

COMMITTEE FOR ACADEMIC FREEDOM IN AFRICA

Newsletter No. 5 Fall 1993

INTRODUCTION

This issue of CAFA is devoted to a chronology of the struggles which African students have waged between 1985 and 1993, primarily in response to the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) to which their countries and academic institutions have been submitted.

This chronology is a testimony of the passion and energy African students have devoted to preserving their academic freedom. The hundreds of dead students, the thousands arrested and tortured, the many more who have demonstrated and gone on strike in the face of violent repression, between 1985 and 1993, teach us that the struggle for access to knowledge is not *passé* in Africa. It also confirms our claim that the major forces threatening academic freedom in Africa in the 1980s and 1990s have been the Structural Adjustment Programs which the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank have im-

posed on African governments and economies.

In country after country, student demonstration after demonstration, in its slogans, flyers, position papers the African student movement has shown a remarkable homogeneity of demands. "NO to starving and studying," "NO to tuition fees," "NO to cuts in books and stationery," "NO to the elimination of grants and allowances," "NO to Structural Adjustment, to corrupt leaders, and to the recolonization of Africa," are slogans that have unified African students in the SAP era to a degree unprecedented since the anti-colonial struggle.

This chronology is by no means complete. Not only are many "invisible" struggles absent from this report, but absent as well are the struggles of students in South Africa, to which we plan to dedicate a future issue. An account of the African student movement is also not complete without the inclusion of the struggles of teachers—who increasingly have joined with their students to demand that African universities not be dismantled. In this case too we refer to future issues of CAFA for a fuller account. We are opening up an archive for material concerning the African university student movement and will periodically update this chronology. If you have any items that you think belong in the archive please send it to us.

We thank the student organizations and colleagues in Africa who have helped us to compile this issue. We also thank Steve Askins, Dennis Brutus, Dan Coughlin, Julius Ihonvbere, and Jon Kraus for their help.

Finally we would like to thank Africa Network for citing CAFA in its "Kwanza Honors List: 1992."

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A Chronology of African University Student Struggles: 1985-1993

1985

FEBRUARY

Nairobi University, Kenya. Students boycotted classes starting from Feb. 5 to protest the unjustified decision by the academic authorities to expel three student leaders and deprive five others of their scholarships. The police fired tear gas to disperse the more than 2000 students who had gathered at an outdoor prayer meeting. At least one student was arrested, thirty were hospitalized and one died. Nairobi University was closed on Feb. 12. [ARB, 3/1; CAFA #4]

Khartoum University, Sudan. Students supporting President Numeiry clashed with student opponents on campus Feb. 17. The university was closed for an indefinite time. [ARB, 3/1]

Faculty of Economic Sciences at Tunis, University of Tunisia, Tunisia. Twenty-five students began a hunger strike Feb. 26 to demand the reinstitution of the June exams session which had been canceled following a series of strikes and class boycotts. [ARB, 3/1]

MARCH

Mbanza Ngungu University and Mbuji Mai University, Zaire. University students criticized on Mar. 11 the cuts in the higher education budget adopted by the government in compliance with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) Structural Adjustment Program (SAP). Mobutu announced that he was considering privatizing some higher education institutions. At Mbandaka, in Equator province, the students clashed with the security forces at the funeral of one of their number, whom they believed to have been killed by the authorities. [ARB, 4/15]

JUNE

University of Port Harcourt, Nigeria. Police invaded the university's campus on the evening of June 6 to break up a secret meeting of the banned National Association of Nigerian Students which was to discuss the government's plan to introduce tuition fees. The next morning police broke into the dormitories, dragging students out and beating them with rifle butts. The students resisted the assault and more than 400 hundred were arrested. [CAFA Archive]

NOVEMBER

Brazzaville, Congo. Secondary school students demonstrated Nov. 11 to protest the government's decision to hold a competition for students graduating from secondary school

and wishing to qualify for a grant for university education. The planned competition was part of the government's austerity effort. According to witnesses the army shot blanks into the air while some pupils were ransacking cars and shops. [ARB, 12/15]

1986

JANUARY

University of Tunis, Tunis. Students struck Jan. 2-3 to commemorate the anniversary of the bloody riots of Jan. 3, 1984, which erupted in response to the government's decision to double the price of bread. [ARB, 2/1]

FEBRUARY-MARCH

Kenyatta University, Kenya. Students began to boycott classes after it was announced that teachers' salaries throughout the nation would not be increased. Many students moved out of the campus and blocked the main highway to central Kenya. A bonfire was made and motorists who attempted to pass where pelted with stones. The university was closed indefinitely and the students were ordered off campus. Feb. 28- Mar. 13. [ARB, 4/1; THES 4/4/86]

MAY

Ahmadu Bello University (ABU), Zaria, Nigeria. About twenty students and bystanders at ABU were massacred by security forces after staging peaceful protests over university and government policies. More students were killed in the ensuing days at the Kaduna Polytechnic, the University of Benin and the University of Lagos. [CAFA #3]

JUNE

Egerton College, Kenya. 1,400 agriculture students refused to sit for exams June 9 in solidarity with seven students who had been arrested on incitement charges. The administration closed the institution for two weeks and barred 25 students from returning. When the college reopened the rest of the students refused to attend classes in solidarity with their colleagues. Egerton's authorities caved in and allowed the suspended students back. [THES, 8/8/86]

DECEMBER

National University of Madagascar, Madagascar. About 200 students staged a demonstration Dec. 9 in the city center to protest a reform imposing stricter limits on the number of times students could resit their exams. [ARB, 2/1/87]

Abbreviations of sources

AR.....	Africa Report
AF&HRA.....	Africa Watch, <i>Academic Freedom and Human Rights in Africa</i> . (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1991)
AC.....	African Concord
AG.....	African Guardian
ARB.....	Africa Research Bulletin: Social and Political Series
AW.....	News from Africa Watch
CAFA.....	Committee for Academic Freedom in Africa Newsletter
CHE.....	Chronicle of Higher Education.
CDHR.....	Committee for the Defense of Human Rights (Nigeria), 1991 Annual Report
CIAF.....	Committee for International Academic Freedom
IPS.....	Inter Press Service
Mf.....	Mozambiquefile
NW.....	Newswatch (Nigeria)
NYT.....	The New York Times
THES.....	Times Higher Education Supplement
UDASA.....	The University of Dar es Salaam Academic Staff Association Newsletter
WA.....	West Africa

1987

JANUARY

University of Dakar, Senegal. Students boycotted lectures on Jan. 22 for twenty-four hours, and refused to pay the entry fee to the university refectory, to protest the deteriorating standards in food and lodgings and the delay in the payment of their grants. Student demonstrators and police clashed on campus. Several people were wounded and dozens of demonstrators were arrested. The campus crisis continued until Feb. 24 when the government and student representatives reached an agreement. The government agreed to withdraw the police from the campus, to make provisions for the payment of the grants, and to pay both for the injured students' medical costs, and for the repair of any damaged property. [ARB, 2/15]

Fourah Bay College and Njala University College, Sierra

Leone. The two universities and the teacher training college of Sierra Leone were closed after a three-weeks students' strike called to demand an increase in the meal subsidy to match rising prices. The students demanded that their food allowance of 11 leones a day (about 30 cents) be at least doubled, claiming that it could not cover three meals. The students told the government that they refused "to starve and study." But the government responded that it was being forced to cut public expenditure as part of an IMF-sanctioned economic adjustment program and that their education was a privilege rather than a right. The government also accused the students of carrying out violent acts. On Jan. 29 demonstrators ran through the streets of Freetown, Bo and Kenema, destroying, burning and pillaging public buildings and private houses (mostly belonging to the Lebanese colony). The police arrested ten students in Bo. As news of their arrests spread through the Bo township, other students came out and threatened to attack the police station where their colleagues were being held, if the latter were not released. The police released the students. [ARB, 3/15; AR, March-April]

FEBRUARY

National University of Madagascar, Madagascar. Students and security forces clashed on Feb. 2. The students were protesting measures prohibiting them from repeating years passed by the government of President Didier Ratsiraka. In response to the government's slogan "Bad students, here is the door," the striking students wrote on their banners, "Bad leaders, here is the door." After a week of clashes, three people had died, several were wounded and about ten were arrested. [ARB, 3/15]

MARCH

University of Cape Coast, University of Ghana, and University of Science and Technology in Kumasi, Ghana. Students demonstrated Mar. 6 against the government decision to withdraw food subsidies in university tertiary institutions. The measure was adopted as part of a planned educational reform (IMF and World Bank-inspired) intended to place higher education on a cost-sharing basis. The demonstration climaxed a week of mourning, during which students wore red wrist-bands. The demonstrators said their food rations should be doubled and that education was "their inalienable right" and they placed posters in strategic positions stating "education for every Ghanaian." They also addressed the human rights situation in the country and demanded an end to detentions without trial and the economic recovery program. The president of the National Union of Ghanaian Students stated that "independence is meaningless and will elude us if it is not linked to our right to free education." [ARB, 4/1; AC, 4/9/87; WA, 4/9]

APRIL-MAY

University of Madagascar, Antananarivo, Madagascar. Less than 25 percent of enrolled students turned up for classes on April 27 to protest the detention of some of their colleagues. On April 29 about a dozen students were arrested for attempting to block the return to classes. On May 7, security forces arrested Aime Francis, a top student leader, claiming that he was wearing an automatic pistol. [ARB, 6/15]

University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana. The government ordered the closure of the university May 8 after the students refused to follow the Secretary for Education's advice and return to class. The students had boycotted classes in support of the former National Union of Ghana Students' Secretary Kakraba Cromwell. He was being held by security forces for suspected involvement in drug trafficking. [ARB, 6/15]

JUNE

Egerton University College, Kenya. 140 students were suspended indefinitely for picketing and boycotting lectures. The protest took place last month when students marched from their campus located at Njoro to nearby Nakuru town, the provincial capital, to complain to the government authorities about assessment methods. [THES, 7/10]

NOVEMBER

University of Khartoum, Sudan. Students began the occupation of university buildings on Nov. 12 and the administration closed the university on Nov. 19. The student union, dominated by Islamists, demanded that the chancellor abolish the regulation governing student conduct. The Islamist students were the most highly organized group in the university, despite their limited number; thus they were able to exploit existing discontent in the university and country-wide. The students' demonstrations were directed at a steep currency devaluation and at hefty price rises, imposed after agreements with the IMF and World Bank for an economic adjustment program. About 15,000 demonstrators marched through Khartoum in October denouncing the IMF. [THES, 12/4]

Nairobi University, Kenya. Students and police clashed Nov. 15 after seven newly-elected student union leaders were arrested on the night of Nov. 14. Students were clubbed and tear gassed and four foreign journalists were kicked, punched and beaten with rifle butts. On the next day the Nairobi University Students' Organization was banned and the university closed. Since 1970 the university has been closed 17 times. [CAFA #4]

DECEMBER

Egerton College, Kenya. 646 students were sent home for boycotting classes for three consecutive days. The students were demanding that those who failed their second-year examinations be allowed to proceed without sitting for further tests. The students also demanded that the curriculum at Egerton conform to that at the department of agriculture at the main campus in Nairobi. [THES, 12/25]

1988

JANUARY

Dakar University, Senegal. Students began a year-long campaign protesting the lack of housing, classroom space and a lack of adequate food. The Diouf government eventually committed CFA 2bn to rehabilitate secondary school and university infrastructure, and CFA 10m to build five new university hostels, a 3,000 seat cafeteria, and an increase in the monthly student allowance. [WA, 1/16]

FEBRUARY

University of Khartoum, Sudan. "The president of the student union...warned that students will demonstrate...if the university imposes tuition or phases out free room and board....He commented after university officials in the Sudan reacted positively to suggestions in a World Bank policy report that at least some financial responsibility for higher education in African countries should be shifted to students and parents." [CHE, 2/10/88]

APRIL

33 Institutions of the Nigerian University System. Nigerian students demonstrated throughout the country against the fuel price increase demanded by the IMF-inspired Structural Adjustment plan. Riots and confrontations with the police spread across most of the nation's campuses. The Inspector-General of Police Gambo described the protests as "premeditated and executed in a most professional manner." [WA, 5/2/88, 1/16/89]

JUNE

University of Ghana and Cape Coast, Ghana. Students demanded a threefold rise in the daily food allowance of 51 cedis and boycotted examinations to oppose the government's intention of abolishing the allowance. The university authorities had concluded that the students required 250 cedis a day. However, the government pressed ahead with the cut, having signed commitments with the World Bank, and in December 1988 announced a new loans and scholarships scheme as the first step in ending free higher education. [WA, 1/16/89]

AUGUST

University of Liberia, Liberia. Authorities suspended classes Aug. 20 and ordered all students to leave the campus after the students refused to obey a presidential order to halt political activities at all education institutions around the nation. [ARB, 9/15]

SEPTEMBER

University of Zimbabwe. Riot police used clubs, tear gas and rubber bullets Sept. 28 to block a demonstration organized by the University of Zimbabwe and Harare Polytechnic Student Representative Councils to protest the government's failure to follow its own socialist principles. Riot police blocked students trying to march into downtown Harare wearing t-shirts declaring "national looters must go" and "Capitalism, Corruption NO." Nearly 500 students were arrested during the demonstration. Most were quickly released, but at least 15 faced charges under a law used by the Ian Smith government to suppress black protest. [ACAS #30]

1989

JANUARY

University of Cotonou, Benin. Students began a strike on Jan. 9 to protest the non-payment of their grants for several months and the government's intention to stop paying them altogether in 1989 as part of an IMF/World Bank Structural

Adjustment Program. The government threatened to dismiss all the students who would not return to work on Jan. 23, but the campus was deserted in response. [ARB, 2/15]

Hehai University, Nanking, China. The Nanking branch of the General Union of African Students in China urged the removal of all 1,500 African students Jan. 18 claiming that African students face chronic racial discrimination and police brutality in the country. They also said that Chinese authorities orchestrated a Christmas Eve incident at Nanking's Hehai University campus, which led to fighting, and to four days of demonstrations, against the African students. [ARB, 2/15]

University of Botswana. The university was closed Jan. 23 after a four-day boycott by students demanding higher grants and better conditions. They also protested the government's demand that they sign a declaration prohibiting them from striking. [ARB, 2/15]

FEBRUARY

University of Lubumbashi, Zaire. Security forces killed a still undetermined number of students were killed at the university in demonstrations following the discovery of the body of a student not far from a military camp. [ARB, 3/1; UDASA]

APRIL

University of Cotonou, Benin. A teachers' strike began throughout the country on April 6. The teachers demanded the payment of four months' salary arrears, the withdrawal of the 50 percent reduction in their salaries (introduced following an agreement between Benin and the IMF), the unconditional liberation of all teachers, pupils and students held during the strike and the reintegration of 401 teachers dismissed in March for striking. Cotonou University was paralyzed for six months by striking students demanding several months' arrears in grant payments. [ARB, 8/15]

MAY

Universities of Lagos, Ibadan, and Benin, Nigeria. Beginning at the University of Benin on May 26, university students across Nigeria demonstrated against the IMF/World Bank-inspired Structural Adjustment Policies adopted by the government. The demonstrations often left the campuses and led to confrontations with security forces. At least six people were killed by troops and police. The government was forced to concede a welfare program called the "SAP Relief Package," the establishment of a mass transit scheme, the People's Bank, and a review of the minimum wage. [ARB, 6/15; NW, 6/12]

JULY

University of Cotonou, Benin. Students went on strike July 5 demanding several months' arrears in grant payments. This was concomitant with a nationwide teachers strike that began on April 5. The teachers' demanded the payment of four months' salary arrears and the withdrawal of the 50 percent reduction in their salaries introduced following an agreement between Benin's government and the IMF. [ARB, 6/15]

OCTOBER

University of Zimbabwe. The university was closed for three

weeks after students protested against the government's performance in the previous year, "which has been marked by corruption in high places and unhappiness in the urban areas over an inflationary economy and rising unemployment. One of the police raids on the campus was to break up a seminar called by the students to discuss corruption within the Government." [NYT, 11/16/89]

"Many students could not immediately comprehend that a few hours of relatively mild and intermittent campus disorder had led to the indefinite closure of one of Africa's most successful and prestigious universities. The only known injuries were suffered by a student leader who cut his hand jumping out of a window to escape the police, and VC Kamba's official Mercedes-Benz 230E—despised by campus radicals as the epitome of elitism—which was partially burned by students protesting the arrest of two campus leaders." [ACAS #30]

Makerere University, Uganda. Students began boycotting classes Oct. 30 to protest a government decision in August to withdraw allowances for books, travel and other expenses. The government closed the university Nov. 10. [ARB, 11/15]

NOVEMBER

University of Zimbabwe. The University temporarily reopened but the newly elected president of the suspended student government said students would oppose the new law that gave the government draconian powers over the university. Students were also furious about plans to make them pay 25 percent of their fees in the next year. [THES, 11/20]

DECEMBER

University of Zitouna, Tunisia. The Tunisian General Union of Students called a general strike Dec. 14 in solidarity with the theology students to protest the transfer of the theology faculty to "insalubrious premises." [ARB, 1/15/90]

1990

JANUARY

The Higher School for Technical Education (ENSET), Tiaret Veterinary Institute, the Universities of Bab-Ezzouar, Tizi-Ouzou, Setif, and M'Sila, Algeria. Students all over the country demonstrated Jan. 11-14 against a reduction in their grants, and for an improvement in the quality of university education and better access to employment at the end of their studies. About 50 people were injured in a clash between ENSET students and the police. Meanwhile in Tiaret a student was hospitalized after clashes with Islamicists opposed to the presence of a woman in the training room of the national judo team. [ARB, 2/15]

FEBRUARY

Technical College of Tunis, Nabeul University, faculties in Sfaz, Sousse, Kairouan and Gabes, Tunisia. Students connected to the Tunisian General Union of Students (UGTE) occupied buildings and faculties throughout the country to demand the abolition of police stations on campus premises, and the reintegration of four UGTE members expelled from the university. [ARB, 3/1]

MARCH-MAY

University campuses throughout Nigeria. Students and faculty began to protest nation-wide in March against the government's decision to accept a \$150 million university restructuring loan from the World Bank. They were especially critical of some of the conditions for the loan, for example, the provision requiring the closing of many departments and programs. They charged that this loan was a means by which U.S. and European interests were "hijacking" the Nigerian university system. In April, the National Association of Nigerian Students (NANS) gave the Babangida government a one month ultimatum to address the socio-political crisis faced by the nation. The military government responded with an armed assault on the campuses and the arrest of hundreds of NANS members. Hundreds of others were expelled from the university system. As the movement gained support, a military coup was staged on April 22 which, after initial successes, was crushed by forces loyal to Gen. Babangida. The government used the failed coup as a cover to intensify the repression of NANS. [CAFA #3; CDHR, 1991]

MAY

University of Lubumbashi, Zaire. A "death commando" of the military intelligence service killed at least 52 students May 11, bayonetting some and cutting the throats of others. Their bodies were burned in a mass grave. The students were demonstrating against the President Mobutu Sese Seko, and they attacked students alleged to be police informers. [AW, Volume 4, Issue 9]

JUNE

University of Zambia, Lusaka. Students protested June 25 the doubling of the price of cornmeal, a staple in the population's diet. Police opened fire on student demonstrators, killing one and wounding four. [AR&HRA]

SEPTEMBER

Khartoum University, Sudan. The university was closed after students began a strike. [ARB, 9/1]

Egerton University, Kenya. Boycotting students protested Sept. 17 against the implementation of a new assessment method. They clashed with the riot police who used tear gas; at least seven students and one policeman were injured. [ARB, 9/30]

NOVEMBER

Gezira University, Sudan. Students protested the summary dismissal of secularist or left-wing professors. 400 students were arrested. [AF&HRF]

University of Swaziland, Kwaluseni. Students demanded the reinstatement of a student leader and the improvement of the quality of food Nov. 10. The students presented a petition listing their demands and collected food in plastic garbage bags which they threw at the doors of the administration building. The police stormed the campus on Nov. 14 and wounded or injured 300 students, five seriously. [AF&HRA]

Conakry University, Guinea. Two students were killed and three others were wounded during clashes between striking

students and the police who used their weapons Nov. 23. The students had been on strike for over a month in protest against the loss of their grants and the poor quality of teaching. [ARB, 12/1]

DECEMBER

Makerere University, Uganda. Students protested the cutting of stationery and travel allowances. The police fired into a crowd of students killing two on Dec. 1. [AF&HRA]

1991

MARCH

University of Zambia, Lusaka. Students were ordered to leave the campus Mar. 18 by heavily armed paramilitary and riot police. Some students said that this closure was prompted by a planned strike by university teachers called to demand the reinstatement of the university press production manager, who had been suspended for publishing articles in support of multiparty democracy. [AF&HRA]

APRIL

Maseno University College, Kenya. The college was closed Apr. 9 after three days of rioting by students. [ARB, 5/1]

National University of Benin. Students went on strike Apr. 16 demanding the payment of all grant arrears and improvements in their living and working conditions. One student was wounded in clashes with the security forces. The university was closed down on April 30. [ARB, 5/1]

University of Tunisia, Tunis. Police raided the university and clashed with Moslem students sticking up political posters. Students in turn attacked security posts on the campus. The main Islamic students union, the UGTE, was banned at the end of March. [ARB, 6/1]

University of Zimbabwe. Students began a class boycott Apr. 20 which lasted several weeks to protest the new University Amendment Bill which gave draconian powers to government officials over students and faculty. [CAFA #2]

MAY

Technical Institute for Applied Sciences, Kinshasa, Zaire. Police May 17 killed two students and injured twenty others. The Secretary of State for Education, Mme. Issalu ("Mother Courage") was injured in the demonstration. [ARB, 6/1]

University of Jos, Yaba College of Technology (Lagos), Nigeria. Students held a demonstration in Jos in support of the National Association of Nigerian Students' (NANS) ultimatum to the government concerning the need to solve the economic crisis facing the nation. NANS demanded the reinstatement of students who had been suspended at a number of campuses, the unbanning of student unions on several campuses, reforms in university administration, and an increase in student bursary allowances. 13 students were arrested during the demonstration, facing charges of rioting,

destruction of property and arson. On the next day, the Yaba College students union came out publicly in support of the NANS ultimatum. In response, the Rector banned the students union. The union then called a demonstration in front of the Rector's house security forces killed two during the demonstration. Hundreds of students were arrested throughout the country in the course of rallies called to protest the killings. Many of the arrested students were tortured. May 27-28. [CAFA #3; AG, 6/24/91; AW, 10/91; Appendix III]

JUNE

University of Cote d'Ivoire at Yopaugon, Cote d'Ivoire. The government banned FESCI, the autonomous students union, after security forces interrupted a FESCI conference that was discussing allegations that four students had been killed by troops stationed on campus. June 21. [ARB, 7/1]

Moi University in Eldoret, Kenya. Students began a protest June 30 against a revision of the loan scheme requiring them to pay fees in the coming academic year, thereby reducing their money allowances. Riot police killed one student and several others were injured in clashes with riot police. The university was subsequently closed. [ARB, 7/15]

SEPTEMBER

National University, Cote d'Ivoire. A two-month strike by university teachers ended and the university reopened. The union went on strike after accusing the government of having violated academic freedom by attacking a university hostel and stationing troops on the campus. The government removed the troops from the campus and lifted a ban on union meetings on university grounds. Sept. 11. [ARB, 9/1-30]

OCTOBER

Nigeria Kaduna State. Secondary school students demonstrated against the high cost of WAEC examination fees and the introduction by the state government of a compulsory 450 naira fee to buy its textbooks. The West African Examination Council explained that the rise of its exam fees was due to the increasing cost of printing question papers and of freight charges. [AC 1/27]

NOVEMBER

University of Botswana, Botswana. University students protested against the firing of at least 18,000 striking manual workers by the government. The workers were sacked after striking for two days for higher wages. Nov. 9. [ARB, 12/1-31]

DECEMBER

University of Dakar, Senegal. Students began a two-month strike demanding better living and studying conditions. The strike ended on Feb. 12, 1992 after the government agreed to increase the University budget, to create 147 new teaching jobs, to increase student grants, to improve medical and transport services for the students, and to increase the number of classrooms. [ARB, 2/1-29/92]

JANUARY

National Institute of Higher Education (ENES), Comoros. Students decided to boycott classes at ENES to protest the lack of resources charging that it made it impossible for the school to function. Subsequently high school and *lycée* students demonstrated, in order to draw attention to the shortage of teachers, while the teachers themselves launched an indefinite strike following a government decision to eliminate their benefits. Jan. 25. [ARB, 1/1-31]

FEBRUARY

Omar Bongo University of Libreville and the Masuku University of Science and Technology, Gabon. The government decided to close "until further notice" Feb. 5 the two universities following protests by students who were demanding a three-month extension of their grants. [ARB, 2/1-28]

Abidjan, Cote d'Ivoire. One thousand students gathered on Feb. 13 in the business center of Abidjan to protest the government's continuing support for General Robert Guei, after he was named in a government report as the "sole instigator" of a brutal raid on students at the University of Ivory Coast, Yopougon campus, on the night of May 17, 1991. The police attacked the demonstrators with tear gas, stun grenades and truncheons injuring at least 25 people. On February 18, some 20,000 people, including students, faculty and supporters, marched in Abidjan to demand the release from police custody of student union leaders. More than 140 protesters were arrested. [CIAF letter]

University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Students began a strike to demand the reinstatement of ten of their colleagues who had been expelled, and the scrapping of a cost-sharing scheme due to start in August. Under this scheme they would have had to pay for part of their tuition fees. Two hundred and forty engineering students were expelled during the strike. Feb. 1-14. [ARB, 2/1-28; CAFA #3]

University of Togo, Lome. The government closed the university and banned all campus gatherings and meetings because of protests over student grants. Feb. 29. [ARB, 2/1-18]

MARCH

University of Benin in Abomey-Calavi, Benin. Several hundred students, out of the 13,000 registered at the University, began a strike Mar. 16 and demonstrated in front of the Education Ministry to protest against the non-payment of grants and the expulsion of four of their colleagues. In response to the strike, on March 17th, at dawn, numerous armed and helmeted gendarmes moved in at the Abomey-Calavi campus (20km from Cotonou). To protest the presence of the gendarmes on campus the students on March 17th boycotted the lectures. [ARB, 3/1-31]

MAY

University of Zimbabwe. After a meeting called to protest

against the reduced value of grants, which inflation had shrunk to poverty levels, several thousand students attempted to march into Harare and to confront the government. Paramilitary riot squads sealed the campus exits and fired tear gas at the students, who retaliated by pelting them with stones. The rioting continued for two days and spread to Bulawayo, where the students clashed with the police. The students incensed by the controversial, "non-socialist" World Bank program of economic reconstruction agreed to by Mugabe, mocked the government by singing re-worded songs from the guerrilla war of the 1970s. [THES, 5/15/92]

MAY

University of Ibadan and Lagos, Nigeria. Students at Ibadan began to protest May 9 against the implementation of the Structural Adjustment Program, which they accused of being responsible for the deterioration of campus facilities and education programs. A few days later also the students in Lagos began to protest, this time against the doubling of the price of public transport. The police responded by shooting at the demonstrators, wounding at least five students. [CAFA #3; Appendix 1]

JUNE

University of Zimbabwe. The University of Zimbabwe expelled its 10,000 students and abolished the Students Representative Council following a month of class boycotts and sometimes violent demonstrations called to demand higher grants. The academic authorities decided that the students would have to leave the campus and reapply in order to be readmitted. They also made it clear that the time the students missed would not be taken into account for examinations. The students had demanded higher grants, saying a 25 percent increase had been swallowed by a jump in fees. *Southscan* commented that the government seemed to have won the latest round of its long war against the students at the University of Zimbabwe, but with poverty certain to increase under ESAP, the Economic Structural Adjustment Plan, the government could only win a temporary respite. [ARB, 6/1-30]

JULY

Niger. Students occupied the mayor's office July 10 and the prefecture in N'Konni (400km east of Niamey) in order to protest the four-month delay in the payment of their grants. On the same day, Niger students studying in Nigeria invaded their embassy in Lagos and their consulate in Kano demanding that the Government pay their registration fees at Nigerian Universities, as originally promised. Niger students in Russia had already been occupying the Niger embassy in Moscow for a month, for the same reason. [ARB, 7/1-31]

Niger. The Minister of National Education and Research, Mr. Boube Gado, and the Ministry's General Secretary Mr. Chaibou Dan-Inna were held hostage in their ministry in Niamey (Niger) on July 14th by a hundred students who demanded the payment of both their delayed grants, and of the registration fees for their colleagues studying at Nigerian Universities. Both officers were released on July 15th after the students were promised that their demands would be met. The student delegate who announced this said that the government had agreed to pay arrears in registration fees estimated at CFA

30m, with priority being given to students in Nigeria. The Niger authorities also promised to send a mission to Nigeria to renew the education pact between the two countries which had expired on December 31 1991. [ARB, 7/1-30]

University of Zambia. More than 1,000 students clashed with police outside the campus in the course of a protest against cuts in their book and meal allowances, which they wanted doubled. The students also protested the suspension of an official in the Agriculture Ministry, who had claimed that "emergency" food imported to alleviate the shortages arising from the drought was rotten. The official had been accused of spreading "undue alarm." Sixteen students were arrested and many were beaten by the police in the course of the demonstration. [THES, 7/24/92]

AUGUST

Nigeria. Students at several universities staged rallies in support of striking teachers, after the government banned the teachers' union on July 22, and told the teachers to evacuate their campus premises. The students pledged they would stand firmly behind the teachers and would defend them against government and police attacks. University of Ibadan students said they would form vigilantes to forestall any attempt by the government to arrest the teachers and declared classrooms a "no-go area" for students until the teachers' demands were met. Similar initiatives and protests were organized by students at the Universities of Ogun, Lagos, Ahmadu Bello, Port Harcourt, and Enugu. At the University of Benin the students unanimously resolved to "proscribe" the Armed Forces Ruling Council. [WA, 8/10-16, AG 8/17]

Embassy of Mali, Russia. Protesting Mali students in Moscow took their ambassador and senior diplomats hostage for three days. The move was the latest step in an ongoing protest by students from 12 African states against subsistence-level grants. The students had been protesting, staging sit-ins and in some cases fasting outside their embassies for nearly two months. [THES, 8/14]

The Polytechnic of Calabar, Nigeria. The Polytechnic was shut indefinitely following rioting by students protesting the non-payment of the 1991-1992 bursaries. Two people, a student and a bystander, were killed in the riot, apparently by stray bullets after the police were called in. (WA 9/7-3)

1993

JANUARY

Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia. At least one student was killed and several injured in violent clashes with security forces during a demonstration demanding the halting of the referendum on Eritrean independence. [ARB, 1/1-31]

University of Burkina Faso, Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso. Several thousand students protested Jan. 20 against cuts in university grants and demanded the payment of arrears. The next day police occupied the campus to prevent further demonstrations. [ARB, 1/1-31]

University of Yaounde, Cameroon. On Jan. 20 a group of students set fire to a building housing the Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences. The previous day, President Biya had signed a series of decrees, increasing university fees to CFA francs 50,000 per year. According to campus reports, the students announced that they would embark on an indefinite strike action, as soon as the government would implement its "cost sharing plan" requiring them to pay school fees. [ARB, 1/1-31]

FEBRUARY

Katibougou Polytechnic Institute, Mali. Students at the polytechnic set alight both a campus building and the regional governor's residence in protests against a cut in their grants. [ARB, 2/1-28]

MARCH

University of Benin, Benin. Students at a general assembly Mar. 13 decided to continue their strike (begun in early February) called to demand "greater justice in the distribution of grants." [ARB, 3/1-31]

National School of Engineers, Mali. Several hundred students and pupils attacked the national radio station, the Communications Ministry, and the National School of Engineers on Mar. 15. It was part of an ongoing campaign, begun Oct. 1992, aimed at obtaining better working conditions and grants. [ARB, 3/1-31]

University of Abidjan at Adjame-Abobo, Cote d'Ivoire. Two thirds of the 3,000 students registered at Adjame-Abobo, one of Abidjan's two universities, began a strike Mar. 15 to demand a revision of their educational program and an improvement in their grant levels and housing conditions. They were demanding that all first year students be given grants and places in university residences. Only medical and pharmaceutical students followed the strike, with chemistry, biology and geology students continuing to attend classes. [ARB, 3/1-31]

University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana. Students boycotted classes and demonstrated for an increase in student loans on Mar. 23. Police invaded the campus and beat and shot several students. In the aftermath of the police occupation of the campus the university was closed. (ARB, 5/1-31; Appendix II)

APRIL

Bamako, Mali. President Konare announced Apr. 9 the resignation of his government four days after an upsurge of violent demonstrations in Bamako by students and pupils who set fire to several public buildings, including the National Assembly. Through their actions the demonstrators had wanted to attack the "symbols" of the state, which they saw as responsible for their lack of prospects. One person died and 45 had been wounded, including twenty from the security forces, in the April 5th incidents. [ARB, 4/1-20]

University of Yaounde, Cameroon. A second year law student, Collins Jongwe Kamga, died when a fire gutted his room at the university four days after he had paid the contro-

versial \$200 tuition fee. As part of its cost recovery program, the Cameroon government introduced this fee on every university student. The university's actions have been criticized by many as too taxing and too hastily implemented. "How can government suddenly ask us to pay fees for university students when they have just reduced our salaries and when farmers have not been paid for the last three seasons?" asked one parent. Authorities set April 30 as the deadline for payment and those failing to pay will not be allowed to sit for mid-year examinations in early May. University authorities dismissed 18 students for involvement in radical activities including organizing opposition to the payment of the tuition fee. The expelled students have also been banned from study at any Cameroonian university for life. [IPS, 4/28 & 29]

N'Djamena, Chad, and Embassy of Chad, Algeria. Police used tear gas on April 28 to disperse a demonstration in N'Djamena by students calling for an increase in grants. On May 3, Chadian students in Algiers took over the premises of the Chadian Embassy and held the ambassador hostage. The students were protesting the "failure of the Chadian authorities to satisfy their demands." [ARB, 5/1-31]

MAY

Eduardo Mondlane University, Mozambique. A number of students went on strike May 21-27 demanding that the university management increase their scholarship grants, improve transport to and from the university campus, reduce fees and improve the campus facilities and the quality of teaching. [Mf, June]

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.

APPENDIX I

The following is a facsimile of a flyer the Publicity Bureau of the National Association of Nigerian Students (NANS) issued in May 1992.

TIME FOR ACTION

THE GAME IS UP!
IBB MUST GO NOW!!
NATIONAL CONFERENCE NOW!!!

REASONS

- * SAP is a Crime to Mankind
- * Nigerians now Beggars
- * Nigerians now Destitutes
- * Nigerians now Illegal Aliens
- * Nigerians now Prostitute
- * Nigerians now Eat from Dustbins
- * Nigerians now Dying
- * Nigerians now Political Wanderers
- * Disease now Live with US
- * Inflation now Live with US
- * We can't Clothe Ourselves
- * Our Country is being Sold Out
- * Privatized and Commercialized
- * Retrenchment Everywhere
- * Unemployment Everywhere
- * Death Everywhere
- * No Petrol, No Kerosene, No Food
- * Resist Now!

IBB Says: Economy must Die before a solution becomes available-

Haba! Dare to Struggle - Dare to Win.

CAFA at the African Studies Association Annual Meeting, Dec. 4-7, 1993 Westin Hotel, Boston

"Academic Freedom after Structural Adjustment," Sunday, Dec. 5, 11:00 a.m.-1:00 p.m.

Also, the Association of Concerned Africa Scholars (ACAS) is sponsoring a roundtable on "The Changing Research Environment in Africa: The Ethics, Politics and Conditions of Scholarly Work in Africa" on Saturday, Dec. 4, 3:00 p.m.-5:00 p.m.

APPENDIX II

A statement from an anonymous Ghanaian student concerning the invasion of two campuses by the police in March 1993:

Police Brutalities Against Students of the University of Ghana and the Institute of Professional Studies

In December 1992, students in tertiary institutions were compelled by their deplorable economic conditions, to demand an increase in their student loans, from cedis 90,000.00 (about U.S. \$ 141.00) per student to cedis 200,000.00 (US \$ 312.00).

Unfortunately they were informed by the Acting Deputy Minister in charge of Higher Education that the issue was not a national priority, since all concerned were too preoccupied with the transnational activities.

In February 1993 (over a month after the 4th Republic was inaugurated) all attempts to get the student demands addressed proved futile.

The Student Representative Councils (SRCs) in various institutions therefore decided to make the issue a national priority by taking to the streets peacefully.

The students of the University of Ghana decided to boycott the lectures and to take it to the streets, until concrete attempts were made by the appropriate authorities to address the issue. In line with this decision taken by the students of the University of Ghana a group of students blocked the traffic on the Accra-Aburi road (which runs in front of the University of Ghana). The police quickly dispersed some of them, and chased the remnants into the campus. They spontaneously fired indiscriminately, and severely beat the students they came across. The police broke into libraries, cafeterias and rooms of students at Akufo and Mensah Sarbah Halls of residence, destroying private and public property. During this inconceivable police operation, some innocent students got severely injured. Besides the personal effects of the students, also louvre blades, windows, doors and furniture, among other things, were destroyed by the police. Evidence of bullet marks (some deflected) were all over the main blocks of both halls. It is vital to ask: are these policemen supposed to protect private property? Considering that the demonstrating students were not armed and did not offer the slightest resistance to the police attempts to disperse them, one can conclude that the motive of the police had more to it than merely dispersing a peaceful demonstration.

Five students were arrested and detained in the process. The students later mobilized and went to the Legon Police Station to demand the release of their colleagues, but they dispersed when warning shots were fired.

On Tuesday, March 23rd (a day after the police invaded Legon campus), the students of the Institute of Professional Studies (IPS) also took to the streets for the same reason as their colleagues at the University of Ghana.

About 30 minutes after retreating to their campus, the police led by the infamous "Panthers," arrived at the campus and sprayed live bullets on the halls of residence. Two female students, who were taking cover in their rooms, were shot at. Ms. Vida Ofori, one of the two female students who sustained injuries, received seven bullet (not plastic) wounds in her chest, abdomen, ribs, pelvis and left arm. Some other students

also sustained injuries, whilst others were arrested and detained.

The Government, after a long debate, decided to set up a departmental inquiry (probe) into the incident. Over two months after the incident the findings were still not in.

After negotiations with the Minister of Education, Mr. Harry Sawyer, the Minister agreed to increase the loan to cedis 150,000.00, an increase of 67 percent.

Just as it seemed that things were simmering down, the teachers and educational workers unions (TEWU) who are the junior workers of the University Teachers Association of Ghana (UTAG) announced that they are also planning an industrial action, since they have also come to realize that the only "language" that this government understands is that of industrial action.

It is quite disheartening to note that all these disturbances are going to adversely affect the long-term program of Ghana's Universities, and the earlier a long-term solution is found the better.

APPENDIX III

A Description of the NANS Nine-point Ultimatum by Okey Ekeocha in The African Guardian, 1/14/91:

The central thrust of the students' demands lies in what they have termed the "democratization of all facets of education." By this, they are asking for participation in the decision making structures of the citadels of learning, such as the senate, faculty and departmental boards. Democratization of education also entails students' involvement in the election of their heads of department, deans of faculties, members of senate and vice-chancellors.

The students further want to be given access to their examination scripts and a free hand in choosing what courses to study. Currently, it is the universities, through the National Universities Commission (NUC) that decides on the curriculum and course content in the universities, without inputs from students and lecturers.

The abrogation of Decree 2 and 47 also forms part of the demand of the students. Decree 47 ousts the jurisdiction of the courts in the determination of cases between the students and the authorities. The decree also gives absolute powers to the vice-chancellors who act as the prosecutor and judge in areas of conflict between the universities and the students. Protests are outlawed with a penalty of 50,000 naira and expulsion. The only court of appeal open to the students is the president of the federation. The decree, the students contend, undermines autonomy of the institutions of learning and reduces them to mere "clearing houses" of the government. The students, through their national association, are asking for the abrogation of this decree, so as to allow the academic community to perform its rightful role as a market place of ideas and opinion.

The abject state of the universities is reflected in the deplorable living conditions of the students. To alleviate their suffering, the students are demanding a bursary of 2,000 naira per student to enable them to offset the high cost of living and the sky-rocketing prices of reading materials.

The mass resignation of lecturers arising from the poor

conditions of service and inadequate instructional facilities have made the education sector unattractive to the pool of talents in the country. To obliterate these conditions, the NANS is demanding that a state of emergency be declared in the education sector. This measure, they believe, will pave the way for inter-sectorial participation in solving the problems that afflict the universities.

The recalling of the rusticated and expelled students at Adeyemi College of Education, Ondo State College of Education, Ikere-Ekiti, Universities of Calabar, Lagos and Rivers State University of Technology also form part of the nine point demands of NANS.

Abolition of tuition fees in state-owned universities, colleges of education and polytechnics is high on the list of demands by the students. They complain that students from state universities pay fees ranging between 800-1,000 naira as tuition fees. The federal government has, for several years now, abolished tuition fees as a measure to subsidize education.

The students are also asking government to set free all prisoners of conscience and cancel its plan to set up the National Guard.

AFTERWORD

This chronology shows us that the demands of the African student movement have a striking uniformity. Immediate struggles over grants, food, book allowances, and tuition fees seem to dominate the student agenda. Some would have us see these demands as merely economic ignitors of the campaign for multi-party democracy, which university students have led in many countries, including Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Togo, Kenya, Cote d'Ivoire, Zaire, and Zambia [Bratton and Van De Walle (1992): pp. 31-32]. They would have us believe that the African students' protest aims ultimately at "political" objectives such as civil liberties and the end of arbitrary rule.

But this chronology shows that any dichotomy between "political" and "economic" objectives is untenable, and that for democracy to prevail in Africa, no less than elsewhere, more is needed than the end of one-party rule. Indeed, the struggle to increase grants, allowances and access to education is not only a fight for personal entitlements, but is a precondition for the survival of the educational system and the possibility of any democratic process. For thousands of Africans it marks the difference between not only remaining in the university or being forced out of it, but remaining in Africa or having to emigrate, having some hope for the future or being deprived of any prospect.

This chronology also belies the picture of the average African university student as elitist, self-centered and privileged. That the students marching through this chronology often die in a demonstration fighting for an extra meal or some reams of paper, or are willing to take to the streets in support of striking workers well indicates that the majority of them are not the cushioned children of the "bureaucratic bourgeoisie," nor are indifferent to the "general interest." This is not surprising. As the World Bank itself has acknowledged, by 1980 60 percent of the parents of African university students were farmers, manual workers or traders, which makes the African university student body the one with the smallest

percentage of "white collar" parents in the world. [World Bank (1986): p. 62]. This chronology confirms what we deduce from the acknowledgments section of many university dissertations, where graduating students thank dozens of people, sometimes entire villages, for the material and spiritual support they received through their school years: the education of African students is much more the result of a collective endeavor, than the dispensation of a rich parent.

Similarly this chronology belies the image the World Bank has portrayed of the African campuses as places where no education is taking place. [World Bank (1989); Saint (1992)] While nobody can deny that African students have been deprived of the most basic educational materials in the wake of SAP, any reader of this chronology must conclude that much social knowledge is being produced on these campuses. There is much about the global power structure and distribution of wealth that a student learns when s/he must risk

death, and take on no less than the WB and IMF in order to obtain even the most modest forms of support enabling him or her to continue their studies.

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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 who are concerned with the increasing violations 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 29, 1990) and by the World University Service Lima Declaration of 1988, which states (Clause 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 put 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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