



‘We no go sit down’: CAFA and the Struggle Against Structurally Adjusted Education in Africa

Ousseina Alidou*, George Caffentzis** & Silvia Federici***

Abstract

This paper is a short history of the Committee for Academic Freedom in Africa (CAFA) since its founding in 1991 to the present. It describes CAFA documentation of the formation of an Africa-wide student movement against the structural adjustment of African universities. It also details some of CAFA’s campaigns in defence of student struggles against both the World Bank’s role in propagating the introduction of tuition fees and the cutting of housing and food subsidies to students and the repressive action of the African governments against protesting students. We argue that academic freedom also includes the right to be involved in the production of knowledge and hence to have access to the means of its production. To deny Africans such a right in this period in history is to condemn them to the fate of being the damned of the earth once more and to put the ability of Africans to manage their own resources in peril.

Resumé

Cet article est un résumé des activités du Comité pour la Liberté Académique en Afrique (CAFA) depuis sa fondation en 1991 jusqu’à aujourd’hui. Il reprend les informations du CAFA sur la formation d’un mouvement étudiant à l’échelle du continent africain contre les ajustements structurels dans les universités africaines. Il détaille également certaines campagnes du CAFA en défense des luttes étudiantes contre le rôle de la Banque Mondiale dans la mise en place progressive de droits d’inscriptions et les coupes dans les subventions de logement et de nour-

* Director of African Languages and Literature in the Department of Africana Studies at Rutgers University, New Brunswick, USA (Ousseina@hotmail.com)

** Professor in the Department of Philosophy, University of Southern Maine, USA (gcaffentz@aol.com)

*** Professor emeritus and Teaching Fellow at Hofstra University, New York, USA (dinavalli@aol.com)

riture aux étudiants et l'action répressive des gouvernements africains contre la protestation étudiante. Nous prétendons que la liberté académique inclut aussi le droit d'être engagé dans la production du savoir et donc d'avoir accès aux moyens de cette production. Refuser un tel droit aux Africains dans cette période historique revient à les condamner au destin d'être à nouveau les damnés de la terre et à mettre en péril la capacité des Africains à contrôler leurs propres ressources.

Preface

We are the coordinators for the Committee for Academic Freedom in Africa (CAFA). CAFA was founded to promote a critique of the World Bank's plan for education in Africa and to support the mobilization of African students and teachers against it. We believe such a plan, which is now the model for education internationally, violates the universal right to study and the right to have access to the resources enabling Africans to produce knowledge about their lives and communities and thereby plan their future. This article is our reflection on CAFA's theoretical and practical work and its relation to the African student movements. There have been many contributors to CAFA's efforts during these seventeen years of its existence. We do not specify them by name in this brief article, but we thank them all.

CAFA: 1991–1993

CAFA was formed in 1991 by academics coming to the US after teaching in African universities, preoccupied by the developments they had witnessed in these institutions at the hands of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Teaching in Africa in the 1980s was for many of us a life-changing experience. These were the years in which the continent's social and political life was undergoing a historic transformation, under the impact of the 'debt crisis,' prolonged negotiations with the World Bank and IMF, and the introduction of the first austerity plans soon to be dubbed 'structural adjustments.' The universities were at the centre of this process and the resistance to it, both because of the heated debates and anti-IMF mobilizations these policies generated within them, and because, from the start, they were one of the main targets of the cuts in public funds introduced in the name of paying the debt.

Already by 1984, on many African campuses, student protests – against the cuts of student allowances and the repression of student activism – were the order of the day.¹ By the late 1980s, when the African governments introduced the first structural adjustment programs (SAPs) (often justified as 'home-grown' measures), the confrontation between students and government had become open and the students' protest was increasingly repressed by force. At least 30 students were massacred on May 5, 1986 in response to a peaceful demonstration on the Nigerian campus of Ahmadu Bello University (Zaria).² By the time those

of us who had taught in Nigeria left the country, its universities, when not shut down, were turning into battlefields, because Nigerian students were among the first main opponents of structural adjustment and the dismantling of public education demanded by the World Bank. Demonstrations, strikes, blockades, confrontations with police and armed forces invading the campuses, quickly became part of the campus experience in every African country. Public investment in education was gutted, users' fees were introduced, and programs were restructured so as to boost a technocratic knowledge appropriate for the tasks of economic liberalization. Appropriately, the whole project was promoted by the World Bank under the racist title of 'Africa Capacity Building.'

It was seeing our students beaten, tear-gassed, and expelled, that led us, on returning or moving to the US, to organize around education in Africa. New York, where the first CAFA meetings were held, was the ideal place for this initiative. The diaspora that was triggered by the crisis of African universities combined the growing interest in multiculturalism in the US, and guaranteed a constant flow of African scholars/activists to the city allowing for contacts, exchanges, and new forms of collaborations. Indeed, CAFA would not have been possible except for the support, cooperation and direction provided by African students and teachers, and their organizations. They kept us informed of developments and events on their campuses, sent us newspaper clippings, flyers, documents, reports, their bulletins and newsletters, told us what was most needed, and helped us interpret new policies and trends.

Our objective in founding CAFA was to mobilize the North American campuses in support of students' and teachers' struggles in Africa, and denounce the World Bank's plan for African education. 'As academicians in North America' – we wrote in our first newsletter – 'we cannot remain indifferent to what is happening on African campuses. We need to let our African colleagues know we will not remain silent as they are driven to jail, have their offices ransacked, and their lives and studies constantly endangered.' (CAFA 1991).

It was apparent, moreover, that the attack on the schooling system carried out through structural adjustment was part of a broader attack on African workers and of what many in Africa defined as a 're-colonization' project.

More than a decade later, we see that our analysis was correct. The dismantling of Africa's higher education systems has played a strategic role in foreign investors' and international agencies' redefinition of the place of Africa in the international division of labour as a producer of raw material and 'cheap' labour-power for the international labour market. It has also assisted their expropriation of Africa's 'natural' resources (copper, coltan, oil) and Africans' 'indigenous knowledge' (especially genetic and pharmacological knowledge), by undermining the ability of African countries to protect this knowledge, and al-

lowing transnational corporations to present themselves to the world as the institutions best equipped and entitled to preserve and control Africa's wealth (Caffentzis 2000:10-11).³

Today, the devastating effects of SAPs are recognized, though much remains to be done to assess to what degree the devaluation of higher education has affected African political economies. When CAFA was formed, however, identifying structural adjustment as a major violation of human rights was going against the grain. The early 1990s saw a growing attack on the African nation-state, determined in part by the popular opposition to autocratic governments, and in part by the anti-statist requirements of the neo-liberal agenda. It was in this context that human rights organizations like Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International focused their attention on African governments' violations of academics freedom, university students being among the staunchest supporters of political multi-partyism.⁴

In our view, however, the Mobutus and Babangidas were but the most visible executors of repressive action (to shoot, beat, arrest and torture protesting students and faculty) logically rooted in the economic plans designed in Washington and London, for which international agencies were responsible. In other words, we held that institutions like the World Bank – part of the UN System and expressing the interest of international capital – were the primary agents in the repression of academic freedom in Africa, African autocrats being their immediate accomplices. In this sense, our choice of the concept of academic freedom to qualify CAFA's mission was somewhat polemical. But we also chose the 'academic freedom' label, despite its traditional elitist connotations, because of the new meaning that was being given to it in the debates taking place on the African campuses.

While human rights organizations and the UN appealed to 'academic freedom' to condemn governmental interference in African education, African educators and students meeting, on the 29th of November 1990, in the capital of Uganda, issued a Kampala Declaration that identified the primary intellectual right and freedom with 'the right to education,' i.e. the right to have access to the means of knowledge production and circulation. We embraced this idea because it fitted our task and unambiguously indicted the World Bank and its supporting international 'donors' as violators of intellectual/academic rights.

This approach radically differentiated CAFA from other human rights organizations. We also did not have the resources available to them as CAFA was always completely self-financed through the contributions and donations of its members, most of who were university teachers. Nevertheless, we believed we could be quite effective. We recognized that our opponents had one vulnerability: they depended on academics to do their research and strategizing. That meant

they had to maintain a humanitarian and scholarly façade, one reason why, starting from this period, increasingly the World Bank began to define itself as a 'knowledge bank' fit to pontificate on any subject from education, to oral history and gender. It became, then, our task to tear this façade apart and delegitimize the Bank as an institution that self-respecting scholars may wish to work for.

CAFA's delegitimizing efforts at first had two major venues: the African Studies Association (ASA) and the Third World solidarity activist circles. In both places, we found a natural ally in the Association of Concerned Africa Scholars (ACAS). The ASA annual meetings were a gathering point for many African scholars the World Bank wished to recruit. Thus, our first Newsletters and public presentations were directed at the ASA and the academic world around it. However, we also addressed the activists involved in Third World liberation movements' support networks, who were familiar with student struggles in Latin America and China (the Tiananmen Square massacres had taken place in 1989) but knew little about the African students killed, injured and arrested in their struggles for the right to study. To fill this gap we first constructed in 1993 a chronology of African university students which we periodically updated, showing not only that the bulk of student struggles in the period were against the consequences of SAPs (both on campus and nationally) but that what was being fought for was akin to a second independence movement. For the ultimate issue at stake in the question of the right to education was the possibility of national, regional and continental self-determination.

As we showed through this chronology, not only did student fight around their immediate interests, saying 'No to tuition fees,' 'No to cuts in books, stationary, transport allowances,' 'No to starving while studying.' They also organized protests against the consequences of the education cuts for all campus workers, mobilizing in support of strikes called by teachers and non-academic staff workers, as well as to obtain the release of jailed comrades, their reinstatement when rusticated and the un-banning of student unions. Most important, very soon student struggle took on a political dimension, extending beyond the universities and making the link between the cuts in education budgets and the re-colonization project perpetrated through structural adjustment. From the mid-1980s on, across Africa, students went to the streets to join with market women, unemployed youth, and unionized workers in anti-government, anti-IMF demonstrations, contributing to a re-composition of the African 'proletariat' that was unprecedented since independence.

It is more than symbolic that, in 1989, in Benin City (Nigeria), in the course of a mass mobilization against SAP, since then known as the 'anti-SAP riots,' student liberated 809 prisoners from jail and then brought the food they took

from the jail pantry to the nearby Central Hospital, to feed its patients (*Newswatch*, 6.12.89:18). The anti-SAP campus struggle for a time undermined the hierarchies built through the educational system, contributing to the growing call for a democratization of the political process. By the same token, it was again the student who most helped to demystify the campaign for 'multi-partyism', 'popular participation' and 'human rights' that the U.N. and other international institutions launched in the 1990s as part of the liberalization of the African state. For as we wrote 'students demonstrated that no democracy is possible where people are denied the basic means of survival and the possibility of being autonomous producers of knowledge' (Federici et al. 2000:99).

The Anti-globalization Movement and the New African Student Movement, 1994–1999

A turning point for CAFA was the formation in 1994 of '50 Years is Enough', a coalition of groups, from all sectors of the global justice movement, joining to protest the coming 50th anniversary of the founding of the World Bank and IMF and the policies of these institutions. Networking with other groups critical of globalizing capitalism (e.g., the anti-sweatshop and the Jubilee 2000 anti-debt campaigns), this coalition began targeting the gatherings of the World Bank and IMF in Washington and around the world in what now appears to us as the beginning of the anti-globalization movement. CAFA too joined this mobilization, adding its knowledge of the effects of structural adjustment on education to the 'convergence meetings' of the movement. In this process, our work was projected on a broader stage, as we came in contact with campus activists from other parts of the world, and we began to understand the attack on public education in Africa as part of a global trend.

CAFA's protest against the World Bank peaked with its campaign to prohibit it from organizing panels at the ASA annual meetings. An arbitrary procedure, only explainable on the basis of the Bank's political clout and the new alliance being forged in the 1990s between business and academe, these panels offered the Bank a propaganda platform and a tool for neo-liberal indoctrination. In 1995 we decided that enough was enough and circulated a petition urging the ASA Board to put an end to this practice and calling for a 'World Bank-free ASA.' We argued that 'The World Bank is a bank: it is neither a scholarly nor an educational institution. It has been especially responsible for the degradation of the university system in Africa. Therefore it is neither academically nor morally qualified to participate in the ASA' (CAFA 1995). This effort was quite successful and for a period there was a noticeable reduction in these panels.

But our most important effort in this period was our support work for the struggles African university teachers and students, like the Kenyan university

teachers strike of 1993-4 (against the government's refusal to register its union), and the Nigerian university teachers' strike of 1995. It was through CAFA that a wide spectrum of US academics and political activists learnt about teachers' unions in Nigeria or Kenya or Tanzania, or African students' organizations like National Association of Nigerian Students (NANS) or the National Union of Ghana Students, among others. Compatibly without limited resources, we mobilized support, wrote to and petitioned African vice-chancellors and embassies, called on colleagues, students, labour unions in the US; urged them to protest killings, arrests, rustications, show solidarity in the case of strikes, and pressurize the authorities involved. To do this we broadened our communications with faculty and student organizations in Africa. This was especially true for the often-banned but never defeated Academic Staff Union of Universities in Nigeria (ASUU).

The period 1994-1999 was a peak period of intense activism in African universities. Student struggles varied depending on local situations. Nevertheless, the demands students put forward across the African campuses very clearly indicate these were anti-SAP struggles. As we wrote in our Newsletter in the Spring of 1996, 'No to tuition fees', 'No to starving while studying', 'No to cuts in books, stationary, transport allowances', 'No to SAP and the re-colonization of Africa' are slogans that have appeared on every campus from Cairo to Lusaka ... providing the deepest bond among students who are often seen as irremediably divided on ethnic or religious grounds' (CAFA No.10, Spring 1996, p.8). Protests were also organized in support of strikes called by teachers and non academic staff workers, to obtain the release of jailed comrades, to demand that they be reinstated when rusticated, to demand the un-banning of student unions, or the removal of army and police from the campus premises. Extending beyond the universities very soon this protest took on a broader political dimension.

The CAFA Newsletter was distributed on several campuses and CAFA members spoke at academic and movement events. Thus, when the international media finally recognized the existence of the anti-globalization movement during the 'Battle of Seattle' in November 1999, CAFA's campaign against the 'enclosure of knowledge in Africa' had a small, but definite place in the worldwide effort to turn back the neo-liberal model of economic and social life. In preparation for and immediately after the anti-WTO Seattle demonstration, many activists used CAFA's *Chronicle of African Student Struggles* (Federici and Caffentzis 2000:115-150) to show that the struggle against globalization was not a US-based creation, but a worldwide phenomenon maturing over more than a decade and mostly in the so-called 'third world.'

A Thousand Flowers, 2000–2003

The importance of making the demands of the African university struggles an element in the anti-globalization movements led CAFA's coordinators to propose to Africa World Press a book collecting the most significant materials in our newsletters, ranging from analyses of the World Bank's education 'reform' program to the struggles against 'adjustment' in Niger, Burkina Faso, Nigeria, Senegal, Kenya, Tanzania, South Africa, and Malawi.

Titled *A Thousand Flowers: Social Struggles Against Structural Adjustment in African University* (Federici, Caffentzis and Alidou 2000), the book was a milestone for CAFA as it coherently presented the struggle against the privatization of education in Africa at a time when the anti-globalization movement was shaping up as an alternative planetary presence against the institutions of global capitalism. The meetings of these institutions were no longer the pleasant, little-noticed 'private' affairs they had previously been. Outside the bankers', world leaders', and finance ministers' conference halls, activists were blockading, and samba-ing, holding counter-conferences where their every move was critically analyzed. *A Thousand Flowers* helped us bring the story of African students' resistance to SAPs to these gatherings and make a case for the abolition of the World Bank and the IMF. This was originally a minority position in the anti-globalization movement, but as the movement grew it became the dominant one, gaining ground hand in hand with a new campus movement we fully supported to convince academic institutions to stop buying World Bank bonds.

By 2000, many in the movement believed the globalization process was in crisis. Then came September 11, 2001 and the military response to the crisis, with the invasion of Iraq in March 2003. These events had a profound, demoralizing effect on 'the global justice movement', as it now called itself. Parallel to these developments, CAFA's confidence in the possibility to roll back SAPs was also tested. Though struggles against SAPs have continued on African campuses, no breakthrough has been forthcoming. Throughout Africa the killing of protesting students by police and military has continued. CAFA Newsletters described the growth of 'campus cults' in Nigeria that physically attack anti-SAP student organizations with impunity and the struggle of migrant African youth, many of them former students, in the US.⁵

On the African campuses, the struggle against structural adjustment reached a stalemate in this period. The World Bank had not succeeded in reducing the number of universities or students, which in fact had increased absolutely and relatively in the 1990s, though at a lower rate compared to the 1960s and the 1970s. But public investment in higher education had been dramatically cut, and university education had been privatized and commercialized, with devastating

effects as far as learning, research, and the coherence of the university project were concerned. African universities today operate on a two or three-tier basis, each with different sponsors, funding (or lack thereof) and goals. Some units directly financed by foreign ‘donors’ for their own commercial purposes are well equipped while other literally next door are left to disintegrate. Meanwhile, the World Bank now admits that universities are necessary after all for a country’s political and economic life. But it is always the case. When the Bank sheds crocodile tears for its deeds, no one seems capable of making it accountable for its alleged ‘mistakes’.

Rethinking the CAFA project, 2004–present

Taking into account this new situation, after the publication of our last Newsletter in 2004, the CAFA coordinators decided to temporarily stop its production. Since then, the committee has been responding to requests from students and faculty groups and organizations in Africa for support and assistance, but we have not launched any new initiatives. Our main project in this period has been our cooperation in the publication of a book produced by Richard Pithouse and other comrades in South Africa, titled *Asinamali: University Struggles in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, published in 2006 by Africa World Press (Pithouse 2006).

We have begun a rethinking of our work which we hope will be useful to other edu-activists, in the growing international struggle against the commercialization of education. Retrospectively, we can say that CAFA never succeeded in spurring on the North American campuses the type of mobilization we had envisaged. With few exceptions, the response to the anti-SAP students’ and teachers’ struggles in Africa has been tepid. US universities have capitalized on the defunding of Africa’s tertiary educational system, through the boom of study abroad programs that have often brought North American students to campuses that had been shut down by strikes or by government cuts. However, despite its failure to mobilize the North American campuses, we think that CAFA made important contributions to the struggle over education in Africa:

- For more than a decade, the CAFA newsletters have documented the experiences of student and teachers’ struggles on various African campuses, circulating information about strikes, demonstrations and other forms of protest, in addition to publishing and circulating the materials they produced. Through this activity, CAFA has been a vehicle through which people in and out of Africa have first become aware of the existence of an African student/teachers movement and of the role of education in the restructuring of Africa’s political economies.

- CAFA has been used by teachers' and students' organizations in Africa to get their demands and materials 'out' to students and educators abroad, and later to the 'anti globalization' movement. In this process, CAFA's experience was instrumental in generating a type of North/South cooperation that we now see as indispensable in all our political work.

Because of its cooperation with edu-activists in Africa, for more than a decade CAFA has provided an ongoing analysis of (a) the policies of international financial institutions (especially the World Bank) and the African states with regard to education in the context of the restructuring of the global economy, and (b) the implications of these policies for Africa's economic, political and social life. Our analysis has particularly focused on:

- the World Bank's 'adjustment' of education in Africa; and its function in the restructuring of Africa's place in the 'global economy' and international division of labour;
- the connection between the decline of the African university system and the difficulty African countries face in protecting their 'intellectual property rights' from gene-hunters and pharmaceutical prospectors;
- students and teachers' anti-adjustment struggles and the relation between students' and teachers' organizations and the state;
- the structural adjustment of African education and the migration of African labour, starting with the migration of African youth to Europe and North America.

Conclusion: CAFA's Future

Organizations should not perpetuate themselves once the objectives for which they were formed have been achieved or the conditions that made them useful no longer exist. This is why in 2004 we suspended the publication of our Newsletter. It is clear, in fact, that the struggles against the structural adjustment process in Africa have suffered a setback and a restructuring of African universities along more divisive class lines has passed. Many student and teachers organizations (especially those which were crucial reference points for CAFA's work) have been criminalized or no longer exist. Thousands of former students and activists have been expelled, many have migrated abroad, some are now employed in foreign universities, most work on assembly-lines or in garages or in distribution networks in Europe or the US. Nevertheless, 'aluta continua.' Campus enrolment in Africa has not decreased, and new forms of struggles are emerging. Most important, the adjustment of education we first observed in Africa is now becoming a reality across the world, including Europe and North America. This means that there are new possibilities calling for new organizational projects.

Indeed, we are more than ever convinced that the universities are a crucial site of resistance and struggle and are interested in connecting with the experiences of students and activists internationally, especially in the fight against the commodification of education and its restructuring along elitist lines. We are also interested in exploring how to expand, create, and support alternative forms of education within and outside the present institutions, and connecting with networks/projects/organizations working on education and gender.

Meanwhile, we are reconstructing our website where we will soon post a complete set of CAFA Newsletters and other relevant articles and documents. We are also organizing an archive with the materials produced by African teachers/students organizations (journals, bulletins, petitions etc.) that we will make available to anyone who wishes to consult it.

Last, we include a Code of Ethics we formulated in collaboration with a number of African activists, motivated by the irresponsible way in which North American educators often behaved when going to African campuses. We had no illusion that it would halt this kind of behaviour, but we found it a useful consciousness-raising tool.

Notes

1. On the anti IMF and anti-SAP struggles in African universities see above all CAFA (2000). 'We no go sit down,' was a slogan of the National Union of Ghana Students against the World Bank's Structural Adjustment Policy supported by the Rawlings government. According to this scheme, students would be 'bonded' for five years after graduation to pay the tuition fees. If they defaulted, they would be liable for the full cost of tuition fees, plus 30 percent interest.
2. On the massacre at Ahmadu Bello University see Academic Staff Union of Universities (1986).
3. There is now a huge literature on 'gene hunting' and corporate bio-piracy throughout the former colonial world. For Africa the classic is Juma (1989).
4. A good example of the 'human rights' organizations' approach to the violation of academic freedom in Africa in the early 1990s see Africa Watch (1991).
5. See CAFA (2001), and CAFA (2002).

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Appendix

Globalization and Academic Ethics

The Coordinators of the Committee for Academic Freedom in Africa
[Published in Federici, Caffentzis and Alidou 2000: 239-241]

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 'provisions should be made to ensure that at least 10 percent of all students who receive baccalaureate degrees in this country will have had a 'significant educational experience abroad during their undergraduate years' (Laubscher 1994). Equally momentous have been the efforts by U.S. administrators and funding agencies to turn American academic institutions into 'global universities' i.e. global educational centres, recruiting from and catering to an international student body.

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

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

1. The internationalization of the curriculum and academic activities is often conceived within a framework of global economic competition that turns multicultural awareness into a means of neo-colonial exploitation rather than a means of understanding and valorizing other people's histories and struggles.
2. As the National Security Education Program (NSEP) has demonstrated, the Pentagon and the CIA are the most prominent government agencies promoting and financing the internationalization of U.S. academic education. This prominence is inevitable since they, more than ever, need cosmopolitan personnel at a time when the U. S. government is openly striving for economic and military hegemony in every region of the world.

3. The globalization of U.S. universities has been facilitated by the underdevelopment of public education throughout the Third World, upon recommendations of the World Bank and IMF in the name of 'rationalization' and 'structural adjustment.'
4. In some African countries where universities have been shut down, the idle facilities are often used by American study abroad programs. These programs benefit from the cheap cost of study, and the program directors can even hire at very low wages laid off teachers and former students as helpers/facilitators.
5. U.S. teachers and college administrators are being financed by USAID to intervene in several third world and former socialist countries to (a) set up private universities; (b) restructure entire departments, schools, programs, curricula. In other words, U.S. academics are being presently employed by the U.S. government to carry on cultural/educational work abroad that suits its economic, political, and ideological objectives.

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

It is in this context that we are proposing the following 'University Teachers Code of Ethics for Global Education in Africa.' We urge you to circulate it among colleagues in the institutions where you work, at conferences, and other academic events and ask people to comment upon it. Please send your comments to one of the coordinators of CAFA as soon as possible. They will help us in the coming months to construct a final code of ethics that can be subscribed to by a substantial number of people involved in 'global education in Africa.' We intend to present the code to the organizations involved in financing or overseeing global education initiatives as well. Even more important, we want to use this declaration – amended as it might be – to promote solidarity with our African colleagues and campaign to reverse the recolonization of African universities.

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

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

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

- we will never take a position at, or cooperate with, the World Bank, the IMF, USAID, or any other organization whose policy is to expropriate Africans from the means of the production and distribution of knowledge and to devalue African people's contribution to world culture.
- we will never take advantage of the immiseration to which African colleagues and students have been reduced, and appropriate the educational facilities and resources from which African colleagues and students have been *de facto* excluded because of lack of means. Knowledge acquired under such conditions would be antagonistic to the spirit of multiculturalism and scholarly solidarity.
- we will consult with colleagues and activists in the countries where we carry on research, so as to ensure that our research answers the needs of the people it studies, and is shaped with the cooperation of people whose lives will be affected by it, rather being dictated by funding agencies' agendas.

