



**CODESRIA**

**ARCHIE MAFEJE:  
A TRIBUTE**

**JULY 2007**



## **Archie Mafeje: A Tribute**

### **A Giant Has Moved On: Tribute to Archie Mafeje**

**30 March 1937—28 March 2007**

Wednesday, 28 March, 2007 will go down as a sad day among social researchers all over Africa and beyond: It was the day Professor Archie Mafeje passed away in Pretoria in what was a most quiet exit that has left the very many among us whom he touched directly or indirectly in a state sadness and anger. Archie Mafeje, the quintessential person of science and one of the most versatile, extraordinary minds to emerge from Africa was, in his days, a living legend in every sense: His knowledge was as vast as his grasp of issues – almost all issues - was breathtaking. His discourses transcended disciplinary boundaries and were characterised by a spirit of combative engagement underpinned by a commitment to social transformation. As an academic sojourner conscious of the history of Africa over the last six centuries, he rallied his colleagues to resist the intellectual servitude on which all forms of foreign domination thrive. He was intransigent in his call for the liberation of our collective imaginations as the foundational stone for continental liberation. In all of this, he also distinguished himself by his insistence on scientific rigour and originality: It was his trade mark to be uncompromisingly severe with fellow scientists who were mediocre in their analyses. The power of his pen and the passion of his interventions always went hand-in-hand with a uniquely polemical style that was hardly meant for those who were not sure-footed in their scholarship. This then was the Mafeje who left us on 28 March, 2007 to join the other departed heroes and heroines of the African social research community: A great pan-African, an outstanding scientist, a first rate debater, a frontline partisan in the struggle for social justice, and a gentleman of great humanitarian principles. We will surely miss his thoughtful insights, his strident rebukes, his loyal friendship, his companionship, and – yes, his wit, humour and expert culinary skills that included an incomparable knowledge of foods and wines from all corners of the world.

Archie Mafeje has fought the battle and run the race successfully; for those of he has left behind, especially those of us whom he inspired, the challenge before us is clear: Keep the Mafeje spirit alive by investing ourselves with dedication to the quest for the knowledge we need in order to transform our societies – and the human condition for the better. In the meantime, our thoughts and solidarity go to the members of his family, including his wife Shahida El-Baz and their daughter, Danna.

Adebayo Olukoshi,  
Executive Secretary.

### About Archie Mafeje

Professor Archie Mafeje was South African by birth. He completed his undergraduate studies and began his career as a scholar at the University of Cape Town, in his home country but, like many other South Africans, he was soon forced by the Apartheid regime to go into exile where he spent the better part of his life. He obtained a PhD in Anthropology and Rural Sociology from Cambridge University in 1966. In 1973, at the age of 34, he was appointed Professor of Anthropology and Sociology of Development at the Institute of Social Studies in The Hague by an Act of Parliament and with the approval of all the Dutch universities, becoming the first African scholar to be so distinguished in The Netherlands. That appointment bestowed on him the honour of being a Queen Juliana Professor and one of her Lords. His name appears in the prestigious blue pages of the Dutch National Directorate.

Archie Mafeje's professional career spanned four decades and three continents. From 1969 to 1971 he was Head of the Sociology Department at the University of Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania before moving to the Hague as a visiting Professor of Social Anthropology of Development and Chairman of the Rural Development, Urban Development and Labour Studies Programme at the Institute of Social Studies from 1972 to 1975. It was here that he met his wife and life-long companion, the Egyptian scholar and activist, Dr. Shahida El Baz. In 1979, he joined the American University, in Cairo as Professor of Sociology. Thereafter, he took up the post of Professor of Sociology and Anthropology and Director of the Multidisciplinary Research Centre at the University of Namibia from 1992 to 1994. Mafeje was also a senior fellow and visiting or guest professor at several other universities and research institutions in Africa, Europe and North America. He is the author of many books, monographs and journal articles. His critique of the concept of tribalism and his works on anthropology are widely cited as key reference materials. He also did pathbreaking work on the land and agrarian question in Africa.

Mafeje returned to South Africa several years after the end of apartheid where he was appointed a Research Fellow by the National Research Foundation (NRF) working at the African Renaissance Centre at the University of South Africa (UNISA). In 2001 Archie Mafeje became a member of the Scientific Committee of the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) and in 2003 was awarded Honorary Life Membership of this Council. In 2005, Professor Mafeje was appointed a CODESRIA Distinguished Fellow in conjunction with the Africa Institute of

## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

South Africa, in Pretoria. Professor Mafeje is survived by his wife Shahida and their daughter Danna.

### Early Tributes from Some CODESRIA Members

Archie, our comrade, teacher and friend, hear the voices of some of the members of our community as they digested the breaking news of your transition:

#### **Jimi Adesina, 28 March, 2007:**

It is with an inconsolable sense of grief and outrage that I write to inform you that Tandeka Nkiwane confirmed this morning the passing away of Archie Mafeje. He would have been 71 years old tomorrow. Inconsolable sense of grief because of the loss of a man of incredible presence of mind, intellect, and generosity of spirit. Outrage because after decades in exile, Archie returned home to exile in South Africa. In our last conversation he spoke of his isolation and loneliness in South Africa (at home, in a place of his birth, in a land that gave us one of the finest minds in the global community of the social sciences)... He was on holidays in his home region of the Transkei in December/January and experienced the sense of community that was so crucial to him, among the 'ordinary' people in his home region... When we last sat together in Pretoria, a few weeks ago, he was in the best condition in which I had seen him in four years ... Archie was to be with us on 13 April when Thandika Mkandawire receives his D.Litt (earned from the assessment of TM's works, NOT honorary); and now we're never going to see him alive again ...warts and all; his incredible brilliant mind, quirky sense of humour, and that subdued almost guttural chuckle that comes from the deep part of his throat when he is tickled by something; arms flapping, with his index finger extended to emphasize the point. For a people and generations that come through this way, let it be said he lives in our hearts, in our memories, in our thoughts because there will never be another like him; never another like our Archie Mafeje.

#### **Mahmood Mamdani, 28 March, 2007:**

Over the past few years, we have had to bear the experience of loss, and accept, however painfully, that death is a part of life. As we mourn the loss of our dear colleague and comrade, Archie, the important point is to memorialize the meaning of his life and work in a way that makes it accessible to the younger generation, those who did not have the opportunity to know him personally as we did. I have a suggestion for a start. Given the artisanal way in which Archie operated and given

the isolation of his circumstances, I think it important that CODESRIA take a formal decision to commit resources to gather his papers with a view to deciding whether they should be archived at CODESRIA or are substantial enough to be archived in a library, most likely in South Africa, with the understanding that these would be available to all scholars. After this, we should consider forms of memorialization that underline his substantial contribution to the development of knowledge on the African continent.

**Issa Shivji, 29 March, 2007:**

It is devastating (news). We have lost a great African intellectual. As we would say in Kiswahili '*hakunyumbishwa katika msimamo wake*'. He could not be shaken from his stand. What more can one say ...

### **Do You Wish to Send a Condolence Message?**

Members of CODESRIA and all other researchers wishing to send condolence messages to Archie Mafeje's family are invited to do so by sending their messages to the following address: [Executive.Secretary@codesria.sn](mailto:Executive.Secretary@codesria.sn) and the CODESRIA Secretariat will have them compiled and forwarded.

### **Funeral Arrangements**

The late Archie Mafeje will be laid to rest on Saturday, 07 April, 2007, in Umtata. Ahead of that, a memorial service will be hosted on Tuesday 03 April, 2007 by the University of South Africa where he served as a Senior Professor. The CODESRIA delegation to his funeral will be led by the Council's President, Professor Teresa Cruz e Silva.

### Un géant s'en est allé : hommage à Archie Mafeje

30 mars 1937—28 mars 2007

Ce mercredi 28 mars 2007 restera gravé dans les mémoires comme un triste jour pour les chercheurs en sciences sociales d'Afrique et d'ailleurs. C'est le jour où est survenue la mort, à Pretoria, du Professeur Archie Mafeje, une mort calme qui a mis le grand nombre de personnes qu'il avait côtoyé directement ou indirectement dans un état de tristesse ou de colère. Archie Mafeje, l'homme de science et parmi les esprits polyvalents et extraordinaires que l'Afrique ait connu, est une légende dans tous les sens du mot. Ses connaissances étaient aussi vastes que sa maîtrise des questions – de pratiquement toutes les questions – était époustouflante. Ses discours dépassaient les barrières disciplinaires et étaient caractérisés par un esprit combatif et engagé dans la transformation sociale. En tant qu'universitaire conscient de l'histoire de l'Afrique de ces six dernières décennies, il a amené ses collègues à résister la servitude intellectuelle sur laquelle se développent toutes formes de domination. Il était intransigeant dans son appel pour la libération de nos imaginations collectives comme fondement de la libération du continent. Dans toutes ces entreprises, il s'était distingué par son insistance sur la rigueur et l'originalité intellectuelle. Sa sévérité sans compromission avec les collègues médiocres dans leurs analyses était sa marque. Le pouvoir de sa plume et la passion de ses interventions allaient de pair avec un style polémique unique qui n'était pas réservé à ceux aux connaissances hésitantes. Voilà l'homme qui nous a quittés le 28 mars 2007 pour rejoindre les héros et héroïnes de la communauté africaine de recherche en sciences sociales. Un grand panafricain, un chercheur de renom, un débattre de première classe, un combattant de premier plan dans la lutte pour la justice sociale, et un gentleman aux grands principes humanitaires. Nous regretterons ses perspectives, ses réparties stridentes, sa loyale amitié, sa présence, et oui, son esprit, son humour et ses talents culinaires avec une connaissance incomparable des plats et vins de tous les coins du monde.

Archie Mafeje s'est battu avec succès ; pour ceux qu'il a laissés derrière, particulièrement ceux d'entre nous qu'il a inspirés, le défi est clair. Garder l'esprit de Mafeje vivant en nous investissant avec dévouement dans la recherche du savoir nécessaire pour transformer nos sociétés et améliorer les conditions humaines. En attendant, nos pensées et notre solidarité vont aux membres de sa famille, particulièrement à son épouse Shahida El-Baz et à leur fille, Dana.

Adebayo Olukoshi,  
Secrétaire exécutif

### A propos d'Archie Mafeje

Le Professeur Archie Mafeje était sud-africain de naissance. Il a fait ses études et commencé sa carrière à l'Université du Cap, dans son pays mais, comme nombre de Sud-Africains, il a dû quitter son pays poussé par l'apartheid. Il a passé la majeure partie de sa vie en exil. Il obtint un Ph.D en anthropologie et en sociologie rurale de l'Université de Cambridge en 1966. En 1973, à l'âge de 34 ans, il est nommé professeur d'anthropologie et de sociologie du développement à l'Institut des études sociales de la Haye par une loi du parlement et avec l'approbation des universités néerlandaises, devenant le premier universitaire africain à être ainsi honoré aux Pays-Bas. Cette nomination lui conférait l'honneur d'être un des professeurs de la Reine Juliana et un des pairs du royaume. Son nom apparaît dans les prestigieuses pages bleues du bottin national néerlandais.

La carrière professionnelle de Archie Mafeje s'étend sur quatre décennies et sur trois continents. De 1969 à 1973, il est chef du Département de Sociologie de l'Université de Dar Es Salaam, en Tanzanie. Il partit ensuite à la Haye, aux Pays-Bas en tant que professeur visiteur d'anthropologie sociale du développement et du programme d'études du travail à l'Institut des études sociales de 1972 à 1975. C'est là qu'il rencontra son épouse et compagne, l'universitaire et activiste égyptienne, le Dr Shahida El-Baz. En 1979, il accepte le poste de Professeur de sociologie à l'Université américaine du Caire. Il est ensuite Professeur de sociologie et d'anthropologie et directeur du Centre de recherche multidisciplinaire de l'Université de Namibie de 1992 à 1994. Mafeje était également chercheur visiteur ou professeur invité dans plusieurs autres universités et centres de recherche en Afrique, en Europe et en Amérique du Nord. Il est l'auteur de plusieurs livres, monographies et articles de revues. Sa critique du concept de tribalisme et ses travaux sur l'anthropologie sont très largement cités dans les ouvrages de référence. Il a également entrepris un travail de pionnier sur les questions foncières et agraires en Afrique.

Mafeje est retourné en Afrique du Sud plusieurs années après la fin de l'apartheid où il fut nommé Chercheur associé par le National Research Foundation (NRF) où il travaillait au Centre de la Renaissance africaine de UNISA. En 2001, Archie Mafeje devint membre du Comité Scientifique du Conseil pour le développement de la recherche en sciences sociales en Afrique (CODESRIA) et en 2003 il reçut le titre de membre honoraire à vie du Conseil.

## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

En 2005, le Professeur Archie Mafeje était nommé Distingué Lauréat du CODESRIA en collaboration avec « Africa Institute of South Africa ». Le Professeur Mafeje laisse derrière lui son épouse Shahida et leur fille Dana.

### Premiers hommages de membres du CODESRIA

Archie, notre camarade, professeur et ami, entends les voix des membres de la communauté au moment où ils ont reçu la nouvelle insoutenable de ta transition:

#### **Jimi Adesina, 28 mars 2007:**

C'est avec un sens inconsolable de peine et de révolte que j'écris pour vous informer que Tandeka Nkiwane m'a confirmé ce matin le décès de Archie Mafeje. Il aurait eu 71 ans demain. Un sens inconsolable de peine pour la perte d'un homme d'une incroyable présence d'esprit, d'intelligence et de générosité. De révolte parce que après des décennies d'exil, Archie est revenu en exil en Afrique du Sud. Dans notre dernière conversation, il parlait de l'isolation et de la solitude en Afrique du Sud (chez lui, dans son pays de naissance, dans un pays qui nous a donné les meilleurs esprits des sciences sociales au monde). Il était en vacances dans sa région natale du Transkei en décembre/janvier et a redécouvert le sens de la communauté qui était aussi important pour lui, parmi les gens ordinaires de sa région natale. Quand nous parlions à Pretoria, il y a quelques semaines, il était en grande forme. Archie devait être avec nous le 13 avril quand Thandika Mkandawire recevrait son D. Litt (décerné sur la base de l'évaluation de son œuvre, pas à titre honorifique), et voilà que nous ne le reverrons plus vivant, avec ses verrues et tout, son incroyable et brillant esprit, son humour décapant et ce rire presque guttural qui venait du plus profond de sa gorge quand quelque chose l'amusait, les bras en mouvement et cet index pointé pour marquer un point. Pour les gens et les générations qui l'ont vu passer, sachez qu'il vit dans nos coeurs, dans nos mémoires, dans nos pensées parce qu'il n'y en aura jamais un comme lui, Archie Mafeje.

#### **Mahmood Mamdani, 28 mars 2007:**

Ces dernières années, nous avons dû faire face à l'expérience de la mort, et accepter, bien que cela soit difficile, qu'elle fait partie de nos vies. Au moment où nous pleurons notre cher collègue, il est important d'immortaliser le sens de sa vie et de son œuvre d'une manière qui les rendent accessibles à la jeune génération, à ceux qui n'ont pas eu la chance de le connaître personnellement. J'ai une suggestion pour commencer: vu la manière artisanale de travail d'Archie, et son isolation, je crois qu'il est important que le CODESRIA prenne une

décision formelle d'allouer des ressources à la collecte de ses oeuvres et décider du lieu de leur conservation au CODESRIA, ou elles sont nombreuses dans une bibliothèque, de préférence en Afrique du Sud, afin de les rendre disponibles à tout chercheur. Après cela, nous devons considérer des formes de perpétuation de ses substantielles contributions au développement du savoir sur le continent africain..

**Issa Shivji, 29 mars 2007:**

C'est une nouvelle terrible. Nous avons perdu un grand intellectuel africain. Comme nous dirions en Kiswahili : '*hakunyumbishwa katika msimamo wake* ». Il était ferme sur sa position. Que peut-on dire de plus ? ...

### **Voulez-vous envoyer un message de condoléances?**

Les membres du CODESRIA et tous ceux qui veulent faire parvenir des messages de condoléances à la famille de Archie Mafeje sont invités à les envoyer à l'adresse suivante: [Executive.Secretary@codesria.sn](mailto:Executive.Secretary@codesria.sn) . Le Secrétariat du CODESRIA les regroupera et les fera suivre.

### **Funérailles**

Feu Archie Mafeje sera enterré le samedi 7 avril 2007 à Umtata. Auparavant, une cérémonie religieuse sera organisée le mardi 3 avril 2007 par l'Université d'Afrique du Sud, où il a servi comme Professeur. La délégation du CODESRIA à ses funérailles sera conduite par la Présidente du Conseil, le Professeur Teresa Cruz e Silva.

### Desapareceu um Gigante ...Homenagem a Archie Mafeje

Quarta-feira, dia 28 de Março de 2007 ficará marcado por um triste acontecimento no seio da comunidade dos cientistas sociais de toda a África e não só, dia em que faleceu em Pretória o professor Archie Mafeje, um desaparecimento discreto, deixando muitos de nós directa ou indirectamente em estado de tristeza e angústia. Archie Mafeje, homem das ciências e uma das mentes mais versáteis e extraordinárias, que emergiu em África, fora uma legenda viva em todos os sentidos: Os seus conhecimentos, tão vastos quanto o alcance das suas questões, eram muito empolgantes. Os seus discursos, caracterizados por um espírito engajado e combativo pela transformação social, transcendiam as fronteiras disciplinares. Como um académico consciente da história da África destes últimos seis séculos, influenciou os seus colegas na resistência à servidão intelectual sobre a qual se desenvolvem todas as formas de dominação estrangeira. Ele era intransigente no seu apelo à libertação das nossas imaginações colectivas como pedra basilar para a libertação do continente. De todas as suas aspirações, Archi Mafeje distinguiu-se como um defensor acérrimo do rigor e originalidade científica: O seu rigor sem comprometimento para com colegas medíocres nas suas análises era a sua marca registada. O poder da sua caneta e a paixão das suas intervenções estiveram sempre lado a lado com um estilo polémico único, por vezes mal acolhido por aqueles cujos conhecimentos eram mais limitados. Este foi enfim o Mafeje que nos deixou no dia 28 de Março de 2007 para se juntar a outros heróis e heroínas da comunidade africana de investigadores em ciências sociais que já partiram. Um destacado pan-africano e brilhante cientista social, orador de primeira categoria, defensor de primeira linha da luta pela justiça social e um cavalheiro de grandes princípios humanitários. Faltar-nos-ão sem dúvida as suas perspectivas, as suas estridentes repreensões, bem como a amizade sincera, o companheirismo e - sim o seu espírito, humor e os seus talentos culinários associados a um incomparável conhecimento gastronómico e de vinhos de todos os cantos do mundo. O Archie conduziu a sua batalha com sucesso, e para os que ele deixou, especialmente alguns de nós a quem inspirou, o desafio é claro: manter o seu espírito vivo, investir com dedicação na busca do conhecimento necessário para transformar as nossas sociedades – e melhorar a condição humana. Entretanto, o nosso pensamento, a nossa solidariedade vão para os membros da sua família, especialmente para a sua esposa Shahida El-Baz e sua filha Dann

Adebayo Olukoshi  
Secretário Executivo

### A propósito de Archie Mafeje

O Professor Archie Mafeje era sul-africano, fez os seus estudos e deu início à sua carreira na Universidade do Cabo, no seu país mas, como muitos dos Sul-africanos, teve de abandonar o seu país devido ao apartheid. Passou a maior parte da sua vida no exílio. Obteve o seu Ph.D em Antropologia e em sociologia rural na Universidade de Cambridge em 1966. Em 1973, aos 34 anos, foi nomeado professor de antropologia e de sociologia do desenvolvimento no Instituto dos estudos sociais de Haye através de uma decreto parlamentar e com aprovação das universidades holandesas, tornando-se o primeiro universitário africano a ser honrado desta forma em Holanda. Com esta nomeação teve a honra de ser um dos professores da rainha Juliana e um dos seus lordes. O seu nome aparece nas prestigiosas páginas azuis da lista telefónica nacional holandesa.

A carreira profissional de Archie Mafeje estende-se por quatro décadas e em três continentes. De 1969 a 1973 é chefe de Departamento de Sociologia da Universidade de Dar Es Salaam, em Tanzânia. Partiu em seguida para Haye, nos Países Baixos como professor convidado de antropologia social do desenvolvimento e do programa de estudos do trabalho no Instituto dos estudos sociais de 1972 a 1975, altura em que encontra a sua esposa e companheira, a universitária e activista egípcia, a Dr<sup>a</sup> Shahida El-Baz. Em 1979, aceita o posto de

Professor de sociologia na Universidade americana do Cairo. Torna-se em seguida Professor de sociologia e de antropologia e director do Centro de pesquisa multidisciplinar da Universidade de Namíbia de 1992 a 1994. Mafeje era igualmente investigador

convidado ou professor convidado em várias outras universidades e centros de pesquisa em África, na Europa e na América do Norte. É autor de vários livros, monografias e artigos de revistas. A sua crítica ao conceito de tribalismo e os seus trabalhos sobre a antropologia são bastante citados nas obras de referência. Também realizou um trabalho pioneiro sobre questões da terra e questões agrárias em África.

Mafeje regressou finalmente à África do Sul anos depois do fim do apartheid onde seria nomeado Investigador associado pela Fundação Nacional de Pesquisas (NRF) onde trabalhava no Centro do Renascimento Africano da UNISA. Em 2001, Archie Mafeje tornou-se membro do Comité Científico do Conselho para o Desenvolvimento da Pesquisa em Ciências Sociais em África (CODESRIA) e em 2003 recebeu o título de membro honorário vitalício do Conselho. Em 2005, o Professor Archie Mafeje seria nomeado um Distinto Laureado do CODESRIA em colaboração com « Instituto África da África do Sul ». O Professor Mafeje deixa a sua esposa Shahida e filha Dana.

## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

### Primeiras homenagens de membros do CODESRIA

Archie, nosso camarda, professor e amigo, ouviu as vozes dos membros da comunidade no momento em que receberam a derradeira notícia da tua transição:

#### **Jimi Adesina, 28 de Março de 2007:**

É com um sentimento de consternação, mágoa e revolta que vos comunico a notícia enviada esta manhã por Tandeka Nkiwane, dando-nos conta da morte de Archie Mafeje. Amanhã ele completaria 71 anos. É um sentimento inconsolável e de tristeza causado pela perda de um homem de extraordinária presença de espírito, inteligência e generosidade. Sentimento de revolta, porque depois de décadas de exílio, Archie voltou para o exílio na África do Sul. Na nossa última conversa, ele falava de isolamento e de solidão nesse país (onde nasceu, um país que nos deu os melhores espíritos das ciências sociais no mundo). Ele estava de férias na sua região natal de Transkei em Dezembro/Janeiro e redescobriu o verdadeiro sentido de comunidade que fora tão importante para ele, no meio de gente comum da sua região natal. Quando conversávamos em Pretoria, há algumas semanas apenas, estava em boa forma. Archie deveria estar entre nós no dia 13 de Abril para tomar parte na cerimónia em que Thandika Mkandawire irá receber o seu D. Litt (laureado na base da avaliação das suas obras, NÃO a título honorário), e eis que já não o teremos vivo, com as suas verrugas e com esse seu espírito brilhante e extraordinário, o seu humor sarcástico e o seu riso quase gutural que saía das profundezas da sua garganta quando algo lhe divertia, o seu braço em constante movimento e o indicador apontado para realçar um ponto. Para as pessoas e as gerações que o conheceram, saibam que ele permanece vivo nos nossos corações, nas nossas recordações e no nosso pensamento, porque nunca mais haverá alguém como ele, o Archie Mafeje.

#### **Mahmood Mamdani, 28 de Março 2007:**

Nos últimos anos, tivemos de enfrentar a experiência da morte e aceitar, embora seja difícil, que isso faz parte das nossas vidas. No momento em que choramos o nosso querido colega, é importante imortalizar o sentido da sua vida e da sua obra de uma maneira que se tornem acessíveis à nova geração e aos que não tiveram a sorte de o conhecer pessoalmente. Para começar tenho uma sugestão: tendo em conta a forma artesanal do trabalho de Archie, é importante que o CODESRIA tome uma decisão formal de atribuir recursos para a recolha das suas obras e decidir sobre o local da sua conservação que podia ser no CODESRIA, ou existindo em grande número podia ser numa biblioteca, de preferência na África do Sul, desde que fiquem disponíveis a todos os investigadores. Depois disso, devemos considerar as formas de perpetuação das suas substanciais contribuições ao desenvolvimento do saber sobre o continente africano.

### Issa Shivji

É uma notícia terrível! Perdemos um grande intelectual africano. Como diríamos na língua Kiswahili : « *hakunyumbishwa katika msimamo wake* ». Ele era firme na sua posição. Que mais podemos dizer?

### Deseja enviar uma mensagem de condolências?

Convidam-se os membros do CODESRIA e todos quantos desejam apresentar as condolências à família de Archie Mafeje a fazê-lo através do seguinte endereço: [Executive.Secretary@codesria.sn](mailto:Executive.Secretary@codesria.sn). O Secretariado do CODESRIA encarregar-se-á de as encaminhar.

### Exéquias

O funeral do falecido Archie Mafeje será realizado no sábado dia 7 de Abril de 2007 em Umtata e será precedido de uma cerimónia religiosa que organizada na terça-feira dia 3 de Abril de 2007 pela Universidade de África do Sul, onde trabalhou como Professor. A delegação do CODESRIA será chefiada pela Presidente do Conselho, a Professora Teresa Cruz e Silva.

Desapareceu um Gigante!

## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

**From:** Jimi O. Adesina [mailto:[J.Adесina@ru.ac.za](mailto:J.Adесina@ru.ac.za)]

**Sent:** 29 March 2007 10:56

**Subject:** Archie Mafeje

Dear All:

It is with an inconsolable sense of grief and outrage that I write to inform you that Tandeka Nkiwane confirmed this morning the passing away of Archie Mafeje. He would have been 71 years old tomorrow.

Inconsolable sense of grief because of the loss of a man of incredible presence of mind, intellect, and generosity of spirit. Outrage because after decades in exile, Archie returned home to exile in South Africa. In our last conversation he spoke of his isolation and loneliness in South Africa (at home; in a place of his birth; in a land that gave us one of the finest minds in the global community of the social sciences). That 48 hours after his passing away, we cannot get any precise information about where his body is only fuels my outrage. He passed away in Pretoria, in the same town/region in which our political, economic, and intellectual elite reside, and one of the finest minds ever produced by our continent lies somewhere in obscurity.

He was on holidays in his home region of the Transkei in December/January and experienced the sense of community that was so crucial to him, among the 'ordinary' people in his home region. For the first time in several years also, he experienced relieved of the symptoms of his medical ailments after receiving traditional medical care and herbal treatment in the Transkei. When we last sat together in Pretoria, a few weeks ago, he was in the best condition in which I had seen him in four years. He was going away to the Transkei for a week or two to rest and receive treatment because, he said, he was not feeling well. Archie was to be with us on 13 April when Thandika Mkandawire receives his D.Litt (earned from the assessment of TM's works NOT honorary); and now we're never going to see him alive again--warts and all; his incredible brilliant mind, quirky sense of humour, and that subdued almost guttural chuckle that comes from the deep part of his throat when he is tickled by something; arms flapping, with his index finger extended to emphasize the point.

For a people and generations that come through this way, let it be said he lives in our hearts, in our memories, in our thoughts because there will never be another like him; never another like our Archie Mafeje.

I will brief you as more details become available.

Regards,

Jimi

**From:** Ebrima SALL  
**Sent:** 29 March 2007 11:23  
**Subject:** RE: Archie Mafeje

Jimi,

This is bad, bad news. And big loss. As you rightly said, this was one of Africa's finest minds, and certainly one of most loyal and uncompromising defendants of our continent and peoples. The news has sent shockwaves in the CODESRIA Secretariat. Words can't express my grief.

May his soul rest in peace!

Ebrima

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**De :** Hawa Diao FAL  
**Envoyé :** jeudi 29 mars 2007 16:12

Chers collègues,  
Avec tout le personnel du CODESRIA, je compatis à cette grande douleur que nous venons de subir avec le décès de notre cher Professeur Archie Mafeje, un fidèle collaborateur du CODESRIA.

La mort du Professeur, va causer une lourde perte, un grand vide au sein de la communauté des chercheurs, des intellectuels africains et de la Diaspora.  
Nous n'avons pas le choix, nous sommes tous appelés à partir un jour ou l'autre, la vie est ainsi faite.

Que Dieu le miséricordieux, l'accueille dans son Paradis Amen.  
A sa famille éplorée, à ses collègues et à vous tous dirigeants du CODESRIA, je présente mes condoléances les plus attristées.

Hawa Diao Fal  
Département de la Recherche  
CODESRIA

## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

**From:** Samir AMIN [mailto:samir.amin@wanadoo.fr]

**Sent:** 29 March 2007 15:39

**Subject:** Re: FW: Archie Mafeje

Very dear Shahida,

I am knocked down by the sad news. I do not know how to express my prostration. Dearest Shahida, be courageous and transmit our feelings to your daughter.

Love,

From SAMIR and ISABELLE

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**From:** Prof. Issa Shivji [mailto:issashivji@cats-net.com]

**Sent:** 29 March 2007 18:20

**Subject:** Re: Archie Mafeje

Dear All:

I just read this. It is devastating. We have lost a great African intellectual. As we would say in Kiswahili 'hakunyumbishwa katika msimamo wake'. He could not be shaken from his stand. Jimi please keep us informed of other arrangements. What more can one say

Issa

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**From:** Diouf, Mamadou [mailto:mdiouf@umich.edu]

**Sent:** 30 March 2007 04:11

**Subject:** RE: Archie Mafeje

Dear Ebrima,

The passing away of Professor Archie Mafeje is a terrible loss for his family, for Codesria, a community he cared so much about, for Africa and for social sciences scholarship. Archie has been instrumental contributing very effectively to the social sciences conversation on/

about Africa and African communities. He was also attentive to the African intellectual production and always ready to engage with the literature on Africa with his incomparable knowledge and his very distinctive style.

He was an extraordinary intellectual and a great man I have been blessed to learn from. My condolences to his family, to Codesria and his friend.

May he rest in peace.

Mamadou

=====

**From:** Zenebwerke Tadesse [mailto:zentad@ethionet.et]

**Sent:** 30 March 2007 11:17

**Subject:** Re: RE: Archie Mafeje

Dear All,

I lack the words to express my grief and sense of loss. I can only imagine the implication of this terrible news to Shaida and Danna. I had the privilege of having had Archie as a mentor, a personal and family friend. I was always awed by his breadth of knowledge and refined taste in literature, art, music etc. Both academic and social events with Archie were enriching. Our continent has indeed been impoverished immeasurably by the loss of this great thinker. I cannot help but remember the 30<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of CODESRIA where both Archie and Kizerbo were honored and what Archie quipped on that occasion.

I fully endorse Mahmood's suggestion of the importance of memorializing the meaning of his life and work. Once his works are collected and archived, it would be ideal to gather together and historically contextualize Archie's key writings in a way that would illuminate his precious and formidable legacy to African scholarship. I have no doubt that such an initiative would lead even those of us who knew him and his work and the younger generation to the astute forays into areas covered by Archie's work and the wide-range of highly original and thought provoking works most of which dispel many tenacious preconceptions about Africa.

I leave it to CODESRIA and hopefully other institutions to come up with numerous imaginative ways to memorialize the meaning of Archie's life and work.

## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

In Sorrow,  
Zene

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**From:** ndeye sokhna gueye [mailto:burnabe2002@yahoo.fr]  
**Sent:** 30 March 2007 11:16  
**Subject:** RE Archie Mafeje

Cher Ebrima,

C'est une bien triste nouvelle que tu nous apprends. Connaissant l'admiration, la considération et l'affection que toi et Bayo avez pour Prof Mafeje, j'imagine aisément ce que vous devez éprouver et je partage sincèrement ce sentiment de perte d'une des valeurs les plus sûres de la communauté des sciences sociales. Son esprit fin et critique n'avait pas d'égaux.

Toutes mes condoléances! Que la terre lui soit légère et que Dieu l'accueille dans son paradis.

Avec toute ma sympathie.  
Sokhna

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**From:** Marie NDIAYE  
**Sent:** 30 March 2007 14:54  
**Subject:** Sincères condoléances

C'est avec beaucoup de peine que je me résous à écrire ces quelques lignes. Dieu m'a fait la grâce de rencontrer Archie Mafeje. C'était, au-delà de sa stature d'universitaire de renom, un être exceptionnel, élégant d'esprit et cultivé, simple et sophistiqué à la fois, exigeant de lui-même et des autres. Archie n'avait aucune patience pour la médiocrité et pour la facilité. Il aimait la vie et racontait la sienne dans une succession d'anecdotes qui cachaient mal les combats et les tragédies qui l'avaient jalonnée.

Je sais, qu'un jour, je pourrai me remémorer, sans avoir aussi mal, ses bons mots et rire de ses blagues. Je me souviendrai toujours de ce rire et de cette voix éraillée. Je le remercie

de m'avoir fait l'honneur de m'accepter parmi ses amis.

Je présente mes condoléances les plus sincères à Shahiba El Baz et à sa fille et m'associe à la peine de ses nombreux amis, particulièrement Ebrima, Bayo, Thandika.

Adieu, cher ami, ton souvenir vivra toujours dans mon cœur.

Marie Ndiaye  
Membership Officer  
CODESRIA

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**De :** Ebrima SALL  
**Envoyé :** samedi 31 mars 2007 13:08  
**Objet :** FW: Archie Mafeje

Dear All:

I received the news of Archie's death with deep shock and sadness. This is indeed a terrible tragedy to our intellectual community. Archie was a great inspiration to my generation and I will always fondly remember his support and interest in our work including mine. I wholeheartedly support Mahmood's and Zene'a suggestion that Codesria should find a way to memorize his work for posterity. For starters perhaps one of the forthcoming issues of CODESRIA Bulletin could be dedicated to multigenerational reflections on the importance of his work to African scholarship.

Best regards,

Paul Tiyambe Zeleza  
Professor and Head  
Department of African American Studies, University of Illinois at Chicago  
601 South Morgan Street, Chicago, Illinois 60607  
Tel: 312-996-2952—Fax: 312-996-5799—Personal website: [www.zeleza.com](http://www.zeleza.com)

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## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

**From:** esisulu@netactive.co.za [mailto:esisulu@netactive.co.za]

**Sent:** 31 March 2007 13:58

**To:** zeleza@uic.edu; zentad@ethionet.et

**Subject:** RE: Re: Archie Mafeje

I add my condolences to Archie's family. Added to the sadness of his passing is sorrow that the country of his birth never recognised his intellectual contribution to African scholarship. Memorialising his work is absolutely important and I thank Codesria for acknowledging him while he was alive.

My thoughts are with his family and friends.

Elinor

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**De :** bhekinkosi moyo [mailto:bhekinkosimoyo@hotmail.com]

**Envoyé :** samedi 31 mars 2007 18:43

**Objet :**

It was with sadness that we learnt of the passing on of Professor Mafeje. Those of the younger generation like myself had also grown to know Professor Mafeje as a 'God Father' in the academia. Our condolences to the Mafeje Family. May his 'soul rest in peace'.

Bhekinkosi Moyo

Bhekinkosi Moyo

Tel: +27 12 392 0549

Cell: +27 78 111 2091

Fax: +27 12 320 2414

[Bhekinkosimoyo@hotmail.com](mailto:Bhekinkosimoyo@hotmail.com)

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**De :** shola omotola [mailto:sholaomotola@yahoo.com]

**Envoyé :** samedi 31 mars 2007 18:52

**Objet :** Re: CODESRIA: A Giant Has Moved On.: Tribute to Archie Mafeje

A rare gem is gone. Though I never had the privilege of meeting this erudite scholar, his outstanding scholarship speaks volumes about him. It will be hard to fill the vacuum his

death has created. May his soul rest in peace.

J. Shola Omotola

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**De :** Aina, Tade [mailto:T.Aina@fordfound.org]

**Envoyé :** samedi 31 mars 2007 19:00

**Objet :** Tribute to Archie Mafeje

The African research and academic community has lost a true intellectual giant and leader. An *Iroko* tree in our forests of knowledge! A Pan-Africanist and a thinker whose knowledge and engagement straddle the broad gamut of human civilizations and yet whose commitment to Africa and confidence in Africa were never compromised. We will miss his brilliance, his mind and versatile production that never yielded to domination and subjugation and above all his rigor and intellectual discipline. Archie, may your dedicated life and achievements serve to remind us to keep the beacon of emancipatory scholarship for ever unquenched!

-Tade Aina, Nairobi, Kenya.

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**De :** eric aseka [mailto:ericaseka@yahoo.com]

**Envoyé :** samedi 31 mars 2007 19:13

**Objet :** Condolences

I am sad that Mafeje has left us. This is devastating to all of us who knew him. His intellectual insights have inspired many of us for many years. That is why I personally feel a deep sense of loss. It is a pity that the the rate at which stalwarts of discourse in the Codesrian defined academy of researchers are falling away through death is not marched by the emergence of equally forceful thinkers who can assert a position of originality and autonomy as they did. We need to be thinking of how we can produce multiple Mafejes and Kizerbos by sowing seeds of intellectual social reproduction of critical thinkers as opposed to the growing retinue of narrators of events in Africa and the world within unmediated or unproblematized Western paradigms. The superfluous mimicry of Western

## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

frameworks of analysis cannot offer us a useful basis of solving the problems of the continent. The Independence of thought and the profundity of engagement displayed by Archie rather than sheer mimicry of emerging fashions of discourse is what has enabled him and others to leave such a powerful legacy in Africa's intellectual arena. We will miss Archie's sense of humour as well as his courage in propagating a combative African ontology capable of exposing Western supfluities of thought and action. I admired Archie in life and I will continue to admire him in death. Receive my condolences on this sad day of African experience.

Eric Masinde Aseka

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**De :** s-diagne@northwestern.edu [<mailto:s-diagne@northwestern.edu>]

**Envoyé :** dimanche 1 avril 2007 00:38

**Objet :** Re: Décès d'un membre du Comité Scientifique

Chers amis,

C'est avec une tristesse infinie que j'apprends qu'Archie nous a quittés. Il n'est pas besoin de dire à quel point l'Afrique est orpheline de cet homme dont la profondeur de pensée ne le disputait qu'à l'élégance intellectuelle. Il a veillé sur les destinées du CODESRIA avec attention, vigilance et affection car il savait quel outil irremplaçable de la pensée et de l'unité africaines notre institution représente.

Par deux fois il m'a "ordonné" d'être le Président de notre panel scientifique. Par deux fois j'ai obéi et tous nos collègues avec moi aux "ordres" de l'aîné qui savait faire confiance à ses cadets pour ensuite les accompagner de sa sagesse et de sa profonde gentillesse. A tout le Secretariat, à notre communauté pan-africaine qui lui doit tant, je présente mes condoléances émues,

Souleymane Bachir Diagne

President du Comite Scientifique du CODESRIA

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**De :** Dr. Owen B. Sichone [mailto:sichone@ossrea.net]

**Envoyé :** dimanche 1 avril 2007 06:47

**Objet :** Condolences

Our teacher has gone but his wisdom lives on and we can at least promise him that a new generation of African scholars is emerging that will carry on his mission in urban anthropology, rural sociology, political economy and African studies generally.. \*Hamba kahle\* Archie Mafeje.

Owen Sichone  
Research and Publications Head  
OSSREA, Addis Ababa Ethiopia.

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**De :** ken post [mailto:kenpost@xs4all.nl]

**Envoyé :** dimanche 1 avril 2007 08:03

**Objet :** Archie Mafeje

I first got to know Archie when he was a professor and colleague at the Institute of Social Studies and he became a good friend and unsparing critic of my own work. I will not easily forget his dry but positive exposures of my failings. South Africa, and the intellectual world as a whole, have suffered a great loss. My thoughts go out to Shahida and Danna.

Ken Post,  
Emeritus Professor, ISS.

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**De :** Raufu Mustapha [mailto:raufu.mustapha@queen-elizabeth-house.oxford.ac.uk]

**Envoyé :** dimanche 1 avril 2007 11:41

**Objet :** Re: News of the Death of a member of the Scientific Committee

Dear Bayo.

My deepest condolences. May his soul rest in peace. I'm sure you will make plans to ensure that we remember for all times, this great son and scholar of our continent.

Raufu.

## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

**De :** ali sabbaghian [mailto:asabbaghian@hotmail.com]

**Envoyé :** dimanche 1 avril 2007 12:35

**Objet :** Condolence Message

Archie Mafeje as an intellectual, is not belong to one country or one continent.he and his work is common humman wealth for pepoles of world for all time.

The Sit-in in August 1968 by University of Cape Town students protesting against government intervention in the appointment of Mr. Archie Mafeje to the university's academic staff show this fact.

Ali sabbaghian -Tehran- Iran

Apr.1,2007

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**De :** Mammo Muchie [mailto:mammo@ihis.aau.dk]

**Envoyé :** dimanche 1 avril 2007 14:26

I express my profound sorrow to the unexpected news that Archie will no longer be physically with us, Africa and the world. When I had the opportunity to work on how to bring about better knowledge integration in Africa, I contacted Archie and had long discussions with him how we might be able to do it. I must say I valued every bit of wise counsel that he provided; and had this project continued with the vigor and inspired direction I had dreamt to do and still dream about to do if the opportunity allows , there was no doubt he would have played even a bigger role in it.

I remember also at 30th anniversary of CODESRIA in Dakar where he was honoured the way he welcomed me touchingly by saying but 'you are now from South Africa. You are South African.' Such special broad minded, enlightened thinking, fiercely intelligent and committed, deep, honest and critical intellectuals are needed more and more to make sure no indignity visits the African ever again. I know Archie's legacy will live on and must live on and join Bayo by endorsing his wonderful statement on Archie.

Mammo Muchie, Ethiopian-African, Professor

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**De :** James Onyango [mailto:a9904279@yahoo.com]

**Envoyé :** dimanche 1 avril 2007 15:01

**Objet :** AN ACADEMIC LEGEND

Dear Sir,

I am shocked to hear that Prof. Mafeje is no longer with us. But he did enough for the African social science community. I remember his outstanding debates in CODESRIA BULLETIN. When I finally had the privilege of seeing him physically in 2005 in Dakar, a long dream was fulfilled. His family should be fully consoled. He has inspired many of us who are young to pursue academic work with unfailing prudence and to steer clear of fallacies. Mungu Ailaze roho yake pema peponi. (God rest his soul in peace).

Dr. James Ogola Onyango,  
Egerton University, Kenya.

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**De :** Ramola Ramtohul [mailto:rr9591@yahoo.com]

**Envoyé :** dimanche 1 avril 2007 15:35

**Objet :** Sincere condolences

It is with great sadness that I read about Prof Archie Mafeje. Although I have not had the chance to meet him personally, I got acquainted with his wife, Shahida El-Baz in Nov last year at the Codesria conference on Engendering the Democratic Developmental State in Africa, in Cairo. Africa has indeed lost a great scholar. I would like to extend my sincere condolences to Shahida and to her daughter, Danna.

Ramola

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## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

**De :** adebowale ayobade [mailto:ayobade2000@yahoo.com]

**Envoyé :** dimanche 1 avril 2007 20:49

**À :** [executive.secretary@codesria.sn](mailto:executive.secretary@codesria.sn)

**Objet :** condolence message

Dear researchers,

It is sad to hear that our academic hero has passed to the great beyond. But a good thing that he had role modelled many scholars in Africa. May the good Lord grant us the fortitude to bear the great loss and comfort members of his immediate family. Amen

Ayobade Adebawale  
Department of Sociology  
University of Lagos  
Lagos

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**De :** Jomo K. S. [mailto:jomoks@yahoo.com]

**Envoyé :** dimanche 1 avril 2007 21:34

**Objet :** Fwd: CODESRIA: A Giant Has Moved On.: Tribute to Archie Mafeje

My dear Shahida

I have just returned from being away for a few days to read this sad news of Archie's untimely passing. May I express condolences on behalf of my family as well as many other progressive Asian intellectuals who knew of Archie's very significant contributions on a range of issues.

I first learnt of Archie's work while an undergraduate in the early 1970s and came back time and again over the decades. I also vividly remember the awe with which he is regarded during my visits to Cairo and when participating in Codesria conferences.

It is an honour to join the ranks of those who mourn his passing and pay tribute to him as we express our condolences to you.

Jomo

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**De :** Clapperton Mavhunga [mailto:mavhungc@umich.edu]

**Envoyé :** lundi 2 avril 2007 00:46

**Objet :** Archie Mafeje, An Inspiration to the Next Generation of African Thinkers

Dear Executive Secretary,

For those of us who are on the road to our doctorates and who have looked up to Archie's work for direction, there is a sense of heavy loss that can only be atoned for by rising up to the gauntlet his death has thrown upon us. Namely, that 'hear now, young scholars of Africa, I have carried the load and this is my terminal point, yours is the long road ahead'. The long distance that lies ahead would have been easier if Archie was still a phone call away. But now that he has gone, he has left us a double imperative, as if his spirit and personable rigor hovers in the air, watching our next step. May his soul, and his life's work, not be let down by the next torchbearers. On the passing of such a great man of letters, a griot indeed, Mahmood's idea is seconded; in addition, since when artists die it is not an occasion to mourn but celebrate, it would be a good idea if we sent his spirit away to the next world with a conference or two, and a publication.

Thank you,

Clapperton Mavhunga  
PhD Candidate  
Department of History  
University of Michigan

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**De :** femi aborisade [mailto:aborisadefemi@yahoo.com]

**Envoyé :** lundi 2 avril 2007 01:59

**Objet :** Condolence Message: Archie Mafeje

I did not have the opportunity to meet Archie when he was alive. But the little I have read about him from comments made by those who interacted with him since he passed on **inspires me**. His family should take solace in the fact that they had a man who could still touch lives, even in death. This simply means Archie lives on!

Femi Aborisade

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## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

**De :** Raymond Apthorpe [mailto:raymond.apthorpe@gmail.com]

**Envoyé :** lundi 2 avril 2007 05:10

**Objet :** archie mafeje

I was completely shocked this morning to hear the very sad news, archie and i had been close friends and allies since our early civil rights' campaigning days in the late 1950's in what was then Northern Rhodesia. We last met in Cairo five (or was it four?) years ago to find out what was happening to ourselves and other friends in the wandering courses of our lives. Only the other month I was thinking that it was time that I went to Pretoria to see what he was up to these days, from here, the Australian National University where I still teach through the first semester of each academic year, but having no idea whatsoever that that shouldn't be put off any longer. I have no doubt whatsoever that he retained all his courageous and adventurous intellectual and political excitements until the very end. I'd like to endorse Professor Mandani's excellent proposal absolutely fully, and to offer whatever help if it were needed to that project that i could. My deepest condolences go to his family and relatives,

Raymond Apthorpe.

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**De :** marjorie mbilinyi [mailto:marjorie.mbilinyi@tgnp.org]

**Envoyé :** lundi 2 avril 2007 07:52

**Objet :** : A Giant Has Moved On.: Tribute to Archie Mafeje

I am extremely sorry to hear the news that Archie Mafeje has passed away. His was a refreshing critical voice at the University of Dar es Salaam in the late 60s and early 70s, challenging the eurocentric nature of anthropology as practiced in Africa, on the one hand, and the real politics of 'tribe' on the other. He provided young scholar activists like myself with a model and expectation for stringent standards of academic excellence which were never to be compromised, along with fierce commitment to the decolonisation of Africa. The struggle for emancipation of the continent continues; we will do well to revisit the arguments of Archie Mafeje about how to liberate ourselves.

My sincere condolences to family and friends.

Marjorie Mbilinyi

**De :** NDiop@uneca.org [mailto:NDiop@uneca.org]

**Envoyé :** lundi 2 avril 2007 05:24

**Objet :** Re: CODESRIA: A Giant Has Moved On.: Tribute to Archie Mafeje

Dear Jean Pierre,

This is such bad news. Kindly send me his wife's e-mail. Thanks

Ngoné

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**De :** Ulbe Bosma [mailto:ubo@iisg.nl]

**Envoyé :** lundi 2 avril 2007 08:55

**Objet :** RE: CODESRIA: A Giant Has Moved On.: Tribute to Archie Mafeje

Dear Jean-Pierre,

It is with regret that I learn about Archie Mafeje's passing away. We at Sephis are also grateful for Archie's many contributions to the field of African studies and to the decolonization of social sciences.

With warm regards,

Ulbe

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**De :** Tukumbi Lumumba-Kasongo [mailto:tl25@cornell.edu]

**Envoyé :** lundi 2 avril 2007 05:03

**Objet :** Re: CODESRIA: A Giant Has Moved On.: Tribute to Archie Mafeje

Tribute to Professor Archie Mafeje

When I received the very sad news on March 28, 2007 of the passing of Professor Archie Mafeje, I was in a state of shock and disbelief. We have lost a great mind with intellectually uncompromising political positions, and a cultured and fabulous comrade. I saw him last in December 2005 in Pretoria. I asked him if he was working on the needed agrarian reforms in South Africa. He replied: "agrarian reforms for what?" He added,

## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

"The African National Congress does not probably need my perspectives."

He left a legacy of being a very critical pan-African scholar versed in historical, scientific, and multidisciplinary approaches to knowledge. I appreciated even more the sharpness of his analytical and sociological perspectives when we worked closely to produce a final workshop report on "a Rural Development project" in which he was the chair and I served as rapporteur. We were both invited by Jeggan Senghor, then Director of IPED in Dakar. He had clear, consistent, and predictable positions on where he stood on national and international issues. He did not care much for accolades.

He is immortalized by his many contributions in creating knowledge and challenging Apartheid and other oppressive social forces in Africa. I will remember him for who he was: a giant scientist yet a simple and approachable individual. Furthermore, he was intellectually very provocative and at the same time, he had a sense of humor. He inspired me.

May his soul be in peace forever.

Tukumbi Lumumba-Kasongo

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**De :** lai erinosho [mailto:laierinosho@yahoo.com]

**Envoyé :** dimanche 1 avril 2007 08:22

**Objet :** Re: CODESRIA: A Giant Has Moved On.: Tribute to Archie Mafeje

Dear Jean-Pierre,

Greetings and many thanks for the sad news on Prof. Mafeje. I met him quite a number of times and I cannot but agree with the sentiments expressed by Professor Bayo Olukoshi on the erudition and incalculable contribution our beloved Professor Mafeje to sociology of Africa in particular and the social sciences in general. It is undeniable that the African social science community will greatly miss the spirited intervention of Professor Mafeje in our discourse, his amiable and engaging mien as well as his endearing personality. My condolences to his wife, daughter and to the social science community in Africa and diaspora.

May his soul rest in peace.

Layi Erinosho

**De :** Simon Mapadimeng [mailto:Mapadime@ukzn.ac.za]

**Envoyé :** lundi 2 avril 2007 09:55

**Objet :** Re: Passing on of Prof. Archie Mefeje

The news about the departure of our dearest Professor Archie Mafeje is indeed heartbreaking and sad. Africa, and the post-apartheid South Africa's sociological fraternity and indeed the entire South African society in particular, has lost a great son of the soil. Professor Mafeje was no doubt an eminent and legendary African scholar and sociologist. His return to South Africa, together with other great scholars like Professor Bernard Magubane, his contemporary and colleague and fellow anti-apartheid struggle icon, following decades of being in exile, generated great enthusiasm and excitement amongst South African sociologists, and in especially amongst the younger black African scholars including myself. At last, one felt a great deal of relief and joy that in the country such as ours with severe shortage of top black African sociologists, some of our icons whom we were never taught&nb! sp;of, are now back in the country to inspire us. In this regard, I wish to thank the South African Sociological Association (SASA) for taking a bold initiative to invite these giants to its annual congresses not only to give keynote addresses but also to just have them around so as to provide the younger/junior sociologists, and especially junior black African sociologists, an opportunity to meet them and have informal conversations with them. I must say Professor Jimi Adesina was particularly instrumental in this. I must say this idea and initiative by SASA, and I am sure many other young sociologists would agree with me, worked wonders. I personally, although I did not have a privilege to know Professor Mafeje on an extended period of time, was excited by this opportunity and I feel really, really privileged to have been one of the few young African sociologists to have had opportunity! to meet with Professor Mafeje. A humble, humourous, intellectually sophisticated and exciting person he was and still is. I really enjoyed it when I met him again last year in September at the South African Social Sciences Network conference in Johannesburg. Sitting around the table with amongst others Professors Magubane and Adesina, from time to time sipping some wine and some soft drinks, it became really fascinating to listen to how they engaged in a debate around epistemology and ontology in a context of the challenges facing social sciences in post-apartheid South Africa. I found myself, as the language became much more sophisticated, noting down some key points as the debate continued to rage amongst these great African Professors. I still remember, Prof. Mafeje contesting with great vigor and enthusiasm the views and points made by both Profs Adesina and Magubane, and doing so in his stylish way best described by Jimi in his earlier tribute to Mafeje i.e. with guttural chuckle com! ing from the deep part of his throat and with arms flapping with a finger extended as he sought to emphasize his points. This experience will stay with me for the rest of my life and I only wish I had more other opportunities to interact with him.

## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

I was touched at the same conference when Professor Mafeje, in an informal setting, generously offered himself to travel to all South African sociology departments to just spend time and contribute to the nurturing of the younger generation of sociologists. All that was needed was to have sponsorship to make this possible. Unfortunately, he left us before this could be realized. An opportunity definitely lost. But I agree with the proposition by Professor Mamdani for all his works to be collected and packaged so that they become greatly accessible to all.

Professor Mafeje shall be sorely missed by all those who came to know him but his spirit will for sure continue to touch us and inspire us and the next coming generations for very long time. We share in the grief with his wife and daughter. The legend and the Giant has indeed gone to join the other heroes and heroines and the Mafeje ancestors. May your Soul Rest in Peace! We shall always remember you!

Mokong Simon Mapadimeng  
SASA vice-president and Lecturer in the  
Industrial, Organizational and Labour Studies Programme  
University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa.

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**De :** Daouda THIAM  
**Envoyé :** lundi 2 avril 2007 11:17  
**Objet :** Codoléance

Monsieur le Secrétaire Exécutif

Nous avons appris avec consternation et tristesse la mauvaise nouvelle.

C'est une grosse perte pour le CODESRIA avec qui il a travaillé des années durant. Nous l'avons connu pour son calme sa sérénité et son esprit d'ouverture mais aussi par sa rigueur, son efficacité dans le travail. Je vous présente mes condoléances, ainsi qu'à sa famille et à toute la communauté des chercheurs africains.

Salutations

Daouda Thiam  
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**De :** Faoziah Gamu [mailto:faoziah2001@yahoo.co.uk]

**Envoyé :** lundi 2 avril 2007 12:19

**Objet :** Archie Mafeje

Though a very young scholar I am, who does not know much of you before now, after reading your profile I pray I am blessed to do a lot for Africa as well in my own field, A Ph.d holder at 27years of age!, that is impressive, Good Bye You are an inspiration.

Faoziah 'Shade Gamu, ,  
University of Lagos, Nigeria

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**From:** Abdul Bangura [mailto:bangura@american.edu]

**Sent:** 31 March 2007 19:56

**Subject:** Re: A Giant Has Moved On.: Tribute to Archie Mafeje

Oh...No....say it ain't so!!! I just saw and spent time with him during my talk in South Africa a couple of months ago. It was a wonderful thing being with the sage, and he was still as radical with his thoughts as ever. Hope CODESRIA will organize a conference on his work and publish its proceedings.

Karim

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**De :** Henry Mapolu [mailto:mapolu@redma.co.tz]

**Envoyé :** lundi 2 avril 2007 13:25

**Objet :** Archie Mafeje

Of all the many qualities that Archie had, I shall never forget how in interacting with others he was always able to combine ruthless intellectual rigour with warm camaraderie! As a former student of his, I benefited tremendously from his immense intellectual insights as well as his friendship. We have lost not just a distinguished scholar but also a remarkable comrade.

Henry Mapolu  
Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

**De :** JWitten@HSRC.ac.za [mailto:JWitten@HSRC.ac.za]

**Envoyé :** lundi 2 avril 2007 14:20

**Objet :** Message of Condolence

Attached please a letter of condolence from the Democracy and Governance Research Programme of the Human Sciences Research Council.

Jean Witten  
NPA Administrator  
Democracy and Governance Research Programme  
Human Sciences Research Council  
Ph No: (021)466-8070  
Fax No: (021) 466-7855  
email: jwitten@hsrc.ac.za

### **Message of Condolence**

All of us at the Human Sciences Research Council's Democracy and Governance research programme were shocked at the recent news of Archie Mafeje's passing. For many, many years, even from exile, Archie was a trailblazer in the South African academy. He epitomised the highest quality of scholarly work and practice. He was one of the great scholars who built the path on which many of us tread today.

Archie was born and studied in South Africa, went into exile, studied in and worked in Europe, and served as a professor in universities in almost every region of the continent. He was truly South African, African, and human, as we all in this country should aspire to be. All who knew of him and his work are aware that he has not been sufficiently honoured for his contribution to the intellectual life of our nation. Too often, we take the human assets we have for granted until it is too late, and forget to honour the great ones who have gone before us.

To make some recompense for our national inattention we hope soon to bring together scholars from across Africa and the world to honour the life of Archie Mafeje. We regret we did not do enough to acknowledge Archie when he lived in our midst. We intend to give him a send off befitting a great scholar of our continent.

We extend our heartfelt condolences to Archie's family and loved ones at this time of sadness and loss.

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**From:** Jimi O. Adesina [mailto:[J.Adesina@ru.ac.za](mailto:J.Adesina@ru.ac.za)]  
**Sent:** 02 April 2007 13:14  
**Subject:** Archibald BM Mafeje-An Appreciation

Dear All:

When the tears cease and the heart-ache pauses for a brief moment, this is a two-part write-up I could put together. One a general obituary, the other a personal reflection of a man shaped the lives and scholarship of three generations of African social scientists; of whom I am proud to proclaim myself one of his apprentices--and the training had not ended when he left us. Beyond sorrow and anger however must come something productive. The challenge is how we secure our intangible intellectual heritage so that a new generation of students can know they are not bereft of progenitors and that world class scholarship and grounded relevance to addressing the challenges of our time are within their reach--when they can touch the moon with feet firmly planted on the ground of our lived realities. I have suggested some ways to do this in a separate e-mail.

Regards,

JJimi O. Adesina, PhD  
Professor of Sociology,  
Department of Sociology,  
Rhodes University, Grahamstown 6140, South Africa.  
Tel: +27 (0) 46 603 8172 (W)  
Fax: +27 (0) 46 622 5570 (W)  
Fax: +27 (0)86 517 0557 (Personal)  
Mobile: +27 (0) 82 353 1041  
E-mail: [J.Adesina@ru.ac.za](mailto:J.Adesina@ru.ac.za)

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## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

**De :** carrie marias [mailto:c.marias@unesco.org]

**Envoyé :** lundi 2 avril 2007 13:47

**Objet :** RE: CODESRIA: A Giant Has Moved On.: Tribute to Archie Mafeje

Dear colleagues, I am so sorry to hear this, such a great scholar and individual,

Carrie

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**De :** Abdalla Bujra [mailto:abdallab@gmail.com]

**Envoyé :** lundi 2 avril 2007 12:49

Adebayo - thank you for your brief but excellent and befitting Tribute to Archie. I was shocked and devastated when I was told on Friday 30th that Archie had passed away. Africa has lost a most brilliant mind and a man of the highest principles. It is our duty to make him a role model for the younger generation. Mahmoud Mamdani's suggestion should be a first step

In 1970 Archie persuaded me to leave the Sociology Dpt. of the University of Nairobi and join him in Dar es Salaam which I did in 1971. Archie left Dar after his accident but we became life long close friends. In Dar we tried to continue what he had started at the Sociology Dpt.

His contribution during the difficult early days of CODESRIA was considerable - because he strongly believed in its mission. He never stopped contributing and associating himself with CODESRIA.

Whether Archie was in Europe, Egypt or South Africa, he remained a symbol of a brilliant mind, rigorous and critical intellectual and a principled and generous person. Archie was rarely angry at individuals or people but was most of the time angry at ideas lacking in substance and at oppressive systems which he deeply opposed.

I am devastated with grief. Africa and African Social Science have both lost a giant.

I send my condolences to his families - in South Africa and Egypt - to Shahida and his daughter Danna.

I am in South Africa and plan to attend tomorrow's Memorial Service at UNISA.

Abdalla Bujra

**De :** Aretha Alex [mailto:alexaretha@yahoo.com]

**Envoyé :** lundi 2 avril 2007 16:57

**Objet :** Archie Mafeje: condolence

I want to join millions of scholars, friends and colleagues to express my heartfelt sympathy to the Mafeje family especially the wife and daughter about the passing on of a hero. The write up of the daughter brought to reality that the man that is being celebrated today was not just a scholar but a human being - indeed a fine and adorable father. I dare say that he is celebrated because of the life he lived and the impact he made in his chosen career. It is for this reason that the family is encouraged to take heart and thank God for the life of their father and husband.

As a junior colleague, I never saw Prof. Mafeje nor communicated with him, but I have read a few of his write ups, which confirmed for me, just today after reading a short biography of his, a truly outstanding scholar and a pride to Africa and the world at large. For this reason and much more, I do agree with the suggestions of Mamdani concerning a memorialization, which I hope CODESRIA will take seriously and just to add that a compilation of his works may be displayed on the web for a wider publicity and how these can be obtained especially for those of us who may not be acquainted with most of his works.

May the gentle soul of Prof. Mafeje rest in perfect peace, Amen.

Dr. Alex Asakitikpi

Sociology Department, Covenant University, Ota, Nigeria.

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**De :** Rose Phahle [mailto:rphahle@lantic.net]

**Envoyé :** mardi 3 avril 2007 11:21

**Objet :** [Fwd: book]

Please see below - a very immediate and positive response to the obituary I circulated. I hope you will communicate with Mothobi and keep me posted. His trust works very closely with the Department of Arts & Culture in South Africa.

Roseinnes Phahle

## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

Hi Rose.

After reading Prof Mafeje's obituary again, i am most convinced that the Mutloatse Arts Heritage Trust readily commits itself to being a part of efforts to memorialize his legacy, most notably through an anthology of his papers. Here am I, Ma-Afrika. Let the publishing begin!

It is a pity I cannot attend the funeral on Saturday, having just returned from `Dar where we launched SA Ambassador to Mozambique Mum Thandi Lujabe-Rankoe's autobiography A Dream Fulfilled.

Mothobi.  
0846691333.

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**De :** Rose Phahle [mailto:rphahle@lantic.net]

**Envoyé :** mardi 3 avril 2007 07:34

**Objet :** Obituary: Archie Mafeje

Afraid that Archie's death may go unnoticed in the South African press, I made a verbatim compilation of the tributes that you paid to him and sent this as an obituary to the Mail & Guardian. I have attached what I have done. You will notice that I have made an acknowledgement to all of you whose tributes I have used. I do not know Archie from an academic point of view and for that reason I used what you have said. I hope that you do not mind. And I hope the M&G will publish the obituary.

Roseinnes Phahle

### **OBITUARY**

#### **Archie Mafeje: a giant has moved on**

Wednesday, 28 March, 2007 will go down as a sad day among social researchers all over Africa and beyond: It was the day Professor Archie Mafeje passed away in Pretoria in what was a most quiet exit that has left the very many among us whom he touched directly or indirectly in a state sadness and anger. He died a day before he would have turned 71 years old.

Professor Archie Mafeje was South African by birth. He completed his undergraduate studies and began his career as a scholar at the University of Cape Town, in his home country but, like many other South Africans, he was soon forced by the Apartheid regime to go into exile where he spent the better part of his life. And like AC Jordan, Sam Nolutshungu, Vernon February and Dan Kunene, among the other black South African academic luminaries who were forced into exile, he is better known outside his homeland. Together with AC Jordan, they were active members of the Unity Movement of South Africa which in its day made a considerable contribution to an ideological understanding of oppression in South Africa.

His death has met with an inconsolable sense of grief and outrage within an international community of scholars. Inconsolable sense of grief because of the loss of a man of an incredible presence of mind, intellect, and generosity of spirit. Outrage because after decades in exile, Archie returned home to exile in South Africa. In conversations with friends he spoke of his isolation and loneliness in the land of his birth, a land that gave us in him one of the finest minds in the global community of the social sciences. Only among the “ordinary” people in his home region of the Eastern Cape where he holidayed in December and January did he experience the sense of community that was so crucial to him.

He obtained a PhD in Anthropology and Rural Sociology from Cambridge University in 1966. In 1973, at the age of 34, he was appointed Professor of Anthropology and Sociology of Development at the Institute of Social Studies in The Hague by an Act of Parliament and with the approval of all the Dutch universities, becoming the first African scholar to be so distinguished in The Netherlands. That appointment bestowed on him the honour of being a Queen Juliana Professor and one of her Lords. His name appears in the prestigious blue pages of the Dutch National Directorate.

Archie Mafeje's professional career spanned four decades and three continents. From 1969 to 1971 he was Head of the Sociology Department at the University of Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania before moving to the Hague as a visiting Professor of Social Anthropology of Development and Chairman of the Rural Development, Urban Development and Labour Studies Programme at the Institute of Social Studies from 1972 to 1975.

It was here that he met his wife and life-long companion, the Egyptian

## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

scholar and activist, Dr. Shahida El Baz.

In 1979, he joined the American University, in Cairo as Professor of Sociology. Thereafter, he took up the post of Professor of Sociology and Anthropology and Director of the Multidisciplinary Research Centre at the University of Namibia from 1992 to 1994.

Mafeje was also a senior fellow and visiting or guest professor at several other universities and research institutions in Africa, Europe and North America. He is the author of many books, monographs and journal articles. His critique of the concept of tribalism and his works on anthropology are widely cited as key reference materials. He also did pathbreaking work on the land and agrarian question in Africa.

Mafeje returned to South Africa several years after the end of apartheid where he was appointed a Research Fellow by the National Research Foundation (NRF) working at the African Renaissance Centre at the University of South Africa (UNISA).

In 2001 Archie Mafeje became a member of the Scientific Committee of the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) and in 2003 was awarded Honorary Life Membership of this Council. In 2005, Professor Mafeje was appointed a CODESRIA Distinguished Fellow in conjunction with the Africa Institute of South Africa, in Pretoria.

Archie Mafeje, the quintessential person of science and one of the most versatile, extraordinary minds to emerge from Africa was, in his days, a living legend in every sense: His knowledge of almost all issues was vast and breathtaking. His discourses transcended disciplinary boundaries and were characterised by a spirit of combative engagement underpinned by a commitment to social transformation.

As an academic sojourner conscious of the history of Africa over the last six centuries, he rallied his colleagues to resist the intellectual servitude on which all forms of foreign domination thrive. He was intransigent in his call for the liberation of our collective imaginations as the foundational stone for continental liberation.

In all of this, he also distinguished himself by his insistence on scientific rigour and originality: It was his trade mark to be uncompromisingly severe with fellow scientists who were mediocre in their analyses. The power of his pen and the passion of his interventions always went hand-in-hand with a uniquely polemical style that was hardly meant for those who were not sure-footed in their scholarship.

“As we mourn”, says Mahmood Mamdani, “the loss of our dear colleague and comrade, Archie, the important point is to memorialize the meaning of his life and work in a way that makes it accessible to the younger generation, those who did not have the opportunity to know him personally as we did.

“I have a suggestion for a start. Given the artisanal way in which Archie operated and given the isolation of his circumstances, I think it important that CODESRIA take a formal decision to commit resources to gather his papers with a view to deciding whether they should be archived at CODESRIA or are substantial enough to be archived in a library, most likely in South Africa, with the understanding that these would be available to all scholars. After this, we should consider forms of memorialization that underline his substantial contribution to the development of knowledge on the African continent.”

This then was the Mafeje who left us on 28 March, 2007 to join the other departed heroes and heroines of the African social research community: A great pan-African, an outstanding scientist, a first rate debater, a frontline partisan in the struggle for social justice, and a gentleman of great humanitarian principles.

We will surely miss his thoughtful insights, his strident rebukes, his loyal friendship, his companionship, and -- yes, his wit, humour and expert culinary skills that included an incomparable knowledge of foods and wines from all corners of the world.

Archie Mafeje has fought the battle and run the race successfully; for those of us he has left behind, especially those of us whom he inspired, the challenge before us is clear: Keep the Mafeje spirit alive by investing ourselves with dedication to the quest for the knowledge we need in order to transform our societies -- and the human condition for the better.

## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

In the meantime, our thoughts and solidarity go to the members of his family, including his wife Shahida El-Baz and their daughter, Danna, by both of whom he is survived.

The late Archie Mafeje will be laid to rest on Saturday, 07 April, 2007, in Umtata. The CODESRIA delegation to his funeral will be led by the Council's President, Professor Teresa Cruz e Silva.

*(Compiled verbatim by Roseinnes Phahle from tributes paid to Archie Mafeje by Executive Secretary of CODESRIA Adebayo Olukoshi, Jean-Pierre Diouf, Jimi Adesina, Mahmood Mamdani, Sean Jacobs, and Issa Shivji)*

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**De :** O SELOLWANE [mailto:SELOLWAN@mopipi.ub.bw]

**Envoyé :** mardi 3 avril 2007 06:28

**Objet :** RE: News of the Death of a member of the Scientific Committee

Dear Godwin,

Thank you very much for your note on Archie which captured my own thoughts so eloquently. How could he die in deed? One almost expected Archie would be able to engage philosophically with death and come out on top! But then I remember Jimi Adesina saying that Archie respected those who could stand and defend their point of view to the finish and not be cowed by his erudite mind. So we can only guess the arguments that must have convinced Archie it was time to concede! I remember one time when my son was just eight or nine and we went to pick up Archie from the airport when he was coordinating the CODESRIA research project on African agricultural recovery. Archie got locked up in an argument with the nine year old and when the going got tough and son pleaded he was only a child, Archie shot back with a "so what?": reminding the boy that he should know better than to enter into an argument he cannot defend!

My sincere condolences to Shaheeda and the family, and to the African intellectual community for the loss of one of the most remarkable of the species.

Onalenna Selolwane  
University of Botswana

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**De :** Noel OBOTELA [mailto:nobotela2005@yahoo.fr]

**Envoyé :** mardi 3 avril 2007 10:01

**Objet :** condoléances

Cher Adebayo Olukoshi,

Je viens de lire avec consternation votre message annonçant le décès d'Archie Mafeje. J'ai été encore édifié par le témoignage de Godwin R. Murunga sur la dimension humaine et scientifique de l'illustre disparu.

La première réunion du Comité Exécutif à Dakar en mai 2006 a été pour moi l'occasion de découvrir des personnalités comme Archie Mafeje. Il m'avait beaucoup épaté lors de la présidence du Comité Scientifique et durant les échanges extra-protocolaires. Voilà qu'un baobab vient de tomber laissant les herbes qui jouissait de son ombre sous le soleil!

Les collègues chercheurs du Centre d'Etudes Politiques s'associent à moi pour transmettre nos vives condoléances à sa famille.

Que son âme repose en paix!

Noël Obotela Rashidi, Kinshasa, RDC

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**De :** Dr. Omoweh [mailto:d\_omoweh@yahoo.com]

**Envoyé :** mardi 3 avril 2007 10:24

**Objet :** Tribute to Archie Majefe

Dear Danna,

There is season for everything... a time to born, to live and to die or go back to the Maker - God, Almighty, the Creator of heaven and earth.

In none of these seasons do we have control over, nor can we quicken/delay the time set by the Supreme Being. Take the exit of your lovely father and one of the greatest contributors to the growth and development of social sciences in Africa as approved by the One who made him in the first place, and has decided to call him back.

## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

Take the vacuum created by your father's exit as a stepping stone to greatness. The one who is the Father of the fatherless will be your Dad in Jesus' name, amen.

Professor Daniel Omoweh  
Nigerian Institute of International Affairs  
13-15, Kofo Abayomi Road  
Victoria Island, Lagos  
NIGERIA

=====  
**De :** Fred Hendricks [mailto:f.hendricks@ru.ac.za]  
**Envoyé :** mardi 3 avril 2007 13:31  
**Objet :** Mafeje

Dear Bayo

Here are two pieces on Archie.

See you this w/e.

Kind regards,

Fred

### **A Short Biographical Sketch of Archie Mafeje**

Archie Mafeje was born in South Africa in 1937. His distinguished educational pursuits started at a primary school in Peelton, near King Williamstown in the Eastern Cape, where he shared a class with the late former Minister Steve Tshwete's sister. He went on to matriculate at the well-known missionary school, which also happens to be Nelson Mandela's alma mater, the Healdtown Methodist Boarding School. After a short stay at Fort Hare, he was expelled (for political activities, like many other students at the time) he eventually started a BSc degree in biological sciences at the University of Cape Town in 1957, graduating in 1959. He immediately proceeded to do a BA with anthropology as his major. His BA Honours degree was in Urban Sociology and his MA, which he achieved cum laude, was in Political Anthropology. Mafeje's academic accomplishments at UCT

were rewarded when he was granted a fellowship to study towards his PhD at Cambridge University. At the young age of 26, Mafeje, together with his professor, Monica Wilson, published a seminal book on Urban Anthropology in South Africa in 1963. Entitled, *Langa , a study of social groups in an African Township* the book was the result of a fruitful collaboration between Wilson, an experienced anthropology professor, and Mafeje as her interpreter and interlocutor of events and experiences in the townships. He dedicated the remaining part of the 1960s to a detailed anthropological study of the concepts of leadership, social change and economic development in Eastern and Southern Africa.

Mafeje's illustrious career took him all over Africa. He held the Chair of Sociology at the University of Dar es Salaam and the American University in Cairo, he was a visiting lecturer at Makerere College, consultant to SAPES in Harare, and visiting Professor of Sociology and Anthropology as well as Director of the Multidisciplinary Research Centre at the University of Namibia. He became intimately involved in the intellectual work of CODESRIA, based in Dakar, Senegal, charting an Afrocentric approach to the study of African social, economic, cultural and political problems. Outside Africa, he also has prodigious experience as research fellow of the African Studies Centre at Cambridge University, as Visiting Senior Lecturer, Reader and professor at the Institute of Social Studies at the Hague, as visiting research professor at the Institute for Development Research at the University of Copenhagen, Denmark, as guest professor to Scandinavian universities, sponsored by the Nordic Africa Institute in Uppsala, as consultant to the FAO in Rome and as visiting fellow of the African Studies Program, Northwestern University, Evanston, USA. He was undoubtedly the doyen of the emerging community of African social science scholars.

His work during the 1970s spanned epistemological, theoretical and empirical concerns. He grappled with issues of historical explanation, of how to relate science and ideology to development, how to understand the constraints confronting the neo-colonial state in Africa, how to combine social history with ethnographic experience, and generally how to marry scholarly pursuits with political commitment.

During this time, he wrote a path-finding article on '*The Ideology of Tribalism*', and entered numerous debates challenging the concept of a dual

economy, on the nature of the agrarian and land questions in Africa, and on the significance of the Soweto uprising in South Africa

Starting from this solid conceptual and political foundation, Mafeje's most productive years were during the 1980s and 1990s. He published very widely on topics as diverse as the articulation of modes of production, the nature of the South African transitional process, food security and agrarian systems, the household economy, African peasants, imperialism, nation-building, structural adjustment, the indigenisation of the social sciences, African intellectuals, the ethnography of the great lakes region in East Africa, rural development, on culture, the discipline of anthropology, the national question, and democracy and development.

Mafeje has a very impressive record of experience with international organisations. He was a member of the executive committee of the Third World Forum, consultant to the United Nations University, the ILO, UNESCO, the Islamic Development Bank, the UNDP, IFAD and the IDRC. His most consistent consultancy was with the FAO where he was involved in many research-based projects. For them he produced comprehensive reports on land tenure conditions in South Africa, the liberation movements in Southern Africa, the role of women in agricultural production, settlement schemes in Zimbabwe, the land question in Namibia, common property in African economic empowerment, and the role of rural institutions.

Mafeje was a principled scholar who has made an enormous contribution to the development of the social sciences in Africa. He was persecuted for his political ideas by the apartheid regime in South Africa, being arrested while doing political work among rural dwellers in Pondoland. In 1968, he was appointed to the position of senior lecturer in social anthropology at UCT. A combination of the apartheid government's intransigence on the appointment of black staff members to white universities and deceit and complicity on the part of the University of Cape Town prevented him from taking up his post. There can be little doubt that this racist decision profoundly shaped Mafeje's intellectual trajectory. He became fully immersed in the anti-colonial nationalist movements across sub-Saharan Africa. Together with his unique attention to the details of the social and economic challenges facing the newly independent countries, Mafeje developed an encyclopaedic knowledge of Africa. We must remember him as an intellectual so that

younger generations can appreciate the depth and breadth of his scholarship.

Prof. Archie Mafeje described himself as being South African by birth, Dutch by citizenship, and Egyptian by domicile. His homecoming was intended to unite these spaces and places. Alas, it was not to be.

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**Archie Mafeje: Drawing Swords in Social Arguments**

Archie Mafeje, as we all know, did not suffer fools. He was an enormously complex and multi-faceted character. In this piece I refer to only two of the very many sides of the man. Firstly, I use his style of debate to symbolize how, in his many years of experience, he has tried to enjoin epistemological, theoretical and empirical issues in the process of generating knowledge about, on and of Africa. In his later years Mafeje started to violate some of the basic principles of epistemology. He did this consciously, realising the importance of the subject of inquiry as a research problem rather than as a predetermined area of specialisation. We all realise of course, that his interests do not end with being a mere maker of knowledge. His other side radiates a deep political commitment to the pan Africanist ideal of proper political, economic and cultural emancipation for Africans. It is precisely this mixture of a normative concern for what is good for Africa with his sharp analytical mind that makes Archie Mafeje such a powerful intellect on the continent.

Mafeje's discourse fits the metaphorical concept of argument as war perfectly. His polemics are suffused with metaphors of battle. Allow me to provide just one choice example "For an Anthropologist" says Mafeje, "it is well to remember that one thing 'primitives' do not know is how to fight in the dark".

I use this example to show the linkages between the combative style in Mafeje's writing, the various representations of actual ethnographic experiences and his struggle to understand how he understands his own encounters with history.

Mafeje committed himself to combating the distorted images produced and

reproduced about Africa from the outside, by reference to the notion of authenticity in his ethnographic practices. His polemic is thus not only metaphorically warlike, it is an extension of a battle over how Africa may be conceived and how African claims over those conceptions may be framed.

Mafeje was a warrior in a double battle. He was totally immersed in the struggle for ideas about Africa to be produced by Africans for themselves and he connects this endeavour to a profound commitment to the political and economic liberation of African countries. His armour as well as his arguments have to be scrutinised very closely for an assessment of their strengths and weaknesses so that we can collectively engage with ways in which this double struggle can be advanced. Mafeje's clearest asset is his incisive mind and his ability to translate the complexity of his thought into compelling and convincing prose. He is almost intrinsically combative. And it is through these intellectual debates that he has revealed his political commitment.

The major chink in his armour is the fact that he fights alone. He has never co-authored any significant work. His collaborations have been in rather esoteric areas where the outcome did not really matter.

As a warrior of the social sciences in Africa, Mafeje chose his battleground very carefully. One of the major gaps in his considerable repertoire of writings on Africa is North Africa where he lived for a considerable period. His pan-Africanism required that he paid attention to the cultural and political milieu of, for example Egypt, in order to ensure that we are not responsible for reproducing ideas about a disaggregated and dismembered Africa. Alas this never happened.

As much as we all respect his intellect, admire his brilliant turn of phrase and cherished his company, we must also appreciate that Archie Mafeje was an embittered man. When this bitterness creeps into his analysis it sharpens the terms of the debate and we've all benefited a great deal from the outcome especially when he pushed the arguments to and even beyond their logical conclusions. Balance is clearly a casualty of this form of polemic but it serves the very important purpose of extending the boundaries of our understanding. Mafeje was obviously aware of the consequences of his style of debate. In his polemics, he gave at least as good as and often much

better than he got.

He was prepared to expose himself to personal abuse and attack and he has been bruised in the process, sometimes very severely, but this has not made him waver from his pan Africanist ideals and objectives of building a viable community of social science scholars on the continent. In this piece, I consider two debates in which Mafeje was a protagonist. I've chosen the debate with Mazrui to illustrate Mafeje at his brilliant best as a polemicist and I've selected the Anthropology debate to show him off as an analytical thinker.

Mafeje's voice is unambiguously African. He brings his Western learning to bear on a profound understanding of the limits of decolonisation. In many ways, his work precedes and pre-empts the kind of analyses that have emerged from the subaltern school of history in India on the relation between the struggle for national independence and colonialism. There is simple realisation permeating this school and this concerns the way in which nationalism did not end up being the anti-thesis of colonialism but instead its most grotesque imitation.

Mafeje's contribution in each of these has made us think about Africa in different ways. His incisive, acerbic engagement with these debates stems from a deep commitment to a pan Africanist ideal as the negation of a Eurocentric discourse. The point of Africanity is a very simple one indeed. Africans should speak for themselves, they should nurture ideas about themselves, they should understand themselves through their own intellectual efforts, they should make their own representations about themselves and they have to ensure that they have a monopoly over the images that are made of and about them. Mafeje has played a central role in the legitimate African claims to write about and understand themselves. Both the Anthropology debate as well as the Mafeje-Mazrui debate can be anchored within this overarching Africanist impulse.

These debates represent a turbulent mixture of Mafeje's passion for and encyclopaedic knowledge of the continent and his grasp of the intricate details of the political passing parade in Africa.

I start with the Anthropology debate. All students of African Anthropology cannot avoid encountering Mafeje's debate with a range of scholars and

anthropologists. The debate was appropriately published in the first issue of the African Sociological Review which in itself represents an effort to establish a community of self-referring African social scientists. Mafeje's wide-ranging review of Sally Falk Moore's book, *Anthropology and Africa* is a frontal attack on the manner in which the discipline is constructed and structured around metropolitan interests. He deconstructs the essential concepts of Anthropology and reveals what lies hidden - its basis in alterity. But he does more than that. Since he is concerned about African claims to study, understand and interpret their own reality, he exposes the manner in which the supposed makers of Anthropological knowledge position themselves vis a vis the assumed objects. Invariably, given its history as well as its political and ideological importance in Africa, especially around the concept of 'tribe' the makers were suffused, according to Mafeje with deep-seated white racism. Mafeje challenged the conventional division of the social sciences and he linked the historiography of Anthropology directly to the colonial experience. He issued an abiding challenge to all African Anthropologists to become makers rather than mere objects of knowledge. He also insisted that they should be centrally involved in a project to produce images, understandings and analyses of and for themselves rather than merely consuming what is produced for them by others outside the continent. For Mafeje Anthropology is necessarily a discipline founded on alterity, on the colonial settlers studying the native other. For this reason it is intrinsically limited and therefore was driven underground by the decolonisation process in Africa. It was really only in Southern Africa that the discipline of Anthropology survived.

Mafeje's often-quoted statement needs to be mentioned in this respect, " "It is interesting to note".writes Mafeje in his very influential article, *The Ideology of Tribalism*, ".that the word for tribe does not exist in indigenous languages of South Africa",. As he became more familiar with anti-colonial struggles across the continent, and more fully conversant with social and political realities in other African countries, he extended this formulation to the rest of the continent, " "How often must it be pointed out that in African languages there is no equivalent for the term 'tribe' and that the concept 'tribe' is a colonial imposition in Africa? What is ethnographically known is that Africans, like everybody else, are conscious of the linguistic and ethnic group to which they belong". About his own ethnic affiliation, Mafeje says the following, " I don't care about being Xhosa, I am a South African black. It does not matter to me if I'm Xhosa or Zulu or Tswana or anything else. I am

just comfortable. If I had a choice, I would probably go along more with the Sothos than with the Xhosas. Just in terms of temperament and the way they do things. I am certainly not committed to something called Xhosa".

Mafeje's views are consistent with his explanation for ethnic politics and conflict.

Two years ago Mafeje presented the third annual ZK Mathews memorial lecture at the University of Fort Hare, in the little village of Alice in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa. It was an auspicious occasion indeed. The first of these lectures was delivered in 2001 by the president of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, and the second lecture last year was given by Kwet Masire, former president of Botswana. Archie Mafeje followed a formidable line-up. He did not disappoint the audience. The warrior took on the role of performance rather than actual battle since the formality of the occasion prevented any retort, debate or even discussion. In his lecture Mafeje single-handedly took on each of the social science disciplines as they are practiced in Africa. He flattened all of History with a single strike to the head. He demolished Anthropology with a vicious body blow. He proceeded to bash Economics, Sociology, Political Science and Philosophy. Even Psychology was not spared his assault. After his performance, Mafeje stood alone amongst the ruins of the disciplines that he had annihilated. I thought that there was a profound contradiction in all of this. While he was singularly scathing about anything that had emerged from Africa in the field of social science, he continued to argue for an Afro-centric approach to our subject of investigation. He was also against anything that smacked of Euro-centrism. It appeared to me that Mafeje the warrior was fighting a very lonely battle indeed, since he was the only one worthy of its lofty heights.

We all realise that developing an African social science discourse through the promotion of an African social science community of scholars is an extremely difficult exercise against the background of the parlous state of African universities. Mafeje reminded us just how structural adjustment and a range of other factors have conspired to wreck these universities. Under these circumstances and within this context it is to be expected that African social scientists would be quite happy to apply metropolitan ideas and concepts without subjecting them to critical scrutiny and certainly not developing concepts appropriate to the study of African societies. Attempts to indigenize social science to Africa have been inchoate,

## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

unsystematic and anecdotal. In this respect, there can be little doubt that The Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) and the Organization for Social Science Research in East and Southern Africa (OSSREA) stand out as a lonely beacons of hope for the future of the Social Sciences in Africa. Yet, their reach cannot stretch far enough to the nooks and crannies of intellectual poverty on the continent.

He has more than most grappled with the issues of historical explanation, of how to relate science and ideology to development, how to understand the constraints that confront the neo-colonial state in Africa, how to combine social history with ethnographic experience and generally how to marry scholarly pursuits with political commitment.

Mafeje represents the collective conscience of African social science and because of his widespread legitimacy and credibility across the continent it is not surprising that he is not liked by those outside who wish to write about Africa in ways that distort and harm the interests of people here. We all would like to be like him – his irreverence, his irrepressible spirit have inspired us and we've all benefited enormously from his fertile mind. We will always have a very deep appreciation for his role in the social sciences in Africa as a whole.

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**De :** Prof. Munishi [mailto:munishi@udsm.ac.tz]

**Envoyé :** lundi 2 avril 2007 05:19

**Objet :** Brother Mafeje

Africa has lost a very dear son, our brother at the University of Dar-es-Salaam when he headed the Department of Sociology, and he remained so and always. He made several visits and we interacted a lot at academic fora He was a role model to some of us who knew him. May the Almighty God rest him in peace for ever.

Gaspar K.Munishi

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**De :** yohanna gandu [mailto:aboliyat@yahoo.co.uk]

**Envoyé :** lundi 2 avril 2007 19:03

**Objet :** A Tribute to Archie Mafeje

**A tribute to Archie Mafeje**

I did not know Archie Mafeje as a person but his personality runs through what I have read in some of his works. My encounter with Archie Mafeje all started when I was allocated a core undergraduate Course: *Social Formations in Africa* to teach at the Sociology Department, Ahmadu Bello University Zaria in Nigeria. The first relevant materials I collected included Archie Mafeje's analysis of the concept 'Tribe.' Ahmadu Bello University is located in Kaduna state in Northern Nigeria. This state has over the years witnessed persistent ethno-religious violence. Archie Mafeje provided a new range of ways to break the paralysis, violence, and pains that a reified concept 'Tribe' has cause colonial and post-colonial Africa. Archie Mafeje's strong, rigorous, scientific, multi-disciplinary and engaging critique of the concept 'tribe,' presents students of African studies with a mirror reflecting the implications of thinking otherwise. A unique, imaginative and remarkable scholar, Archie Mafeje evokes hope in our search for the epistemology of knowledge. I am confident that Archie Mafeje will be the center of debate for some time to come.

By:

Yohanna Kagoro Gandu

Sociology Department

Rhodes University, Grahamstown

South Africa.

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**De :** Felicia Oyekanmi [mailto:profoyekanmi@yahoo.com]

**Envoyé :** lundi 2 avril 2007 19:34

**Objet :** Condolences

Bayo

Please accept my condolence over the death of Prof Archie Mafeje. Death is a certainty although it hurts whenever it comes. May his soul rest in peace.

Felicia

Prof Felicia A. D. Oyekanmi

Department of Sociology / University of Lagos

## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

**De :** Prosper Ngowi [mailto:pngowi2002@yahoo.com]

**Envoyé :** mardi 3 avril 2007 14:22

**Objet :** The Parting of Prof. Achie Mafeje

To the family of the late Professor Achie Mafeje,

It is with great sense of loss that I received the bad news about the death of our beloved Professor Achie Mafeje! I knew him through literature, but in 2005 I was blessed enough to meet him face by face in Dakar Senegal. Naturally, I have always admired his intellectual leadership in a number of issues.

I will always remember him as one of the few intellectual giants of our time.

Rest in eternal peace.

Amen

Dr. Honest Prosper Ngowi

Senior Lecturer in Economics, Mzumbe University Tanzania

Visiting Senior Research Fellow, University of Bergen Norway

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**De :** Godwin Murunga [mailto:gmurunga@gmail.com]

**Envoyé :** mardi 3 avril 2007 05:38

**Objet :** Re: News of the Death of a member of the Scientific Committee

Attached, please find my note on Archie.

Godwin

### **How can Archie Mafeje die?**

Archie Mafeje can never die. This is the conclusion I reached with a few colleagues when we heard the news of his passing on. Of the few African social scientists who made it into our starved undergraduate lecture halls, Archie had a towering presence. His study on the ideology of tribalism was a must read for our undergraduate history courses. I admired him, but from a distance; I always pointed him out to younger colleagues who did not know him. His knowledge of the social sciences was deep, wide and engaging. This terrified some but also endeared him to many others. Archie was known to intellectually combat colleagues whenever and wherever

opportunity arose. One was never really forewarned. No one could guess Archie's challenging perspective. Each time, however, one went away from such discussions satisfied with the powerful experience. He once approached me speaking Kiswahili and left me still struggling to construct a sentence in a language I have spoken for most of my life. But that was Archie; de-territorialized and versatile in many ways. As he argued in his exchange with Ali Mazrui, an African can never really be in exile in Africa. Archie lived this reality and showed what being African really meant. Archie was at home everywhere. His ideas belong undeniably to the past as they do to the future; they belong as much to South Africa as they do to Egypt, to Mozambique as they do to Uganda, to Senegal as they do to Zimbabwe, and many other places. Archie stood like a giraffe on the African intellectual landscape and could not be caged by geography or disciplinary boundaries. Archie was an institution, and he built institutions. These institutions have embodied Archie's vision. He defended them openly and ably during times of crises. He ensured their survival. In turn, their survival in the murky neo-liberal waters has immortalized Archie's name. How then can Archie die? I join you all to celebrate a life so well lived.

Godwin Rapando Murunga, April 2<sup>nd</sup> 2007.

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**From:** Bernard Founou [mailto:bfounou@hotmail.com]

**Sent:** 03 April 2007 12:50

**Subject:** Archie

Cher Ebrima,

Je n'ai pas pu accéder à ma boîte e mail depuis plusieurs jours. La nouvelle de la disparition d Archie me laisse abasourdi. Avez –vous maintenant davantage d'informations? Cette disparition prive la pensée et la recherche critiques africaine et mondiale d'un des meilleurs représentants de sa génération. Il se distinguait par l'aisance avec laquelle il alliait érudition et théorie, en particulier dans le traitement de la question agraire et de la paysannerie. Lui rendre hommage c'est aider à la construction de la relève dans un contexte nouveau par rapport à celui des meilleurs années d Archie. Lui rendre hommage, c'est saluer la mémoire d'un intellectuel engagé dans le grand combat avec son peuple dans la rigueur, l'intégrité et le désintéressement.

## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

Nous présentons à la famille et en particulier à Shahida et leurs enfants mes condoléances attristées.

Bernard Founou

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**De :** Guy Martin [<mailto:gmartinkane@yahoo.com>]

**Envoyé :** mardi 3 avril 2007 15:52

**Objet :** Archie Mafeje: Condoleances

It is with great sadness that I have been informed by CODESRIA of the untimely death of our colleague and friend Archie Mafeje, who passed away in Pretoria on 28 March 2007. We have lost a very dear colleague and friend, but also one of the most brilliant and inquisitive minds that Africa has ever produced; a man of truly encyclopedic knowledge, many talents and many disciplines, *un véritable honnête homme du 20ème siècle*, always on the cutting-edge of engaged (engage) social science research in Africa, a dedicated and relentless intellectual foot soldier of the African Liberation.

Our paths crossed several times, most recently in Pretoria and Cape Town (South Africa). Archie shall be greatly missed. May his memory live on through a special prize/ scholarship/ lecture/conference that CODESRIA could organize in his honor.

Que la couche du sol lui soit legere!

Please do convey my most sincere and heartfelt condolences and those of Mueni wa Muii to his family. We will be with you in thought when you lay him to rest in Umtata, Transkei (South Africa) on April 7, 2007.

Guy Martin,  
Professor of Political Science  
Department of Social Sciences  
Winston-Salem State University  
601 Martin Luther King, Jr. Drive  
Winston-Salem, NC 27110  
(U.S.A.)  
Tel: (336) 750-3228  
E-mail: [gmartinkane@yahoo.com](mailto:gmartinkane@yahoo.com)

**De :** Prof. Takyiwaa Manuh [mailto:tmanuh@ug.edu.gh]

**Envoyé :** lundi 2 avril 2007 18:31

**Objet :** Re: News of the Death of a member of the Scientific Committee

Dear Prof Olukoshi,

Thank you for your letter informing me of the death of Professor Archie mafeje, member of the Scientific Committee of CODESRIA.

I have read the news with much shock and sorrow, and know how invaluable Archie was to our intellectual community.

Please extend my heartfelt condolences to his family.

Sincerely,

Takyiwaa Manuh

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**De :** Remaoun [mailto:n.remaoun@crasc.org]

**Envoyé :** mercredi 4 avril 2007 08:56

**Objet :** Décès de Archie Mafeje

A l'attention de Monsieur Adebayo Olukoshi

Cher collègue,

Nous avons été très touchés d'apprendre la triste nouvelle du décès du collègue le Professeur Archie Mafeje qui frappe à nouveau le Codesria. La disparition d'Archie Mafeje constitue une perte inestimable pour notre communauté déjà éprouvée par le décès de Guy Mhone et de Chachage.

Face à ce tragique évènement je tiens à marquer toute ma solidarité et présente à la famille mes sincères condoléances.

Nouria Benghabrit-Remaoun

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## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

**De :** compaore eveline [mailto:compeve@yahoo.fr]

**Envoyé :** mercredi 4 avril 2007 11:07

**Objet :** Nos condoléances

Nous sommes tristes de ce départ du géant homme. Il n'est pas mort, il est parti et il nous laisse ce grand héritage qu'il nous a enseigné sa vie durant.  
Qu'il repose en paix et que la terre lui soit légère.

Compaore Eveline

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**De :** fatima harrak [mailto:fharrak@hotmail.com]

**Envoyé :** mercredi 4 avril 2007 12:20

**Objet :** RE: Décès d'un membre du Comité Scientifique

Monsieur le Secrétaire Executif et Cher Collègue,

J'ai appris avec tristesse le décès du Professeur Archie Mafeje, l'un des membres fondateurs du CODESRIA et membre de son Comité Scientifique. Pour les nouveaux arrivés au CODESRIA comme moi même Archie était une source d'inspiration et un exemple de l'élan de jeunesse allié à la retenue de la sagesse.

Vous voudriez bien accepter mes sincères condoléances et les transmettre à la famille du défunt, aux membres du Secrétariat Executif, du Comité Scientifique et à tous les collègues du CODESRIA.

Que son ame repose en paix!

Fatima Harrak

Membre du Comité Scientifique

Directrice de l'Institut des Etudes Africaines

University Mohammed V-Souissi

Avenue Allal El Fassi, Madinat at Irfane

BP 8968 Rabat-Institut

Rabat Morocco

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Email [f.harrak@iea.ac.ma](mailto:f.harrak@iea.ac.ma) , [fharrak@hotmail.com](mailto:fharrak@hotmail.com)

Website <http://iea.um5s.ac.ma>

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De : Thiombiano taladidia [mailto:taladidia@yahoo.fr]

Envoyé : mercredi 4 avril 2007 12:28

Objet : condoléances

Message de condoléances,

C'est avec une très grande tristesse que j'ai appris le décès du professeur Archie Mafeje. J'ai eu l'occasion de le rencontrer à tous les moments importants de la vie du CODESRIA. Son apport scientifique et son engagement dans la lutte contre l'apartheid et toutes les injustices ont été très importants pour le CODESRIA, l'Afrique du Sud son pays et les jeunes générations africaines. Un grand ne meurt jamais, car ses oeuvres et son combat sont là pour l'immortaliser. En ces moments difficiles, je voudrais présenter à la famille de l'illustre disparu, au CODESRIA et à tous les chercheurs en sciences sociales mes condoléances les plus attristées.

L'hommage que nous puissions rendre à un grand intellectuel comme Mafeje est de savoir traduire dans les actes l'héritage qu'il nous a laissé.

Professeur Taladidia THIOMBIANO,  
Ancien Président du CODESRIA,  
Directeur du CEDRES, université de  
Ouagadougou

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**De :** DONFACK Léopold [mailto:ldsokeng@yahoo.com]

**Envoyé :** mercredi 4 avril 2007 12:54

**Objet :** Archie Mafeje

La mort d'Archie MAFEJE est une nouvelle particulièrement triste. Comment ne pas se souvenir de la vivacité intellectuelle, du sens critique et de l'humour sarcastique de ce polémiqueur hors pair?

Archie était assurément un grand homme, militant de très nobles causes et l'Afrique toute entière lui doit une fière reconnaissance. Reste à espérer que les champs intellectuels qu'il a défrichés continueront d'être labourés avec la même sagacité par les jeunes générations pour que perdure une recherche en sciences sociales de très haute qualité!

## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

Farewell Archie...

Léopold DONFACK SOKENG, Cameroon

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**De :** almamy sylla [mailto:almamysyllafr@yahoo.fr]

**Envoyé :** mercredi 4 avril 2007 13:03

**Objet :** MESSAGE DE CONDOLEANCES

C'est avec consternation que nous avons appris la mort du Pr Archie Mafeje. C'est une nouvelle terrible pour la communauté scientifique africaine. L'Afrique vient une fois de plus de perdre un grand intellectuel africain. Que son âme repose en paix ! Que le Tout Puissant l'accueille dans son paradis !

Almamy SYLLA  
Bamako/ Mali.

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**From:** gnyassogbo@tg.refer.org [mailto:gnyassogbo@tg.refer.org]

**Sent:** mercredi 4 avril 2007 10:10

**To:** Membership

**Subject:** Re: Announcement on the death of Professor Archie Mafeje/Annonce du décès du Professeur Archie Mafeje

Chers Collègues,

Oui, c'est vraiment dommage, l'Afrique vient de perdre un Géant. Il y a seulement quelques mois, c'était le grand Historien Joseph Ki-Zerbo pour lequel nous n'avons pas encore séché nos larmes. Aujourd'hui c'est déjà le tour d'Archie Mafeje. Quelle perte pour la communauté scientifique internationale en général et pour l'Afrique en particulier! Mes condoléances à la famille éplorée et au CODESRIA auquel il a eu à consacrer une bonne partie de sa vie intellectuelle.

Gabriel Nyassogbo  
Département de Géographie, Université de Lomé  
BP 1515  
Lomé, TOGO

**From:** samia Benabbas [mailto:benabbas\_dz@yahoo.fr]

**Sent:** mardi 3 avril 2007 22:33

*C'est avec une grande tristesse que j'ai appris la nouvelle de la perte du Feu Le professeur Archie Mafeje. A dieu nous appartenos et lui nous retournons. Que le tout puissant lui accorde sa sainte miséricorde. Au fait il n'est pas mort, il est la fierté de l'afrique toute entière par tout ce qu'il a fait pour elle. Il est présent en nous, par tout ce qu'il a légué pour l'intérêt de la science et du savoir.*

*Que dieu donne tout le courage aux membres de sa famille .*

*Mme Benabbas Samia*

*Maitre de conférence à l'université de Constantine Algérie*

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**From:** Paul Nchoji Nkwi [mailto:nchoji@yahoo.com]

**Sent:** mardi 3 avril 2007 17:34

**To:** Membership

**Subject:** Re: Announcement on the death of Professor Archie Mafeje/e

Dear Colleagues,

The death of Professor Mafeje is certainly a great lost to the social science community uin Africa in general and to the anthropological community in particular. The great works of his mind will live on to testify to his great contributions to social sciences.

As president of the Pan African anthropological Asssociation, and in the name of our entire membership, I want to express our sympahthy and condoleance to his family.

Paul Nchoji Nkwi (Ph.D)

University of Yaounde

BP 1862 Yaounde, Cameroon

Tel (237) 234 227

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## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

Dear family, friends and academic companions of Archie,

I wish to convey my sincere condolences with the passing away of Archie. I am shocked and feel sad. A great loss to the intellectual community of Africa at large, if not to the contemporary intellectual world community.

I have known Archie since the early 80's. We became close friends and remained friends for over a decade, sharing a great deal of pleasant and less pleasant facts of life. However, Archie's choices of conversation, food, wines and last but not least cheeses made everything perfect again. I have learned a great deal from him. He was a very loyal friend with humour and wit; an inspirator; an advisor; a true gentleman; a diplomat; an incredible brilliant and sharp intellectual; an indefeatable respected debator: great companionship. But above all he was a pleasant and kind human being of flesh and blood, a true world citizen, a globalizer in thought.

I wish strength to all who loved him and cared for him with the coping of this great loss and sorrow.

May Archie rest in peace in Umtata.

Yours sincerely  
Elizabeth J. Mulder  
(former) Senior Project Officer  
Institute of Social Studies  
The Hague  
The Netherlands

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**De :** ARCHER MAURICE [<mailto:archermaurice@yahoo.fr>]

**Envoyé :** mercredi 4 avril 2007 13:12

**Objet :** Condoléances à la famille du Prof. Archie Mafeje

A madame Archie Mafeje, ses enfants

J'ai appris avec beaucoup de consternation la brutale disparition de notre Cher Maître, le Professeur Archie Mafeje. Oui, un grand baobab s'est couché. Mais les oeuvres de notre Maître continueront d'allumer et d'éclairer le monde. En ce jour douloureux, je joins ma voix à celle des autres membres du Codesria, pour vous présenter mes sincères condoléances.

Puisse à la veille de cette fête de Pâques, Dieu l'accueillir dans la douceur de son paradis.

Pensée.

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**De :** cri [mailto:cri@udsm.ac.tz]

**Envoyé :** mercredi 4 avril 2007 13:48

**Objet :** Archie Mafeje

Dear Adebayo,

I have received the news of Prof Archie Mafeje's death with great sorrow. I have known Archie since 1969 when he joined the University of Dar es Salaam as a lecturer and head of Sociology Department. For few weeks in the 1970's when I was doing research in Holland I stayed in his house at The Hague. To me this was like being in a university: in the evenings after dinner we would sit for hours discussing, analysing, dissecting and turning upside down every topic you could think of. I must admit that I learnt quite a lot from him, but most important was the self-discipline and the ethics in the academia. I had had an opportunity of meeting him a number of times since then, the last time in Addis at the invitation of Prof Abdallah Bujra. We did invite him last year to Dar es Salaam for the conference on Dr Walter Rodney, but he could not make it.

Archie's intellectual contribution has had a big influence on many people and a guide to many scholars. His devotion to scholarship was exemplary. He was definitely one of the intellectual giants in this continent. There is one secret I can reveal now : Several years ago I was approached by prominent South Africans to apply for senior positions in two prestigious South African universities; but my reaction to them was: Invite Prof Archie Mafeje! At that time he was still living abroad.

Please convey my condolences to Shahida ( I still remember the wonderful evening I spent in their home in Cairo) and their daughter.

Go in Peace. Adieu, Archie.

Professor Haroub Othman  
Institute of Development Studies  
University of Dar Es Salaam  
P. O. Box 35169

Phone: 241 0501/8 —241 0224/0075 Direct—241 0107—Fax: 241 0237/0078/0224

## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

**De :** youssouf karembe [mailto:youkarembe@yahoo.fr]

**Envoyé :** mercredi 4 avril 2007 17:14

**À :** [Executive.Secretary@codesria.sn](mailto:Executive.Secretary@codesria.sn)

**Objet :** Condoléances

Encore un grand tombe.

C'est avec amertume que j'ai appris le décès du professeur Archie Mafeje. Je présente à la famille Mafeje et au CODESRIA mes condoléances les plus attristées. Qu'Allah le tout puissant conduise son âme dans le paradis !

Youssouf Karembé, Mali

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**De :** Isaac VIDEHA [mailto:videhago@hotmail.com]

**Envoyé :** mercredi 4 avril 2007 18:20

**À :** [Executive.Secretary@codesria.sn](mailto:Executive.Secretary@codesria.sn); [raphaelbrondeau@yahoo.fr](mailto:raphaelbrondeau@yahoo.fr)

**Objet :** Condoléances depuis l'Université de Lomé(Togo)

Isaac Gigonu Yawo VIDEHA, Doctorant au Département d'Histoire et d'Archéologie- Université de Lomé( Togo).

Je ne connais pas personnellement le Professeur Archie Mafeje mais son nom est attaché au CODESRIA tout comme je voudrais que mon nom le soit.

Au moment où les contributions intellectuelles des chercheurs africains se font de plus en plus rares sur la scène internationale, l'Afrique ne peut que déplorer amèrement ce grand Apôtre de l'Afrique.

Que sa grande famille intellectuelle s'associe à ma modeste personne pour présenter à sa femme et à sa fille nos sincères condoléances.

Le Professeur Archie Mafeje est tombé seul mais son trepas va, j'en suis sûr , susciter des vocations.

Que Dieu accueille son âme au paradis.

Cordialement,

Isaac Videha

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**De :** joachim goma-thethet [mailto:gomathethet@yahoo.fr]

**Envoyé :** jeudi 5 avril 2007 09:26

**À :** [executive.secretary@codesria.sn](mailto:executive.secretary@codesria.sn)

**Objet :** Condoléances familles Professeur Archie Mafeje

J'adresse mes sincères condoléances à Mme Mafeje ainsi qu'à sa famille entière pour le décès du Professeur Archie Mafeje que j'ai eu la chance de rencontrer pour la première et la dernière fois à Dakar lors des 30 ans du Codesria. Je garderai en souvenir l'hommage qui lui a été rendu par le Codesria et le témoignage de tous ceux qui l'ont connu de très près et particulièrement la communauté Codesria d'Egypte qui le considérait comme l'un de ses plus éminents membres. J'ose espérer que la jeunesse africaine en général et sud africaine en particulier saura utiliser à bon escient ce qu'il lègue à l'Afrique.

*Joachim Emmanuel Goma-Thethet  
Département d'Histoire  
Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines  
(Université Marien Ngouabi), BP 2642  
Brazzaville - Congo*

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**De :** Alexis Adandé [mailto:aladande@hotmail.com]

**Envoyé :** jeudi 5 avril 2007 09:35

**Objet :** condoléances à la famille du savant Archie MAFEJE et au CODESRIA

Monsieur Le Secrétaire Exécutif du CODESRIA,

Veillez bien être notre interprète auprès de la famille de feu Archie Mafeje que j'ai eu le plaisir de rencontrer à Kampala avec son épouse lors de l'Assemblée générale. En fait c'est à travers ses contributions aux débats sur diverses questions dont le Bulletin du CODESRIA est le fidèle relais que j'ai pu avoir un aperçu de la pensée percutante du savant africain. Je suis totalement de l'avis de Mahamood Mamdani et sotiens sa proposition pour une collecte des écrits du défunt et une formule pour une large diffusion de ses apports aux sciences sociales et anthropologiques à l'attention et à l'intention de la jeunesse africaine contemporaine qui devrait bénéficier d'une pensée aussi tonique.

Nous devons savoir capitaliser ce que notre continent produit de mieux et notre communauté scientifique a l'unique chance d'avoir le CODESRIA comme pont ou liant transrégional et au-delà des barrières linguistiques héritées ou non.

## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

Merci par avance pour votre compréhension et pour votre action positive dans ce sens.  
Confraternellement à vous,

Alexis ADANDE  
Département d'histoire et d'archéologie  
Université d'Abomey-Calavi  
République du Bénin

=====  
**De :** sidibé oumou [mailto:dilika2003@yahoo.fr]  
**Envoyé :** jeudi 5 avril 2007 10:39  
**À :** Executive.Secretary@codesria.sn  
**Objet :** condoléances

REPOSES TOI EN PAIX GRAND PERE ARCHIE MAFEJE, ET QUE LA TERRE TE SOIT LEGERE.

PAR OUMOU SIDIBE DU MALI

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**De :** okere stella [mailto:allesto@yahoo.com]  
**Envoyé :** jeudi 5 avril 2007 11:48  
**Objet :** Regrets

It is a great loss to Codearia and its members.

May his gentle soul rest in peace.

Okere, Stella (Miss)

**De :** binthily macalou [mailto:binthily2000@yahoo.fr]

**Envoyé :** jeudi 5 avril 2007 15:10

**Objet :** condoléances

Encore un grand de l'Afrique s'en est allé, Que devient l'Afrique sans " ces lumières" une vague forêt obscure.

Dors en paix digne fils, père et grand père de l'Afrique. Que ton âme connaisse le repos éternel.

A toute la communauté africaine et scientifique, j'adresse mes condoléances les plus attristées.

Amen

Binthily Youma MACALOU  
Socio-Anthropologue  
BP.E: 1809  
Tél:(00223) 64815 55  
Fax:(00223) 220 67 98  
E-mail: [binthily2000@yahoo.fr](mailto:binthily2000@yahoo.fr)  
Bamako(Mali)

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***Archibald BM Mafeje: An Obituary***

30 March 1936—28 March 2007.

On Wednesday 28 March 2007, Professor Archie Mafeje died in the ambulance that was rushing him to hospital. Earlier that day, he had been found unconscious in his apartment on the outskirts of Pretoria; he was alone. If 'Archie', as we fondly call him, had lived an extra two days, he would have been 71 years old, on Friday March 30. For the African social science community, the passing away of Professor Mafeje is an incalculable loss.

## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

Archibald Mafeje grew up and had his early education in the Eastern Cape of South Africa. He studied at the University of Cape Town from 1957 to 1963, earning a B.Sc in Biological Sciences in 1959, a BA in Social Anthropology and Sociology in 1961, a 1<sup>st</sup> Class in his BA (Hons) in Sociology, and an MA, with Distinction, in 1963. In 1966 he received his PhD in Anthropology and Sociology of Development from Cambridge University, UK. The fieldwork and thesis were on commercial farmers in Uganda, hence began a life-long engagement with agrarian issues and the ethnography of East Africa. It would culminate in his 1991 book, *The theory and ethnography of African social formations: the case of the Interlacustrine kingdoms*—arguably the best example of ‘artisanal’ scholarship, as Mahmood Mamdani puts it, that I have ever read—prodigious, theoretically sophisticated, with incredible attention to details.

In 1963, his book, *Langa*, co-authored with Monica Wilson, was published. His early studentship was marked by award-winning essays—his “A Chief Visits Town” in 1963, and his “Social Change in an African Village” in 1964. The latter grew out of his MA dissertation.

In 1968, University of Cape Town found its name in infamy when it denied Archie Mafeje a senior lecturer position on account of his race: the so-called “Mafeje Affair.” It would be one of the many holes in the claims of the so-called ‘liberal’ universities that they were opposed to the racist project of the National Party government. If that were the case why did the whole Senate not turn in their resignation? In the same year, he was made a Visiting Senior Lecturer at the Institute for Social Studies (ISS) at The Hague. In 1969, Mafeje returned to East Africa as Professor and Head of the Department of Sociology at the University of Dar-es-Salaam. Earlier, he had taught at the Makerere College (now Makerere University) in Kampala. Between 1972 and 1973 he held various visiting positions in The Hague and the University of Copenhagen. In April 1973, at the age of 34, Archie Mafeje was appointed Professor of Anthropology and Sociology at the Institute of Social Studies in The Hague by Act of Parliament. A unique honour in that such appointment required the approval of all the Dutch universities and had to be signed into proclamation by the Queen. He became a Queen Juliana’s professor and one of her lords, whose name appears in the prestigious blue pages of the Dutch national directory. He also received the Dutch citizenship and the freedom key to The Hague. While in ISS he met his wife, the Egyptian scholar and activist, Dr Shahida El

Baz, with whom he had his daughter, Danna.

The significance of the appointment for South Africa today and in 1968 is in how Mafeje's prodigious intellect and depth of his scholarship won him acclaim globally. Ultimately, however, it was his membership of the African social science community that Mafeje cherished most.

Between 1976 and 1978, Mafeje was a full-time Consultant at the FAO in Rome. From 1978 to 1986, he was Professor of Sociology at the American University in Cairo. He returned to Southern Africa in 1991 after another four-year stint at the FAO. In 1993 he was appointed Professor of Sociology and Anthropology and Director of the Multidisciplinary Research Centre at the University of Namibia. Again, UCT was tangled up in another appointment; this time Archie headed off to Namibia. In 1994, Archie Mafeje returned to Cairo. He returned to South Africa in 2002 as an NRF Senior Research Fellow, based at UNISA—he missed home so much. In 2003, he was honoured at CODESRIA's 30<sup>th</sup> Anniversary with a plenary panel devoted to his works and the Honorary Life membership of CODESRIA. He served on its Scientific Council until his death. In 2005, he was appointed a Distinguished Research Scholar by CODESRIA, in a joint appointment with the Africa Institute of South Africa. Two years ago, the Africa Institute of South Africa under the leadership of Dr Eddy Maloka instituted an Archie Mafeje Fellowship programme.

As a measure of his global citizenship, Archie would refer to himself humorously as South African by birth, Dutch by citizenship, and Egyptian by domicile; but South Africa was the home he so longed for.

*Jimi Adesina is Professor of Sociology at Rhodes University. An immediate past president of the South African Sociological Association, he is the Secretary-General of the African Sociological Association, and Executive Committee member of CODESRIA. He chairs CODESRIA's Sub-Committee on Programmes.*

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## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

**De :** Jimi O. Adesina [mailto:J.Adesina@ru.ac.za]

**Envoyé :** jeudi 5 avril 2007 18:47

**Objet :** RE: News of the Death of a member of the Scientific Committee

Dear All:

Attached is the obituary and intellectual appreciation I could put together--words simply can't contain the hurt of the heart. The memorial service for Archie was held at UNISA on Tuesday. Abdallah Budjra, Sam Moyo, and I represented CODESRIA. The funeral is on Saturday 7 April at 9.00AM in Mthatha, in the Transkei (Walter Sisulu University). Many of us will be there, including Teresa, Bayo, Ebrima, and Helmi.

Regards,

Jimi

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### ***Archibald BM Mafeje: An Intellectual Appreciation***

The meaning of Archie Mafeje for three generations of African scholars and social scientists can hardly be gleaned from his CV. For many, it was his "The Ideology of 'Tribalism'" (1971) that marked him apart as a scholar of immense intellectual capacity and commitment to Africa. For me, it was my encounter with his "The problem of Anthropology in historical perspective" (1976) published in the Canadian Journal of African Studies. I was a first year undergraduate student at Ibadan, and I had been rummaging through the journal shelves in the basement of the University of Ibadan Library on a late afternoon in 1976. I pulled the copy of the journal off the shelf and started nibbling through the article. By the time I got to third page, I was hooked. I took the journal to the sitting area and buried my head in it. It was so elegantly written, with incredible detailed knowledge of the field and the debates from various parts of the world. His command of minutiae conceptual grounding had been incredibly exhilarating, while being immensely self-reflexive. In response to Kathleen Gough's charge that "anthropology is the child of imperialism" (1968) and Raymond Firth's retort that to the contrary "anthropology is the child of Enlightenment" (1972), Mafeje had responded, if I may paraphrase, with: "what is the point of dispute here, folks? Imperialism is the child of Enlightenment, anyway." And it was such a detailed and tightly packed

argument, it fundamentally altered my trajectory. For days I walked on air and read the article over and over. It began a life-long endearment. His 1991 book, *The theory and ethnography of African social formations* is another work of such sustained intellectual work. Everything Mafeje wrote had the mark of an intellectual master craftsman at work. In my 2<sup>nd</sup> year, Omafume Onoge would introduce me to Bernard Magubane and Amilcar Cabral, and my lifelong commitment to scholarship was sealed! But I am only one in at least three generations of African scholars to whom Archie Mafeje made possible the desire to do scholarship with immense rigour and to pay attention to nuanced discourse. As Archie's life's works demonstrate, it was scholarship grafted to finding relevance in addressing the challenges we face as a people, combining emancipatory politics with witheringly rigorous scholarship.

I was not to meet him in flesh until 1992 at the CODESRIA General Assembly in Dakar. It was an incredibly rewarding experience. The copy of his *Theory and Ethnography of African Social Formations* that he autographed for me reads "with pleasant memories after a most vigorous encounter with the irreverent but a welcome sense of rebellion." I cherish that copy like nothing else even today. It also speaks to what many people tend to confuse as intellectual arrogance and gladiatorial stance by Archie Mafeje. He demanded of you a rigorous engagement with your field, extensive depth of knowledge, and to know your onions inside out. When you crossed swords with him, he expected you to be a worthy intellectual gladiator; you earn his respect when you think through your ideas before you open your mouth. Most have simply withered in the glare of his brilliance; and they turn round to blame him for their intellectual sloppiness.

Archie was as gentle as he was fierce in debate. Over dinner, with a glass of red wine and steak in tow, you soon realise you are before a master craftsman, but you need to listen carefully because of his constant reflexivity and the subtlety and nuanced nature of his discourse. Many of us who have had the privilege of this encounter can attest to how much of his ideas have shaped our scholarship.

The intellect of Archie Mafeje was however, immediately grounded in addressing real life problems; scholarship (however prodigious) must find its relevance in engagement. Archie's works on agrarian and land issues, development studies, democracy and governance, liberation scholarship,

## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

African epistemic standpoints, etc; all constantly challenged and prodded a new generation to think large and engage in issues around us. The policy implications are enormous. Archie was uncompromising in demanding that Africans must insist on their own space; be completely unabashed in rejecting every form of domination. He ended his 1997 article, “Who are the makers and objects of Anthropology” by saying he did not mind the candour of those who write about Africa as:...

*simply a continent of savages (read ‘tribes’) and venomous beasts... As a matter of fact, I like black mambas lethal as they are and wish Africans could learn from them. Perhaps, in the circumstances their continent would cease to be a playground for knowers of absolute knowledge and they in turn would lose their absolute alterity.*

Archie was a man of immense generosity of spirit and loyalty. The tragedy for all of us in South Africa is that Archie Mafeje did not die of natural causes—he died of intellectual neglect and isolation. In spite of the love of his sister and close relations, Archie’s oxygen was vigorous intellectual engagement—he lived on serious, rigorous, and relevant scholarship. Starved of that, he simply withered. After four decades in exile, he returned home in 2002 to exile. Yet the gradual dissipation of our intangible intellectual heritage, by our failure to nurture the heritage we have in people like him, is not unique to Archie, and this I find confounding. If Archie’s passing away forces us to rethink how we engage with this heritage then, may be, we can salvage something out of this embarrassing mess.

*Jimi Adesina is Professor of Sociology at Rhodes University. An immediate past president of the South African Sociological Association, he is the Secretary-General of the African Sociological Association, and Executive Committee member of CODESRIA. He chairs CODESRIA’s Sub-Committee on Programmes.*

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**De :** Herman TOUO [mailto:htouo@yahoo.fr]

**Envoyé :** vendredi 6 avril 2007 12:05

**À :** [Executive.Secretary@codesria.sn](mailto:Executive.Secretary@codesria.sn)

**Objet :** Sympathy

It is with deep sorrow that I learned the shocking news of the passing away of Pr. Archie Mafeje.

I express to the bereaved family my profound sympathy and solidarity in this moment of grief and sorrow.

I call on the Lord Almighty to continue to protect and provide necessary support to the wife and the daughter.

May his soul rest in perfect peace.

Herman Touo.

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**De :** JACQUES TSHIBUABUA [mailto:kuditsh@yahoo.fr]

**Envoyé :** vendredi 6 avril 2007 14:29

**À :** [Executive.Secretary@codesria.sn](mailto:Executive.Secretary@codesria.sn)

**Objet :** Message de condoléances

Monsieur le Secrétaire Exécutif du Codesria,

Je viens, comme tous les membres du Codesria, d'apprendre la mort du Professeur Archie Mafeje. J'ai eu l'heureuse opportunité de rencontrer ce grand homme de science lors de la conférence marquant le 30ème anniversaire du Codesria organisée du 10 au 16 décembre 2003 à Dakar.

Je me rappelle d'ailleurs qu'au cours de cette cérémonie, il a été proclamé membre à vie du Codesria.

Lors des pauses cafés, je n'ai pas manqué de m'approcher de lui, et je reste encore marqué par sa modestie, sa disponibilité et son sens d'écoute vis-à-vis des jeunes chercheurs, et en particulier pour moi qui, à l'époque m'adressait à lui dans un anglais encore approximatif.

## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

Je formule donc mes condoléances que j'adresse à la famille de l'illustre disparu, mais aussi à toute la famille scientifique du Codesria.

Jacques Tshibwabwa  
Université de Kinshasa

=====  
**De :** léon-marie nkolon ndjodo [mailto:leonkolo@yahoo.fr]

**Envoyé :** vendredi 6 avril 2007 18:23

**Objet :** Condoléances à la famille Mafeje

Le travail mené par le Professeur Archie Mafeje pendant de longues décennies n'aura pas été vain. Ses pénétrantes analyses scientifiques et ses convictions panafricaines profondes constituent pour la jeune génération de chercheurs africains une invite claire à monter au front et un appel à la résistance. Il s'agit là d'un défi formidable qui ne peut être que relever.

Nkolo Ndjodo Léon-Marie

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**De :** JARI Bahija [mailto:bahijari@yahoo.fr]

**Envoyé :** lundi 9 avril 2007 12:28

**Objet :** Hommage à un Grand ( Archie Mafeje)

Encore un grand qui s'en va...Le regret est un mot peu expressif de ce que nous ressentons, nous qui n'ont pas eu la chance de le connaître personnellement.

Notre seul réconfort serait de puiser de son ame à travers les personnes qui l'ont connu , et qui se sont imprégnés par sa grandeur , sa richesse en savoir et son dévouement hors pair à la recherche et au changement des idées.

Mes condoléances à Shahida, Dana et à toute la communauté africaine.

Bahija JARI

**De :** pawlo [mailto:pawlo@infocom.co.ug]

**Envoyé :** lundi 9 avril 2007 12:19

**Objet :** Prof.Mafeje.

The Secretariat of the Global Pan African Movement and all Pan Africanists in in Kampala has leant with deep sorrow and sadness the demise of Professor Archie Mafeje which leaves an irreparable gap in the struggle for African endeavour in dignity and achievement. We take this opportunity to express our condolences to his bereaved family, professional colleagues, the South African nation and all those involved in our continuing African struggles.

A luta continua.

Fatoumata Toure  
Global Pan African Movement,  
Kampala

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**De :** N'Dri T. ASSIE-LUMUMBA [mailto:na12@cornell.edu]

**Envoyé :** vendredi 6 avril 2007 22:49

**À :** [Executive.Secretary@codesria.sn](mailto:Executive.Secretary@codesria.sn)

**Objet :** Tribute to Prof. Archie Mafeje from N'Dri Assie-Lumumba

**Importance :** Haute

Dear colleagues,

Please, find attached and below my words in tribute to our beloved Archie.

N'Dri

Tribute to Prof. Archie Mafeje

My reading about the "Mafeje Affair" many years ago introduced me to the work of an illustrious son of Africa who illustrated consistency and integrity in the struggle. Directly and through common acquaintances, I have been familiar with his work and fascinated by the clarity of his ideas and consistency of his commitment to the struggle for social justice. However,

## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

unlike many who have shared their thoughts and expressed their deep sorrow on the loss of a giant, I had the opportunity to meet Professor Archie Mafeje only twice and very recently.

The first time was in June 2005 in Dakar, at the CODESRIA methodology workshop for its multinational working groups on Citizenship, Land, and Higher Education. I felt blessed to listen to Professor Mafeje's talk after I introduced myself to him and upon transmitting to him greetings from my spouse who knew him well.

My second meeting with Professor Mafeje was on the occasion of the Conference on "Maintaining Viable African Studies Centres: Challenges and Lessons from the Diaspora" that was held within "THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE STRENGTHENING OF AFRICAN STUDIES IN AFRICA AND SOUTH AFRICA IN PARTICULAR" that was held in Pretoria in February 2006. At a dinner in Burger's Park Hotel, on February 28, an intense debate on paradigms, interrogating and engaging some earlier research ideas, findings, and other critical issues of epistemology, took place mostly between Archie, Dani Nabudere, and Jimi Adesina.

When we were finally about to leave, Archie indicated that he had wished I had contributed more to the discussion. My response was that I deliberately decided to listen. Yes, indeed, I was fully consumed by the intensity and depth of the intellectual debate and the ways in which Jimi was challenging him and deliberately provoking him, and his sharp reaction with the unique gestures. The interactions between Archie and Jimi that evening reminded me of some of the African traditions, including my own, that have institutionalized relations between grand parents/the elderly and grand children/the youth referred to in some Anthropological terms as "relations à plaisanterie." I wish to join in the expression of our collective cry of outrage for our loss and commitment to continue the struggle that he waged on our collective behalf for a just and better world. May he enjoy eternal peace.

N'Dri T. Assié-Lumumba  
Cornell University  
Africana Studies and Research Center  
310 Triphammer Road  
Ithaca, New York 14850  
Tel. (607) 255-7839—Fax (607) 255-0784  
E-Mail: "N'Dri T. ASSIE-LUMUMBA" <na12@cornell.edu>

**From:** ralmeida@qanet.gm [mailto:ralmeida@qanet.gm]  
**Sent:** mercredi 4 avril 2007 13:47  
**Subject:** RE: Announcement on the death of Professor Archie Mafeje

Dear Marie Ndiaye,

I am profoundly saddened by news of the passing of Prof. Archie Mafeje, a distinguished African intellectual and academic luminary, whose leadership has been a source of great inspiration and knowledge.

Please extend on my behalf, heart-felt condolences to all at CODESRIA and members of his family. I pray that the torch of scholarship, which he lit during his life, will continue to illumine the vision and research endeavours of CODESRIA as well as those of his colleagues, to carry on his singular legacy.

May God grant him eternal repose!

Yours in-grief,

Ralphina Phillott-Almeida

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**From:** esalemassi AGOUNA [mailto:agouna1@caramail.com]  
**Sent:** jeudi 5 avril 2007 13:34  
**Subject:** Annonce du dcs du Professeur Archie Mafeje

suite à la triste nouvelle dont vous me faites part, je vais par le présent, présenter mes sincères condoléance à la famille, amis, et collègues du regretté. je vous prie qu' Allah le tout puissant, qu'il l'accueille dans son paradis. Amen

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De : marematoure@sentoo.sn [mailto:marematoure@sentoo.sn]  
Envoyé : dimanche 8 avril 2007 18:19  
Objet : Re: CODESRIA: Un géant s'en est allé?: Hommage à Archie Mafeje

Oui c'est un véritable qui géant s'en est allé...

## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

Je viens d'ouvrir mon mail et découvre avec émotion la très triste nouvelle. J'associe ma voie à celle de tous les membres du conseil pour dire qu'Archie n'est plus de ce monde mais son idéal doit lui survivre.

Que le Seigneur l'accueille dans son paradis. Toutes mes condoléances à Shaïda et à tous les collègues.

Dr Marèma TOURE

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De : nico fru awasom [mailto:awasomnf@yahoo.com]

Envoyé : vendredi 6 avril 2007 14:31

Objet : Re: My Father - Message from Dana Mafeje, Archie Mafeje's daughter

Dear Dana Mafeje,

Your piece touches and touches deeply. What I gather is a tribute from the heart of a daughter that is an adieu dirge. By training, inclination and upbringing, your father was meant for the wider Africanist community and I fell in love with his controversial pieces in the 1990s, especially his missiles with his professional colleagues, while in Nigeria. I was looking forward to meet such an icon and I was lucky to take a close look of him in Dakar during the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebrations of CODESRIA when he was awarded life membership of this giant pan-African intellectual institute. I am really jealous by your well carved piece of tribute and I wish one like this will be written for me when I exit to qualify as an ancestor. His destiny and constituency went beyond the family and he decolonised the minds of many and made us discover and re-discover our essence and Africanity.

Nicodemus Fru Awasom  
University of The Gambia

**De :** Sam Smah [mailto:samsmah2000@yahoo.com]

**Envoyé :** mardi 3 avril 2007 10:56

**Objet :** Re: CODESRIA: A Giant Has Moved On.: Tribute to Archie Mafeje

Dear Colleagues,

This is indeed, a sad development. May his soul rest in peace.

Dr. Sam O Smah  
Department of Sociology  
University of Jos  
Jos, Nigeria

=====

**De :** S B O Gutto [mailto:Guttosbo@unisa.ac.za]

**Envoyé :** mardi 3 avril 2007 07:53

**Objet :** RE: Archie Mafeje

Academic Colleagues and Achie's Family,

The last time I shook Achie's hand and talked with him was in the first week of March - barely 3 weeks before his passing away. It was at a Gala Dinner for participants at the International Conference on Sustaining Africa's Democratic Momentum. He called me aside and protested that he was being asked to queue in order to register. I understood. I found him a place to sit and told him not to worry. I was going to get one of the young assistants at the registration desk to come to him and take his particulars and to go and register him and bring him all the necessaries. This was done, and I am sure that he felt that justice was done.

This was vintage Archie as I knew him. He was a militant African and African scholar to the core. Here was an elder who has given so much to society not being treated in an African way. He looked frail, but lack of physical strength did not compromise his mental, intellectual and spiritual fortitude.

This is not the place to reflect on his weighty scholarship and scholarly contributions. Let me just say that his brief stint as a mentor to young African academics at UNISA under an NRF grant was invaluable, despite some management hick-ups to be expected in a former White University under transformation pressures. The name plate for his office, and of

## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

course his invisible presence, remain at the Centre for African Renaissance Studies.

LONG LIVE ARCHIE!

Kind regards,

Professor Shadrack Gutto  
Chair and Director: Centre for African Renaissance Studies  
University of South Africa (UNISA)

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De : Rose Phahle [mailto:rphahle@lantic.net]  
Envoyé : mardi 3 avril 2007 07:34  
Objet : Obituary: Archie Mafeje

Afraid that Archie's death may go unnoticed in the South African press, I made a verbatim compilation of the tributes that you paid to him and sent this as an obituary to the Mail & Guardian. I have attached what I have done. You will notice that I have made an acknowledgement to all of you whose tributes I have used. I do not know Archie from an academic point of view and for that reason I used what you have said. I hope that you do not mind. And I hope the M&G will publish the obituary.

Roseinnes Phahle

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De : Jimi O. Adesina [mailto:J.Adесina@ru.ac.za]  
Envoyé : lundi 2 avril 2007 12:28  
Objet : Archibald BM Mafeje-An Appreciation

Dear All:

When the tears cease and the heart-ache pauses for a brief moment, this is a two-part write-up I could put together. One a general obituary, the other a personal reflection of a man shaped the lives and scholarship of three generations of African social scientists; of whom I am proud to proclaim myself one of his apprentices--and the training had not

ended when he left us. Beyond sorrow and anger however must come something productive. The challenge is how we secure our intangible intellectual heritage so that a new generation of students can know they are not bereft of progenitors and that world class scholarship and grounded relevance to addressing the challenges of our time are within their reach--when they can touch the moon with feet firmly planted on the ground of our lived realities. I have suggested some ways to do this in a separate e-mail.

Regards,

'Jimi O. Adesina, PhD  
Professor of Sociology,  
Department of Sociology,  
Rhodes University, Grahamstown 6140, South Africa.  
Tel: +27 (0) 46 603 8172 (W)  
Fax: +27 (0) 46 622 5570 (W)  
Fax: +27 (0)86 517 0557 (Personal)  
Mobile: +27 (0) 82 353 1041  
E-mail: J.Adесina@ru.ac.za

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**De :** PSithole@hsrc.ac.za [mailto:PSithole@hsrc.ac.za]

**Envoyé :** lundi 2 avril 2007 12:15

**Objet :** Re: Archie Mafeje

I pray that this idea comes to fruition. He was a great scholar under far from ideal conditions and will be missed for his critical and theoretical contributions in social science in a way that spoke truth to power and convention. A conference in his honour will be a conference in honour of Africa which produced him, and there are not many conferences like that yet. It will therefore be inspirational to others.

I hope we find means to do this.

Dr Mpilo Pearl Sithole  
Research Specialist, SRC  
Private Bag X07, Dalbridge  
4041  
Tel: +27 (0)31 242 5614—Fax: +27 (0)31 242 5401

## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

**From:** Prof. Ernest Wamba dia Wamba [<mailto:congopeace@hotmail.com>]

**Sent:** 08 April 2007 16:34

**Subject:** RE: RE : passing of Archie Mafeje

Dear Paulin and Neocosmos,

I thank you for having informed me of the passing away of our colleague Mafeje.

It is indeed a great loss to the whole community of African social researchers and all the committed intellectuals and people very much keen in getting our continent start moving forward.

Here was an intellectual who really insisted on the necessity of an African original school of thinking to really grasp the dialectics of African social formations in their entire historical dynamics.

We will miss his critical razor-sharp mind and a humour that left one still remembering him for sometime. He has done his contribution to the production of social knowledge. Let his soul rest in peace!

I would suggest to CODESRIA to install a Prize in his name for good research work. I would also recommend that someone be found and commissioned to write an intellectual biography of Mafeje for younger researchers to find inspiration in.

Let us keep remembering Mafeje!

Best,

Ernest

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**De :** MALEMBA GILBERT [<mailto:gilmalemba@yahoo.fr>]

**Envoyé :** mardi 10 avril 2007 12:39

**Objet :** Message de condoléances

Monsieur le Secrétaire Exécutif,

C'est avec consternation que je viens d'apprendre la douloureuse nouvelle du décès du Professeur ARCHIE MAFEJE. Au nom de la Faculté des Sciences Sociales, Politiques et Administratives en général, du Département de Sociologie et Anthropologie de l'Université

de Lubumbashi (R.D. Congo) en particulier et en mon nom personnel, je présente mes vives condoléances à la famille de l'illustre disparu ainsi qu'à l'élite intellectuelle africaine éprouvée.

Pr. Dr. Gilbert MALEMBA N'Sakila

Doyen de la Faculté des Sciences Sociales, Politiques et Administratives/UNILU

[gilbert.malemba@unilu.ac.cd](mailto:gilbert.malemba@unilu.ac.cd) [gilmalemba@yahoo.fr](mailto:gilmalemba@yahoo.fr)

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**De :** David Cooper [mailto:David.Cooper@uct.ac.za]

**Envoyé :** mardi 10 avril 2007 15:44

**Objet :** Condolence message for Prof Archie Mafeje

On behalf of the Department of Sociology of the University of Cape Town, I would appreciate it if you could pass this message on to the family of the late Prof Mafeje

David Cooper  
Associate Professor and  
Head of Department,  
Sociology, University of Cape Town  
(tel)+27 21 6503515  
(fax)+27 21 6897576

NOTE:

new email = david.cooper@uct.ac.za

**MESSAGE OF CONDOLENCE ON DEATH OF PROF ARCHIE MAFEJE**

*From All Members of the Department of Sociology, University of Cape Town*

For us in the Department of Sociology at UCT, the death of Archie Mafeje is particularly tragic. Mafeje was appointed at UCT on merit in 1968, but the university administration at the time did the dirty job of the apartheid regime by not offering him his position. With the advent of democracy in 1994, there were calls that the UCT administration should take the initiative and invite Mafeje to take up his richly deserved position; yet in this regard nothing ever came to fruition in building an academic relationship between UCT-Mafeje during the post-1994 period of transformation in South Africa. Moreover, while it seems some limited steps began to be taken by UCT

## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

Council in recent years to offer a formal apology to Archie Mafeje with respect to 1968, again it seems this was never developed into an acceptable public apology.

As we mourn the death of Mafeje, we will at the same time mobilise support to ensure that the University makes an adequate and appropriate public apology. This is what a legitimately aggrieved Mafeje asked for. Those who know him will agree that even in his death, none of us should settle for anything less than this. .

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De : Fiona Ross [mailto:Fiona.Ross@uct.ac.za]

Envoyé : mercredi 11 avril 2007 10:56

Objet : Prof Mafeje

It is with great sadness that I hear of Prof Mafeje's death. Although I did not meet him, his work was of seminal importance in my training as an anthropologist during the 1980s until the present. My condolences to his family.

Fiona Ross  
Social Anthropology  
University of Cape Town  
P. Bag Rondebosch 7701  
South Africa

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**De :** Adérito Manuel [mailto:aderito27@yahoo.com.br]

**Envoyé :** mercredi 11 avril 2007 12:14

**Objet :** condolencias ao Prof. Mafeji

Embora o Professor Mafeji seja pouco conhecido por mim, o pouco que me apercebi pelo retrato feito sobre si, da-me a entender que foi um grande mestre e educador.

Assim, junto-me a familia neste momento de dor e de luto, com os meus sentimentos de

pesar.

Que a sua alma descanse em paz!

Aderito Manuel

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De : juliano augusto fernandes [mailto:julianofernandes8@hotmail.com]  
Envoyé : mercredi 11 avril 2007 10:56  
Objet : RE: CODESRIA: Desapareceu um Gigante .Homenagem a Archie Mafeje

Bom dia!

Presto a ele, pela minha parte, uma grande e sentida homenagem!  
Juliano

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De : j.depelchin@comcast.net [mailto:j.depelchin@comcast.net]  
Envoyé : jeudi 12 avril 2007 06:05  
Objet : Archie

Dear Archie,

I had grown to considering you as a permanent presence amongst us, but, as usual, so to speak, you had to surprise us by timing your leaving us when some of us least expected it. One would never be thankful enough for what you have taught us with regard to never compromising with the forces which have been, and continue to be, responsible for the subjugation of people in Africa and beyond. It will be a while before a true measure of your legacy is assessed because, really, we are still trying to figure by which measuring yardstick. Shahida and Danna, please accept our deepest condolences and sympathies.

Pauline Wynter  
Jacques Depelchin

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## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

**De :** Brian Raftopoulos [mailto:braftopoulos@ijr.org.za]

**Envoyé :** jeudi 12 avril 2007 08:47

**Objet :** Archie Mafeje.

Dear Adebayo,

Let me join others in expressing my deep sense of sorrow at the loss of one of the continents greatest minds. I first met Archie in Zimbabwe in the 1980's at a gathering of AAPS scholars and, as a young scholar, the critical intensity of his intelligence was immediately apparent to me. Archie then spent a few years at ZIDS where his intellectual guidance was of great value to many of the ZIDS fraternity. I last spoke to Archie on the phone about two months ago during which conversation his isolation in South Africa was very apparent. I am sure that his work will live on, not least through the many African scholars that he influenced during his life. So long Prof. Mafeje. My condolences to his family.

Regards,

Brian Raftopoluos.

Cape Town.

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**From:** Benradi Malika [mailto:malikabenradi@yahoo.fr]

**Sent:** 16 April 2007 15:34

**subject:** Condoléances

Très cher Ebrima Sall, très touchée par cette grande perte pour la communauté des chercheurs/res africains/nes, je vous exprime, au nom des membres du Comité exécutif de l'AFARD, mes plus profondes condoléances et demande à Dieu de le prendre en sa plus grande miséricorde. Que le paradis soit son éternelle demeure.

Nous sommes à Dieu et à lui nous revenons.

Malika Benradi

Présidente AFARD/AAWORD

**De :** omenguele rene guy [mailto:omenguelereneguy@yahoo.fr]

**Envoyé :** mercredi 18 avril 2007 16:02

**Objet :** Condoléances suite au décès du Pr MAFEJE

J'ai bien reçu, par vos soins et ceux du Secrétariat Général du CODESRIA, la triste et terrible nouvelle du décès du Professeur ARCHIE MAFEJE. C'est une grande perte pour la communauté scientifique africaine et je m'associe à toute la communauté pour exprimer mes condoléances à la famille éplorée.

Que son âme repose en paix et que la terre de nos ancêtres lui soit légère

*René Guy OMENGUELE*

*Enseignant au Département des Sciences de Gestion*

*Faculté des Sciences Economiques et de Gestion*

*Université de Dschang (Cameroun)*

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#### **STATEMENT ON THE PASSING ON OF PROFESSOR ARCHIE MAFEJE**

**By Dr Z. Pallo Jordan, Minister of Arts and Culture, Republic of South Africa**

The demise of a pioneering intellectual powerhouse will always be a great loss to a nation. Professor Archibald Monwabisi Mafeje died in Pretoria after a short illness on Monday 26<sup>th</sup> March. The Ministry of Arts & Culture expresses its heartfelt condolences to his wife, family, colleagues and friends for this grievous loss.

Archie Mafeje was born in 1937 in the Eastern Cape. He began his schooling at a primary school in Peelton, near King Williamstown. From primary school he proceeded to Healdtown, an old and renowned Methodist Boarding School, outside Fort Beaufort. He earned his matriculation certificate in 1955. His stay at Fort Hare University College was rather short because, like many other students of the day, he fell foul of the university authorities for political activism. He eventually started a BSc degree in biological sciences at the University of Cape Town in 1957.

In Cape Town the young Archie Mafeje was drawn into the fold of the then Non-European Unity Movement, through the Cape Peninsula Students (CPSU) and the Society of Young Africa (SOYA). It was probably his political involvement that persuaded him to switch from the sciences to the arts after he earned his BSc degree in 1959.

## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

The campus of the University of Cape Town was a vibrant centre of political debates and argumentation during those years. Although the Black student body was very small, tending to congregate on what was referred to as “Freedom Square”, a patch of lawn adjacent to the Arts block, it was highly visible and its political interventions extremely vocal.

Archie Mafeje stayed on at UCT, registering for a BA degree with anthropology as his major. He earned his BA Honours degree with a dissertation in Urban Sociology, studying under the supervision of Professor Monica Wilson, together with whom he published a seminal book on urban anthropology, “*Langa , a study of social groups in an African Township*” in 1963, aged 26. The book was the outcome of a fruitful collaboration between Wilson, an experienced anthropology professor, and her student who had acted as interpreter and interlocutor in the township. He was awarded his MA, cum laude, in Political Anthropology in 1965.

Mafeje was granted a fellowship to study towards his PhD at Cambridge University, in the UK, where he travelled in the spring of that year.

Archie Mafeje was destined to play an extremely important role in the development of the social sciences in Africa. Despite his academic achievements, when he applied for the post of senior lecturer in Social Anthropology at the UCT in 1968, to its eternal shame the UCT buckled under pressure from the apartheid regime and would not confirm his appointment. One highly principled UCT academic, Professor Maurice Pope, a classicist, resigned his post in protest against the regime’s actions and in disgust at the university’s capitulation. African academic staff at UCT, especially those in the Department of African Studies, had been treated as if their skills were essentially no different from those of labourers and they were compelled to renew their contracts annually so that their passes would be in good order. The UCT had accommodated itself to this disgraceful arrangement for at least five years prior to 1968!

Unable to pursue his academic career at home, like many others before and after him, Archie Mafeje turned to the rest of Africa. He became professor of Sociology at the University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania in 1969. While there he rubbed shoulders with the emergent progressive African academic community, with whom he retained long-standing ties till the end of his days. While in east Africa, he involved in a terrible motor car accident, resulting in severe disfigurement of his face. From Dar he went to the American University in Cairo, where he met his wife. He was also visiting lecturer at Makerere College, Uganda.

Mafeje’s academic work did not however diminish his political engagement. From his time in Tanzania he was always a politically engaged professor working with the likes of Professor

Mkandawire of CODESRIA, in Dakar, Senegal, Dr Ibbo Mandaza of SAPES in Harare, Zimbabwe, as well as other African scholars who began charting an Afro centric approach to the study of African social, economic, cultural and political problems. Mafeje developed an encyclopaedic knowledge of Africa by visiting and working as an academic in a number of countries on the continent. His longest continuous posting was at the American University in Cairo, from which post he returned home in 2000.

Few can doubt that Archie Mafeje played a pivotal role in helping the people of this nation and the continent to understand themselves and their condition better and thus equipping themselves to take control of their destiny.

During the second half of the last century, Africans battled to take back control of their continent. Largely regarded as “The Other” by academics, scholars and historians from the West, it required highly-esteemed visionary academic activists of Mafeje’s calibre to emphasise the urgent need for Africans to define themselves through their own eyes, mouths and ears. He employed his training to begin shattering the grip colonialist, racist and apartheid anthropology had on how Africans and Black people in general were portrayed. During the 1970s, he wrote a path-finding article on ‘*The Ideology of Tribalism*’, that stimulated wide ranging debate challenging the concept of “a dual economy”. Commissioned by the Food and Agricultural Organisation, (FAO) he did a seminal study on the nature of the agrarian and land questions in South Africa. At about the same time he intervened in the discourse on the Soweto Student Uprising of 1976.

Archie Mafeje’s most academically productive years were the 1980s and 1990s, during which he published widely on diverse topics such as “The Articulation of Modes of Production, The nature of the South African Transition, Food Security and Agrarian Systems, African Peasants, Imperialism, Nation-building, Structural Adjustment Programmes, African Intellectuals, Culture, and The Discipline of Anthropology.

He was widely acknowledged as a living repository of the political language, academic discipline and political commitment that proved so essential in struggle for African self-determination beyond the purely political sphere.

Mafeje, like many others forced into exile or thwarted from pursuing their talent at home, acquired a multiple identity. While he taught in the Hague, he acquired Dutch citizenship, which enabled to travel to other parts of the world. This enabled him to take on work from a number of global bodies like the ILO, UNESCO, The Islamic Development Bank, UNDP, IFAD and the IDRC, where he established himself as formidable intellectual and authoritative voice on African affairs.

Beyond the shores of his home continent, he acquired an impressive record as a research fellow at the African Studies Centre at Cambridge University, as Visiting Senior Lecturer,

## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

Reader and professor at the Institute of Social Studies at the Hague, as visiting research professor at the Institute for Development Research at the University of Copenhagen, Denmark, as guest professor to Scandinavian universities, sponsored by the Nordic Africa Institute in Uppsala, as consultant to the FAO in Rome and as visiting fellow at the African Studies Program, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. USA.

Though he was a keen supporter of African liberation, from his days as a student at UCT, Archie Mafeje was always extremely sceptical of national liberation movements. He immersed himself in the study of the anti-colonial nationalist movements across sub-Saharan Africa. He withheld his support from all the liberation movements in South Africa, and even after 1994 he sounded doubtful about returning home to South Africa, preferring to attach himself to the newly established Multidisciplinary Research Centre at the University of Namibia, as director. It took the efforts of his old friends and colleagues at UCT to persuade to apply for a post at the University of South Africa.

Professor Archie Mafeje described himself as South African by birth, Dutch by citizenship, and Egyptian by domicile. His return to the Motherland was intended to not only fuse these into one but spend the last years of his life as a living example of African cosmopolitanism. Indeed, with hindsight Mafeje can be counted as one of the fathers of Afro centric Social Science, who were responsible for making Africans regard themselves more seriously as professionals producing knowledge. With his passing, South Africa has lost a formidable intellectual whose contribution to the making of a democratic South Africa will be sorely missed.

May his soul rest in peace!

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### EN L'HONNEUR DE ARCHIE MAFEJE

Samir AMIN

Je veux faire référence dans ce papier en l'honneur du regretté ami et camarade Archie Mafeje, à deux de ses contributions parmi les plus récentes:

(i) l'ouvrage intitulé *The Theory and Ethnography of African Social Formations, The Case of Interlacustrine Kingdoms*, Codesria, 1991, ouvrage traduit en arabe par AARC, le Caire, 2005.

(ii) le papier intitulé *The Agrarian Question, Access to Land and Peasant Responses in Sub Saharan Africa*, UNRISD papers, 2004.

Je tiens ces deux contributions pour tout à fait exceptionnelles par la qualité de leur information et la rigueur de leur analyse. D'une lecture passionnante, elles comptent à mon avis parmi celles que je crois essentiel à connaître pour quiconque s'intéresse sérieusement à comprendre la région étudiée (celle des Grands Lacs) en particulier, et l'Afrique rurale sub saharienne en général.

Je crois que mon jugement n'est pas ici biaisé par la forte sympathie que j'éprouve pour la méthode et les thèses soutenues par l'auteur. Je ne veux donc pas cacher que je me situe dans la même ligne de pensée concernant la manière de relier l'économique et le politique, donc la lecture du matérialisme historique qui nous est tout à fait commune (cf. préface du livre de Mafeje), mais pas générale à tous ceux qui se revendiquent du marxisme, la méthode, notamment la critique que l'auteur adresse à l'économie-monde, qui abuse de l'analogie au détriment de l'approfondissement des concepts (cf. Introduction, comparer avec mon article *Capitalisme et système Monde*, Sociologie et Sociétés, Université de Montréal, Vol XXIV, N° 2, 1992). J'ai évidemment particulièrement apprécié sa discussion de la théorie du mode de production tributaire que j'ai proposée, et de la validité de son utilisation pour comprendre la région étudiée par l'auteur. J'y ai personnellement beaucoup appris concernant cette région.

Je fais référence de mon côté :

(i) à mon ouvrage commenté par Mafeje, *Classe et Nation*, Minuit 1979, comme à *L' Eurocentrisme*, Anthropos 1988, mais également à un livre en cours de publication chez Parangon , intitulé *Modernité, Religion, Démocratie, Critique de l'eurocentrisme, critique des culturalismes*.

(ii) à mon article *Les réformes des régimes fonciers souhaitables en Afrique et en Asie*, présenté à la conférence des organisations paysannes africaines, Dakar Agricole, 2005, en anglais *Desirable Land tenure reforms in Africa and Asia*, en voie de publication en Inde.

Nos deux cheminements ont été parallèles et de ce fait notre dialogue, oral et écrit, a toujours été fructueux. Les points de divergence, quand il y en a

eu, m'ont toujours incité à réfléchir davantage, et je crois qu'il en a été de même pour Mafeje.

Ce dialogue devait se poursuivre, dans les mois à venir, sur la question que nous jugions tous les deux fondamentale de l'avenir des paysanneries africaines. Nos premières conclusions coïncidaient, à savoir premièrement que la voie de l'insertion dans le système capitaliste mondial, fatalement en qualité de périphérie dans celui-ci, était sans issue, et deuxièmement que de ce fait la seule voie qui pourrait offrir aux peuples africains un avenir meilleur était celle d'une reconstruction nationale et populaire, s'inscrivant dans la perspective longue du socialisme du XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle

Hélas la voix de notre ami éteinte, ce dialogue fait place à un monologue, dans lequel je veux néanmoins rendre l'hommage qui lui est dû à la contribution intellectuelle et politique de Mafeje.

1. Je crois cependant utile de préciser que, pour ma part, je n'ai pas construit la théorie du mode de production tributaire à partir des sociétés de l'Afrique des grands lacs, ni de l'Afrique subsaharienne en général, mais d'abord à partir de ma réflexion sur les sociétés que je crois connaître le mieux, celles de l'Egypte, du monde arabe et islamique. J'ai porté ensuite mon attention sur l'histoire des sociétés orientales les plus avancées (la Chine en particulier) et sur l'ethnographie de l'Afrique tropicale, par des lectures systématiques. Comme Mafeje, je crois dans la rigueur scientifique, mais ni dans l'érudition, ni dans l'empirisme. L'histoire du monde arabe et islamique m'est en effet apparue fort mal appréhendée par les Arabes eux mêmes, empêtrés par les mythologies religieuses concernant la nature et le rôle de l'Islam dans leur histoire ou des mythologies nationalistes. L'absence, dans notre région, d'une pensée critique bourgeoise véritable – que celle-ci soit demeurée embryonnaire ou qu'elle ait été tuée dans l'œuf, notamment par le populisme nationaliste – est certainement responsable de cette misère non seulement de l'ethnographie arabe et musulmane, mais aussi du caractère dogmatique vulgaire du marxisme dominant. C'est sans doute la raison pour laquelle une lecture différente, rompant avec les mythologies dominantes jusqu'à ce jour (et même renforcées par le recul de la pensée rationnelle et critique des dernières décennies), est souvent mal reçue, quand elle est comprise.

Quelques unes des conclusions majeures que je tirais de ma réinterprétation

de l'histoire de l'orient ancien et du monde arabe et islamique m'ont suggéré ce que j'ai appelé le mode de production tributaire. Je me trouvais ensuite plus que confirmé par mes lectures portant sur la Chine et quelques autres sociétés. Je me sentais alors équipé pour faire une relecture de l'histoire européenne, libérée de l'eurocentrisme dominant, capable de situer la spécificité féodale dans l'évolution générale des formes tributaires.

La lecture critique de l'ethnographie africaniste, que je conduisais en parallèle, m'a beaucoup servi pour la compréhension de la genèse de ce mode de production tributaire, forme générale des formations de classes précapitalistes avancées. Je dis bien la genèse parce qu'il est évident que la société de classes est précédée d'une très longue époque au cours de laquelle ni celles-ci, ni l'exploitation qui leur est associée n'existent. J'ai qualifiée donc cette époque de « communautaire », sans pour autant, en aucune manière, la réduire à une forme unique, en soulignant au contraire la diversité de ses modes d'organisation, recherchant néanmoins leur dénominateur commun, que j'ai cru devoir placer sur la dominance de « l'idéologie de la parenté », base de la diversité dans l'organisation du pouvoir social (qu'il faut distinguer de l'Etat). A partir de là on saisit la lenteur extrême de l'évolution, du passage aux formations tributaires. Dans le cas de nombreuses sociétés de l'Afrique tropicale j'ai cru pouvoir repérer quelques uns des mécanismes de cette longue transition ; et j'ai eu l'intuition que celle-ci était particulièrement avancée dans le cas des sociétés de la région des lacs de l'Afrique orientale. La lecture du travail de Mafeje confirme mon intuition et m'a beaucoup appris sur ce sujet.

Mafeje démontre en effet que les sociétés en question sont en transition vers le mode de production tributaire, ce qui lui rend ma thèse concernant celui-ci généralement sympathique. Je n'ai donc pas besoin ici de répéter ce que Mafeje écrit à ce sujet, concernant l'articulation économique-politique dans les sociétés étudiées, rejetant – comme je l'ai fait – les thèses avancées par certains marxistes soucieux de qualifier d'exploitation et de classes toutes les formes de hiérarchie et d'inégalité – insistant sur la domination politique, en dehors même de toute forme d'exploitation économique ou de coagulation de classes sociales. Je renvoie le lecteur aux développements extraordinairement lucides sur ces sujets (pages 39, 42, 58, 60 à 63, 67 à 69, 72 à 79 et suivantes, 87, 119 et 120 de son ouvrage).

2. L'opposition que j'ai proposée opposant le mode capitaliste au mode

tributaire, forme générale de toutes les sociétés de classes avancées précapitalistes est clairement exprimée, je crois, par le contraste entre la dominance de l'économique dans le premier (« la richesse est source de pouvoir ») et celle du politique dans le second (« le pouvoir est source de richesse »). Cette inversion radicale traduit une transformation qualitative du système, interdisant d'analyser les rapports infrastructure/superstructure d'une manière analogue dans les deux systèmes.

Au demeurant je prétends que cette distinction fondamentale, gommée par la suite par le marxisme vulgaire, est la base même de l'analyse que Marx fait de la spécificité du capitalisme (l'aliénation marchande). Retrouvée par Karl Polanyi qui a insisté sur cette différence qualitative qui oppose toutes les formations précapitalistes au capitalisme, cette distinction a néanmoins souvent été oubliée dans beaucoup d'analyses de l'Afrique (et d'ailleurs) par des historiens ou des ethnologues marxistes.

Mafeje partage mon point de vue sur cette question que je juge capitale et l'exprime on ne peut plus clairement. De mon côté j'en ai tiré quelques conclusions concernant les différences entre les mécanismes qui commandent le développement des forces productives dans le capitalisme (à savoir que ce développement est le produit d'une loi économique inhérente, immanente au mode capitaliste) par opposition à ceux qui peuvent expliquer le progrès dans les sociétés antérieures (lequel n'est pas commandé par une loi économique immanente au système). Or ce progrès est une réalité même si, précisément pour la raison que j'invoque, il a été toujours lent, donnant à ces systèmes l'apparence « d'immobilisme ». J'ai proposé alors plusieurs hypothèses explicatives plausibles, comme la lutte des classes, ou l'appétit des classes dominantes, pour lesquels les exemples ne manquent pas. Mafeje a exprimé ses réserves à l'égard de ces hypothèses (pages 95-96 et 113 de son ouvrage).

**3.** La qualification de « périphérique » que j'ai attribuée au féodalisme procède de la même logique. La dominance de l'instance politique dans le mode tributaire (que Mafeje admet) implique que le caractère « central » (complet) ou « périphérique » (inachevé) de cette forme sociale soit mesurée à l'aune de la consistance de cette instance. Dans ce sens l'émiettement du pouvoir dans le féodalisme européen justifie la qualification que je lui attribue, par opposition à sa centralisation qu'on trouve, par exemple, en Chine, à Byzance ou dans le Khalifat musulman, qui

constituent alors des formes tributaires achevées. Par contre la dominance de l'économie implique, dans le capitalisme, que l'opposition central-périphérique soit fondée précisément sur la base de considérations relevant de cette instance (« économies capitalistes centrales » et « économies capitalistes périphériques »).

J'explique la raison de ce caractère périphérique du féodalisme par le fait que l'Europe médiévale s'est constituée par une greffe des sociétés communautaires barbares sur l'Empire tributaire romain. J'ai tiré de cette distinction entre les formes tributaires achevées et sa forme féodale périphérique des conclusions qui me paraissent importantes.

La première est que le contraste centre/périphérie, marqué au niveau de l'instance politique, ne l'est pas nécessairement à celui de la base économique qui n'est pas moins développée dans le Moyen Age européen qu'elle ne l'était, par exemple, dans le monde arabe.

La seconde est que précisément ce caractère périphérique du féodalisme explique le « miracle européen », c'est à dire la naissance précoce du capitalisme sur ce terrain. Rejetant les explications eurocentriques qui attribuent ce miracle à des spécificités culturelles, admettant que les mêmes contradictions opérant dans tous les systèmes tributaires (qu'ils fussent centraux ou périphériques) ne pouvaient trouver d'issue que dans le passage au capitalisme (et restituant par là à l'histoire sa dimension universelle), je constate que le caractère périphérique du féodalisme lui a donné une flexibilité qui a entraîné un passage rapide au capitalisme, alors que la puissance du pouvoir politique tributaire dans les formes centrales constituait un obstacle ralentissant cette évolution.

La troisième conclusion concerne la question des formes idéologiques qui accompagnent le mode tributaire. C'est à ce sujet que j'ai parlé des religions d'État, qui se substituent ici à l'idéologie de la parenté propre aux modes communautaires antérieurs, et s'oppose à l'idéologie de l'aliénation économiciste, propre au capitalisme ultérieur. Cette théorie générale m'est d'ailleurs parue la seule capable d'expliquer pourquoi le christianisme en Occident médiéval et l'Islam ont rempli les mêmes fonctions par des moyens différents : en Occident l'Eglise se substitue à la carence de l'État (qui alors, plus tard, lorsqu'il se renforce en parallèle avec la naissance du capitalisme, à l'époque mercantiliste, se distingue, et parfois même s'oppose, à l'Eglise) ;

en terre d'Islam la religion reste soumise au pouvoir. Cette distinction, indiscutable dans les faits, est généralement attribuée dans notre monde musulman à des « caractères intrinsèques » propres à chacune des religions. Mon combat pour faire comprendre que le problème n'est pas là, mais dans l'usage social des religions, est toujours mal reçu par ceux qui ne peuvent pas se débarrasser des mythologies religieuses que j'ai mentionnées plus haut.

4. Mafeje étudie dans son livre l'histoire pré et post coloniale de la région des Lacs. Je dois dire que ce qu'il dit à ces sujets m'a parfaitement et intégralement convaincu.

Mon point de vue est que les thèses de Mafeje sur ces questions puisent leur force dans le fait que les sociétés de la région étudiée étaient avant la colonisation encore dans la transition vers le mode tributaire. Il s'agit ici de formes embryonnaires du mode tributaire (attention : ce qualificatif d'embryonnaire ne doit pas être confondu avec celui de forme périphérique). Mafeje en donne des preuves éclatantes, qu'il met en relief d'une manière très convaincante ; il analyse dans ces termes la persistance d'une idéologie de la parenté, mais pour souligner qu'elle est émoussée et ne donne pas aux sociétés en question un caractère « tribal » comme l'ethnographie (la mauvaise) le prétend ; il note parallèlement qu'il n'y a pas de phénomène religieux analogue à celui auquel je fais référence pour les sociétés tributaires (cf. pages 97 à 101, 120 à 124 de son ouvrage). Que signifie tout cela, sinon que les sociétés en question étaient dans la transition des formes communautaires à celles du mode tributaire ?

Les nuances et peut être les divergences des points de vues doivent être replacées dans leur contexte, celui de confusions produites dans certains cas par le télescopage possible entre les périodes pré et post coloniales.

5. Mafeje nous propose par ailleurs dans son ouvrage une lecture nouvelle des transformations que la colonisation a infligé aux formes d'organisation de la région, et une interprétation du conflit entre ce qu'il appelle la « petite bourgeoisie » de l'Afrique indépendante (que je préfère appeler l'Etat-bourgeoisie compradore) et « l'aristocratie » de l'ancien régime. Je suis tout à fait convaincu par ces développements brillants (cf. notamment pages 131 et suivantes de l'ouvrage) et comme Mafeje, n'ai jamais considéré que dans la région (où ailleurs où que cela soit dans le monde du

capitalisme périphérique) ait pu se développer une « révolution bourgeoisie ». Avec Mafeje j'ai toujours cru essentiel de distinguer la révolution capitaliste de l'intégration dans le système capitaliste mondial.

Ni Mafeje ni moi-même n'avons jamais considéré la « nécessité incontournable du passage par l'étape capitaliste », mais toujours plaidé la cause d'une voie socialiste de développement, seule capable de sortir les peuples africains de leur misère.

J'ai prétendu que tous les systèmes tributaires avancés, *avant leur colonisation* par l'Europe capitaliste et leur soumission à la logique de l'expansion impérialiste ne pouvaient trouver d'issue à leur contradiction qu'en progressant dans la direction d'une invention du capitalisme, et donc des formes de la propriété qu'il exige pour s'épanouir. Cette proposition est certes discutable et il est possible que Mafeje ne l'ai pas partagé. L'homme n'est hélas plus là pour répondre à cette question que je voulais lui poser. Mais j'ai toujours écrit que la constitution du système capitaliste mondial et la périphérisation capitaliste des formations soumises à son expansion avaient modifié de fond en comble cette problématique. Aujourd'hui la voie capitaliste ne peut plus être, dans les pays en question, que celle d'un capitalisme périphérique. De ce fait une autre voie s'impose et sur ce plan, Mafeje et moi-même sommes parfaitement d'accord.

**6.** La critique que Mafeje adresse à la théorie de « l'articulation des modes de production » doit être nuancée, à mon avis.

Je partage la définition que Mafeje donne des formations sociales, ensemble articulant les instances économique et politique (p. 16). Mais celle-ci ne se substitue pas intégralement et nécessairement à l'articulation de modes de production spécifiques et différents. Je partage avec Mafeje la critique des abus qui ont pu être commis dans l'usage de cette théorie de l'articulation des modes de production (p. 127). Pour ma part j'en ai limité la signification en apportant trois précisions :

(i) Que ce ne sont pas « tous les modes » et n'importe lesquels qui peuvent être articulés dans une formation complexe. Mais cela n'exclut pas la coexistence, par exemple dans le capitalisme, d'un mode de production petit marchand (fréquent dans l'agriculture et les services) et du mode capitaliste.

(ii) Dans ce cas (quand on peut repérer effectivement des modes distincts) leur articulation opère par la dominance de l'un. Dans l'exemple précédant le mode petit marchand est soumis à la logique de l'accumulation (propre au mode capitaliste) qui domine la formation sociale en question dans son ensemble. Il existe même des modes soumis qui ont été véritablement « fabriqués » par le mode dominant. J'en ai donné pour exemple l'esclavage en Amérique, au service du capitalisme mercantiliste, qui n'était pas originaire, propre aux systèmes antérieurs conquis, mais établi par les conquérants.

(iii) L'articulation-soumission n'est pas la seule forme caractéristique des formations complexes. La déformation de formes précapitalistes (tributaires ou communautaires) par leur soumission est plus fréquente et marque toutes les sociétés du capitalisme périphérique. Mafeje ne dit d'ailleurs pas autre chose sur ce point, et l'illustre d'une manière brillante dans le cas qu'il étudie (p. 147).

7. La question de l'avenir des paysanneries africaines est au centre des deux papiers de Mafeje et de moi-même cités. Ces deux papiers se complètent d'une manière à mon avis fort heureuse, et les conclusions politiques que nous tirons l'un et l'autre de nos analyses coïncident.

De mon point de vue - qui est aussi celui de Mafeje - la colonisation (et le système post colonial jusqu'à ce jour) non seulement s'est parfaitement « adaptée » à « l'absence » de la propriété privée du sol dans la majeure partie de l'Afrique subsaharienne, mais en a même tiré un bénéfice supplémentaire. Tous les deux partageons ce point de vue, à savoir que l'intégration dans le capitalisme mondial n'exige pas nécessairement l'adoption, dans les périphéries dominées, de formes d'organisation capitalistes de la production.

Mais qu'en est-il aujourd'hui ? La thèse que je propose est que, dans la perspective de l'expansion du capitalisme impérialiste contemporain, la question de la privatisation du sol est désormais posée. Mon papier est suffisamment explicite sur ce point pour qu'il ne soit pas nécessaire d'y revenir ici. Des fractions – minoritaires certes mais politiquement puissantes – des paysanneries africaines jouent désormais ce jeu. La majorité des paysans résistent. Mafeje, qui porte son attention sur ces formes de

résistance, fait œuvre utile. De mon côté j'ai tenté d'analyser les différentes stratégies de résistance possibles et nécessaires, opérant dans les conditions diverses à l'extrême de ce point de vue d'une région à l'autre du Sud, puisque dans beaucoup de régions d'Asie et d'Amérique latine la privatisation du sol est déjà un fait accompli (ce qu'elle n'est pas en Afrique subsaharienne sauf exception), et que dans les pays d'Asie qui ont fait une révolution socialiste (la Chine et le Viet Nam) l'accès au sol est encore géré par l'Etat et les communautés paysannes sans privatisation.

La poursuite de cette discussion de stratégies alternatives de sortie de l'impasse du capitalisme mondialisé s'impose plus que jamais. En l'absence du regretté Archie Mafeje tâchons d'être à la hauteur du défi. C'est le meilleur hommage qu'on puisse lui rendre.

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**De :** Harith Ghassany [mailto:hghassany@gmail.com]

**Envoyé :** vendredi 20 avril 2007 10:47

**Objet :** On Professor Mafeje's Passing On

Dear Executive Secretary and Secretariat (CODESRIA),

I am saddened to learn that Professor Archie B.M.Mafeje breathed his last and passed on to the next world this last 28 March 2007. I was in his classes every year during my undergraduate studies at the American University in Cairo. He was proud to teach introductory courses and he always emphasized the importance of Thomas S. Kuhn's book *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Professor Mafeje's teaching emphasized both imagination and knowledge and especially the importance of changing perceptions in order to change knowledge and action in the world.

Professor Mafeje was more than a teacher. He was a generous friend to his students and I remember the day when he invited me to his apartment at Al-Zamaalek in Cairo. He played and later recorded for me the music of Abdullah Ibrahim (Dollar Brand) and other South African jazz musicians. The television in his living room was on and he would comment on the soap opera characters as social archetypes. There was a deeper meaning to all appearances. In an instant he made me realize that even entertainment television was not just for entertainment. Professor Mafeje was an African but his bridges were based on human ethical solidarities.

## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

May your soul witness the ethical renewal of the ravaged but beautiful continent of Africa -  
Amen.

Harith Ghassany  
Assistant Professor  
Sultan Qaboos University  
Muscat - Oman  
[hghassany@gmail.com](mailto:hghassany@gmail.com)

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**De :** dia saliou [mailto:[babasaliou@yahoo.fr](mailto:babasaliou@yahoo.fr)]  
**Envoyé :** vendredi 20 avril 2007 18:13  
**Objet :** Condoleances

Monsieur le Secretaire Executif

C'est avec une grande douleur et une profonde tristesse que nous avons appris le rappel a Dieu du Professeur Mafeje.

Sans aucun doute cette disparition est une grande perte pour le Codesria mais aussi pour toute la Communauté des chercheurs. Ainsi Nous vous prions d'accepter nos vives condoleances et de les transmettre aussi a sa famille et a toute la grande famille du Codesria a laquelle nous sommes aussi fiers d'appartenir.

Prions tous pour le repos eternel de son ame. Puisse Dieu l'acceuillir en son Paradis Celeste.  
Amen

Hautes Considerations

Saliou Dia  
Lamine Hanne  
Interpretes de conference

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De : Elikia M'Bokolo [<mailto:Elikia.M-Bokolo@ehess.fr>]

Envoyé : lundi 23 avril 2007 16:22

Objet : Re: Décès d'un membre du Comité Scientifique

Chers collègues,

Je viens de rentrer des vacances pour trouver votre message annonçant la mort de notre collègue Archie Mafeje. C'est une bien triste nouvelle. Après la mort de Joseph Ki-Zerbo, la communauté scientifique est en train de sérieusement s'appauvrir. C'est une raison de plus pour continuer la politique de promotion des jeunes talents.

Je vous assure de mes sentiments les meilleurs.

Elikia M'Bokolo

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**From:** Buuba Diop [<mailto:buubadiop@yahoo.com>]

**Sent:** mardi 3 avril 2007 15:52

**Subject:** Re: Announcement on the death of Professor Archie Mafeje/Annonce du décès du Professeur Archie Mafeje

Chere Marie, c est avec une grande peine que nous avons reçu la nouvelle;toutes nos condoleances a la famille d Archie et a ses amis et a tous les membres du Codesria.C est un intellectuel panafricain, fecond et courageux qui nous a quitte.

Paix a son ame

Buuba Diop

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**From:** mark nyandoro [<mailto:nyandoromark@yahoo.com>]

**Sent:** mardi 3 avril 2007 13:54

**Subject:** Re: Announcement on the death of Professor Archie

Sorry for the very sad news.

Mark

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## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

**De :** Jeremiah AROWOSEGBE [mailto:jeremiaharowosegbe0373@gmail.com]

**Envoyé :** mercredi 9 mai 2007 10:52

**Objet :** A Copy of The Tribute to the Memory and Honour of the Late Professor Archie Mafeje

Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta (**CSSSC**)

R - 1, Baishnabghata, Patuli Township

Calcutta 700 094

Calcutta, India.

9 May 2007.

### **A Tribute to the Memory and Honour of Professor Archibald B. M. Mafeje (1937 - 2007)**

It is with a deep sense of grief and yet appreciation and affection that I write to commiserate with members of the African Social Science Community over the passing unto eternal bliss of Professor Archibald B. M. Mafeje.

His death is indeed an inconsolable loss for us, especially given his contributions to the African context of knowledge production; the nurturing of future generations of African anthropologists and social scientists generally; and also his uniquely perceptive engagement and contributions towards the Africanisation of anthropology in the continent. These will no doubt remain forever engrained in our minds and memories as enduring legacies and lasting testimonies of his scholarship and career from which my generation of scholars are presently benefiting.

As a matter of professional obligation, and also, being one of the privileged growing African scholars of my generation who has had some rarely close research - based interactions with him, I am obligated to send in my tribute to the memory and honour of the late Professor. My last encounter with him was during the 2006 Annual Social Science Conference on *The Social Sciences in an African Context*, organised by the Africa Institute of South Africa (AISA), in collaboration with the Social Sciences Network of South Africa (SSNSA) and the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), held at the Birchwood Conference Centre, Pretoria, South Africa, 27 - 30 September. At that conference, I interviewed and generated inputs from him alongside with Professors Bernard Magubane, Adebayo Olukoshi, Jimi Adesina, Thandika Mkandawire, Michael Neocosmos, Katabaro Miti and

Abdul Karim Bangura - each separately - on vital aspects of Professor Claude Ake's life; scholarship and career; biography and theoretical orientations. Their responses were meant to enrich my on - going Ph. D. thesis, titled *The State, Democracy and Development in Africa in the Writings of Claude Ake*.

Being himself one of Ake's contemporaries, Archie Mafeje did not only contribute immensely to my understanding of Ake's scholarship and past, but also taught me how to write a worthwhile thesis on the social history of modern Africa from the point of view of Ake's writings. Given his friendly and fatherly dispositions to junior and much younger scholars, we shall certainly find it difficult coming to terms with the reality of his exit.

On the whole, I wish to observe that the African Social Science Community has had to bid an uneasy farewell to many of its great scholars, especially early experts and leading touch - bearers in different disciplines whose departure means a lot not only to the continent, but also their followers and mentees across the world. In just about two years now, we have lost many important members of the community whose pedagogical efforts, research and theoretical orientations can neither be easily replaced nor forgotten. Mentioning only a few, one remembers: Dr. Yusufu Bala Usman (1945 - 2005), a historian at Ahmadu Bello University in Zaria, Nigeria; Professor Guy Mhone (1943 - 2005), a development economist, and one of the most prolific and insightful analysts of social and economic problems across Southern Africa and also, a member of the CODESRIA Executive Committee, who until his death was at the University of South Africa in South Africa; and Professor Chachage S. L. Chachage, a sociologist at the University of Dar - es - Salaam, in Tanzania, who passed away on 9 July 2006. More recently is the news regarding the departure of Professor Joseph Ki - Zerbo (1922 - 2006) the famous nationalist historian and now Professor Archie Mafeje (1937 - 2007).

By all standards, these are extraordinary scholars to whose struggles the present and future generations of African scholars owe the imagination and making of their nationalist and intellectual histories. May the gentle souls of these great minds rest in eternal peace.

## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

Thank you Sir.

Yours faithfully,

Jeremiah Oluwasegun Arowosegbe

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**De :** Alexactus Kaure [mailto:kaure@un.org]

**Envoyé :** vendredi 27 avril 2007 12:39

**Objet :** On Mafeje

Dear Prof Olukoshi,

We all share this great loss. Thanks for your moving tribute - I borrowed a bit from it in the attached article.

Regards,

Alex Kaure Friday, April 27, 2007 - Web posted at 8:39:58 GMT

### **Archie Mafeje: His Intellectual Legacy**

ALEXACTUS T KAURE

#### **"A Giant Has Moved On."**

This is how Professor Adebayo Olukoshi at Codesria, in Senegal, paid tribute to Archie Mafeje recently.

He died on March 28 in Pretoria.

I take this to mean that Mafeje didn't just pass away but has passed on his extraordinary knowledge, his commitment to Pan-Africanism, his believe in the centrality of ideas and his uncompromising support to the downtrodden in our societies, to a new generation of scholars and activists to carry on the mantle.

I personally sat at the feet of this great scholar at the American University in Cairo (AUC).

But we continued to interact even after my student days especially during my stints at both SAPES Trust in Harare and at Unam where he was instrumental in setting up the Multi-Disciplinary Research Centre.

I was, therefore, privileged to know this towering figure personally.

He was an engaging teacher and first-rate debater.

Someone who hardly spoke from prepared notes whether in class, seminar or a conference - he would usually just sit there, hold his head and speak off the cuff.

And he rarely gave written exams.

Instead he would insist on an essay.

I recall during my first semester at AUC, the first assignment he gave me was to write an essay on 'Cattle and Class in Botswana', which I thought was a bit too much to ask from a recent high school graduate.

He was lenient though, and I managed to scrape together a C grade. Later on, I came to understand where he was coming from - because he was not just a teacher but also a very prolific academic writer and he wanted others to write and write well. He was the author of many books, monographs, chapters in books and articles both popular and academic - including his frequently cited article on: 'The Ideology of Tribalism'. Thus I cannot agree more with Olukoshi when he says: Archie Mafeje was the quintessential person of science and one of the most versatile, extraordinary minds to emerge from Africa was, in his days, a living legend in every sense. His knowledge was as vast as his grasp of issues - almost all issues - was breathtaking".

One of Mafeje's undergraduate degrees at the University of Cape Town was in science. The other, in the social sciences as was his Masters (cum laude), both from UCT. He obtained his PhD in Anthropology and Rural Sociology from Cambridge University in 1966.

That's why it's so difficult to pigeonhole him into a specific discipline. And as Olukoshi correctly points out: His discourses transcended disciplinary boundaries and were characterised by a spirit of combative engagement underpinned by a commitment to social transformation." The Institute of Social Studies, in The Hague, where he was first appointed Professor of Anthropology and Sociology in his mid-30s, has this to say about Mafeje: "He was one of the outstanding social scientists whom the ISS has been honoured to have counted on its staff. A social scientist at heart, he broke through traditional disciplinary lines." C.Wright Mills once wrote that never in human history had people been so much in need of "the sociological imagination" - a perspective on the world that would allow them to make sense of the relationship between the personal and the public. Mills, a radical American sociologist, was of an earlier generation than Mafeje. Like Mills, however, Mafeje always wanted to provide a social rudder and an intellectual compass.

That is the project that Mafeje devoted his entire life to - to help people understand their own condition better as a means of fighting back the (neo) colonial institutions and structures that have marginalised them economically and disenfranchised them politically. Mafeje says: democracy in the present African conditions can only refer to two things: First, the extent to which the people's will enters decisions which will affect their life chances; and second, the extent to which their means of livelihood are guaranteed. In political terms the first demand does not suggest capture of "state power" by the people but it does imply ascendancy to state power by a national democratic alliance in which the popular classes hold the balance of power.

The second demand implies equitable distribution of resources. Neither liberal democracy, imposed "multi-partyism" nor "market forces" can guarantee these two conditions. It transpires, therefore, that the issue is neither liberal nor "compradorial" democracy but social democracy."

On empire, he would write: "In an era of new neo-liberalism since the collapse of Soviet 'socialism', it is fashionable to confess the social injustices of the past while upholding the principles and prescriptions of neo-classical economic orthodoxy.

Euphemisms such as 'globalisation' and the 'free market' have effectively put an ideological ban on discussions about imperialism and capitalist

exploitation."

Mafeje was intellectually controversial. And this attracted him a lot of opposition both politically and intellectually. When he was appointed as Senior Lecturer at UCT in 1968, the apartheid government refused to allow him back into the country and put pressure on UCT not to go ahead with the appointment. Consequently, students from UCT, Wits, Rhodes and Natal went on protest - but in vain.

In 2003, UCT Council decided to offer him a formal apology. Almost 30 years later, the same scenario played itself out, this time subtly and under different set of conditions, at the University of Namibia. To borrow from Olukoshi again: "The power of his pen and the passion of his interventions always went hand-in-hand with a uniquely polemical style that was hardly meant for those who were not sure-footed in their scholarship."

Those who crossed his path such as the Harvard University's Anthropologist Sally Falk Moore and Prof Ali Mazrui, among others, know that. "If Prof Mazrui is the leading African scholar, who is he leading and where to?" Mafeje once asked.

Columbia University Professor, Mahmood Mamdani, has called for the memorialisation of Mafeje by making his work more accessible, especially to younger scholars.

The committed radical and deconstructionist of colonial anthropology is no more.

But his legacy lives on.

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De : Margaret Green [mailto:mgreen@mweb.co.za]

Envoyé : dimanche 13 mai 2007 21:12

**Objet** : The death of Archie Mafeje

Dear Codesria,

I received news of some of the tributes to Archie Mafeje by your scholars by e-mail. In the e-mail it was stated that you would pass

condolences and tributes on to his family. I wonder if you could include mine because I

## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

don't have contact details of his wife and daughter. I have attached my tribute to this e-mail.

Sadly yours,

Margaret Green  
7 Buckingham Road  
Plumstead 7800  
Cape Town  
Tel: +2721 761 3027  
Fax: +2721 7628330  
e-mail: mgreen@mweb.co.za

I have been very sad to hear of the death of Archie Mafeje, who was a close friend and mentor during my undergraduate university days when we were both students at UCT nearly 50 years ago.

I have been reading about what a great scholar he was and although I knew he was brilliant, that is not *how* I knew him. He certainly had the clearest mind of anyone on the left during the era of great debates at UCT between the Unity movement and the Congress movement in the late 50's. I can't remember him actually taking part in any of these debates as a speaker, but if any of us fledgling activists were confused by them, we had a question for each other which had the quality of a refrain "Have you spoken to Archie yet?" was what we always said when we didn't know what to think. A discussion with him would give us the clarity we lacked.

I was lucky enough to speak to Archie a great deal. I received a very personalized political education from him and it has been one of the treasures of my life. I was the product of a white Jewish middle class upbringing influenced by 50's movies and glossy magazines in which the major choices for a woman seemed to be what colour fridge you would choose to go with your kitchen décor. During long talks in the canteen or the library, Archie opened up my restricted racist world view. No doubt I even had a lecture on the political economy of fridges! I wasn't the only one he spoke with and educated patiently in those days but perhaps it was often and long enough for tongues to wag and for my mother to even hear about it. It wasn't easy for us to have a relaxed friendship. There was hardly anywhere that we could meet other than on campus. I valued him, but the larger society did not. I did not know how to fight for a relationship or even

if I wanted to at that age. The context was so very complicated and demeaning for both of us. The situation we found ourselves in brought home to me perhaps more than anything else, how much I hated the racism in me and around me and committed me to fighting it for the rest of my life.

He did not remain quite so patient – as one recent article in “Black Looks” makes clear. And this also applied to me. When we met at times overseas – in London, Cambridge or The Hague (we never lived in the same place after he left Cape Town), he would expect an analysis of the society I was living in, or news of some scientific research to which I might have greater access than he did. In other words, if there was nothing new to be learnt from seeing me I was clearly lacking in some important way! I wish I could say that this never deterred me from staying in contact with him, but sometimes it did. However by the time I last spoke to him, some months after he came to live in South Africa, I considered myself to be a wise older woman. So when he exhibited some of the old intolerance, I said, “Goodness, you sound like you’re becoming a rather crusty old man!” Maybe by that time, there weren’t many people who would’ve said something like that to him. He laughed and agreed that probably he was.

So the brilliant crusty old man has died. I regret not having seen him in these last years. He gave me the world when I was just a teenager and he was in his early twenties and I have never forgotten it. He helped to shape the life I’ve had, what I’ve been able to do and what I’ve been able to give to others. I am grateful for the gift of having known him.

Hamba kahle, Archie!

Margaret Green

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**De :** Henny Blerch [mailto:hennyb@wanadoo.nl]

**Envoyé :** mardi 3 juillet 2007 14:40

**Objet :** Archie Mafeje

To Whom It May Concern

Just to day I heard of the passing away of Professor Archie Mafeje and I would like to send my condolences to his wife and family.

I worked with Archie at the Institute of Social Studies in the Hague in the late Seventies and

## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

early Eighties. At that time I was the Head of the Student Office and Student Affairs. I did not have close contacts with him; just the odd talks about certain students.

I got to know him as a very friendly and generous person who was highly respected by both the academic and administrative staff.

Archie will be greatly missed by his family and also your organisation. I therefore like to send my best wishes for all concerned.

Yours sincerely

Henny Blerch

Leiderdorp

The Netherlands

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**De :** Dana Mafeje [mailto:delbaz77@hotmail.com]

**Envoyé :** lundi 2 avril 2007 04:09

**Objet :** My Father

Dear all,

I have read and appreciated all that was written about my father so far. At first, I refused to, simply because I wanted to shut out the idea of having lost such a man...Most of you wrote about his academic prowess, genius mind, incomparable wit and endless struggle for his nation and greater Africa. Having acknowledged all these attributes at a very early age, I later realised that Papa was a "giant" not only in the intellectual sense but as a human being.

My father was critical but humane, fierce but compassionate, sarcastic but gentle, silly:) but brilliant, stubborn but loyal, but most of all he was passionate.

Behind the cynical facade, my father was one of the kindest, warmest and most giving men I ever met. I vividly remember him getting me dressed for school everyday (militarily), asking me what I wanted to eat for lunch religiously (until I was 26!), never telling me to study because to him exams were for idiots, having serious chats with me without ever looking me in the eye (those of you who know him personally will relate), speaking to me logically in the most most illogical situations, pushing me to excel just to be worthy of being his daughter and mostly for being my ultimate reference.

Last time I saw Papa was late 2005. We spent a week together in Pretoria. Somehow I felt he didn't want to lose a minute, he introduced me to my South African family and friends, gave me advice on relationships, life and tennis, he even taught me his famous curry recipe. On my way back , I called my mother from the airport crying and I told her I

knew it would be the last time I ever saw my father. Unfortunately I was right.

I was always told by him that 'life isn't fair', I never really understood what that meant until he left me. I wish I had seen him one last time, I wish I had told him what a hero he was in my eyes, I wish he had known how loved and admired he was. To me he will always remain Papa, Archie Mafeje, the man who got on the pedestal and never fell down.

His daughter,

Dana

=====

**From:** Dana Mafeje [mailto:delbaz77@hotmail.com]

**Sent:** Monday, May 07, 2007 3:41 AM

Dear all,

I can't begin to express my gratitude regarding all that you did for my mother and I but ultimately for Papa. You really proved that my father's life was not spent in vain, he departed with grace, love and respect. Now that the 'fuss' has subsided, I have time to sit back and reflect on my loss. It's strange how the longer it has been the more it hurts. I heard a song a week ago which perfectly described how I feel. Since you were all so close to him, I thought I would share it with you....

Seems like it was yesterday when I saw your face  
You told me how proud you were, but I walked away  
If only I knew...what I know today

I would hold you in my arms  
I would take the pain away  
Thank you for all you've done  
I forgive all your mistakes  
There's nothing I wouldn't do  
To hear your voice again  
Sometimes I want to call you  
But I know you won't be there

I'm sorry for blaming you  
For everything I just couldn't do

## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

And I've hurt myself by hurting you

Some days I feel broken inside but I won't admit  
Sometimes I just want to hide because it's you I miss  
And it's so hard to say goodbye  
When it comes to this

Would you tell me I was wrong?  
Would you help me understand?  
Are you looking down upon me?  
Are you proud of who I am?  
There's nothing I wouldn't do  
To have just one more chance  
To look into your eyes  
And see you looking back

I'm sorry for blaming you  
For everything I just couldn't do  
And I've hurt myself

If I had just one more day  
I would tell you how much I've missed you  
Since you've been away  
It's dangerous  
It's so out of line  
To try and turn back time

I'm sorry for blaming you  
For everything I just couldn't do  
And I've hurt myself by hurting you

He will definitely be missed and never forgotten. Allah yer7amo (God rest his soul)

My warmest regards,

Dana

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**COMRADES!**

## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

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The book is published by the Foundation for Education with Production (FEP)

Another Development for SADCC. Serowe, 1987, 182 p.

This book contains the papers contributed to the seminar on Another Development for SADCC held in Maseru, Lesotho, in November 1985.

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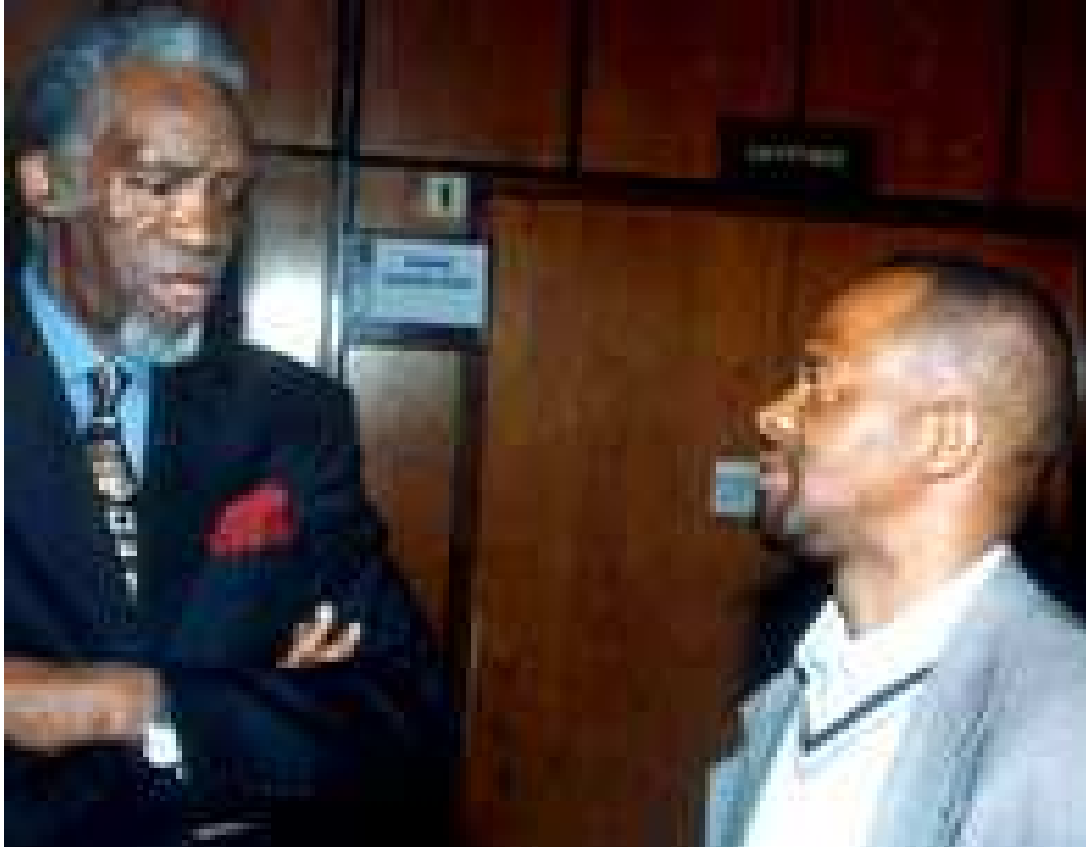
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## ***Archie Mafeje in his own words***



**Pretoria 2001: Professor Archie Mafeje with Dr Manelisi Gengxe .**

### ***The Impact of Social Sciences on Development and Democracy: A Positivist Illusion***

**By Archie Mafeje**

(Address delivered at the National Research Foundation Annual Award Dinner, Pretoria, South Africa, 2001)

#### **Opening Remarks**

My brief is to evaluate the impact of social research on "development", "human rights", and "democracy". These are big, fashionable terms, which does not mean that they are sacrosanct. Accordingly, I have decided to subject some of them to a critical review. For instance, apart from the fact that "human rights" has been cynically used by western powers as a political slo-

gan or ploy, it need not concern those who are on the receiving side as an issue in itself outside social democracy. Among other things, the latter requires respect for the integrity of human beings as social beings not simply as legal objects. It is also premised on equality and equity nationally and internationally. It makes no sense to defend formally the "human rights" of people who are already half dead because of hunger, malnutrition, and disease. It would be a pity if progressive South African social scientists were to get committed to the same conceptions as are advocated by those who did not remember that there was something called "human rights" during the struggle against white oppression in South Africa e.g. the Americans and the British. In my view, the concept of "human rights", as is currently used, is dispensable. Accordingly, it will be subsumed under "social democracy". Secondly, I assume that "social research" is a metaphor for social science since we cannot have one, without the other. Hence, I feature "Social Sciences" in the title of my address.

### **Social Sciences and Development**

In my brief it is presumed that "social research" has an impact on "development". As far as this presumption is concerned, my listeners might be headed for disillusionment. I am convinced that neither the social sciences nor their research outputs have an impact on "development", as is positivistically conceived i.e. as increase in growth or material wealth. The fundamental reason is that, unlike the physical sciences, social science insights are not reducible to operative technologies. Instead, their concepts and the insights they yield are perennially debatable. This is true of even economics that is supposed to be the harder of the social sciences. Experience has shown that there is no correlation between the existence of economic theory or economic research and "development" even in the positivist sense, let alone in the sense of "social development", to which we will come presently.

In the 1960s economic planning was in vogue. Planners were studied input/output ratios and linear programming. This did not produce any results. Production targets were never met and governments often had to adopt extra-economic measures to mitigate the effects of unforeseen negative consequences of unrealised five-year plans. By the 1970s there had been an unannounced shift from national planning to project formulation and implementation. Accordingly, economists studied cost benefit analysis and project evaluation. As is known, this did not suffice. In response at the beginning of the 1980s the World Bank introduced a new orthodoxy, "stabilisation" and macro-economics. This inaugurated the so-called Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) in Africa contrived by the most high-powered bunch of economists in the world from the World Bank. These programmes were supposed to bring about "accelerated development" in Africa. But, as is acknowledged even by the World Bank itself, these did not bring about any "development". Instead, they brought about greater social misery and indebtedness. Consequently, the 1980s were declared by common consensus a

## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

"lost decade" in Africa. The continent is awash with highly qualified economic advisors from the West but there is no "development" in sight. You can blame it on the natives, if you like. Meantime, those who believe that agriculture is the backbone of African economies are at a loss as to what is the best solution. Economists are not any wiser. They cannot with equanimity prescribe the classical capitalist model of agricultural development because it has failed in Africa and since the 1990s it has been heavily compromised by demands for poverty eradication and for economic strategies that would ensure development "from below". Neo-classical theory has neither concepts nor tools for dealing with this problematic. Thus, as of now, economists have nothing significant to say about the prospects for agrarian transformation in Africa. But the new fad now is to train them in "farm management". Whose farm and what kind of farm. Nobody knows.

Coming nearer home, South Africa is probably not short of competent economists but has not made any progress in the last decade or more. Once again, you can put the blame on external factors before majority-rule and on crime since the new dispensation. The canvass can be extended further afield. Russia, despite the existence of good economists and plenty of expert advice from the West has steadily deteriorated into a Third World economic status. In contrast, China, which does not boast of any internationally recognised economists and consciously rejects any expert advice from outside, has made spectacular economic progress since the great socialist collapse in 1990 and it has been predicted by the World Bank that by the year 2003 it will be the biggest economy in the world. Another interesting binary opposition is China and India. India is endowed with some of the best economists in the world and is in fact competing with the USA but its economic progress has been very tardy. At the moment the global economy is threatened by a recession. And yet, the new neo-classical economists with their supposed technology, linear programming, all they can do is to wait and see like most of us. It might be no coincidence that in history real economics is made by producers and economists succeed only in rationalising or systematise what is already done. This is what the classical economists such as Adam Smith, Ricardo, and Stuart Mills did during the rise of capitalism. Keynes responded the same way to the efforts of western governments in the aftermath of the Deep Depression in the 1930s. Similarly, the new "liberalisation" advocated by the World Bank and the IMF economists in the wake of globalisation is only a rationalisation of what the multi-national corporations had been striving for some time. So much for the impact of economics on "development"!

Historically, although less pretentious, the other social sciences such as sociology and social anthropology followed exactly the same pattern as economics. In all cases the issues they dealt with were put on the agenda by actual social practice, be it colonialism, transition

from traditionalism to modernity or a myriad of micro-studies under the guise of "applied anthropology" and "applied sociology". In their case this became even worse because they often ended up doing the dirty work of existing governments. In Africa we only have to remember the role of "applied anthropology" in the service of colonial governments. Coming closer home, in South Africa we have to recall the role of Afrikaner ethnologists, anthropologists, and educationists in the creation of Bantustans, Bantu education, and Coloured education. It can hardly be said that this was a great contribution to "development". The iniquities of the policy of Bantustans and Bantu/Coloured education notwithstanding, it is still a question whether or not the contribution of the social sciences to development can be judged by such mundane or vulgar intellectual praxis as being serviceable to incumbent regimes.

It would seem that administrative social science is not social science but political manipulation that can be achieved, without the participation of social scientists. Whereas political manipulation can produce results, whether bad or good, this cannot be used as evidence that social science qua social science thus far has an impact on "development". Rather it is governments, to which social scientists might pander, that have an impact on development or lack of it. South Africa is a clear example. The nationalisation policies that were pursued by the South African government, starting from 1928 onwards, the labour regimentation that was enforced from 1926 to about 1992, and the creation of Bantustans are unmistakable landmarks in the development of the country. Professor Hobart Houghton, acclaimed as South Africa's leading economist and an economic advisor to the South African apartheid regime, acknowledges his own insignificance by attributing the post-1960 economic boom in the country largely to the "realisation that its government was unlikely to capitulate to the forces of African nationalism" (Houghton, 1971). Indeed, some of his advice went unheeded, if it seemed to contradict the government's racial policies. As would be recalled, the same happened to the famous Tomlinson Commission Report of 1954. All the same, "development", as is conventionally defined, occurred in South Africa.

### **Social Sciences and Social Development**

It would be a grave mistake to conclude from the foregoing critical examination of the presumed impact of the social sciences on "development" that the social sciences are, therefore, irrelevant and useless. If this were the case, I could not account for my own existence. Besides, as philosophers would say, there are no negations without affirmations. The social sciences got established during the latter half of the 19th century as part of the growth of modern knowledge. Unfortunately, all this happened at the time when positi-

## Archie Mafeje: A Tribute

vism was in the ascendancy. Consequently, virtually all the social sciences were concerned to develop a positive science of society or human behaviour. They, thus, cast themselves in a false role. In due course they succeeded only in becoming pale imitations of the natural sciences. In reality, unlike what is true of the natural sciences, social science propositions cannot be verified except in retrospect, as was intimated earlier. Secondly, social science propositions are not value-free. In contrast to the natural sciences, this intrinsic element of subjectivity renders them scientifically incorrigible. For instance, there are no scientific grounds why development is good, why capitalist accumulation is desirable, and why poverty is inevitable. These are social values that vary over space and time.

Understood in a less positivistic way, the social sciences are successors to social philosophy. This is clearer in the case of economics which is a descendant of classical political economy. Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations* was a social-construct and so was his concept of "parsimony" versus "profligacy". These do not refer to natural laws but to social choices at different points in history and had a great impact on social "progress" in Europe. Up to the end of the Second World War Europeans thought more in terms of "social progressive" than "development". It was the vulgar Americans who gradually turned this social-construct into a technical-construct known as "development" that was ultimately construed as "economic growth" or simply as "growth". Under "modernisation theories" American development sociologists tried their best to retain the social dimension by referring to "social values" and "social institutions". This turned out to be a mechanical model based exclusively on European and North American experience. Relying on crude empiricism, the American sociologists in order to match the economists tried to quantify social indices so as to measure "development"/"modernisation". As is known, all this was to no avail and from the mid-1960s onwards Third World social scientists in particular began to denounce "modernisation theories" as an excuse for Eurocentrism and a justification for imperialist domination (see Frank, 1966). Correctly-understood, this was a rejection of American instrumentalism and ideological presuppositions about "development". Once again, it put on the agenda the question of social development. It is this that I wish to re-visit at this point in my presentation.

Social scientists in Third World countries are very well-placed to contribute to social development in their societies, if only they abandon American instrumentalism and positivist notions about "development". It must be acknowledged that the social sciences are more akin to social philosophy than to natural sciences. Their job is to reflect on social issues so as to increase the level of social awareness or consciousness of the citizens of their societies. Criti-

cal analysis, not instrumentalism, is the key to their success. Unlike classical social philosophy, they have an advantage in that they have developed methods and techniques for gathering and systematising social data. But it is to be borne in mind that significant meanings, that is understanding, are not found at the level of methods and techniques. They are products of the critical intellect. In classical Europe this was the role of the intelligentsia who enjoyed a privileged position within society and were not necessarily formally organised. It seems to me that in modern societies, especially in the Third World, the historical necessity for the development of an intelligentsia as a social category has been pre-empted by the rise of the social sciences as formally organised disciplines whose job is to investigate social issues at the deepest level. This historical development in the growth of knowledge has been obscured by the fact that social scientists have been reduced to poor technicians in post-industrial societies. Need this be the case universally?

The answer must be "No". European and American social scientists have lost their traditional leadership since the end of the 1960s. While they have attained great technical competence between now and then, this has been accompanied by increasing intellectual bankruptcy. In the last few decades they have not been able to generate any new ideas. Instead, they have left the analysis of the bigger picture of their societies in transition to journalists. With a few exceptions, their sociologists have retreated into exoteric micro-studies. Their anthropologists have been deprived of their traditional exotica by the sweep of modern history. They have become subjects, without a clear object and hence they are dabbling in everything in search of a new identity. However, in an age of interdisciplinarity in the social sciences the atrophy or disintegration of anthropology into bits and pieces that can be subsumed under other forms of knowledge e.g. social history or cultural criticism and linguistics cannot be properly comprehended.

Nonetheless, the transformation of anthropology should not be regretted because it brings it closer to the humanities where all social sciences belong, if the suppositions of philosophy of science are any guide. Normative social science has become the order of the day since the mid-1970s, despite pretensions to the contrary by unbending positivists. Once again, economics is the supreme example of what we are talking about. The idea of "equity and development" first propounded by Chenery et al (1974) and the prevailing idea of "poverty eradication" that has been embraced by even the World Bank are both incompatible with "positive economics". Not surprisingly, the new neo-

classical economists are not able to deal with these issues in theory and in practice. The only one who has taken the central stage on these two contemporary issues is Amartya Sen, an Indian, who has become a philosopher king among economists. To achieve this feat, he had to abandon all neo-classical positivist dogmas. Consequently, as of now he is claimed by both liberal "development" economists and philosophers. Where does all this take us?

### **The Way Forward: the Local and the Universal**

The alternative to positivist social science is normative social science, that is, a social science that does not only acknowledge the fact that it is not "value-free" but is willing to confront and objectify social and moral issues such as poverty, racism, and globalisation. These are not natural phenomena but social phenomena that are subject to change through human agency. This is implicit in the concept of "social development". First and foremost, social development refers to development of human capital i.e. increased human awareness and capacity to improve the human condition. This proposition is pregnant with social philosophical suppositions that are not self-evident. It is the role of the critical intellect to make the human condition apparent and to reveal denied or unrecognised social opportunities. This applies to South Africa with the greatest force possible. South Africa is not only a divided society but a society that is not aware of itself. Despite its apparent development in the positivist sense, by world standards it is socially philosophically backward and direly needs to interrogate its past so as to generate new agendas for the future. South African social scientists are thus called upon to infuse their ethnographic imagination with a firm social historical grasp. It is possible that apartheid is dead but its negations continue. This is not a matter of pottering in the mud but of intellectual projections for the future. We have heard of the "African renaissance" but as yet its sociological connotations remain vague. As was stated earlier, governments determine the options for "development" but they are not the source of all wisdom, as every social philosopher or social scientist would agree. Critique is the ultimate commitment of all good social scientists. Tendentious social science is not only a confirmation of the status quo but is also anti-intellectual and, therefore, detrimental to human/social development. Critical social science insights are indispensable for social development and enlightened governance.

Some social philosophers believe that the universal is contained in the local. This is only true, if the local is universally recognised. The so-called African renaissance is not uni-

versally recognised. Its intellectual representations are wanting and its political determinations are in question. This raises two questions: i) the indigenisation of knowledge in Africa; and ii) the political significance of Africanity or the so-called African renaissance. Both of these questions are not popular in white South Africa and the West in general. In their immediate connotations these signify nothing more than an assertion of a new self-identity. It is inevitably that any identity emerges as an opposed category to another/others. Likewise, it is inevitably that the assertion of any identity provokes equally subjective/ideological revulsions from whatever is perceived as alterity. This means that there inheres in all social science representations subjective or ideological contestation. This should not be spurned as "unscientific" because social philosophically it guarantees a shift in social paradigms and a creation of new social identities. The universe is never transformed all at once but through changing its parts i.e. there is a qualitative change that is accounted for by a variety of social mutations.

Therefore, the articulation between the local and the universal should not be conceived as free of contradictions. In fact, philosophically and historically, the proclaimed western universalism thus far has been nothing else but a contradiction in terms. Think of colonialism, racism, imperialism, and now "globalisation" (read the new imperialism). Therefore, for the re-establishment of indigenous social philosophical knowledge and a basis for resisting intellectual imposition, it is absolutely necessary to interrogate all forms of received knowledge. As far as social scientific knowledge is concerned, South Africans are at odds with themselves. They are products of a divided society in the true sense of the word. Up to now, their social sciences have been geared towards justifying alterity, racism, and inequity. In their case "African studies", social anthropology, sociology, and psychology have been used to conjecture up images of otherness. Economics has been turned into natural theology to justify poverty and inequity.

Economic history never took root in South Africa, despite E. S. Frankel's attempt in the mid-1940s that was doomed to failure precisely because in the context of South Africa he was obliged to divorce it from political economy. This was unavoidable because South African historiography was and still is imperial. Hence, South African history has as a matter of necessity to be re-written. But this time it will not do to write the history of the country as a chronicle of the heroic deeds of the white settlers and the subjugation of primitive African "tribes" towards the end of the 19th century. What would be required is a social history that concentrates on social processes rather than on the in-

vention of invidious distinctions or racial categorisations among the human stock that peopled the territory. Traditionally, orthodox history has always been consigned to the humanities, despite its empiricist pretensions. The coincidence between social history and ethnography or the living tradition makes it imperative that history be seen as a social science in the conventional sense. This applies *pari passu* to law which is a rationalisation of social and philosophical/ideological choices. In South Africa the citizens have lived under a dual legal system that derives from different systems of jurisprudence, namely, the so-called customary law and Roman-Dutch law that is presumptuously referred to as "common law". It would appear, therefore, that the South African jurists, like the South African social scientists, have a great deal to think about social philosophically, instead of confusing instrumentalism with social development. As far as social democracy is concerned, governments stand to gain from critical thought and to avoid blind spots in their own perception of reality. Social sciences, properly understood, should serve as the social consciousness of society and as a reflection of its reality, no matter how ugly. The emerging interdisciplinarity in the social sciences is actually reducible into social history and political economy, both of which are interpretative rather than positivist.