ACCOUNTABILITY: MYTH AND REALITY
CAFA 18
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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 and Europe who are concerned with the violations of academic freedom that are taking place in African universities and who believe that it is crucial that we support the struggle our African colleagues and African students are conducting to assert and preserve their rights.

CAFA was organized in the Spring of 1991; since then we have been involved in numerous campaigns on behalf of African teachers and students. We have also created and continue to update a "Chronology of the African Student Movement from 1985." The CAFA Newsletter contains scholarly articles on the impact of the World Bank and IMF policies on African education as well as action alerts and other information about student and faculty struggles on African campuses.

For back issues of the Newsletter and updates please visit our website at: http://www.autonomedia.org/cafa

The annual fee for membership in CAFA is $25. The Newsletter is not for sale, it is freely distributed. To send comments about or/and criticisms of the articles in the Newsletter, or to submit articles to the Newsletter please contact CAFA’s coordinators:

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The following interview with Prof. Ruth Meena was conducted by a number of members of CAFA during a conference in Locum, Germany in February 2002. Prof. Meena is a teacher in the Political Science Department at the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania and is a respected scholar-activist. She has been involved in a number of important initiatives for over twenty years.

One of her first initiatives was the Women's Research and Documentation Project (WRDP) which was organized in the early 1980s to promote the study and research of the "women's question" in Tanzania. For more information on the WRDP see Ruth Meena's and Marjorie Mbilinyi article, "Women's Research and Documentation Project (Tanzania)" in Signs, v. 16, n.4 (Summer 1991), pp. 852-859.

Another organization that she has helped to develop is the Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP) which is "a non-governmental organization committed to facilitating the process of gender equality, equity and women's empowerment at different levels of society. Since its inception in 1993, TGNP has been engaged in three core programmes: Training and Outreach; Information Generation and Dissemination; and Lobbying and Advocacy. Gender analysis at different levels, participatory and animation methodologies, and coalition building and networking have been some of the tools used to realize the objectives set" (from the Preface to TGNP's pamphlet, Budgeting with a Gender Focus, Dar es Salaam: TGNP, 1999). The TGNP's address is: P.O. Box 8921, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

CAFA: How long have you been teaching at the University of Dar es Salaam?

RM: Since 1979. But I have always been a teacher. I graduated from the same university.

CAFA: How did you first get involved in struggles against structural adjustment?

RM: My first inspiration arose with the changes that took place in the health sector and the education sector, especially the health sector. After the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) many women could no longer afford the cost of visiting a clinic, since the government was forced to defund health programs and invest in the so-called "productive" sector. So my initial involvement, together with my colleagues, was to say, "We can resist the privatization of the very few resources available." We were not trying to mobilize additional resources at the time. We were simply considering whether there could be a prioritizing of the remaining services to reduce the suffering, particularly of women. The numbers of women who were dying of postpartum complications was escalating, and so was the number of kids who were dropping out of primary school because the government was not providing adequate facilities.
You remember that in the early 1990s the students were rioting. This was because the government suddenly withdrew their scholarships and demanded that the parents participate in financing the health and education sectors. But "sharing the cost" was not possible, given the levels of poverty among the working class and the peasants.

Two levels of organization then developed. One was the Tanzania Gender Network that started as a reaction to SAP. It was a movement led by a few inspired women and a few young men. The first question we asked was, "Who is contributing to the national 'cake'? And where is this national 'cake' going?"

We started with three sectors: the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Health, and the Ministry of Education. These three ministries constituted the area of our initial research. The process was quite interesting. We combined individuals from the university, from civil society, and from the government. For the university we wanted to develop a gender research, a gender tools, and a gender perspective. We also wanted to learn about the budget. Many people don't know how the government budgets. It was to be a learning process.

For civil society we wanted the results of the research to be of use to activists. For the government sector, we wanted to create entry points for information.

That was the process, which was immediately popularized; because along with building the research tools, we also called meetings and set up workshops as a way to broaden the struggle and sensitizing people about the issues that we were studying as well as issues from other stakeholders.

So we started collecting information. There were two levels of information: the national level and the district level. The Ministries set the guidelines, the priorities and even the budget ceilings. It is a top down process. We wanted to question that. There is a lot of talk about democratization and decentralization, but the budget had not been democratized or decentralized! We also wanted the process to question the methods that were being used in decision making.

Once we would get our results we would go back to the ministry and have what we called "feed back" sessions. We would correct the initial information, unpackage it, repack it, and we would go back and say, "These are the findings. This is how the money was spent." We would debate because we did not want to come out with something that they would denounce. We would often say to them, "We don't see anywhere in the budget where these issues have been answered." Immediately after the "feed back" we would turn to the media. In that way, our work became extremely popularized. Some of the data which we couldn't get in the research process, we were able to get after we published the information and started to disseminate it. Concerning the Ministry of Health, we woke up one day and found a newspaper saying, "According to the research conducted by so-and-so there was this money spent..." This information was sent to by someone in the Ministry who was very progressive, and who realized that we had been misinformed, but it was published under our name. So the article would run, "According to Dr. Ruth Meena, $60,000 was spent sending a patient abroad," and it would break down how that money could be used in alternative ways.

We were getting that type of "feed back." It is easy enough to say that a Ministry is corrupt, but within a Ministry there are many people who are, in one way or another, activists but do not have the outlets to channel the information. In this way we were building a coalition around the issues we were researching.

CAFA: How did you verify this information and knowledge?

RM: We started retracing the money that is allocated to the Ministry. A certain amount of money is allocated for treating patients abroad, a certain amount of money goes to the hospitals. Health care in Tanzania is structured in such a way that the grassroots level gets primary health care, that is administered by someone with less education. Then there is the district level that has a district hospital or health center that has funds allocated to it. Funds are also allocated to regional hospitals, and then there are the central hospitals that get a bigger chunk of the money and also the experts.

That is a hierarchy that we are questioning. What was very disturbing was realizing that the funds for treating patients abroad were mismanaged. We asked, "who has gone abroad?" This privilege is supposed to be accessible to anyone with a disease which is difficult to cure. But the sum allocated was incredibly large. So we wanted to find out what diseases required treatment abroad, and if it was the ministers' wives who were going abroad; and whether a peasant with the same disease would get the same chance.

But when we traced this money, we found out that it was never spent on medical treatment. This is public money; thus, if you go to South Africa or Canada for treatment, it is known; the transaction is recorded. If someone gets money to be treated abroad, there must be a hospital there which is responsible for the treatment; there must be a bill for the patient and some times for the nurse who escorts the patient. But this money was a fraud. And because we made a big noise about this matter the Minister of Health was forced to resign.

CAFA: How did this research apply to the issue of education?

RM: In terms of education, we were looking at the priorities. How much was going to what sector? How much money was lost in the process? Every year there are the Auditor General's reports. We went through them and we asked about some of the money that was not accounted for. We calculated how many books could be bought if this money was recovered. We asked, in terms of prioritization, "Why is this sector getting so much money while this sector is not getting so much money?"

CAFA: What is the effect of globalization on education in Tanzania?

RM: If by "globalization" you mean the way the World Bank is dictating priorities through SAPs, it has definitely affected the whole social sector. It has resulted in less spending for education and health, and the shift of spending from the "productive" to the "productive" sectors; it turns out that the "non-productive" sectors are the social sectors. True, now, with the HIPC [Heavily Indebted Poor Countries] provision, they have reversed their policy. But after a whole period disinvestment, when you reinvest in a social sector you are very behind.

At the beginning, with the intervention of the World Bank, there was a push to disinvest in health and education. It meant less money for developing our human capital.
But without an economic base enabling people to pay for health and education, the withdrawal of the state from those sectors was disastrous. Now, after these programs have had their negative impact, they are coming back with HIPC money saying to us, "Reinvest in your social sector." It is very confusing. Already a lot of damage has been done, in terms of loss of resources, dropouts, etc. If you have a whole generation that does not have textbooks and other resources, you are losing a generation. When you reinvest, you don't capture the same group.

There was also a process of privatization. With such a disinvestment, the University of Dar es Salaam could absorb less than 10,000 students, which is a very small number, in a context where the poverty levels are high. There is no way that even a fraction of its citizens can afford university education.

**CAFA:** What do you make of the argument that Africa does not need high skilled labor, i.e., Africans do need doctorates in many fields, they only need vocational training?

**RM:** That is nonsense. There is no country that doesn't need intellectuals, thinkers, analysts, social and technical engineers, especially if we are to move from the levels in which we are now. There is no way we are going to move by simply producing technocrats.

**CAFA:** Let's look at how all this affects women, gender equity and access to education.

**RM:** When you look at gender equity you need to look at the history of colonialism up until the 1970s, when there was a new attempt to bridge the gender gap, at least as far as balancing numbers, if not in terms of content and decision-making. In countries like Tanzania, where primary education was made compulsory, we were more or less reached parity in terms of gender balance, and we were about to reach parity in secondary school. But with the introduction of "user fees" and the growing levels of poverty, when poor households have to decide where to invest and in whom to invest in, girls and women are disadvantaged. We have seen their numbers declining. The most significant gains we made in the 1970s, we now are losing out. There has to be something to reactivate the movement toward gender parity.

When you have more resources it is possible to look at the content of education, e.g., looking at textbooks. But when you have small resources, that is no longer a priority.

**CAFA:** The World Bank has a program that targets the employment and education of women. How did it affect Tanzania?

**RM:** For Tanzania, there is a very small fund, and it involves "cost sharing" and benefits very few regions.

**CAFA:** Who are we talking about?

**RM:** The recipients have to pass, but they also have to contribute. It is not a total grant. It is not making a big impact.

**CAFA:** You are saying that the university is almost privatized. How has this affected the students at the University of Dar es Salaam?

**RM:** There is no full scholarship; what "cost sharing" means, then, is that there are many who cannot afford it. There are some that come with partial scholarships and then there are the private students. Among those who come as private students, many cannot afford the upkeep. In order to save money they share the dormitory facilities. So, space becomes a problem. As for the long-term effects, we will see them by seeing how many can actually continue their schooling and what the government will do.

**CAFA:** Has the partial privatization affected the gender ratio?

**RM:** At least at the University of Dar es Salaam there is an affirmative action program. The target now is for gender parity to be realized by 2005. This year the target was for 30%. That is a big number because it went up from 16%. It is almost a doubling. Affirmative action is not saying "bring in the those students who cannot qualify." In some faculties the competition is so high that there are a lot of kids who have passed the exams but cannot get into the university. In some other faculties, like the sciences, there has been a lowering of the entry exam grade and the beginning of a crash program to help the students pass the exam. This was encouraging, because in recent graduating classes, many of the best students were those who came in under the affirmative action rules.

**CAFA:** So through Affirmative Action more young women have entered the university.

**RM:** Yes, there has also been some alternative funding. SADC [Southern African Development Community] has provided some funding. The Carnegie Foundation has provided some as well.

**CAFA:** Perhaps you can give us your view on the phenomenon of "consultancies." How are they funded?

**RM:** It depends on who is buying the knowledge. It might be people in business; if it's people in the social sciences, the donors might want us to evaluate their programs. It depends on the fields and not every field is marketable. The University established a consultancy wing. If you go through the university to do the consultancies, a fraction of that money goes to the university. If you decide not to make your report official or you do not want to use the report as a criterion for the evaluation of your performance at the end of the year, then you do not have to go through the university.

**CAFA:** In terms of students' access to faculty, what do consultancies mean? Is there any kind of conflict between working on consultancies and faculty's attention to students?

**RM:** It varies from individual to individual. There was a period, for instance, when the faculty in the law school was allowed to take private clients, but the students made a lot of noise saying that the faculty was not sufficiently available. It does disrupt the academic environment, but it allows you to reproduce yourself.
CAFA: Concerning the living conditions of the faculty, can you tell us what are the average salaries? This is an issue CAFA has tried to follow for more than ten years now. For example, what would be the monthly salary of a senior lecturer at the University of Dar es Salaam? Not just in terms of money but more in terms of what you can buy. Can you live on it? Can you raise a family on it?

RM: There have been a lot of improvements in the last five years or so in terms of salaries. For example, full professors do not have to struggle as much as in the 1980s when they had to drive taxis. We have passed that level. But still the money is not enough. Even if you are not sharing your salary with your extended family, you have to subsidize it. The university has been trying to increase salaries gradually, but it is still not enough. Because if you do not have to reproduce only yourself; you also have to deal with the poverty around you. For instance, you may have three or four people dependent on you.

CAFA: Yesterday, I quoted Kirim Hirji as he described what studying at the School of Medicine of University of Dar es Salaam was like in the 1990s. Let me read you a passage: "As one goes around the Faculty of Medicine one wonders whether one hundred years after Carl Peters landed a second partition of Africa is occurring. The Dental School is run by the Finnish, the AIDS research program is run by the Swedes, community health projects by the Germans with the British, Italians and Danish and so on their own spheres of influence." Is this description still valid?

RM: I wouldn't know about the School of Medicine, I can only talk a bit about the Main Campus. The main funder on the Maine Campus is SADC. But it is like "basket funding," i.e., it is not sponsor-specific. They call it "core funding". It is not like it used to be. The Ministry of Education had, at one time, twenty donors supporting different packages in the education sector. But there has been a move away from this because it cost a lot of money to monitor the separate projects. However, not all donors are willing to put their funds in such a basket. That has been a problem, but the trend now is to put everything in one basket.

CAFA: How do faculty decide on their research agenda? How is it funded? Is there any kind of autonomy or is determined by outside funding?

RM: I will concentrate on my department, Political Science. Our main objective, since 1995, has been studying the political changes that are taking place in the country. We have been organizing a center for the materials we have developed. This has not been dictated by forces outside of the university.

CAFA: Do you have a budget allocated to you?

RM: It is not allocated. We look for it. We do fund-raising. We don't have to go through the university. When we get grants we arrange for it to come through the university, but we manage it.

CAFA: Are there institutes outside the university?

RM: There are institutes that are part of the university, e.g., the Institute of Development Studies.

CAFA: What is the relationship between institutes and the university?

RM: The institutes do the research and the faculties do the teaching.

CAFA: They are not run like Polytechnics?

RM: No.

CAFA: Tanzania has tried to achieve an independent, Africa-centered world view with education in Swahili. Has SAP affected this goal?

RM: Once the drive to privatization started, the big business was to open pre-schools and primary schools with English as the language of instruction. They call them "international schools," simply because they teach in English. Many parents prefer English because they see it as the business language. And as long as the university uses English, then, the secondary schools must also use English. So far "international schools" are mainly confined to the big city, because they are very expensive. But there is a trend to establishing private secondary schools where, at the end of four years, the students take the national exams or the Cambridge exams.

CAFA: So now you have a two-tier system where the elite education is in English while the rest continue with Swahili.

RM: Yes.

CAFA: How have these changes in the university affected your work as an academic?

RM: I think the main change in my work is that I am taking more interest in civil society. I don't engage in too many extra activities at the university in order to devote a lot of my time to civil society. I am not sure if this is a result of SAP. For there have been many simultaneous developments not just one. Probably, with or without SAP, at this point, I would still be dealing with civil society. For it is there that I'm testing a lot of theories. I get frustrated when I don't see change. I have been trying to bring together the theoretical developments with the movements. I can see some small results. I have managed to convince some of my students to engage in human rights issues. Some of the young people I have taught have gone into their communities to increase their awareness of human rights. So, it is not a simple process that has led me to this change.

CAFA: Tell us about your work as an activist.

RM: I think the main change in my work is that I am taking more interest in civil society. I don't engage in too many extra activities at the university in order to devote a lot of my time to civil society. I am not sure if this is a result of SAP. For there have been many simultaneous developments not just one. Probably, with or without SAP, at this point, I would still be dealing with civil society. For it is there that I'm testing a lot of theories. I get frustrated when I don't see change. I have been trying to bring together the theoretical developments with the movements. I can see some small results. I have managed to convince some of my students to engage in human rights issues. Some of the young people I have taught have gone into their communities to increase their awareness of human rights. So, it is not a simple process that has led me to this change.
RM: After the opening up of the political space in 1994-95, civil society organizations mushroomed including women's organizations or organizations aiming to bring gender equality. The Gender Network, which is a coalition of feminist activists, was largely made up of women.

CAFA: How did the women's movement develop in Tanzania?

RM: That would be a long history! It would take us back to the time before the colonial period. Women joined forces to fight for independence. Women were involved in the ruling party. And later there were autonomous women's organizations, e.g., women's cooperatives. The Tanzanian Gender Network is a movement, a coalition of feminist activists.

CAFA: What does feminism mean in the African context?

RM: For me "feminism" means theorizing and organizing for the liberation of the oppressed populations.

CAFA: Feminism is often criticized from the viewpoint of class, being associated with middle class women. Is that a problem in your work?

RM: Whenever you organize as women you have to face such challenges. Once in a conference we were discussing genital mutilation and a man said, "You women are causing so much trouble. If you come to Kenya to speak about this you will also be mutilated!" Of course, you get labeled. They look at you and say, "So and so got her education in the Western world." But you can't give up, because that is the struggle.

CAFA: Is the feminist movement in Tanzania inclusive of women who are not Western educated?

RM: Yes, because feminist organizations are part of the grassroots movement.

CAFA: What kind of organizing has taken place during the World Bank and the IMF in Tanzania.

RM: First there was the government led opposition during Nyere's time. The negotiations with the World Bank and IMF took four or five years until 1986 when the first SAP was introduced. Nyere popularized debt resistance. People did not understand Nyere's attitude to SAP. But then he retired; probably the introduction of the SAP pushed him to retire, because it was too much in contradiction with his philosophical position. The next regime had no chance of opting out. Tanzania's aid-dependency had become very high. The Nyere government was able to resist because there were still donors who supported it. But it reached a point when the Scandinavians, who were our best friends said, "you guys must sign." There have been attempts by my government to resist. That was the first phase.

Then it became clear that SAP was having a big impact on people's lives. Tanzanians are not people who go out into the streets and shout. It was not part of the political culture. They tend to suffer in silence! There were a few isolated strikes in parastatal organizations, particularly when they were privatized, because as soon as the parastatals are privatized, most of the employees are fired. But these strikes were not successful. Then there were the anti-debt campaigns and the kind of organizing that I have talked about.

CAFA: The World Bank recently came to Tanzania.

RM: They came to discuss about poverty! "Poverty alleviation" was their terminology. When they came for the meeting the Tanzania Gender Network, together with other feminist organizations, put out a press release to question the rationale of the meeting. But there was no response. They organized demonstrations and some of the leaders were arrested and put into jail. After some "noise" was made about the imprisonment, the President ordered their release and said that it had been wrong to arrest them because they were supporting "Us," meaning the government! In other words, if they had been protesting against the government, it would have been wrong!

CAFA: One last question. What you think about the anti-globalization movement. How do you relate to it, and what do you think about its future?

RM: We need to strengthen the anti-globalization movement because it operates globally. The national level is fine, but we must build the coalition internationally to have a stronger voice. On the national level you are organizing against your own government which, in our case, does not have the capacity to resist. They are bulldozed and under surveillance. I remember going to a meeting between government representatives and an inspector panel made of World Bank officials, who are to monitor the country, and everyone was so quiet. This was a place where our government was expected to say, "Yes, sir." I couldn't believe, after so many years of independence, that kind of meeting could take place. I love accountability and transparency but I would like me and my colleagues to hold our government accountable, not a bunch of foreigners. I say, "Accountable to whom?" As long as they are accountable to these white faces it's o.k., we don't know how much they are putting in, how it is spent. But as long as our government can say how much debt it has paid that is fine. I don't support corrupt governments, but I also support systems of internal accountability. This type of control is extremely disempowering. So that one moment you are supporting your government and the next you are struggling against it. It's like a process of recolonization. Accountability should be to us then we would know how much money has come in.

CAFA: Thank you very much.
Report of Meeting of ASUU Delegation with President Olusegun Obasanjo

by

An ASUU Visitation Team

The following is a report of a meeting between President Obasanjo and a delegation of members of the national union of university professors in Nigeria, the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU). The meeting took place on May 2, 2002. It is reprinted from the September 2002 issue of The National Scholar, a Publication of Academic Staff Union of Universities. For more information about The National Scholar write: The Scholar, Academic Staff Union of Universities, National Secretariat, Flat 5, Mellanby Hall, University of Ibadan, P.O. Box 9021, Ibadan, Nigeria.

The report was the leading article of the issue and deservedly so, since it revealed Obasanjo's attitude to the issue of accountability quite clearly. Since the issue of the sacked teachers at the University of Ilorin (Unilorin) is so important to the narrative, we quote the following background section from an ASUU pamphlet entitled, "Unilorin Crisis and the Dangers to the Nigerian University System":

"On April 2, 2001, a national strike was called by the National Executive Council of ASUU to draw government's attention to the serious problems of the Nigerian University System. The strike action was observed in all the branches of the union, including the Unilorin branch. In joining the national strike the various branches, including the Unilorin branch, suspended local disputes and local strike actions in which they were involved. The authorities of Unilorin tried but failed to get the union at Unilorin to repudiate the national strike action by signing the "return to work" register. In anger, the authorities then proceeded to terminate the appointments of all the academic staff who were observing the national strike action."

The National Chairman of the Peoples Democratic Party thanked the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria for accepting to meet with representatives of Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) and stated that the meeting was at his instance due to the concern of the party and Government about the University crisis and Education in the country. He felt that strikes by ASUU had continued to affect the quality of Nigerian graduates to such an extent that Nigerian degrees are not longer recognised outside Nigerian borders. He also noted that Government cannot continue to provide all the requirements for effective running of universities and suggested that there is a need for private sector participation in the provision of accommodation for students. He also stated the need for good relationship between Government on one hand and ASUU on the other. With these opening remarks, the President of ASUU [Dr. Dipo Fashina] was asked to present ASUU's case.

ASUU's Case
The National President of ASUU stated that ASUU shares Government concerns about crisis in Universities and that the Union is ready to work with Government at finding solutions to the crisis. As a result of this, efforts were made by the Union to reach the President, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo in his capacity as the President of this country as well as Visitor to all Federal Universities.

ASUU went further to enunciate the principles of the Union, which are anchored on the following pillars: accountability, fair hearing, and social justice, among others. He stated that the Union hopes that the meeting will provide Federal Government of Nigeria (FGN) and ASUU the opportunity to re-establish direct contact.

1. University of Ilorin:
The Union wants the President as Visitor to University of Ilorin (Unilorin) to help solve the problem of its sacked members in line with the visitor's role as the highest level of adjudication in the University as enshrined by law. ASUU believed that not all information is available to the President and Commander-in-Chief concerning the Unilorin.

The Union made it clear to the president that it will not defend any member that is involved in wrongdoing. However, in the case of the sacked members at Unilorin no fair hearing was accorded them. With this in view the Union requested that the sacked colleagues at Unilorin be reinstated to their jobs and anyone found to have committed any offence be tried according to the laws of the University.

The Union also informed the Visitor that the white papers on Visitation Panels set up by his administration are yet to be implement. ASUU therefore requested the Visitor to enforce the implementation of white paper on all Universities including that of Unilorin in line with the Government's anti-corruption crusade.

2. Funding:
The problems of inadequate facilities, including few laboratories, workshops, crowded classrooms and libraries and inadequate reagents for practicals in the Universities were highlighted by ASUU. The Union requested that the adequate funding be provided to restore the Universities before Government considers the issue of autonomy. Also, the Union asked for the release of the shortfall of funds approved for the Universities.

3. State Universities
ASUU requested the Federal Government to assist State Universities in areas of special needs, such as libraries, research grant, computers, etc. as identified by FGN/ASUU Agreement Implementation Committee.

4. Autonomy
ASUU requested the FGN/ASUU Agreement Implementation Committee should be allowed to harmonise the content of the Autonomy bill with the provision of the
FGN/ASUU Agreement Implementation Committee of June 30 2001 on University Autonomy.

5. Conclusion
ASUU offered her collective expertise to the Nation through the President and requested to be challenged in solving specific social, economic, scientific and technological problems by assigning such to Universities from time to time. ASUU also requested for more dialogue with the President and Federal Government to minimise disruptive and unhealthy manifestation of conflicts.

At the end, a summary and full text of the presentation were presented to the President and Commander-in-Chief.

President Obasanjo's Response
The President stated that but for the respect he has for Chief Audu Ogbeh, the National Chairman of his party (PDP), he would not have given ASUU an audience. He would have insisted that the Union should see the Minister of Education instead. After all, the Minister of Education is supposed to address all matters affecting his Ministry and not the President and Commander-in-Chief of Nigeria.

Funding
He proceeded to state that no leader has done as much as he has for education in Nigeria in spite of Government's lean resources. He also recounted his experience at Calabar with one Mr. Senior Lecturer who asked the President about his elusive democratic dividend. In the President's response, he had asked Mr. Senior Lecturer what his salary was before and after the coming into office of the Obasanjo administration; and his reply was four thousand Naira and eighty thousand Naira respectively. Mr. President could not but express his anger at the ingratitude of Mr. Senior Lecturer.

The anger was subsequently extended to the ASUU National President for failing to recognize the much that has been done for the University lecturers in terms of improved remuneration under the Obasanjo Government. The President went to further state that even when he was out of Government he had done so much for ASUU as recognised by the Union's President. At this point, Chief Obasanjo pointed at ASUU National President and repeatedly called him an idiot apparently for the Union's ingratitude.

University of Ilorin
The President expressed anger for the disruption of examinations by ASUU members at the University of Ilorin. At this point, ASUU disputed the President's assertion and mentioned names of some Professors personally known to Mr. President that were sacked. The President accepted knowledge of these people and went further to state that he believed they would run the Union better if they were at the helm of affairs. One of the members of the ASUU team made it known to the President that the examination that was reported to have been disrupted ended on schedule without loss of time. Then the President asked rhetorically that are we saying that his Vice-Chancellor and the Pro-Chancellor are lying?

At this point, the Special Adviser on Education [Chief S. K. Babalola] interjected to explain that he went to the University of Ilorin to investigate the matter as directed by the President, and only reported what he heard from his interactions with some members of the Ilorin community. His conclusion was that both staff and students were of the opinion that the area is better off without the sacked colleagues. He also stated that in his interaction he concluded that the sacked staff were involved in disrupting the examination. The Union further explained that only some of its officials were involved in picketing; and that picketing is a legitimate tool employed to deter members from breaking a strike.

On the issue of funding, the President and Commander-in-chief state that he cannot give the nation's resources to University education alone. There are other social services that need his attention and that, so far, he has allocated enough to Universities. The President went further to state that would rather give Nigerian children nine years of education than waste money on University education.

Chief Obasanjo stated that he is on the boards of two American Universities and the role of the Vice-Chancellor is to combine day-to-day running of the University with ability to raise funds. He further stated that no new projects are embarked upon without ascertaining the availability of funds. The President enquired as to the number of students in Nigerian Federal Universities and when the estimated number was provided he observed that he was not up to the population of two American Universities.

On strikes by ASUU, the President stated that his earlier plan was that all his children would have their first degrees from Nigerian Universities. This he was able to sustain until recently. He stated that during one of ASUU's strikes, two daughters of his friend became pregnant and this made him change his earlier stand. As a result of this, he succumbed to pressure to allow his third daughter to continue her education abroad. He also stated that as a result of ASUU strikes, foreign Universities no longer recognize Nigerian degrees. This has led to a number of Nigerians sending their children abroad for degree programmes.

On the offer by ASUU that her members be challenged by the Government in terms of solving Nigerian problems, the President stated that when he was Military President, he established two nuclear energy centers: one at Amanu Bello University and the other at the University of Nigeria Nsukka and up to the moment of the meeting nothing had come out of the centres. Instead, staff in the centres were using the opportunity to travel abroad for the slightest reason. At this point the President stormed out of the meeting without giving ASUU the opportunity to respond.
Chronology of African Student Struggles
1999-2001

The following is an update of the "Chronology of African University Student Struggles: 1985-1998" which was published in Silvia Federici, George Cafrentzis and Oussaine Alidou (eds.), A Thousand Flowers: Social Struggles Against Structural Adjustment in African Universities (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2000). We will continue to publish updates of this under reported struggle. The abbreviations used in this Chronology are "CHE" for Chronicle of Higher Education and "ARB" for Africa Research Bulletin.

1999
January 7. Medical University of South Africa, South Africa.
Students protested the university's policy of not registering students who had not paid their outstanding fees that totaled R50 million. In response the university authorities closed down the university (Business Day (Johannesburg), January 7).

February 3. High Schools in Southern Tunisia
High school students rioted in a number of towns and cities in Southern Tunisia protesting a rumored rise in the price of bread and the chronic high unemployment. A Tunisian journalist, Taoufik Ben Brik, described the scene: "Not a single sign or notice escaped the rioters. Barricades were put up all over the place, cars were burned out...The adults who were stupefied by this phenomenon that had started without their assent, nevertheless applauded the action. The following day, the children ransacked anything that was left" (ARB, Feb. 1999: 13881).

February 5. University of Nairobi and Kenyatta University, Kenya.
The University of Nairobi was shut down indefinitely after three days of clashes between hundreds of students from the University of Nairobi and Kenyatta University and police. The students were protesting the sale of Karura Forest, one of Nairobi's last remaining patches of virgin woodland, to private developers. The clashes began in the forest but spread back to the city and campus. Police fired canisters of tear gas onto the campus and into dormitories and later used live ammunition and rubber bullets against the protesters. (CHE February 12: A49)

February 10. University of Zimbabwe, Harare.
Hundreds of students clashed with police while protesting delays in payment of their grants and high inflation. They also were protesting the arrest of journalists and harassment of judges by the Mugabe regime. Students supporting Mugabe passed out leaflet opposing the protests (ARB February 1999: 14449).

March 26. University of Bouake, Cote d'Ivoire.
Police officers forced students to leave their hostels after boycotting classes for 48 hours earlier in the week. University students throughout the country have been protesting a new policy that requires the termination of students who have failed their subjects throughout March. The students claim that this policy does not give a second chance to a failing student (PANA March 26).

May 13. National University, Abidjan, Cote d'Ivoire.
The Federation of Ivorian Students met at the National University to press its demands to generalize scholarship funds, build more university halls of residence and dormitories and provide free medical care for all students and pupils in the country. The Federation organized boycotts of class and sit-in throughout the country in support of their demands in the previous three weeks (PANA May 13).

June 2. Fourah Bay College, Freetown, Sierra Leone.
Students protesting poor living conditions on campus were confronted by a Nigerian contingent of ECOMOG. The Nigerian troops ordered the students to vacate the campus and in the process injured 28 students. The university then was closed down (The Progress (Freetown) June 2).

July 27. University of Durban-Westville (UDW) and the University of Witswatersrand, South Africa.
Students at UDW protested against moves by the university of deregister 67 students who failed to make payment arrangements with the university. The students wanted the university to pay the shortfall of R3.5 million. Students at Wits protested against the university's call for a R1500 registration fee next year (Business Day (Johannesburg), July 28).

About a thousand students protesting increases in fees clashed with police who blocked their aim to march on President Rawlings' residence and present him with a petition (The Independent (Accra), August 17).

2000
March 2. University of Benin, Lome, Benin.
Students demanding the payment of their grant arrears clashed with police and several students were wounded (PANA March 2).

April 10-11. The University of Gambia.
"14 student protesters were killed when security forces used live ammunition to disperse a protest organized by the Gambian Students Union to protest the death of a student, who died after allegedly being tortured by security personnel, and the rape of a 13-year old schoolgirl by a police officer" (CHE July 6, 2001: A38).

Police violently dispersed a planned march of unemployed graduates before it began. According to the Moroccan Human Rights Organization, the security forces "intervened in a brutal manner. They smashed the back door of the building and attacked the university graduates who were staging an indefinite hunger strike" (ARB 6/2000: 14017).

June 20. Senna University, Sudan.
Students protested after the university administration refused to permission to organize a meeting entitled, "The Sudanese experience: crisis and solutions." According to one report, one graduate student, Mirkham Mahmoud el-Norman, was killed, six other students were injured and seven students were arrested and tortured. A leader of the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy, whom students had invited to speak, told reporters that the students was shot not outside but on the campus and that 22 other students were injured (ARB 6/2000: 14022; CHE July 6: A38; CHE July 14: A44).

September 12. Delta State University, Nigeria.
Students took the Vice Chancellor of the university, Osie Igou, captive for one night and released him unharmed the next day. This abduction took place as students were
protesting against the university's attempt to levy a tax on students to pay for property damaged in another demonstration in June (CHE Sept. 29: A51).

October 17. University of Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso.
Several hundred high school students clashed with police in a protest against the closure of the University on October 6 and the invalidation of the 1999-2000 school year. Burkina students have been protesting for improved living and learning conditions since April. Many strikes were called in the intervening months. On October 18 police arrested the president and the National Students Association of Burkina and 20 other students when they were about to meet secondary students to discuss issues relating to the closure of the university (ARB 10/2000: 14153).

November 15. University of Swaziland, Matsapha, Swaziland.
Over 40 students were charged with misconduct and vandalism after disrupting lectures during a nationwide anti-government stay away. The class boycott was directed at the 1973 royal decree banning politics, trim the powers of traditional leaders and institute a multi-party democratic system (African Eye News Service (Nelspruit) Nov. 15).

Some 5000 university and high school students demonstrated against the closure of the University and denounced the proposed reforms (ARB 11/2000: 14203).

2001

"A student was killed this month in Senegal during street clashes between several thousand protesting students and riot police. Fifteen other people were injured in the fighting. The disturbances occurred as students from the University of Cheikh Anta Diop...spilled into the streets to protest an increase for the fall in the yearly study fee to $49 from $7—a considerable expense for a family in Senegal. Students are also demanding reduction in the cost of food at university canteen and student housing." (CHE February 23: A55)

There were violent clashes between students demanding the payment of grants arrears, new classrooms and better living conditions and police in Niamey. About 50 students and policemen were seriously injured as they battled each other with tear gas, nightsticks, Molotov cocktails, bows and arrows and catapults. A police officer died of his wounds. Seventeen students were arrested. (ARB 2/2001: 14314; CHE May 18: A51).

April 8. University of Zimbabwe.
Batanayi Madzidzi, a university student, died from injuries suffered from clashes with police during a demonstration organized to protest the late payment of student stipends. Students charge that he was beaten to death by police. 41 students were arrested in the protests. Student leaders said that the protests had been triggered by the suicide of a female student who was believed to have been involved with an older man paying her for sex. According to these students, the woman's death was a sign of the desperation they face, because they have gone several months without grants from the Education Ministry (CAFA 16: 30; CHE May 18: A51)

On April 11 students of the Addis Ababa University were demonstrating against the police presence on campus and a demanding elementary academic freedom rights like freedom of assembly and expression on campus. Apparently two plain-clothes policemen were spotted by the students in their midst, this triggered an attack by riot police bent on following days, student demonstrations and strikes were echoed by rioting in the city by youths who were called by state officials "hoodlums and lumpens." Shops were looted, government buildings burned and cars were smashed. The state unleashed a deadly response killing between 38 to 41 people and wounding about 250. The deaths were due largely to gunshot wounds caused by policemen's fire. Thousands of students were arrested and sent to a concentration camp in the village of Sendafa, 38 km northeast of Addis Ababa. Many students were later released. Students returned to campus in early May, but continued to demand the release of all their fellows. They eventually left the rescuing their colleague. Police riot ended in the injury of fifty students that night. In the University campus en masse on June 12, since they concluded that the government was not seriously negotiating with them, even though the Ethiopian Federal police did admit

April 18. Kahlibia region, Algeria.
Kahlibia region during an Algerian police killed a student, Germain Massinissa, in the Kahlibia region during a demonstration anticipating the huge annual gathering celebrating "Berber Spring" on April 20. The killing of the student was followed by demonstrations of protest throughout April 20. The student was killed by police officers in demonstrations in Algiers and other parts of Algeria where Kahlibia and by sympathetic demonstrations in Algeria (CAFA 16).

May 1. Niamey, Niger.
Niamey city authorities banned a demonstration planned for May 7 by civil organizations to show support for detained students on hunger strikes. (ARB 5/2001: 14243).

Two students, Yirga Yosef and Yemane Tekez, died due to "climatic conditions," according to government spokesmen, after being arrested, along with about 2000 according to government spokesmen, after being arrested, along with about 2000

August 14, 19. Ankara University, Turkey.
A student, Mutesin al-Tayyab Hassan, was killed and 18 others injured in a battle among student supporters of rival political parties and police (CHE September 14: A51).
Africa as a Contested Terrain: A Review by the editors of CAFCA


This collection of essays is a must for any student of contemporary Africa. The sixteen essays in the volume are not a hodge-podge of pieces by the editors' acquaintances. On the contrary, they hit a particular methodological note together that gives the collection a harmony that its diverse topics (ranging from the Senegalese-Mauritanian conflict to the spread of AIDS in Madagascar) would not suggest.

This methodological harmony demands of each author an integration of contemporary theory with an activist's interest in empirical detail, while its discipline prevents any of the articles from precipitating into either the jargon of post-colonial theory or the abstracted concreteness of micro-history.

Moreover, since the authors span the range of career stages—from younger scholars like Kate Crehan and Franco Barchiesi to masters like Sara Berry and Sayre Schatz—they give the reader a sense of contemporary African Studies at its best. This is no accident, for the ultimate object of this work is to assess not Africa's promise and limitations (an impossible task), but African Studies'.

The promise is obvious enough. For example, Sara Berry's "Negotiable Property" is an elegant summation of a quarter century of work on land in Africa whose result is: the study of African land tenure is actually more illuminating about property in land generally than is the neoclassical economics' doctrine of exclusionary individual ownership. For example, she notes that the actual process of negotiating over land tenure in many African societies openly involves historical knowledge and the manipulation of social relationships. This negotiation process is decried by the World Bank, The Economist and other purveyors of liberalisation, neo and paleo, as the bane of African development. But Berry argues that this "curse," in a move reminiscent of Adam Smith's critique of social contract theories of the state, is the actual way property in land works everywhere, including the U.S. For "property [is] a process...in which people make and exercise claims on things, such as land, in the course of negotiating claims to power and knowledge, and vice versa."

This is not the only essay in Contested Terrains and Constructed Categories that challenges the "received wisdom" of neoliberalism. "Community" and "civil society" are two other constructed categories that are turned into contested terrains in this book. Irving Leonard Markovitz, in his "Civil Society, Pluralism, Goldilocks, and Other Fairy Tales in Africa," interrogates the credentials of the notion of "civil society" against African experience and finds the former's bona fides lacking. Markovitz shows that the current extolling of civil society from the highest spheres is no accident since it is integral to the propaganda for their structural adjustment programs throughout most of the world. Civil society is now the next to "democracy" as the recipient of the highest laurels. But just as we can have "cruel capitalism," so too we can have "cruel democracy" and its cousin, "cruel civil society."

Markovitz provides us with a powerful example of this cruelty in the 1989 pogrom against the Mauritanian ("Maur") shop keepers in Senegal that ended in many deaths and tens of thousands of them fleeing the country. What followed the pogroms was not the restitution of property to the Maurs and reparations for their dead, but a frenzied effort by the French, US and Senegal governments to replace the Maurs' network of small shops by one run by unemployed Senegalese. This effort to bolster the "informal" sector by using "civil society" was a great success. But success for whom? Not for the Maurs, nor for many of the Senegalese who defended them. "Is it possible that pogroms may contribute to the growth of civil society in African states as a result of the economic exclusion of alien minorities?" Markovitz asks. If so, then can we see the Nazi's expulsion of Jewish store keepers as a strengthening of German civil society? The very posing of the question is its own answer with respect to the unimpeachable value of civil society.

"Community" is another warm and fuzzy term in contemporary social jargon and Kate Crehan, in "Silencing Power: Mapping the Social Terrain in Post-Apartheid South Africa," exposes it to the rigors of contemporary social struggles in South Africa to test its worth. As she points out, "[C]ommunity" is a term [NGOs'] funders expect, and even demand, to see in mission statements and funding proposals. But it comes with a suspicious "roseate glow." In South Africa, "community" has an equivocal past, since with was appealed to by both Afrikaners to justify apartheid (as an attempt to preserve the cultural life of "their" community) and by the opponents of apartheid who refused to be removed from their homes and friends to satisfy apartheid's geographical conditions. In the present it is an inevitable term of the NGO art, but what do the NGO fieldworkers actually think of the term? Crehan had the boldness to actually ask them and their answers were truly illuminating. She summed up their response in the following way: "though the outlines of 'the community' might seem clear enough at a distance, close up they had a frustrating tendency to dissolve into messy incoherence."

Why didn't these workers simply drop the term then? The prestige acquired from its connection with the anti-apartheid struggle has given it a "hegemony" among other possible terms, even though its past meaning obscures post-apartheid realities. Moreover, the term seems to have developed an ambiguous meaning for the NGO workers as a "historical precipitate" (a group of people with a shared past) and a "social group" (a group of people with the same goals), even though this ambiguity can often become contradictory in specific situation. But this terminological problematic of NGO workers should not limit those who wish to map the realities of power. For them, Crehan warns, should not limit those who wish to map the realities of power. For them, Crehan warns, should not limit those who wish to map the realities of power.

The final section, "Violence of the Word/Violence Against the Body," deals with the most contested African terrain: the African body. Meredith Turshen's "Contested Claims and Individual bodies" is one of the most inclusive essays in this section. In it she subjects the contemporary orthodoxy of "donors" (including the World Bank) about subjects the contemporary orthodoxy of "donors" (including the World Bank) about...
measure against AIDS (and malaria and TB) is "the building of viable public health services capable of treating all diseases."

These sketches of a few of the essays give a sense of the structure of most of the chapters of the book. They show how a particular theoretical or political category was constructed and then they contest it with an African terrain. As a consequence, the essays together are greater than the sum of their parts, since they not only focus on pieces of African terrain, but they also contest the often limiting sky of concepts provided by the discipline of African Studies. It is therefore a very useful book that deserves a place in the libraries of students of Africa.

It is standard in affairs like this to offer some criticism and mine is a criticism by lacunae. First, a CAFA Newsletter reader would be looking for discussion of the African university crisis, but there is no explicit piece on this crucial matter. Second, there is a peculiar absence of two of the most important issues in contemporary African Studies: the Diasporic relations and immigration. The editors seem to have taken their subtitle too literally: "Contemporary Africa in Focus." But surely, given the sophisticated essay on the ideology of geography that opens the book, Mohammed "So Geographers in Africa Maps with Savage Pictures Fill their Gaps: Representing Africa on Maps," there should have been a concern for the fallacy of misplaced concreteness and an essay should have dealt with the tissue of concepts now current in Diasporic studies. But such absences should stimulate others to complete the work of contestation that Bond and Gibson have so well begun.

Globalization and Academic Ethics

The Editors of CAFA

One of the consequences of economic globalization has been the internationalization of US higher education institutions and universities. International studies, study abroad programs, international cultural exchanges have become a "must" on most American campuses. In the last decade, a number of major US educational organizations have asked that "provisions should be made to ensure that at least 10 percent of all students who receive baccalaureate degrees in this country will have had a significant educational experience abroad during their undergraduate years." (See Michael R. Laubacher, Encounters with Difference: Student Perceptions of the Role of Out-of-Class Experiences in Education Abroad (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994)). Equally momentum have been the efforts by U.S. administrators and funding agencies to turn American academic institutions into "global universities," i.e. global educational centers, recruiting from and catering to an international student body.

We have also witnessed the growing engagement of US academicians and colleges in the restructuring of academic institutions in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the former socialist countries, and the management in these same regions of private, generally English speaking universities, unaffordable for the majority of aspiring students.

All these developments constitute the most substantial innovation in US academic life over the last decade. They have been promoted and hailed as a great contribution to the spread of "quality education" and global citizenship. The reality, however, may be quite different. We call on our colleagues to ponder on the implications of these changes, especially for African universities, and to oppose the mercenary goals which often inspire them. Consider the following:

1. The internationalization of the curriculum and academic activities is often conceived within a framework of global economic competition that turns multicultural awareness into a means of neo-colonial exploitation rather than a means of understanding and valorizing other people's histories and struggles.

2. As the National Security Education Program (NSEP) has demonstrated, the Pentagon and the CIA are the most prominent government agencies promoting and financing the internationalization of U.S. academic education. This prominence is inevitable since they, more than ever, need a cosmopolitan personnel at a time when the U.S. government is openly striving for economic and military hegemony in every region of the world.

3. The globalization of U.S. universities has been facilitated by the underdevelopment of public education throughout the Third World, upon recommendations of the World Bank and IMF in the name of "rationalization" and "structural adjustment."

4. In some African countries where universities have been shut down, the idle facilities are often used by American study abroad programs. These programs benefit from the cheap cost of study, and the program directors can even hire at very low wages laid off teachers and former students as helpers/facilitators.

5. U.S. teachers and college administrators are being financed by USAID to intervene in several third world and former socialist countries to (a) set up private universities; (b) restructure entire departments, schools, programs, curricula. In other words, U.S. academics are being presently employed by the U.S. government to carry on cultural/educational work abroad that suits its economic, political, ideological objectives.

Considering the above developments, we believe that the time has come for U.S. academics to show our colleagues in Africa and other third world regions the same solidarity that would be expected of us by colleagues on our own campuses.

It is in this context that we are proposing the following "University Teachers Code of Ethics for Global Education in Africa." We urge you to circulate it among colleagues in the institutions where you work, at conferences, and other academic events and ask people to comment upon it. Please send your work, at conferences, and other academic events and ask people to comment upon it. We intend to present the code to the organizations involved in financing or "global education in Africa." We intend to present the code to the organizations involved in financing or overseeing global education initiatives as well. Even more important, we want to use this declaration as a model for American colleagues and campaign to reverse the reification of African universities.
University Teachers' Draft Code of Ethics for Global Education in Africa

We are university teachers and we publicly declare our adherence to the following principles of academic ethics in our work in Africa:

--we will never, under any circumstance, work (as researchers, with a study abroad program, or in any other capacity) in an African university where students or the faculty are on strike or which has been shut down by students' or teachers' strikes and protests against police repression and structural adjustment cut backs.

--we will never take a position at or cooperate with the World Bank, the IMF, USAID, or any other organization whose policy is to expropriate Africans from the means of the production and distribution of knowledge and to devalue African people's contribution to world culture.

--we will never take advantage of the immiseration to which many of our African colleagues and students have been reduced, and appropriate the educational facilities and resources from which African colleagues and students have been de facto excluded because of lack of means. Knowledge acquired under such conditions would be antagonistic to the spirit of multiculturalism and scholarly solidarity.

--we will consult with colleagues and activists in the countries where we carry on research, so as to ensure that our research answers the needs of the people it studies, and is shaped with the cooperation of people whose lives will be affected by it, rather being dictated by funding agencies' agendas.