State Violence & Structural Adjustment in African Universities
CAFA 16
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A Thousand Flowers:
Social Struggles Against Structural Adjustment in African Universities

edited by
Silvia Federici, George Caffrey and Oumnia Aftah

The book is the synthesis of the first decade of the Committee for Academic Freedom in
Africa's work. Combining theoretical essays with reports and testimonies about campus
life and campus struggles, the book provides a unique account of the impact of the World
Bank's structural adjustment program on African education and the forces that are
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WHO IS CAFA AND WHAT DO WE STAND FOR?

The Committee for Academic Freedom in Africa (CAFA) consists of people tracking and studying in North America and Europe 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 struggle our African colleagues and African students are conducting to assert and preserve their rights.

CAFA was organized in the Spring of 1981, since then we have been involved in numerous campaigns on behalf of African teachers and students. We have also created and continue to update a "Chronology of the African Student Movement from 1985." The CAFA Newsletter contains scholarly articles on the impact of the World Bank and IMF policies on African education as well as action alerts and other information about student and faculty struggles on African campuses.

CAFA's objectives include:
- informing our colleagues about the current situation on African campuses;
- setting up an action network to respond promptly to emergencies;
- mobilizing our members and other academic organizations so that we can pressure African academic authorities as well as international agencies like the World Bank and IMF;
- organizing delegations that will make direct contact with teachers and students and their organizations in Africa.

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

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Introduction

With CAFA we resume the publication of our newsletter after a one-year interruption that we devoted to the editing of A Thousand Flowers - our first book of articles on the struggles against structural adjustment in African universities based mainly on material presented in the CAFA Newsletter.

This year has been full of historic developments. The struggle against the policies of the World Bank and IMF and generally the policies of globalization - a struggle that was pioneered by people in Africa, including African students - has become a visible international movement that has brought together farmers, priests, anti-war activists, and students in the streets of Seattle, Washington D.C., Montreal, Prague, and Quebec.

Students - beginning with African students - will continue to play an important role in that struggle. Their demonstrations and the fatal response to them are a stark demonstration of the undermining destructive project of IMF/World Bank-style globalization. These struggles demonstrate unambiguously that (a) economic liberalization and integration in the global economy are detrimental to any liberation project; (b) what is at stake in the struggle over education is again, as in the course of the anti-colonial struggle, the question of self-determination; (c) structural adjustment can only be imposed with a maximum of state violence.

Significantly, then, the leading articles included in this issue concern South Africa, where "adjustment" and the World Bank have rapidly followed the footsteps of the abolition of apartheid, satisfying the hope that the latter would unlock to the Black South African youth the resources so long denied to them beginning with educational resources.

The article by Andrew Nash, based recent events at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) in Bellville, near Cape Town, in the broader context of the restructuring of tertiary education in South Africa. UWC was designated by the apartheid regime to be a university for the "colored" population of South Africa. In 1998 it became the site of an intense confrontation following the announcement of massive reductions of academic and academic staff. Such a step represented one of the first examples of the ways in which the government of the African National Congress intends to deal with university restructuring and downsizing.

Franco Bartoloni's article on the University of Westminster complained the picture of the neoliberalization of the South African university system by an analysis of recent policy changes at one of the traditionally "white" elite universities.

This issue also contains the comments of the World Bank's policies by Segreg and the Nigerian Academic Staff Union of Universities' critique of the new law which the World Bank is dangling before the Nigerian government and academic community. We also comment on the new wave of violence that has engulfed the African campuses in
Neoliberal Restructuring and the Crisis at the University of the Western Cape, South Africa
(Talk to a meeting of the UWC Student Forum, February 8, 1990)
Andrew Nash

1. What was the crisis of October 987?

Three or four months ago, the crisis at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) was on the front pages of the newspapers. NEHAWU (National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union) was on strike for about four weeks, rejecting a 6% wage offer after management refused to provide information about their own salaries and perks before returning workers. UWCASA (UWC Academic Staff Association) had expressed its outrage at the decision and underhanded manner in which 41 academics had been treated, after receiving assurances from management that there were no plans for retrenchment. Students raising money for the university had earlier had funds credited out to them and those who were still getting food had to cut it under the gaze of the police.

Students, workers and academics were united in their call for the strike to end. The strike was adopted as a means of ensuring the future of the university in which the retrenchments were carried out, and ensuring the crisis of confidence in management. At the height of the crisis, the media went on an overdrive, and the union saw UWC management after refusing to receive a memorandum from NEHAWU, fired UWC in the back of a police car. Charges came to a halt, and it was far from certain that the academic year would be completed. Two vice-chancellors had resigned from UWC to take up positions elsewhere (as the registrar of finance has done since then). There was no indication that management or Council had any real interest in resolving the crisis, or keeping the institution alive.

On the face of it, the crisis was straightforward: (a) UWC was facing a deficit of R2.6 million (about R5 million dollars), and there was talk of salaries for November not being paid unless measures such as retrenchments, wage freezes and reduction of benefits were taken. (b) The overwhelming majority of the UWC community had no confidence in management's version of the financial crisis, or in their capacity to address it honestly on our behalf.

2. Is the crisis over?

The NEHAWU strike was settled with a 6.5% wage increase and a lesser interpretation of "no work, no pay" representing a close victory for the union. Classes resumed, exams were written, and the academic year concluded. Senate discussed a new academic plan, and a new acting vice-chancellor was appointed. UWCASA decided in its challenge to the retrenchment mostly to legal proceedings, while he leadership ending calls for new membership and more active political engagement. At the end of the year, the union
made an apology - although half-heartedly and not very clearly - as required by Senate. Even without all of this, any crisis tends to die down over the summer holidays.

Perhaps the most important indication of how things have changed since last October, is the renewal by the Student Representative Council (SRC) and NEHA/WU of sectoral negotiations with management (SRC on financial exclusions, and NEHA/WU on retrenchment packages, a “town hall” meeting with academics is planned for tomorrow), and the removal from the agenda of issues concerning the whole UWC community. For the crisis consisted partly in a situation in which no sector could take up its demands except in alliance with others, and by taking up demands - most prominently, for the rector to go - which concerned the whole UWC. Insofar as each sector is limited to its own concerns, there can be no real challenge to management, and the crisis can be said to have died down.

3. Will the crisis resume?

The issues which gave rise to the crisis of last October have not gone away, and in some ways have become more severe. Student debt has grown to 40 million rand (about 6.5 million dollars). There has been a sharp decline in student applications, which will have a huge impact on UWC finances, and ensure more retrenchments sooner rather than later. More than 200 workers have accepted the voluntary severance package offered by management, and it is likely that UWC’s infrastructure will be severely affected by this. In the current economic downturn, students and their families will battle more than ever to meet the minimum payments agreed to by management and the SRC.

The issues of confidence have also not been resolved. Management’s clumsy attempt to win support from academics by offering to create new posts has cast further doubt on their honesty. Their own salary packages have still not been made known, in spite of frequent undertakings to do so, beginning with the rector’s interview in 1995. UWC Council has simply rejected the positions of Senate, UWCASA, NEHA/WU and student organizations, and have effectively turned their backs on the entire UWC community.

In this context, it is by no means certain that the crisis will not flare up again in the near future. Not only at UWC, but at all the historically black campuses (HBUs), crises are likely to become a way of life, if that has not happened already. (Claims of financial mismanagement are currently being investigated by the Department of Education at six of the HBUs.) A pattern of crises flaring up, dying down, then flaring up again ---without the underlying causes of the crisis ever effectively being addressed --- will not benefit UWC or any sector of the university. To the extent that such a pattern continues, or becomes more severe, it is likely that a major intervention can be expected from the government. This might wait until after the elections, and the appointment of a new, more energetic minister of education. But when it comes, that intervention will be far-reaching --- including the closing down of some HBUs, and strict guidelines for the others to conform to policies which, as I’ll outline shortly, will be ruinous for the educational prospects of the huge majority of black working class students.

4. Will academic restructuring avert the crisis?

One claim which UWC management is making about the crisis is worth taking some time to examine: that UWC is in a process of academic restructuring, which will enable it to become more competitive, and more closely-oriented to the job market, and the marketplace at large. In this perspective, the current crisis can be seen as the necessary "pain" involved in making the transition to this new and more viable form. It is true that there is a process of academic restructuring taking place at UWC. But I believe that damage which this process is doing to the institution, and will continue to do, far outweighs the good.

First, that restructuring will be distorted from top to bottom by the fact that it takes place in a context of diminishing resources and, even more, in a climate of deceit and distrust. In the midst of financial crisis, when their jobs are on the line, you can be sure that academics will not sit down to draw up programs and courses with their main focus on their coherence, educational value, etc. Each will be concerned to lift the new program in the direction which (they think) will keep their job safe. The current process of restructuring will create and strengthen an academic culture of manipulation and double-talk, and a bureaucratic culture of arbitrary and often vindictive power, as decisions will be taken about which programs survive and which do not, in order to reward loyal allies, settle old scores, etc.

Second, even if these courses and programs should be coherently and rationally designed, the orientation of university education towards the job market will depend on a relationship to knowledge which will be completely self-defeating. To the extent that the new programs change anything, they will destroy gradual processes of acquiring a real discipline of knowledge, which respects the tasks of acquiring, testing and developing that knowledge in its own right, and replace it with an opportunistic relationship to knowledge, in which you are rewarded for acquiring the bits and pieces which (someone thinks) the job market happens to value at that point, and penalized for thinking seriously about their logic and meaning. Academics will have only themselves to blame when they find that students are increasingly interested not in what is true or false, illuminating or obscuring, in their courses, but on how to make sure they pass. It won’t always help them to pass, it won’t always help them to get jobs, and it will have fatal results for the next generation of academics and intellectuals more broadly.

Third, the new vocationally-oriented programs, with few exceptions, will not actually create the jobs that they are intended to do. Academics do not have the background and training to compete with the Technikons in the most obvious vocational fields. But even if they did, the entire account of the causes of graduate unemployment on which this academic restructuring depends, is a figment of the right-wing ideological imagination. Anyone who takes seriously the real causes of growth in university education, or examines the realities of the job market, will quickly see that almost all that will be achieved by developing the skills in commercial demand - while capitalist profit, rather than human need, remains the primary source of demand - will be to create unemployed graduates with different qualifications.
Fourth, even if these jobs were to fall from the sky, the universities would be contributing to the pattern of social development which would not deliver what it promises. Even from a narrow and instrumental perspective, it is a mistake to think that technical reason, directed solely at profit and efficiency, can flourish without the complementary discourses of truth, justice and meaning. The Soviet Union demonstrated how a society which measures its welfare in tons of steel produced will eventually not even produce those tons of steel. The same will happen to the BMWs and cell-phones of the South African elite, in the end, and the working class and the poor will suffer much before then.

In sum, the academic restructuring which is underway will re-orient higher education away from the needs of the majority of South Africans, and indeed the majority of humankind, and towards the needs of the global elite. It will help to exclude from higher education the student body on whom UWC has always relied.

5. What are the underlying causes of the crisis?

The underlying causes of the crisis at UWC are not to be found in our failure to conform to the new ideologies of the market and the new policies of the government, but in those ideologies and policies themselves. Government policy on higher education, insofar as there is one, is the product of a broader set of economic policies aimed at making South Africa more competitive in the capitalist world market. (The reasoning is this that will eventually serve to benefit all South Africans; I’ve discussed this elsewhere, and won’t do so again here.) In other words, these policies are aimed at ensuring that human labor and other resources are more effectively exploited to suit the needs of capitalist profit, and not expended on those human needs which do not directly contribute to capitalist profit. Thus, while government policy calls for increased access to universities of those previously excluded, everything it does has the effect of reducing that access, and making sure that the questions which affect the future of the working-class are marginalized within the universities. A subsidy formula which favors the wealthy campuses, effective cuts in subsidy, removal of teaching bursaries, etc., have the effect of making education available for the rich only, at the same time as restructuring of taxation ensures that the poor are increasingly required to pay for it.

This is compounded by an absence of leadership at South African universities, and especially at the HBUs, where it is most needed. UWC management is by no means alone in their failure to make any real, public challenge to the policies which will in many cases destroy their universities. There is even a certain (very limited) rationality to that failure. They disagree with the Minister of Education in the privacy of his office, and attack their own students, workers and academics in public because they understand that any alliance they make with their own students, workers and academics is one which they will very rapidly be forced to betray — unless they are willing to engage in serious confrontation with government. And they sense that they have no political and intellectual basis on which to do that.

But we also need to acknowledge the weakness of the university communities at large in this. UWC probably has a longer and more robust tradition of left political and intellectual life than the other HBUs. In the crisis of October last year, an extraordinary climate of militancy and unity was created and sustained. But it seems to me that, even then, it was scarcely possible any longer to speak of a "left" at UWC in the way it had been only four or five years ago. Part of the problem is the imbalance of the sectors: NEHAWU is the only strong organization at UWC today, and understandably needs its strength to defend its own interests. Academics have retreated some distance from any kind of left intellectual project, and perhaps from any collective project at all. But if the causes of the crisis at UWC are to be addressed, the initiative will surely have to come from students, workers and academics.

6. What is to be done?

For as long as there is no clear political basis for reconstituting a left at UWC, within which alternatives can be debated and clarified, it is difficult to see a way of addressing the causes of the crisis. At the same time, that reconstitution will not easily take place unless there is a prospect of finding such a basis. Let me conclude by putting forward for discussion — on behalf of no-one but myself — five possible principles for an alternative way forward at UWC.

1. Poverty should not be a barrier to a student’s right to learn: It seems to me that as long as financial exclusions of students continue, it will always be possible for management to play one sector of the university off against another (no wage increases because of unpaid fees, fee increases because of wage demands, etc). But all sectors lose in this game (except, of course, for management). Until UWC admits anyone deserving of the chance to study, even if they can’t pay a cent in fees, its student numbers will drop, its working class character will be steadily eroded, and its curriculum will lose what little is left of its distinctive political character. Acceptance of this principle will almost certainly mean a poorer university, and it will only be accepted if something more is to be achieved in the process.

2. The curriculum should systematically challenge alienated learning: Why should students wish to come to a poorer university? For many, because it is the only one they can afford. But if we want to gain broader support, also outside UWC, there must be something more. And there can be no more unless the way in which students learn does not constantly tie them down in fear of exams, etc. We can be sure that the schooling system will continue for the foreseeable future to make learning an alienating experience. Without a systematic challenge, throughout the university, students will never have the kind of enthusiasm for learning, the love of knowledge, the activist concern to give it practical meaning, which will enable UWC to build on its real strengths. The HBUs will continue to monopolize the task of preparing students for the lucrative modes of living a meaningless life.

3. Educate for human need, not the needs of profit: Again, this can only be done if courses at UWC are orientated, in the first place, towards concerns of truth and justice,
rather than the needs of the job market. Vocational courses are essential for the university, and valuable for its intellectual life as well. But they cannot be the model for all other courses. As long as they are the model, UWC will increasingly reinforce the belief that the existing social order which produces these specific needs is the only one which is possible. Even if it pays lip-service to serving working-class communities, its daily practices will strengthen the ideology of inequality under which these communities suffer.

4. Make democracy participatory and transparent. The appointment of the current rector (of whom the rector is now the only remaining member) was an exercise in democracy, involving masses of students, workers and academics. The selection committee which eventually appointed the rector was an official mandate of a set of principles (defending the right to learn, democratic, financial equity and transparency) which have subsequently all been ignored. This should not lead us to believe that democratic governance is a settled course, but that democracy should be a constant and urgent process, not an occasional means for legitimizing concentrated power.

5. Build a new commitment to internationalism of the oppressed. None of the four principles outlined above are in themselves principles of the left. Yet, in the aftermath of the Cold War and the negotiated settlement in SA, there is a distinctive "national" task for the left, which can be pursued in isolation from the larger international context. If we are to reverse a slide for the left at UWC, and if there is to be any prospect of making UWC an "intellectual home of the left," this will depend on an active commitment to internationalism. In practical terms, this will mean building links with other universities on an increasingly political basis—asking support on the basis of a shared commitment to a world in which current forms of inequality, oppression and growing misery for the bulk of humankind are overcome, and collaborating with those who share that commitment.

No real struggle is easy, and none is easier any easy way of transforming UWC in accordance with principles of this sort. But the experience of October 1998 might be a reminder that such struggle itself can generate the energy and solidarity and belief in our cause which enables us to achieve what at first seems impossible.

Preprint (June 2001)
More than two years after giving this talk, I believe the basic problems facing UWC remains much as before, despite the constant shifting of rhetoric, policies, and places in the hierarchy. The student boycott of the UWC unions, the UWC Student Union, was initiated in 2000, and a newly elected university council remained in place with the backing of the senate, and in the face of all threats of legal action—that the protest be repressive. NEDLAWO, a non-academic workers union, has been on the retreat, while academic staff—for long the weak link in organized resistance to management—have strengthened their presence. The class composition and political and academic ethos of the student body continues to be centralised towards middle-class norms by tough enforcement of its payment and the following line of the academic program.
South Africa: The Lean and Mean University
Tertiary Education Restructuring and the Rise of Managerialism

Francois Barchiesi
(Dept of Sociology - University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg)

I. From Deadwood to Devour: The End of Public Tertiary Education in South Africa

On 24 February 2000, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of the Witwatersrand and president of the AHU, Prof. Colin Bundy, "graciously" announced that the university's Council had approved the restructuring of 600 employees in various such as cleaning, maintenance, catering, and transport—which, as "most of the functions of the university are intended to be outsourced"—as part of a plan of "fundamental change", named "Wits 2001", intended to project the institution into the new century. This program, devised by a group of ad-hoc technical committees including the VC himself, the deputy vice-chancellor and Wits' human resources manager, it calls for the reduction in the number of faculties from nine to six through a process of amalgamation and mergers, and the establishment of approximately 30 to 40 "academic entities" in place of the existing 99 departments. The new faculties will be run by "executive deans" as independent intellectual and economic enterprises, with considerable autonomy in terms of strategy and decision-making. The administration justified this change on the basis of these overarching considerations: a reduction in the government's tertiary education subsidy, declining student numbers in the face of an excessive proliferation of courses, and collapsing markets for academic staff. This process is regarded as the basis for a reevaluation of student-staff ratios, among other considerations, which determines the administration's decisions concerning remunerations of academic staff members. So the research, so meaningful input by staff, students and the university was allowed of importance in the decision-making process owned by the technical committee. The role of departments was largely already heavily consigned to "information gathering" and to provide "strategic plans" to deal with the proposed mergers to shape the new "entities".

The core of Wits University are taking place in the culmination of a phase of intense restructuring that in the past five years has affected all major South African tertiary institutions. A common thread in this process, often disguised behind the rhetoric of equality and reforming the structures, has been a renewed emphasis on the market as a decisive regulator of intellectual life through the State-sponsored concept termed "academic" and "academic efficiency". On the other hand, the economic policies adopted by the ANC government in the past five years, epitomised by the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GERD) strategy, have made these concepts central to the whole society-instrumental in this process in the ascertainment of access to social rights such as education is not the product of individualistic policies able to "decommodify" such rights by granting universal access regardless to income and labor market constraints. Rather, access to social rights is regarded, with the exception of limited safety nets for very poor, as a byproduct of economic growth intended as a function of domestic and foreign investors' profitability.

In the sphere of social services and education this philosophy translates into policy orientations that privilege "income generation" in a way that these structures to raise their own capital on the market and minimize cross-subsidization from other spheres of the public sector and of the fiscal system. This is the logic adopted by the restructuring of the Johannesburg municipality under the "Gosi 2002" plan, whereby the privatization and corporatization of services, along with incentives to private investors in the form of "public-private partnerships" are the preconditions for their own self-sufficiency on the market as the basis for managerial principles similar to those applied to private business. In this framework, the transformation of social rights into commodities, and of citizens into customers, leads to the increasing identification of skilled labor as an asset to be used, either in the form of attachments or through outsourcing, subcontracting and corporate closures. These assumptions of reconfiguration of basic social services and management as the central principle in their organization have been most fully developed in local government restructuring. The same principles are also decisively informing the restructuring of tertiary education. The 1997 recommendations of the National Commission on Higher Education had already endorsed a new university structure geared towards an environment where public funding policies would privilege "applied" education, cost-effectiveness and partnership with external public and private actors.

As a consequence, restructuring in universities is usually accompanied by a managerial ethos that is aimed at identifying the "market potential" and the income generation potential of programs, curricula, courses, research and publications. In a situation where departments and "entities" will be increasingly run as independent business units (which echoes the expression used in "Gosi 2002"), the certification of being commercially "viable" means both the desire of potential corporate investors and the mistaken notion of academic "marketability" among faculties and institutions that are profit-oriented. By the broadest of means, restructuring is scheduled to be downsized or suspended. In a workshop of the Sociology Department at Wit held in 1998, Deputy Vice-Chancellor, Lesio Paul, expressed these views in unmistakable terms. Her argument was that departments must be made "commercially viable" in order to serve the interests of corporate investors and the interests of the most educated interests of faculty and students. In her view, there is an urgent need to reduce the size of the "core" faculty and to focus on teaching and research. The university is being asked to concentrate its efforts on the most profitable areas of study, such as business and law, and to abandon others. This has led to a significant reduction in the number of academic staff, with the expectation that this will enhance the university's ability to attract funding from external sources. The trend towards downsizing has been accelerated by the government's efforts to improve the efficiency of public spending. The strategy of "downsizing" is seen as a means to reduce the burden on the public sector and to make the university more competitive in the global market.
The shift in policy direction towards a view of the value of intellectual and educational activities as primarily based on their market potential, on the other hand, reflected by increasing attacks on faculties and departments whose "business benefits" are questioned. Therefore, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cape Town (UCT), Renuka Ranwala, insisted—shortly before she accepted a lucrative post with the World Bank—that humanities departments are "a dog's breakfast of courses." She argued that a UCT's job in this situation would be to "press the tree of deadwood" to build a real "world-class African University." (Financial Mail, 18 October 1999.) These remarks came soon after UCT had announced restructuring plans that included the reduction in the number of faculties from ten to six, the intended replacement (later revoked) of 40 senior lecturer-equivalent posts and the disengagement of existing departments into "programs.

3. Nothing Sells Like "Excellence": The Rise of the Marketable University

The context in which these processes are taking place has witnessed in the past five years a profound redimensioning of the relationships between university and society in South Africa. On the one hand, the end of apartheid produced a strong demand for tertiary education from oppressed and exploited communities, which rapidly modified the composition of student bodies in previously segregated institutions, shrinking in practice from this point of view the distinction between "historically black" and "historically white" institutions. On the other hand, such a distinction remained in a whole stage of other aspects of academic life, as the single common feature to all UCT, UMK and Afrikaans-speaking institutions is still predominantly white curricula, support programs and employment opportunities that have generally not been modified to cope with shifting student populations, and the fact that Black students are still overwhelmingly the target of academic inclusion due to changing contexts and the incapacity to pay for admission fees. According to the Department of Education, 75% of all university enrolments in 2001 will be black students, and the number of students is expected to double by 2010. The capacity of the individual institutions to meet these aspirations appears increasingly overstressed and often these challenges were re-coded as an observable fact of "academic standards." In this context, the institutional instability no stage with the new enrolment majority was combined with a nostalgic evocation of a predominantly white, upper-class, urban academic society whose social and cultural homogeneity between staff and students allowed at least a consciousness around "standards," regardless of the price required in terms of exclusion and irrelevancy for the majority of the population.

However, expectations that this situation would have been met by a frontal effort by the government in advancing opportunities for access and de-marginalizing tertiary education institutions were not disappointed. Political democratization in South Africa society. This approach had founded under welfare state policies where access to tertiary education was a way to place the dependents of the former working class into technocratic administrative positions. This prevented mobility towards the middle class as a degree of social contact and to cause the center of the existing system of capitalistic restructuring. Instead in South Africa, as a case of market-driven democratization, the dynamic and ensuring voluntarism in state subsidies to tertiary education have been accompanied by an ideological preference for a university that privileges, in the detriment of general knowledge and critical content, the provision of specific, targeted and marketable technical skills. These are regarded as a fundamental asset (found in Ranwala's argument as "intellectual capital") for "the nation" in its race to entry global markets and investment flows.

According to Bill Readings, such a democratization in state priorities with regard to higher education mirrors to a doctrine of an enlightenment-based (then social-democratic) model of the public university. This was centered on the general normative needs of a bourgeoisie, a bureaucracy and an organized working population as the vehicles to establish states, national communities and forms of social control materialized in a common effort based on rules and procedures that accepted the capitalist system while competing its requirements through social compromises. In a context where, on the commons, every public common relies provided by the need to be internationally competitive, the market provides new rules, the state abdicates from its redistributive functions under the sign of "public disciplines" and "budget constraints," and social needs are expressed in increasingly depoliticized ways as individual consumer demands. Here a new model of the university is emerging. This new model can be defined as the "corporate university." A business-oriented able to maintain itself on the basis of market profit, to set as a powerful economic actor in local economic restructuring, and to attract on these bases staff, students and investment no longer inside the boundaries of the nation-state but at a result of the universities' capacity to compete against their peers on a global scale. The notion of "academic excellence" Readings continues, directly responds to financial viability and global competition. This contributes to decontextualizing the notion of "excellence" from any consideration related to the relevance of what is taught to specific societies, with their inequalities, their power relations and the systemic forms of social oppression. Rather, "excellence" becomes a disavowed currency unit, a minor value that can be used across the global academic marketplace to induce the competitive position of each university-corporations. It is measured according to criteria like the amount of investment attracted, the number of PhDs produced, the ratio of faculty- to-student ratio, the competition with other private and public universities. But, like business owners of "quality" and "professionalism" or the criteria used for Standard & Poor's ratings, "academic excellence" becomes the yardstick against which global capital can efficiently measure the "opportunity costs" and profit potentials in investing in tertiary education. As Eva Skornicka asserts, referring to the situation at UCT:

In this new dispensation knowledge and instruction have been identified as an instrument, a "good" to be manufactured, packaged, bought and sold..." The enthusiastic support of intellectual ideas by university administrators encourages this process, as they adopt a corporate style of management and employ the language and logic of business to restructure policies and reshape procedures, work force and curriculum.
In this context, for example, as Bertelsen continues, the “mission” of the university is no longer the provision of open, public, general knowledge upon which students build their life strategies. Rather this mission now becomes to shape students for a specific kind of job market made of flexible, precariously short-term jobs that requires a multiplicity of skills and the combination of specific “tools” from various fields to enhance the competitive potential of the individual. Far from having the university as a public sphere somewhat independent from the market, the integration of the academy inside the “human resource” strategies of big business constitutes therefore the new frontier of restructuring. The intellectual decay inside universities contributes to this. In fact, the long-lasting capitulation by academics to the idea that the main “outputs” of the university are “marketable skills” and successful job-seekers has greatly facilitated the more recent intellectual surrender to the government’s claim that subsidy cuts are economically and morally necessary to “liberate” resources to facilitate the access of the “disadvantaged” to education by reducing the support to “cost-ineffective” programs, departments and institutions.

Given the rapid increase in the number of students in conditions of financial need, the approximately 9% annual nominal increase in government’s funding for tertiary education between 1995 and 1998 turned out to be a real decrease. This was in line with the then-minister of education Sibusiso Bhengu’s statement that “higher education has to be paid by the recipients and not by the state”. Moreover, the emphasis, confirmed in the 1999 Budget Review of the government, on the promotion of “technological education and training” has meant that institutions with a stronger humanities and social science component have seen their state subsidies slashed also in absolute terms. This is the case of Wits, whose subsidy has declined by nearly one third in the past five years. At the same time, while the 21 universities in the country have recorded a 6% decline in the number of enrolments between 1997 and 1998, the 15 “technikons”, more oriented to the same period. While in 1988 272,445 students enrolled for universities and 56,815 respectively. These radical changes took place in a context marked by spiralling unemployment and corporate restructuring that have implied approximately 100,000 job losses a year in the first five years of the ANC government. At the same time, new employment assumes increasingly the form of casualized, precarious or contract jobs. It can be reasonably argued that the combination of impoverishment of the waged employment insecurity is decisively shaping the expenditure decisions of families. They easily come to the conclusion of not being able to afford a long-term financial commitment like sending their sons and daughters to universities whose ability to provide education is now dependent upon means test. Parallel to this, these processes indicate the accessibility to the demand for knowledge coming from waged working class, let alone marginalized, communities. This pattern of educational exclusion of the waged working class — a stratum that the current neoliberal rhetoric in the government defines as “relatively privileged” — reflects similar forms of exclusion from other commodified social services such as health care, water, electricity and housing.

However, as I will argue in the final section of this paper, if the nature of external challenges to higher education and their political and economic origins are clearly discernible in the present phase, the justifications used by university administrators to mobilize these challenges in the form of statistical data to argue for the ineluctable nature and direction of restructuring and “rationalization” is far less self-evident. I will in particular refer again to the case of Wits University to show how the link between external challenges (declining student numbers and reduction in state subsidies) and the universities’ strategic decisions (downsizing and retrenchments) is mediated by a peculiar construction and selection of real-life data. While not necessarily “false” taken individually, these are combined to promote the impression that the only alternative left open is the reconstruction of Wits as a corporate university in the sense defined above.

This shows that the corporatization of the university promoted by administrations such as Bundy’s and Ramphole’s is, far from a mere response to external challenges, a proactive strategic choice animated by specific political agendas and socio-economic ideologies.

3. Wits 2001: A Corporate Odyssy

The documents that outline the response of the administration of Wits University to the challenges outlined above identify three areas of intervention in the restructuring policy: number and size of academic entities, appropriate staffing levels (academic and support services), and staff-to-student ratios. Making recommendations on these aspects constituted in particular the mandate of a new Academic Restructuring Review Committee (ARRC) appointed by the Council. This selection of themes, often wrapped as the need to provide “areas of genuine academic excellence” and greater coherence in academic programs, identifies from the start restructuring as an accounting and downsizing exercise. Academic “entities” and courses appear here only, exclusively and far from any intellectual consideration, as cost items and human resource issues. On the other hand, faculties are allowed a three-year period to adapt their teaching and research priorities in accordance to the program outlined by the ARRC. In this way, an appointed body aimed at prioritizing staff size, cost-effectiveness and financial considerations is empowered to define the boundaries inside which forms, contents and priorities of intellectual activities of the faculties will be discussed. Executive deans become therefore the link that is supposed to ensure, also due to the increasing financial autonomy of faculties as business units, that the intellectual offer of the faculties responds at the same time to the need of generating income by meeting market demands. Conversely, the Academic Planning and Restructuring Committees (APRCs) at faculty level will be charged with proposing the measures (both academic and resource-related) needed to implement the restructuring plan at a decentralized level. At the same time, while faculties and executive deans are left with the task of ensuring that scarce resources are “cost-effectively” utilized, the power of defining priorities and distribution of resources remains highly concentrated in the university’s “senior executive team”. This reproduces a typical pattern of technocratic decision-making: while the definition of priorities is assumed as a technical matter of adaptation to objective constraints, and therefore subtracted from political debate and public scrutiny, such a debate is confined to how to comply with these priorities according to the resources allocated from the top.
On the other hand, staffing and employment issues become central in cost-reduction strategies, and nothing is said about other important issues, such as what is the trend in management-related expenditures compared to teaching and research. These expenditures include infrastructures not related to research and teaching such as "anti-criminal" electronic security gates and image-related investments like vehicles' access gateways, and the state of the university's financial reserves and patterns of investment. These data would, on the other hand, be quite useful in contextualizing the effective impact of the 1,500-unit decline in student numbers (from 19,396 to 17,735) between 1991 and 1998, following a 20-year period of constant and decisive increase in student registrations.

Instead, the decline in students' numbers is treated as an isolated statistical figure with a purpose of giving a graphic representation of a potentially dramatic "threat". Once these aspects have been excluded by virtue of the administration's power of selecting the restructuring agenda, the automatic link between external challenges, restructuring, and downsizing is ready to be constructed to circulate the stakeholders' perception of the university's challenges and to make the "regretful" consequences acceptable.

The 1999 Shaping the Future strategic plan provided a broader intellectual agenda for restructuring. It moved from a realization that Wits in the future will have to compete globally for staff, students, accreditations, grants and infrastructures against other "world's leading universities" that are measured according to not better clarified "internationally benchmarked measures of quality" and are increasingly transnational in scope and reliant on distant, networked education. While the funding process has become increasingly responsive to universal, corporate criteria of quality assessment, the document continued: "This has intensified the trend from 'collegial' to 'managerial' governance of universities. In order to compete universities have had to become more cost-conscious and less reliant upon tradition and externally funded autonomy".

It is clear from this passage that the need to adapt to external challenges responds therefore to a broader strategic vision aimed at developing the structures of governance of the university along the model of a corporate organization. If the rise of the corporate university diminishes "externally funded autonomy", the consequence is that an increasing share of the university’s income will depend on attracting private investment and will consequently redefine the university’s own role as an investor.

These aspects of Wits' change are emphasized in its Income Generation Program. Shaping the Future defines, among Wits priorities, a research focused on targeted areas such as socio-economic problems, health (i.e., cooperation with private hospitals), engineering and technology. At the same time a "university company" will be established for the "optimization of revenue opportunities from intellectual property and from entrepreneurial activities" and to "promote revenue-generating activities and create approaches for entrepreneurial approaches across the university". Wits' Income Generation Program (IGP) --- funded, among others, with R1m by the mining corporation Goldfields and with more money being negotiated with Anglo/De Beers, the Ford Foundation and major financial conglomerates Investec, Coronation and Liberty Life --- is, in the words of its former director, Robin Lee, a stepping stone towards redefining Wits as an "enterprising university" or a "business university". The IGP's rationale is not just limited to provide income for an increasingly casualized staff that, unless it is part of the ranks of "world-class academics", will have to relinquish permanent, publicly-funded posts to become dependent on selling courses to private clients that can afford them. Most importantly, part of the IGP's agendas is to "initiate and drive changes in the ways in which significant sectors of the university are funded and managed". This includes the outsourcing and subcontracting of catering, residences -- outcomes that the IGP had advanced more than a year before they were translated into 600 retrenchments -- and, more ominously, research. Therefore, downsizing and retrenchments were not just responding to contingent needs for "rationalization": they had already been envisaged as necessary moves to prove Wits' economic efficiency in the investors' eyes and to boost the university-as-corporation as an attractive site of investment. At the same time, student recruitment and admissions will have to be run "entrepreneurially, rather than bureaucratically" (which casts serious doubts on future student fees and academic exclusions) and university staff will be required to "move away from 'bureaucratic' and 'academic' thought processes (...) and embrace the thought processes of enterprise".

These orientations, drafted a year before the Strategic Plan for "Wits 2001", have been confirmed by the ensuing policy recommendations discussed above. They show that an important determinant of Wits' restructuring was not just the need to adapt to external constraints and challenges but it responded to strategic choices aimed at turning the university into a powerful corporate actor. At the same time the IGP envisages a future in which the university itself becomes an investor in local economic restructuring (ostensibly following the examples of Columbia, Toronto and Adelaide universities which redefined their role as major local corporate and financial actors), for example through the development of new technologies for the mining industry and telecommunications (The Star, 17-08-1998). At the level of research, an example to be considered is provided to the IGP by the University of Manchester Institute for Science and Technology (UMIST), which administers the totality of university research through a wholly-owned, self-sustained private company. Such a company regulates research contracts and identifies the private funders and/or customers that will ensure the "viability and profitability of university research. In this model, far from being a public research institution aimed at promoting a diversified, general and critical knowledge on a deorganized basis, the university becomes a franchising agency that, not differently from the Benetton model in the clothing industry, allows its "brand" to be used only in projects that respond to the needs of economic actors that are powerful enough to guarantee an economic return. Moreover, the clear danger exists that departments and faculties will be rated according to their "income generation" potential and that this will be decisive in future restructuring and downsizing. The market, then, becomes the central regulator of intellectual life while at the same time disciplining critical and dissonant voices into providing research in tune with market needs to avoid carrying the brunt of the next "rationalization" phase.

This paper has argued that the current process of restructuring in South African higher education institutions, of which Wits University and its recent 600 retrenchments have constituted a case study, can only partially be identified as local responses to external
socio-economic constraints that reflect a changing position of the university institution in the South African society. Rather, the processes in which challenges and constraints are selected, elaborated and presented by the administration at Wits show that these challenges and constraints are mobilized in a strategic way to advance and sustain a particular role for the institution. This role, of which managerialism provides the discursive logic and the legitimizing rhetoric, can be summarized in the concept of corporate university, or the aim of making the university a powerful corporate actor through the marketization of professional, teaching and research skills. If this model advances at Wits as elsewhere, it can easily lead to a university where executives in charge of profit-making will have a decisive influence on the subjects, the contents and the approaches adopted in teaching and research and where the continuous downsizing of staff and non-academic labor force through outsourcing and retrenchments will be a condition for increasing efficiency and investors' confidence (following the model illustrated in Bennet Harrison's concept of the “lean and mean” company). Finally, teaching and research will be increasingly separated, the former being left to a casualized and numerically reduced staff and the latter in the hands of semi-autonomous research units run by flagship academics employing legions of contract researchers for project-based research principally aimed to the need of mining, manufacturing and financial corporations.

To the extent that the vision of Wits as a corporate university implies a growing delegation of funding arrangements and research outcomes to the private sector, this process can well be defined as a process of privatization even if Wits will nominally remain a public university. All that is left of the intellectual content of the university in this scenario is a notion of “academic excellence” as a way to mobilize the loyalty of academic constituencies to the corporation around emotional, consent-generating buzzwords such as “worldclass African university” at the service of the “Renaissance” and of the “progressive” aim of breaking the domination by “bureaucracy”. In this way, left-wing academics' support is recruited around a project that redefines the main function of higher education as boosting corporate capital’s profit-making strategies. It should come as no surprise, then, if such a process, which ironically translates into practice Marx’s prediction on knowledge becoming an immediate force of production, is led at Wits by a “Marxist” like Colin Bundy.

Resistance to this process at Wits as elsewhere has until now been led by the 100,000 strong National Education Health and Allied Workers' Union (NEHAWU), which is immediately facing the loss of 600 members and is planning industrial action in response to the retrenchments. NEHAWU's profile has been reinforced by last years' wage confrontation between public workers and the government. However, the decisive challenge to stop the restructuring process at Wits as a condition to reopen the discussion on higher education change throughout the country, is in building a united movement among all university's constituencies. But conditions for building such a movement are not favorable. On the one hand, staff members are confused and divided: the progressive-ness of them by the new corporate university and with the administration's ability in presenting it as the inevitable answer to ineluctable changes has greatly moderated the oppositional potential of this constituency. On the other hand, student politics in South Africa is weakened by the defeats suffered by previous movements for university transformation. These movements have been contained through a variety of tactics including student expulsions (Wits 1994 and 1995), criminal charges raised by presidential commissions of inquiry (University of Durban-Westville 1997) and police actions that have targeted individual voices of dissent (University of the Western Cape, 1997). However, as recent episodes as the seven-month strike at Mexico City's UNAM and the occupations at John's Hopkins University have shown, the unity of all university constituencies is a crucial component in raising broader popular support for struggles opposing the marketization and privatization of public education.
The World Bank and IMF and the Decline of Teacher Training Standards in Senegal

Gorgui Dieng

Until recently Senegal boasted one of the best education systems on the Continent of Africa. This is why Senegalese intellectuals and experts play key-roles in the management of international affairs, whether be it in the United Nations system itself or in other important international institutions where expertise and competence are prerequisites.

The efficiency of the Senegalese education system was essentially due to the existence of well-organized teacher training schools in different regions of the country. The foundations of such a system were laid by the French colonial administration when they created in the colony of Senegal a teacher-training college at Sebkotane, about 30 miles east of Dakar in the early 20th century. That college has played a paramount role in the training of the first African teachers from the different French colonies in West Africa and beyond. Moreover, many of the first generation of African leaders had attended that college.

After independence in 1960, the college was transferred to Thies, a town 50 miles east of Dakar. And to show their firm decision to promote education in Senegal, the postcolonial authorities opened a number of regional teacher-training colleges called Écoles Normales Regionales in some regions. Thus, in the town of Thies another teacher-training college for girls, L’Ecole Normale des Jeunes Filles Germaine Legoff was added to the one meant for boys and others were created respectively in Mbour in the Thies Region (L’Ecole Normale Regionale Demma Diop), in St-Louis in the St-Louis Region (L’Ecole Normale Regionale de St-Louis), in Bamby in the Diourbel Region (L’Ecole Casamance Region).

The colleges were set up in those regions and called regional colleges, but in actual fact they were national colleges as the trainees used to come from the different regions of the country after passing both the GCSE and the Teacher-Training College Entrance Examination. Entering a teacher-training college was highly appreciated by parents, students and teachers alike, as it was seen as a tremendous achievement. In other words, up to 1976-8-9 the very best Senegalese students with a GCSE would choose to go to one of those colleges for the excellence and pride they connote. And that excellence can be easily noticed today as many of those who have graduated from those colleges have passed other professional exams after some years in elementary education and are now education experts and advisors, high school teachers and even university professors. For instance in the Department of English there are five professors including myself who are ENR alumni, in the French Department there are six of them, in the department of History three, in the Department of Geography three and in the Linguistics department one. This shows how excellent the ENR system was. All that was due to the fact that all the subjects that are taught now in high school, that is to say, French, history and geography, physics, mathematics, chemistry, natural sciences, physical training, English were taught there for four years, plus special subjects like psychology, linguistics, sociology, psycho-pedagogy, applied pedagogy, phonetics, philosophy, etc.

Without any jingoism whatsoever, the teachers trained in those teacher-training colleges are today the best teachers in Senegal, whether they are still in primary school or whether they have reached higher levels in the administration or elsewhere.

To make a long story short, one can rightfully argue that the ENR system has produced the very excellence of Senegal’s education system and the quality of its human resources. Now it is this good system that the World Bank and the IMF have managed, over the years, to overthrow under the guise of structural adjustment on the ground that it is too costly for a poor country like Senegal.

Today there is no ENR in Senegal. The government closed them all in 1980s. The premises formerly used by the William Ponty Teacher Training College at Thies have been given to the Army, the ENR at Mbour and the ENR at Bamby have been transformed into high schools.

Now, a new low-standard teacher-training school has been devised by the local authorities under the supervision and guidance of the World Bank and the IMF. With the new system, the teachers have to be trained only at longest for nine months after their GCSE and some of them do not even attend any training center at all. After that short period of training, the government only hire few of the trainees. And the remaining majority of them have to seek positions elsewhere. Hence the unlimited number of strikes aimed to force the authorities to recruit all the trainees. The unemployment of newly trained teachers was a crucial issue during the last presidential election in 2000.

In addition to this contingent of half-trained teachers, the authorities have introduced a new category of teachers called volunteers in primary schools and part-timers in junior high and high schools since 1992. Volunteers receive a stipend of $ 60 per month whereas part-timers receive about $100 per month. The amounts of money are scanty but these new millennium Senegalese teachers would be happy if they could get them at the end of each month. The part-timers teaching now in the class rooms have not been paid since June 2000 and they have planned to go on strike on Jan 22-3, 2001 to protest against that situation.

This new category of unskilled, unmotivated and exploited teachers will soon outnumber the regular teachers, i.e. those who have been hired by the government with all the privileges attached to the status of a civil servant.

In fact a new plan for education in Senegal has been devised by the new government under the guidance and sponsorship of the Bretton Woods institutions and aims at generalizing benevolent and part-time teaching on the one hand and on the other at developing private schooling. In this respect, about $3 million will be poured into developing private schooling.
sector. Which is no doubt a sort of manna from heaven for some Western institutions that will profit by it to settle in Senegal and control the country’s education system. The plan is called P.D.E.P in French (Plan Decennal pour l'Education et la Formation: Decennial Plan for Education and Formation). From Jan. Friday 12 to Saturday 13 2001, a seminar sponsored by the World Bank was organized in the rural town of Mbodiene about 70 miles southeast of Dakar on that new plan. The most outstanding teachers' unions, that is to say SAES (higher education), SUDES and UDEN (mainly secondary and primary school teachers) have vehemently castigated the new plan, but without the least, deterring the World Bank and the new authorities from their objective.

Higher education in Senegal is also directly threatened by the project as it reinforces the prior measures whose aim is to curtail both the number of students and that of teachers and encourage Senegalese students to favor vocational training. It is obvious that the World Bank is seeking to favor Booker T. Washington’s conception of education for Africans. (1) That is to say a type of education which emphasizes vocational training with a view to rendering Africans only able to work in factories and shops and the like so as to leave lofty intellectual thinking to people from the West. The type of student that will come out of the plan will not be sufficiently equipped to face the demands of the new millennium. The World Bank and the IMF promised to deal us both blows of structural adjustments and spoonfuls of sweet rice, but so far we have only received the blows. The number of students have been drastically reduced, very few faculty have been recruited, both students and teachers have no computers and other modern equipment to do research comfortably. What the World Bank is actually seeking to do in Senegal is very clear and they are not beating about the bush: to weaken the public sector in education and help the private sector thrive. And they have somehow succeeded in their attempt because the development of the private sector has been stunning recently: there are hundreds of private schools everywhere in Senegal even in the poorer districts of the towns. But what is most shocking about the whole thing is that teachers in the private sector receive poorer salaries than their colleagues in the public schools do even though they are more efficient. Here efficiency has nothing to do with intrinsic competence. In reality only the moonlighters from the public sector take into the private sector the little training they have received. In other words the overwhelming majority of private school teachers are mere amateur teachers, but with the tough control of their business-motivated bosses, they have to get good results for their students or get fired. The consequence is that many of those schools are mere cramming centers yearning only for good exam grades for their students, no matter how these are achieved. Because schooling has becomes a business and only private schools with good results can attract parents. (2)

In the eyes of the World Bank and IMF Senegal's development can only derive from cuts in education funding. But they forget to define what poverty is, or if they do so they just want us to swallow their own understanding of development, that is to say plenty of buildings, superb motorcars, hurrying crowds, plenty of dollars and what not. They are seeking to provide us with all this stuff but do they simply wonder whether we need such a kind of development that does not take into account the people mainly concerned, that is to say, us? It would be interesting to find answers to the following questions: How can one develop a country by jeopardizing its human resources? Are the World Bank and the

IMF helping us develop or are they simply seeking to find out the best way to get back their money wasted on useless projects? Why are such good strategies never experimented with in countries like the US, France and Great Britain who are the key members of those institutions? As the marmalade is so good, why not taste it first before asking others to do so? The answer is simple: their children have to go to posh schools and ours to poor ones because they are humans, and we sub-humans.

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Notes

The World Bank Returns to the Scene of its Crime:
ASUU's Critique of the Nigerian University System Innovation Project Loan

George Cofrman

Why did the intervention by the World Bank not lead to much improvement in the Universities? The answer is simply that the World Bank project was designed to benefit the West's countries–the US and Western Europe. - ASUU (2000)

The following is a summary and discussion of an important document recently published by the Nigerian Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU), The World Bank Nigerian University System Innovation Project: An Appraisal (drafted and written by 25 students). This document is available from ASUU National Secretariat, U.I. Post Office Box 9021, Ibadan, Nigeria. It tells the compelling story of the World Bank's role as a nodal unit for universities that had been stopped by its crime comes back at an earlier opportunity to sit again.

The crime scene is the Nigerian University System (NUS) which is now one of the largest university systems in Africa with forty-two universities and approximately 200,000 students. It has grown literally from nothing since 1960, the date of formal independence from Britain, although it does not have the demographic weight of university systems in Europe and North America. For example, in 1991 there were forty-six major British universities with 350,000 students whereas the UK's population is about half of Nigeria.

In its first mission, perhaps, that has been the object of the World Bank's experiment in the structural adjustment era of the 1980s and 1990s. The NUS received one of the largest university sector loans in all of Africa from the World Bank in the 1990s, even when the World Bank's general policy was to steer African universities toward $40 million was allocated. It was in that year, in response to the Nigerian government's decision to scale back a number of structural adjustment policies the previous and make available an additional $1 million for the project of the people of the nation and in the interests of foreign powers whether they be other states or agencies like the World Bank (BP 11-15).

Second, the immediate aims of the loan – to improve library and journal collections, start long-term plans and improve the research infrastructure - were not achieved largely because of the very way the loan conditions were framed. For example:

1. The choice of books and journals were not made by university librarians and hence were not relevant for the courses being taught in Nigerian universities. The loan funds were distributed to universities in "ephemeral" due to amount donated without any coordination.

The original loan was a multi-billion dollar deal with a number of serious difficulties faced by the NUS: the lack of up-to-date books and journals, the brain drain, the breakdown of the university infrastructure (especially laboratories). The funds were to be allocated as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Allocation</th>
<th>Percent of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Books and Journals</td>
<td>$77m</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff Development</td>
<td>$15m</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUS</td>
<td>$7m</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equipment</td>
<td>$6m</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative costs</td>
<td>$3m</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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(NESS is an acronym for the Nigerian Education Supplementation Scheme which was designed to "top off" existing faculty salaries.)

ASUU (the Nigerian Association of Nigerian Students) led the attack on the original loan in 1990, and much of the money they used in their critique was funds for the NUSP loan as well. ASUU also examined the first impact of the loans on the NUS. The Committee of the House of Representatives in Nigeria in the late 1990s. This study amplified and confirmed the findings voiced in 1990.
(2) The brain drain could hardly be halted by the meagre incentives allowed for by the NESG scheme or the provision of Staff Development Bank where Nigerian faculty salaries for both indigenous and foreign teachers are among the lowest on the planet, e.g., approximately $7,000 for a full professor's salary in 1997. "The World Bank knows that as long as the salaries paid to academics are not competitive internationally, the brain-drain problems will persist" (SP: 20). But it is exactly this type of wage bargain that the World Bank has reversed since the beginning of its structural adjustment campaign in the 1980s.

(3) The equipment needs of the NUS were determined by an "outside expert" (a Dr. Lisbon from the Netherlands) who had no intimate knowledge of Nigerian universities and merely visited four universities including the University of Ibadan and the Federal University of Technology (FUT) Akure. But also ASUU: "How could the needs of the University of Ibadan be the same with the needs of AHE [Amodu Abbo University] or with those of FUT Owerri or FUT Yola?" (SP: 20). Indeed, the result was an extravagance: "most of the equipment supplied could not be used, either because some vital parts were missing or had been damaged in transit. These items of equipment dot the university campuses today" (SP: 20).

Since 1980 ASUU has not merely been critical of the World Bank and its allies, attacking their policies. It has been forced to develop alternative funding for the NUS that would not undermine national autonomy and would genuinely promote the development effort. The most important result from this has been the successful negotiation in 1992 of an Education Trust Fund (ETF) which has largely alleviated the crisis, although some fifteen billion naira (approximately $850 million) of the money has been used for purposes other than those specified. Clearly this internal financial manoeuvre would make the new $6.7 million loan an insidious step in the back.

Since this NUSIP loan is largely a consequence of the provision loan most of the above issues apply, but what of the new elements? The World Bank has introduced a new system and an IBV/AESD program aimed at "strengthening and modernizing" the educational system. These elements a "progressive" appearance as if it was bringing the "cutting edge" social concerns of the day (treatment, succession and AIDS awareness) to the heightened necessities of Nigeria. But is the World Bank an instrument which can be trusted to deal with these issues?

Let us take each in turn. As the ASUU document points out, NUFU — an interest communication infrastructure proposed by the World Bank operating outside of the national telecommunication infrastructure organized by NITEL would be both costly and unnecessary for the university system. Although very useful to international businessmen wishing to operate in Nigeria, NITEL can provide the same services at a fraction of the total cost proposed by the World Bank. NUFU should be scrapped forthwith" (SP: 47).

AIDS awareness is, of course, de rigueur in any institution dealing with sexual active young people, but how seriously will the World Bank take such a scheme when we consider its record? After all, the AIDS crisis is but one element of the general health crisis of Africa in the last twenty years (with the reduction of longevity in many countries to the 1930s). This larger crisis has been the product of reduced government spending on public health services urged by the World Bank (with its demands for "cost recovery" for clinic visits even by the poorest people on the planet). With such a record how can the World Bank preach to the NUS about AIDS awareness?

Finally, there is the question of equal opportunity for men and women in Nigerian universities. Again is the World Bank the proper vehicle for bringing feminist enlightenment to the NUS? Consider its record and see its "gender mainstreaming" rhetoric. Its structural adjustment policies have derogated women's health, educational opportunities, and rights throughout Africa in the 1980s and 1990s. If there is one area in which the World Bank would be expected to demonstrate solidarity to its African colleagues it is the encouragement of women's education and empowerment. If the World Bank's record is one of marginalization, it is further evident in the Health Department's insistence that all schools should charge fees. Whatever the hypothesis of participation of women in the NUS, the World Bank has no feminist credentials to be proud of.

So much then, for the progressive rhetoric that the World Bank added to repudiate the 1980 loan as an "Innovation Project." Their only innovation is the level of fraud. The World Bank is prepared to raise in order to make this loan attractive to the students and administrators.

But why is the World Bank so greedy? If they have not achieved any positive result the first time around, why should World Bank officials insist on offering it again? What are their real motives? ASUU concludes that it is to ensure the demands of the most powerful and potentially wealthiest African nations, those wielding the control of the most populous and potentially wealthiest African nations, those wielding the control of the most populous and potentially wealthiest African nations (in the absence of the industrial system as an expression of the national elite). In every nation, the educational system is an expression of the national elite. The World Bank knows that by taking control of Nigerian universities it can control the... the World Bank knows that by taking control of Nigerian universities it can control the... The World Bank knows that by taking control of Nigerian universities it can control the... The World Bank knows that by taking control of Nigerian universities it can control the... The World Bank knows that by taking control of Nigerian universities it can control the...
NEWS FROM NIGERIA

Chaos in Bayeoro University as lecturers, student accost World Bank representative

by Nathaniel Byar
Published in the (Nigerian) Vanguard, October 29, 2001

Kano- Pandemonium Wednesday broke out at Bayeoro University Kano (BUK) as angry lecturers and students barred the World Bank representative to the Nigerian University System Innovation Project (NUISP), Mr. William Sass, from participating in a consultative meeting.

With less than ten minutes to the kick-off of the meeting, Mr. Sass accompanied by some officials of BUK and the organizing committee was blocked as lecturers from BUK, Adamawa Bayero University (ABU) Zaria, University of Maiduguri, and Unilag Doha University prevented him from entering the hall. Sass, a senior education specialist with the World Bank, was expected to brief the stakeholders, comprising students and traditional rulers on the role of the World Bank in the planned university autonomy process and also to speak on the structure and organization of the University Innovation Project.

The angry lecturers who could not hide their feelings showed up on the visiting World Bank official throughout the tension remained calm. Despite the personal intervention of the Vice-Chancellor of Bayeoro University (BUK), Prof. Haji Haji Usman did not give the situation for Mr. Sass who was later escorted out of the venue into the VCs office by security personnel. Academics from sitting across the hall however then that he was barred into the Kano University System.

Vanguard observed that the entire BUK campus was flooded with police preventing the proposed loan to be granted Nigeria by the IMF. The police which were patrolling the strategic positions read in parts, "No to World Bank and IMF, they are blood suckers," "World Bank are condemnable," "We oppose the World Bank and their neo-colonialism," BUK, ASUU chairman, Malam Usman explained that the action of the lecturers and students was necessary as the stakeholders in the university community in Nigeria.

The furious World Bank official who later spoke to news correspondents maintained that the accident however said he was not threatened by the experience he had gone through. Despite the frustration, he left Kano because "Nigeria has generally been hospitable to us in Kano to accomplish what we set out to do."

Nigerian teacher commits suicide over unpaid salary

09/14/2001
Agence France-Presse (Copyright 2001)

AKURE, Nigeria, Sept 14 (AFP) - A 50-year-old primary school teacher in southwest Nigeria committed suicide because he could not bear the sheer weight of debts owed by his employer, witnesses said Thursday.

Francis Obilighe, a father of four, hanged himself from a tree in a remote bank area beside his home town of Ondo earlier this week, witnesses told local media. Obilighe's wife had previously planned him from committing suicide by shooting himself over his debts.

Public workers all over Nigeria regularly receive their salaries months late, or only receive partial payment, because of corruption and mismanagement. On Monday, Nigeria's main teachers union launched a nationwide strike to press demands for better pay and conditions following an increase in the national minimum wage earlier this year.

Teachers' officials and Ondo State officials were unavailable for comment on Thursday.

Death and Terror on Nigerian campuses.

The Secret Cults Kill and Injure Students

On July 10, 2000 four students of the university were including the Secretary General of the students' union, George Ewulo, were killed in the course of an attack carried out by 250 cult members dressed all in black. Three other students were seriously wounded in the attack.

Ewulo was shot in the head while he was sleeping in his bed room in 2nd Hall. His body was taken out by cultists who were indiscriminately shooting, "we shot first."
An April of Death
State Violence Against African Students

By
The Editors of CAFA

The first days between April 9 and April 16, 2011 were bloody ones for African students and youth. They optimized the forced war African states (which are committed to the structural adjustment ideology of the World Bank and IMF) are waging against African youth who see no future for themselves or their countries in the path these states are following.

On Monday, April 9, a Zimbabwean student, Bunsazi Mabudzi, 20, died from injuries suffered during clashes with the police on Sunday. The student joined a demonstration organized to protest the late paymen.t of their stipends. This was one of many demonstrations in the last days of the students of the University of Zimbabwe have organized focusing on the rising costs of food, accommodation and studying due to the government’s structural adjustment policies. The immediate trigger of the students’ anger was the apparent suicide on Friday, April 6, of a first-year economics student who was found dead in a female student’s ‘bedroom’ with a note beside her body that referred to a relationship gone sour. Apparently many students in the context of the economic crisis are financing their education through unions with wealthy men. The results are not, however, always under their control.

On Wednesday, April 13, students of the Addis Ababa University were demonstrating against the police presence on campus and demanding the removal of all exterior buildings and objects on campus. Apparently, there were three collisions in which the police beat its students who attempted to resist the police. The police attack resulted in the injury of fifty students who were later arrested. The police then requested the police to leave the university campus. The students then attempted to resist the police, leading to a deadly attack, killing ten people and wounding 50 others. The students were arrested and sent to a concentration camp in the village of Sisaden. Many of them were later released but many are still being held as of the moment of this writing. Students remained on campus in early May, but continued to demand the release of those detained, since they concluded that the government was not seriously negotiating with them. The Ethiopian federal police have admitted to a report to parliament on June 7 that they used excessive force in dealing with the student protests.

On Wednesday, April 18, while the deadly confrontations in Ethiopia between students and police were beginning to subside, Algerian police killed a student, Gomene Massimina, in the Kabylia region during a demonstration anticipating the huge annual gathering celebrating "Bouteflika Spring" on April 20. The killing of the student was followed by demonstrations of protest throughout Kabylia and by sympathetic demonstrations in Algiers and other parts of Algeria whose students chanted, "We are all Bouteflicka!" These demonstrations were met with determined violence by state forces. As of the moment, at least fifty people have been killed in a long series of demonstrations demanding the right to practice Berber culture. But they are continuing, and they threaten the government’s hold on power.

(We should also point out that within this period—April 9 through April 17—another 20 were reportedly killed, both Addis Ababa in-Cone 2010 and University of Togo were closed due to student unrest.)

We present these moments of Zimbabwean, Ethiopian and Algerian state violence not as another set of facile stereotypes of either gross or legitimate (though both feelings are inevitable), but as an indication of African states’ continuation of the World Bank’s judgment on the students of Africa, there are too many of them and they should be responsible. At the same time, it is obvious that the political leaders of Zimbabwe, Ethiopia and Algeria through their decision to respond to demonstrating youth with human and deadly force have lost sight of the future described in these youths’ bodies while these students, far from defining their identity, are repressing the aspirations of the mass of African youth in the streets.

The main change in this April of Death, however, has not been in the brutality of the African state (for there have already been hundreds of African students killed in anti-SAP demonstrations in the last decade), but in the attitude of the World Bankers. They used to think that the African students’ struggle could not touch them as they were safely ensconced in their 13th Street headquarters in Washington. They were happy to have their “40 per cent” in Africa put their hands dirty dealing with the students in their programs. But the anti-globalization movement, which led to one of its sessions the permanent anti-structural adjustment student movement in Africa, has finally crossed the halls of Harvard, its headquarters in the United States. It is an indication that the government is not only losing power, but is losing its role as the mouthpiece of their students’ aspirations by a truly international youth movement that has started the African student dead to their door.
**Zimbabwe Students on Strike**

by

Zimbabwe Coalition on Debt & Development

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Students at all tertiary institutions in Zimbabwe under the leadership of the Zimbabwe National Students' Union are on a nationwide strike against privatization. There are forced lockout and campus battles with the police in riot gear. In Bulawayo last week the police set vicious dogs upon Zimbabwe's giant students when they thought that blackpowering them with teargas was too mild a punishment. At face value all this has been caused by the authorities as the only culprits. However, a closer look exposes the chief culprits: the chief culprits is the World Bank. It forced the introduction of cost recovery in education and health as part of the 1990 ESAP package. The World Bank resides representatives recently informed the government for having followed its prescriptions to the book, hence the failure of SAP in Zimbabwe.

Here are excerpts from the Daily News editorial 4/6/2004:

"And hunger is the main issue behind the students' current unrest. There can be no doubt that for a government which came to power on a promise, among others in its election manifestos, that education would be freely available to every Zimbabwean child, its decision to introduce school fees and levies at primary and secondary school levels a few years into independence [an additional admission] this is when the World Bank imposed structural adjustment program in 1992 was something that ought to have it hung on its head in shame. Making students at tertiary level buy food should have been inconceivable, but it was the privatization of catering services at universities and other training colleges which exposed the government as hopelessly heartless and incapable of keeping even the easiest of its promises.

Meanwhile, the students have vowed to continue with their nationwide protests. As we are going to press, we have received news reports of the arrests and alleged torture of the President of the Zimbabwe students' union, Ndabako Shibanda.

**Globalization and Academic Ethics**

by

The Editors of CAFA

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

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

All these developments constitute the most substantial innovations in US academic life in over the last decade. They have been promoted and hailed as a great contribution to the spread of "quality education" and global citizenship. The reality, however, may be quite different. We call on our colleagues to ponder on the implications of these changes, different. We call our colleagues to ponder on the implications of these changes, different.

1. The internationalization of the curriculum and academic activities is often conceptualized within a framework of global economic competition that sees multinational corporations as the new colonial exploitation rather than means of understanding and unearthing other people's histories and struggles.

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

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

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

5. U.S. teachers and college administrators are being funded by USAID to intervene in several Third World and former socialist countries to (a) set up private universities; (b) instruct arousing departments, schools, programs, curricula. In other words, U.S. academics are being literally employed by the U.S. government to carry on cultural/educational work abroad that runs its economic, political, ideological objectives.

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

It is in this context that we are proposing the following "University Teachers' Draft Code of Ethics for Global Education in Africa." We urge you to circulate it among colleagues in the institutions where you work, at conferences, and in other academic venues and ask CAFA to come to one of the coordinators of code of ethics that can be subscribed to by a substantial number of people involved in financing or overseeing global education initiatives as well. Even more important, we want to use this declaration—addressed if need be—to promote solidarity with our African colleagues and to campaign to reverse the rationalization of African universities.

University Teachers' Draft Code of Ethics for Global Education in Africa:

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

- We will resist, under any circumstance, work (as researchers, with a study abroad program, or in any other capacity) in an African university whose students or the faculty are on strike or which has been shut down by students' or teachers' unions and protests against police repression and structural adjustment in Africa.

- We will always take a position of cooperation with the World Bank, the IMF, USAID, or any other organization whose policy is to appropriate Africa from the fruits of the production and distribution of knowledge and to denigrate African people's contributions to world culture.

- We will never take advantage of the situation in which African colleagues and students have been reduced, and appropriate, the educational facilities and resources from which African colleagues and students have been displaced because of lack of means. Knowledge acquired under such conditions would be illegitimate in the spirit of mutualization and scholarly solidarity.

- We will consult with colleagues and activists in the countries where we carry out research as to ensure that our research meets the needs of the people it studies, and is shaped with the cooperation of people whose lives will be affected by it, rather being determined by funding agencies' agendas.
African Visions
Literary Images, Political Change, and Social Struggle in Contemporary Africa

Edited by Cheryl B. Mwaria, Silvia Federici and Joseph McLaren

Beginning with an overview by anthropologist Cheryl Mwaria, *African Visions* addresses such issues as structural adjustment, religious freedom, human rights, democratization, educational movements, and health care in Africa. Particular analyses consider, student activism, the AIDS epidemic, and the consequences of the current intellectual property regime for African universities. The book also explores the way social and cultural questions have been treated in literary works and theoretical studies dealing with hybridity, sexual politics, literacy, socialist orientations, and language. Noted literary scholars Odun Balogun and Alamin Mazrui consider aspects of these issues. The collection also examines trends in literature, publishing, and theater in Algeria, Niger, Nigeria, and South Africa in relation to gender, popular culture, and protest. Dennis Brutus contributes an essay stressing regional cooperation in Africa and Ngugi wa Thiong’o advocates the use and development of African languages in the struggle against the recolonization of Africa. *African Visions* avoids Afro-pessimism by focusing on the struggle that Africans are continuing to make for self-determination. It is an essential source for all scholars and students concerned with contemporary African life, politics, and culture.

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