Five years have passed since we produced our first newsletter in the Spring of 1991, and it is thus appropriate to mark this anniversary by a review of the work that we have done, to see what we have accomplished and what remains to be done. Although in our name we stressed the concept of Academic Freedom, those who have followed our work know that CAFA’s main objective has been to expose the policies that the World Bank and International Monetary Fund have imposed on Africa, through the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP), and in particular those directly affecting its educational systems. In these policies we have identified one of the main threats to academic freedom in Africa, both insofar as structural adjustment deprives Africans of the right to self-determination, and because much of the repression carried on by African governments on the campuses is rooted in this policy which students and teachers have vehemently resisted.

Our goal in organizing CAFA was to challenge the ideology by which the World Bank has promoted its plans for African education and build support for the anti-SAP movement that has grown in Africa in and out of the campuses. In pursuit of these goals, over the last five years, we have documented the struggles of African students and teachers, built connections with their organizations, and contributed our work to that of the growing number of organizations (e.g., the 50 Years Is Enough Campaign) that have made it their task to delegitimize the World Bank as a would be global Philosopher King. In this respect, our efforts have been fairly successful. Nevertheless, our hopes for a broad mobilization of North American academics in solidarity with our colleagues in Africa have been disappointed.

To this day, concern among North Americans for the misery the World Bank has created in Africa is very limited, even among Africanists. Exemplary, in this context, was the statement by Philip D. Curtin on the alleged ghettoization of African History (ASA News, October/December 1995). By suggesting that U. S. African Studies Departments are guilty of reversed discrimination because they hire Africans to teach African history, Prof. Curtin has not only questioned the validity of the knowledge produced in African universities, at the very time when World Bank policies are conspiring to devalue it on the global academic market, but he has also demonstrated a supreme disinterest in the conditions of academic work of our African colleagues and African students. In the midst of the most devastating attack on African academic institutions—an attack that for most teachers involves poverty, marginalization, police repression, emigration—Curtin has found nothing better
Kenyan Schools: The Issues
by Mwikali Kieti

In 1996, Kenyan schools (from primary level to colleges and universities) are fraught with gross mismanagement, looting, and corruption, among other problems that have been the hallmark of Kenya's government. These problems have been exacerbated by the implementation of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) that necessitate major cuts of social programs and educational funding. Cost-sharing (SAP's motto) means little to the majority of rural and urban Kenyans who do not earn enough money to "share" with the state. Schools continue to lose land to private developers who collude with the ministry of land officials and other top bureaucrats. The school climate is frighteningly characterized by rapes, bullying, assaults, beatings, jailings, road accidents, general despair due to bad performances during national exams, and the unemployment crisis. Students are wasting university resources going jobless after they graduate, which is devastating in a country that has encouraged education as the only way out of poverty. Terror and death are especially rampant in the areas afflicted with the so-called ethnic clashes, which are in fact the Kenyan state's engineered "ethnic-cleansing" (1)

More recent problems seem traceable to the introduction of the 8-4-4 system in the early 1980s. Kenyans were appalled at the swiftness with which the new system was adopted, notably without further teacher training, and without the construction of more classrooms, science laboratories, or the expansion of the institutions of higher learning to reflect the new subjects introduced in the primary schools and high schools. In a recent paper, Prof. Waligwa Orwa described the 8-4-4 system as the "creator of an illiterate nation." The counter by fellow Professor Ochong Okello that "the problem with the 8-4-4 system has been the attitude of those who look back to the colonial systems of education with nostalgia and forget that the system was designed to serve the interest of the colonialists" is typical of the scapegoating Kenyan leaders resort to—lead by the chancellor of all state universities, Daniel Arap Moi—in response to any form of criticism. For example, in his paykaking style (2), Moi renewed his attack on Richard Leakey, accusing him of inciting Egerton University students to disrupt public transport by infiltrating the matatu industry. Moi has perfected the strategy of attacking any constructive criticism as "foreign oriented and funded."
per student that the Higher Education Loans Board had remitted to the university for this purpose. When no money was refunded after several months, students demanded it. Instead of refunding the money, however, the university administration summoned seventeen suspected "ring leaders." Students then reportedly rioted on February 4, 1996, and burnt a security office, allegedly causing an estimated loss of 2.5 million Kshs. The university administration refused to issue permits for meetings and installed more than 100 policemen at the campus (February 18). Students boycotted classes demanding that (a) the authorities revoke the suspension of their seventeen colleagues, (b) refund the money owed, and (c) withdraw the police from campus. A squad of about 200 armed policemen in full riot gear were summoned to disperse the "rioting" students (February 20) and the university was closed. First and second year students have been recalled as of late March, but the third and the fourth year students (who were scheduled to finish their degrees in April 1996) have yet to be recalled.

Similar events have occurred at Kenyatta University. In November 1995, Kenyatta University was closed and students were sent home for three months following riots over the loan disbursement, food prices and accommodations. On March 7, 1996, Kenyatta University students rioted over the failure of the university administration to refund the 4,000 Kshs. due to each student. Police shot in the air and used tear gas to disperse the students, who allegedly were looting and damaging the college kitchens. During the disturbances, female students were raped by the police as usual. On March 9, the students were back in classes after the administration promised to pay their refunds the following week.

Instead of attempting to deal with the students' grievances, President and Chancellor Moi's response to the events at Egerton was a typical exercise in rhetorical evasiveness. He said on March 6, "The government has documented evidence of SAFINA [an unregistered political party Richard Leakey is a member of] part in causing unrest at Egerton University and its plot to extend disturbances to the University of Nairobi and Kenyatta University...the government[will] take drastic steps against anyone out to incite university students." SAFINA spokespeople denied any links to the unrest in Egerton, and challenged Moi to publicly exhibit the alleged "documentary evidence" he claimed to have. So far he has not.

The environment around the universities—on the roads and in primary and secondary schools—in the last few months has deepened the sense of governmental double-talk and irresponsibility. To get a better sense of this situation, consider the following chronology of cases relating to the education scene in Kenya, as reported by three Kenyan dailies, the National, Standard, and the Kenya Times, between December 1995 and March 1996:

January 3, 1996
The Nairobi City Council will formally discuss the illegal acquisition of its many properties that have been acquired and sold to children and relatives of highly connected individuals within the ruling party. Some of these properties include open grounds, school fields, clinics, senior staff houses and council rental houses.

January 4, 1996
Kenyatta headmasters have rejected the new fees guidelines set by the Ministry of Education. The Education minister announced the guidelines supposedly after consulting with educators nationwide. He said that neither parents, education officers nor they themselves were consulted.

January 8, 1996
Children, teachers and parents from Serani primary school marched to the town hall to denounce the allocation of the school's playground to a politician.

January 10, 1996
40,000 primary school leavers will miss places in schools in Western Province. This represents 65% of those who wrote the graduation exam in the province.

Moi, Mbiriri, Kaboriuri, Murutneu and Muluwa secondary schools in Eastern Provinces have been ordered to readmit girls after phasing them out.

February 17, 1996
Eastern Provincial commissioner Ishmael Chelanga's order that ten schools closed some years ago for security reasons be re-opened.

February 23, 1996
More than 65% of all girls (compared to 45% of the boys) who enroll in primary schools in Nyanya drop out before reaching Standard Eight.

March 5, 1996
The number of Kenyan students in foreign universities has declined by 10% since 1992. Only 10% of students who qualify for admission to the state universities got places this year.

March 6, 1996
Sylvester Waweru—a form one student at Chania High School—died after school bullies threw him into a swimming pool after he reportedly refused to smoke (marijuana). The headmaster, P. Thuku, denied there is bullying in the school and claimed Jane Kihana, Waweru's mother, "was just exaggerating the whole thing."

March 8, 1996
The coast provincial director of education, Khadija Karim, told schools in the province to ensure that their compounds are fenced off to protect their land from being allocated to land-grabbers. Two schools in the province have had their land expropriated.

March 10, 1996
Eight lecturers from Egerton University condemned the rape of female students and the "inhuman and brutal beating" of students by police summoned by the university administration to "restore order on the campus."

March 16, 1996
The King Academy in Nakuru was closed after more than 600 students staged a sit-in to protest alleged bad administration and lack of teachers, among other grievances.

Prof. Eshiwani predicted that due to congestion in the universities population growth, the country will require more than twenty four universities by the year 2010. Currently, the country has five state universities.

March 17, 1996
Seven students of Njiri school died when their school bus plunged into a river in Muranga after its brakes failed. The students were among fourteen people killed on Kenyan roads the same day.

March 18, 1996
The "Bull of Karatina"—a 60-year old man who raped a thirteen year old girl—is released after settling the matter out of court.

March 21, 1996
Thirty primary school pupils were injured when their school lorry plunged into a river in Kirui after its brakes failed. Ten students were admitted in Kirui district hospital in critical condition.

March 23, 1996
Forty two students and four teachers from Deputy Girls High School narrowly escaped death when their vehicle landed in a muddy ditch while the driver was avoiding hot boles.

March 27, 1996
Since the water shortage hit Mombasa, many school children have had their activities disrupted when they were compelled to wake up early in the morning to join water queues in the town.

April 1, 1996
Eighty primary school teachers were injured (three critically) when their bus overturned on their way to attend the Kenya National Union of Teachers elections.

Notes
(2) "Kupayika" means gossiping, talking foolishly or incoherently and indiscutably. "Payukari" is a Sheng (Swahili-English) word for this type of talk. Moi's payukari often happens during public meetings when he goes off his topic and starts denouncing people he perceives as attacking his leadership.
(3) In 1984 I was part of a sit-in protest in Nairobi University where we were awaiting the vice-chancellor, Joseph Maimi Mwutungu, to come and address us. Instead plain-clothes police arrested Mwutungu—the student leader—and all of a sudden, we were surrounded by baton-wielding anti-riot police that clubbed and threw tear gas into the crowd. One canisier exploded on the thighs of a female engineering student who was so badly burnt she stayed in the hospital for months. Another female student had an abortion, and a male student was killed.

A Season of Blood
Maima wa Kinyatti is one of Kenya’s progressive historians. In June 1982 he was arrested by the Kenyan authoritarian regime, charged with possession of seditious literature and imprisoned. For six and a half years he suffered in the hands of his captors. He was repeatedly held in solitary confinement and was constantly insulted and beaten. He was tortured by vermin, untreated diseases, hunger and loneliness. But he remained defiant, his courage and spirit unbroken. He has just published a book of poems written during and about his prison experiences:

A SEASON OF BLOOD Poems from Kenyan Prisons

by Maima wa Kinyatti

Distributed by Mauandu Research Center P.O. Box 190048 South Richmond Hill Station Jamaica, New York 11419
Student Struggle in Sudan

On April 2, 1996, students protested at the University of Khartoum against the attempt by the National Islamic Front (NIF) to control the student union elections. At the origin of the protest was the fact that the NIF had ordered that all student offices be vacated and that all student unions be brought into Khartoum to be counted. Many students protested; some moved because it made it easier for the NIF to rig the results of the elections.

This clash is the latest in a series of confrontations between students and the government which, from its inception in 1989, has been bent on destroying the students' independent organizations and — it seems — the academic institutions themselves, for sake of gaining control over the political life of the country.

Students have historically been a major political force in Sudan. Over and over again they have provided political leadership, and their protest has been the decisive element in the bringing down of dictators. This was true in 1964, when, two years after independence, a military coup was stopped by a broad movement of civil disobedience spearheaded by the students of the University of Khartoum and the trade unions. The same scenario was repeated in 1985 when the student movement opposing the government that few can go to college (Al-Zubeir Hamad: 79-80).

Defunding the university system is also a political maneuver, to undermine the reputation of the once prestigious higher education system, and weaken the students' ability to resist. This is also the reason why the management of student services (especially accommodations and meals) has been shifted from the university administration to the NIF-controlled Student Development Fund (SSF). The SSF is a powerful, well-financed body, that acts as a gate-keeper to all student subsidies. It controls whether or not student activities are sponsored in conformity with the government's Islamic policies, and distributes or withholds financial aid to students, in a very discriminatory way. In other cases, the SSF also refuses to pay tuition fees ranging from $4 to $40 U.S. dollars, a sum that, especially in the rural areas, is unaffordable for students. The general impression is that few can go to college (Al-Zubeir Hamad: 79-80).

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Report from Zaire

The following is an excerpt from an article by Prof. Tahikuku of the University of Kinshasa that appeared in the December 1995 issue of Nyota ya Afrika, a monthly published in Brussels by the Union de la Mouvance Progressiste, 96, Rue Van Meyel, 1210 Bruxelles, Belgium. The article was distributed in the archives of Nyota ya Afrika, who entitled the article, "A Laughable Academic Reopening":

In Zaire the problem of youth and national education has acquired a tragic, surrealism dimension. Everything is in ruins, teaching has become a cruel parody. Thus the problem of the University of Kinshasa has demanded a new consideration on the side of the government and the country for the university, the youth and the future.

In response, the Minister of Higher Education, University, and Scientific Research has directed the teachers to use the pedagogy of "patriotism," to tell them that the government does not have the means to take care of education, and, in any case, nobody is well paid in Zaire. The persons responsible for the destiny of the educational system, then, are the professors who must be patriotic and fix up the buildings, the laboratories, the libraries and stimulate scientific research, while earning the equivalent of five to seven U.S. dollars a month.

To stress the point, the Minister of Higher Education went to the once prestigious University of Lovanium to "open it." In a hall deserted by the professors, he sent his message through the microphones. The broken windows, the seats, the peeling walls, all these ruins in front of his eyes were accentuated by the moist odor coming from the caves where the abandoned libraries rotted and the patina smells emanating from clogged toilets. Unaffected, the Minister concluded ceremoniously in a formula without tomorrow: "I declare the academic year 1995-1996 open and I thank you. The government is assuming its responsibilities.

The University declared open is, to all evidence, without life on this day. Common opinion and the youth verify that this institution no longer belongs to the category of things that can be opened: for ruins do not have any doors to be opened, in the proper sense of the term.

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Chronology of African University Student Struggles: 1985-1995

Introduction

The following is a Chronology of the struggles that African students have waged, in the period between 1985 and 1995, in response to the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) their countries and academic institutions have adopted. It is testimony to the fact that SAP is one of many causes of violations of academic rights in Africa and a sign of the cost African students are prepared to pay in defense of the right to study, which is the very basis of 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 1995, teach us that the struggle for access to knowledge is not over in Africa.

In country after country, demonstration after demonstration, in slogans, flyers and position papers, the African student movement has shown a remarkable homogeneity of demands. "No to SAP while studying," "No to tuition fees," "No to cuts in books and stationary," "No to the elimination of grants and allowances," "No to Structural Adjustment Programs," and "No to the marginalization of Africa" are slogans that have unified African students in the SAP era to a degree unprecedented since the anti-colonial struggle. Some would have us see these demands as merely economic ignites of the campaign for multiparty democracy, which university students have led in many countries, including Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Togo, Kenya, Côte 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 exclusively 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 economic rights and freedoms, 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 1980-90 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 acknowledgements 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 patron.

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 the distribution of wealth, that students learn when they must risk death, and take on the risks the World Bank and IMF, in order to obtain even the mildest forms of support enabling them to continue their studies.

The following is an expanded and updated version of a "Chronology of Student Struggles" published in CAFA Newsletter 5 (Fall 1993).

Abbreviations of sources

AFR....Africa Report.
AFR&HRA....Africa Research and Human Rights Association.
AG....Africa Concord.
AG....African Guardian.
AW....News from Africa Watch.
CAFA....Committee for Academic Freedom in Africa.
CHE....Chronicle of Higher Education.
CIAF....Committee for International Academic Freedom.
IPS....Inter Press Service.

MF....Mozambique.
NW....Newswatch (Nigeria)
NYT....The New York Times.
THES....Times Higher Education Supplement.
UDASA....The University of Dur en Saldan, Academic Staff Association Newsletter.
WA....West Africa.

Chronology

1985

Feb. 10. Kenya, Nairobi University. Students boycotted classes starting from Feb. 5 to protest against 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; CAFA944].

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

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

March 11. Zaire. Mbangu Negundo University, Mbuji Mayi University. University students criticized the cuts in the higher education budget adopted by the government in collaboration with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and in compliance with the Structural Adjustment Program. Mobuto announced that he was considering privatizing some higher education institutions. At Mbandaka, in Equitorial province, the students demonstrated violently against the security forces at the funeral of one of their number whom they believed to have been killed by the authorities. [ARB, 4/1].

June 6-7. Nigeria, University of Port Harcourt. 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 plans to introduce tuition fees. The next morning police broke into the student dorms, dragging students out and beating them with rifle butts. The students resisted the assault and more than 400 students were arrested [CAFA Archive].

Nov. 11. Congo, Brazzaville. Secondary school students demonstrated 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 the witnesses, the army shot blanks into the air while some pupils were running cars and shops [ARB, 12/15].

1986

Jan. 23. Tunisia, University of Tunis. Students struck to commemorate the anniversary of the bloody riots of Jan. 3, 1984, which had erupted in response to the government's decision to double the price of bread [ARB, 2/1].

May 28. Nigeria, Ahmadu Bello University (ABU), Zaria. About twenty students and bystanders at ABU were injured and技法ed by security forces after staging peaceful protests over university and government policies. More students were killed in the ensuing days in the Kaduna Polytechnic, the University of Benin and the University of Lagos (CAFA943).

Feb. 28-March 3. Kenya, Kenyatta University. 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 occupied and broke the main highway to central Kenya. A body was found and made motorists who attempted to pass were shot. The university was closed indefinitely and the students were ordered off campus [ARB, 4/1, THES 4/4/86].

June 9. Kenya, Egerton College. 1,400 agriculture students refused to sit for exams in solidarity with seven students who had been arrested on insurrection 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. The authorities allowed the suspended students back (THES, 8/8/86).

Dec. 9. Madagascar, National University of Madagascar. About 200 students staged a demonstration in the city center to protest a reform imposing stricter limits on the number of times students could resist their exams [ARB, 2/1/87].
1987
Jan. 22. Senegal. University of Dakar. Students boycotted lectures for a twenty-four hour period and refused to pay the entry fee to the university refectory to protest the deterioration standards in their 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 strike continued through Feb. 24, when the government and student representatives reached an agreement. The government agreed to withdraw the police from the campus, to pay the grants, and to pay both for the injured students' medical costs, and for the repair of any damaged property [ARB, 2/15].

Jan. 28. Sierra Leone. Fourah Bay College. Njala University College. The two universities and the teacher training college of Sierra Leone were closed after a three-weeks' 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 forced to cut public expenditure as part of an IMF economic adjustment program, and that education was a privilege rather than a right. The government was aware of the students' behavior and of carrying out violent acts. On Jan. 29 demonstrators ran through the streets of Freetown, Bo and Kenema destroying public buildings and private houses, mostly belonging to the Lebanese colony. In Bo the police arrested ten students. As news of their arrests spread through the township, students threatened to attack the police station where their colleagues were in custody, if they were not released. The police released the students [ARB, 3/15,AR, Mainland April, AC, Jan. 25-31, 1988].

Feb. 2. Madagascar. National University of Madagascar. Students and security forces clashed. The students were protesting measures prohibiting them from repeating from other universities that were 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." During a week of clashes, three people had died, several were wounded and about ten were arrested [ARB, 3/15].

March 6. Ghana. University of Cape Coast. University of Ghana. University of Science and Technology in Kumasi. Students demonstrated against the government decision to sell university buildings in order to earn foreign currency to improve tertiary institutions. The measure was adopted as part of a planned educational reform, inspired by the IMF and World Bank, intended to place higher education on a cost-sharing basis. The demonstrators climaxed a week of mourning, during which students were red wrist-bands. The demonstrators said that their food rations should be doubled and that education was "their inalienable right." They placed posters in strategic positions stating "education for everyone." They also addressed the human rights situation in the country demanding an end to violations without trial and to 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, 4/9, WA, 4/9].

April-May. Madagascar. University of Madagascar. Antananarivo. Less than 25% of enrolled students turned up for classes on April 27 in protest against 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 student leader, claiming that he was wearing an automatic pistol [ARB, 6/15].

May 8. Ghana. University of Ghana. Legon. The government ordered the closure of the university after the students refused to follow the Secretary for Education's advice and returned to classes. The students have organized students in support of the former National Union of Ghana Students' Secretary Kabraka Cromwell. He was being held by the military authorities for his suspected involvement in drug trafficking [ARB, 6/15].

June. Kenya. Egerton University College. 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].

Nov. 12-19. Sudan. University of Khartoum. Students began the occupation of university buildings on Nov. 12, and the administration closed the university on Nov. 19. The student union, dominated by Islamic fundamentalists, demanded that the chancellor abolish the regulations governing student conduct. The fundamentalist students were the most highly organized group in the university, despite their limited number; thus they were able to exploit existing discontent both in the university and country wide. The students' discontent exploded with street violence followed by arrests. Anger was directed at a steep 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].

Nov. 15. Kenya. Nairobi. Nairobi University. Students went on strike after the police clashed with seven newly-elected student union leaders who were arrested on the night of Nov. 14. Students were clubbed and tear gas and four foreign journalists were knocked down 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 [CAF#487].

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

1988
Jan. 27. Senegal. Dakar University. Students began a year-long campaign protesting the lack of housing and classroom space as well as poor food conditions. The Direct government eventually committed CFA 2bn to rehabilitate secondary school and university infrastructure. It also allocated funds to build five new university hostels, a 3,000 seat cafeteria, and to increase the monthly student allowance [WA, 1/16].

Feb. Sudan. University of Khartoum. "The president of the student union ... warned that students will demonstrate... if the university imposes tuition fees on students out of their pocket and board... He commented after university officials in the Sudans had reacted positively to suggestions contained in a World Bank report policy that at least some financial responsibility for further education in African countries should be shifted to students and parents" [CHB, 2/10/88].

April. Nigeria. 33 Institutions of the Nigerian University System. Nigerian students demonstrated throughout the country against the fuel price increase demanded by the Structural Adjustment Program. Riots and confrontations with the police spread across most of the country's campuses. The Inspector-General of Police Garba described the protests as "premeditated and executed in a most professional manner." [WA, 5/22, 8/1, 16/89].

June. Ghana. University of Ghana and Cape Coast. Students were boycott examinations to oppose the government's decision to abolish their 51c feeding allowance, and demanded instead that it be tripled. The university authorities themselves had considered that the university authorities themselves had considered that the feeding allowance was too low [WA, 5/27, 6/18/89].

1989
Jan. 9. Benin. University of Cotonou. Students began a strike to protest the non-payment of their grants and the government's intention to eliminate them as part of an IMF/World Bank structural adjustment program. The government threatened to dismiss the students who would not return to work on Jan. 23, but the campus remained deserted [ARB, 2/15].

Jan. 18. China. Hebei University. Nanking. The Nanking branch of the General Union of African Students in China urged the removal of all 1,500 African students that the government accused of victimizing discrimination and police brutality. They also claimed that the Chinese authorities orchestrated an incident at Naking's Hebei University campus, on Christmas Eve, which led to fighting between Chinese and black students and to four days of demonstrations against the Africans [ARB, 2/15].

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

Feb. 24. Zaïre. Kinshasa National Pedagogical Institute and University of Lubumbashi. An undermined number of university students, amounting possibly to several dozens were killed in Kinshasa and the National University of Zaire's Lubumbashi. The violence started in Kinshasa after about 1,000 students demonstrated against the World Bank, and, in December 1988, announced a new loan, 60 billion francs, to finance the scheme as the first step in ending free higher education [WA, 1/16/89].

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

Sept. 28. Zimbabwe. University of Zimbabwe. Riot police used clubs, tear gas and rubber bullets to block a demonstration organized by the University of Zimbabwe and Harare Polytechnic Student Representative Councils. The demonstration had been called to protest the government's failure to follow its socialist principles. Riot police blocked students who were 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].

1990
onstrated against higher bus fares. At least five students were killed and hundreds were injured by the president’s elite guard near the Lubumbashi University where students marching in support of those in Kinshasa clashed with the police [CHE 3.29; ARB, 3/1; UDASA].

April 6. Benin, University of Cotonou. A teachers’ strike began throughout the country. The teachers demanded the payment of four months’ salary arrears, the withdrawal of the 50% reduction in their salaries (introduced by the new government of the IMF and the UN), and the unconditional liberation of all the teachers, pupils and students held during the strike, and the reintegration of 401 teachers dismissed in March for striking. Cotonou University was paralysed for six days by striking students demanding several months arrears in grant payments [ARB, 8/15].

May 26-31. Algeria, Universities of Algiers, Bab-Salah, Beni. Beginning at the University of Beni on May 26, university students across Algeria demonstrated against the IMF/World Bank structural adjustment adopted by the government. The demonstrations often left the campuses and led to confrontations with the security forces. At least six people were killed in Algiers, after the police, some in helicopters, fired on the students. The government was forced to concede a “SAP Relief Package”, the establishment of a mass transit scheme, a People’s Bank, and a review of the minimum wage [CHE 6.7-89; ARB, 6/15; NW, 6/12].

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

October. Zimbabwe, University of Zimbabwe. The university was closed for three weeks as 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.” [NYT, 11/16/ 89]. In response to the protest, the police raidied the campus and broke up a seminar called by the students to discuss corruption within the Government. “Many students could not 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, in a bid to cordon off the police and by the vice-chancellor’s Mercedes-Benz that was partially burned by students protesting the arrest of two university leaders” [ACAZ 30].

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

Nov. Zimbabwe, University of Zimbabwe. The University temporarily reopened. However, the newly elected president of the suspected student government said the students would oppose a new law that gave the government dictatorial powers. Lawmakers were also furious about government plans to increase their fees in the next year [THEES, 11/20].

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

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

Feb. 20. Tunisia, Technical College of Tunis. Nabeul University, Faculty of Stuz, Sousse, Kairouan and Gabes. Students connected to the Tunisian General Union of Students (UGTE) occupied university buildings 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. Nigeria, University campuses throughout the nation. 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 particularlly critical of 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 “highjacking” the Nigerian university system. In April, the National Association of Nigerian Students (NASN) gave the Babangida government a one month ultimatum to withdraw from the loan agreement and 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. The student movement gained support, and a student protest in Lagos on May 14 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 [CAFAAR; CDHR, 1991].

May 11. Zaire, Massenate at the University of Lubumbashi. At least 52 students were killed by a “death commando” belonging to the military intelligence service who bayoneted or shot the students. Their bodies were buried in a mass grave. On the morning of May 11, the students had been demonstrating against President Mobuto Sese Seko, and had clashed with the police when they tried to march into Lubumbashi. According to a 1992 Report by the UN Commission on Human Rights, on that same night, the electric power to the campus was cut, then a death squad arrived on campus with a list of names; aided by informers, they tracked down the students, killed them with knives, bayonets and iron bars, and then rampaged through the campus. “When targeted students could not be found, the attackers killed, beat and set afire occupants of neighboring rooms...leaving a trail of debris—pillaged and burned buildings, wounded and bleeding students, and dead bodies. A second raid was conducted just hours later...[when] military and intelligence agents assaulted the campus, killed more students and removed the corpses by plane.” In order to eliminate the evidence of the killings, dormitories, research facilities and classrooms were destroyed [CHE 3.8. 92; AW, Volume 4, Issue 9].


Sept. 5. Sudan, Khartoum University. The university was closed after students began a strike [ARB, 9/1].

Sept. 17. Kenya, Egerton University. Boycotting students protested 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].

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

Nov. 10. Swaziland, University of Swaziland, Kwaluwini. Students demanded the reinstatement of a student who had been suspended for facing the government with the new unemployment bill. 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 30 students, five seriously [AFRAHR].

Nov. 23. Guinea, Conakry University. Two students were killed and three others were wounded during clashes between striking students and the police. The students had been on strike for over a month protesting against the loss of their grants and the poverty of teaching [ARB, 12/1].

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

1991

March 18. Zambia, University of Zambia, Lusaka. Students were ordered to leave the campus by heavily-armed paramilitary and riot police. Some students said that the 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 [AFRAHR].

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

April 16. Benin, National University of Benin. Students went on strike demanding the payment of all grant areas and an improvement 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].

April-May. Tunisia, 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].

April 20. Zimbabwe, University of Zimbabwe. Students began a class boycott which lasted several weeks to protest the new University Amendment Bill which gave draconian powers to government over students and faculty [CAFAAR].

May 17. Zaire, Technical Institute for Applied Sciences, Kinshasa. Two students were reported killed and twenty others injured by the police. The Secretary of State for Education, Mme

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Page 13
Isaia ("Mother Courage") was injured in the demonstration [ARB, 6/1].


In Jos, students held a demonstration 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 suspended on several campuses, the unbanning of student unions, a reform of university administration, and an increase in student bursary allowances. 13 students were arrested during the demonstration, charged with rioting, destruction of property and arson. On the next day, the Yaba College students again came out publicly in support of the NANS ultimatum. In response, the Rector banned the union, which in turn called a demonstration in front of the Rector's house. Two students were killed by security forces during that demonstration. Later 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 [CAFSAR; AG 6/24/91; AW, 10/91].

June 21, Cote d'Ivoire. University of Cote d'Ivoire at Yopougon.

The government banned FESCI, the autonomous student union, after security forces interrupted a FESCI conference that was discussing allegations that four students had been killed by troops stationed on campus [ARB, 7/1].

June 30, Kenya. Moi University in Eldoret.

Students began a protest against a new loan scheme requiring them to pay fees in the coming academic year. One student was killed and several were injured in clashes with riot police. The university was subsequently closed [ARB, 7/15].

July/Aug Sudan. University of Khartoum.

Students protested a variety of new university policies including the announced closure of their boarding houses, the end of free meals, official efforts to undermine the student union, and efforts to "Islamize" the curriculum. Violent clashes left two students dead and many others injured by Security Forces [Fund for Peace (1992)].

Sept. 11, Cote d'Ivoire. National University.

A two-month strike of 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 and lifted a ban on union meetings on university grounds [ARB, 9/1-30].


Secondary school students demonstrated against the high cost of West African Examination Council (WAEC) examination fees and the introduction by the state government of a compulsory 450 Naira fee for pay teacher. The WAEC explained that the rise of exam fees was due to the increasing cost of printing examination papers and freight charges [AC 12/27].

October, Sudan. University of Juba.

Twenty-two students were killed as they were trying to flee the war zone in the wake of a crackdown on student protest against the imposition of Arabic as the medium of academic instruction. Many other students were detained and schools were closed [Hamad (1995): 86].

Nov. 9, Botswana. University of 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 [ARB, 12/13-31].


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 and permitted the establishment of teaching jobs, to increase the students' grants, to improve medical and transport service for the students, and to increase the number of classrooms [ARB, 2/1-29/92].

1992


Students decided to boycott classes at ENES charging that the lack of resources made it impossible for the school to function. Subsequently, high school and lyceé 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 [ARB, 1/13-31].

Feb. 5. Gabon. Omar Bongo University of Libreville and the Masuku University of Science and Technology.

The government decided to close "until further notice" the two universities following protests by students who were demanding a three-month extension of their grants [ARB, 2/1-28].


1,000 students gathered on Feb. 13, in the business center of Abidjan to protest the government's continuing support for General Robert Guet. He had been 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. On that night the police had 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 of student union leaders still in police custody. More than 140 among the protestors were arrested [CAFSAR letter].


Students began a strike to demand the reinstatement of ten of their colleagues who had been expelled, and the scrapping of a post-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 [ARB, 2/1-28; CAFSAR; 35].

Feb. 29, Togo. University of Togo. Lomé.

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


Several hundred students, out of the 13,000 registered at the University, began a strike and demonstrated in front of the Education Ministry to protest against the non-payment of grants. . A protest by students in Calavi and the package of jobs offered by the government to Calavi led the students to end 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, on the morning of March 17th, the students boycotted the lectures [ARB, 3/1-31].


After a meeting called to protest the reduced value of their grants, which inflation had shrunk to poverty levels, several thousand students attempted to march into Harare to confront the government. Para-military squads sealed off 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 situation was tense. The government had agreed to pay arrears in registration fees estimated at CPA 30m, with priority given to students in Nigeria. The Z brain authorities also promised to send a mission to Nigeria to renew the education pact between the two countries which had expired on December 31st 1991 [ARB, 7/1-30].


More than 1,000 students clashed with police outside the campus in the course of a protest against the cuts of book and meal allowances, which they wanted doubled. The students also protested the suspension of an official in the Agriculture Ministry, who had denounced that the "emergency" food, imported to alleviate the shortages arising from the drought was rotten. The officials had accused of spreading "undeclared alarm." 16 students were arrested and many were beaten by the police in the course of the demonstration [THESS, 7/24/92].


The University of Zimbabwe expelled its 10,000 students and abolished the Students' Representative Council following a month of class boycotts and sometimes violent demonstra- tions called to demand higher grants. The academic authorities decided that the students would have to leave the campus and reappear in order to be readmitted. They also made it clear that the time the students would miss would not be taken into account for examinations. The students had demanded higher grants, saying a 25% increase had been swallowed by a jump in fees. Souciamen commented that the government seemed to have won the latest round of its long-running battle, but with poverty certain to increase under the economic structural adjustment plan, the government could only win a temporary reprieve [ARB, 6/3-30].


Students occupied the mayor's office and the prefecture in Niamey (40km 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 registrations fees at Nigerian Universities, as originally promised. Niger students in Russia had already occupied the Nigerian embassy in Moscow, for a month, for the same reason [ARB, 7/1].


The Minister of National Education and Research, Mr. Bouba Gado, and the Ministry's General Secretary Mr. Chaibou Dan-Izza were held hostage in their ministry in Niamey (Niger), on July 14th, by a hundred students who demanded the payment of their delayed grants, and of the registration fees for their colleagues studying at Nigerian Universities. Both officers were released, on July 12th, after the students were promised that their demands would be met. The students delegate who announced the deal said the government had agreed to pay arrears in registration fees estimated at CPA 30m, with priority 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 31st 1991 [ARB, 7/1-30].


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August, Nigeria. Students at several universities staged rallies in support of the striking teachers, after the Government banned the teach- ers 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 at- tempts by the government to arrest the teachers. They also declared classrooms "no-go areas" for students until the teachers' demands would be met. Similar initiatives and protests were organized by the police at the University of Ogun, Lagos, Ahmadu Bello, Port Harcourt, Enugu. At the University of Benin the students unanimously resolved to "proscribe" the military government [WA 8/10-16, AG 8/ 17].

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

August 26. Nigeria. The Polytechnic of Calabar. The Polytechnic was shut indefinitely following rioting by students protesting the non-payment of the 1991-1992 bur- saries. Two people, a student and a bystander, lost their lives in the riot, apparently victims of stray bullets after the police was called in [WA 9/7-3].

1993

Jan. 4. Ethiopia. Addis Ababa University. At least one student was killed and several injured in vio- lent clashes with security forces during a demonstration demanding the halting of the referendum on Eritrean inde- pendence [ARB, 1/1-31].

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

Jan. 20-25. Cameroon. University of Yaounde. The University of Yaounde remained shut down as Presi- dent Biya signed a series of decrees, increasing university fees to CFA francs 50,000 per year. In response, the stu- dents announced that they would embark on an indefinite strike action, as soon as the government would implement its "cost sharing plan." University lecturers too were also

planning a strike action if their salary arrears were not regu- larized [ARB, 1/1-31].

Feb. Mali. Katiougu Polytechnic Institute. Students at the polytechnic sit-in all day both a campus build- ing and the regional governor's residence in protests against a cut in their grants [ARB, 2/1-28].

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

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

March 15. Cote d'Ivoire. University of Abidjan at Adjame- Abobo. Two third of the 3,000 students registered at Adjame-Abobo, one of Abidjan's two universities, began a strike to demand a revision of their educational program and an improve- ment 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 pharma- ceutical students followed the strike, with chemistry, biol- ogy and geology students continuing to attend classes [ARB, 3/1-31].

March 23. Ghana. University of Ghana, Legon. Students boycotted classes and demonstrated for an increase in student loans. Police invaded the campus and beat and shot several students. The police also barricaded the main road of the campus the university was closed [ARB, 5/1-31; Appendix II].

April 9. Mali. Bamako. President Konare announced the resignation of his govern- ment, 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 were wounded, including twenty from the security forces, in the April 5th incidents [ARB, 4/1-20].

April 8-May 3. Chad. N'Djamenas and Algeria. Embassy of Chad. Police used tear gas, on April 28, to disperse a demonstra- tion in N'Djamenas by students calling for an increase in grants. On May 3, also Chadian students in Algiers took over the premises of the Chadian Embassy and held the

ambassador hostage. The students were protesting the "fail- ure of the Chadian authorities to satisfy their demands" [ARB, 5/1-31].

April 26-28. Cameroon. University of Yaounde. As part of its cost recovery program, the Cameroon gov- ernment imposed a controversial $200 tuition fee on uni- versity students. The university's decision has been criti- cized by many as too taxing and hastily implemented. "How can we afford 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 pay- ment. Those failing to pay will not be allowed to sit for midyear examinations in early May. University authorities dismissed 18 students for involvement in radical activities including organizing opposition to the payment of the tu- ition fee. The expelled students have also been banned from every Cameroon university for life [IPS, 4/28 & 29].

May 25. Ghana. The University of Ghana (Legon). The University of Ghana (Legon) was closed indefinitely. The decision was taken after the police, on May 23, stormed the student halls, beating up and wounding several students. The police had gone to disperse students demonstrations organized to demand an increase in student grants. [ARB May 1-31].

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

August. Sudan. 29 students were dismissed from the Al-Sharq and Wadi al- nil universities, two in political activities on campus and violation of the ban on freedom of expression and association. Some of the students had rejected an order by the vice-chancellor demanding that they dismantle the alhafi al-kuologi, the student handwritten wall newspapers. [Abdelhadi Al-Zuberi Hamad: p. 85].

November. Sudan. 300 public libraries were arrested after a rally on the same day the New Islamic Front in the elec- tions of the Khartoum University Students Union [Hamad: 85].

December. 18. Chad. The government closed the university and all schools until further notice. On December 20th, the Minister of Educa- tion said that the shut down was caused by the students' and teachers' defiance of government authority [ARB: Dec. 1-31].
a cost-sharing plan in the higher education institutes. The Government has made available to students loans of 4.5m shillings per year, repayable after the students obtain employment. However, the students objected that, given the general state of impoverishment in the country, it was unrealistic to expect that these loans would address their problems [The New Vision, 4/13 and 4/17].

There were violent clashes between students and police in Niamey. The students were demanding the payment of 20,000 CFA francs, which they usually get at the beginning of the term. One demonstrator was injured [ARB, 5/1-31].

June. Congo.
President Lusaka announced the cancellation of the academic year because of the ongoing protest by students who, since April, had mobilized to demand the payment of 15 months of grant arrears [ARB, 6/1-30].

June 20. Cote d'Ivoire.
FESCI (The Federation of University and High School Students) agreed to suspend the strike it had called [ARB, 6/1-30].

June. Gabon.
After a day of violent student protest, on June 14th, the Government decided to close down the University of Omar Bongo in Libreville. The students had been on strike since May 26th, calling for a rise in their grants which were eroded by the CFA franc devaluation. On June 6th, the students held a demonstration on campus. On the 8th, the police intervened to break up groups of students who were erecting roadblocks. On June 9th, the Minister of Education announced that the government would reduce the monthly rent for dormitory rooms by CFA 2,000, and would increase the grants by CFA 3,000, bringing them to CFA 66,000 per month. He added that the Government could not afford further increases, since the grant was part of a total package negotiated with the International Monetary Fund [ARB 6/1-30].

June. Ghana.
Teachers throughout the country went on strike on June 1st to draw attention to their grievances. The Ghana Association of Teachers called for the payment of pensions on consolidated salaries and legitimate entitlements, that would mark a return to the Teachers' Pension Ordinance of 1955 [ARB, 6/1-30].

The main campus of Moi University was closed down. Students had gone on strike demanding the release of exams results [ARB, 6/1-30].

June. Guinea.
In June trouble broke out during the end of year exams.

Students were demanding the settlement of their grants and the repayment of school expenses. As the authorities refused, student protest broke out, resulting in ten students being put under judicial inquiry for "inciting rebellion" [ARB 11/1-30].

Sixteen students were expelled and rusticated by the Polytechnic authorities for alleged misconduct following a peaceful protest in March, organized to demand better academic and welfare conditions [CDHR Newsletter, Sept. 1994].

One student was injured during clashes between the police and 2000 students who were trying to hold a general assembly at the Abomey Calavi campus. The students were demanding clarification about the time tables of the end of year exams [ARB, 7/1-31].

On August 17, in response to a student protest, armed policemen fired tear gas canisters, arrested and beat the student union president, and fatally shot another student. As protest continued, the next day the university authorities demanded that the students evacuate the campus within hours. But since the oil workers were on strike, most students could not leave. On August 19th, a special squad of anti-riot police moved down from Abaja to evacuate them from the campus. In the course of the evacuation, the police killed, raped and brutalized students [CDHR Newsletter, Sept. 1994].

Four students were shot dead by a combined team of police, army and special security agents, in the course of a baton charge during a demonstration which was to evacuate them from the campus. The batch that was to start on November 8th, but later called it off after an agreement was reached with the government on civil servant pay. On November 10th, the student union called upon the 17,000 students of the University of Brazzaville to protest against the government education policy. On the 11th, the police in Brazzaville broke up a demonstration of about 100 students who demanded the payment of six months' grant arrears [ARB, 11/1-30].

1995

University students began a 48-hour strike to protest against the killing of two fifteen year old students during a demonstration on May 9. That demonstration was held to protest the teacher's refusal to hold exams which was part of a pay claim action [ARB, 5/1-31].

Riot police fired tear gas at more than 1,000 student demonstrators, who were demanding the reinstatement of a law lecturer, 16 suspended student leaders and the representatives of a workers' committee. The confrontation was preceded by more than a month of student protests against alleged discrepancies in subsidy payments. The university had been closed for a week in early July after student clashes with riot police [ARB, 8/1-31].

Sept. 11-12. Sudan.
For two days thousands of students held anti-government demonstrations in the capital and clashed with the police. The protests were sparked by the detention of three students, earlier in the month, and by protests against bread shortages and the government's nationalization program. Two students were killed, seventeen were wounded, and hundreds were detained [NYT, 9/13/95; ARB, 9/1-30].

Kenya University was closed by the Vice-Chancellor, a few days after its opening, in response to student riots caused by dissatisfaction over food, loans and accommodations. The students claimed that the Higher Education Loans Board favored the rich in awarding loans. They also complained that they were being crowded into small rooms, that food prices were too high and the food was of poor quality. "At the heart of the matter is the World Bank recommended policies which require substantial cost sharing in the provision of essential services such as education and health" [The Weekly Review (Kenya), 11/24/95].

More than a thousand professors and students held a rally to protest the execution of Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight other Ogoni activists on November 10. A few days before, the Communication Minister's visit to the campus was disrupted by teachers chanting slogans against the military regime and denouncing the killings of the nine activists [International Freedom of Expression and Exchange Diary, January/February 1996].

Bibliography:

1994/1996: A CALENDAR OF STUDENT STRUGGLES

1994-1995 has been a year of intense student struggles worldwide—from Africa to South America and Europe (Italy, France, Belgium)—as everywhere government budgets for education have been cut and the sense is of grants and salaries being reduced. The students have had to turn to demonstrations and strikes to protest the cuts. In South America where students in recent weeks have resorted to drastic measures to call attention to their plight, such as occupying the Foreign Ministry Building in Nicaragua, and engaging in a true warfare with the police in Venezuela.

Following is a selected world calendar of student protests from 1994 to the present which dramatizes the similarity between the situation and complaints of African students (as described in the Chronology) and those of their colleagues in the rest of the world.

Thousands of students and teachers demonstrated in front Page 19
of City Hall with signs and banners and chants, to protest against the Mayor Giuliani's proposed budget amendment that would cut millions of dollars from City University of New York (CUNY)'s 2-year colleges, including $1.8 m for literacy programs [In From the Margins, February 6, 1995].

Thousands of students from all the colleges of the CUNY system and high school students converged on City Hall to protest the proposed cuts in the budgets of state and city supported colleges.

July 16-21, 1995, Papua New Guinea, University of Papua New Guinea
Students at the university began an indefinite boycott of classes to protest the World Bank demand that the Parliament approve the Land Mobilization Plan (LMP), which requires the registration of community land. Four government vehicles were sabotaged and one was set on fire on July 16. The LMP was withdrawn from consideration by Parliament on July 19. The students declared 1995 and 1996 as years of student action. [Post-Courier (Papua New Guinea), 7/17/96; The National (Papua New Guinea), 7/19/95].

September 1995, Switzerland.
Students in Zurich and Geneva protested cuts in state support to education that have lead to an increase in student fees from $60 to $450 per semester [Chronicle of Higher Education].

October 6, 1995, Mexico.
High school students occupied the main administration building in Mexico's largest public university (the National Autonomous University of Mexico, in Mexico City) for nine days, to protest against the rejection of their entry applications. The students, who described themselves as "the Movement of the Excluded," staged demonstrations and a general strike to press their demand for changes in university admission policies and procedures. When their demands went unheeded, they took over the building housing the office of the rector and other administrators. The cuts in admission are one of the consequences of the devaluation of the peso, that has led the administration to substantially reduce admission numbers [Chronicle of Higher Education, October 6, and October 13, 1995].

Students coming from South America and Africa participated in a series of panels on youth during a Conference sponsored by the 50 Years is Enough (Anti-IMF/World Bank) Campaign.

October 12, 1995, U.S. University of California (UC).
Thousands of students at the nine campuses of the UC system staged a one-day strike to protest the university’s Board of Regent’s decision to end “racial preferences” in hiring and admissions [Chronicle of Higher Education, 10/20/95].

December 1995, France.
Students all over France joined striking railroad and utility workers to protest the government economic policies and demand higher investment in education.

December 1995, Italy.
Students closed down Italian universities to protest the prospective increase in university fees and the restriction increasingly placed on university admission.

December 1995, Belgium.
Students in Brussels clashed with the police to protest cuts in the education budget.

Students seized the Foreign Ministry building in Managua, holding 81 hostages including a Cabinet Minister and two diplomats. They demanded an increased financing of their universities. As the New York Times reported, "this was the latest in a series of occupations of Government buildings in the last few weeks to press demands for more Government money for higher education." After the police stormed the building, 107 students were arrested [NYT 2/1/96].

February 1, 1996, Venezuela.
Students across the country battled with the police to protest the government's economic austerity policies, including the latest raise in public transport fares, and the visit of the Pope which, they claimed, was an insult to the poor, because it diverted to the Pope's reception desperately needed resources [Noticiero 47, Telemaudo, 2.1.96].

March 8-22, 1996, Austria.
Students began a nationwide strike to protest the government's university austerity plan, that will cut spending and shift costs to students. Sit-ins and protests have occurred in 17 of the country's 18 state universities, with teachers often joining the students. Even the Austrian Rectors Conference has expressed mild support for the strikes.

ZAMBUKO/IZIBUKO
Zambuko/Izibuko, which in Shona means "rivercrossing," is a political theatre group consisting of students, workers and youth. A nucleus of committed artists, who had been together in the play Mavumbe-First Steps in 1984-1985 and a dramatization of Zimbabwean poetry at the Independence Cultural Gala of 1985, formed the group while working on the anti-apartheid play Katsaah. Its productions have included: Katsaah! The Sound of the AK (1986); Samora Continua (1988); Mandela, the Spirit of No Surrender (1990); Simuka Zimbabwe—Zimbabwe Arie (1994); Ng'onjeru - these being short political pieces created for various political occasions. The following is a letter sent to the Committee for Academic Freedom in Africa from Zambuko/Izibuko:

12.1.96

Dear friends,
As the next stage in our campaign against the IMF economic prescriptions in the Third World and in Zimbabwe in particular, we are planning to bring two of our plays to the United States, namely Simuka Zimbabwe—Zimbabwe Arie and Samora Continua, a play on Mozambique. We believe that these two pieces of theatre represent a powerful and immediate testimony to what the IMF and the forces that back it have done and are doing to the countries in our region and in other parts of the world.

The idea is to identify organizations who take these issues seriously and offer the plays in performance as resource material in their own struggle in the United States against the same forces. These institutions will arrange performances and be responsible for the accommodation, transport, feeding and subsistence of the actors. We need an individual, individuals or a group to put it all together and coordinate the tour in the United States.

We are a dedicated political theatre group. Our work has been built upon self-reliance and sacrifice. All we ask for in exchange for our performance are the fares to the United States, the help listed in the paragraph above and, if possible, a share of the taking so that our group can take back with it to Zimbabwe the means to continue surviving and working.

If you are interested we would be happy to provide more details, including video materials.

Sincerely, The Secretary.

To contact to Zambuko/Izibuko write to:
The Secretary
Zambuko/Izibuko
P.O. BOX MR 167
Marlborough
Harare, Zimbabwe.

About Simuka Zimbabwe (Zimbabwe Arie) from Mngeni/ The Reporter, Vol. 11, N.38, 23-29 September 1994:
The story presents the dreams of several different Zimbabweans (one white, four blacks) at independence. The play proceeds to dissect the reality of independence particularly after the imposition of the Economic Structural Adjustment Program (ESAP) in 1990, under the supervision of the IMF.

Two of the characters, the white Zimbabwean and a black former freedom fighter, manage to establish prosperous capitalist enterprises. The majority, however, are ravaged by the effects of ESAP—namely social ills such as prostitution and escalating prices for the necessities—food, shelter, transport, and education. One character playing a tree symbolizes Zimbabwe's rich resources, whose fruits presently are eaten by only a few. The play concludes with a demand for all Zimbabweans to enjoy the fruits of liberation and with a call for popular unity to achieve this goal.

The production of Simuka Zimbabwe is particularly effective in its integration of music (drums, marimba, mbira, guitar), with songs, dance, mime and dialogue. The rapid role switching and alternation between individual and choral presentations fascinates the audience. The ensemble acting technique is reinforced by swift scene changes and some very original symbolic mime-work.

Despite the serious nature of the play's content much of its tone is light, with biting but hilari-

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Academic Freedom and Afrika Zamani
by
C. Magbally Fyle
Ohio State University

The concept of Academic Freedom looms large in the relations between African academics and their different governments. Important as it is, some aspects of academic freedom are often overlooked. One major area that needs to be considered is the freedom of African scholars, working in money-starved universities, to have avenues for expressing their views on the major issues relating to scholarship on Africa.

There are very few opportunities for African scholars in Africa to publish in the leading journals of the West. The reasons range from communication problems between Africa and the West, to problems in the determination of what is considered "topical" for publication in western academic journals (Zeleza, 1995). The whole question of shifting paradigms in western scholarship on Africa has been seen by many as a means to exercise control, to exclude African scholars in Africa, who, for obvious reasons, cannot keep up with the "new" issues. Thus, articles sent by African scholars to leading western journals for publication are judged passe' by those who control them, be they Africans living in the West or otherwise; for Africans resident in the West inevitably get sucked into the demand of scholarship, in part as a matter of survival, or due to the need for advancement, or because "that's the way things are.

For Africans living in Africa, issues that may no longer be considered important in western scholarship on Africa, such as national integration, ethnicity, regional or ethnic histories, cultural interaction, border issues, resistance movements, are still crucially as they affect the development of their countries, where scholarship for its own sake is a luxury that cannot be afforded. By contrast, concepts such as postmodernism, poststructuralism, postcoloniality, as attractive and high flattering as they may sound, largely detract from the interests of Africans living in Africa, who are concerned with solving the problems in their countries. It is easy, then, to charge, in western academic councils on Africa, that the scholarship produced by Africa-based scholars is of a low quality, not to mention the fact that their materials are often hastily done in glossiness and fast typing. Implied or stated, this is what could be read in Philip Curtin's piece on "Ghettoizing African History." According to Curtin, universities in the U.S. prefer to "raid an African university" to get candidates for positions in African history. As a result, in his view, "the quality of work in the field [African History] is likely to decline as some capable white students are pushed into other areas of history." Curtin concludes that affirmative action is being used to "ghettoize universities" (Curtin, 1995).

The reality is far from what Curtin's prejudice would have us believe. His argument, essentially, is that, to the extent that scholars from Africa are increasingly being given jobs in United States universities, the free flow of employment in such positions is being "restricted" for whites, who have long maintained a virtually exclusive control over the management of African Studies. The core of the matter is the control of the means of intellectual discourse on Africa, and the ability to define the terms of reference and debate for it. Should the discourse on Africa be controlled by those who are empowered, by virtue of their better access to the means of intellectual production, or should it be controlled by those who are most germane to the issues of the debate?

There is much evidence of the complexity of problems associated with the question of control. Thus, it would seem that the only way Africans can overcome this predicament is to run their own journals. But production of such publications becomes a part of the political and economic struggle in Africa. On a couple of occasions, struggling journals in Africa are taken over by western institutions, ostensibly as a way to "help preserve" these journals. In a few years, however, these highballed journals are "de-faceted" beyond the recognition of the Africans who started them and whose interests and research are, thus, hardly represented in such journals. I have heard complaints in this regard about the journal Transition.

One would think that to "help preserve" African journals in Africa, and prevent them from fading and disappearing, all that would be needed from those who have the intention and resources to do so, is to provide subventions for such journals for a couple of years, enough to bring them back to their feet. These journals could then preserve a forum for Africans living and working in Africa, acutely alive to the problems in their countries, to express these problems, to research and publish on related issues, in a manner that presents their own thinking on their own terms. Alas, this hardly ever happens. It is in this regard that the help of CODESRIA in reviving the journal Afrika Zamani is laudable. CODESRIA is an African NGO, the leading research institution in Africa, deriving financial support from some Western foundations and development agencies, while being largely unencumbered in setting up its own research direction and agenda.

Afrika Zamani was founded by the Second Congress of the Association of African Historians in Yaounde in 1975. But this historical journal that continued to provide an important avenue for African university academics, enabling them to give vent to their own research agendas, fell upon difficult times, particularly with the withdrawal of UNESCO's subscription in 1990.

It is easy from our vantage point to criticize the editors of the journal for managerial incompetence. But those of us who have run journals in African universities for many years well know that the production of such journals rests squarely on the political/economic framework of these societies, and must contend with power cuts, strikes of faculty, students and workers for higher wages that are not forthcoming, breakdowns of machines with irreplaceable parts. The editors of Afrika Zamani got in touch with CODESRIA, which organized a meeting in Bamako (Mali) in April 1994, in order to assemble African historians and consider reviving the journal with CODESRIA doing the production. As with most CODESRIA meetings, for some laudable academic or administrative reason, the conference in Bamako was centered on a theme, "Historians' legacies and democratization in Africa." Invited historians presented papers at this meeting.

I can remember that, at the meeting of the scientific committee created to revive the journal, views were expressed cautiously against the journal being taken over. It was felt that Afrika Zamani should remain primarily a journal for scholars in Africa, who are working with bald typewriters and faded ribbons, but nevertheless are doing excellent work on themes not necessarily "hot" in the West, and yet germane to the problems of development of their own societies.

One positive element of the project to revive Afrika Zamani is that it involved African scholars both in North America and Africa working together on the scientific committee and the editorial board. Such cross fertilization can be nothing but useful. The journal is now well on the road, and the proceedings of the workshop at Bamako have just been published as a volume of the new series. I call on academics who are interested in Africa and who believe in intellectual independence and academic freedom to support Afrika Zamani and take out a subscription at $15 for institutions outside of Africa, by writing to:

Publications Unit, CODESRIA, P.O. BOX 3304 Dakar, Senegal

Bibliography

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Source: Academic Staff Union of Universities (National Secretariat), October 1995
Quoted in Nigerian Punch, February 27, 1996
QUESTIONS

Gull gliding against
grey-silver autumn sky
sees a vast miasma of greed
slowly encompass our entire planet
cries out to unheeding stars
to whom wails of children rise
in shrill unending caterwauls

Gull sees traps and snares
lethal pellets of noxious lead
noisome sewers of excreta
dribbling across continents
rivers of pesticide
oozing from lush golf courses

Gull gasps, choke on acrid billows
from rainforests rampaging fires
rancid with roasting flesh
ashen with cindered bones

Gull breasts with buckling wing
fierce gusts of questions
strives, resists against questions
slowly droops against questions
succumbs twisting against questions
submits to extinction: Questions.

Dennis Brutus
December 12, 1995

Conference Announcement

For those who are unable to attend the Nigeria conference announced in the previous CAFA Newsletter because of the political conditions in the country, the following parallel conference will be held:

Philosophy, Politics, and Development in Africa
Assessing the 20th-Century and Looking Forward
Binghamton University, SUNY
June 7-9, 1996

Those who wish to attend are requested to send by check a registration fee of $40 (to cover the costs of conference materials which will be mailed to you, breakfasts, lunches, snacks, and dinners). The check should be made payable to: "SSIPS/SUNY," and mailed to Prof. Parviz Morewedge, IGCS, Binghamton University (SUNY), Binghamton, NY 13902-6000.

Hotel accommodation could be made directly by telephoning either: Holiday Inn (607) 729-6371; Hojo Inn (607) 729-6181; or Residence Inn (607) 770-8500.

Air tickets may be purchased at discounted price from Apple Travel Agency at telephone: (800) 690-2261 if you mention "IGCS/SUNY Africa Conference."

If you have further questions about the conference, accommodation, or travel, please contact:

- Prof. Parviz Morewedge at telephone: (607) 777-4495; or by FAX: (607) 777-2642.
- Otherwise call: Prof. Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze, Department of Philosophy, Bucknell University, Lewisburg, PA 17837; tel. (717) 524-3461; FAX: (717) 524-3760.