INTRODUCTION

This issue of the CAFA Newsletter begins with a report on the Kenyan University teachers' strike. This strike began in late November 1993 over a very simple demand: the official registration of the union. Not only has the Kenyan government refused to register the union, it has fired more than twenty teachers and has harassed many other union activists. An interview with Willy Mutunga, a prominent lawyer and defender of academic freedom in Kenya, provides some background for the events leading up to the strike.

This discussion of Kenya is followed by two articles on the International Monetary Fund’s (IMF) and the World Bank’s (WB) negative impact on academic freedom and democracy in Africa. Lupenga Mphande’s “The Malawi Writers Group: Before and After Structural Adjustment” shows how structural adjustment “has left the university too weak to resist financial dependence on sources from the private sector which has its own implications for the curricula and academic freedom.” George Caffentzis’ “The World Bank’s African Capacity Building Initiative: A Critique” examines the WB’s effort to create a cadre of African intellectuals tailor-made to impose structural adjustment programs throughout the continent.

This issue includes a message of solidarity to our colleagues of the Universidad Autonoma Metropolitana of Mexico City who went on strike in protest against the same austerity policies that the WB and IMF imposing on African academic institutions. The disastrous role that these “financial” institutions play in African university life has been a basic theme of CAFA’s analysis of the repression of academic freedom. Our Mexican colleagues have shown us both in their theory and practice that Africa is no exception.

Finally, the issue concludes with a call to action in response to the 50th anniversary of the formation of the WB and IMF.
University Faculty on Strike in Kenya

Since Nov. 29, 1993, the more than 3,700 university lecturers in Kenya's four public universities — Kenyatta University, Moi University, Egerton College, Nairobi University — have been on strike. The strike was called when, after two years of negotiations, the lecturers saw their hopes waning of seeing their University Academic Staff Union (UASU) registered under the Trade Union Act — a procedure which is guaranteed by the Kenyan Constitution. The strike, however, is also a response to the deterioration of living and work conditions on Kenya's campuses in recent years, as wages have continuously fallen, while the work-load has more than doubled, particularly after the mass expansion of the enrolment in 1987. Indeed, it is also in order to better negotiate with the University administration, that the strikers are now determined to have a union, and the legitimacy of this demand is widely recognized by public opinion.

Student organizations, opposition MPs, the Kenya National Union of Teachers, as well as many individuals have rallied around the faculty, denouncing the refusal to register UASU as a breach of the Employment Act, a violation of the lecturers' constitutional rights, and an incentive to a further brain drain. The strike has also gained the support of the Catholic Church, and received a favorable coverage in the press. It has become clear in the eyes of the public opinion that the strike of the university lecturers has implications that go far beyond their own immediate conditions as their confrontation with the government and the nature of their demands are raising serious questions concerning the country's "transiti...tion process. Can there be any democracy in Kenya when even the process of forming a union is being..." (The Daily Nation, Nov. 30, 1993)

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in order to organize their defense.

In America, several academic unions and organizations have already shown, both by statements and financial assistance, their solidarity with our Kenyan colleagues, and it is to be hoped that as more and more academics in the U.S. and Canada become aware of the strike the present support network will expand, enabling the Kenyan lecturers to achieve their goal.

No North American faculty should consider taking a position, as temporary as it may be, on a Kenyan campus as long as this strike continues; and we appeal to all our North American colleagues to inform their departments and academic organizations about this strike so that they can act accordingly.

Building support for our Kenyan colleagues is extremely important, as their strike has implications that are going far beyond their local situation, speaking for the conditions of all the teachers and students in Africa and other "structurally adjusted" countries, such as for example Mexico. There, the faculty of the University Autonoma Metropolitana in Mexico City went on strike for forty-five days for reasons very similar to those which have closed down the Kenyan campuses: starvation wages, shrinking university budgets, the introduction of student fees, curtailing the number of those who have access to higher education, and first and foremost, the dumping of cheap foreign goods and of international policing of the local economy.

Kenya Strike Details
(1) The following is a list of the lecturers who have been fired: University of Nairobi: Dr. Korwa Adar
(5) Financial contributions: UASU has asked that they be sent to the union lawyers by courier at the following address: Waruiru and Mutua Advocates, Electric House, Nairobi, Kenya.

Interview with Willy Mutunga on Academic Freedom in Kenya

The following interview took place in the Fall of 1993, before the strike by university teachers in Kenya. Willy Mutunga is a well-known Kenyan civil rights attorney. He was arrested in June 1982 and charged with sedition by the Moi government. Although the charges were later dropped, he remained in detention until 1986. He is now a member of the Kenya Human Rights Commission, an independent and non-partisan advocacy group that monitors human rights in Kenya. The Kenya Human Rights Commission can be contacted in the US at the following address: Human Rights, 34 Johnson Ave., Medford, MA 02155, Tel: (617) 483-3234.

CAFA. What are the main problems facing university teachers and students in Kenya?

WM. The main problems are inadequate material conditions and political repression. Both play into each other. At present, Kenya is undergoing a major economic crisis; thus it cannot afford to pay for its educational system and is compelled to rely on don- nors' aid. The situation is further complicated by the fact that, for purposes of self-aggrandizement, Moi has increased the number of universities from one in 1962 to four, each with its constituent colleges.

The opening of the new universities, and the sudden increase in the overall student enrollment,
have not been matched by the provision of adequate resources and facilities. This has put the university system in crisis, as the present facilities cannot cope with the increased student population. Lecture rooms designed for 50 students at best, even small tutorial rooms, are presently being used for classes of 200. This means that students have no desks, no space, many have to sit outside the lecture hall trying to follow the teacher by positioning themselves near the windows. However, the teachers have no loudspeakers, even for classes of 700 hundred students. Libraries too are missing. Only Nairobi University has a good library.

To cope with the need for new funds, fees have been introduced, amounting to 6,000 sh, the equivalent of $100, which is a quarter of the minimum annual wage — after the recent 17 percent increase, the minimum wage is now averaging 1,500 sh.

The students were not consulted, and they resisted the new fees. But their complaints have been met with little sympathy. Students were sent home and told that if they wanted to return they had to pay. It appears that soon this amount will be increased; this will be unfortunate, because, the universities in Kenya in particular, are attended by many poor students, who will have a great difficulty finding the money to pay the fees, and will not be able to continue their studies. If that happens, the universities will, in turn, be a place exclusively for the rich, whose children now go to study abroad.

CAFA. What is the ratio between men and women, and how have women been affected by the cuts and fees?

WM. Interesting enough, there are more women than men in Kenyan universities. I cannot give you precise statistics, but for sure there is a very large female presence in the higher education system. I think this is because women are more competitive, more serious than men, and therefore there are more successful in the tight competition that exists for school admission. The new system of education (8-4-4) is very competitive, and women are doing much better than the men. They are more motivated and they work harder. This is true in every faculty. When I was teaching in the Law Faculty, in the early 1970s, women were 3% of the student population; the percentage now is between 40% to 40%. Also in the law profession the number of women has very much increased; we now have quite a number of practicing lawyers — it is a very positive development.

CAFA. In most of Africa, the economic crisis has produced a brain drain. Has that occurred also in Kenya?

WM. Yes, we first had an internal brain drain, as many teachers initially moved from Nairobi University to Moi University, since presumably working conditions there were to be better. But now everywhere, people are struggling to survive, and a growing number of teachers are moving to South Africa or to Botswana.

This brain drain has economic roots; but people are also responding to the repressive conditions that prevail in the universities. The Teaching Staff Union is still struggling to get registered, and so are the student organizations. And the climate at the university has not changed. There are still security officers spying on the campuses, still more or less visible forms of intimidation are being carried on. Censorship of school materials is still in place. For example, certain books are banned by law. Moreover, every time teachers or students make any request, the university is closed down; so you can never plan anything; you are continuously unsure of what is next. When you add to this the precarious conditions of living, you have a very frustrating situation.

CAFA. What do you see as the most positive tendencies?

WM. The violation of academic rights has made students and teachers work more closely together. The fact that both student organizations and the academic staff union have been outlawed, and are seeking registration has increased the distances between the teachers and the students, and has allowed for some collaboration between them. When the police come to the campuses, after all, they do not know who is a teacher and who is a student; in fact, they see the teachers as the worst culprits, because they say it is their responsibility if there are rebellious students.

At present the main student organization, the one that is seeking registration is SONU. There is also a national one seeking registration; if recognized, it would also include secondary school students. It has nothing to do with any of the parties, although individually some of its members work with the opposition.

CAFA. Is there any collaboration between student organizations in East Africa?

WM. It appears that it is on the make. In December (1993), the second Pan African Movement Conference (the first was in 1945) will be held in Kampala (Uganda); it is sponsored by Mucwensi; all students organizations in Africa have been invited.[Ed. The Conference was rescheduled for April 1994.]

The East African governments, however, have been concerned with preventing any joint organizing. For instance, in 1985, there was a meeting of Vice-Chancellors from Kenya and Tanzania, who signed an agreement whereby students expelled in any university of Kenya are also automatically expelled in Tanzania and vice versa. I believe these guidelines are intended to curtail student collaboration.

CAFA. As you know, we are interested in formulating guidelines, for North American teachers who go to teach, or to do research in African countries. Could you suggest what are the most important guidelines?

WM. I would like to suggest some positive guidelines. When people come to work on our campuses, they should try to see what we can do for the people who work in these institutions, what are their priorities, so that their research can be useful to the community.

Today any researcher who comes to do research in Kenya has to get clearance from the Government. This means they have to tell the state what their project is, and then get a permit before they can go any place. Unfortunately, researchers are not requested to be as accountable to the people they collaborate with, and in most cases they have no obligation to the people who help them. Normally a researcher is not even obliged to teach in the university where s/he carries on her/his work. And no demands are made concerning the goals of their research. Yet, if foreign researchers were to disclose to their African colleagues what their research is about, they could be made aware of the priorities of the university. Today this give-and-take does not exist.

It goes without saying that people who come to teach in African universities should become members of the academic staff unions. In the past this was not an issue because, automatically, by being part of the academic staff you were a union member. But today unions are banned; today to become a member requires a decision, and this is one foreign teachers should make; and abide by it. It also goes without saying that no foreign scholar should work in a university that has been closed down, nor in a university where the students have been sacked or jailed or detained.

And it is to everybody's advantage if exchange programs are discussed with local scholars and organizations.

CAFA. Can you suggest a suitable research agenda for a law scholar coming to Africa?

WM. Definitely. There is an urgent need for a study of the bankruptcy law, as applied by the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the multinational corporations, and how they violate national sovereignty. Bankruptcy laws should be studied because they are being used in a way that is legitimizing reorganization.

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UPDATE MEXICO

The following is a text of a letter CAFA sent to our striking colleagues at the Autonomous Metropolitan University in Mexico City. Their staff union has 4,000 members, including faculty, staff and manual workers of the university. They were on strike because the staff union opposed a 40 percent wage increase to keep up with the rise in the cost of living but the administration only offered a seven percent increase, of which two percent was to be in the form of "productivity bonuses." The union refused the offer and began a strike on Feb. 1, 1994. The strike ended successfully on Mar. 17 with a 15 percent wage increase for faculty and an 18 percent increase for non-academic staff workers.

March 1, 1994

Dear colleagues of the Sindicato Independiente de Trabajadores de la Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana:

We are writing to express our support for your strike and demands. We in the Committee see that the university restructuring in Mexico which has led to the drastic reduction of wages and university autonomy is similar to the university structural adjustment efforts the World Bank is imposing throughout Africa. This identity of plans and agents may well lead to the same kind of assault on academic freedom in Mexico that the Committee has been protesting against in Africa.

Further, as North American academics, we are aware that the changes in the structure and functioning of Mexican universities in preparation for NAFTA seriously threaten the autonomy of knowledge production in Mexico and the right of every Mexican citizen to reach the highest educational level to which he can attain. This is a matter of grave concern for us and we assure you that we see your struggle as one that we share.

The Committee will publicize your strike and solicit support both here in the US and in Africa. If we can help in any other way, please do not hesitate to contact us.

Yours,

Silvia Federici
C. George Caffentzis

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The Malawi Writers Group: Before and After Structural Adjustment

by Lupenga Mphande
Ohio State University

There is a wind of change sweeping across Africa today, a wind blowing with equal force as that which reached the continent in the early 1960s. Malawi has not been spared from that storm. Even as I write the country is gripped by a violent uprising in which several people have been killed in the last few months. People are shouting in the streets, saying: "We want change! We want to change..." They specifically say they want a change from the thirty years of tyranny of one man rule to a more democratic way of government.

As far as I know, there is no definitive way of defining democracy. What most people agree upon are the conditions that give rise to and sustain a democratic process, and these conditions are of four categories:

1. Institutional Conditions: these include the existence of parliament where people's representatives can debate and pass legislation, courts to institute redress when a wrong has been done to the individual or groups, a fair electoral machinery.

2. Sociological Conditions: a society that is well integrated, especially vertically (i.e., between men and women, the young and the old generation) is likely to sustain a democratic process than a society that is not.

3. Economic Conditions: extremely poor countries are less likely to encourage and sustain a democratic process.

4. Cultural Conditions: a political culture developed and sustained by cultural groups, including drama and theater, trade unions, church and religious organizations.

These social and cultural formations are very important in engineering change of the country's longs to this category. I maintain that groups like the Malawi Writers Group and their members have been instrumental in advocating for a democratic culture in Malawi and have helped to create an enabling political environment where freedom of expression, thought, and association can thrive.

In this paper I examine the history of the Malawi Writers Group before and after the international structural adjustment program (SAP) on Malawi in the early 1980s. Specifically, I want to look at the effects structural adjustment program has had on the Malawi Writers Group's objective of promoting a democratic culture in the country. I will first give a brief outline of the history of writing in Malawi, and the formation and basic objectives of the Malawi Writers Group. Then I outline the history of the structural adjustment program in Malawi and its effects on the education system that has a direct bearing on the fate of the writers group.

Malawi has had a long tradition of a writing and reading culture that started with the advent of colonialism. The first group of writers were produced by the Christian missionaries as part of their proselytization. As keen observers of human society, writers have occupied an important position in Malawi's history and in the establishment of its political culture and social institutions. Among the pioneer activists in the struggle against colonial rule in that country were writers such as Clements Kadalle who in 1916 founded the first trade union in South Africa, the Industrial and General Workers Union (IGWU), and in the following year started the first Black newspaper in that country, "Muteli wa kasekenezi." Kadalle was followed by the Reverend Charles Chichondo Chinula, a poet and novelist who published his first book, "Uleno ya muhiriitu," in 1935, and in 1944 became president of the Nyasaland African Congress. Chinula was the first Malawian to challenge the European missioner's right to condemn African culture in their proselytization, and was later followed in his writing campaign by James Sangala, and S.J. Nthara. Thus, apart from generating a writing and reading culture, these early Malawian writers also established a tradition of political resistance to colonialism, a tradition that was followed and sustained by a younger generation of writers, such as the novelist John Gwengwe; novelist and poet, David Rubadiri; and essayists Danduzu Chisopa and Thandika Mkwandawire, all of whom became prominent nationalists, offering stiff resistance to colonialism through their writing.

But these writers were weakened by the fact that they did not have a forum through which both to organize their political resistance and protect their artistic and cultural interests as writers, and any hopes of the viability of such resistance were dashed when many prominent writers were forcibly prevented, through detention, exile or assassination, from further participation in the Malawi political process. Danduzu Chisopa, Legson Kayira and David Rubadiri are perhaps the best examples. Therefore, the potentiality of the writers' resistance against the prevailing forms of domination, tyranny and cultural hegemony remained latent until it resurfaced at the end of the 1960s. Then, the failure of the post-colonial state in Malawi became obvious and the necessity for the formation of a formal writers' organization began to take shape.

The Malawi Writers Group

Around May, 1969 a group of University of Malawi students, then resident at the Mzonde Hotes-

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limes, decided to start a student association called the Malawi Writers Group. The group had as its primary objective the promotion of literature and the encouragement of young people to write. The group was open to all students, and its members included poets, novelists, essayists, critics, and educators. The group held regular meetings and readings, and published a literary journal called "Malawi Literary Review." The group's focus was on promoting a democratic culture in Malawi, and its members actively engaged in political resistance to colonialism.

The group's activities were not without controversy, however. The Malawi government viewed the group's activities as subversive, and in 1972 the group was banned by the government. The group's leaders were arrested and detained, and the group's journal was查封.

Despite these challenges, the Malawi Writers Group continued to operate in a clandestine manner, and in 1974 the group was allowed to hold a meeting in which it discussed the possibility of forming a new political party. The group's members were burned with the idea of forming a political party, and in 1975 the group was officially dissolved.

The Malawi Writers Group was not the only organization that was active in promoting a democratic culture in Malawi during this period. Other organizations, such as the Malawi Congress of University Students and the Malawi Teachers' Union, were also active in promoting political resistance to colonialism.

The Malawi Writers Group's activities were not without impact. The group's members were active in promoting a democratic culture in Malawi, and their work helped to lay the foundation for the democratic movements that would later emerge in Malawi.

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struggle for the freedom and the rights of all human kind, and this has placed members of the group closer to the people. At its inception the Malawi Writers Group was filling an important gap in the social and intellectual life of the Malawi society, a gap that had become more visible after Dambuzo Chisale’s death in 1962, and the intellectual life that had hinges around a generation of young intellectuals quickly disappeared and many of these young militants left the country in the early 1960s for various reasons. Those left behind, such as Cuthbert Khungura, later Felix Munthali and their colleagues, were silenced by detentions and other forms of harassment. But it was the silencing of the authentic trade unions in the country in June 1962, the expulsion of the educated elite from the government in September 1964, and the expulsion of student leaders of the newly founded University of Malawi in 1966, that served as catalysts for opening up spaces for student involvement in cultural and democratic movements as the voice of the voiceless.

From its inception, the Malawi Writers Group has worked hard to help generate within the country the type of political culture that has the potential of supporting a living democratic tradition, a task which has become especially crucial now that the “wind of change” is sweeping across Africa. In many African countries there have been attempts at building institutions like human rights organizations, journalistic associations, trade unions, religious groups, and others, while in Malawi it is only the Malawi Writers Group that has had a sustained existence despite the brutal repression of its members and the governmental use of extra-judicial action in dealing with its opponents. In fact more than half of its founding members and affiliates have been detained at one time or another, or forced into exile. Therefore, its analysis of how particular cultural institutions survive in hostile political environments, and how these institutions are often undermined by the consequent repressive actions, is particularly important in understanding why these institutions are to serve as a forum for political dissent and eventually become the first victims of government oppression. In some cases, they are banned, in other the writers themselves “capitulate” and render their associations inactive.

Since it was founded, no event has had a greater impact on the Malawi Writers Group than Structural Adjustment Program imposed on Malawi by the IMF and World Bank since 1980. It has affected not only the current political liberalization in the country, but also the emerging democratic culture and enabling political environment that the Malawi Writers Group had for long hoped to promote. Of particular significance has been its impact on Malawi’s educational system and literacy rates and on its impact on the Writers Group’s goal of creating an informed citizen through its writing and reading campaign. The conditionalities have also had an impact on the group’s membership since the university and the professional associations are its main recruiting grounds. We will now outline a sample of the World Bank and IMF’s conditionalities and how these have affected different sectors of the Malawian population in general, and the Malawi Writers Group in particular.

The IMF and World Bank Conditionalities

During the 1980s, in response to the deteriorating economic situation in Malawi (and other African and developing countries), the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) forced the Malawi government to liberalize its domestic market, reduce budget restrictions, devalue exchange rate in accordance with the international financial market, and privatize state-owned enterprises. Malawi thus joined Ghana, Kenya and Zimbabwe as the African countries that have sustained adjustment programs longer than others, and these three countries were once paraded by the Bretton Wood Institutions as models of success. Many international development agencies and multinational and bilateral donors also began to require in return for their assistance, policies that included new economic and structural conditions, or conditionalities. The most common ones were: (a) establishment of structural adjustment programs, (b) reduction in government expenditure deficit, and control in inflation while creating the conditions for resumed growth (World Bank, 1986, 1990).

Alexander Rutski, the famed Russian vice-president, recently called the IMF “the free-ride in the mouse trap,” (Sunday Times, 26 September 1993).

Many African countries have found themselves caught in that mouse trap, including Malawi. SAP has brought serious social and political dislocations for the people of Malawi, playing havoc with their basic standard of living. The deflationary nature of SAP, such as cuts in government spending and devaluation of the Malawi Kwacha, has resulted in reduced employment, rising prices of essential goods, and reductions in real incomes. It can thus be argued that structural adjustment in Malawi has not helped the poor but worsened their social condition. As a result, the World Bank and IMF conditionalities have already an agitated many people both in the urban centers and in the countryside. These conditionalities have become unbearable, prompting a calculated church protest through the issue of a Lent Pastoral Letter by the Catholic bishops that was very critical of Malawi’s human rights violations. That letter started a political fire in the country. The university students went on strike in support of the bishops, and soon afterwards the textile, tea, tobacco, Blantyre city workers broke a 30-year-old ban and went on strike in May 1992 in which over forty people were killed by government forces. In August-September 1993 the whole country was paralyzed when hospital nurses and government civil servants also took strike action to protect low wages and the declining standard of living, and soon after several of them were arrested at Tiny Rowlands’ sugar factory in the Lower Shire were killed when the police fired on striking workers.

In the face of such opposition, the survival of the structural adjustment program in Malawi has depended more on the government capacity to suppress those who have suffered from its effects, and to restrict political participation, than on its economic performance. Most of the social and political problems that Malawi is suffering now can thus be attributed to SAP and the ignorance of the international money lending institutions of the basic social and economic conditions in the Malawi society. Political factors involving distribution of wealth and power and economic factors have not been fully considered. The main victims of SAP are mostly the urban poor and the rural subsistence farmers and also those civic and social groups which tend to circulate the feeling of the people, giving them a voice.

The international money lending bodies, such as the World Bank and IMF, usually blame failures in the implementation of their policies on such factors as the lack of commitment of African leaders to liberal economic policies, the lack of will of governments to implement those policies; the lack of government resistance to social pressure; and the low capacity of the governments to manage economic programs. Apart from inefficient management of the economy and the unethical support of politicians for these unpopular "economically sensible" SAP policies, their argument goes, the major failure of adjustment program is the opposition of social groups such as the Malawi Teachers Group which are engaged in promoting self-interests against "rational economic policies." Such arguments, however, fail to appreciate the dynamics between the conditionalities imposed by these international financial institutions and the different social groups.

Impact of SAP Conditionalities on the Malawi Writers Group

In an attempt to keep the country "stable" for the implementation of the SAP conditionalities, the government of Malawi has attempted to stamp out social and intellectual groups in the country which are perceived to be troublesome. In this regard, the Malawi Writers Group has been one of the most victimized groups in the country, with several of its members arrested and harassed at one time or another, their activities restricted, their newspapers and books banned and many of them eventually forced into exile. There has also been a systematic victimization of Tumbuka-speaking people from the north and other minority groups like the Yaos from the south-east, thereby threatening the diversity of groups like the Malawi Writers Group. University lecturers, students, and journalists, who form the core of the group’s membership, have been systematically harassed, deported, and denied without trial. Newspapers and books have been banned and Exiles have been trailed and assassinated. But the Malawi writers have historically stood fast in their courageous task of using their pens and audience to demonstrate the need for political change in the political environment in which they live. Because of this repression there has developed a tradition of resistance by writers, a resistance which has now been taken up by other social groups like the trade unions.

The Malawi Writers Group has always supported the notion that democratic development should no longer be limited to occasional acts of formal voting, or even just the presence of multi-
partism, but should stress the continuous informal involvement in policy making at various levels of government, communities, cooperatives, unions, and culture. The group has supported the poor and vulnerable groups in society who have suffered most in the "trickle down" economics introduced by SAP. Under SAP the poor have grown poorer, particularly the young and women because of cuts in government subsidies. The March 1993 Budget Session of the Malawi parliament voted for a total expenditure of the fiscal year 1993/94 of MK1,966 million, of which MK1,455 million was recurrent expenditure and MK511 million development expenditure. The corresponding figures for the 1992/93 fiscal year were MK2,365 million as total expenditure, of which MK1,897 million was recurrent expenditure and MK468 million was development expenditure. The 1993/94 voted total expenditure figure, therefore, reflected a 17 percent reduction over the corresponding 1992/93 figure. This reduction in expected total expenditure was to be achieved, to a large extent, by major cuts in recurrent expenditure of about 20 percent, most of it from social services since development expenditure was increased by 13 percent above the 1992/93 level [MGD]. In fact the budget for primary education has been declining ever since SAP was introduced, dropping from 49 percent of the recurrent 1987/88 budget to 40 percent in 1991/92, while per student cost has increased by 16 percent in the same period.[ISM]

The Structural Adjustment program in Malawi has also affected the Malawi Writers Group in other ways. As a parasitical institution, the University of Malawi received almost all its subsvention from the government, but since the introduction of SAP, public school support has declined by 15 percent [ISM]. Public schools have not yet been privatized, but the stipulation in the structural adjustment program is that the government should not interfere in economic ventures including publishing and distribution of school materials, and this has meant a rise in prices of school supplies and textbooks, and this in turn has obstructed the Malawi Writers Group objective of promoting a writing and reading culture. The restrictions on wages have led to retrenchment of public employees and a drying up of household funds available for sending kids to school. The removal of price controls and subsidies has led to the rise of prices of school supplies such as pencils, books, school uniforms and this in turn has forced many raising of school fees in primary and secondary schools and introduction of tuition at university level for the first time as we shall show below. In primary schools, for example, the book-pupil ration is 1 to 5.

The minimum monthly wage for a laborer in Malawi is about 50 Malawi Kwacha (MK), and a trained primary school teacher earns about MK180 per month. Recruitment of public secondary school fees which were MK500 in 1972 are now MK450 a year, but fees for private secondary schools like Malamulo and Phwezi are MK860, and for Kamuzu Academy are over a thousand Malawi Kwacha. The staff reduction program has adversely affected the economic conditions of the majority of the lower strata of civil servants, including labourers, charwomen, cooks, drivers, porters, stewards, sweepers, messengers, as well as other store clerks, clerical officers, and secretariat personnel. The SAP has led directly to the increase in tuition, thus putting education out of reach of the children of this latter class.

Girls have been affected for the worse by structural adjustment because there is preference in Malawi for boys' education. This gender bias is also reflected in the university enrollment figures which show a slight decline in the female/male ratio (excluding the nursing school which has always been almost all female), from 74 out of a total of 412 students, or 18 percent, in 1972, to 373 out of 2,089, or 17.9 percent, in 1990, although, according to the 1987 Population Census figures, women are more than men in the overall population [MPHC 1987]. This type of imbalance has resulted in inequitable access to educational resources in the country.

SAP has also affected the recruitment and membership of the Malawi Writers Group since now it's largely urban male children from the middle class that can afford to go to university. Before SAP only 3.5 percent of the student population reported that their parents paid for their education (Myambo, 1975), thus about 96.5 percent of the university students came from an illiterate or barely literate rural background. The Malawi Writers Group membership reflected the composition of the university student population. Today, however, it is mostly the business class and educated elite who are able to pay their children's school fees all the way to college, this being reflected in the current membership of the Malawi Writers Group.

Today primary school enrollment is only 30 percent of the school-age children, and in the rural areas the number is much lower. Of this number, 48.8 percent are from urban areas, and only 43.6 percent are from rural areas [CEG]. Since the majority of the population is still rural and poor, the present Malawi Writers Group membership no longer reflects the structure of the society as a whole.

The rural economy has been made worst by SAP conditionalities which were said to induce increase output of individual crops. Supporters of SAP turned out to be misguided by an excessive faith in price incentives (e.g., tobacco prices have been going down because of health campaigns against smoking in the United States, the chief buyer of Malawi tobacco). In addition, optimistic estimates of export commodity prices and external capital inflows led to misunderstanding of the balance of payments situation. Over-optimistic assessment of the overall price elasticity of agricultural products resulted in the failure of agricultural policy in Malawi. Thus smallholders who depend on the sale of their crops to pay school fees for their children now find they can no longer afford to send their children to school. Therefore, since adjustment programs often generate inequitable redistribution of resources to the majority of the population in society, the very process of building a democratic political culture in Malawi has been impaired.

Inflation has worsened the rising costs of education and publishing. The Malawi Kwacha was devalued twice in May 1992, by 15 percent each time. In February 1994 the Kwacha was floated against foreign currencies to boost exports, com-

Who is CAFA and What Do We Stand For?

The Committee For Academic Freedom in Africa (CAFA) consists of people teaching and studying in North America who are concerned with the increasing violation of academic freedom that are taking place in African universities and who believe that it is crucial that we support the struggles our African colleagues are conducting to assert and preserve their rights.

The formation of CAFA is inspired by the Kampala Declaration on Intellectual Freedom and Social Responsibility (November 23, 1990) and by the World University Service Lima Declaration of 1988, which states (Article 16):

All institutions of higher education shall provide solidarity to other such institutions and individual members of their academic communities when they are subject to persecution. Such solidarity may be moral or material, and should include refuge and employment or education for the victims of persecution.

CAFA's objectives include:

• informing our colleagues about the current situation on African campuses;
• setting up an urgent action network to respond promptly to emergency situations;
• mobilizing our unions and other academic organizations so that we can pressure on African academic authorities and governments;
• organizing delegations that will make direct contact with teachers and students and their organizations in Africa.

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plicating the rising cost of living even further. Fuel prices have gone up within the last two months, from MK53.38 (around 35 cents) to MK59.30 (59 cents) a liter, an increase of 12.4 percent, inhibiting the work of the Malawi Writers Group since the threat to their homes and stationary have become so expensive that the main campus of the University of Malawi has had its book store closed because no student could afford to buy the items. No other agency has come to supply students with books and stationary, and students now depend solely on the library for access to required texts and other instructional materials. Therefore the SAP conditionalities which led to cuts in the university budget, have in turn ushered in a university "re- structuring," which is the new euphemism for cuts to library, student welfare, accommodation facilities, and the like. This has left the university too weak to resist financial dependence on sources from the private sector which has its own implications for the curricula and academic freedom.

More than twenty newspapers mushroomed last year after the political "wind of change" finally reached Malawi and the country was forced to open up politically, but today most of these have ceased publication because SAP conditionalities have pushed up the price of press-related imports.

The papers which started with 50,000 copies had to cut their print-runs to between 6,000 and 10,000 as competition has grown for a limited reading public and the cost of production has gone up. In this era of political liberalization, printing has become a major headache for the independent press because the main web offset machine capable of printing newspapers is owned by Blantyre Print and Packaging itself owned by a prominent member of the Banda regime, who also owns the country's only daily newspaper, Daily Times. This has forced the independent press to turn to more costly and less efficient presses elsewhere - e.g. the old church printing presses.

As everywhere else in the world, import liberalization has not only cost jobs in the private sector, especially textile and those areas vulnerable to foreign competition, but has also affected salary differentials in favor of higher officials. Consequently, the salary gap in Malawi has increased in the last ten years, meaning that the higher paid officials are more able to afford balanced and healthy diets and send their children to school (usually elite schools like the famous Kamuzu Academy, or 'Bton in the bush'). Rural workers are even worst off with the SAP because real wages of agricultural and manufacturing workers are only a fraction of the 1986 levels. SAP has meant that workers have been unable to bargain even for a minimum wage, leaving the workers unprotected against inflation since the minimum wage was first set in 1966. Under SAP wage workers can no longer afford to send their children to school. It was therefore no accident that when the David Whitehead textile workers went on an unauthorized strike in Blantyre in March 1992, demanding better pay and working conditions, university students from the Malawi Polytechnic were among the first people to join the strikers in solidarity. In summary, SAP has led to cuts in public works programs, nutrition, literacy, educational facilities, water supplies and health care. All these cuts have had adverse effect on the Malawi Writers Group.

Apart from these more visible effects of the structural adjustment program, there are many other aspects of SAP that have had an adverse effect on the indigenous efforts to promote a democratic culture in Malawi, in line with the MWG aspirations. Again as elsewhere in the world where SAP conditionalities have been imposed, the way SAP was negotiated was very undemocratic, and in the formulation of the adjustment programs, major decision makers were insulated from social and economic circumstances and popular concern.

For fear of domestic opposition the negotiation process was highly secretive and bilateral, with no public discussion on the content, the terms, or the conditionalities of the loans, despite the fact that they were likely to impact on all aspects of people's lives. The masses were thus excluded from active participation in the discussion of economic issues which influence their daily life. Intellectuals were also isolated from policy making, and only a small number of senior government economists were involved in the negotiations. SAP policy, therefore, is a summary affirmation of state interest defined by a narrow circle of the leadership and officials of international agencies.

The absence of a more equitable vision is a consequence of the lack of broad participation in policy formulation due to the fact that the Bretton Woods Institutions prefer conservative, authoritarian regimes such as that found in Southern Africa to support their programs and suppress opposition.

Another worrying factor inherent in the SAP conditionalities is the cultural adjustment that the international money lending institutions impose on the donor country like Malawi. The IMF and the World Bank want to stamp out what they call indigenous "negative" cultures in the developing countries. They promote individual initiative as opposed to the "inefficient" collective African culture, and develop "saving" habits. Thus the IMF and World now decide for Malawi what her culture can be. The result is that all the previous ventures, such as Manchichi Press by one member of the group, are finding it hard to survive in the face of inflation and the rising prices of press-related inputs. This has meant that works by members of the group cannot be published and disseminated easily. The media has not been spared, as already pointed out. The student opposition to the country's economic policies arising from SAP conditionalities has meant that the government resorts to more draconian measures to deal with the unrest. This has sometimes resulted in the harassment and detentions of members of the Malawi Writers Group. As those now teaching in rural secondary schools. The high fuel costs have made it impossible to take plays written by the group's members to the countryside where sometimes they had to use for developmental purposes.

**Ways to Help Cafa**

- Become a member or a sponsor (membership is $25 a year);
- Establish a chapter of Cafa at your institution;
- Contribute to our newsletter;
- Gather, circulate, publish relevant information in academic and non-academic journals, newsletters, student papers;
- Organize workshops;
- Help make Cafa visible at academic conferences.

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The World Bank’s African Capacity Building Initiative: A Critique

by C. George Cafentzis

Introduction

The African Capacity Building Initiative (ACBI) was launched in 1991 by the World Bank (WB), in cooperation with the Africa Capacity Development Bank and the United Nations Development Programme. Its explicit purpose is to create a cadre of African policy analysts and development managers—the type of intellectual worker which the World Bank believes Africa needs most today, but is presumably unable to produce.

The ACBI involves a substantial investment of both personnel and money. It has a number of organs: (1) the Africa Capacity Building Foundation, consisting of a Board of Governors, an Executive Board of Directors and a small Secretariat; (2) the ACBI Fund which will finance the ACBI administrative structure (the ACB Foundation) and provide grants for specific projects. The Fund has an anticipated start-up account of US$100 million. And, most important, it is the first project the WB is financing in Africa, in the area of higher education, and on a non-loan basis. Thus, it should be carefully studied by those concerned with the crisis of the African university system as a paradigm of the post-structural Adjustment system envisioned by the Bank.

Unfortunately, ACBI has received little attention by Africanist scholars. Some see it as a welcome sign that the World Bank (WB) is not disinterested in the future of African education after all. Yet, few initiatives are so disparaging of the work of our African colleagues and in need of a challenge. This article starts this process, by critically examining the document that the WB staffers Dunstan M. Wai and Gerard T. Rice wrote to introduce the initiative: "The African Capacity Building Initiative: Toward Improved Policy Analysis and Development Management in Sub-Saharan Africa," [WB] (N. B.: "ACBI" will refer to the document and "ACBI" to the actual initiative throughout this essay.)

The Document

ACBI is an explicit argument for the World Bank and foreign donors to take over Africa’s higher education, and replace African universities with specialized regional institutes which they should sponsor, finance, and manage to their specification. This recommendation is justified with the claim that no serious socio-economic knowledge is presently being produced in Africa, or can be produced, without the sustained intervention, direction and guidance provided by foreign agencies. As WB Vice President, Edward V.K. Jaycox, claims in his Foreword to the document:

"Many different approaches have been taken to the development challenge in Sub-Saharan Africa. These approaches have all failed to support on a sustainable basis one essential dimension: indigenous African capacities—skills, knowledge, and institutions...Despite the achievements in education and training in Africa in the past 30 years, most countries still do not have a critical mass of top-flight policy analysts and managers who can help pilot their economies through the storms and turbulence that must be faced daily.

The reason for this failure is traced in part to the dismal state in which African Universities are today. The authors of ACBI note that "African has produced first class institutions of higher education...that in the 1960s were supplying both trained human resources and, on occasion, objective policy analysis to governments." But they conclude that "there is now a crisis of quality in African universities due to lack of investment and the growth of the export economy. The example given is that of Makerere University which “throughout the 1960s...played an important part in training Africa’s first generation of post-independence leadership,” but now is collapsing because of “inadequate staff salaries, a decrepit library, neglect of campus public utilities (telephone, water, electricity, sewers)...[which led to widespread faculty flight and a staggering decline in the quality of educational experience at the university.” (WB: 11)

In many ways the authors suggest that the dismal conditions of African Universities may be the product of the WB’s own recommendations and loan conditionalities. They note that the economic policies of 1980s has led to budget cuts in the public sector, “resulting in serious shortages of funds for research, training, institution-building and education in general.” (WB: 11) But, instead of acknowledging the WB responsibility for this situation, they treat the latter as if it were a fact of nature, whose source is so self-evident as to not require any discussion. Indeed, in an ironic twist, the authors of the report even affect a posture of concern, as they decry the fact that continent suffers from a critical shortage of elementary cognitive skills, such as the ability to analyze, synthesize, predict the consequences of policy decisions, react to a changing environment and so forth. (WB: 6)

As the document unfolds, we learn that the knowledge the Bank finds missing (and the only one it obviously considers worth acquiring) is the technocratic knowledge possessed by neo-liberal economists and policy analysts, which in management jargon is known as "capacity building".

This phrase has been carefully chosen to appear to be precise, objective and positive. But on reflection, the notion of "capacity building" turns out to be theoretically vague, politically charged, and potentially negative.

“Capacity” is an ambiguous term. It has a precise economic meaning—the limit rate of material production of a system of machines and workforce when operated at “peak” activity levels—but syncretized with broad epistemic and legal connotations. Epistemically, “capacity” refers to the ability of an individual to comprehend and apply a system of knowledge, while legally it refers to the state of an individual when he possesses a sufficient understanding of the nature, extent and meaning of his/her contractual obligations. All three of these may seem positive. Who would want to be declared non compos mentis, i.e., to be judged as not having legal capacity by a court of law? But the effective use of this term depends upon the products, systems of knowledge and contracts implicitly or explicitly specified. There is, for instance, an immense material and moral difference between the capacity of a factory to produce biological weapons and its capacity to produce an AIDS vaccine. Similarly, the capacity of a Nazi officer working at Auschwitz, to recognize his/her contractual obligations, cannot obviously be viewed in a positive light. Indeed, any use of “capacity” that does not purport to be meaningful, must first answer the question: “Capacity for what?”

“Capacity building” is equally problematic, despite some effort to define it in precise, objective and positive terms:

- The creation a national infrastructure—ports, roads, telecommunications—and trained manpower; the equipping of an individual with skills or a factory or other productive institution with a skilled workforce and other productive assets, technology, etc. (DD)

But in this definition, “capacity building” op-
erates on different ontological levels—the person, the "productive" and the nation—and has different meanings at each level. Moreover, terms like "trained," "skills," "productive" and "skilled" remain free variables waiting to be grounded with substantive meaning. (Training for what?) "Productive of what?" Even the apparently empirically rich specification of "capacity building" on the national level is problematic, for terms like the "road," "telecommunications," "trained" only have meaning when their actual functions are clarified.

Clearly an enterprise dubbed "capacity building" must recognize its ambiguity. But the authors of ACBI and the WB are not concerned with the questions it raises, because they assume they have the answers. For the capacities necessary to structurally adjust African societies are the only capacities they aim to cultivate. That is why they do not appear disturbed by the scandalous premise upon which the argument of ACBI rests: most Africans, however educated, politically sophisticated, and morally sensitive, have "little capacity"—possibly because they are not interested in carrying through the SAPs. The authors are also satisfied with the subsequent corollary: after a generation of unprecedented development of a formally autonomous African university system, African intellectuals must be re-trained, re-skilled and have their capacity re-built according to World Bank directives. Finally, they are unabashed about their implicit conclusion: any African intellectual refusing to undergo the process of "capacity building" will either be forced to leave Africa or will have no access to the international flow of information, knowledge and debate.

The ACBI authors may be confident about their implications, corollaries and conclusions because the latter are based on a self-fulfilling prophecy: as more African countries are being forced to accept structural adjustment, in order to qualify for loans from the WB, the demand for knowledge about "capacity building" will inevitably increase. As the authors note:

At this juncture, with many African countries engaged in major policy reform programs, the environment in major policy reform programs, the environment for investment in policy analysis and management capacity in Africa may well be more favorable than at any time since independence. As more African countries begin and intensify these reform programs, the demand for policy analysts and managers will grow. (WB, 17)

However, in the opening pages, no indication is given concerning the identity between "capacity building" and the bolstering of the skills conducive to making a country more prone to pay its debts. Instead, we find a market indictment of Africans' present "capacity," suggesting that Africans are somewhat mentally deficient and are unable to fathom what the WB expects of them.

ACBI's authors further strengthen the impression of Africans' intellectual deficiency when they inform the reader that Africans are blessed with a greater number of foreign "technical assistants"—from senior policy analysts, managers and business executives to technicians and teachers—than any other region of the world. There are some 100,000 expatriates working in Africa in the early 1990s and the costs of "overall technical assistance" in Sub-Saharan Africa increased 50 percent between 1984 to 1987 and is currently estimated at over $4 billion a year "(about $7 per capita). (WB: 5 and 12) These facts reinforce the image of a helpless and hopeless Africa, as well as an image of an African resistant not to development but to modern culture. This duplicates, on an intellectual level, the litanies about "laggardy Africa" and "can Africa fail to learn?" which have become mainstays of economic analysis in the business press.

The cause for the rapid increase of "technical assistance" in the 1980s is again not analyzed. Why, after a generation of educational programs, can't Africans start to re-train foreign experts? Two points should be noted on this matter. First, with the economic crisis and the political repression which accompanied the WB-inspired SAPs of the 1980s there has been a substantial brain drain of critical intellectuals, who have been driven from the continent by a combination of political repression and economic coercion. The WB's partner in the ACBI, the UN Development Programme, has noted in its Human Development Report 1992:

While the many positive contributions by individual donors to capacity building in Africa should be noted, the lack of an overall, consistent and coherent strategy in this area may have contributed to Africa's current capacity shortfall. For example, donor assistance often includes, and sometimes is specifically tied to, foreign consultants who are meant to transfer technical skills to African managers and institutions...But frequent lack of coordination has overburdened African institutions and available skilled manpower, and too often aid agencies have undermined the capacity of core ministries by setting up their own project management units. (WB: 12)

ACBI proposes to replace the many independent donor initiatives with an organized body—a sort of capitalist Comintern for Africa—which will have multiple tasks. First, to review the present educational system and decide what can be saved, and what must be forgotten. Second, to manage regional institutes or learning centers, consolidating or replacing the defunct university and departments; supervise the training and preparation of a technocratic elite, capable of internalizing the priorities of international capital, and of functioning as a transmission belt between the center of world politics and economics and the African governments. Not surprisingly, the authors of ACBI entitle their concluding section, "Building African cadres of excellence."

Control over such training and financing will be guaranteed by the fact that the learning centers (or institutes) will be financed and staffed by people the WB selects—preferably of African descent, so as to promote the illusion that the knowledge acquired is indigenous and potentially will make more acceptable and sustainable in the long run.

The ACBI, in a nutshell, is the tool-box of the Washington think tanks. It includes all the skills neo-liberal economists need to have, adapted to the peculiar "indigenous" African requirements (with debt-repayment leading the list). It is from this viewpoint the Bank can confidently declare to serious sociologists that "Africa needs development"—for Africa, for what is of no use to it by definition does not or should not exist. Like the Stalinists of old, World Bank staffers, refuse to admit the existence of what they cannot control. This is evident from the claim that little serious policy analysis exists in Africa. "Too often in Africa critical public policy issues are inadequately analyzed." For this, the ACBI's authors argue, is that policy analysis requires an informed debate concerning policy choices among many different interest groups (trade unions, chambers of commerce, and professional organization), academic institutions and non-governmental grassroots organizations, but no such debate is to be found in Africa. (WB: 7 and Box 1.2)

This image of a continent without a highly developed public discourse is distinguishable at best,
ACBI and Academic Freedom in Africa

It is important to stress that the means by which ACBI will be implemented constitute a blatant violation of academic freedom and sovereignty rights. The ACBI intends to monopolize the distribution of funds going to African university systems from all sources, and to block the funding of new initiatives of knowledge production that do not subscribe to the WB's plan for African "development." For the ACBI will only financially support those individuals and institutions with a "commitment to utilize effectively policy, analytic and management skills," i.e., it will dispense its grace only if the supplicant is properly attuned to the economic-theological nuances of the day. For example, one element of the ACBI's plan is to select a number of African universities and research centers as ACBI "national centers" which get the benefit not only of WB investment but also of the funds of other potential donors the ACBI will "coordinate." But how is this selection to take place?

The ACBI Secretariat will develop the criteria of selection. Such criteria will almost certainly include degree of autonomy, sound financial control, and solid track record. It would also be ensured that the institutions selected for ACBI support will have incentive structures adequate to attract the highest-quality professionals. Most important, the national government concerned would have to demonstrate clearly its commitment to sound policy analysis and willingness to involve national institutions in the policy process. (ACBI: p. 19)

In other words, those universities and nations that do not accept the ideology of SAP will be ineligible for educational funding not only by the WB but also (if the ACBI's "coordination" effort succeeds) by any other "donor." Thus the ACBI will act with respect to "knowledge-capital" (i.e., investments necessary for the production of knowledge) in the same way that the WB/IMF acts with respect to financial capital. For as any student of the post-1982 debt crisis can explain, the novel aspect of the contemporary system of lending to Third World countries is the role the WB & IMF play as international arbiters of "loan-ability." These institutions now are the centralized censors who restrict the flow of money-capital to those recipients who do their bidding. The ACBI has been designed to do for African universities and research centers what its parent organization, the WB, does for governments as a whole, viz., to make its approval the sine qua non of funding from any international source.

This intention most definitely violates, though in a novel way, one of the most important conditions of academic freedom: the individual and institutional autonomy of knowledge production and dissemination from state control. The development of scholarly and pedagogical autonomy from the state has been central to the notion of academic freedom. It has been a persistent demand from the university strikes against local communes in the Middle Ages to the latest student demonstrations against the stationing of police on campuses in Africa (ACFA #5). Now a state that conditioned its funding of research on the acceptance of certain state sponsored conclusions, and effectively for bids any supplementary funding from other sources, would normally be considered to violate the academic freedom of the researchers. The WB's intention in the ACBI is to do exactly that.

However, someone might reply that the WB is a private institution, it is not a state and consequently cannot violate the academic freedom of individuals or universities in the way a state can. This argument, however, does not consider the WB as a sort of state; it is a supra-national economic and political body that has a precise ideological agenda and by its ability to monopolize the movement of capital (including "knowledge-capital"), takes on the role of a world-state institution. Supra-national state institutions can violate academic freedom even more effectively than nation states, as some reflection on the past behavior of the closest European version of a supra-national state, the Catholic Church of the medieval period, can confirm. Indeed, the struggle for academic freedom against the Catholic Church was, if anything, a much more difficult and dangerous struggle than that waged against nation states.

In effect, the ACBI is an explicit statement that the WB intends to dominate the development of academic institutions in Africa for the foreseeable future. The attempt to justify this domination under the rubric of training Africans to be "capable," is as questionable as the Church's justification for burning academic heretics under the rubric of "salvation."
1994: A CALL TO ACTION

1994 marks the fiftieth anniversary of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, and it is the year when many provisions of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the newly negotiated General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) first come into force. Indeed, this is to be the inaugural year of the often presaged neo-liberal world order.

Few, however, are rejoicing. Through their structural adjustments, in country after country, undeterred by the misery they bring in their wake, the WB and IMF’s and GATT have created a world where poverty, land enclosures, environmental destruction, and war have become the order of the day, and where everyone’s survival hinges upon their being more exploitable than anyone else.

Thus, it should not be surprising that many US-based organizations have decided to take the WB and IMF anniversary as an occasion to voice their protest and to strengthen the networks which have been growing among those who are affected by their plans.

We believe that CAFA should be part of this mobilization.

CAFA’s work has constantly demonstrated that the WB has jeopardized, by means of its conditionalities and economic programs, the physical and intellectual integrity of African universities; it has reversed the post-colonial attempt to create an autonomous educational system in Africa; it has destroyed the hope of the new generations of Africans for a better life for themselves and their children; it has undermined their ability to participate, on an equal basis with other people across the planet, to the world production of knowledge.

In view of the significance of the WB and IMF programs for the African people, we believe that 1994 should be for us as well a special year, one in which, together with other organizations, we explore ways of bringing pressure on the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, so that they no longer impose on countries “adjustments” that benefit a few developers but are a death sentence for those to whom they are administered.

Our first step, in reaching out to other anti-WB and anti-IMF organizations, has been to commit ourselves to work with the Africa Network and Students for a Free South Africa. We plan to jointly sponsor meetings, forums and possibly demonstrations.

We urge you to support this initiative; to contribute to the 1994 anti-WB/IMF mobilization; and to share with us any suggestions you have for how we can be more effective in making our voice heard and give our contribution to freeing Africa from this latest form of colonization which once again is dispossessing the continent of its wealth.