape, Verde, Senegal, Benin, Niger, Cameroon, Uganda, Nigeria, South Africa, and Kenya) with the opportunity to meet renowned scholars like Josephine Beoku-Betts. The Director engaged us in defining our own understandings and nuances of Gender, Science and Technology in Africa and developing further areas of investigation. Consequently, I have been able to join various list serves, visited many Science and Technology Centres in Kenya, met female scientists and I aim at facilitating a seminar on Gender, Science and Technology for my undergraduate students.

The Gender Institute 2003 is kept alive by our on-line discussion group facilitated by CODESRIA, where we share our challenges, aspirations achievements etc. As a 17 Laureates we are on course to publishing a world-class book on Gender, Science and Technology in Africa. Bienvenue!

Suggestion: To facilitate quicker publication of the laureates papers, Institutes should perhaps welcome paper drafts for improvement during the Institute. A Gender Institute on Feminist writing would enhance the production of more scholarly work on and out of Africa.

Ms Fibian Kavulani Lukalo,
Institute for Human Resource Development,
Moi University,
El-Doret, Kenya

As a laureate in 1994 and 1998 respectively, the relevance of small grants for thesis writing cannot be underestimated. This is because the programme has helped a lot of scholarly African researchers to fund their research work.

In addition, it has contributed to socio-economic and political development of African countries. This is as a result of relevant data generated by the research that helps African nations in formulating or propounding innovative policies for sustainable development.

However, while the management of this programme has in many regards been praiseworthy, it is disheartening to note that the release of grants has not always been timely. Therefore, my humble suggestion for improvement is that CODESRIA should overhaul the administrative system so as to facilitate the release of results and funds, as well as create more research programs for PhD students in African Universities.

Dialoke Ikechukwu
Sub-Dept of PALG
University of Nigeria, Nsukka,
Nigeria

The Small Grants for Thesis Writing is important because it provides the much needed financial support to African (post) graduate students in the efforts to carry out research leading to the award of degrees. It has, in no small way, promoted and developed the social science research in Africa. In terms of its contribution to social science scholarship in this area, we may not be able to quantify it.

CODESRIA needs to fine tune the administration of the grants so as to avoid situations where winners of the grants are perplexed trying to get the grants. More often than none, nothing is heard about the Book Donations component of the grant. CODESRIA can improve if it can overhaul the management of the grants and its accounting system. By and large, the Council has been invaluable in its contribution to the development of younger African social sciences/ humanities scholars. Kudos to CODESRIA.

Abiodun Salawu, PhD.
Dept. of Mass Communication,
University of Lagos, Nigeria.
Attending CODESRIA’s Child and Youth Institute in the greatest thing that has ever happened to my budding career as a social scientist and has more than ever before, given me the confidence that I have unexplored potentials which can contribute towards establishing an African social science. At the age of 25 years, young scholars like myself fade off the academic ladder without having the opportunity to prove their potential, or bring to the forefront the many ideas they are developing in their minds. Suppressed by many ‘elitist’ or ‘conservative’ academics, swallowed up and continuously exploited by older academics, young scholars like myself will hardly ever rise to the academic podium, let alone, build an academic career, as we continuously have our thoughts and ideas oppressed, suppressed and further plagiarised by our academic seniors. Through the Child and Youth Institute, CODESRIA provided me with the unique opportunity to freely and limitlessly explore the potentials of my academic prowess.

I was most elated by the continuous efforts made by CODESRIA towards encouraging social science in Africa, and especially towards ensuring for continuity and above all, bridging the gap between young and old African scholars. Unlike many African leaders who hardly groom a replacement, CODESRIA’s interest in developing young African social scientists instilled hope in me that the African youth is still the walking stick to the old. Being a debut in my international career, CODESRIA imbued in me an ever-soaring desire to actively and continuously participate in the purification and establishment of an African social science. Exposing younger scholars to a wider group and broader horizon of, especially African researchers, which will certainly enrich their academic pursuits and further allow them to put their thoughts into perspective. Meeting with young, old, experienced and inexperienced scholars from different parts of Africa, including those from outside the continent, I have been able to learn about the realities and contextual differences of certain phenomena in these varied places and have opened up my mind to how much young African scholars can benefit from such events. After the Child and Youth Institute, I have committed myself to establishing networks with other young African scholars whose environments give them little opportunity to introduce their arguments and perspectives in the academic podium.

With the humility and profound respect expressed by the driver right from the airport, the organised reception at the hotel, the warmth and smile from CODESRIA’s gatemen and the encouragements from all of CODESRIA’s staff, not mentioning their availability to personally assist me in all my undertakings in Dakar, one can only be tempted and forced to make it a duty to return such red-carpet treatment, especially by continuously participating in CODESRIA’s activities, especially by contributing to its various publications. And if the institution has to score another point in history, then its Documentation and Information Centre (CODICE) is worthy of praise. Indeed, I found it to be amongst Africa’s best academic collections and thought that every young African scholar should be given the opportunity to consume the wealth of that library, where staff members make it a duty to serve you even out of schedule. Merci CODESRIA. I am quite certain that you will emerge Africa’s leading research institutions and I continue to pray that many young scholars like myself are given the opportunity to mount the academic podium like you did to me.

Divine Fuh
Gaborone, Botswana

CODESRIA’s major achievement in the last 30 years is the creation of the different institutes (Gender, Governance, and Studies) which have a direct impact on the training and redirecting of social sciences African Researchers.

I participated in the Child and Youth Institute from in October 2003. Institutes have an essential importance for the training and redirecting of researchers. I have taken much advantages of literature on HIV/AIDS and on methodological studies on children.

I would recommend that the duration of the Institute be reduced to a maximum of 2 weeks and that the problem of funding field research projects in the should be looked into.

On the Small Grants Programme aimed at helping students to finalise the writing of their research reports or theses, the successes of the initial years may have been hampered by the huge number of applications he Council receives yearly, thus affecting the effectiveness of the Council to better manage the programme. I would suggest that the programme should be reformed by trying to limit the applications in order to manage the programme better. It is very difficult to manage all applications from every student in Africa writing research reports. It is therefore important for CODESRIA to give the programme a specific theme every year. Students whose subject corresponds with the theme could send an application. So that, CODESRIA will have less applications to work on and will be more efficient in the selections.

CODESRIA’s various research programme allow African researchers to create networks or comparative research groups. The Publication programmes serves the important purpose of disseminating the results of research more widely. The publication programme has published a lot of works during the past 30 years and thanks to it CODESRIA research is well known in most of African countries. However, there is a limited distribution in all countries. CODESRIA’s representative should be determined in every country to ensure a wider distribution of its publications.

Robert Nkendah
Faculté des sciences économiques et de Gestion appliquée (FSEGA)
Université de Douala
Douala-Bassa, Cameroun.
Reports on Sub-regional Conferences

Central Africa, 4–5 October 2003, Douala, Cameroon

The Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) organized a sub-regional conference in central Africa in Douala (Cameroon), on October 4 and 5, 2003. This event took place in the context of the celebration of CODESRIA’s thirtieth anniversary, as the Council was “established in 1973 out of the collective will of African social researchers to create a viable forum in Africa through which they could strive to transcend all barriers to knowledge production and, in so doing, play a critical role in the democratic development of the continent.” Among the series of events scheduled for this commemoration, four additional sub-regional conferences are to be held in southern, western, eastern and northern Africa. These meetings will be followed by an international conference of wide amplitude, which will take place in December 2003, at the Council’s headquarters in Dakar.

Starting from the premise that “the period since the 1960s in Central Africa has been marked by a continuous search for the most effective framework for the establishment of a representative system of government that is capable of serving the goals of nation-building, the needs of the citizenry, and the autonomous development of the state”, CODESRIA’s Executive Secretary, Prof Adebayo Olukoshi invited the researchers to reflect on the theme “Central Africa: Crises, Reform and Reconstruction.”

Taking advantage of this opportunity, the African academic community replied en masse to the call for a fresh reading of the central African experience. For two days, this commemorative event opened a fertile arena of discussion for the sixty-some scholars in attendance, whom had travelled from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Burundi, the Republic of Congo-Brazzaville, the Republic of Central Africa, Cameroon, Nigeria, and France.

The opening ceremony set the pace of the conference with the welcoming speeches delivered by Prof. Lucien Kombou, Dean of the University of Douala’s FSEG, Georges Kobou, André Mbata Mangu, both members of CODESRIA’s Executive Committee, and CODESRIA’s Executive Secretary, Adebayo Olukoshi.

Prof. Bruno Bekolo Ebe, Chancellor of the University of Douala, gave the opening allocution by welcoming CODESRIA’s timely initiative to gather the academic communities of Cameroon and other central African countries to discuss a topic at the heart of the preoccupations of the region’s intelligentsia.

Prof. Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja (Director of the PNUD Center for Governance in Oslo), the first keynote speaker, began a reflection on “African intellectuals and central Africa’s political crisis.”

Following the Chancellor’s brief economic, political and social contextualization of the region, Prof. Nzongola presented a rather bleak diagnosis of the situation in Central Africa, one of the principal cradles of conflict on the continent. He attributes this situation to “intellectuals’ failure as a social force in the prevention of conflicts.” The guest lecturer did not confine his intervention to documenting failures but also attempted to suggest a number of viable alternatives to the crisis. The solutions envisioned by Prof. Nzongola require a necessary reassessment of the intellectual’s status, “by struggling against the factors of his instrumentalization (meagre wages, working conditions, etc.) and by promoting the development of universities, networks such as the CODESRIA, international partnerships, as well as the integration and use of new technologies placed at the service of research and communication”.

The first plenary session, chaired by Georges Kobou (Vice-Dean of the Faculty of Economic Sciences and Applied Management at the University of Douala), opened the stage for a debate on the contexts and agents, both historical and contemporary, of the experience of prolonged sub-regional crises, which permitted a delineation of their origins and dimensions. Inscribing his presentation in the longue-durée, Prof. Goma-Thehet Joachim Emmanuel (History Department, Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences, University Marien Ngouabi of Brazzaville) reset the terms of the conference theme in broader historical perspective, and focused on the historiography of the quest for democracy in central Africa from 1960 to 2001.

Prof. Mbata B. Mangu André (Department of Constitutional, International and Indigenous Law, University of South Africa) revisits the political and constitutional realms of central African states, and the social responsibility of intellectuals in the sub-region. Musing over which path to walk towards a national reconstruction, Prof. Mbata observes that “the African renaissance which the sub-continent seems to deny for itself demands both politicians and intellectuals able to transcend authoritarian constitutional façades and straitjackets to cast the foundations of a genuine democracy and democratic constitutionalism in the central African states.”

In the following paper, Dr. Forbin reminded us of the importance of processes of memory associated with traumatic events (conflicts, inter-ethnic massacres), as essential factors in the emergence of modern and democratic nations in the sub-region. He then traced the roots of these phenomena in the colonial and post-colonial periods and their consequences on Cameroon’s development.

Kiyulu N’yang – Nzo Joël (Director of Research at the Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences, UNIJKIN), whose talk focused on the “challenges of the cultural dimension and peace reconstruction in central Africa” brought a cultural touch to the debates on the morning of October 4. He shed light on local populations’ perceptions of peace through a sociolinguistic analysis of the terms used in the Democratic Republic of Congo to express peace and laid out the cultural strategies employed in conflict resolution.

Four parallel sessions followed the plenary session. The first one was chaired by Ndolamb Nogkeyw, and staged five participants (Kibanda Matungila, Dzaka Théophile, Bougou Bazika
Jean Christophe, Ngodi Etanislas and Bello Oladiran), who presented communications on central Africa’s geostrategic resources and their relation to the historic and contemporary actors claiming rights over these resources.

The delegates of the second parallel session (Ndjetcheu Louis, Avom Desiré, Mayeko Léon and Ntangsi Max Memfih), presided by Gérard Tchouassi, lent their attention to the actors, internal and external factors critical to the changing political-economy in the CEMAC zone.

The topic of struggles for democracy and the quest for a democratic renewal in the sub-region exerted much fascination on the conference participants. Placed in the third and fourth parallel sessions, respectively chaired by Eyeffa Ekomo Sylvie and Forje John W., eight presenters (Rutake Pascal, Guiyama-Massogo Clément Anicet, Ngoma-Binda, et Ameli Valentine, Fouda Ongodo Maurice, Mouiche Ibrahim, Lubanza Mukendi André and Muluh Henri) explored these axes of research.

The second day of talks began with a plenary session, chaired by Prof. Mbata Mangu. The main speech was presented by M. Alice Karakezi (Center of Conflict Management, National University of Rwanda), who put an emphasis on the participation of civil society, women and children in the conflicts. Her reflection on “Intellectuals and the Pan-African Ideal” was articulated on a reframing of the conference theme through the lens of gender and citizenship.

The following parallel sessions continued to deepen the debate of the dimensions of crises and their resolutions in central Africa, enriching the palette of presentations with discussions of country- or region-specific case-studies. Thus, under the chairmanship of Jean-Christophe Bazika, researchers of the fifth parallel session (Forje John W., Dirat Jean-Raymond, Awoumou Côme Damien Georges, Bachirou Hamadou, Ekambi Dibongue Guillaume, Same Kolle Samuel and Fru Tassang Celestina) presented experiences of post-conflict reconstruction and a regional framework for the resolution of crises of identity and citizenship in central Africa.

In the sixth parallel session, chaired by Ntegeye Gloria Renee, participants (Liyoungo Empengele Jean, Mwaka Bengwe Arsène, Missie Jean-Pierre, Pidika Didier, Raquin Emilie, and Hamadou Adam) focused their presentations on popular strategies of social survival deployed by the poor to cope with long-term crises of the state and the economy.

The quest for the full realization of the rights of the citizen in central Africa and the constraints inherited from policies and governance were discussed by participants to the seventh parallel session (Yene Awasom Susanne, Nkene Blaise-Jacques, Abé Claude, Lapika Dimomfu Bruno, Ayike Margaret, Ndolamb Ngokwey), presided by Mouiche Ibrahim.

Delegates of the eighth parallel session (Ndo Minlaa Salomon Richard, Nduta Ebode Joseph Vincent, Tshibwabwa Kuditschini Jacques, Saïbou Issa, Tharcisse Yamuremye), chaired by Pascal Rutake, examined the sources, nature and dimension of crises of the state, and its construction in central Africa.

Presentations in the ninth parallel session (done by Nkama Arsene Honore Gideon, Ngamba Tchapda Hélène, Eyeffa Ekomo Sylvie, Mouko Félix, Tchouassi Gérard, Ngefan Mpandjo Sombe Catherine Suzanne, Mbanga George N.), under the supervision of E. S. D. Fomin, centered on the actors, internal and external factors in the changing political-economy of central Africa.

The final parallel session, chaired by Claude Abé, consisted of seven presenters (Nguiimé Mbengué Martin, Taguem Fah Gilbert Lamblin, Ntegeye Gloria Renee, Tshibhimbi Evariste, Vubo Emmanuel Yenshu, Obotela Rashidi Noël, Cibangu Franck Kamunga) who gave attention to the frontiers and contexts within which identities develop, merge, are crafted and refashioned in the sub-region.

The second day of debates ended with a third plenary session, which focused on issues of governance and was the object of passionate debate.

The closing speeches were given by the two members of CODESRIA’s Executive Committee and by Adebayo Olukoshi. Thus, Profs. Mbata and Kobou thanked CODESRIA for providing central Africa’s academic community with the opportunity to diagnose regional problems and initiate productive critical reflection on its reconstruction.

CODESRIA’s Executive Secretary’s conclusions stressed the symbolic character of this meeting, which will experience its apotheosis in December in Dakar, as several generations of researchers, from diverse horizons, join their minds to reflect on the theme “Intellectuals, Nationalism and Pan-African Ideal.”

**Ndève Sokhna Guèye**
Conference Secretary

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**Southern Africa, 18–19 October 2003, Gaborone, Botswana**

- Coming to grips with post-liberation xenophobia
- Cooperation / Integration question
- Issues in the Contemporary Political economy of southern Africa
- The political economy of land and labour in southern Africa
- Politics, governance and justice in southern Africa

The discussion was strengthened with the participation of many young new researchers and senior researchers. Professor Archie Mafeje one of CODESRIA’s founders gave the conference an authentic aspect. There was equally a strong participation of Lusophone researchers from Mozambique and Angola, and the University of Botswana community. The ceremony was opened by Lidia Brito the Minister of Education in Mozambique who made a very interesting speech on racism.
On the 30 and 31st October, 2003, the East Africa Sub-regional Conference was held in Global Hotel, in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia on the theme: East Africa: In Search of National and Regional Renewal.

Researchers from the East Africa Sub-region, coming from Comoros, Kenya, Ethiopia, Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda and South Africa were invited to explore different dimensions of the challenges of renewal confronting the countries in East Africa.

Opening the Session, Professor Abdallah Bujra, the one of the founding CODESRIA Executive Secretary welcomed the participants. After that, we had the welcoming speeches delivered by Professor Bahru Zewde Chairman of the Board at the Forum for Social Studies, Ms Zenebeworke Tadesse, the current President of the Executive Committee. The opening allocution was given by Professor Adebayo Olukoshi, the CODESRIA Executive Secretary, who welcomed the participants and invited their active participation during the two days of the Conference.

Professor Issa Shivji, Professor of Law at the University of Dar es Salaam and member of CODESRIA Executive Committee was the first keynote speaker. His presentation on “The Rise, the Fall and the Insurrection of Nationalism in Africa” explored the “National Question” and its erstwhile expression, nationalism.

The first plenary session, chaired by Professor Eric Aseka opened the stage for a debate on the Construction of Democracy in East Africa, after the presentation of Mr. Godwin Murunga whose presentation was on the Democratization in Kenya, followed by Mr. Sabiti Makara and Kulumba Mohammed who talked about the democracy in Uganda.

The afternoon began with two parallel sessions. The first on East Africa in Search of Nation Hood was chaired by Mr. Babere Kerata Chacha and staged four participants, Mr. Mohammed Bakari, Mr. Hussein Mahmoud, Mr. Maurice Amutabi, and Mrs Felicia Arudo Yieke.

The second parallel session chaired by Dr. Murindwa Rutanga, the dean of the faculty of social sciences at Makerere University staged five participants: Mr. Edward Waswa Kisiang’Ani, Mr. Kasaiaj Philip Apulii, Peter Wafula Wekesa, K. Inyani Simala who presented communications on East Africa and the Quest for Regional cooperation / Integration.

After these two parallel sessions, the interesting subject on East Africa in global geo-politics gather all the participants in the second plenary session, were we had three presentations.

The one of Mr. Aaron Mukwaya, Alfred Anangwe and Mr Babere Kerata Chacha. This session was chaired by Mrs Felicia Arudo Yieke.

On the 31st October the third plenary session chair by Ms Zenebeworke Tadesse. The keynote address was delivered by professor Seithi Loth Chachage, Associate Dean at the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania, who focused his presentation on the New Partnerships for Africa’s Development (NEPAD), as an intellectual “product” of African intellectuals, and its claims of the renewal and regeneration of Africa within attempts to unite Africa.

In the fourth plenary session, chaired by professor Issa Shivji, the three presentations made by Dr. Hamed Hawi Omer, Professor Ismael Ibouri, Mshai Mwangala were focused on the actors and factors in the renewal of the state in East Africa.

Four parallel sessions followed this plenary session. The first one was chaired by Mr. Godwin Murunga and staged four participants: Mr. Emmanuel Okoth Manyasa, Ms Roselyne Ajika, Ms Constance Ambasa, Mr. Adam Azzain Mohamed, who presented communications on the Ethnic Question in East Africa.

The parallel session on Economic Development in East Africa was chaired by Professor F.E.M.K. Senkoro, from the University of Dar es Salaam. In this session, there were four presentations from tProfessor Stephen Mititi Kapunda, Isaac Tarus, William Muhumuza, and Dr. Elijah Mushemeza.

Delegates of the fifth parallel session were Okello Richard Nixon, Peter Simatei, Caroline Van Niekerk and Professor Senkoro talked about the Popular Culture in East Africa. The session was chaired by Ms Mshai Mwangola.

The debates of the sixth parallel session presided by Dr. Hamed Hawi Omer staged three participants, Professor Eric Aseka, Mr. Katusimeh Mesharch Wato and Dr. Murindwa Rutanga.

The dicussions ended with a debate on the fifth plenary session focused on Governance in CODESRIA.

The closing speeches were given by Professor Adebayo Olukoshi and Ms Zenebeworke Tadesse who thanked the participants for their active participation.

Francine Adade
Conference Secretary

North Africa, 27–28 September 2003, Cairo, Egypt

The second in the series of sub-regional conferences organized to commemorate the 30th Anniversary of CODESRIA, the North Africa conference took place in Cairo, Egypt on 27-28 September 2003. The conference theme was North Africa and the Pan-African Movement: Retrospect and Prospect and the event was attended by some 66 participants. 38 papers were presented. A number of ambassadors representing African countries in Egypt also attended the meeting and discussions centered around issues like the historical context and issues, the Africa policy of North African countries, cross-cultural exchanges and influences, economic and commercial issues, political and identity issues, etc.
Intra-State Challenges to the Nation-State Project in Africa
Report of the 2002 CODESRIA Governance Institute

Introduction and Methods of Inquiry

The 2002 Governance Institute was held in August in Dakar with 13 laureates drawn from 6 African countries in attendance. Five resource persons and two guest lecturers joined the laureates to tackle the theme of this year’s Institute: Intra-State Challenges to the Nation-State Project in Africa. From August 5th to 30th, this assemblage, along with three invited speakers from various political and civil organizations in Senegal, and members of the CODESRIA secretariat, discussed and debated the internal challenges to different African state-building projects. The Institute also greatly benefited from the attendance of Professor Amadou Aly Dieng, a veteran participant in all previous Institutes. Significantly, this year also marked the tenth anniversary of the Institute.

To set the ball rolling, I proposed that clarity in issues of methodology, theory and concepts was very important in exploring the intra-state challenges to the African state. We need to take account of a wide range of factors – historical, geographic, political, economic, and sociological – which have shaped the specific challenges faced, by each state. The challenge before the Institute was to encourage the development of dynamic analytical frameworks which incorporated these diverse elements, and which help to illuminate specific cases while at the same time contributing to our general understanding of the wider African picture. As a contribution to this quest, I suggested two very broad analytical approaches that may be considered as starting points of our individual endeavours: a systemic approach and an actor-based approach.

The systemic approach borrows from Baker [2000, 8] in placing emphasis on the broad political processes of the nation-state as a functional system with many interlinked components. At the core of that system is a problematic political authority that generates disapproval and intra-state challenges. The activities of this sub-optimal state affect various sectors of societal and political life: economic, cultural, constitutional, territorial, and institutional, resulting in different patterns and intensities of responses from different spheres of society. Some groups in society respond to the sub-optimal state at the core of the system by challenging it through engagement, thereby creating a mobilized ring around the core, while others respond to the same policies through disengagement, denoting economic, cultural, territorial or other forces in society which seek to escape as far as possible from the reaches of the state and its constitutive institutions and processes.

Within this systemic perspective, challenges to the nation-state project can take the form of either engaging with it to force changes on the state, or disengaging from it in order to reduce its reach and efficiency and thereby weakening its capacities. Sometimes, the same policy can elicit reactions of engagement, disengagement, or indifference from different groups within the same society. In different ways, engagement, disengagement, or indifference can constitute severe internal challenges to the state, and the intellectual task is to explore why particular sectors of society adopt particular strategies, at particular times. The central feature of this approach is that the dysfunction of the African nation-state is analysed in broad systemic and historical terms, well beyond the immediate challenge itself. Just as important is the problematization of the sub-optimal nation-state that is the core of the system and the source of the political disapproval. What specific historical and societal factors underpin its dysfunctionality? Implied in this approach is the need for a holistic approach in understanding and tackling the many challenges faced by various nation-state projects in Africa.

The second broad analytical approach is the actor-based approach that is derived, appropriately, from Hirschman [1970] who developed his groundbreaking ideas from a study of the dysfunction of the Nigerian Railways Corporation. Like the systemic approach, this approach also starts with a dysfunctional state system as a given. However, its analytic emphasis is not on that state as a system or process, but on the reactions of sub-systemic actors to the dysfunction of the state. Its emphasis is therefore on the actors within the system, rather than the system itself.

These two analytical approaches are neither exclusive of each other, nor are they exhaustive of possible approaches. They however suggest the need for Institute participants to avoid an excessively empiricist approach which merely chronicles and catalogues the many challenges to the African nation-state system.

Studying the African State: The Broader Context

The next set of presentations had the specific objective of sketching out the broader contexts against which the investigation of the African nation-state system can be more fruitfully undertaken. In the lecture on the African state as History, I sought to highlight the historical, geographic and cultural context of state formation in Africa. It is of vital importance that Africa’s own experience of state formation plays a crucial role in our theorizing of the contemporary political predicament of the continent. More often than not, Eurocentric models are implicitly or explicitly deployed without any effort being made at establishing and evaluating the relevance of a specifically African experience on the matter. On the other hand, the late Professor Abdullahi Smith, argued forcefully for the incorporation of Africa’s own history of state formation into its current efforts at nation-building [1987, 59].

Vision, Nationalism, and Agency

However, it was also stressed that much as historical and structural dynamics are important for the understanding of the long-run problems of the African state, we must be careful not to descend into deterministic modes of thought. In reality, the African state, in its colonial and postcolonial manifestations, is also the product of human imagination and human agency. My presentation on the theme of the African state as Vision sought to establish this point. In the early colonial period, the visionary impulse that shaped the African state could be seen in the

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United Kingdom
missionary zeal to demolish existing African spiritual universes and to replace these with a Judaeo-Christian outlook. African acquiescence or resistance to this missionary vision often had political implications of long-standing consequence [cf: Ranger, 1985; Whitaker, 1970]. Similarly, the positivist sense of mission of the colonial administrator in the African hinterland – the proverbial ‘man on the spot’ – his aristocratic inclinations and sense of unchallenged power, his unquestioned belief in Empire and the ‘civilizing mission’, all constitute the voluntarist repertoire of administrative practices which continue to be felt in many parts of post-colonial Africa. Can some forms of political and administrative practices in post-colonial Africa be traceable to the positivist, scientific-bureaucratic mindset of the colonial world which sort to re-order, re-shape, reconstitute, classify, and count African communities? How relevant is this inheritance of colonial ‘governmentality’ in the deformations of the post-colonial state?

Both the colonial and post-colonial situations in Africa have been marked by strong elements of both voluntarist and idealistic thinking. Few can forget Kwame Nkrumah’s advice: ‘Seek ye first the political Kingdom and everything else shall be added unto thee’. In a similar vein, Patrice Lumumba is reported to have declared ‘I am an idea’. More important than the colonial heritage, however, is the vision or visions implicit in African nationalism. African nationalism has had a profound effect on the evolution of the African state because, as Breuilly [1993] points out, nationalism is a form of politics with the state as its target. Secondly, African nationalism has marked, and continues to mark, the collective African consciousness. African nationalism is both a set of ideologies and a set of practices; it also led to the sedimentation of practices and ideas, which continue to influence the nature of the African state.

**The African State and the World of Ideas**

But representations of the African state are not limited to the ideational or programmatic productions of colonial actors and African nationalists. The African state has also been the target of formal academic and policy representations, particularly since the beginning of the crises of the 1980s. And through the IMF, the World Bank, and a host of bilateral agencies, these intellectual productions on the African state, often of western providence, have acquired a hegemonic hold on the activities of the contemporary African state. In the presentation on the African state as Idea, I explored the range of academic ideas that have shaped the understanding and functioning of the African state in the recent past. Modernization theory, dependency theory, and the more recent neo-liberal ascendency have all left their marks on the politics and practices of the African state.

**Gender, the African State, and the Global Context**

Professor Tukumbi Lumumba-Kasongo of Cornell University opened his contribution to the Institute by examining ‘The Problematique of the African State, Its Mission, and Its Functions in International Relations and World Economy’. The lecture was about how one re-conceptualizes historically and philosophically the origins, structures, and functions of the African state and its relationship to other phenomena within the global economy. This problématique implies the identification, classification, and definition of the major problems related to, or associated with, the nature of the African state. Is it a vibrant entity in relationship to the African people?

There are methodological problems, conceptual issues, and functional aspects related to this state that must be raised and discussed if we were to ask the question of what kind of state for Africa. The presentation, which focused on general analytical perspectives, reflection on the colonial question, and the paradigmatic elements of the post-colonial state, argued that the modern state is a dynamic phenomenon. It is an organ that can grow. But the way African state was created may partially explain why it behaves the way it does. There was no bargaining mechanism between the African political agencies/agents and the participants of the Berlin Conference in 1884/85 in terms of how the states were carved. This state was set up with three major missions: (1) to disorganize the existing African political economy, social systems, and their values; (2) to create an agency of the international capitalism; and (3) to create an internal police agency for the European institutions and political elites. The presentation concluded that in its current forms, the African state cannot and will not be able to formulate progressive policies and politics needed for the development of the continent.

He followed this up with an exploration of methodological issues in the study of the African state by asking: what kind of social science research for Africa? At this juncture of unchallenged domination by liberal globalization, both at its market economic level and at the electoral democratic process, is there any theoretical, ideological, and political need to talk about social science research in Africa? What does social science research in Africa mean? Can/should Africa produce her own investigative research tools to deal with the dynamics of her environment? Lumumba-Kasongo emphasised the fact that research methodology is one of the most important components of the Institute’s work.

In his third presentation, Lumumba-Kasongo addressed the gender dimension of research on the African state. How important is it to incorporate a gender dimension to such a research agenda? Does gender matter in social science research in Africa? In the presentation it was articulated that gender matters in social science in Africa. Why and how is it so? He argued that the dominant perception according to which the issue of gender in social science research concerns mainly women is wrong. Gender, as a social science concept, is a dynamic concept. In the presentation gender was defined in relational perspectives. It deals with men–women and girls–boys relationships and how these relationships are reflected in the allocation and distribution of power and other resources. He asserted that these relationships are not static. They are constantly changing to reflect the dynamics that are taking place in societies or demands that are emerging from societies. They are also constantly changing to respond to concrete social class, institutional, and other societal demands.

He concluded that gender issues in social science research must take into account specificities and particularities of men–women’s relations in their specific ethnic and broader political contexts. And gender issues must also take into account African social history, social values, and worldviews. The current division of labour in which women are confined to some specific roles must be critically examined because it responds more to the imperatives of global capitalism than to the demands of democracy and development. He suggested that this is not necessarily a reflection of African cultures. Finally, gender equality has to be articulated within the framework of citizens’ and human rights principles and developmental paradigms. The
coalition of men and women against the dysfunctionality and sexism of the African state can provide an opportunity to advance a dialogical relationship based on the principle of complementarity. For issues of gender to succeed in Africa, it will be necessary to democratize ethnicity and the state, and articulate gender as a developmental imperative.

In his presentation on ethno-nationalism and the contradictions of global capitalism, Lumumba-Kasongo argued that ethno-nationalism is about the dynamic relationships between ethnicity and nationalism and their political and economic implications. Ethnicity, as nationalism, is a socially constructed phenomenon. It is not fixed. It should therefore be understood in relational and historical terms. Using historical structuralism and system’s analysis paradigms, he sought to define what ethno-nationalism is, to identify its dominant characteristics and their socioeconomic manifestations. He also tried to examine how ethno-nationalism has interacted with the forces of global capitalism. How have the contradictions of global capitalism and ethno-nationalism impacted on the African state?

In a presentation on ethnicity, nationalism, and regionalism, Lumumba-Kasongo focused on how these phenomena have affected the processes and/or mechanisms of state formation in Africa. Ethnicity, nationalism, and regionalism were defined from various schools, notably modernization, dependency, and third world perspectives. Why is ethnicity gathering renewed strength in Africa? Is ethnicity always an irrational phenomenon? And what should be done about it? Its objectives and functions were discussed.

Nationalism was defined historically and philosophically. Various approaches to studying it, based on the work of John Breuilly were discussed – the nationalist, the communication, the Marxist, and the psychological and functional approaches. The presentation also focused on the classification of various types of nationalism – reformist, separatist, accommodationist, and those strongly associated with Afro-Marxist traditions – that have been produced in Africa in the past 40 years or so. The major objective was to deal with the question of the impact of nationalism on the processes of state formation. Regionalism was defined in geo-physical, ideological, and political terms. Again, the concern was to examine the policy and political implications of regionalism in the context of state formation. Various issues related to the regional claims and demands of individuals and groups based on the imperatives of morphology and particularism of culture were raised and discussed.

**Nigeria: The longue durée and the burden of history**

After these broad-ranging presentations, focus shifted to country specific studies starting with a series of presentations on the Nigerian state. In my introductory presentation on the intra-state challenges to the Nigerian state, I pointed out that Nigeria remains one of the most turbulent countries in Africa. Its post-colonial history is characterized by: (1) a 30-month Civil War between 1967 and 1970 during which over 1 million people were killed; (2) difficulty in organizing a stable political order, leading to repeated military incursion into national political life and the resulting militarization of civil politics and the politicization of the military; (3) continuing sectarian mobilization and confrontation at many levels of society – ethnic group against ethnic group, region against region, community against community, and religion against religion. Despite its enormous wealth in human and material resources, Nigeria has failed to fulfill its promise as a nation-state precisely because of the numerous intra-state challenges it has had to confront. Indeed, the success of Nigeria is that it has managed, so far, to survive these numerous and repeated challenges whilst retaining a fairly coherent state system by African standards.

In my presentation, I sought to sketch out the broad historical and political context of these intra-state challenges to the Nigerian state, leaving two other presenters, Dr Cyril Obi and Kate Meagher, to examine two specific instances of intra-state challenges to the Nigerian state. I emphasised five issues: (1) the way in which societal cleavages were structured into the very heart of the colonial state in Nigeria; (2) the embedded inequalities within the Nigerian state, particularly the gapping disparities between the northern and southern sections of the country; (3) the conflict-ridden hegemonic drive that has characterized Nigerian political life; and finally, (4) large scale poverty as the context for intra-state mobilization.

On cleavages, I pointed out that the long-drawn politico-historical process of regionalism, statism and localism has led to a concentric pattern of 7 ethnic and political cleavages in Nigeria. On inequalities, I pointed out that some were the result of differential economic endowments, while others flowed from the consequences of often deliberate colonial official policy. While geography can be used to explain the higher economic and infrastructural development of the southern regions of Nigeria, the educational underdevelopment of the northern part was largely a reflection of official policy and local attitudes. The combined and cumulative effects of these inequalities, corresponding as they do with the cleavages already cited, have bedevilled Nigerian society to this day.

It is these cleavages and inequalities that have fuelled the politics of sectarian mobilization within Nigerian politics. And since the collapse of the First Republic in 1966, a lot of efforts have gone into attempts to contain the centrifugal forces so active at the heart of Nigerian politics. The creation of states, the quota system in distribution of resources, the reflection of ‘federal character’ in appointments, the building of the new capital at Abuja, right in the middle of the country as a symbol of unity, and the effective centralization of political and fiscal power at the centre, may have sustained the state as a single unit without addressing the sectarian impulses that continue to challenge it. As a result, intra-state challenges to the Nigerian state continue.

**Nigeria: Youths, Environment and Ethnic Militia**

Dr Cyril Obi, from the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, Lagos, focused his presentations on the challenges to the Nigerian state emanating from the conflict over resource control in the Niger Delta. In these presentations, he emphasised the critical factors of resources, environmental protection, youths and political conflicts. It is the dangerous cocktail of these factors in the context of a repressive military state that has defined the numerous challenges to the Nigerian state in the Niger Delta. In his first presentation, Obi provided a background to the struggles for resource control in the Niger delta, drawing on the dependent nature of the integration of the region into global capitalism and the Nigerian nation-state. The marginalisation of the region thus fed into the resurgence of ethnic minority agitation for self-determination, local autonomy and the restructuring of the nation-state.
Obi’s second presentation explored the nexus between inter-generational conflict and the struggle for resource control in the Niger Delta, particularly in the context of youth violence. He argued that the conflicts in the delta are not a simple Manichean world with the ethnic minorities on one side and the Nigerian state on the other. These conflicts are described as complex, with different minority ethnic groups and even different generations within an ethnic group and factions within generations assuming contradictory positions. These broadly show the influence of class and personal interests, within groups that are broadly seen as the Niger Delta ethnic minorities. These divergent reactions within the Niger Delta also reflect the impact of the tensions between a homogenising state project and the rights of the minorities to assert their control of oil.

In his third presentation, Obi focused on the Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP) and the Ijaw Youth Congress (IYC) as case studies of specific challenges to the Nigerian state in the Niger Delta. He highlighted the role of the youth in both movements and their struggles, and concluded that youth activism is less of an inter-generational war, and more of a generational critique of the dominant power relations within Niger Delta societies and between them and the Nigerian state. Youth mobilization therefore challenged the erstwhile culture of accommodation that has characterized the attitude of Niger Delta elites with the state, and replaced it with a culture of confrontation and heightened ethnic mobilization that also created the unintended consequence of heightening intra-ethnic tensions within the Niger Delta. Youth mobilization also marked the transition from constitutional means, led by chiefs and elders, to extra constitutional agitation. Emphasis shifted from the language of universal political rights, prevalent in the era of decolonisation, and accent was now put on local idioms and cultural revivalism. Long forgotten cults and rituals were excavated and reinstated as the vehicle for political mobilization. Nevertheless, power and resources, and not cultural exclusivity, were the driving force of this mobilization. The local idioms continued to borrow selectively and heavily from foreign sources, particularly the ascendant languages of human and environmental rights, the networks of global NGOs, the language of genocide, and even mobilization at the UN.

Obi’s fourth presentation examined the external linkages to the struggle for self-determination and resource control in the Niger Delta. He looked at the extractive consequences of oil multinationals and western consumer-nations. He argued that the events in the Niger Delta could not be fully understood unless the region’s role in the global network for producing energy and profits for western multinationals and consumer nations is taken into account. It is this global network, in alliance with the Nigerian state, which extracts both oil and power from the inhabitants of the Niger Delta, leading to local resistance. Obi also examined the strategy of linking up with global rights movements and international non-governmental organizations (INGO’s), which has characterized the politics of groups like MOSOP. He drew attention to the factors that drive the politics of these global NGOs in the Niger Delta, and also noted the limitations of global rights movements in ‘empowering’ the forces of local resistance. The hanging of Saro-Wiwa showed the limitation of international rights movements in their support for MOSOP; it would seem that in both Nigerian and western governmental circles, the oil multinationals have more clout than the international rights movements.

In his concluding presentation, Obi looked at the implications of the Niger Delta conflict for the Nigerian state building project. He argues that Nigeria’s unity is fragile and contingent on oil revenues; oil threatens Nigerian unity and cements that unity simultaneously. The Niger Delta conflict draws our attention to the crucial question of revenue as an essential aspect of state building. At the same time, the ethnic complexity of the Niger Delta and its long-running ‘minority’ status draw our attention to questions of plurality and diversity within the African state. It is to be regretted, he concluded, that violence has become endemic, episodic and scattered within the Niger Delta. Will this lead to the collapse of the Nigerian state or its reconstitution? Whatever the outcome, he notes that youth power will remain a critical factor in the struggles in the Niger delta, as well as the quest for the restructuring of the Nigerian nation state.

One of the Institute’s guest lecturers, Ms. Kate Meagher, Nuffield College, Oxford, presented the second case study from Nigeria. Her focus was on the Bakassi Boys militia that sprang up in the southeastern Nigerian city of Aba in the 1990s. She pointed out that ethnic militias have become a prominent feature in many African countries; in Nigeria, prominent militia groups are the Yoruba-based Odudua People’s Congress, the MASSOB and the Bakassi Boys in the Igbo southeast, and the various Islamist Hisba groups that sprung up in the wake of the adoption of shari’a in the Moslem parts of northern Nigeria. She pointed out that in the literature on Africa, we now see an increasing accent on uncivil society and Africa is often portrayed as a theatre of perverse forms of civil organizations which undermine democratisation. Within this context, militias are often seen as either perverse or progressive in a simplistic way. She argued that the reality is often more complex.

Those seeing the militias as progressive often define them as springing out of the efforts of ordinary people to create their own security and protect their property rights. A second point of view suggests that the economic policy of liberalization tends to lead to perverse social organizations, which may tear society apart. A third perspective, she argued, sees the militia as instruments that are organized to meet social needs, but end up serving completely different ends as they become co-opted by other forces in society. She emphasised that militias should be seen, not as the organizational products of perverse cultures, but of perverse institutional settings.

South Africa: Constructing a Rainbow Nation?

The case study of post-apartheid South Africa was presented in a series of lectures by Professor Kunle Amuwo of the University of the North in South Africa. In his first presentation, he sought to establish the link between globalization, democracy and state building. He started out by arguing that whilst globalization is a complex process and phenomenon of antinomies: integrating and fragmenting the world; uniformity and localisation; increased material prosperity and deepening misery; homogenization and hegemonization, etc, it has meant, for Africa, at once marginalisation and ‘deglobalisation’ – one in which the structural context of choice is mired in a dialectical relationship between putative openness of global market and a real lack of state autonomy. As a process in becoming, globalisation’s coherence, reach and specificity are still in a state of flux. Furthermore, the nature of the nation-state calls for serious interrogation rather than merely pronouncing its decline. By favouring the worst kind of capitalism in modern
Amuwo argued that a way has to be found around the negative characteristics of globalization – particularly the alliance between corporate business and the authoritarian state. He suggested that African perspectives/responses are needed, in the form of social democracy, so that state building is not left entirely to the market. The struggle for internal democracy by civil society organizations will have to include creating domestic citizens to complement the so-called transnational citizenship that globalization has engendered. The struggle should also be for a type of democracy capable of eliminating inequality at the global, regional, national and local levels. Finally, it should aim at civilizing power and overcoming the latent violence of conflicting interests.

In his second presentation, Amuwo returned to the theme of expanding markets and retreat from states under the current globalization. He argued that the South African and the Nigerian states have to be analysed in the light of their excessive dependence on ‘advice’ from a myriad of international financial institutions. How do we understand such states within existing theoretical frameworks? How much autonomy does such a state exhibit, particularly in terms of its domestic and international economic relations? A major argument for expanding the market in Africa is that the state is disarticulated and, to that extent, has a highly reduced capacity to address public problems; that it is too big, and too interventionist. However, as the state retreats and the market expands, the economic system tends to become more exploitative; democracy, more procedural and less social; citizenship more of a tenuous concept and the state itself more of a contested terrain. Furthermore, expanding markets under globalization render the state less and less a viable source of political legitimation. The logic of the IFIs is that free politics needs a free and open market, but for whose benefit? Amuwo argued that the aim is apparently discipline African political leaders who are said to put politics before economics. But pushed to its logical conclusion, the state, enmeshed in the calculus of providing the conditions for cheap labour for sweatshops, is caught between the imperative of social democracy and a technocratic/managerial imperative in tune with the demands of international financial forces.

In a presentation on citizenship and democracy, Amuwo argued that citizens are those who have confidence in, and hold allegiance to, the public institutions of a state and such a state can be said to be democratic if it seeks to enhance citizens’ trust and participation in government and in public life. Social rights and social obligations are different sides of the same coin. An important liberal concept, citizenship, is often articulated in a three-fold definition: civil rights, political rights and social rights. Citizenship and democracy are in a dialectical relationship and mutually reinforcing: to build a ‘democratised political culture’, there is the need for a particular kind of civil society to help legitimise the state in the eyes of citizens and help build a culture where citizens readily meet their obligations to the state. In post-independence Africa, particularly since the events of 1989 and the introduction of structural adjustment policies, citizenship has become more and more tenuous as states undergoing democratic reforms simultaneously face socially painful economic reforms. On the contemporary challenges to transformation and citizenship in South Africa, Amuwo posited the intriguing possibility that there could be states without citizens. Notwithstanding some giant strides in the country since 1994, Amuwo asserted that the country remains, like Brazil, a fundamentally unjust and unequal society. The South African transition was essentially an elite pact, rooted in race politics and with tinges of a class compromise. Whilst ‘diffuse pressures and forces in society’ within and outside South Africa facilitated the collapse of apartheid, to paraphrase Alfred Stepan, the nature and character of the transition was such that the structural and systemic problems of apartheid linger. The hopes of rapid political, economic and social change through liberal or electoral democracy were quickly dashed. He argued that the situation was worsened by the adoption by the ANC government of an essentially pro-business, market-friendly, macro-economic policy framework of GEAR (Growth, Employment and Redistribution) that advocated fiscal conservatism and free-market capitalism. Whilst not much positive change has resulted in the lives of millions of blacks, it is, however, not simply the old economic story of South Africa re-told.

Coming to the question of identities, Amuwo argued that in post-colonial African states, region and ethnicity often constitute two important boundaries of identity. Within these social constructs, group histories are idealized, myths are invented, and identities are constructed for political and related purposes. Electoral politics produces two sets of citizenship: a civic one, where, via public morality, all ethno-nationalities find expression and accommodation; and an ethnic one, driven by alienation, imagined or real, where the state is seen, in Dennis Austin words, as ‘an added affliction’. Amuwo contends that political ethnicity nourishes the politics of division, focusing as it does on the politics of difference. Ethnic violence seriously challenges the nature and character of the African state and the base of its legitimacy. Similarly, ethnic differences get converted into mutual antagonism. Amuwo argued that historically, South Africans were more engrossed in broad citizenship demands, than in ethnic mobilization. Self-determination, inclusive politics and civic citizenship were the major demands of the liberation struggle. Whilst apartheid was premised fundamentally on the ethnic division of black South Africans, it ended up homogenising them. Amuwo suggested, however, that post-apartheid politics has witnessed the (re) emergence of the plurality of ethnic identities that were held in abeyance under apartheid. He asserted that in South Africa today, there is a growing consciousness of ethnic identity, captured by the so-called ‘Xhosa nostra’. Not unlike in the past, this ethnic ascendancy is rooted in the historical association of groups with economic advantage.

On the specific question of intra-state challenges to the South African state, Amuwo argued that states are often objects of contestation. Intra-state challenges are usually for two major purposes. One, states have to be mended, augmented, re-legitimated and renewed, insofar as institution-building is an endless process, always a work in progress. Two, there is the need for the construction of a totally revised political discourse and economic structure capable of dealing with, and satisfactorily addressing, structures and processes generating inequality. Challenges centre on economic and institutional issues and often involve significant programmatic and political trade-offs.
In conclusion, Amuwo suggested that in South Africa, apart from the limited experience of the ANC in policy matters, the sedimented legacies of apartheid tend to constrain development programmes. He stated that these constraints include inherited economic inequities, an unequal social and geographical distribution of resources and the underlying mechanisms of inequality by which a capitalist society operates. Challenges posed to the South African state include the management of race and citizenship, the unfulfilled expectations embedded in African and Afrikaner nationalisms, differentiated cultural voices seeking recognition and relevance, the re-insurgence and politicisation of ethnic identities, and the uneasy alliance between the market-friendly ANC, on the one hand, and its left-of-centre trade union and Communist Party (COSATU/SACP) partners, on the other.

The Great Lakes: Putting the DRC Together Again

A case study on the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) was preceded by an examination of the crises in the Great Lakes region as a whole. Opening the discussion, Lumumba-Kasongo pointed out that several colonial experiences could be found in the region: British, German, and Belgian. These experiences are germane to a historical and structuralist explanation of the crises. One needs to go beyond the events that took place between April and July 1994, where nearly one million Rwandans, the majority of whom were Tutsi, were murdered. He defined the concept of the Great Lakes Region as a combination of geographical, cultural, and political elements. Geographically, the Great Lakes Region is located more in the Greater Eastern Africa than in Central Africa. Morphologically, the region has some characteristics that can be described as physically unique; it has several major lakes. The countries that are directly related to these geo-political configurations include the DRC, Burundi, Rwanda, Uganda, Tanzania, and to a certain extent Malawi. Most of these lakes are located in the eastern part of the DRC.

The process of colonization produced in the Great Lakes Region some physically poor micro-states; Burundi, with a 2001 population of approximately 6,502,000 in a surface area of 10,747 square miles (27,834 square kilometers); Rwanda, with a population of approximately 7,949,000 in a surface area of 10,169 square miles (26,338 square kilometers). These land-locked countries have higher population densities than any other country in the region. For instance, in 1958, the population density in Rwanda was 93 people per square km compared to 2 in the Equatorial French Africa, 3.5 for Angola, 5.6 for Belgium Congo, 9.5 for Tanganyika, 10.8 for Kenya, and 23.7 for Uganda. In 2001, the population densities per square kilometre in Burundi, the DRC, Kenya, Rwanda, and Uganda were 234, 22, 54, 302, and 102 respectively.

Lumumba-Kasongo also explained how, since the 1960s, this region has produced some notorious dictators such as Idi Amin in Uganda (1971–1979) and Mobutu of Zaïre (1965–1997). Additionally, in this region, three leaders of militia movements, Museveni, Kagame, and Kabila with different political ideologies, political profiles, and social agenda, gained state power in Uganda, Rwanda, and the DRC respectively. The first two tried to install friendly regimes with foreign invasions disguised as internal rebellions.

Lumumba-Kasongo then focused on the rise of Laurent-Désiré Kabila as an important factor in explaining the crisis in the region. He argued that Kabila’s association with local radical militias in Maniema such as Mayi-Mayi, Simba, etc., is central to understand the dynamics of the Kivu region. These militia were part of larger military and political movements that were characterized as the second independence movement in the DRC, a movement led by Pierre Mulele of the Kwilu province. Their goal was to establish a unified radical leftist nationalist government in Kisangani. The movement was essentially anti-Mobutist, anti-West, and anti-imperialist. It was temporarily crushed by the direct military intervention of the United States, Belgium, France, and their African allies to save their client regime.

Widespread poverty is also a central aspect of the crises according to Lumumba-Kasongo. In light of the level of poverty and based on the view that peace is indivisible from real democracy, the kind of constitution to be recommended in the DRC, Burundi, Rwanda, and Uganda is the one that should promote a social democracy in which cultural diversity or cultural heterogeneity of people is given political, economic, and legal status in a multinational state. He argued that a long-lasting peace in the region needed the development of a collective security arrangement and also the development of a collective regional sovereignty scheme. Furthermore, he argued that a ‘consensual’ democracy combined with strong built-in social programs could protect citizenship rights and thus contribute faster to the advancement of emancipatory politics in the sub-region.

In his own contribution to the Great Lakes discussion, Amuwo stated that contemporary literature on violence and crisis identifies structural, political, socio-economic and cultural/perceptual factors as constituting explanatory schemas for the twin phenomenon. Theorists also see violence as part of a process of state building. By the same token, globalisation is said to exert considerable pressure on weak states, resulting in ‘post-modern conflict’. The latter is characterized by a wide range of actors bound together in local and external interactions and interests, including the use of novel warfare strategies: ethnic cleansing, child soldiery, mass rape, banditry, the use of mercenaries, entrepreneurs and international capitalists.

He suggested that the foregoing certainly captures part of the tragedy of the Great Lakes. But it needs to be supplemented and augmented by a contextual analysis. Two major explicatory schemas appear apposite here. One, the ‘philosophy of genocide’ in which extremist Hutus seek to use ‘Hutuism’ with a view to regaining lost ancestral land by literally killing every Tutsi. In military combat, the philosophy translates to making no distinction between civilians and soldiers and encourages a ‘pre-emptory strike’ policy. The second leg of this philosophy, Amuwo argued, is the use of selective assassination of the leadership of the Hutu majority by the minority Tutsi leadership. This policy of extermination is necessarily selective: leaders, elites and intelligentsia. The second explanatory schema is the representation of Africa by the West. For the latter, the Great Lakes crises are little more than a function of so-called mutual ‘ancient hatreds’ by the mosaic of ethnic configurations in that part of Africa. The crises are also perceived as a product of ill-behaved African ‘strongmen’ operating states that excel in ‘pre-modern’ tribalism. Such simplistic behaviouralist analyses often lead to the recommendation of ‘one man, one vote’ ‘democratic elections’ and nation-state building based on the Western experience. Instead of this culturalist perspective, Amuwo suggested that other factors have to come to the fore: Cold War interventionism; land-scarcity conflicts; a political economy
riven with ethnic conflict on account of the control of the military and security forces by the group in power; and extractive minerals that are of interest to the West and its regional surrogates.

Coming to the specific issue of the intra-state challenges to the DRC, Lumumba-Kasongo argued that the study of the intra-state challenges concerns the relationship between the state and the people or their reactions to one another. It includes the legitimacy of the state, its performance, its legal acceptance, its claims, its institutional foundation and people’s participation (or lack of it) and integration (or lack of it) into the dominant system and their expectations. He asserted, however, that the most important challenge in the Congo is how to re-construct a state out of the extremely devastated conditions caused by war and several decades of dictatorship, human annihilation, and underdevelopment.

Lumumba-Kasongo stressed that the Congolese experience of state-formation in the ‘Congo Free State’ was characterized by a highly militarized, centralised, privatized, and personalized state. Leopold II’s autocratic style of governance and his ruthless methods of obtaining raw materials and cheap labour caused the death of about 10 million people between 1885 and 1908. This first genocidal action qualified Leopold II as a mass murderer though he was never indicted. However, the ‘Congo Free State’ was taken away from him and given to the Belgian State. And based on the principle of ‘pas d’elite, pas de problème’ (no elites, no problems) and strongly influenced by the doctrines of pacification as advanced by Christianity, the Belgian model of colonialism produced the ideologically weakest African nationalist elite. The challenges to the Congolese state must therefore be understood in this historical setting.

Lumumba-Kasongo argued that the intra-state challenges in the Congo grew out of: (a) the divided and weak political elite; (b) the confusion related to the first constitution/fundamental law, which was a carbon-copy of the Belgian Fundamental law; (c) lack of cadres or educated elite; (d) manipulation by the corporations of the internal weaknesses of the society; and (e) the intervention of foreign powers in the domestic policy and politics of the country.

**The Great Lakes: Uneasy Peace in Burundi**

The discussion on the Great Lakes region was brought to a close by a presentation on Burundi from the second guest lecturer to the Institute, Dr Patricia Daley of the School of Geography, Oxford University. She argued that the proverbial ‘ethnic hatred lens’ through which the crises in Burundi is often interpreted is far from correct. She analysed the changes in power structure and ethnic identification that happened in colonial Burundi, citing these as the foundations of the Burundian crises. She stressed that the struggle for control of the Burundian state was not a simple juxtaposition of Hutus and Tutsis; she argued that many salient political and military divisions existed within both groups. The internecine struggle for the control of the state by various blocs of ethnically and regionally based elites was the primary cause of the instability of the Burundian state, and not the much touted thesis of ‘ethnic hatred’.

Daley then went to great lengths to explore the Arusha peace process, pointing out the many problems with this process, least of which is the signing of a peace accord without the signing of a cease-fire. She was very sceptical about the likelihood of the Mandela-brokered process to lead to lasting peace because many important military factions remained outside the process, while some of those inside were formed as a result of the perverse incentive to form groups as a platform for representation in Arusha. Daley also drew attention to the factor of personal ambition on the part of many important players in the Burundian state. She argued that Burundi is a challenge in that a formula must be found to reconcile the wishes of the majority of the population, and the legitimate rights of the minority. She argued that the electoralism implicit in the Arusha process does not address this crucial problem. Finally, Daley argued that the Arusha stipulation for the reform of the Tutsi dominated army was unlikely to succeed.

**Cameroon: Conflicting Colonial Heritage**

Dr Alain Didier Olinga of Université de Yaounde II in Cameroun presented the Camerounian case study. He started out by asking if indeed there was a nation-state project in Africa. Secondly, he asked if there is a model or a multiplicity of models for such a nation-state project. He asserted that the real power of the state is on the ground: its capacity to exert violence, and its bureaucratic presence. State power is very tangible, and so is its legality. The state has a social reality, but it is not without problems, one of which is that of intra-state challenges. History and political geography can illuminate the basis of such challenges. He argued that the state in Cameroun is not emanating from the nation, nor does it serve the nation. It seems to have and autonomous administrative and bureaucratic logic. And the project of state building may be quite different from that of nation building; the building of the state need not form the basis for the nation.

Olinga then turned his attention to history; how useful is the history of Cameroun for the understanding of the state? He argued that the colonial moment is the reference root of the forces whose sedimentation constitutes the state in Cameroun. German colonialism in Cameroun reflected the Bismarckian predilection for nation building through blood and iron. Emphasis was on administrative and bureaucratic instruments of control. This first phase of colonialism was also marked by missionary activities. The atomized, semi-autonomous entities in pre-colonial Cameroun were welded together bureaucratically, and Olinga emphasised the diversity of trajectories open to them. The end of World War 1 led to the break-up of German Cameroun into French and British Cameroun; conflicting administrative practices emerged.

Olinga argued that the salient intra-state challenges in the Cameroun are traceable to this history. Anglophone Cameroun developed a different culture and outlook, which constitutes a major fracture in the national fabric. In the plebiscite of 1961, the northern part of Anglophone Cameroun chose merger with Nigeria, leading to mourning by Ahidjo. Even the southern part of Anglophone Cameroun, which chose to re-unite with Francophone Cameroun, did not renounce the option of autonomy for the area. The unity of Anglophone and Francophone Cameroun was based on a federalist constitution which has since been abrogated; this imposition of a unitarist hegemony and the attempt to obliterate differences has led to strong Anglophone rejection of the state. Olinga is quick to add, however, that Anglophone secessionist agitation might best be understood as a resource in the hands of political entrepreneurs. Olinga argued that there are also regional and autochthonous challenges to the state.
Struggles have erupted over the appointment of priests and bishops, state officials, and municipal mayors. Ethnic groups who define themselves as ‘autochthonous’ to particular areas are challenging the right of others to such posts in their purported autochthonous area. At the same time, Olinga pointed out, every Camerounian is buying into the merchandizing of the Indomitable Lions! He argues that in northern Cameroun, the Lamindates, based on traditional authority, continue to constitute a muted challenge to the state. This is particularly the case in the Lamindate of Rey Boubka, where the Lamido is reported to have an army of his own, and where the Lamido’s court is said to have passed death sentences. Olinga adds, however, that the Lamindates should not be seen in opposition to the state; there is mutual tolerance and mutual advantage between them.

Finally, Olinga raised the ‘Bamileke question’. He suggested that current thinking in Camerounian politics is that the Bamileke should concentrate on making money whilst leaving politics to others who are not tainted by the UPC past. He pointed out that it is often said that a Bamileke cannot be President. For how long can this dichotomy between economic and political power be maintained? And what are the consequences for the state of a Bamileke claim to the political sphere?

In his second presentation, Olinga focused on the issue of minority and autochthonous claims within the state. These claims, he pointed out, are often seen as signalling a rift in the state and they often have implications for the democratisation of the state. He pointed out that in Cameroun, the recent period of ‘democratization’ has also coincided with the recrudescence of sectarian claims. As a result, the protection of minority and autochthonous rights has gone up on the agenda. Some of the minority agitation surrounds the composition of electoral lists, particularly by the ruling party. Minority and autochthonous groups argued that the electoral lists should reflect the sociological complexity of the various constituencies. The government, on the other hand, argued that a list with an overall ethnic balance was sufficient.

The debate over autochthonous rights is also closely tied to the issue of regional and territorial autonomy and citizenship rights. Who qualifies as an autochthon? Olinga argues that the constitution is silent on this crucial issue, leaving it to legal and political disputation. Nevertheless, strident claims by so-called autochthons affect people’s access to land, to settlement rights and to citizenship. Being an ‘outsider’ Olinga argues, is fast becoming a badge of political exclusion as a result of regionalization and the reservation of some posts for autochthons only. ‘Mobile’ Camerounian groups like the Hausa and the Bamileke are therefore confronted with serious constraints on their citizenship rights.

In his final presentation, Olinga addressed the question of regionalization and the nation-state. He asserted that following French Jacobin administrative precedents, the unity of the Camerounian state is manifested in the centralization of the management of the country. Olinga argues, however, that it is becoming increasingly important for the African state to look closer at community level dynamics and this is what is fueling the drive towards regionalization. He suggests that this change has consequences, as there is an important relationship between the form of the state and the organization of the state. This is particularly the case, he argues, in a situation where belonging to a territorial space and being subjected to the administration of that space is the first characteristic of being Camerounian.

**Does State Capacity Matter?**

After these case studies, deliberations returned to one question of general concern and applicability: the consequence of the intra-state challenges for the effectiveness and capability of the African state. Furthermore, the point was also made that more robust states may avoid or contain the challenges in the first place. My presentation on this theme explored the relevance of state capacity and leadership to the theme of the Institute, looking specifically at the works of Englebert [2000] and Samatar [1997; 1999] and the contradictory experiences of Botswana and Somalia. Leadership and vision emerged as the key to building state capacity in Africa. Activists and policymakers should address this question.

**Conclusion: Senegal and a Continuing African Dialogue**

I have tried to sketch some of the central arguments presented at the Institute. What I have not done is to reflect the intense debates some of these presentations generated. A laureate led the discussion of each presentation. Furthermore, apart from the presentations and their associated discussions and debates, the programme also contained six seminar presentations by laureates, covering a range of topics including a comparison of the role of Islam in Algeria and Senegal, the role of Libya, South Africa and Nigeria in the construction of a Pax Africana within the African state system, and the comparative impact of ethnic structure and public policy in the development of the Tanzanian and the Nigerian states. These seminars were occasions for the laureates to develop their presentational skills. A substantial part of the Institute’s work was also taken up in the presentation and discussion of the individual research projects of the laureates. Revised versions of these projects were prepared in the light of the peer reviews.

The final element in the Institute’s work was the consideration of the situation of our host state, Senegal, within the context of the theme of the Institute. For this purpose, it was decided to rely on active participants and observers within the Senegalese state system. The first forum on Senegal, attended by both Institute participants and CODESRIA staff, received presentations from Iba Ndiaye Djadji, Professor of Letters at Cheikh Anta Diop University, Dakar, and spokesperson for the trade union federation, SUDES/CSA. A second presentation was from Abdoulaye Elimeke Kane, Professor of Philosophy at Cheikh Anta Diop and spokesperson of the former ruling party in Senegal, the Parti Socialiste (PS). Iba Djadji argued that Senegalese society and state faced an acute crisis manifested in the problems of the fishery sector, the then prevailing drought and its management, the management and remuneration of labour, and a general moral crisis in society. He argued that Senegalese trade unions and workers had mobilized support for the ‘change’ coalition led by the current ruling party, the PDS. The unions had hoped that the cronism and mismanagement of the PS would be addressed. Instead, Djadji argued, the ‘alternance’ or change of government from PS to PDS has not resulted in any change as far as ordinary Senegalese, particularly workers and peasants were concerned. He suggested that the trade unions would have to continue fighting for their rights if their needs were to be taken seriously by the state as merely voting parties in or out of office was not sufficient for taking care of their interests.
In his own contribution, Abdoulaye Kane sought to explain why the PS lost power in 2000 after 40 years in power. In the course of a wide-ranging presentation which touched upon the role of African culture in development, the difference between written laws and social practices, the role of marabouts in Senegalese politics, and the French presence within the Senegalese state system, Kane argued that the PS had tried very hard to manage a difficult economic and political situation, particularly before the 1994 devaluation of the CFA Franc. After 1994, the PS was actually recording some success in stabilizing the situation. The 2000 election was lost, according to Kane, not because of any failure on the part of the PS, but because of the extra-ordinary mobilization by the opposition in urban areas, largely fuelled by the vocal support of the private radio stations. Kane also highlighted the importance of a protest march by the opposition to the Internal Affairs ministry in the run up to the elections. In short, according to Kane, the PS lost the media war. Even so, the PS polled 42% in the first round compared to the 31% by the opposition candidate. Kane also concurred with Djadji that the ruling PDS government is mismanaging the economy; he expressed the hope that a leaner and more principled PS can take the fight to the PDS government. From both presenters, it was obvious that constitutional means have largely become the means of resolving political confrontations in Senegalese public life.

The second forum on Senegal was devoted to the civil war raging in Casamance, a region where the apparent civility of Senegalese political life seems to have broken down. The presentation on Casamance was by Babacar Justin Ndiaye, a veteran journalist and author, currently on the staff of the Senegalese newspaper, Sud Quotidien. This was a highly informative and nuanced presentation. To cite only one example, Ndiaye pointed out the Casamance movement, MFDC, was formed even before the first incarnation of the PS was formed in the run up to independence. He highlighted the controversy surrounding the unwritten accord that was said to have promised the MFDC independence in Casamance in return for support for the Senghorian party that later became the PS. He also noted the increasing Wolofization of Casamance culture, and the cultural prejudices against the so-called ‘Nyaks’ or non-sahelian Senegalese, of which the Diola in Casamance are a prime target. He noted the increasing alienation of indigenous groups in Casamance from their land as a result of other Senegalese from the drought-prone northern parts moving there. In short, Ndiaye made a historical, economic, cultural and political case for the Casamance movement without necessarily endorsing its recourse to violence. He suggested that political negotiations could resolve the issues involved, but regretted that the majority of Senegalese society persisted in seeing the Casamance problem in terms of a military solution. The continued delegitimation of long standing demands by the bulk of the Senegalese population, he argued, lies at the root of the continued military challenge to the Senegalese state from Casamance. Professor Amadou Aly Dieng was an invaluable contributor to these and other debates.

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Migration and Citizenship in Africa, Governance Institute
A review of the Governance Institute 2000 Session

Introduction

I was first contacted in June 2000 and invited to direct the Governance Institute. While I appreciate that there were special circumstances which delayed the appointment of a director, it is imperative that this position be filled early even if it means that an executive decision has to be taken. In my own case, I had a series of commitments which I had to fulfil including participating in a conference overseas. I also designed a course without the benefit of knowing the research strengths of the resource persons or the needs of the laureates. I stress that it is imperative that the director have some discretion in the appointment of resource persons. It is in this spirit and in the interest of meeting the intellectual goals and high standard of the institute that I was able to convince CODESRIA that Professor Pal Ahluwalia be invited to serve as a resource person. I wish to record that his participation in the last week of the institute has been most important.

Approach and format of the programme

In order to enable the six-week session of the Governance Institute to meet its objective of producing a collective book, the seminars were organised to maximise the laureates' opportunity to work effectively toward contributing to writing a high-quality chapter suitable for publication. To that end, it was decided that seminars should run each week from 9:00 to 13:00, thereby leaving the afternoons free for research and writing. In addition, it was agreed that one day a week be designated as a reading day. This was the norm, except for the last week when we met each day. This provided the laureates with an opportunity to meet on a one-to-one basis with both the Director and Individual Resource Persons. Each resource person contributed three seminars, except for the last week when there were two resource persons and they each presented two seminars. At this stage, the laureates were in the final stages of drafting their papers and the resource persons as well as the Director were involved in individual consultation. During the first five weeks, laureates presented either proposals or papers. This ensured that weekly progress could be monitored. In order to ensure that the sessions had coherence and relevance, I arranged that each laureate's presentation was made during the week that was most relevant to his or her specific topic.

In my first meeting with the laureates, I outlined the aims, objectives and goals of the Governance Institute. I presented a paper titled Migration and citizenship in Africa. This paper outlined the major questions that informed the direction of this year's institute. These were: Are Western conceptions of citizenship based on rights and obligations as well as the capacity to accommodate differences relating to the African condition appropriate? Are postmodernist, post-structuralist and post-colonialist approaches appropriate in examining the question of citizenship and migration? What is the role of democracy in protecting citizenship? How do refugees threaten state sovereignty and challenge notions of citizenship? What role does gender play in citizenship discourses? How do ethnicity and migration affect citizenship? How do different modes of governance affect citizenship? What is the impact of internal displacement?

Types of migration: Theoretical considerations

Migration: An historical and contemporary overview

Resource person: Mehdi Lahlou

In my design of the programme, I thought that it was necessary to consider the issues of forced migration, voluntary migration and repatriation. In addition, I thought it necessary to outline an overview of current debates on citizenship. Mehdi Lahlou used the North African region as a case study to deal with the issues of migration whilst I dealt with the current debates on citizenship.

During the discussion, we examined the manner in which Africans are coming to terms with their post-colonial identity. Central to this task are notions of citizenship and subjectivity. In the current demands for democratisation, there have been renewed calls to make citizenship a meaningful and important part of political life. The presence of multiracial and ethnic societies along with the rise of nationalism has led to a crisis of citizenship, culturally and politically. The contestation over what it means to be, for example, a Nigerian or South African is a result of the exclusionary practices and minimalist notions of citizenship which have operated on the continent. The exclusion of migrants, women and minorities has rendered a crisis of citizenship.

Democracy, Nationalism, Rights and Identity

Resource person: Alice Adejumoke Afolayan

During this week, the resource person, Alice Adejumoke Afolayan, examined the question of democracy in Nigeria. She focused on the close affinity between democracy and citizenship. Additionally, issues that were addressed were the constitution of Nigeria, the rise of nationalism and the alignment of citizenship with the state.

In order to maintain the coherence and flow of the design of the course, it was necessary during the discussion to ensure that issues of displacement, movement and resettlement of masses of people be considered, specifically with reference to issues of nationalism and democracy. In particular, the shifting nature of rights, responsibilities and the processes of identity formation were explored. In this context, the issues of state sovereignty, international obligations as determined by conventions and regulations regarding refugees and also the changes experienced within specific polities as a result of both rural to urban and rural to rural migration were examined.

Refugee Crises and their Impact on Citizenship

Resource person: Tessy Bakary

Tessy Bakary spoke on the relationship between citizenship and good governance. His focus was on the definition of citizenship. In addition, he reviewed the literature in the field. In his second lecture, he dealt with notions of authoritarianism,
democracy, transition liberalisation and the consolidation of democracy.

During the discussion the issue of rights and responsibilities was examined. The question of political instability and the fragile nature of the democratisation process within Africa was considered. The issue of post-conflict societies and their problematisation of citizenship was a major focus of the debate. In addition, the complexities of the refugee crisis in a number of countries was examined.

**The Economic Impact of Migration and Its Implications for Citizenship**

*Resource person: Makhtar Diouf*

Makhtar Diouf presented a series of lectures on the political economy of migration. His first lecture was a general analysis of migration. The second concentrated on migration within Africa, and the third focused on migration policies and politics. These lectures provided a broad overview and grounding of the issues involved for the laureates.

In this discussion, the migration of people from one part to another part as an important aspect of everyday life on the continent was examined. Here the economics of migration were considered. In addition, the issue of remittances between, as well as within, countries was debated. The case of trading women between various parts of the continent was looked at in some detail. The impact of structural adjustment programmes and their differential effect on gender was examined as it relates to migration. The influence of the commercial sex industry and the social, economic and political costs and their implications for citizenship was raised.

**The Politics of Identity and Migration**

*Resource person: Simon Bekker*

In his seminars, Simon Bekker dealt with the issue of internal migration and the politics of identity specifically in the Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal provinces in post-apartheid South Africa. These seminars were not only empirically enriching, but were also helpful to the laureates in terms of being exposed to social science methodology.

During the discussion, the issue of the migration of workers within the southern African region to meet the labour demands of the mining sector was considered. The impact and social dislocation of these workers were highlighted. More importantly, there was considerable debate about the current dispensation of democracy and new forms of citizenship that are currently evolving in South Africa.

**Citizenship, Subjectivity, Gender and the Crisis of Modernity**

*Resource persons: Abubakar Momoh and Pal Ahluwalia*

Abubakar Momoh presented papers on the pan-African orientation of citizenship in Africa. He focused on two issues that informed his notion of pan-African citizenship: the historical context and the theoretical context. The issue of development was raised as being fundamental to considerations of citizenship. To this end, he addressed the importance of democratisation and the failure of both the African state as well as the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). In order to advance the thesis of pan-African citizenship he suggested that notions of judicial and organic citizenship, be developed.

Pal Ahluwalia examined Mahmood Mamdani’s book *Citizen and Subject*. He argued that while Mamdani aptly problematises binaries which dominate African studies, ultimately, he falls into the same trap by establishing a binary on which his entire project rests on citizen and subject. By deploying a post-colonial perspective, he showed how such a simple binary is rendered ineffective. He outlined the efficacy of post-colonial theory which brings questions of subjectivity to the foreground.

During week the discussion was lively and engaging, and was an extremely useful way of bringing the themes and concerns of the Governance Institute to a conclusion. These debates explored in some detail the manner in which citizenship is conceptualised theoretically in post-modernist, poststructuralist and post-colonialist discourse. The relevance of these theoretical debates was explored.

**Summary of Recommendations**

**Computerisation**

I am pleased to note that recommendations made by previous directors have been implemented. I wish to acknowledge the foresight of providing laureates with computing facilities. This has made the task of completing the first drafts substantially easier. A result of this is that most of the papers were submitted from the fifth week onwards. This has enabled me, with the assistance of resource persons, to provide each laureate with detailed commentary.

**Laureates**

The quality of the laureates was excellent, but I think that in the future more attention should be paid to achieving a regional balance. This year the composition of laureates was as follows: Cameroon (2), Kenya (6), Mauritania (1), Nigeria (4) and Uganda (1). One student had to drop out of the institute because of medical reasons. There were four female laureates this year. However, the absence of a Senegalese laureate itself was surprising.

**Selection**

I wish to emphasise the importance of appointing a director early so that he or she can participate in the selection of the laureates and resource persons.

**Theme**

I think that it is imperative for CODESRIA to ensure that the next Governance Institute follows on thematically from this year. This will give the institute some continuity as well as make a far greater impact on knowledge production. I have in mind that the next institute on Elections and Electoral Systems be theoretically rigorous and not simply a replication of mainstream Political Science methodology on these issues. This would ensure that CODESRIA will remain at the forefront of setting research agendas for Africa.

**Specific Recommendations**

a) The next director should prepare a course pack in consultation with resource persons so that the laureates have ready access to the major debates and issues which they would be expected to cover during the course of the institute. Once again, the imperative of an early appointment of the Director is evident.

b) It would be advisable to devise some way of providing the Director, resource persons and the laureates with e-mail accounts for the duration of the institute despite the existence of Internet cafés in Dakar.

c) One of the most important issues for the laureates is the continuation of networking and the development of research programmes which inevitably grow out of such an institute. It is important to devise mechanisms to facilitate this.
State and taxation in Africa, Governance Institute, 1999

Dakar, 2 August–15 September 1999

Introduction

The significance and relevance of the theme of the 1999 Institute, ‘State and taxation in Africa’, can be appreciated at two different levels.

First, the State is at the heart of the governance process and practice. Indeed, ‘governance’ is basically defined as the open and efficient way a regime, considered as a legitimate authority, which is responsive to the expectations of the governed people, and is accountable to and tolerant with the other public actors, manages public affairs. The state and its institutions, but also other institutions as well as non state organisations are the framework of governance.

Second, we must not forget that through its historical building process, the modern state is based on the dynamic building and articulation of a double monopoly: that of legitimate violence and taxation, as analysed, for instance, by the two German sociologists, Max Weber and Norbert Elias.

At a second level, the significance and relevance of the theme of the Eighth session of the Governance Institute lie in its articulation and link with the themes of the two previous sessions.

Indeed, the theme of the 1997 session (on the political economy of conflicts) and that of the 1998 session (on security, violence and public order) were related to the first founding form of State monopoly.

Logically, the theme of the 1999 edition, which is the tax system, deals with the second form of monopoly.

However, the relevance of the theme on “State and tax system” is not limited to a logic connection, which could have been a pure coincidence. It also lies in the significance, topical and permanent character of the tax system in every country, and particularly in the African countries under structural adjustment.

The fiscal history of a nation is closely linked to its very history, because the economic levying operated by the state, to cover its needs and the way this levying is used has a great influence on a nation’s destiny. Schumpeter insists on the fact that “the financial history of a people is an indicator of its level of civilization and social structure, as well as the goals it is striving towards as far as politics etc. are concerned”.

According to the Austrian economist, “the processes of financial history open a yet more enlightening perspective on the static laws and social dynamics, on the most significant factors of people’s destiny, and also on the evolution and succession of concrete conjunctures, particularly of the various forms of social organisation. Finances are an excellent basis for an analysis of mechanisms, in particular, but not exclusively of politics. This viewpoint is particularly useful for an analysis of historical milestones, that is to say, of moments where one can see one thing that used to exist turning into something new. When considered under their financial aspect, those changes in configuration always imply a failure of the methods hitherto used, not only as causes – since the state’s financial action is significant to any change – but as symptoms – since it is the whole process of change that reflects on finances”.

For a Fiscal Sociology of Politics in Africa

The intellectual and pedagogical project of the directorship of the 1999 Governance Institute is articulated around Schumpeter’s intuitions on the heuristic and explanatory properties of the tax system.

The general problematic is about the fiscal sociology or “financial history” of the processes of transition from authoritarianism to democracy, the analysis of the relationship between taxes and the construction of a new political order in Africa.

In order to explain this return to political pluralism, a “historical milestone”, through the “financial situation”, the theoretical and conceptual apparatus was built in the form of a tripod, from the intuitions of three authors: Joseph Schumpeter, Norbert Élias and Max Weber.

The works of the Schumpeter, namely those that are rather unknown, on “The crisis of the fiscal state”, enable us to set up a general framework for an explanation of the dynamic relationship between state and the tax system.

The analysis of the socio genesis of fiscal monopoly, by Norbert Élias is the second dimension of the theoretical and conceptual apparatus and helps understand the functions and significance of taxation.

Finally, the unknown works in economic sociology by Max Weber, namely those on the modes of financing of political domination, shed light on the financial bases of the processes of transition towards democracy.

The reading lists compiled from the texts of these three authors aimed at providing all participants with a basic conceptual and theoretical corpus, that is broad and relevant enough, and that needs to be further completed by the specific problematics formulated in the various research projects.

This reasoning, which aimed at bringing some coherence to the theoretical and conceptual bases of the various approaches used, seems to be a major innovation in the Institute. Some of the laureates, that were not very familiar with such an approach to collective work, thought that they were being imposed a unique theoretical and conceptual approach.

The Institute as an activity of CODESRIA

The Governance Institute was set up in 1999. This periodic meeting of African scholars does not seem to be well known, at least, as far as the participants to the 8th session are concerned. Indeed, more than half the participants surveyed (9 out of 14, 64.28.%) said they heard about the Institute five years after its creation. About the same proportion of them, 10 out of 14
(71.42%) received this information through CODESRIA Bulletin, and 4 (28.57%) through colleagues, and the Internet.

The fact that 8 laureates out of 14 (57.14%) were informed about the holding of the 1999 Institute in 1999, through the Bulletin (57.14%), through colleagues (35.74%) and the Internet (7.14%) reveals a lack of publicity around the Institution or a problem of dissemination of information. Additionally, 42.85% of the people surveyed found the announcement published very good and good, and only 14.28% found that it was not good.

A previous participation to CODESRIA's activities seemed to have had a particular impact on the process of selection of laureates, since it is the case for half the participants surveyed, 7 out of 14, 50%.

Out of the 15 laureates of this 8th session, 5 (33.33%) benefited from a grant (Small Grant); however, none of them had ever published their work in one of CODESRIA's review or work. It is probably due to the fact that the Institute’s programme is mainly designed for young researchers.

The very principle of holding these periodic meetings of scholars is considered as very good by 92.85% of participants, which almost represents the totality of the people surveyed. This general approval should encourage an improvement in the organisation and holding of the institutes.

1- Significance and relevance of the theme of the 1999 session

The theme of the 8th edition was of a great significance, according to 12 laureates (85.71%) and significant for 2 of them (14.28%). The unanimity over the theme “State and tax system” and the interest of laureates in this theme can be accounted for by the fact that they all wish that this theme should be further analysed in other reflection frameworks (National Working Groups, Multinational Working Groups). The roundtable organised on this theme the day of the Institute’s official opening showed the richness and topicality of the theme.

Almost all laureates (93.33%) find that the 1999 Institute’s objectives are relevant and clearly defined, which confirms the above-mentioned judgement of this session. We should particularly insist on the diversity and richness of the research themes presented by the laureates.

Various and interesting dimensions of this theme were covered, from the poll tax to the VAT, from fiscal insubordination to the Tuareg rebellion, through fiscal crime and corruption, from the impact of the political institutions on fiscal performances to the evolution of fiscal juridical production, and from colonial history to the topicality of the relationship between State and society, through the original problematic of gender relations in relation with the tax system etc.

The central idea lying behind all these themes is that the history and financial sociology of African countries can indeed be a perspective of analysis, whose heuristic and explanatory properties confirm Joseph Schumpeter’s intuitions.

However, it is regrettable that there are no problematics such as fiscal geography, the history and evolution of the African fiscal State and its crises with multiform consequences, as well as the relationship between fiscal issues and the processes of democratisation.

The risk of seeing researchers focusing on the same themes due to their fertility or topicality could be avoided, thanks to the work carried out by the selection committee. However, the level of participation by different parts of the continent show that there is the necessity of having a more balanced representation of certain areas of the continent such as Central and Southern Africa, even though the selection committee has no control over the number and quality of the proposals from the various countries.

The objective of improving the selection process calls for a more or less thorough reform around the following main elements: the setting up of a steering committee, a reorganization of the planning of activities, a policy of advertising and circulation of the information around the Institute that would be more efficient than the one hitherto set up.

2- Organisation and objective of the Institute

The previous sessions of the Governance Institute were dedicated to the writing of a research project. The Director and four resource persons were evaluated by the laureates over various points, among which the pedagogical content of their presentations and their contribution to the improvement of the research project and writing of articles.

Four resource persons, in the order of intervention, took part in the institute: Makhtar Diouf, Luc Sindjoun, Kayode Soremekun and Aly Mady Dieng. There were three Francophones among them (among which, two are bilingual), and one Anglophone, who are renown in their respective disciplines: economics (Makhtar Diouf, Dakar Cheikh Anta Diop University, and A mady Aly Dieng, from BCEAO) and political science (Luc Sindjoun, University of Yaoundé 2, SOA, and Kayode Soremekun, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria).

For this year, however, the intellectual, pedagogical and methodological project is fundamentally different. It consists rather in writing up and presenting the first draft of an article by the end of the Institute that is to be published in a collective book. This article will be written on the basis of the general and specific objectives of the theme defined by CODESRIA, on the one hand, and on the basis of the pedagogical project and the theoretical and conceptual framework put forward by the Institute Director, on the other hand.

This major innovation brought to the 8th session of the institute was considered as very good by 57.14% of the people surveyed and was seen as good by 42.85%. Interestingly, 50% found the duration of the institute (six weeks) sufficient, while 28.57% found it very sufficient. In order to implement it effectively, each laureate should be informed, through the letter announcing them that they were selected, that they must bring with them all the material they will need for the writing of the first draft of a chapter for the collective book.

If this innovation were to become the new mode of functioning of the governance institute in the years to come, its implementation would then require some changes as far as the following elements of its organisation are concerned:

a) Setting up of a steering committee

The Executive Secretariat as well as the department in charge of the institutes will define the number of members, as well as the committee’s powers. However, it is crucial that the committee should be responsible for the definition of the theme, selection of the institute’s director, resource persons and laureates.

b) Planning
On the basis of the existence of a steering committee with attributions, the institute’s planning will need to be changed on various points:

* The theme of the following session should be defined and the information related disseminated at the beginning of the institute of the current year, at earliest (for example, in July 1999, for the 2000 session) or at the end of the current institute, at latest (for example, September 1999 for the 2000 session of the Governance Institute).

* The selection and nomination of the institute’s director should be made in January, the year of the current institute, at the latest (for example, in January 2000).

* Selection of resource persons: the institute’s director should be totally free to choose the resource persons he wants, i.e., to choose the colleagues that will help him implement his intellectual and pedagogical project. As far as it is possible (and according to the theme), it would be a good thing that the director of the previous session be automatically should be selected as a resource-person or be involved in a way or another in the following session.

* Selection of the laureates: the institute’s director should be closely associated to the selection of laureates. This selection should occur much earlier than it is currently the case, i.e. in January, at the earliest, or in March of the current year, at the latest.

c) New information policy

As mentioned above, additional channels scientific reviews, weekly reviews and daily newspapers, Internet etc.) should be devised, in order to disseminate the information around institutes more broadly and efficiently.

d) Format of the Institute

The fact of dedicating the six weeks of the institute to the writing of the various chapters of a book also requires an adapted organisation of seminars, in order to enable laureates to work efficiently and reach the main goal set. As far as the weekly organisation of seminars is concerned, it was decided to hold daily seminars, from Monday to Friday, from 9.00 am to 1.00 pm. Afternoons are thus dedicated to research and writing. The work is organised as follows:

* Presentation and discussion of the research proposals: After the presentations of the institute’s Director, the first week of seminars was dedicated to the presentation and edition of the research proposals by laureates. It is thus possible to control each week the state of progress of the writing of the various articles.

* Weekly assessment of the state of progress of laureates’ works: Each resource person makes their presentation over three days (Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday) and dedicates the last two days of the week to discussions over the laureates’ research proposals, to highlight the importance of the themes dealt with for the improvement of the articles being written.

* In the fifth week, two days (Thursday and Friday), and one day at the beginning of the sixth week (Monday), will be free, in order to allow laureates to conclude the writing of the first version of their article.

* Presentation of articles with discussants: The last four days of the sixth week, there will be a mini-conference during which, all laureates will discuss an article, as for an ordinary symposium, after each presentation followed by the comments of a discussant. This should contribute to the improving of the article presented.

Family, Sexuality and Reproduction in Africa

Synthesis of the Executive Summary, Gender Institute, 2001

(18 June–13 July 2001)

In Africa, Western researchers mainly have long controlled the research on women and gender relations. It is mainly from the 1980s onwards that a larger number of African women started exploring this issue. One of the shortcomings of the studies carried out by African women was that their theoretical production was fuelled by attempts decolonization of the social sciences (Mama 1990; Imam et al. 1997).

CODESRIA got involved in this process of “genderization” and decolonization of social sciences in Africa very early, by supporting the work of researchers and organizing training activities with relevant approaches and methods. The CODESRIA Gender Institute revisits issues involving gender studies and feminist studies. The issues of the 2001 session were family, sexuality and reproduction.

The choice of this theme (family) can be accounted for by the fact that in Africa, the so called “classics” of social anthropology had placed focus on the research on family and kinship systems (A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, D. Fordes…). Even in works involving other anthropological fields (culture, religion, politics, arts etc.), family and kinship were often used as central referents for the constitution of the analysis framework of these fields (C. Meillassoux). However, it is quite obvious that classical anthropology had barely used the approaches that made the construction of masculinity and femininity more visible and that allowed to integrate the social relationship and roles associated with each sex.

In the 1970s/80s, family studies became a privileged research field of demographical studies, which particularly studied issues related to fertility. Demographers mostly put focus on the issues related to demographical growth and the factors influencing changes in fertility (G. Pison, J. Caldwell). Problematics raising questions about the size of families, changes in the matrimonial systems, repartition of resources within domestic systems, children mortality, impacts of the urban factor on demographical transitions, were often studied in a particular way.
With the crisis and the new economic dynamics that occurred in the 1970s, sociologists, economists, or agro economists carried out some researches on households, incomes and social transfers (P. Antoine). However, these studies failed to highlight the inequities and gender relationships that have nowadays been identified through these issues. There was also a lack of analysis of the dynamic articulations with the cultural and social contexts. The methodological orientation of these works, that was often more quantitative than qualitative probably contributed to these shortcomings.

As for the studies on sexuality in Africa, although they appeared with the pioneer work of anthropologists, they were further developed with the appearance of the AIDS pandemic and the issues raised by the problematic of reproductive health. With the appearance of HIV/AIDS, there has been a shift from the quantitative studies on the knowledge of the attitude and behaviour towards sexuality and the risk factors of the disease, to the qualitative research on the social standards, representations and interpretations, on the trajectories and situations of vulnerability to the disease. The anthropological analysis of the AIDS phenomenon has contributed to enlarging the scope of issues related to reproductive health, by integrating factors relative to the culture of social relationships and to the political and economic context (B. M. Ahlberg). The work on AIDS also investigated the connections, interferences and interactions between the following topics: family, sexuality and reproduction. The analysis of these changing domains leads to an analysis of culture, economics, politics and gender relations. The reflection on health has contributed to bringing semantic changes, from the start. According to Lima, ‘The shift from the concepts of women, population and development to those of gender, and from the concepts of maternal and child health to those of reproductive health has highlighted one problematic: the role and status of men and women, with regard to the law, decision-making capacity and responsibility. This was raised in Cairo, in a perspective of equality and equity’.

By focusing on this problematic, the new concepts of gender and reproductive health make a double questioning of the real meaning and general understanding of the issues related to reproduction, on one hand; and on the other hand, they also question the socio-cultural system that defines, manages and reproduces practices and behaviours, as far as this domain is concerned.” (Haudem 1998).

It is crucial to analyse the social, political and cultural contexts within which gender issues are raised in Africa. It is against this background that the contribution of Mohamed Khaled at the 2001 session of the Institute, should be read. It was entitled: ‘A gender perspective for the rethinking of development in postwar conditions; case study in Yei county, West Equatoria, Southern Sudan’. It highlights the extreme vulnerability of women in the context of conflicts, as well as their marginalization in post-conflict situations and perspectives. Mr Khaled put forward a method of analysis that integrates the gender approach in the methodologies of analysis of the impact of conflicts and also in the framework of analysis of post-conflict development.

Throughout the session, Akosua Adomako Ampofo (‘Beyond Cairo, Gender, Sexual Behaviour, and reproductive Health. A Situation Analysis and some Epistemological Concerns’) and Funmi Soetan (‘Mothers and More: Changing perspective on Gender and Reproductive Health in Sub-Saharan Africa’) presented the issues of reproduction, and reproductive and sexual health. Akosua A. Ampofo’s starting point is the alarming situation of HIV/AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa, which he uses in order to analyse the progresses, as well as the conceptual shortcomings of the approaches used to deal with reproductive health issues, thereby using the Cairo 1994 Conference, as a historical landmark. She highlights the limits of the biomedical approaches and those of the approaches focusing on women, rather than on gender relations. Besides, Akosua Ampofo focuses on the irrelevance of the conceptual frameworks, on which the mainstream models of analysis are based. Most of these frameworks of analysis are eurocentric and eclipses aspects of gender relations that are significant, from a social, cultural and spiritual point of view and influence on sexuality, reproduction, health and disease in Africa.

Funmi Soetan made an analysis of the concepts and theories of the written works, from the Greek Antiquity and Christian Middle-Age to the mercantilist theories and Malthusianism, through neoclassical and Marxist theories. She also makes a critical analysis of the theories of democratic transition (Warren Thompson) and those of New Home Economics (NHE) of Gary Becker. In conclusion, the author also highlights the paradigms and limits of the gender concept, as used by the United Nations agencies.

The research carried out by Khoudia Sow, on gender relations, and the AIDS experience highlights the so called “feminisation of AIDS”. According to this perspective, the differences in epidemiological tendencies between men and women are not accounted for by biological differences only (the virus concentration in the sperm is higher than in vaginal secretions, and the risk of transmission from an infected man to a non infected woman is higher than in the reverse case), but also by socio economic differences as well as an unequal level of access to information. Generally, women’s level of education is lower than that of men; but studies tend to show that there is a linkage between low level of education and the risks of HIV infection. Women are also the most severely hit by poverty, which is a factor of vulnerability associated with the pandemic. Beyond the difference in socio economic conditions, the increase of HIV prevalence among women shows the unbalance in men and women relation to power. In Senegal, the majority of women living with HIV were infected in wedlock and had no other partner than their husband.

Khoudia Sow’s text focuses on the social impact of HIV/AIDS, which affects men and women differently. The author also shows that women’s matrimonial status has consequences on the AIDS experience. Khoudia Sow shows how AIDS discloses the social dysfunctions linked to social rules.

The study carried out by Ifeanyi Onyeonorou is an exploratory research studying the factors associated to the migration to Italy of women and girls involved in sexual commercial work. The research was carried out in Benin City, Edo State in Nigeria, which was chosen because previous studies had given this place a particular status, as a cross border place and an important market for sexual commercial work. This work is mainly based on interviews with key informants.

Ifeanyi Onyeonorou starts by a subsequent review of the literature that analyses the various dynamics and contexts of emigration in Nigeria and West Africa. The analysis of field data leads Onyeonorou to identify the following factors as being associated with sexual international migration: poverty, unemployment,
relative isolation, distortion of social relations, disorganisation of families, inequities in men/women relationships, and Nigeria’s macro-economic situation.

Marie Solange presents a wide range of ethnographical data on meeting places, chatting up methods, codes, power relations, models of partners and reference. She also explores conceptions of marriage faithfulness and virginity among youngsters. She also analyses sexual practices and behaviours, sources of information, as far as sexuality is concerned, the place and role of parents in the sexual life of youngsters, the language, reference models, as well as power relations that help understanding the identities of young boys and girls, as regards sexuality.

Bassirou Fall’s study makes an analysis of the sexual behaviour of pupils from a secondary school in Dakar (Senegal). He shows that sexuality is very important in the life of teenagers. It is often seen as the satisfaction of a desire, a biological drive, and the eagerness to discover the behaviour of people from the other sex. The media, and particularly, the television, play a significant role in the building of a sexual “culture”; this is also the case for reviews, newspapers and magazines.

Chinwe R. Nwanna’s work deals with the relationship between women’s status and child mortality in the state of Anambra, south-eastern Nigeria. The method used combines an approach based on community investigation, with surveys carried out within the family and direct environment of the victims of maternal mortality. On the whole, 1,400 men and women were interviewed; results show a high prevalence of maternal mortality, namely during delivery and pregnancy, particularly. A few cases occurring in the period following delivery were reported. The variables that are most strongly associated with maternal mortality are those indicating poverty, the lack of care by hospital staff, malnutrition and lack of rest. Pregnancies occurring later in women’s life, or in an early age, numerous delivering, and long periods of labour were identified as risk factors of maternal mortality. The analysis of Chinwe R. Nwanna raises interesting questions about women’s power of decision, as regards the ways they cope with their pregnancy and delivering. Men and the power relationship between men and women influences a great deal on decision-making processes regarding access to care.

Issac Settuba’s text is an analysis of the gender relations within the family; it also analyses sexuality in the feminine literature of the 1990s, in Uganda. The author is inspired by the fact that in Uganda, women write most of the literary work published. Women have thus brought in freshness to the literature of that country, whose rarity of publications in the 1970s/1980s had led people to call it a “literary desert”. The author worked on short stories, whose characters are women telling life stories as diverse as AIDS, prostitution, school experience or sexual and matrimonial ones. Behind these stories lies a critical description of the reactions used by the society to punish facts and behaviours, the conditions of existence and reproduction of which she had created.

**Conclusion**

The papers presented on the occasion of the 2001 session deal with various aspects of gender relation, in the context of family, sexuality and reproduction in Africa. The contributions of facilitators help to redefine notions, approaches and perspectives of analysis that were raised by the contemporary debate on gender, sexuality and reproduction.

The studies carried out by the laureates of the Gender Institute offer a variety of field data that can be interpreted through various levels of analysis and lead to new theoretical structures around the gender problematic in Africa.

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It is not an exaggeration to say that the HIV/AIDS pandemic threatens the very future of Africans and the African continent. Available statistics are staggering: many more people die of HIV/AIDS in Africa than in the world’s wars. The population of adults and children with the HIV/AIDS number 28 million in sub-Saharan African compared with 7 million in Asia, 2 million in Latin America and the Caribbean. More depressing, the total number of HIV/AIDS infected people in Africa is quite out of proportion to the continent’s total population in global terms. Thus, although Africa accounts for only 11 per cent of total world population, 70 per cent of all HIV/AIDS infections in the world are in the continent. Even if we query the veracity of these mind-boggling statistics, the fact remains that HIV/AIDS is real and continues to have devastating impacts on communities, families and individuals in sundry ways.

Because it cuts deep into every sector of society in Africa, HIV/AIDS continues to undermine in very fundamental and even irreversible ways, the continent’s growth, overall development, and its future. In many cases, the pandemic is threatening to reverse many of the important gains of the last thirty years in critical sectors such as health, education, and agriculture especially in the most affected African countries. Of particular concern is the fact that the disease strikes mainly the most active and productive sectors of the African society, the youths, and tomorrow’s leaders. According to Lampert et al, young adults are at the centre of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. They are particularly susceptible to HIV infection, and they carry the burden of living with HIV/AIDS. More than half of all new HIV infections occur among people under the age of 25. Young people are vulnerable to HIV because they are more likely to engage in high-risk behaviour. It is this phenomenon, among others, that makes the disease such an important political, economic and health issue not only in Africa but the rest of the world.

Nonetheless, it is doubtful if some African countries take the disease as seriously as they should. For economic, political, religious and even cultural reasons, many countries continue to play down the prevalence rates of the disease among their populations. And even in countries where there are HIV/AIDS programmes, they are at best, SHERIFF’S posses, halffhearted and even tokenish. In such countries, also, commitment to combat the HIV/AIDS pandemic is more in the rhetoric than in concrete policies designed either to effectively cater for the needs of those already infected or to prevent the spread of the disease among the rest of the population. Ironically, the same countries and their governments spend millions of scarce financial resources on white elephant programmes that are not relevant to the immediate needs of majority of their people. Thus, the perceptive observer is sometimes compelled to question the raison d’etre of some states in Africa. For if the individual and collective well being of the citizens is not uppermost in their scheme of things, what else should such states be doing?

In short, then, while the ‘festivities’ continue and commitment to curbing the HIV/AIDS epidemic is largely rhetorical, Africa’s HIV/AIDS statistics remain depressing. Of the estimated 3 million adults and children that died of AIDS in 2001, for instance, 2.3 million were in Sub-Saharan Africa. Besides, many of the continent’s children and youth face what can be described ‘double jeopardy’, for not only are they themselves infected with the deadly HIV/AIDS virus, they are also losing their parents and close family members to the disease. Often, aged grand parents and relatives in the extended family are not only traumatized by the premature deaths of their own children, they are also burdened with looking after many of the HIV/AIDS orphans. In some cases, the death of the grand parents renders these children double orphans. The plight of children and youth in Africa in an era of HIV/AIDS is also located in deep-rooted cultural practices across sub-Saharan Africa: early or forced marriages, obnoxious widowhood practices, older men’s preference for younger women, the taboo that still surrounds sex and sex education in close family circles, etc. Added to these is the phenomenon in the most HIV/AIDS affected countries: the craze for young men by women who have lost husbands to HIV/AIDS, thereby complicating the fight against the disease in those countries.

Against this somber background, CODESRIA’s Second Child and Youth Institute Session in 2003 with the theme: The African Child and Youth in an Era of HIV/AIDS could not have come at a more auspicious moment. Designed to expose young African scholars and researchers to the latest discourses and methodologies on HIV/AIDS research, the Institute brought together 12 laureates from seven countries across Africa, all of who are working on diverse aspects of the HIV/AIDS pandemic focusing on the African child and youth. Four Resource Persons plus the Institute’s Director, presented a total of seventeen thought provoking papers covering topics such as: ‘The HIV/AIDS Pandemic: Global and Regional Overviews and Perspectives’, ‘Theoretical and Methodological Issues in Children and Youth with HIV/AIDS Research in Africa’, ‘The Impact of AIDS on Core Family Functions’, ‘Students’ Sexuality and HIV/AIDS’, ‘AIDS, Orphans and Vulnerable Children in Africa’, and ‘Public Policy on AIDS in Africa’.

The presentations by the Laureates were equally as fascinating as they were diverse: ‘HIV/AIDS Education in Kenya’, ‘AIDS in Daily Conversations Among Handa Women in Angola’, ‘Girl-Children at Risk: Sexual Abuse of the Girl Child and Implications for HIV/AIDS Transmission in Ibadan, Nigeria’, ‘Prison Conditions and HIV/AIDS among Youths in Kinshasha, DRC’, ‘Gender, Masculinity and the Fight Against HIV/AIDS Amongst Youth in Botswana’, and ‘Cultural and Demographic Effects of the HIV/AIDS Pandemic: Changing Lives of Grandparents and orphans in Zambia’, etc. It is to the credit of CODESRIA that it brought together such a strong multinational team of young and promising researchers and resources persons to critically and frankly examine the varied dimensions and impacts of this latest
and deadliest challenge to the continent’s survival and future. The sessions were lively and intense; demonstrating the commitment of the laureates and resource persons to finding urgent solutions to a disease that threatens to decimate the largest, most active and productive sectors of the African population.

It is hoped that the selection process that assembled such a formidable team of young scholars would be retained for subsequent Institutes to be organized by CODESRIA. CODESRIA should also be commended for having the foresight to choose a theme that is fundamental to the continent’s future for this year’s Child and Youth Institute. Undoubtedly, the four weeks of intense academic debate and exchanges among laureates on the one hand, and between resource persons and laureates on the other, have contributed immensely to knowledge production in Africa, one of CODESRIA’s enduring mission mandates.

For those African scholars who are often compelled to look outside to quench their thirst for academic excellence, it is gratifying to know that CODESRIA offers an excellent environment for serious intellectual discourse that is comparable to those in other parts of the world. All the ancillary facilities: simultaneous interpretations, documentation, Library, photocopying, transport, etc, were at the disposal of all participants at the Institute. It is hoped that these amenities would be consolidated in the years ahead to make CODESRIA a haven for the serious academic who refuses to leave the continent in search of the proverbial ‘greener pastures’. Of course, the excellent services would not have made such an instant impact on the participants without the warmth and understanding of the staff at CODESRIA. The friendly smile on the faces of everyone staff—the human face of CODESRIA— that was approached by the Laureates, Resource Persons and the Director made the four weeks look like just seven days.

It is hoped that the next Institute and theme would be announced very early in the New Year so that there would be enough time to screen all applications and proposals. That way, successful laureates, resource persons and the director, would know their fate in good time to enable them process the necessary clearance from their respective institutions before leaving for Dakar. Finally, I would like to thank CODESRIA most warmly for providing me with the opportunity of sharing in such a highly rewarding academic endeavor. Bravo! Keep it up!!

References
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