Division of Higher Education
UNESCO Forum on Higher Education, Research and Knowledge

PROCEEDINGS

Academic Freedom Conference

"Problems and Challenges in Arab and African Countries"

10 – 11 September, 2005
Alexandria, Egypt

Abdalla R. Bubtana
Editor

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ON ACADEMIC FREEDOM CONFERENCE
"PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGESIN ARAB AND AFRICAN COUNTRIES"

PROCEEDINGS

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Foreword

The Academic Freedom Conference: Problems and Challenges in Arab and African Countries, convened in Alexandria 10 – 11 September, 2005, was indeed a challenging and timely event. The conference was organized by UNESCO in cooperation with important partners such as Codesria, the Arab and African Research Centre in Cairo, the Swedish Institute in Alexandria and hosted by the Bibliotheca Alexandrina. The meeting brought together distinguished academicians and researchers from both regions.

The theme of the conference in these two regions is not new as it has been the centre of debates of many previous conferences and fora. However the issues and challenges relevant to this theme persist and are subjected to negotiation and renegotiations between the various stakeholders. In spite of the positive changes that have taken place in many countries in terms of establishing democratic systems of governments, academic freedom seems to remain subjected to restrictions and infringements in most of these. This situation prompts academicians to continue their struggle to achieve academic freedom and institutional autonomy, which they consider instrumental for development and for the construction of knowledge societies. This aspect was made clear by the participants who considered that restricting academic freedom limits the capacities of countries in knowledge generation, dissemination and application. This aspect is crucial for achieving development and welfare and contributing to the global knowledge pool. Another vital challenge is bridging the existing knowledge gap which separates developing and developed countries.

The conference clearly indicated that barriers to academic freedom, in spite of some relaxed policies in some countries, persist in both so-called democratic, non-democratic states, and in occupied and war torn areas. Many expressed opinions linking the level of academic freedom to the general freedoms available in such socio-political contexts.

One important contribution made by the conference was its attempt to draw attention to the global forces, which, in addition to national circumstances, will lead to redefining the concept and practice of academic freedom. It was affirmed that the communication revolution and the trends of globalization will have profound impact not only on academic freedom but also on the higher education system as a whole. This will affect its mission, structure, content and the way teaching and research are being conducted and delivered. On this basis, the conference called for a redefined concept of academic freedom taking into consideration both local and global factors. This particular aspect is of a great interest to UNESCO in its attempt to help systems of higher education face current issues and challenges in all regions of the world.

The interest of UNESCO in academic freedom and this particular conference is based on the Organization's mandate to promote freedom of expression, freedom of speech, education as human right and other freedoms clearly stated in international conventions and in the Declaration of Human Rights itself.

This publication contains the proceedings of The Academic Freedom Conference: Problems and Challenges in Arab and African Countries. For UNESCO, the valuable contributions made, the clarity of the debate and the concrete recommendations adopted, constitute an important milestone in the ongoing review of this subject at the international level. It is in this context that the Organization is producing this publication with the hope that it will enrich the literature on the issues and challenges facing academic freedom in developing countries.

Georges Haddad
Director
Division of Higher Education

INTRODUCTION

Abdalla R. Bubtana
Editor

Academic Freedom: The Context

There is no doubt that academic freedom is a complex concept that cannot be analyzed from one perspective or within a unified context. Although there is almost a consensus among academicians and social scientists about the definition of this concept as being the freedom to undertake teaching and research in a free and unrestricted manner and the ability to publish research findings without fear of political and social consequences, the interpretation of this concept has been different in various social and political contexts. This is largely dependent on or linked to the general freedoms prevailing in national political systems. In democratic systems of government, academic freedom is usually guaranteed even if the state is totally financing the academic system. However, in non-democratic systems, this freedom is frequently restricted and often infringed upon, particularly if messages conveyed by academicians and researchers are not in line or in conformity with the political philosophy or orientations of the ruling governments. In this case, the source of funding does not really count or have an impact on the level of restrictions or infringements imposed since private and public institutions are equal.

Academic institutions, in a good number of Arab and African countries, have been struggling during their post independence eras to gain academic freedom and institutional autonomy which they consider important not only for playing their role as a watchdog for society but also for nations to construct knowledge societies in which knowledge generation, dissemination, and application are the decisive factors involved. In any context where academic freedom is restricted or limited, the ability of academicians and researchers to produce and use knowledge for the welfare of society is impeded.

From the presentations delivered at the conference, it was clear that the political systems in certain Arab and African contexts, in spite of some relaxed polices in a number of countries, are not yet conducive to full fledged academic freedom. Even in emerging democratic systems, academic freedom still suffers from various types of restrictions and infringements by the state.

Academic Freedom and the Knowledge Deficit

The knowledge and development gaps that exist between Arab and African countries and the industrialized countries are widening. Most of these gaps can be easily attributed to a lack of academic freedom and to the inability of higher education institutions to produce and apply knowledge. The UNDP has attributed the low ranking of many developing countries on the Human Development Index (HDI) to what it described as "knowledge deficit". The World Bank also indicated that developing and transitional countries risk being further marginalized in a highly competitive world economy, because their tertiary education systems are not adequately prepared to capitalize on the creation and use of knowledge. One of the main causes of this crisis is the lack of academic freedom. In this situation, infringements of this freedom have many adverse consequences which prevent effective remedial action to ensure knowledge generation and application.

The Academic Freedom Conference: Problems and Challenges in Arab and African Countries from which this publication is produced, raised a number of issues related to academic freedom in various socio-political contexts. Although these may vary, the conference highlighted the common problems faced by academicians and higher education institutions in the majority of Arab and African countries. There was a convergence of opinion among the participants that restrictions and infringements of academic freedom have caused great damage in most countries, causing them to lag behind other regions both in knowledge generation and application and in terms of their development level. Problems ranged from increased instances of the brain drain to underdeveloped systems of research and higher education and the incapacity of most countries to contribute to the global knowledge pool, thus rendering them consumers of knowledge only.

The conference stated that academic freedom and institutional autonomy have been historically under threat and always subject to negotiations between institutions, the state, the unions and all social actors concerned. This situation is not confined to developing countries alone as infringements of academic freedom caused by various factors can be found in certain periods of Europe's history. However, in Arab and African countries, this seems to have occurred under specific circumstances. Violations and restrictions have originated not only from the state, whether democratic or not, but also from fundamentalists, political activists and occupying powers.

Academic Freedom: The Need for Redefinition

In trying to define academic freedom and develop indicators and benchmarks, the conference insisted that the traditional definition of this concept needs to be revisited, taking into consideration the current interaction amongst national, regional and global factors. The impact of privatization, liberalization of trade in higher education, the unprecedented advancement in Information and Communication Technology (ICT) and the trend towards worldwide globalization will definitely have impact on the nature and scope of academic freedom and institutional autonomy. Participants underlined the importance of ICT in removing some barriers to disseminating and publishing research findings on the Internet, thereby avoiding government restrictions and censorships. One participant wondered whether there would be "electronic academic freedom" in the same way as there is "e-democracy". The impact of the prevailing global problems such as the aftermath of September 11th 2001, and their impact regarding restrictions on study abroad and academic mobility were underlined by the conference. All these factors contribute to the need to redefine the concept, scope and the practice of academic and intellectual freedoms. As a result, the conference recommended the elaboration of new indicators and benchmarks for this purpose in the context of the communication revolution. The conference thus adopted a recommendation calling upon the partners to elaborate a new convention on this issue to be endorsed by academics worldwide.

Various tools and mechanisms adopted by states to restrict and limit academic freedom were also highlighted during the debates. These include censorship, dictated priorities of research and funding, appointed rather than elected institutional management, the illegality of academic and student unions and sometimes the imprisonment of university professors and researchers. In some parts of the two regions, professors and students have been assassinated or deported. According to participants, these practices remain in force in most political regimes of the region, whether democratic or not. It was noted that academic freedom does not exist in a vacuum but depends, to a large extent, on the existence of other social freedoms such as freedom of expression, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom to form unions and so on. In the absence of these freedoms, which, itself, constitutes a clear violation of human rights, there would be no sense in talking about or struggling to achieve academic freedom. Nevertheless, participants believed that this situation should not prevent academicians from striving to gain this right. In these contexts, social, cultural and political factors play an instrumental role in reshaping concepts of academic freedom and institutional autonomy at the national level.

Moreover, given the current global context in which higher education systems exist and operate, two important aspects stimulated animated debate during the conference. These were the communication revolution and the irreversible trend towards globalization in all parts of the world. It was affirmed that these two factors will have a profound effect not only on academic freedom but also on higher education systems everywhere in terms of their mission, structure, content, standards, financing, management and governance.

The Impact of the Communication Revolution

The conference concluded that the traditional concepts of academic freedom are no longer congruent with the challenges resulting from the communication revolution. This has transformed university research, teaching and outreach and, as well, has changed how universities are organized, financed and managed. Furthermore, it has democratized communication and has freed individuals from certain types of restrictions particularly those relevant to knowledge dissemination and exchange such as the online publishing of research results. It was noted that, though Arab and African universities are striving to take advantage of the communication revolution and to enjoy the benefits of the knowledge society, ICT are still peripheral to the modernization process in most of these institutions. One conclusion reached was that, without academic freedom and a strong ICT infrastructure, nations cannot effectively build knowledge societies nor contribute to the global knowledge pool. For the same reason, the development and digital divides between developing and developed countries will become more serious in the future. The conference thus recommended sending a message to political leaders to signal the importance of knowledge for development. The message implicitly indicated that infringements upon academic freedom are not conducive to knowledge production, dissemination and application and that the knowledge deficit is one of the main reasons for underdevelopment.

The Impact of Globalization

Globalization is another factor which is influencing all aspects of higher education and will have also an impact on the concept and practice of academic freedom Already, globalization, fuelled by the communication revolution, has brought with it major changes that affect all social , cultural and political systems all over the world . Hence, we see the emergence of a global knowledge-based economy, which has drastically changed socio-economic imperatives, gradually diminished the role of the state in financing public services (including education), and facilitated the liberalization of trade in services and the growth of a corporate culture in higher education. These trends have changed both the ways and conditions under which teaching, research, publishing and disseminating of knowledge are delivered. Furthermore, they make the terms of the debates on academic freedom less clear and even more complex. It is in this context that academic freedom becomes a truly global issue rather than a purely national concern. The conference stated that, while neo-liberal globalization has in some ways increased possibilities for academic freedom, it also poses many formidable challenges for this concept and for the autonomy of higher education institutions. The issues will become more complex if and when the GATS agreement is approved and enforced since this may lead to the further expansion of private and trans-boarder institutions of higher education. At that time, important questions will be posed. Who oversees and violates academic freedom? Is this the role of the state or of the private sector? Who are the decision-makers: the business community or the citizenry? In addition, certain global mechanisms need to be established to oversee this freedom. It is almost sure that there will be a further shift in the funding of higher education from the state to the private sector. This is a decisive factor for academic freedom and institutional autonomy and yet the impact of this has not been sufficiently analyzed.

These trends and changes, caused by globalization and the communication revolution, have met some resistance in certain Arab and African countries. But this is difficult as countries do not wish to risk marginalization in the global environment. Furthermore, these factors will create new future realities and challenges, which must be immediately addressed, particularly those relevant to higher education in general, and academic freedom and institutional autonomy in particular. A separate conference may be needed to discuss these developments in a more concrete manner.

Future Challenges

From the aforesaid observations, a number of key future challenges can be articulated:

Continuing the struggle for academic freedom
The struggle to gain academic freedom and institutional autonomy in most Arab and African countries continues. Restrictions and infringements persist and take different forms in different countries and under all types of political regimes. While governments and political regimes may be bear major responsibility in this domain, other actors are also involved.

Ensuring effective mechanisms for redress
Restrictions and violations vary. Reprisals are possible if academicians oppose or criticize the government agenda or attempt to convey messages that are not in conformity with political orientation of the state. More effective mechanisms for redress are urgent in many countries of the two regions concerned by this conference.

Promoting academic freedom as a factor for development
The adverse affects of these restrictions on academic freedom were documented in detail by the conference. Empirical evidence has confirmed the link between knowledge and development as well as the competitive advantages of nations which have these systems. Participants in the conference sent a firm signal to their political leaders indicating that if academic freedoms are not established and respected, there is no hope for Arab and African nations to achieve development and bridge the existing gaps.

Harvesting the specific benefits of globalization and of ICT
While globalization and the communication revolution have positive advantages for nations and their economic systems, they also pose major challenges; as long as the digital gap continues to grow between developed and developing countries, the potential benefits of ICTs to modernize the delivery of teaching and research and to encourage the practice academic freedom cannot be harvested. Even if ICTs are not yet effectively harnessed for education and research in many African and Arab states, due to various factors, the accelerating changes elsewhere in the world mean that these systems are increasingly marginalized. Consequently, the traditionally adopted concept of academic freedom needs to be revisited and redefined, both for Arab and African systems and also at the global level.

Linking academic freedom to effective higher education governance and management
Academic freedom and institutional autonomy are closely linked to the governance and management of higher education and research institutions. Globalization will bring about changes which will lead to a new reality in which traditional higher education might be converted into a range of services offered by different providers, both public and private. The question then arises as which recognizable and accountable authority holds these arrangements together. This issue is clearly linked to academic freedom. That is why new definitions are

needed in terms of the concept, its practice and its protection. Whether current changes in areas such as governance structures, public and private funding, and cross-border provision will ultimately ease government intervention in academic affairs will be determined in the future. What is sure is that these are inescapable realities which will affect all countries, whatever their development level may be.

In conclusion, these remarks are intended to illustrate why the topic of this conference – namely, a review of academic freedom as a condition for attaining equitable access to the knowledge economy - was the subject of a necessary and timely debate. In this regard, the stakes are very high given the challenging development agenda for the Arab and African regions and since the pace of knowledge generation and innovation for social progress is accelerating worldwide. Countries must act swiftly to prevent their further marginalization. In the current context it is more important than ever that academicians secure their rights to teach, to undertake and publish research so as to help construct their own knowledge societies in a free and open climate and without fear of negative consequences.

Part I

**The Evolution of the Concept of Academic Freedom
and University Autonomy in Arab and African Countries**

Social and Human Sciences and Academic Freedom: Historiographic Practices in Algeria and the Arab World.

Hassan Remaoun
Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Oran
Centre of Research in Social and Cultural Anthropology (CRASC,Oran)

Abstract

After the emergence of the Universities of the XIII Century, a great deal of progress has been achieved by humanity in terms of acquisition of academic knowledge and the critical thought which conditioned it. The Results achieved seem to be unequally spread according to disciplines, cultural zones as well as geo-political considerations. This is the case sometimes also for Darwinian paradigm, natural sciences or social and human sciences, socio-anthropology, linguistics and history.

So, education and research activities are often threatened by limitations and restrictions on academic freedom due to censor practiced by the state, religious institutions and more generally by society and the various ideologies active in the social context.

We are particularly interested, in this contribution; in the situation of histographic practices in the Arab world and the case of the Algerian society, which has been marked profoundly by its colonial past and the recency of national state established after the independence of the country.

More precisely we raised the question of the official policy vis-à-vis 'writing and re-writing history' and its impact on the relations between history and memory, national and colonial history, between histography and practice, and teaching of other social science disciplines. We do not ignore the view that the practice of histography in the Arab-Muslim world is of an origin which goes back to the beginning of the Islamic era.

Historiography as social practice and critical knowledge in relation to academic freedoms.

Thought and critical learning have, since the emergence of Universitas in Europe in the XIII century, been confronted with shortcomings due to the absence of academic freedoms, whether caused by direct intervention by the state, religious institution or society itself. Much progress was certainly accomplished as centuries and decades went by but this remained unequally spread according to disciplines, civilizational Aures as well as geopolitical considerations. In numerous countries the question can be sometimes posed for natural sciences (for example the Darwinian paradigm), even more so for all that concerns demystified knowledge of society: socio-anthropology, hermeneutics and linguistics, and of course the discipline of history both in its teaching practices and in research. Politics (or politico - religious) forcefully intervenes here, above all by orchestrating confusion, often cultivated, between historical critiques, memory (memories) in general and national history in particular.

It is commonly admitted that if 'memory' and 'history' are both related to the past, they are far from covering the same realities. It is Maurice HALBWACHS who noted that "all collective memory has as its support a group limited in space and in time. When looking upon its past, the group feels that it has remained as such and takes cognizance of its identity throughout the passage of time."

On the other hand, "history is the collection of events which have occupied the largest space in the memory of men. But read in books, taught and learned in schools, past events are selected, reported and classified according to necessities or rules that were not imposed on groups of men who have kept this heritage alive. In general, history only commences at a moment when tradition ends, a moment when social memory decomposes or flickers out."(1)

The problem is that with upheavals sweeping across the contemporary world: international restructuring, crises, proliferation of publication and audio-visual techniques, emergence in the past decades of dozens of new States who are already in a stage of '*national discontent',* identity reversion and the will of many social categories to avoid abandonment by history. One can see an abundance of writings, films and other manifestations, commemorations and documents that pertain to what has become ethno – history, or rather the 'duty' of memory.

With the concerns highlighted by what will be broadly called New history and historic anthropology, researchers seem to want to gain from this demand for memory, even if it means critically looking at their own practice (2), and fine-tuning their methodological approach, while bearing in mind that:

"Because it is affective and magical, memory accommodates itself only with details that comfort it. It nourishes itself with blurred, telescopic, global or drifting recollections, specific or symbolic, sensitive to all transfers, screens, censorship or projection. History, because it is an intellectual and secular operation, calls for analysis and critical discourse. Memory situates remembrance in the realm of the sacred, while history banishes it, and always renders it prosaic" (3).

The problem however is that academic historiography is not always 'critical and secular' and its institutional nature could also legitimize, which in turn give rise to 'counter histories' according to Marc Ferro (4), often functioning in fact on the same model. Universal history has long been marked by the preeminence of Europe and its western-centrist imprint, a situation that is was bound to produce a turnaround in the shape of decolonization and emergence of the Third World. The ongoing decolonization of history since independence is confused with the fabrication of national histories, on the same model as that witnessed in Europe as of XVIII and XIX centuries and compounded by the fragility of the university institution in nascent States. This could inspire governing leaders and official ideologues to impose their own discourse on professional historians. The study of the case of the Arab World in general and Algeria in particular, can, from this perspective, help us to better define the problem.

1) Colonialism, nationalism and history in Algeria

Similar to every state fighting for independence, the Algerian state conceived on 5 July 1962 sought to draw its legitimacy from history and above all, from what is called by the Algerian side, the War of Liberation. However, such attempt by a State to undertake historic discourse as a means for legitimization has handicapped historiographic research.

Until recently, official discourse differentiated between 'Rewriting history', which concerns the critique of colonial historiography and more generally the history of events prior to 1954, and Writing history which concerns the period of the War of National Liberation. Certainly, the aspect of "Writing history" aroused more attention from the regime due to its consequences on political life in Algeria. In this domain, the stakes in terms of the ideological- political control of the census or diffusion within society of the events that marked the revolutionary war constitute the major preoccupation of the powers that be.

In Algerian history, the stake represented by the War of Liberation is all the more important because the shock that led to the break with the colonial order was particularly brutal and left its mark on the memories of several generations of women and men who are still alive. Moreover, in the context of the struggle for political power by different groups, which heightened shortly after independence was attained, the best for each group was to find historic reasons proving that it was the most representative and deserving during the war against the occupier.

With regard to the period prior to the war, official Algerian discourse resorted to what it called Rewriting of history, namely to the redundant theme of falsification of history by colonialism. This accusation is specified in the Algerian Charter of 1964 (on the first page), and in the National Charter of 1976 (the first lines of the chapter on Cultural Revolution). This was also mentioned in dealing with the history of the War of Liberation, for example, by President Houari Boumedienne. He declared in May 1968 that: "Writings on the Algerian revolution by foreigners have not reflected reality. Algerian intellectuals have not played the expected role in this domain." Once this accusation was addressed without nuance, the State considered that it was its duty to remedy this situation by inviting historians and educators to play a political role, and " to consider the prospects of national development in Algeria, beginning with the interests of the most disadvantaged categories of the Algerian people" (Charter of Algiers). Moreover, to teach " the historic and revolutionary experience of a nation that has come a long way in time as well as covering the stages of a long and resolute turbulent process that culminated today in institutional independence and socialist democracy." (National Charter)

In the face of the apology for French domination (illustrated by Gustave Mercier, Stephane Gsell or Emile-Felix Gautier), Algerian historians, well versed in Arabic and close to the National Movement, more particularly the reformist *ulemas,* such as Mubarek El Mili, Tewfik El Madani and Abderrahmane El Djilali, have, since the 1930s, forged a counter discourse in favour of nationalism. They proposed a history "that stands as proof of peoples' existence, the book where their power is inscribed, where the resurrection of their conscience takes place, the road to their unity, the springboard of their progress…" The Algerian is invited " to venerate his country, to glorify its radiant and glorious history, to have confidence in its brilliant and spectaclular future". In the 1950s and 1960s, nationalist history gained even more stringent methodology at the hands of authors such as Mohamed Sherif Sahli, Mahiedine Djender and above all Mostefa Lacheraf (5).

If national ideology has had to draw massively on historic discourse, the national State, ultimate avatar of nationalism marked by its origins, attended to the practice of historiography with the greatest attention. Certainly, it took upon itself to attack the stigmas of colonial ideology in order to better entrench the bases of recently won independence. However, it was also the area for all types of antagonisms between diverse sensitivities within the National Movement – each striving to demonstrate that it can best express national concept and was therefore worthy of holding the reins of political power. These antagonisms intensified in the wake of independence for the common enemy, the colonizer, was no longer there to stimulate a unanimous and consensual behaviour. The colonizer though was always absent-present, in the sense that independence could only be of a formal nature, concealing neo-colonial machinations. This is all the more so because the clash of interests in post-colonial society is often marked by an absence of transparency, hiding behind the long concluded confrontation. In fact, the concealment of the different stakes in the course of a long period prompts others to delve as much as possible into the ideological discourse stemming from anti-colonial resistance, nationalism and populism in particular.

The armed struggle and the establishment of the National liberation front (FLN) certainly marked a rupture with what had preceded, but they come within the scope of continuity in the overall tradition of National Movement, with all its constituent organizations and political parties. Furthermore, marginalizing and devaluing the period preceding 1954 through Mohamed Harbi calls the "myth of the *tabula rasa*)(6) ", aims at justifying a posteriori the single post-independence party. This trend also spread within

the Arab World since the Egyptian revolution of July 1952. It all seems to occur as if populism, which gained political power in various Arab countries, wanted to rid itself of this intense intellectual upheaval (visible in theatre, cinema, literature, music, clubs, etc.), social (in trade union activity, strikes, nascent feminism, etc.), and politics (in parties, newspapers, associations, petitions, etc.) which evokes the beginnings of a civil society (7).

Demographic pressure and the policy linguistic Arabization have in fact largely contributed to changing the cultural physiognomy of Algerian society in thirty years. The desire to exorcise and the identity crisis inherited from colonial times, accentuated after independence, have undoubtedly lead to excessive idealization of the pre-colonial past and over-representation in cultural and ideological diffusion of everything emanating from the Arab and Islamic East. An analysis of history textbooks utilized in Algerian schools indicate that in 1992, the space (in pages and chapters) allocated for the Middle East is three times that given to Algeria and the entire Maghreb region (8).The massive call for Middle Eastern cooperation to respond to the imperative of Arabization (9), and this in all school stages (from primary to higher education) has profoundly affected the content conveyed by teachers, particularly those of history, literature, philosophy and civic and religious instruction. Islamic seminars and meetings were highlighted by the media while sermons and speeches of others completed the rest It was not only the history of the War of Liberation that was censored, but entire tracts of Algerian past (and present) were reinterpreted or reshaped through the use of screens and ideological criteria elaborated in other Arab and Muslim societies. Hence, the Algerian revolution confined to anonymity, cedes its place to fabricated "heroes" of all sorts introduced to youth as role models.   In this game, only a fraction of what was *ulema* Movement*, allied to those in power, appear to have saved their skin. However, did they save their soul?

2)   Restructuring the fields of social disciplines and new social paradigms

Utilization of the university is accompanied by restructuring academic disciplines. The old division between the sectors of literature and human sciences on the one hand and the sectors of natural sciences on the other is surpassed and replaced by a new division. Certain old disciplines of social sciences and humanities (economics, sociology... but also foreign literature is reduced to translation) are integrated with natural sciences and technology in the group of disciplines of development and edification, whereas a second group (history, anthropology, philosophy, theology, languages and Arab culture) were assigned above all the task of ideological legitimization of the socio-political system in place.

In fact, the restructuring within internal social disciplines is justified inside the education system (beginning with the primary stage) and at the level of the Arab world at large by an arbitrary division between neutral disciplines with universal vocation and somehow susceptible to technology transfer, and that which we had the occasion to call: disciplines governed by a sovereignty clause. The first of these categories has as its model or paradigm economic sciences. The second, history, the paradigms here considered being more of a social nature than an epistemological making.

How can the divorce between functions be explained, functions that are assigned to these two categories of disciplines at a time when progress of social sciences in the multi-disciplinary domain in particular requires equal treatment and greater rapprochement between them?

This redeployment corresponds to the division of functions and powers within the national State between technocratic factions or technophiles charged with undertaking socio-economic development in the country and populist factions who are more interested in ideological management.

Hence, the institutional imperative can only dominate the epistemological imperative and this will have a direct impact on the crisis of social disciplines in Algeria and the world.

The crisis of social sciences in the Arab world expresses in its own way the crisis of dominant socio-political categories which, ideologically marked as they are by populism or infatuation with technology, have proven incapable of stimulating knowledge in society. These two currents and institutions that they permeate are moreover linked to strategic interests that are not always furthered by knowledge requirements.(10) The sole remedy for this situation is a university itself constituted as an institution with knowledge as its ultimate objective, even if, let us not be mislead, neutral knowledge is difficult if not impossible to find because as elsewhere we are in the realm of social production. University surely must respond to social demand but at its own rhythm, a rhythm dictated by epistemological imperative.

Nevertheless, it is necessary to take account of the state of maturation within social and institutional forces capable of carrying out such a project in the Arab world.

3)   Historiography and populism in Algeria and the Arab world

Ever since its eruption between the two wars, populism went on to impose itself as a socio-political current present in the main hotbeds of struggle in the Arab world, organizing itself here and there as the party of the people or of the nation. Helped by the colonial system's crisis, it succeeded in becoming the principal national component in numerous countries. It was during the post-war period however, that its ascension became clear since it would progressively constitute the essential instruments of exclusive power, the army, the national State and the sole party, with characteristics to be found all over the Third World.

The political parties, which led the national movement between the two wars, are purely and simply considered as assimilated to the colonial system or as agents of its monarchical instrument. The Egyptian and Algerian Revolutions of 1952 and 1954 respectively, the rise of the Baath in Syria and Iraq, have been undertaken both in the name of the nation and against pre-existing parties. Indeed, the trend will accelerate as of the 1960s and there will be dozens of Arab countries which will allow themselves to be tempted by the one party experiment. What interests us though are the type of concepts that populism will help disseminate in the Arab world.

Early on, it will be influenced by new ideas (nationalism, Jacobinism, progressiveness, socialism…) even while drawing on certain perceptions, secular or religious, held by Arab societies of their past.

In fact, the academic references which at the beginning they could parade will gradually give way to a discourse of originality or specificity which, relying on the official monopoly of socio-political life will attack critique tradition that had began to gain ground between the two wars. Moreover, we will witness a real "Debarment of politics" (Gilles Kepel) of which religious fundamentalism (with the help of the discourse of originality) will become the main beneficiary in the medium term. (11).

To be credible and legitimate, the ideology of specificity should as we have seen, be founded as much as possible by a historian. Hence, the credo of writing history is born!

We sufficiently understand why history is particularly appreciated by the populist. Interest in the discipline resurged in the Arab world with the birth of the National Movement in its modern form and with the emergence of nationalism. In the face of colonial discourse, it was necessary to shape a counter discourse that can entrench the everlastingness of national existence by drawing from the Islamic past and sometimes from ancient pre-Islamic antiquity (12). With the emergence of the national State, there is

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certain interest among officials for contemporary history, even more so for the period immediately preceding political independence (13).

After independence, the task of the Writing and Rewriting national history will aim at legitimizing the national State and through it the action of different political groups and social forces competing for power. Moreover, the exploitation of historiography and utilization of the past for current objectives undoubtedly is not restricted to the Arab world, and examples are not lacking in this respect. (14).

Here however, the national State is too young and modern and academic practice of historiography has difficulty in imposing itself despite efforts here and there, and sometimes with positive results (15). Even in countries with a contemporary social context in many respects, similar to that which prevails at home, a major difference is apparent. The existence of a strong historiographic tradition in the Arab world, going back to the classic period, and sometimes absent in other cultural areas (16). In fact, historiography has early on played a primary ideological role in the Arab-Islamic sphere and this in two aspects at least:

- In a juridical-religious objective since it has been called upon to authenticate the Sunnah, or acts, gestures and words of the Prophet and this with a view to elaborating Fiqh. (Islamic law)

- With the aim to provide reparation of honours, functions and privileges since historiography must also contribute to the composition of tribal and family genealogies in order to know the position adopted by different groups and individuals vis à vis the Prophet as well as their family ties if any, as well as their role in Islamic expansion (17).

Hence, an old habit exists in the Arab-Muslim world to use historic research in order to justify and confirm. That goes hand in hand with the practice of omissions by censorship or neglect and with situations where the truth is pointless if it is not official.

Glorification of the past evidently permits easier recourse to this method of using history. Nevertheless, one should take into account all methodological accomplishments amassed through the centuries when contact with what takes place elsewhere was appreciated so as to encourage the emergence also here of an epistemological practice based on historiography. To achieve this, two conditions need to be fulfilled:

- to go beyond populism as an ideological horizon,
- to reconnect with the critical spirit without losing sight of history's intrinsic objective and specificity in the spectrum of social disciplines (18).

4) By way of conclusion: is history a dangerous science or a space for freedom?

It is not a distinctive feature of the Arab world or even the Third World to apprehend history as a dangerous science in the sense understood by Paul Valery.

All societies including the most modern have had an instrumental relationship with their past. The recent law voted in France (February 2005) stipulates that colonization was positive for the dominated who also gained from the benefits of western civilization, or even the silence that reigns in Japanese history books about the atrocities committed during the imperial year in all East Asia are eloquent in this regard. Different works devoted to the manipulation of the past by those still alive, indicate how this phenomenon is more or less generalized.

There is however a graded impact of the effects of memory, and certain lapses or amnesias, such as the tendency to exaggerate and generalize could break out in an extremely violent manner, provoke dissention and tragic confrontation in a fragile society, and even prompt wars between states, exacerbating introversion and ignorance, if not contempt for one another.

In fact, it is not history that is on trial, but the absence of history in terms of a critical outlook directed at the past. True historiography does not imply this narcissist view that each one has about himself, but rather consists of a sustained effort to better understand the past in order to act for the future through the present.

History is fundamentally the quest for freedom and it is only in this sense that it can bear lessons that help establish the critical spirit and demand for citizenship. It is not a coincidence if the question of the function of historiographic practice of this discipline is today forcefully posed in societies emerging from violent crises as in Algeria, South Africa or Rwanda (20).

The existence of academic freedom, while insufficient in itself, is indispensable to de-dramatize this relationship with the past. These however, assume the existence of academic institutions that took years to emerge in the West, since the first steps of Universitas.

One of the stakes of globalization which is but an enlarged reproduction of ancient structures of North-South domination, is precisely to see to it that this history of Universitas becomes a common acquisition of humanity: Let us remember that the foundation of Universitas in the XIII century was at the heart of dynamics that largely surpassed the frontiers and the framework of thinking in Europe at the time.

From Dictatorship to Democracy:
Nature and Evolution of Academic Freedoms in Mali

Isaie Dougon
University of Bamako, Mali

Abstract

How can one describe the nature and evolution of academic freedoms in a country where research institutions (private and public) are virtually non-existent? Where the State does not allocate one penny to the production and dissemination of scientific ideas? In Mali, as in most African countries, the problem of academic freedom cannot be addressed within the framework of higher education, a system that is 100% financed and run by the government (NGodi, 2004). In such a context, the crucial question for a man of science is: how to be economically dependent while remaining intellectually independent?

The professors in Mali's faculties and institutes have mostly been educated in renowned European and African universities (ex-USSR, France, Dakar, etc.) from where they returned imbued with revolutionary ideas. In exercising their profession, numerous educators do not dissociate science from their political ideas. From this perspective, the Ecole Normale Supérieure (ENSUP) has had the greatest impact on the academic world of Mali. It had the reputation of being the cradle of left wing intellectuals and political dissenters. Consequently, it became the most controlled and the most oppressed school during the years of military dictatorship (1968-1991). The junta even tried to forbid the teaching of philosophy, considering it as a discipline that is destructive to the established order. Suffocating from dictatorship, many educators fled Mali for Senegal, Cote-d'Ivoire, Gabon and Burkina-Faso from where some will return after the downfall of the military regime in 1991. Soon enough, freedom of opinion and speech became total. Did it however bring about academic freedom? Observation indicates the contrary. Since the collapse of the dictatorship, the number of those who previously animated intellectual life deserted the faculties to engage in politics. Can a man of science and literature defend or enjoy academic freedom if he chases after lucrative posts? (Grosland, 1992). In Mali, pluralist democracy penetrates the university and creates political networks that wage a bitter struggle between themselves, forging alliances that in turn impair science and academic freedom.

This paper analyses, firstly, the nature of the bottleneck that throttles academic freedom and prevents it from moving from dictatorship to democracy (case of ENSUP), secondly, the possibilities offered by the new democratic context for the emergence of a new generation of intellectuals, devoted to scientific research and interpretation of national culture in a democratic and non-violent perspective.

1 – Introduction

In Mali, as in most South Saharan African countries, academic freedom can not be treated as it would be in the case of western countries endowed for centuries with scientific institutions such as science and literature academies as well as modern universities for education and research (2).

Maurice Grolands, in Science under Control describes how, in the face of the great scientific discoveries of the French Academy of Science (1795-1914), the French government considered whether it should take control over it or leave it in the hands of scientists. Grolands explains why the Crown opted for the first proposition.

In France from early times, the government wanted to be involved in the understanding of the natural world and for several reasons. One was obviously that this new knowledge might be of practical use to the Crown. Another might have been that uncontrolled knowledge of nature could constitute a threat to the established order. A third and more positive reason was that Louis XIV wanted to be seen as the patron of learning (3).

According to Grolands, the Academy of Science was given by the French State, authority, prestige and necessary financing for the production of knowledge and its application (4). Its activities enjoyed precious legitimacy. Thanks to State support, it had significant influence on the world in terms of performance of research, publications and rewards. In its competence as an institution financed by the government, it directed practically all important research in natural science in France. The objective of the Academy was to satisfy both the needs of science and those of the State.

The issue was not only State control of science. The Academy itself possesses its own internal systems of control. It orients and controls nearly all-scientific production of the country. It decides if a scientific work is truly scientific or not. It evaluates the merits of contributions realized by researchers in the development of science. According to Grolands, control over science exercised by the Academy is more of a system of encouragement than one of restriction. Internally, censorship hardly exists but rather there is a subtle combination of recognition and reward (5). Competitiveness between researchers is the rule of the game.

If governments of developed countries (France, Germany, Great Britain) wanted to control science because of its wonders and perils (6), the same does not apply to certain African countries such as Mali where intellectuals are humiliated and mistreated. They work under inhuman conditions and, in order to survive, they must combine consultations, politics and teaching.

Before analyzing these problems, let us review the definition of academic freedom.

2 – Definition of academic freedom: the controversy

As seen in the case of France, control by the power over science is as old as science itself. The question is to what extent control can be considered as repressive. If intellectuals do not fall for the illusion of being placed under the sign of total freedom, then to what extent will they accept control, surveillance but also protection of the State? According to Grolands, each one should be left to decide if State control over science - in part political and financial – can be considered repressive. Paul Tyambe Zeleza believes that it is easier to defend academic freedom than to define it:

> Like most values or virtues, academic freedom is simpler to defend in its breach than to define. Defenses and definitions of academic are as much conceptual as they are contextual, subject to intellectual, institutional, and ideological transformation within the wider society and the academic itself (7).

As is often the case, the cultural, political and social context of African and Arab countries excludes all radical rationalism in regard to academic freedom. Richard Jacquemond, in an article on the intellectual scene in Egypt, sheds light on the relationship between the socio-cultural environment and freedom. He illustrates this analysis with the Statement of that Egyptian intellectual, law professor and secular militant:

> To demand unbridled and unlimited freedom of opinion would be socially irresponsible and culturally harmful if one lives in a society where the majority of the population is illiterate and where the values of dialogue are absent (…) all of which make opinion a social responsibility rather than a personal freedom (8).

The term 'control' as demonstrated by Grolands, has gone through several interpretations: from the most authoritarian to the most liberal. In all countries, political control underwent considerable change and evolution. In general, the initial restrictions evolved towards a more indirect and flexible method of control. Is there bad control and good control?

Several studies indicate that in European countries, the connection between the scientist and the State evolved towards a relationship of adversity in complementarities.

In Sub-Saharan Africa, on the other hand, the relation between the academic and political is that of a spider to a fly.

The offensive to intimidate intellectuals in Africa commenced in the years 1970-80 when they opposed the oppression of the dictatorship of families, corruption and embezzlement of public property. However, in the years 1950-1960 they were honoured by political and scientific forums in Africa (9). Concerning this point, the distinction made by Gerard Leclerc between a European intellectual and his counterpart in nascent decolonized countries is pertinent. He writes:

> Is he not the spokesperson, the spearhead, the most advanced element, the avant-garde of his country in the processes of modernization and westernization that impacts society as a whole, the entire culture from which he emanates? The intellectual is member of a relatively large socio-professional category, a group that is socially, institutionally and ideologically recognized. The westernized intellectual is often a well-known politician, sometimes a powerful Statesman, whose words enflame the masses (Nehru, Sukarno, Nasser, Senghor, Nkrumah). How can one compare him to the discreet European scientist, specialized academic of Islam or Confucian China, an expert whose discourse can only be accessed in publications? (10).

In Mali, a military junta overthrew less than a decade after independence, the civilian government of Modibo Keita. Among intellectuals, the euphoria of restored freedoms, pan African ideals and awakening of political conscience of the masses were soon dissipated leaving behind constant rivalry between them and the junta. Political resistance penetrated grand schools and lycées. The General Directorate of Security Services became the instrument to control the academic milieu, perceived as an environment 'infected' by communism and revolutionary romanticism.

In a country where the State does not allow in its cultural and media organs the development of dissenting tendencies and opinions, intellectuals (professors) have no other means to decipher the silences in official discourse but to espouse principles such as truth and justice. The question is: should academics be mixed up in politics as do militants in Paris?

According to Habernas, university is not the venue for demonstrating political decisions but an ideal one to discuss politics "if and to what extent that this discussion in fundamentally governed by the same rules of rationality which scientific reflection takes place" (11). He believes that the study of the structural connection between university and politics allows one to understand the intense struggle of students for civic and political rights inside and outside university.

3 – Academic freedom at the interface of education and politics.

Let us return to Habernas. In his essay 'The University in a Democracy – Democratization of the University' he maintains that university, in addition to producing and transmitting exploitable technical knowledge, must assume three other responsibilities:

First, the university has the responsibility for ensuring that its graduates are equipped, no matter how indirectly, with a minimum of qualification in the area of extra functional abilities […] Second, it belongs to the task of university to transmit, interpret, and develop the cultural tradition of the society [...] Third, the university has always fulfilled a task that is not easy to define; today we would say that it forms the political consciousness of its students (12).

In Mali, the reform of national education in 1962 explicitly included the three supplementary tasks of the university analyzed by Habernas. According to this reform, the Malian school's mission is to decolonize the mind. It has to create a new citizen who will be the artisan of the new Mali (13). President Modibo Keita considered that this pedagogical task was essential for a Mali that wishes to chose its own destiny and have access to its history (14). The official ideology proclaimed that Mali required man-citizen instead of diploma holder man-sandwich.

However, having just entered the spotlight in 1960, Mali toppled into obscurantism in 1968 from which it will only exit in 1991, year of the democratic revolution. Since then, the Malian cultural and intellectual scene is one of a double paradox: Although the country enjoys international acclaim (receiving significant financial handouts) because of its democracy and that men of culture and science govern it, university life deteriorates and university personnel are caught up in politics.

Habernas' thesis, according to which university is a place for political debate and not for the exercise of politics, is certainly valid in the West. It will not be as such in African countries where only intellectuals are capable of understanding the difficult political conditions of the people's existence. Consequently, they cannot offer themselves the luxury of the European intellectual, comfortably enclosed in his ivory tower. Let us describe the example of the political militancy of UNSUP professors in order to comprehend the process of "politicization of faculties" in Mali.

The professors in Mali's faculties and institutes have mostly been educated in renowned European and African universities (ex-USSR, France, Dakar etc.) from where they returned imbued with revolutionary ideas. In exercising their profession, numerous educators do not dissociate science from their political ideas. From this perspective, the Ecole Normale Supérieure (ENSUP) has had the greatest impact on the academic world of Mali. It had the reputation of being the cradle of left wing intellectuals and political dissenters. Consequently, it became the most controlled and the most oppressed school during the years of military dictatorship (1968-1991).

Certain professors inspired non-political organizations. Most of them militated in clandestine parties such as le Parti Africain pour l'Intégration (PIA), le Parti Malien du Travail (PMT) and le Parti Malien de la Révolution et de la Démocratie (PMRD) (15).

All this proves the highly political character of intellectuals' involvement. Professors gave themselves a political mission: to evict the putschists from power. Mostly leftists, they contested the coup d'Etat of 1968 and as a manoeuvre prepared by French imperialism with a view to returning in force to the country. The military junta reinforced its repression as testified by Professor Victor Sy:

On 17 April 1969, a wave of arbitrary arrests, sequestration, cruelty and torture struck educators in ENSUP such as Mamadou Doucoure, known as 'V-zero', the dean Abderahamane Baba Tour and five other intellectuals, militants from PMT (Parti malien du travail). They had merely expressed their opinion on the situation in the country, and in their journal l'ABEILLE. They would be condemned to 18 months in prison… (16).

Nationalist sentiment united intellectuals from all sides: Marxist-Leninists, pan-Africans, right wing intellectuals and independents. They clearly expressed, as of November 19, 1968 an explicit political commitment. Graduate and secondary school teachers were the first to organize patriotic demonstrations on 20 and 25 November 1968 planned and executed by professors such as Abdramane Baba Toure, Victor Sy, Kary Dembele and Bernard Sissoko.

This brief description of the professors' militancy indicates how school and politics became intertwined. However, when this touches upon the interests of the junta in power, we will see that under the pretext of fighting Marxist and revolutionary ideologies, authorities have, with unprecedented barbarism, violated academic freedom hence delivering a blow against the production of ideas and the emergence of a scientific community.

Three vicious attacks against academic freedom draw our attention. The first was the violation in 1977 of the constitutional right that guarantees freedom of education and research. The second was the suppression in 1980 of the students association in order to replace it by a structure affiliated to the single party in 1979. Finally, the third and most savage, was spying on the courses given by professors by controlling student copybooks or their cassette-audio recordings similar to video surveillance lately applied in developed countries. These flagrant violations led professors and students to close ranks against the military rule and later against the single party.

3.1. Violation of the constitutional right to education and research

In Africa, demonstrations in the campus reached such a magnitude in the last ten years that even public authorities stood helpless. In Mali, the population believes that it was thanks to the action taken by students and pupils that civil society supported by a handful of the military, overturned the authoritarian regime of Moussa Traore. This entitled them to a position in the transitional government in 1997. Since then, certain observers decried the over politicization of student organizations. The awakening of political conscience among students led to the prevalence of agitation over education and the will to learn (17). How did this arrive?

In order to understand, it is necessary to review the decree promulgated in January 1977, which violates the inalienable right of students to education and research. The decree stipulates that access to all graduate schools will henceforth take place by direct and professional competitive examination open to holders of the school diploma of the current year and workers who fulfil all required conditions. The indignation and anger vented by students and professors was very acute to the extent that Colonel Tiekoro Bagayogo, Director General of Security services who had the privilege of emptying said decree of its content. At a meeting on 1st February 1997 at the Ecole Nationale d'Administration, with those responsible for students, he explained in three points why the reform was amended:

- ENSUP will not be a depository to receive students above its capacity.
- Financing high education poses a problem to the State. That is why the number of students in higher learning will be limited.
- The competition exam for entry to higher education will enable the State to send back to the land the unsuccessful candidates.

He concluded his speech in a menacing tone: "We will not tolerate disorder and disturbance of the public order. We will not hesitate to close schools in case of strikes. You have no idea about the meaning of a strike. Ask those of 1971, they will inform you" (18).

In fact, the decree aimed at weakening ENSUP in order to minimize its influence on the mobilization of the academic world against the authoritarian regime in power. Placing high education under the control of Security Services is the gravest crime committed by the junta against the intelligentsia. The aftermath of the decree is known: more than three months of strikes, arbitrary arrests of professors and students. Not only has the regime not withdrawn its famous decree but it invented another strategy to control the school: to impose by force the one party in schools.

3.2. The forced implantation of the one party in school and students' resistance

On 13 March 1977, le Union Nationale des Eleves et Etudiants du Mali was created to combat anti-academic reforms imposed by the military junta that annulled their right to education and free association. On 9 March 1977, strikes broke out everywhere despite the repressive mechanism in place. The students chanted "Down with Moussa!", "Long Live Modibo". According to M. Barry the former leader of the student movement, the indirect consequence of these strikes lead to the assassination of Modibo on 17 May 1977.

In 1979, students and pupils will go on to radicalize their movement when the new one party attempted to install the Union Nationale des Jeunes du Mali (UNJM), a youth structure of the Party in universities and lycées. Henceforth, the authorities under the political prism scrutinized all student protests. Scholastic and student unrest is perceived as a planned and orchestrated political act by professors, mostly from ENSUP (19). In l'ESSOR of 4 March 1980, we read the following: The origin of school unrest goes back to February 1979 when the Union National des Etudiants et Eleves du Mali (UNEEM) decided to boycott the Journées d'Etudes (Study Days) intended to prepare for the Congrès Constitutif (Constituent Congress) of the 'UDPM."

Despite the threats by the authorities, UNEEM stuck to its position. In a declaration on 1st May 1979, it expressed its decision not to tolerate UNJM in school. This was confirmed in an open letter to the national council of UNJM held on 6 – 7 September 1979. The executive central bureau of the party determined that the students' decision was unacceptable and entailed grave consequences. Given that INEEM had clearly expressed its intention not to merge its activity with INJM, it expected to stand in opposition to the sole organization of Malian youth, to the political option of the Union Democratique du Peuple Malien.

That is why the strikes characterized by street demonstrations, destruction of public and private buildings continued with serious damage to people and property despite a memorandum concluded between the government and UNEEM. The government did not delay carrying out its threats. On 5 September 1979, it closed all higher and secondary education institutions. Furthermore, it completed its repressive act by dissolving UNEEM on 15 January 1980. According to its logic, it undertook this action to preserve the unity of Malian youth and to create UNJM Committees in all schools. Henceforth, it was UNJM that would be charged with dealing with school problems namely: the conditions of studies and life in these establishments. By breaking up these free student organizations, the authorities delivered a mortal blow to academic freedom, a blow whose consequences were manifested in the fury of the students' uprising in March 1991.

3.3. Spying on courses given by professors

To spy on lectures whose content may run counter to the interests of the military junta was the most vicious form of violation of academic freedom. We have moreover underlined the fact that higher and secondary educations were placed under the despotic control of the "Direction Général des Services de Sécurité."

On this point, the UNSUP professors and their products, that is the secondary school teachers were the most controlled and repressed. The reason is simple, for UNSUP is a school for social sciences: philosophy, history, literature, sociology, pedagogy, etc... The reform of 1962 gave these disciplines a revolutionary aspect. In history, the French revolution of 1789 was emphasized, as well as the Russian, Chinese and Vietnamese revolutions, etc. Marxism-Leninism, dominated philosophy. Geography strongly underlined the causes of under-development.

The junta considered this material, especially philosophy, as subversive sciences. According to Professor Issa N'Diaye (18), agents of the Direction Générale des Services de Sécurité (DGSS) infiltrated ENSUP. Often, uniformed men entered classes to record lectures of so-called "dissident" professors on tape. Moreover, some professors were often beaten up after finishing their course.

Between 1980 and 1985, the teaching of philosophy was forbidden. Professors were moved to public services where they had nothing to do. In 1985, the military regime assigned philosophy courses to physics professors after purifying it of its subversive aspects. To illustrate our account of espionage on courses, let us describe the case of Pr. Boubaca Sega Diallo, historian and his French colleague Johel Blond, French language professor.

According to a confidential report (21) of the Direction Générale des Services de Sécurité director, the two professors were denounced by their own students for bad behaviour. During their classes, these professors brainwashed the children by denigrating the Comité Militaire de Libération Nationale and the Government. The sin committed by French professor, Johel Blond was his having given a lecture on the Malian writer Seydou Badian Kouyate, ex-minister under the old regime, imprisoned since the coup d'etat of 19 November 1968.

As for Boubacar Sega Diallo, he alluded in his courses to salaries and indemnities of CMLN members and the government. He confirmed that they received a salary of 300.000 Malian francs, a daily compensation of 25.000 francs for being transferred abroad and that all Malian army officers received a salary of 100.000 francs.

The Director of Security Services, in 1973, seized copybooks of pupils in Lycée Bouillagi Fadiga in order to evaluate the harmful consequences of brainwashing in the school. After meticulous investigation, it came to the following conclusion:

According to police investigations, Professor Johel Le Blondel inoculated 'political poison in the veins of children'. The following part on the biography of Seydou Badian Kouyate, a writer, was more politically oriented: "(…) He was appointed by the government of Modibo Keita as Minister of Rural Economy and Planning. He occupied this post until summer 1968 and was then arrested after the military coup d'état. Today, he still remains in jail."

According to the Directeur de la Sécurité, the content of African-negro literature ran counter to the interest of the Mali government. A brainwashing campaign was craftily programmed.

A question here arises: why from the three works of Seydou Badian: Les Dirigeants africain Face a Leur Peuple (African leaders before their people), Sous l''orage (In the storm) and La Mort de Chaka (Death of Chaka), the author had chosen the last one? The fact is that in his course, M. Le Blond underlined the comportment of the generals of Chaka to whom neither country nor the people mattered. This was perceived as indirect criticism of the Malian junta. According to the report of the "Sécurité", if the professor had not selected the other works of Kouyate, it was simply because none of the passages had any relation to a coup d'état. The Direction des Services de Sécurité de l'Etat drew the attention of President Moussa Traore that there are in the education field

men who are dissatisfied with the military regime. They resort to all means in order to brainwash the masses.

The report deplored the fact that the Minister of National Education should be surrounded by men with a nostalgic penchant for politics rather than education and who are against the military regime.

Hence, five measures were proposed by the State Security to combat political education in the Malian school:

1. Any education of a political nature will be forever banned. Youth are more eager to learn than to pick up political verbiage that would eventually kill them.

2. The education programme should be subject to government censorship for a while.

3. The Ministry of Education should take all measures to warn all teaching personnel against ideological and political education.

4. The Ministry of Education should be organized itself in order to control at all levels of education the courses that are dispensed and to denounce to the authorities, all professors who will engage in subversion within the framework of their academic activities.

5. Department heads of secondary and higher education will be solely held responsible for any departure from these instructions.

This document by the Security Services is a testimony to the symbolic and physical violence that victimized many professors during 23 years. We can see that it is not only a few isolated professors who were subjected to such controls but also it was the entire education system, especially the social sciences programmes. How can one speak about academic freedom in such a despotic atmosphere? This issue of African-negro literature courses, beyond the fault line between military junta and intellectuals, reveals a chain of political measures intended to sap the capacities for intellectual resistance.

Professor Kary Dembele was tortured several times for his sociology courses which security agents deemed too political and ideological. According to his colleagues, these courses were recorded by one of the wives of an officer, member of government. She transmitted the audiocassettes to the Security Service who, after hearing them, proceeded to incarcerate the professor.

The struggle mounted by pupils, students and professors for a national, democratic and popular school reached a peak in the 1980s as described by Modibo Kone in *l'Essor* of 27 August 1995.

In fact, the death of Abdoul Karim Camara known as Gabral was followed by the closure of all education institutions for ten years. An entire generation, between 1980 and 1981 was suspended or thrown in the streets. There were many who stopped using the road to school. Not only pupils and students but also highly skilled professors under duress of forced exile, humiliated, physically brutalized their dignity downtrodden.

Numerous professors nevertheless remained in the country and dedicated their life to defending academic freedom and fighting against the policy of liquidating the Malian school through:

- Emphasizing selection, reinforcing elitism and nepotism
- Segregation of children in education, by charging high enrolment fees
- Non-payment of study grants, which obliges students to drop out of education

- Suspension of salaries of so-called dissident professors
- Arbitrary transfer of professors to remote regions far from the capital
- Considerable brain drain, above all scientists.

Collective political and civic dynamism of teachers and students was spectacularly translated in the 26 March 1991 revolution that swept away the torturers of the academic world. Did it however bring about academic freedom? On close observation, we can see the contrary. Since the collapse of dictatorship, many of those who inspired intellectual life have deserted universities in favour of politics.

4 – By way of conclusion: Is it possible to speak of academic freedom without academy?

There is no royal road for science and only those who have a chance to arrive to its luminous peaks are those who have no fear of climbing up its steep paths (22).

How many are there in Mali who are ready to climb the steep path of science? How many are actually doing so? Is there a real academy to foster such an effort? Did democracy resuscitate the Malian academy that was assassinated by CMLN?

Higher education has remained stagnant for more than 20 years. Rigid methods of management have stifled lively and creative minds. If scientific spirit appears to fare well, it does so in the memories of adverse times. From 1968 to 1991, the regime purged the intellectual community of its best elements and granted privileges to the mediocre. Higher education fell into indescribable poverty. Professors and researchers lost privileges they held since the time of Modibo Keita...

As experienced by the majority of researchers and educators, Malian intellectual life arouses consternation: lack of an organized scientific community, total absence of means of expression (magazines, newspapers, radio or television), and abnormally low salaries. Since independence, the Malian scientific community seems to have descended into this disastrous situation, gradually yet absolutely and definitely. The greatest misery of Malian intelligentsia is lack of a social environment that prompts it to flourish. This social milieu had started to emerge under the socialist regime of Modibo Keita, but was completely destroyed by the military junta.

Since 1992, the higher education syndicate demanded more protection and financial support from the government. Texts were voted to guarantee autonomy of the university. However, the university is pulled between two paradoxes: a traumatized memory of years of repression and humiliation to the extent that intellectuals have no confidence that any government can bring them out of this impasse. On the other hand, they have not manifested any desire to utilize the new opportunities offered by democracy. As for the government, largely composed of old professors, it seems content to see a lethargic university.

Freedom won in the fight against dictatorship has not infused Malian intellectuals, particularly in social sciences, with the desire to seek academic purity once more.

After the democratic revolution of 1991, Mali established its first university on the basis of the grand schools. This university suffers from all problems afflicting the grand schools. Professors are incapable of returning to the classic concept of university. They seem to be apprehensive of the opening up and appear comfortable with remaining in an isolationist and defensive position in the face of the rising new generation and international competition.

According to Ralf Dahrendorf, three ingredients are necessary for any nation wishing to construct a modern system of higher education:

It has to be accessible to all who are able and willing. It has to be sufficiently diversified to cater for a variety of needs, from the cutting edge of research to applied training. It has to have open borders to the world around, to business and to profession as well as to local communities and the wider society (23).

For the moment, government rhetoric on the competitiveness of the new university and its products appear to be a mere ideology. As Professor Guy Hermet indicated, if there is a factor that in the long term threatens the process of democratic change in Africa, it is certainly the absence of a strong intellectual movement to support fundamental reforms, as well as political action in a pluralist and non-violent perspective. In Mali, despite the existence of a propitious climate for intellectual revolution, the intelligentsia is more concerned with occupying political posts than studying the social and political anatomy of the country. Is this a strategy for survival?

Guy Hermet made no concessions to intellectuals in the Third World who chose political shortcuts: when he emphasizes that "too many who were African intellectuals and who languished in the delights of totalitarian or democratic comfort became intellectuals of the State in return for a few travel incentives" (24).

Where will change come from in Malian universities? Emphasis should be laid on training a new generation of researchers. To do so, the country must dismantle its ancestral and destructive ideology, according to which youth have to await their turn. An ideology that undermines the preparation of a relief team and perpetuates the principle of après moi le deluge (after me the flood) or the process of never-ending beginnings in our country.

Footnotes:

1. This article owes much to the discussion with Issa N'Diaye, Issiaka Bagayogo, Boubacar Sega Diallo respectively, Professors at the Ecole Normale Supérieure and l'Institut Supérieur de Formation et de Recherche Appliquée as well as Victor Sy, professor of physical science for secondary stage. However, we are entirely responsible for errors in facts and judgments.

2. Regarding this question refer to the memorable work of Alice Stroup, *A company of Scientists, Botany, Patronage, and Community of the Seventeenth-Century Parisian Royal Academy of Science*, Oxford, University of California Press 1990.

3. For more details refer to Maurice Grosland, *Science Under Control, The French Academy of Sciences 1795-194,* Ny, 1992, pp 1-2

4. However, Malian historians, based on Arab sources, are inclined to think that academic freedom was sacred in the Middle Ages in universities of Tombouctou, Djenne, Goujourou and Dia. According to them ceremonies took place in these cities during which the current leader bowed before the scholars to show respect for their intellectual and moral integrity. The leadership, by this act, recognized the superiority of knowledge over power.

5. Unfortunately, it was the case in Ex-USSR, where scientific works were not ideologically oriented and were not received by the Academy of Sciences of Moscow nor published in State editions.

6. Grolands, op.cit, p.2 (refer to G. Moll) underlines that the British were shocked to see French research institutes under the authority of the State, particularly during Bonaparte.

7. For more details on different definitions of academic freedom in Africa and Europe, refer to Paul T. Zeleza, "Academic Freedom in the neo-Liberal order: Governments, Globalization, Governance and Gender" in the *Journal of Higher Education in Africa* Vol. 1. No 1, pp 149-194.

8. Read Richard Jacquemond, Retour a Nasser des intellectuels égyptiens *Le Monde Diplomatique,* July 1977. Also read the stimulating polemic of Jacques Testard on such a debate in Europe concerning mad cow, OGM and cloning, "Les experts, la science et la loi" *Le Monde Diplomatic,* September 2000.

9. The pioneers of this generation in francophone West Africa are Cheick Anta-Diop, Joseph Ki-Zerbo, Tiemoko Garan Kouyate and others.

10. Gerard Leclerc 2000, *La mondialisation culturelle, les civilisations à l'épreuve.* PUF, Paris, p. 165

11. Jurgen, Habermas. *Toward A Rational Society Student Protest, Science and Politics,* London, Heineman 1980. P. 10.

12. Habernas. Op. Cit. pp. 102.

13. Refer to *L'ESSOR* of 26/8/1976

14. For more details on the question on the access by African countries to true freedom, refer to J. Christophe Rufin, *Internationale No. 7.* Spring 1997, p. 293

15. For more details refer to the testimony of Pr. Aly Nouhoum Diallo, Du rôle du PMT dans l'avènement du 26 mars 1991, in *Bâtissons la mémoire du Mali démocratique*, Centre Djoliba, Bamako, 2002, pp. 42-52. See the testimony of Pr. Mouhamedou Dicko in the same text, pp. 53-60.

16. For more details, refer to the interview accorded by Pr. Victor Sy to the REPUBLICAIN newspaper, in *Bâtissons la mémoire du Mali démocratique,* Centre Djoliba, Bamako, 2002, pp. 284-308

17. This laconic phrase, expresses well the disorder in Malian school since 1991: general assemblies that is meetings held by students to discuss their finance problems are matters that are more coefficient than science. That is, an academic year lasts from 3-4 months instead of 9.

18. Refer to the text, rich in formation of Hourana Barry, on UNEEM - government opposition. The turbulent years of the Union Nationale des Elèves et Etudiants du Mali (UNEEM): example, the school year 1976-77, in *Bâtissons la mémoire du Mali démocratique,* Centre Djoliba, Bamako, 2002, pp. 98-113.

19. On the other hand, le camp de l'Etat is held in general, students of the Ecole Nationale d'Administrations, (ENA) considered by ENSUP as right wingers (future administrators, judges, economists and lawyers, that is to say administrative bourgeois). The famous phrase in the academic milieu was: ENSUP is leftist, ENA is leftist.

20. He was unjustly dismissed from public office after a series of humiliations such as his transfer in 1986 to remote or technical schools where philosophy was not important. Under the pressure of the educators' union, International Labour Office and the Supreme Court, Pr. N'Diaye was reintegrated in ENSUP in 1989.

21. This data is drawn from the confidential document No. 450 of DGSS dated 13 April 1973, addressed to the President by the Director of State Security.

22. Marx, Karl Das Capital, T.1. 1982. Note the letter sent by Marx to citizen Maurice La Chatre in the preface.

23. Dahredorf, R. *Universities After Communism.* The Hannah Arendt Prize and the Reform of Higher Education in East Central Europe, 2000, pp.15.

24. Hermet Guy. *Démocratie et Culture,* Paris, 1993.pp.213-215

PART II

**The Impact of Social, Cultural, and Political Factors
on Academic Freedom**

The Struggle for Academic Freedom
in the Palestinian Occupied Territories

Riham Barghouti
Director of public relations, Birzeit University

Helen Murray
Coordinator of Birzeit University's Right to Education Campaign

Abstract

Academic freedom, along with every other type of freedom, is stifled and suppressed under colonial rule and military occupation. This is because the driving objectives of occupation are the suppression of a society, the de-development of its capacities, and the elimination of its national aspirations. Palestinians have historically strived for education not as an end in itself, but also as a means of survival and resistance against military occupation, dispossession and exile. When the first Palestinian universities emerged in the 1970s, their vision was to not only provide opportunities for higher education, but also to support and develop Palestinian society as an intrinsic part of the national struggle for liberation.

It is for these reasons that Israel, as the occupying power, has systematically targeted Palestinian academic institutions. Attacks have come in the form of military closures of schools and universities, military obstruction of access, arrests and deportations, the killing and injuring of students and teachers, and attempts to criminalize the Palestinian educational process itself. While Palestinian universities have been able to withstand these attacks and sometimes even excel in overcoming the challenges of education under occupation, the fact remains that any kind of development under the weight of occupation is, ultimately, unattainable.

Presenting the case of Birzeit University in the West Bank, this paper discusses the importance of education in challenging the foundations of occupation. It reveals how and why the first Palestinian universities as national institutions and leading actors in the struggle for educational rights and freedoms, in Palestine - have been targeted by the Israeli occupation since they were established. The paper concludes with an exploration of two approaches to supporting academic freedom in Palestine: firstly through the promotion of international academic cooperation with Palestinian universities; and secondly through exerting the necessary pressure to bring an end to the Israeli occupation which continues to block the possibility of achieving any form of freedom in Palestine.

1. The Struggle to Emerge: Palestinian Universities as National Institutions (1967-1987)

> "What struck me is that if there is any hope for the future it is in such national institutions as Birzeit which under tremendous pressures and remarkable odds still functions, often brilliantly and always sensibly."
>
> *(Edward Said)[1]*

The first Palestinian universities emerged in the 1970s. Before that, access to higher education for Palestinians was limited; those who could afford it went to study abroad, predominantly to neighbouring countries of Egypt, Jordan and Lebanon. But after 1967, the Israeli military occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip resulted in severe travel restrictions on Palestinians, which prevented even the privileged few from traveling abroad to continue their education. It was this crisis environment that prompted a college in the village of Birzeit, north of Ramallah in the West Bank, to begin offering Bachelor degree programs in Arts and Sciences. In 1975 the name Birzeit University was adopted, making it the first Arab university to be established in Palestine.

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[1] Said, E. "A Longer View", Al Ahram Weekly, 3-9 December 1998, Issue No.406

From the very beginning Birzeit University was more than an academic institution. In the context of a debilitating military occupation, Birzeit was founded on a vision of building a free, civil Palestinian society and was committed to national development and supporting the needs of the local community. Its progressive approach to promoting democratic values and the free exchange of ideas within the walls of the institution and among the student body also extended to the overall society in an effort to effect real political and social change.

Largely due to the vacuum created by the absence of a national government, Birzeit University developed a range of community programmes to provide services and conduct research into social issues such as literacy, health, gender and the environment. Many of these programmes have since evolved into permanent centers, such as the renowned Institute for Community and Public Health and the Institute of Women's Studies. Community service has always been an integral component of student life at the University and to this day, all Birzeit students need to complete one hundred and twenty hours of voluntary community work in order to graduate.

In 1973, just as Birzeit was nearing completion as a fully-fledged university, the Israeli authorities closed down the campus by military order for the first time. A year later, in 1974, the founder and first president of Birzeit University, Dr. Hanna Nasir, was arrested by the Israeli authorities and deported to Lebanon. Dr. Nasir was to remain in exile for the next nineteen years. When he was finally allowed to return to Palestine in 1993, he gave a speech that captured the University's struggle for academic freedom as part of the wider struggle for all human rights. He said:

> It has been my personal belief for many years that the key to the liberation of Palestine can be found in higher education…. For a society under occupation which is involved in the transition to an independent nation, higher education, such as that represented by Birzeit University, is essential as a forum for critical thinking, technical expertise, and community leadership. The close relationship between academic freedom, human rights, and the right to self-determination remains the crucible in which Palestinian higher education must develop and thrive.[2]

In 1980, Military Order 854 was introduced, giving the Israeli authorities control over curriculum, admission of students and the hiring and firing of faculty. Soon after, all 'foreign staff' at Palestinian universities, the majority of whom were native Palestinians who had been denied residency rights, were required to sign a loyalty oath, rejecting affiliation with any organization "hostile" to Israel and denying membership of the PLO. Most academics refused to sign the oath and consequently the Israeli authorities were provided with a pretext for mass deportations of so-called 'foreign staff'.[3]

Censorship was another basic means of control: all reading materials, books and periodicals entering the West Bank and Gaza Strip had to be approved by the military censor. In 1979, Birzeit University protested that, "repeated attempts for over a year by the University to gain permission to subscribe to some 50 academic periodicals in Arabic have resulted in permission for *one* periodical subscription." All the materials denied Birzeit University were meanwhile available at the Israeli Hebrew University in Jerusalem.[4]

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[2] Nasir, H. "Letter from the President", Birzeit University Newsletter, 1993
[3] World University Service UK and Association of University Teachers, *Palestinians and Higher Education: The Doors of Learning Closed* (London: World University Service UK, 1990)

[4] Ibid., p.6

However, in spite of Israel's efforts to cripple the development of Palestinian higher education throughout these early years, an enormous amount was achieved. At the end of the 1980s, six Palestinian universities were established, with some 22,000 students enrolled. Committed to the wider struggle for national development and liberation, Palestinian universities pioneered an approach to higher education that often went beyond the traditional confines of academia, attempting to place the universities at the heart of the local community by responding to its needs.

2. The Struggle to Survive: Making Education Illegal (1987-1992)

"The closure [of the universities] is not simply a collective punishment…In my opinion, the Israelis regret the fact that the universities were ever established…What they are trying to accomplish is a slow annihilation of the institutions".

(Mukhlis Hammouri, Hebron University, 1990)

In December 1987, the first popular uprising against the Israeli military occupation, now referred to as the first Intifada, exploded throughout the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. Within days, Israel closed down several higher education colleges and universities. In subsequent weeks, military orders were issued to all other institutions of higher education so that by 1 February 1988, all six Palestinian universities, thirteen colleges and five government training schools were shut down. On 2 February, the Israeli Army ordered all 1,194 schools in the West Bank closed until further notice. Less than a year later, the kindergartens were also closed down by military order.[5] Palestinian education had effectively been made illegal.

Birzeit University, together with all other higher education institutions, remained closed for four-and-a-half years. From 1988 to 1992, no student or lecturer was allowed to attend a class in a university classroom, browse in a university library, or work in a university laboratory.[6]

As the gates to learning were closed, Birzeit University, along with other institutions, refused to accept the criminalization of education and continued to hold classes 'underground' in homes, offices, community centres, mosques and churches. These classes were frequently raided by the Israeli Army and any students and teachers found in attendance were arrested. Students were even arrested for carrying books as this was considered evidence that they were on their way to an 'illegal class'.

On 19 April 1989, an Israeli newspaper, *The Jerusalem Post*, reported that the Israeli police had "uncovered a network of illegal classes held by West Bank universities at private high schools in East Jerusalem."[7] A few days later on 24 April 1989, the Israeli Army raided the YMCA building in Ramallah, which housed the departmental offices of Birzeit University throughout the closure of the campus. A warning was delivered to the University administration: "Under no circumstances can you teach, in houses or anywhere else. If we find anyone teaching or any students carrying books we will take appropriate measures against them".[8] In short, the Israeli authorities had criminalized the educational process itself.

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[5] Schools and kindergartens were subject to intermittent closures during this period, while higher education institutions remained fully closed for nearly 5 years.
[6] Birzeit University Public Relations Office, *The Criminalization of Education: Academic Freedom and Human Rights at Birzeit University During the Palestinian Uprising* (Birzeit University, 1989)

[7] Cohen, S. "Education as Crime", *The Jerusalem Post*, 18 May 1989
[8] Deputy Head of the Civil Administration, Major Micha, speaking to Albert Aghazarian, Director of Public Relations at Birzeit University, quoted in Birzeit University, *The Criminalization of Education*, p.15

As always, the Israeli justification was 'security'. The authorities argued that schools and universities were sites of student demonstrations and unrest, so therefore all educational institutions had to be closed down. This security rationale – quite apart from its illegality as a form of collective punishment and wholesale violation of the right to education under international law - does not stand up to basic scrutiny. How could kindergartens pose a threat to the state of Israel? If the closures were in direct response to the Intifada, which started in 1987, why had Birzeit University already been closed down fifteen times since 1973? And why were all forms of educational activity, on or off campus, outlawed by the military authorities?

The closure of educational institutions was part of Israel's long-term efforts to undermine the development of Palestinian education and, by extension, the development of Palestinian society as a whole. As a result, the act of pursuing an education became a way of directly challenging the occupation.

3. The Struggle Continues: Barriers to Education (1992-2005)

> "Palestinian education and propaganda are more dangerous to Israel than Palestinian weapons."
>
> (Ariel Sharon, 2004)

Birzeit University campus was finally re-opened on 29 April 1992, after 51 months of closure. However, the attacks against the University were by no means over. While some might imagine that the years of the Oslo peace process were years of recovery and consolidation for the Palestinian universities, what actually transpired was quite the opposite. As one of thirty exiled Palestinians allowed to return to Palestine in a 'confidence building measure' in 1993, Dr. Hanna Nasir, then president of Birzeit University, was well aware that despite the University's resilience in the face of closure, the biggest battles still lay ahead. He wrote:

> Birzeit University continues to face serious difficulties in the form of severe financial constraints and numerous human rights violations, which threaten the academic liberties of our staff and students; arbitrary arrest, torture, deportation, and administrative harassment are daily threats, which beset our institution.[9]

It was throughout the years of the 'peace process' that Israel first imposed its closure policy on the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Palestinians were suddenly prevented from traveling between the West Bank and Gaza, and were also banned from entering Jerusalem, without special military permits. An apartheid pass-system emerged, whereby students and teachers, along with everyone else, had to apply for permits to move around.

When the second Intifada began in September 2000, Palestinian educational institutions came under the full force of Israeli attacks once again: both directly as military targets and indirectly as a result of the severe restrictions on movement, military closures of Palestinian areas and prolonged curfews, which have prevented thousands of students and teachers from reaching their schools and universities.

Over the last five years, according to the Palestinian Ministry of Education and Higher Education, eight universities and over three hundred schools have been shelled, shot at or raided by the Israeli Army. Hebron University and the Palestine Polytechnic University were closed down by military order for most of 2003, denying over six thousand students their right to education.[10] In the same year, Al Quds University was cut off from some thirty-six per cent of its students by the construction of the illegal Israeli wall.[11] The Israel Army bulldozed the road which connects

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[9] Nasir, H."Letter from the President", Birzeit University Newsletter, 1993

[10] The closures were carried out, according to an Israeli Army spokesman, because the Army "has a duty to prevent education that incites murder of Israelis." The students of Hebron and Palestine Polytechnic Universities eventually broke down the gates to their universities, in defiance of the Israeli Army, to reconvene classes and demand their right to education.

[11] In 2003, Al-Quds University was issued with a military order stating that an eight meter-high concrete wall would soon cut through the campus, confiscating one-third of its grounds. After an international campaign, the path of the wall was

Birzeit University to the majority of its staff and students and for nearly three years, until December 2003, a military checkpoint was placed on this road, severely disrupting the working life of the University. An appeal put out by Birzeit University to the international community described the checkpoint as:

> part of the expanded network of roadblocks preventing communication between all Palestinian towns and villages in the West Bank. Even when open, the checkpoint allows only pedestrian traffic to pass; Israeli soldiers posted there arbitrarily deny passage to students and other civilians, as well as regularly engage in various forms of harassment which at times have resulted in the physical injury of students and faculty. When closed the checkpoint effectively brings the working life of the University to a halt.[12]

The Israeli invasions into major towns and cities in the West Bank in 2002, resulting in prolonged curfews, brought a halt to all forms of Palestinian life for months at a time. Once again, Birzeit University demonstrated its capacity for resilience in the face of adversity, this time utilising information technology with the development of a University internet portal, called 'Ritaj'. This ensured continued communication between faculty and students online when access to the University was denied.

Israel's ghettorization and separation of Palestinian areas continues unabated. Students from the Gaza Strip are now barred from reaching Palestinian universities in the West Bank, while the existence of over seven hundred military checkpoints and the construction of the illegal Israeli wall inside the West Bank and East Jerusalem cut whole communities off from basic services including education. This is having a catastrophic impact on the economic, social and psychological well-being of students and faculty. The constant state of emergency in Palestinian academic institutions, including Birzeit University, has made long-term strategic planning impossible. Birzeit has not been able to carry out the necessary evaluation and renewal of its academic and other programs, which undermines its capacity to maintain academic standards and continue meeting the human resource needs of the society.

Furthermore, due to the general devastation of the Palestinian economy, the University is facing severe financial problems. According to United Nations figures, Palestinian poverty levels have more than trebled since 1999. Today, 64% of the Palestinian population of the occupied Palestinian territory live in poverty, with the figure rising to 78% in the Gaza Strip.[13] Reflecting this, the number of Birzeit University students in need of financial assistance has risen from 300 students in 1999 to over 3,000 in 2004. The combined loss of tuition fees due to students' inability to pay, decreased funding from international aid agencies as a result of diversion of funds to meet the emergency needs of the society, and additional costs related to prolonged closures have resulted in the loss of several million dollars since 2000.

Moreover, Birzeit University has been increasingly unable to fulfil its fundamental role as a national institution, simply because many students can no longer reach the University. In 2000, there were four hundred students from the Gaza Strip enrolled at Birzeit University; today there are thirteen. In the academic year 2004-2005, the number of incoming students from the north West Bank town of Jenin declined from an average of 120 students per year to zero. The ultimate fear is that if these trends continue unabated, Birzeit and other Palestinian universities will become localized, undermining their vital and progressive role in Palestinian society as a whole.

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eventually moved to run alongside the Al-Quds University main campus in Abu Dis, cutting the University off from students and faculty in Jerusalem, as well as other campus sites in East Jerusalem. To read related media coverage see www.alquds.edu

[12] Birzeit University, "Appeal in Support of the Right to Education at Birzeit University", July 2002

[13] United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA-oPt), http://www.humanitarianinfo.org/oPt

4. Supporting the Struggle for Academic Freedom

"It makes an impact on students and teachers, feeling that we're not alone and people around the world know about us and that we deserve to live like other people do… Silence I would say is more painful than the bullets of occupation."

(Dr. Carmela Armanios, Birzeit University, 2003)[14]

Birzeit University has long depended upon international support and its relations with the international academic community and solidarity movements to both witness and speak out against the frequent violations by the Israeli occupation against the University, its students and faculty.

The Birzeit University Human Rights Action Project (HRAP) was founded in 1977 by a group of Birzeit faculty who were concerned about the growing number of human rights violations by the Israeli military authorities against students and staff. Faculty proceeded to attend military courts where students or staff were on trial, attempted to secure legal representation for those detained, and began to alert the international community about violations against members of the University community. HRAP also monitored cases of restriction orders, house raids, deportations and the increasing restrictions on access to the University and academic activities, in addition to documenting the violations against the University itself, including army raids and closures, throughout the 1980s and 1990s.

Growing out of the Human Rights Action Project, and in response to the escalating violations of the occupation against Palestinian higher education, Birzeit University launched the Right to Education Campaign in 2002 in order to monitor and research the issues facing Palestinian education under occupation and to build an active campaign network in Palestine and internationally. The Right to Education Campaign seeks to raise awareness about the obstruction and denial of education in Palestine and to bring pressure to bear on governments, decision-makers and the Israeli authorities to guarantee safe and free access for all Palestinians to their educational institutions.[15]

International solidarity also includes visits by international delegations to Birzeit University and participation in protests such as the marches and demonstrations against the closures and military blockade of the University. And in addition to solidarity, international academic institutions and individuals have provided support for the academic development of Birzeit University in the form of scholarships and academic cooperation agreements. Such agreements have assisted in the development of BA and MA programs, some examples of which include the undergraduate program in Mathematics Applied to Economics, developed in cooperation with a consortium of French universities in 1999, and the Water Studies Institute, which was established in 2001 as the result of a longstanding cooperation between Birzeit and UNESCO-IHE Institute for Water Education. The ten-year cooperation with Bergen University in Norway has also produced extensive joint research, in areas of anthropology and geography, and has supported faculty development through the provision of PhD scholarship opportunities.

5. Cooperation under Occupation: Who Benefits?

"Two-thirds of Birzeit University academics, researchers and administrative staff object to joint Palestinian-Israeli academic cooperation projects. A large majority believes that such projects benefit the Israeli side far more than the Palestinian side. Most staff members object to such cooperation because it harms Palestinian interests."

(Poll of Birzeit University Faculty and Employees, 20 May 2005)

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[14] Armanios, C. Interviewed in the film "A Caged Bird's Song", Right to Education Campaign, Birzeit University, 2003

[15] See the Right to Education Campaign's website at http://right2edu.birzeit.edu

Surprisingly, international support for Palestinian educational activities is increasingly tied to cooperation with Israeli academic institutions. Many international, European and American grant-giving bodies are making funding available to Palestinian universities only on the condition of joint Palestinian-Israeli research collaboration.

Such donors are motivated by the false impression that joint cooperation will "help to ease tensions [between Israelis and Palestinians] since it will enable Palestinian researchers and institutions to work together with Israeli and European institutes". This view was presented in the European Parliament in January 2004 in support of an agreement on scientific and technical cooperation between the European Community and Israel. However, as explained in a statement by Birzeit University, "the international community [needs] to understand the dynamics of the relations between the occupier and those who are under occupation. Within these dynamics cooperation is neither encouraged nor welcomed."[16]

Past experience counters the argument that joint projects help to develop Palestinian academic institutions. The policy of non-cooperation with Israeli institutions, which is upheld by most Palestinian universities and research centers, is based on the experience that these cooperation agreements benefit only Palestinian individuals rather than Palestinian institutions. What such cooperation does result in, however, is the enhanced legitimacy of Israeli institutions as centers of excellence on the one hand, and the tacit acceptance an unacceptable situation for Palestinian institutions on the other. In order to achieve true institutional academic development, support needs to be extended directly to Palestinian institutions and targeted at improving their research capabilities. As the Dean of the Faculty of Graduate Studies at Birzeit University, Dr. Lisa Taraki, expressed:

> Luring fund-starved Palestinian academics in such a manner can be seen as a form of political blackmail, regardless of the intentions of the sponsors. We believe that if international funding institutions are sincere about their intention of developing the scientific and research capacity of Palestinian institutions and scholars, they should offer direct assistance and not politicize their support.[17]

Reflecting this reality, the Palestinian Council for Higher Education, comprised of presidents of all Palestinian universities and the Palestinian Ministry of Education and Higher Education, has repeatedly rejected technical and scientific cooperation between Palestinian and Israeli universities. This long-standing position of non-cooperation was most recently reaffirmed by a Council decision in 2004.[18]

As well as the internal policy of non-cooperation with Israeli institutions, the Palestinian academic community has also begun to call for an international boycott of Israeli institutions. In 2004, Palestinian academics launched the Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI) to promote further initiatives and to develop a Palestinian led strategy for boycott. On July 9, 2005, on the first anniversary of the International Court of Justice ruling on the illegality of the Israeli Wall, some 200 Palestinian civil society organizations, federations and unions, issued a call for boycott, divestments and sanctions against Israel until such a time as it complies with international law and the universal principles of human rights.

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[16] Birzeit University, "Statement on the Scientific Cooperation Agreement between the European Community and Israel", 26 February 2004

[17] Taraki, L. "Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel", presented at the SOAS conference on "Resisting Israeli Apartheid: Strategies and Principles", SOAS, London, 5 December 2004

[18] Barghouti, O. and Sfeir, J. "Between South Africa and Israel: UNESCO's Double Standards", Znet, 7 March 2005

6. The Struggle to End the Occupation: Transforming Words into Action

"In view of the fact that people of conscience in the international community of scholars and intellectuals have historically shouldered the moral responsibility to fight injustice, as exemplified in their struggle to abolish apartheid in South Africa through diverse forms of boycott, PACBI calls upon them to boycott Israel's academic and cultural institutions in the spirit of international solidarity, moral consistency and resistance to oppression."

(Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel)[19]

It may seem audacious to come to a conference on academic freedom to talk about the boycott of academic institutions. However, it is our contention that academic boycott within the context of an overall strategy of sanctions and boycott against Israel, is one of the few effective means left to exert the necessary pressure on Israel to bring an end to its illegal and violent occupation and continuing obstruction of Palestinian education.

The flagrant violations of the Israeli occupation against Palestinian educational institutions and the complicity of Israeli academia, has prompted a number of calls for boycott of Israeli academic institutions since 2002. These initiatives reflect a growing awareness of the potentially effective role that the international academic community could play in placing the necessary pressure on Israeli academic institutions, and thereby on the Israeli government to end the occupation.

In 2002, British academics called for a moratorium on all cultural and research links with Israeli academic institutions and specifically questioned the special status afforded to Israeli academia by the European Union.[20] Similar boycott campaigns have been launched in France, Belgium and Australia, in addition to on-going divestment campaigns in universities in the United States. Most recently, in 2005, a decision was taken (although later rescinded) by the British Association of University Teachers (AUT) to boycott two Israeli universities: Haifa University for its campaign of vilification against one its own professors, Dr. Ilan Pappe, and MA student Teddy Katz; and Bar Ilan University for operating a college in the illegal settlement of Ariel in the West Bank.

While gaining some support in international academic circles, the boycott of Israeli institutions has also been attacked by its opponents for infringing upon the principle of academic freedom. By 'academic freedom', it is meant the freedom to publish research in international journals, attend international academic conferences and develop relations with the international academic community. The importance of these freedoms is placed above and beyond the daily violations of much more basic freedoms at Palestinian universities, such as the freedom to physically reach university and to teach and study without fear or harassment. There is an inherent bias in the 'academic freedom' argument in this context, in that it regards only the academic freedom of Israelis as worthy: the fact that Palestinians are denied basic rights as well as academic freedom under Israel's military occupation is ignored. Ultimately, we would argue, the privileging of academic freedom as a super-value above all other freedoms is in principle antithetical to the very foundation of human rights.[21]

On the other side of the coin, some Israeli academics have argued that boycott may even help to generate academic freedom in the Israeli context where dissenting views are frequently silenced. Oren Ben-Dor, a British academic of Israeli origin, sees that the boycott of Israeli institutions can actually "provide a means to transcend the publicly-sanctioned limits of debate."[22]

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[19] Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI) website, "About PACBI", www.pacbi.org
[20] Israel has preferential treatment as "the first and only non-European country to be fully associated to the European Communities Framework Programme for Research and Technical Development". For details see http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/israel/intro/#4.2%20Co-operation
[21] Barghouti, O. and Taraki, L. "Freedom Vs 'Academic' Freedom", Counterpunch, 1 June 2005
[22] Barghouti, O. and Taraki, L. "Academic Freedom in Context", Al-Ahram Weekly, 16 - 22 June 2005 Issue No. 747

A second argument against boycott is that it isolates and punishes the very section of Israeli society most likely to support the Palestinian cause. This argument is based on the assumption that in general, academics and intellectuals tend to be the most sympathetic to the struggle of the oppressed. However, in the case of Israel, this is simply not true. With the exception of a tiny yet crucial minority, Israeli academics are largely supportive of their state's oppression or are acquiescently silent about it. Ilan Pappe of Haifa University, who has been severely attacked for his own dissenting views, has stated that out of 9,000 academics in Israel, only 100-150 of them actively voice their opposition to the occupation.[23]

Moreover, Israeli academic institutions have been and continue to be complicit in the continuing aggressions against Palestinian society. This complicity has been demonstrated in various ways. Firstly, by the fact that the majority of Israeli academics serve in the reserve forces of the Israeli Army, and therefore directly know of and participate in the daily crimes against the Palestinian population. This includes the prevention of Palestinians from reaching their educational institutions,[24] in addition to carrying out many more heinous crimes against the larger Palestinian society.

The loudest evidence of the complicity of the Israeli universities, however, is their silence. For over four decades of Israeli violations of Palestinian academic freedom and right to education, no Israeli academic institution has ever spoken out. Referring to the total closure of Palestinian academic institutions, Stanley Cohen, a professor at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, stated in 1989, "The Ministry of Education, the teachers' unions and the Israeli university authorities can all be relied upon to keep quiet."[25] Furthermore, Israeli academic institutions are themselves directly engaged in violations of Palestinian human rights and international law. As one of the founding members of PACBI, Omar Barghouti, has outlined:

> The Hebrew University has been slowly but consistently expropriating Palestinian lands and expelling their owners. Tel Aviv University refuses to date to acknowledge the fact that it sits on top of an ethnically cleansed Palestinian village. Bar Ilan University operates a campus on the illegal colony of Ariel near Nablus. Ben Gurion University has supported in many ways the ethnic cleansing of the Palestinian Bedouins in the Negev. And Haifa University boasts one of the most racist academics alive: Prof. Arnon Sofer, the infamous "prophet of the Arab demographic threat," who relentlessly provides academic justification for ethnic cleansing in various shapes and forms. [26]

Baruch Kimmerling, a renowned Israeli academic who is actually opposed to the academic boycott writes, "I will be the first to admit that Israeli academic institutions are part and parcel of the oppressive Israeli state that has…committed grave crimes against the Palestinian people."[27]

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[23] Pappe, I."The Meaning and Objectives of the Academic Boycott", presented at the SOAS conference on "Resisting Israeli Apartheid: Strategies and Principles", SOAS, London, 5 December 2004

[24] On 1 June 2004, a 'flying checkpoint' was placed on the road to Birzeit University, preventing students and faculty from reaching and leaving the University. The authors of this paper were among a group of University faculty and employees who confronted the soldiers to ask them why they were blocking access to education. One of the soldiers admitted he was a Doctor of Medicine at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

[25] Cohen, S. "Education as Crime", *The Jerusalem Post*, 18 May 1989

[26] Barghouti, O. "Boycott as Resistance: The Moral Dimension Closing the Door to Oppression", presented at the SOAS conference on "Resisting Israeli Apartheid: Strategies and Principles", SOAS, London, 5 December 2004 (Barghouti notes that the name of the destroyed village is Sheikh Muwannis. He also provides an example Sofer's research: the "Mitzpim Project," supervised by Sofer, which calls for the "conquest" of areas populated by Palestinian-Arabs inside via Jews-only settlements and roads. http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/spages/481680.html)

[27] Barghouti, O. and Taraki, L. "Freedom Vs Academic Freedom", Counterpunch, 1 June 2005

Finally, those who acknowledge the illegality of the Israeli occupation and the complicity of Israeli academic institutions, present the pragmatic argument that boycott simply won't work. On the contrary, in the context of Palestine itself boycott has been shown to be effective. In December 1989, a recommendation by the European Parliament to freeze funds allocated to scientific cooperation with Israel until it re-opened the Palestinian universities, prompted Israeli Defence Minister Rabin to announce the gradual reopening of colleges and vocational training centres in the occupied territories in February 1990.[28]

Moreover, history has shown that popular international movements for boycott and sanctions are effective in bringing an end to oppressive regimes. The clearest example is the case of South Africa. In calling for boycott and sanctions against Israel[29], the South African Security Minister, Mr. Ronnie Kasrils stated, "we in South Africa know about racial oppression. We fought it and defeated it because it was unjust… South Africa is an example of what is possible."[30]

Knowing what is possible compels us to raise the issue of academic boycott in the context of a conference on academic freedom. If we are to promote the universal right to education, we have to find ways to guarantee not only academic freedom to Palestinians, but all human rights. The only way to do so is by ending the occupation. The calls for boycott are a non-violent, legitimate means of placing the necessary pressure on the Israeli government to end its violations of international law and to uphold the very principles that this conference aims to promote.

The struggle continues but ultimately there can be no academic freedom without an end to the occupation.

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EVER CHANGING CONTEST:
THE STRUGGLE FOR ACADEMIC FREEDOM
AND ITS REPERCUSSION IN NIGERIA, 1985-2005

Y. Z. Ya'u
Centre for Information Technology and Development (CITA)
Kano, Nigeria

Abstract

Academic freedom has always been a contested terrain in Nigeria. While academics have used it to provide a critical voice to national issues, government has consistently thought to suppress it because of its perceived subversive quality. This contest came to ahead from 1985 when the military regime in an attempt to impose the authoritarian and unpopular Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) met serious opposition from the academic unions.

Since then academics have made the struggle for the defense of academic freedom and the expansion of its frontiers central to the survival of the university system in Nigeria. In the process, many academics have suffered various acts of repression by government including detention, stoppage of salaries, eviction from official houses, termination of appointments and repeated ban on their union.

When the military left the national political scene in 1999, there was expectation that tolerance of academic freedom was going to improve in the country. However, the conditions for the flourishing of academic freedom have rather become precarious. What has changed is only the pattern and nature of government efforts at delimiting academic freedom.

This paper based on a 20-year documentation of abuses of academic freedom in Nigeria analyses the changing pattern of contest over academic freedom during the last 20 years in the country. It asserts that while democratization is a necessary condition for the flourishing of academic freedom, it is not in itself a sufficient condition. The paper concludes that only through the commitment of academics to the principles of academic freedom and their collective vigilance in its defense will its flourishing be ensured.

Introduction

Academic Freedom has been defined as "the freedom to explore, and follow the truth to its logical conclusion, the right of scholars to seek truth and to disseminate same without hindrance, the right to teach, investigate and criticize" (ASUU, 1992). Students as integral part of the academic community have a slightly but complementary definition of academic freedom which include freedom from the imposed restrictions of secondary school life (Yusuf, 2005). Although it is specialized body of rights, it is easily derivable from both the universal Declaration on Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights as well as from the country's constitution. (Okoye and Ya'u, 1998). This body of rights can for the sake of analysis be categorized into the right to freedom of expression, the right to tenure/studentship, freedom of association and university autonomy. These are necessary for unfettered production of knowledge and its free flow in the society.

The first major national assault on academic freedom in Nigeria was in 1978. In that year students in the country's higher institutions embarked on protests in response to the government's increase in feeding and accommodation charges. Police sent to quell the protests by government shot and killed many students, which rather escalated the crisis. The government then unilaterally without consultations with the governing councils and senates of the institutions closed them, sacked two vice chancellors, terminated the tenure of some lecturers, expelled some students' leaders and banned the National Union of Nigeria Students (NUNS). To further

make nonsense, the concept of university governance the government decided to post Vice chancellors like military commandants.

Although academics perceived these acts as undermining academic freedom (ASUN, 1978, Nwala, 1994), their association, the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) was not in position to either protest or defend the tenure of its members who have lost their jobs. Instead this was left to a few academics operating on adhoc committees in a few universities. In fact up until this time, in fact ASUU which was established the previous year was yet to depart from the traditions of NAUT which functioned as a welfare association and did not concern itself with issues like academic freedom and institutional governance. However this incident sent a signal to the academics that they needed a union that could defend them against such illegal acts of government.

Partly as a result of this, the radical current within the academic community, which up until then was more concerned about national issues, decided to become more active in the union leadership (Ya'u, 2004). Thus in the subsequent election Dr. Jeyifo, a member of the Socialist Forum was elected as President. Another radical history lecturer, from the ABU, Dr. Mahmud Tukur was elected as Vice President.

Academic Freedom as an obstacle to SAP

In 1983 there was a military coup, which resulted in an authoritarian but nationalist government. This was to be removed later in 1985 through another military rule. This time, the government came to resolve the deadlock between the country and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which was caused by the nationalist inclination of the previous military regime. This meant that the economic policies of the regime were to be attuned to the conditions and stipulations of IMF and the World Bank.

By the 1986, the major thrust of the government economic policy had emerged: retrenchment in the public sectors decreased spending for education, move to rationalize university courses (closure of programs, departments and faculty) and retrenchment university staff. Although the government had said that in keeping with the view of Nigeria, it was not going to take the IMF loan, nevertheless, it was determined to implement an IMF like adjustment programme though calling it homegrown. To facilitate the conduct of the rationalization of the university courses and programmes, the government enacted Decree which empowered the National Universities Commission (NUC) to set minimum standards for all courses in the universities and gave it powers to close any programme that did not meet the standards. It also empowered the NUC to decide the number of programmes to be offered by each of the universities. To implement these it set up accreditation committees, whose brief was to shortlist courses, programmes and faculties to be closed or rationalized.

This has serious implications to the education sector. Students whose union was banned in 1984 also opposed the regime's package of adjustment. This led to a series of confrontations culminating in the Ango most go demonstrations during which the police once again shot and killed over nine students. The nation rose unison to demand investigate and justice. Members of the academic staff were vehement in their condemnation of government handling of the crisis. They joined hands with the NUC to stage national day of solidarity with the student on June 4. The government moved military armoured vehicles and tanks took over the national secretariat of the NUC. In the night of the 3rd, government security agents went to different campuses and arrested a number of the union leaders all in an attempt to pre-empt the protests. Notwithstanding this the union and the NUC decided to boycott the Panel and called for the setting up of an independent Panel.

In the meantime, the government used the Panel to articulate some measures, which they thought, could curb the militant influence of ASUU. First, the practice of automatic check off dues deduction was ordered by the government to stop. This was aimed at hitting the financial base of the union. Secondly, ASUU was banned from the membership of the NUC. Thirdly, Vice Chancellors were directed to complied names of all lecturers who "were not teaching what they were paid to teach" to be flushed out. Indeed, a number of Vice Chancellors did compile the list of outspoken academics and submitted same to the Government.

Meanwhile the Government set up the Akanbi Judicial Panel on the Crisis. Since ASUU had called for such a panel, and moreover, since a Judicial Panel has the power to summon people to appear before it, the Union decided to make a submission on the crisis and how it could be solved in the future. The ASUU submission to the panel (ASUU, 1987) not only addresses the specific issues of the crisis but also the education sector in general as well as the economic policies of the regime, which the union blamed for the crisis in the education sector. The submission also dwell on the issue of governance of the university, an issue which the union considers as part of the concept of academic freedom, that is the freedom of the universities to be governed by themselves without undue influence or pressure from the government, including the right to elect their leaders.

The publication documents a series of government's acts/actions which undermined university autonomy and academic freedom including the enactment of Decree 16 on Minimum Standards which transferred the functions of university senates and Councils to the National Universities Commission (NUC), the appointment of Vice Chancellor without following the procedure and the dismissal of six academics at the University of Lagos by the Visitor in 1980, who were also reinstated to their jobs by a Supreme Court verdict in 1986. It called for the immediate reconstitution of governing Councils, which had been dissolved since 1983, in the spirit of academic freedom and autonomy, allow universities to "determine what to teach and what not to teach, the lifting of the ban on student unionism and the repeal of Degree 17 which infringes of the right of students, among others.

Both ASUU's initial response to the crisis, (particularly its open letter on the Education Minister) and its submission to the Akanbi Panel convinced the government that ASUU's fight for academic freedom was to undermine government policy. It was also clear that the government and the union could not agree on these matters, and given that the regime wanted to implement the structural adjustment programme (SAP), it had to find a way to deal with union. Thus the government turned to a Visitation Panel to the University of Benin the base of the ASUU President. The visitation purportedly found him guilty of engaging in private practice and recommended his dismissal, which the President promptly authorized the dismissal. Other union activists and vocal professors were also either dismissed or reprimanded.

The assault on the leadership of the union which was clearly politically motivated (the courts were to reinstate the academics to their positions) became a tool to destabilize the union from within by using pro-government elements to argue that since the President had been dismissed, he should not preside over the union nor speak on behalf of the union. However, majority of the members of the union opposed this and he continued to perform his duties as President to the end of his tenure. This made the government to refuse to agree to negotiate on the ASUU's Log of Demands the union submitted, which had a section dealing with university autonomy and academic freedom.

Sensing this, an early NDC was called, and although Iyayi had the support for a second term, he declined and his Vice President was elected as the new President. The NDC also renewed its demand for negations on conditions of service. Immediately after the NDC however, the anti-SAP coalition suffered a set back as the leadership of the NLC was dismissed by the government and a Sole Administrator appointed to oversee its activities. Notwithstanding, the opposition of the union to SAP remained unshaken and when in April students went on protest against SAP, the union offered solidarity statements. This further angered the government and became more lukewarm to the demands of the union for negotiation. However to make its

demand for negotiation more effective the union courted the friendship of the two other unions in the university system and formed a Joint Action Committee (JAC). The JAC gave an ultimatum to the government to start negotiation with the unions before 8th June or else they embark on indefinite strike. When eventually by the 9th Government had not responded to the unions promptly went on strike. The government then responded first by banning the unions and forbidding their members from organizing under any name. While the other unions ordered their members to go back to work, ASUU insisted that the strike cannot be called off since the only body to call off the strike had been banned by the government. It also directed its members to continue to organize in whatever name, asserting their right to freedom of association and freedom of expression, two of the components of academic freedom (Jega, 1994, Ya'u, 2004).

This open defiance by the leadership of the union embarrassed the government and immediately ordered crackdown on the union leaders over the country. More than 30 were initially arrested and detained. Later most were released after a few days but members of the national leadership, including the former President, were to spend more than 30 days in detention. Not long after their release, members of the academics at University of Ife organized a national conference on the World Bank and Education in Nigeria. The conference provided a cover for meeting of leaders of the academics from different branches and took a number of decisions including mobilization plan. However, the morning after the conference there was a military coup attempt. Working on a theory that the conference and the coup attempt were somehow linked, government arrested and detained the local union leaders along with the coup plotters. The struggle to get the detained lecturers detracted the academics from their agenda of reviving their union. Immediately they were released after more than three months in detention, they were retired from the service of the university, even thought no evidence was found to link them with the coup attempt. At the University of Ibadan, another professor who had spoken against the government in a church congress was similarly arrested and detained, and retired from the service when eventually he was released. The academics went to cough and fought back their jobs.

Academic Freedom against Military Rule

In 1991 the government lifted the ban on union of the academics. The union quickly met and called a National Delegates Conference (NDC). The NDC returned virtually the pre-ban leadership of the Union. Following the experience of detention in the hands of the military government, many of the ASUU leaders became convinced that academic freedom cannot flourish under the military rule, and since military did not seem ready to leave, it was imperative that they join forces with other groups demanding the exit of the military from the political scene of the country. It was in this context that the ASUU-NDC not only set up a Commission on Human Rights but also became a founding member of the Campaign for Democracy, a coalition of several human rights groups, trade unions and other civil society organizations.

The NDC also set up machinery to get the government to negotiate conditions of services with the academics. While government was willing to make unilateral offer on salary, the union not only rejected the offer but also insisted that negotiation must be comprehensive covering academic freedom, university autonomy and funding. Eventually the government refused to negotiate and the members of the academic community embarked on an indefinite strike. The government responded as it did earlier by banning the union. However the previous ban had taught the academics some lessons and the strike remained intact. Next government stopped the salaries of the lecturers, and when this failed, it issued sack letters to all those on strike. Still this did not break the strike, and in the end government called leaders of the banned union to the negotiating and negotiated the September 2 Agreement.

The section on University Autonomy and Academic Freedom made far-reaching provisions to promote academic freedom and university autonomy. These include a new criterion for the composition of Governing Councils of universities, amendment of Decree 16 of 1985 on Minimum Standards which transferred the power of university senate in drawing u academic programmes to the NUC as well as the amendment of the Joint Admission and Matriculation

Board, whose operations has usurped the function of universities in admitting students, and review of Decree 17 of 1984 which gave the President the power to remove any public servant "in the public interest". Academics have been calling for the repeal of this Decree as it automatically took over the power of university Governing Council on the determination of the appointment of university staff. It was used to dismiss academics who opposed government policies. The agreement also provided for the democratization of governance of university through the committee system whose memberships were now to be elected.

No sooner than the agreement was signed, a new Minister of Education declared the agreement as imperfect contract, not meant to be implemented. This set up a chain of events resulting in a new round of strike and the dismissal of virtually all academic staff in the country's universities.

While this was going on the country was entering into a political crisis. A presidential election whose result had been out already was cancelled by the President, leading to suspicion that he did not want to handover. Academics condemned the action and demanded that the results be upheld and the winner be sworn in. The government refused and the Campaign for Democracy (CD), of which ASUU was a founding member called on national protests and demonstrations. The government responded by arresting the leaders, including many members of the academic staff. Eventually although the government did not reverse itself on the result, it handed over to a contraption called the Interim National Government (ING). The new Minister of Education, looking for popularity for a government that was lacking legitimacy was eager to reach an agreement with the striking lecturers, and a new round of negotiation was quickly entered into. Within days agreement was reached: the dismissal letters were withdrawn, salaries paid and the strike suspended. He also announced the lifting of the ban on the union.

The ING was soon dismissed by the military was uninterested in implementing the agreement on funding and academic freedom. In particular it jettisoned the agreement with respect to the review of the laws governing the NUC and JAMB as well as the repeal of Decree 47. Government had also unilaterally altered the procedure for the appointment of Vice Chancellors through a new Decree (No 11 of 1993), which allowed incumbent VCs to have a second term of office without following the due process. By early 1994, the crisis at the University of Abuja where the Vice chancellor had sacked all founding professors of the university, all union leaders and expelled over 50 students (Bello and Adinnu, 2005) had become a national issue as ASUU sought to ensure justice for its victimized members. There was also the failure of the government to allow the Governing Council of the Federal University of Technology (FUT), Minna to follow the procedure to appoint a Vice Chancellor, resulting in the appointment of a Sole Administrator for the University. This was a major slap on the concept of university governance and predictably became a sore point for the academics.

Following repeated demands by the academics for government to remove the Sole Administrator at FUT, Minna and to intervene in the crisis at University of Abuja, ASUU in August following the expiration of a four-week ultimatum declared a trade dispute with government on a five-point demand. The Union had become frustrated that the military was not interested in resolving the crisis in the universities and in declaring the trade dispute therefore the union included a political demand, that the June 12 Presidential election be upheld, a demand that was intolerable to the government and in many campuses several lecturers were arrested and detained. The dispute was seen by the government as political and therefore allowed the ultimatum to expire resulting in another round of strike by academics. This strike lasted until January 1995 when some agreement was reached. The agreement included the withdrawal of the political demand and an undertaking by the government to recall all staff and students dismissed, suspended, expelled or rusticated at University of Abuja setting up of visitation panel to look into the crisis and the reconstitution of Governing Council for the Federal University of Technology, Minna to appoint an Acting Vice Chancellor for the university.

As soon as ASUU suspended the strike, the government forgot about the agreement, and proceeded to commit more breaches, including irksome and ridiculous appointment of more sole administrator for the universities. Following a protracted crisis at the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria where the Vice chancellor was bent on sacking those who exposed his corruption Government dissolved the Governing Council and appointed a Military General as Sole Administrator to run the university. This soon became the fashion and by 1997 more than 10 sole administrators were appointed to run institutions of higher learning, including another controversial appointment at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka which resulted in the sacking of over 180 academic staff by the Sole Administrator in a bid to cover his corrupt deeds (Okoye and Ya'u, 1999). Many of these academics were arrested, detained, and charged with arson.

The Government shunned several overtures by ASUU for negotiation and in April 1996 the union once again embarked on an indefinite strike. The government initially responded by entering into negotiation with the union, even as it ordered the salaries of academic staff be stopped. Within two weeks however, without a deadlock at the negotiation, the government unilaterally ordered the negotiation suspended, dissolved the national leadership of the union and ordered individual Governing Councils to negotiate at campus level. Once again the right to freedom of association of academics was at stake. The failure of the government action to make the academics go back to classes was followed by a massive crackdown on and several academics were arrested and detained while a number such as at the University of Benin were forcefully evicted from their official residences. Many also were dismissed from the university including the entire leadership of the union.

Academic Freedom against IMF/World Bank

With intervention by several organizations, ASUU suspended the seven-month strike in September. However, there was no substantive agreement beyond the understanding that all those who were dismissed as a result of the strike were to be recalled. Matters thus temporized at this level until the death of Abacha in 1998. The new Government, which saw itself as a stopgap regime accepted to dialogue with ASUU on what it called palliatives, arguing that there was no time to engage in substantive negotiation. Thus in the agreement signed by both sides, it was stated that as soon as a new government came to office, substantive negotiation on matters of funding, university autonomy and academic freedom would take place.

However, as soon as the civilian regime came, it first claimed that there was no such agreement between the previous government and ASUU. With no commitment from the government to honour the agreement, the Union went on another strike. Following intervention including by the National Assembly, the strike was suspended. However, the handling of the strike by the Vice Chancellor of the University of Ilorin created a local problem by sacking over 54 of the academics staff who remained faithful to the national strike. Getting them back to their jobs has been a national issue because the suspension of the strike was on the understanding that no one was to be victimized for his or her role in the strike. To make matters even worse, a succession crisis at the Lagos State University resulted in the Visitor to the university ordering the sacking of five professors who were candidates for the Vice Chancellorship for criticizing government's failure to allow the established procedure in appointing the new Vice chancellor. As if in competition to outdo its departed military processor, even as the case of the professors was in court, the government used force to physically evict them from their houses. All these became additional issues for which ASUU now insisted that government had to address.

The civilian regime headed by a president who once when ASUU was on strike put in a word of support now swore that it was not going to give in to any of the demands of the lecturers. In particular, it set about to write its own version of what academic freedom and university autonomy are and shifted gear to that wore out argument that in keeping with the principle of university autonomy, the government advised the union to negotiate with their employers, which are the Governing Councils of the Universities. While on the surface of it, this seems to be in line with autonomy, the reality is that government was determined to break the national strength of the union.

The refusal of the government to negotiate with the academics has resulted in a stalemate in which the only result is the continued decline in the conditions of learning in the universities. Level of funding has decreased in real terms. Many universities are unable to pay salaries. Meanwhile the contest over academic freedom and university autonomy has remained unresolved. Government's definition of university autonomy says that for the universities to be autonomous, they must generate their funds. The academics argue that the state of the universities is such that they cannot generate funds without government investing in them.

To actualize its own vision of autonomy, the government submitted a Bill to the National Assembly on University Autonomy. The major aim of the government was to shift collective bargaining from the National scene to campus-level, so that individual universities staff could only negotiate separately with their Governing Council. But more substantively relating to academic freedom and university autonomy, the Bill proposes to increase the number of external members of University Council; it also excludes Heads of Department from Senate and concentrates power in the hands of Vice Chancellors.

During the process of debating the Bill in the National Assembly, academics not only argued against the government version but also submitted a counter bill. They submitted that government bill not only violated existing agreements between the Union and Government on matters of academic freedom and university autonomy but also breaches several provisions of the constitution of the country (ASUU, 2003). In the end, the bill that was passed by the National Assembly was substantively different from that submitted by the President. For this reason, the Bill remains unsigned.

In this phase of the struggle over academic freedom, it has taken the surrogate of funding. The matter is however not about much the government should give but what is the role of government in funding education in general and universities in particular. It is a contest around state economic policies, for which academics have been vociferous in denouncing the subservience of the regime to the IMF/World Bank. The government in line with its commitment to the IMF/World Bank is determined to reduce public expenditure by cutting social service provisioning such as education. The fight against the IMF and World Bank policy intervention in the education sector in Nigeria has been long dating back to the 1986 when the IMF insisted on rationalization of universities in the country as a pre-condition for a loan facility to the university sector that the government took in 1990 (Bako, 2005).

Conclusion

The expectation of academics that the civil regime could respect academic freedom was shattered. One of the most telling failures of the civilian government to respect academic freedom is the case of 53 academics of the University of Ilorin who were dismissed since 1999. Another unresolved crisis centering on academic freedom is at the Lagos State University where five Professors who opposed the procedure the government adapted in appointing a Vice chancellor for the University contrary to that provided by the law were dismissed on the orders of the State Governor. Government has only not failed to implement several provisions of the previous agreement it entered with ASUU but has consistently refused to renegotiate the FGN/ASUU Collective Bargaining Agreement.

This made conditions in the universities to further deteriorate as under funding has reached a chronic level. Most universities now have since done away with budgeting as they get monthly subvention from the government, rather than the normal quarterly grants. Consequently, many universities are today in areas of salary payment.

In May last year the government dissolved the Governing Councils of all the Federal Universities, and contrary to the agreement with the academics that, Councils must be immediately reconstituted, it took the government almost a year before it finally reconstituted them. During this period, Vice Chancellors ran the universities as Sole Administrators.

While academics in Nigeria are not satisfied with the extent of academic freedom in the institutions of higher learning in the country, it is also clear that government thinks there is too much of it. Government is not able to have its way because of the vigilance and resilience of the academics in defending this tool that they need for their vocation. In this process, many of them have lost their jobs, many have suffered detention and other forms of humiliation, but they have continued to insist that the foundation of any university system must be built on respect for academic freedom and university autonomy. The inescapable conclusion therefore is that while democratization is important in creating a better environment to advance academic freedom, it is not a sufficient condition for the flourishing of academic freedom. What has kept the river of academic freedom flowing is the determination of academics and the collaboration of students with whom they had waged joint and separate struggles defend academic freedom.

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Part III

The Communication Revolution and Academic Freedom

Communication Revolution and Academic Freedom

Basyouni Ibrahim Hamada
Professor of Mass Communication
Cairo University and the American University in Cairo
Secretary General
Global Communication Research Association

Abstract

Our approach of understanding the linkages between communication revolution and academic freedom depends on a simple but important idea that communication revolution derived by information and communication technologies (ICTs) brings with it the knowledge society, which is mainly dependent on the human brain and human skills. Academics are at the heart of the knowledge society. They are entitled to innovate new ways of knowledge production, dissemination, training and learning and to play a significant social responsible role in leading their societies to rise to the challenges of the global knowledge society and to better use of communication revolution.

This paper has shown that communication revolution derived by digital communications has profoundly changed the ways that university faculty members conduct research, store data, share and publish research findings. It has also heavily affected ways of teaching and learning. Communication revolution has not only transformed the university activities-research, teaching and outreach-but as well changed how universities are organized, financed and managed. Such changes make timely the consideration of whether and how the communication revolution affects academic freedom and how universities need to change to safeguard it. The paper has also illustrated that the traditional concepts of academic freedoms are no longer fit the challenges brought about the communication revolution. An appropriate institutional policy would defend free access of Internet information, as it will help create a genuine platform of knowledge sharing, information exchange, research conducting and thus enhance the collective mind of the academics. The scope of the operative term classroom must be enlarged to encompass electronic formats for those virtual spaces and areas where the communication inherent in the teaching and learning process may occur. With regard to Arab and African Universities, it is safe to state that academic freedom lags behind the potentials of communication revolution. At the same time, one cannot predict the academic freedom to flourish where other types of freedoms are restricted or even does not exist. Arab and African universities are striving to take advantage of the communication revolution and to enjoy the benefits of the knowledge society; however, ICTs are still in the periphery of the development process in most Arab and African universities. Lack of other democratic and transparent institutions in Arab and African countries along with the prevalence of corruption, social inequality, dictatorship, poverty, health and population problems call for more radical role by the university professors to enable the people to leapfrog into the knowledge society. Finally, the paper demonstrates that Islamic culture is consistent with the spirit and requirements of the communication revolution and knowledge society, and calls for the most extent possible of freedom of expression and academic freedom.

Introduction:

The communication revolution derived by digital communications has profoundly changed the ways that university faculty members conduct research, store data, share and publish research findings. It has also heavily affected ways of teaching and learning. Communication revolution has not only transformed the university activities-research, teaching and outreach-but as well changed how universities are organized, financed and managed. Such changes make timely the consideration of whether and how the communication revolution impacts academic freedom and how universities need to change to safeguard it.

Our approach of understanding the linkages between communication revolution and academic freedom depends on a simple but important idea that communication revolution derived by information and communication technologies (ICTs) brings with it the knowledge society, which is mainly dependent on the human brain and human skills. With 70 and 80 percent of economic growth now estimated to be due to new and better knowledge. The future prosperity is critically dependent on policies that foster the continuous generation of knowledge and pursuit of learning. The global influence of ICTs is transforming the university, the economy, and the society as a whole. But information technologies do not produce new ideas. All knowledge and learning ultimately depend on people and definitely on the scholars, academics, teachers and trainers of the universities and higher education institutions" (Chichilnisky, 2998, p. 40). Academics are, therefore, at the heart of the knowledge society. They are entitled to innovate new ways of knowledge production, dissemination, training and learning and to play a significant social responsible role in leading their societies to rise to the challenges of the global knowledge society and to better use of communication revolution. This paper, therefore, is organized–in addition to the introduction and conclusion- around two parts, as follows:

1. Communication Revolution, Knowledge Society and University.
2. Communication Revolution and Academic Freedom.

Communication Revolution, Knowledge Society and University:

The discovery of communication revolution was relatively recent. Neither information nor communication made the list of 102 great ideas used to organize the great books of the Western World, published by Encyclopedia Britannica in 1952. It was not until the early 1960s that attempts to capture the ongoing transformation of industrial societies began to draw on the idea of communication revolution (Beniger, 1986, quoted in Ungar, 2003, p. 332). Since then it has become the master metaphor of our time, an all–embracing ubiquitous idea. Virtually everything is now reduced to information (Ungar, 2003, p. 332). At present time, we are undergoing a social and economic revolution; the knowledge revolution, which matches the impact of the agricultural and industrial revolutions. This is a knowledge revolution driven by knowledge and by the information technologies that process and communicate it. Knowledge is an intangible public good. It is privately produced, and it is replacing land and machines as the primary factor of production prevailing in the agricultural and industrial revolutions (Chichilnisky, 2998, p. 40). Contemporary knowledge possesses, among other characteristics, those of accelerated growth, greater complexity and a trend toward rapid obsolescence. (Tunnermann and Souuza Chaui, 2003, p. 2).

The convergence of a number of industries has shaped the knowledge society with a number of unique characteristics which include: (1) intensive use of information by the common citizen, (2) use of information as a strategic resource by organizations, (3) development of the information sector within the economy, (4) growth of the information sectors quicker than the global economy and quicker than the growth of specific nations, (5) continuous efforts from different countries to develop their infrastructures and integration within an international common standard (Moore, 1997, quoted in Kunsch, et al, 2002, p. 2). With these characteristics, innovation in knowledge society is hailed. While it means disturbance and may produce chaos in previous societies, it directly leads to creativity and productivity in knowledge society.

The rational for what can be described as a strong relationship between knowledge society and the university is the nature of the key activity of the university which revolves around knowledge: its production through research, transfer and integration through education and cultivation of critical judgment, diffusion through publishing and application through university outreach (Wallerstein, 2003, quoted in Michelsen, 2004, p. 3). Founded on knowledge production and its corresponding activities, the likelihood of the magnitude of changes in both activities and structures of the university is quite high. Other similar sectors that enjoy the same privilege are those producing goods which use ICTs to expand the ability of human brain to create, save, process, and retrieve information. Computers, software, telecommunications and biotechnology, entertainment and financial markets are just few examples. Because information has become the

most important product in the knowledge society, knowledge workers who are serving at universities or other similar sectors would be treated as super elite.

Given this unique relationship between knowledge society and the university, it is believed that the role of university will be substantially broadened. Erich Bloch, former Director of the U.S. National Science Foundation, stated it well when noted: "The solution of virtually all problems with which government is concerned: health, environment, energy, urban, development, international relationships, economic competitiveness, and defense and national security, all depend on creating new knowledge-and hence upon the health of our universities" (Bolk, 1998, quoted in Duderstadt, 2000, p. 3). For the university to exert this responsibility, it must have the capacity to control its own destiny, particularly during times of change. This does not only include granting the faculty traditional perquisites such as academic freedom, but allowing university more control over all aspects of its operations, including academic programs, budgets, student selection and faculty appointment and hiring (Duderstadt, 2000, p. 17).

A specific question that emerges is: how does the current communication revolution differ from previous ones? From the very beginning of the human society, we have always communicated with each other. The book, newspaper, radio and television have been termed as tools of communication revolution. But we cannot accept the idea that ICTs are just an extension of the previous tools of communication revolution. The qualities of the current tools or fuels of knowledge society are different from previous ones; furthermore, the globalizing impact of the current ICTs in nearly all aspect of life is profound, unprecedented and unpredictable. The new communication revolution have vastly increased our capacity to do things differently, it is likely to reshape in profound ways knowledge based-institutions such as the university.

Qualities of the Current Communication Revolution:

The current communication revolution has four interconnected qualities that give it a character that transcends previous communication revolutions. The first quality of the communication revolution is digitization, which permits the construction of networks. By translating every kind of information into a universal binary code, any kind of information can be handled through time and space by the same medium. Texts, drawings, pictures, sounds and speech, video and many other types of information, once they are translated into binary code, can be transmitted through digital networks (Schonberger and Hurley, 2000, p.1). Every previous medium of communication be it radio, newspaper, television was designed to transmit a specific type of information, but not others. This unique quality helped create diversity of Internet's content and made it a medium of all communication media. The second quality is the information processing that provides the power to transform ever-richer streams of information into digital code and back into human-absorbable form, to permit it to be handled and transmitted across digital networks. What makes the transmission of information possible over networks is the bandwidth-the amount of information capable of being transmitted over a network-does not just double every eighteen months, as Moore's Law predicts for information processing speed and power, but triples every twelve months. The global decentralized and standardized system of the Internet, the most successful of all digital networks represents the fourth quality of the current communication revolution (Schonberger and Hurley, 2000, p.1).

The link between communication revolution and university and thus the academic freedom is now clear. Communication revolution with its unique qualities paved the way before the knowledge society, in which the key strategic resource necessary for prosperity of humankind has become knowledge itself. As knowledge can be created, absorbed, and applied only by the educated mind, universities will play increasingly important roles as our societies enter the digital age. In a sense, knowledge is the medium of the university, through the activities of discovery, shaping, achieving, transmitting, and applying knowledge. The university services society in a myriad of ways: educating the young, preserving our cultural heritage, providing the basic and applied research, training professionals and certificating their competence, challenging the society and stimulating social change (Bolk, 1998, quoted in Duderstadt, 2000, p. 3).

Let us now investigate how communication revolution affected the modern university. The idea of modern university was shaped at the same time and closely related to the process, which made the nation-state the central unit for organizing society. Thus, the various national systems of higher education and research were colored by and configured according to the specific ways dominating elites in each nation-state defined the appropriate mechanisms to maintain social and political order (Dobbin, 1940; Musselin, 2001, quoted in Michelsen, 2004, p. 3). The education thus prepared the students for work useful for the nation-state, and very often for the public service. The nation-state context was consequently crucial for constitution of academic and student identities. ICTs are taking the university and knowledge out of its traditional territorialized premises. Conventional boundaries like those between types and levels of education. Private and public, pro-profit and non-profit education, state and country boundaries, as well as boundaries of time and space are increasingly crossed (Middlehurst, 2002, quoted in Michelsen, 2004, p. 4). In addition, ICTs undermine the boundaries between different disciplines (Trow, 2001, p. 2).

It is the complexity in the structure of the contemporary knowledge generated by ICTs that dictates interdisciplinary as appropriate response to that complexity. Morin tells us that the predominance of fragmented learning divided up into disciplines, often makes us unable to connect parts and wholes; it should be replaced by learning that can grasp subjects within their contexts, their complexities, their totality. Interdisciplinary presupposes complementary, mutual enrichment and a conjunction of disciplinary skills (Tunnermann and Souuza, 2003, p. 2). ICTs also weaken the boundaries of the university and college itself. Students now may be living anywhere, and lectures may be online from anywhere. Obviously, ICTs weakened the role of the library as a major centripetal force as information comes online from anywhere (Trow, 2001, p. 2).

The potential impact of communication revolution on ways of conducting research is quite high. This is because of the basic feature of ICTs; interactivity, the desired quality of communication systems. Interactive communication behavior is expected to be more effective, more accurate and more satisfying to the participants of the communication process. As Rogers states the most distinctive single quality of ICTs is their interactivity, in interactive communication systems, the individual is active rather than passive or reactive (Roger, 1990, p. 5). Interactivity of the Internet has a number of implications on the research university. Internet encourages academicians to seek collaboration with fellow researchers at other places around the glob. A number of studies show that collaboration is increasing over the last decades and the pattern of collaboration themselves change. Rossman concludes that the primary importance of the Internet for the electronic university lies not in machines that will think for scholars but in scholars using such tools to amplify collective intelligence, brining many minds together for more effective collaborative research (Nentwich, 2001, p. 4).

A second possible impact of ICTs use on the substance of research is that Internet will increase efficiency and productivity of research. With Internet we would not only have to expect more and faster results but as well new types of results and with more productivity. It is also argued that via Internet researchers gain access to a wide variety of projects that can make use of their skills. Actually, Internet has enabled new ways of doing research. Computer–based simulations and experiments became widespread in mathematics and that digitization replaces the traditional model. It is also obvious that online surveys will revolutionize survey research (Nentwich, 2001, p. 4). Concerning information access and publication, the impact of Internet is enormous. Firstly, in many cases it has accelerated the transfer of knowledge. Online publication makes papers available to all subscribers at the same time as it eliminates postal delays. More importantly, reading patterns have changed as readers can now access the literature from their desks, rather than having to go to the library (Prosser, 2004, p. 24). We should not forget that the real change has been occurred thanks to human skills and abilities, it is the university professors and other knowledge workers who generated knowledge, rather than technology. What Davenport and Prusak (1998) have stated in this context illustrates my point: information technology increases an organization's ability to capture data, however, it is people that make the data relevant by using their insight to reflect on, synthesis, and turn data into information, then place it in context to create knowledge (quoted in Jones, 2003, p. 299).

The speed of change brought about by ICTs defeats broad comprehensive planning. Planning on any scale needs a reasonable time horizon-at least 3 to 5 years-in which the outcomes of the plans can be anticipated, and some rational links can be made between a policy and its intended outcomes. But ICTs do not give planners and policy makers that time horizon. In higher education one outcome is that many big American universities are not doing much if any institutions-wide planning for the adoption of ICTs, but giving these decisions over to departments and research units-a form of decision by trial and error which, if properly monitored, can at least be treated as small scale experiments. It is what an institution does when it is does not know what to do. One example: In 2000, the U.S Congress became concerned about the impact of ICTs on the ownership of intellectual property that being distributed through it in ways that made it available to many users without payment or even acknowledgement of authors or creators of the new knowledge. The highly qualified committee that was asked to study the problem wrote a long report in which the Congress was advised to do nothing-do not write any legislation in an era so little understood (Trow, 2001, p. 2).

Communication Revolution and Academic Freedom

The previous debate on communication revolution and university gives us a broad view as well as an analytical tool to investigate the academic freedom as a core academic value closely connected to the overall status of the university. For instance, the degree of university autonomy will affect the degree of the academic freedom; the more autonomy the university is, the more freedom the professors enjoy, opposite is also true. Accordingly, in the remaining part of this paper I wish to examine a relatively unexplored matter; communication revolution and academic freedom. The importance of this exploration lies in the fact that all traditional statements on academic freedom were conceived in a context prior to the age of communication revolution, where traditional media mentality was dominant. Academicians are currently heavily affected by the communication revolution where the individual can participate in horizontal, interactive, synchronous, asynchronous and decentralized communication. The past traditional media systems through which academic freedom is–at least-partly exercised were designed for vertical, unilateral, centralized, mass distribution of information, not for communication; communication is interactivity. The convergence of satellite communication and computing democratize communication and free individuals from the restrictions of the state and authority. In this sense, communication revolution is, by definition, a revolution of freedom. As new political and social structures are always created around new modes of communication, as always all types of freedoms are formed around the new changes in the areas of communication, academic freedom should be reconsidered and reexamined according to the substantial changes brought about by the communication revolution, otherwise, traditional statements of academic freedom will constitute a barrier before the academicians in the knowledge society.

The major principles of academic freedom guarantee freedom of inquiry and research, freedom of teaching, and freedom of expression and publication and outreach. These freedoms enable the university to advance knowledge and to transmit it effectively to its students and to the public, both inside and beyond classroom. We believe that all types of academic freedoms are linked to the right to communicate which is a personal right that guarantees the basic right of communication, a faculty member or a student will not exercise his or her academic freedom unless he or she has the right to access information and express his or her opinion freely, publish it freely and disseminate the knowledge through the available media inside and outside the university. "The importance of freedom of expression is due to the fact that it is an essential part of human dignity. Freedom of expression also constitutes a basis of democracy. Without it there is no possibility of free and genuine elections, nor any chance to realize the right to self-determination. Without the right to freedom of expression other freedoms cannot exist: religious, academic, or those relating to media, arts or culture" (Arnaldo, and Alain, 1998, p. 30). With this in mind, I will first investigate the crucial debate about academic freedom and then will show how this concept has been affected and how it could be reformulated to cope with the challenges of the communication revolution.

Perhaps no belief has been more central to academic life than that of academic freedom. Academic freedom codified the belief about the research for truth. No less a body than the United States Supreme Court has weighed in on the importance of academic freedom by stating: "Our Nation is deeply committed to safeguarding academic freedom, which is of transcendent value to all of us and not merely to the teachers concerned" (Tierney, 2004, p.1).

The existing literature shows that the concept of academic freedom is open to a range of interpretations and has been used at times to support conflicting causes and positions. Despite this lack of clarity, some common themes can be found in the literature. At its most basic, academic freedom is frequently presented as a negative right of individual academics-that is the right to non-interference in their activities: the freedom of the teacher or research worker in higher institutions of learning to investigate and discuss the problems of his science and to express his conclusions, whether through publication or in the instruction of students without interference from political, or from the administrative officials of the institution in which he is employed, unless his methods are found by qualified bodies of his own profession to be clearly incompetent or contrary to professional ethics (Arthur, quoted in Kerlind and Kayrooz, 2003, p. 2). This type of definition emphasizes the concept of academic freedom as a freedom from, i.e., freedom from interference. Others see academic freedom as being more about a freedom to, i.e., a freedom to engage in appropriate academic activities. This represents a shift in the interpretation of academic freedom from being a negative right to a positive right of academics. The wider concept of academic freedom is generally assumed to include the right to participate in the government of the institution and its policy-making, freedom in what and how to teach, choice of research topics, and freedom to travel and to communicate with colleagues (Kerlind and Kayrooz, 2003, p. 7).

The 1940 Statement of Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure emphasizes the side of negative freedom and, while it gives teachers freedom of research, teaching and outreach, it puts a number of restrictions that inhibit the faculty member from being able to do his job properly. The statement, as I will indicate later is not consistent with the challenges, requirements, qualities and opportunities given by the communication revolution. The 1940 Statement of Principles on Academic Freedom states that:

1. Teachers are entitled to full freedom in research and in the publication of the results.

2. Teachers are entitled to freedom in the classroom in discussing their subject, but they should be careful not to introduce into their teaching controversial matter, which is not related to their subject.

3. College and university teachers are citizens, members of a learned profession, and officers of an educational institution. When they speak or write as citizens, they should be free from institutional censorship or discipline, but their special position in the community imposes special obligations, they should be accurate, should respect for the opinion of others, and should make every effort to indicate that they are not speaking for the institution (AAUP, 1940 Statement of Principles of Academic Freedom).

An extension of scope of academic freedom has been stated in the modifications added to the University of California's old regulation. The new regulation on academic freedom of 2003 gives a special emphasis to the academic freedom of students, at the same time it repeats the same rights and responsibilities of the 1940 statement. Academic freedom requires that teaching and scholarship be assessed only by reference to the professional standards that sustain the University's pursuit and achievement of knowledge. The substance and nature of these standards properly lie within the expertise and authority of the faculty as a body. Members of the faculty are entitled as University employees to the full protections of the Constitution of the United States and of the Constitution of the State of California (Trow, 2004, P. 37). Though these modifications provide more types of freedoms as students also are free to express their viewpoints, but as the reader may notice, freedom of expression for both teachers and students are restricted by the

walls of the classroom. A style of thinking that no longer fits the sprit of the communication revolution.

To clarify my point, I find it useful to differentiate between two types of freedoms: academic freedom as stated earlier and freedom of expression as a human right, a personal freedom without which, academic freedom is incomplete or may not exist. The difference lies in the reasoning behind the principles. "Academic freedom is a freedom granted by society to members of the academic community to ensure that they are able to fulfill   the tasks given to them, and thus, to enable a university to fulfill its responsibilities to society and to contribute to the progress of humanity. Freedom of speech is a personal right for all people; however, the argument in favor of free speech is not only self-fulfillment but also that of strengthening democracy, truth, and culture. The core of academic freedom is the right to conduct research and to teach without any interference or pressure, from the institution itself or from the outside, be it from the political authorities or from private stakeholders or patrons. Academic freedom can thus be asserted both against the state and against the given institution" (Spiro, 2003, p. 315). Accordingly, Academic freedom is an integral part of freedom of expression.

Another fundamental condition, not less important than freedom of expression, is the autonomy of the university. "These two concepts-academic freedom and university autonomy-are often treated as one, and sometimes confused; however, they are interlinked. It is important to distinguish between them. University autonomy refers to institutional self-government, while academic freedom relates to the academic staff, but also to the institution as such" (Spiro, 2003, p. 312).

Academic Freedom and the Problem of Secrecy:

The desire for secrecy has led external sponsors of academic research to impose, as a condition of funding, contractual restrictions on the publication rights of researchers. This climate of secrecy reduces collegial interaction amongst faculty and students and places a chill on peer evaluation and presentation of knew knowledge at conferences, public seminars and in journals. At its worst, the trend towards secrecy has manifested itself in attempts to suppress research that produces commercially unfavorable results. In a survey conducted to review relevant contract language and policy documents from 27 institutions in Canada, researchers found that academic staff associations at a number of institutions have negotiated language that seeks to protect the right to publish (The Freedom to Publish Report).

The above discussion on interrelationship between academic freedom and freedom of expression has a strong support from the UNESCO conference on "higher education in the twenty-first century: vision and action" that concludes: so that the university may fully assume– and carry out-the responsibilities which society lays upon it, the university as an institution of scholarship and its academic staff individually need to be granted certain conditions of work held to be necessary for such responsibilities to be optimally fulfilled. These terms are contained in the two concepts of university autonomy and academic freedom. The former relates to institutional self-government. The latter relates to individual members of the academic staff and also to the students." (UNESCO Working Document, 1998, p. 7).

At this point, it seems important to mention that academic freedom is not an absolute right. There are, however, some restrictions to the activities of research and publication which mainly seek to safeguard human rights. "American Psychological Association (APA) for example imposes specific restrictions that limit what researchers can and cannot do when conducting research. Consequently, psychologists recognize that their ethical obligations forbid certain programs of research when the research procedures produce unacceptable consequences for the participants. As Singer states the protection of fundamental human rights takes precedence over the freedom of science and over the benefits that promising scientific research project bring. Another potential barrier to research relates to the consequence of pursuing specific programs of research is the value of knowledge. The primary concern with this type of restriction is not with

the treatment of the participants per se, but with the potential consequences of acquiring specific knowledge. (Pittenger, 2003, p.110).

The epistemological barrier to research represents a specific objection to the research question because of the topic it addresses or the extra scientific implications of the research. The argument presented here suggests that the pursuit of knowledge is not value free, because it does create consequences that affect others. (Singer, 1996, quoted in Pittenger, 2003, p. 113). This barrier is problematic because one should know beforehand the forbidden knowledge that may be produced in order to forbid a program of research. For example, one may wish to prohibit a program of research for fear of the technology such exploration may produce. Such speculation will remain an inference, without the empirical support generated by the forbidden research (Pittenger, 2003, p. 115).

Future Trend:

The basic argument of this paper is that it is not only communication revolution that will result in substantial changes in the concept of academic freedom, but the overall characteristics defining the age of globalization. Among these characteristics are the trend towards deregulation and liberalization, privatization, globalization of commerce, culture and capital, the multilateral free trade system derived by competition, the lifelong educational needs of citizens in a knowledge-driven global economy and so many. Given the limitations of this contribution, the focus will be only on the communication revolution and academic freedom. Understanding both the architecture of the Internet and the responsibilities of modern university professors will help us analyze this relationship. The Internet is an unregulated cyberspace allows information to bypass state and university high officials' interventions and thus produces greater academic empowerment. It is a global communication network that allows the top–heavy, concentrated media monopolies to be displaced by a responsive multi-model of communication. More importantly, it is a democratic, participatory communication network that gives its users free, independent, pluralistic and uncensored public space. On the other hand emphasizing the real responsibilities and duties of the modern university require us to look at the academic freedom from different perspective. The responsibilities of the university professors is to transform the education system so as to maximize the benefits of the communication revolution and reduce its threats, to think about their responsibilities as agents of change, leaders of social and political movements, and freedom fighters. Asmal well notes that academic community has to deal with the deprivation and alienation, and above all the poverty of peoples. He added that academic freedom will be diminished if it is seen as just freedom from the unjust rules and regulations of the past. It must become "freedom to" fully develop the potential of our societies and above all our peoples. Academic freedom cannot flourish in a restrictive society where the wider freedoms are restricted or even do not exist (Asmal, 2002, p. 159). In Arab and African countries-for example-we need to recognize the duty of the academics to go further to meet the needs of the society and to free the people and not to confine their interests to teaching, conducting research and transmitting knowledge to society. There is an ethical obligation before the academics in Arab and African countries to go beyond their limited and special university community and to address the wider issues of the whole society if the university is to contribute to its advancement.

In his important work, Representation of the Intellectual, Edward Said, points out that: There is no such thing as a private intellectual, since the moment you set down words and then publish them you have entered the public world. (Said, 1994, p. 12, quoted in Asmal, 2002, p. 167). In line with Edward Said, Louis Menand, a writer and literary theorist, in his essay "The Limits of Academic Freedom" argues that: We don't need universities in order to preserve a static knowledge from the forces of change. We need them to ensure that knowledge will not remain static in the services of some vested interest (Menaned, 1996, p. 13).

Needless to say, that academic freedom as suggested here comes with a corresponding social responsibility. While accountability must prevail among peers within the institutions, it also involves external accountability to society as a whole. In this regard, academics must ensure that their research is "open" and accurate, and not for private profit. Academic freedom recognizes the

important role of academics in the fulfillment of economic, social, cultural, civil and political rights of the people and the need to engage in activities that respond to the needs of society at large (Asmal, 2002, p. 168). There should be no objection to accountability. The problem is the way in which government handles the moral expectation that accountability entails. (Stevenson, 2004, p. 1).

In its search for challenges of the communication revolution to academic freedom, The American Association for University Professors (AAUP) established a subcommittee that investigates this matter and expressed its concerns about access to information in digital format. The report states that faculty access to print format materials (e.g., in library collections) is seldom a concern; universities rarely seek to limit or restrict the availability of even the most controversial materials among the monographs or serials they hold. Access to material in digital format may, however, present quite different problems. Several universities have curtailed access, through the campus computing system, to politically explicit materials under conditions where access to comparable print material would be routine. An appropriate institutional policy would ensure that access to politically explicit and other controversial materials through university computing networks and systems would be limited to no greater degree than access to print and visual materials in library collections is limited (AAUP report, 1997, p. 6). Defending free access of Internet information is, in fact, empowering the academic freedom to a large extent as it will help create a genuine platform of knowledge sharing, information exchange, research conducting and thus enhance the collective mind of the academics. As Unger concludes, "The internet is certainly the largest and most inclusive library ever. (Ungar, 2003, p. 343).

The second area where new policy of academic freedom may be needed-as stated by AAUP report, is the posting by faculty members of materials that could evoke controversy on or off campus. In many academic disciplines, faculty members may share and distribute politically explicit and other potentially controversial material. Faculty in other fields may legitimately wish to access or transmit such materials. Such dissemination is generally accepted in the print environment; though even in recent times there have been external pressures to restrain such materials. But even if the material posted in cyberspace is controversial, so long as it is not illegal it should not be banned simply because it comes in electronic format. (AAUP report, 1997, p. 6). Information sharing through Internet enables the university elite to practice their real responsibilities towards the development of their countries and empowerment of their peoples especially in Arab and African countries.

The third issue raised by the sub-committee report is freedom of teaching. Under the conditions of communication revolution, the scope of the operative term classroom must be enlarged to encompass electronic formats for those virtual spaces and areas where the communication inherent in the teaching and learning process may occur. Web sites, home pages, bulletin boards, chat rooms, and e-mail lists that convey or share information and ideas within the context of a university class or course--as well as to the traditional physical classroom in which much teaching will continue to take place (AAUP report, 1997, p. 6). Adjusting academic freedom to the requirements and potentials of online education will better serve the effectiveness of education, online education favors self and cooperative learning in particular since students are not passive recipients in the learning process. Cooperative learning is founded upon constructive theories of learning (Glges, 2001, p. 137).

The report criticized what has been stated in the 1940 statement when it cautions that faculty members, speaking as citizens, should be accurate and "exercise appropriate restraint" as well as "respect for the opinions of others" in their external utterances. The reasonable justification behind this restriction is that this regulation was formulated before the advent of the communication revolution as we live it today and where the mentality of the physical university campus was dominant. "In cyberspace it is difficult to distinguish between what is internal from what is external. (AAUP report, 1997, p.6).

The fifth concern of AAUP report indicates that there are at least some evidences that some institutions treat computer access as a lower-order faculty benefit, which may be suspended or terminated for minor infractions, with little if any formal process. Such notions need to be rejected. Access to computing facilities and electronic communication, including Internet access, is a resource of great value and utmost importance to faculty scholarship and thus for academic freedom. Finally the report asserts the value of the privacy of electronic communication. It shows that in the relatively few cases on privacy of e-mail, courts have shown some willingness to overlook invasions that probably would not be allowed in more familiar settings. Regardless of the medium, privacy of communication is vital to the quality of an academic institution (AAUP report, 1997, p. 6). It is logical to stress the free access to information and the right to privacy and to reject any type of censorship as a decisive condition of academic freedom that rise to the challenges of communication revolution.

Academic Freedom in Arab and African Universities:

Where does academic freedom in Arab and African universities stand in this debate of communication revolution? It is safe to state that academic freedom in Arab and African universities lags behind the potentials of communication revolution. At the same time, one cannot predict the academic freedom to flourish where other types of freedoms are restricted or even does not exist. Arab and African universities are striving to take advantage of the communication revolution and to enjoy the benefits of the knowledge society; however, ICTs are still in the periphery of the development process in most Arab and African universities.

A significant portion of Arab and African university professors does not have email or homepage and thus are not able to communicate with their counterparts either from their region or from outside. Arab and African countries are still following restrictive policies in different areas of freedom; freedom of information, freedom of expression, press freedom, human rights, academic freedom. Lack of democracy and freedom is always justified by the authoritarian state as prerequisites for economic development, stability, or to confront external threats. Regardless of what is explicitly said by officials or implicitly written in the constitutions, documents, policy statements, missions and visions, the real world cues testify that we still out of the privileges of the knowledge society especially in relation to academic freedom and university autonomy. It is confirmed that out of seven-world region, the Arab countries had the lowest freedom score in the late 1990s (Arab Human Development Report, 2002, p. 120).

The declaration of Arab Universities Conference held in Amman, Jordan, in December 2004 that called for the deletion of political trusteeship imposed on the academic community and assertion of Arab universities-self governance. (Deceleration of the Conference, 2004, p.2). The broad meaning of academic freedom or what is called the general theory is what we need to reshape the Arab and African universities as well as the Arab and African societies to cope with the knowledge society requirements. In Western developed countries this may not be the case because other democratic institutions are performing their responsibilities to the extent that academic community and the society as a whole may achieve progress if university professors restrict themselves to the internal affairs of the university. Lack of other democratic and transparent institutions in Arab and African countries along with the prevalence of corruption, social inequality, dictatorship, poverty, health and population problems call for more radical role by the university professor to enable the people to leapfrog into the knowledge society.

Finally, I would like to raise this important question: Given the qualities of the communication revolution one has to ask whether Islamic culture compatible with it and thus enhances a modern concept of academic freedom or it stands against this revolution. The purpose is to respond to the conservative Muslims as well as others who believe that Islamic culture lies at odds with the digital age and therefore, works against all types of freedoms, including academic freedom. I hereby stress the point that Islam presents itself as a way for the digital age. It would be useful to quote Ali Mazrui's analysis who wrote recently that Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) moved from Mecca to Jerusalem in a single night in the age of travel by camel; he moved from earth to heavens during the same night ascending from

Jerusalem; and while in the heavens, the present age communicated with the ages of the past, for Prophet Muhammad was able to talk to Prophet Jesus (peace be upon him), Prophet Moses (peace be upon him) and all the way back to Adam during the same night. The Prophet was back in Mecca before morning, breaking at least three barriers of cosmic experience: 1- killing distance between Mecca and Jerusalem, 2- killing the distance between the earth and the heavens, and 3- killing the distance between the past and the present. It is in this sense that Islam prepared believers for the age of the end of distance and the age of globalized digital simultaneity (Mazrui, 1998, quoted in Hamada, 2004a, p. 11).

Consequently, knowledge is the key to the human condition and the power that drives human civilization. In the 6,291 or so verses of the Qura'n, there are about 791 references to the Arabic root ilm (to know)–roughly 12.7 percent–making it fourth after Allah (God). Knowledge links humans to God: only knowledgeable persons fear God. The people not only have a general right to know, but also a specific right to read, which in Muslim cultural theory is not a mere right, but an–all important and universal duty (96:1). Note that the first word of the Qur'an urging Muslims to read. This notion is further reinforced by the fact that Qur'an specifically identifies the pen as God's chosen instrument in the process of teaching man (96:4) (Pasha, 1993, quoted in Hamada, 2001a, p. 220). Also Hamid Mowlana has concluded in his analysis of the Islamic community paradigm which is based on theory of tawhid (the unity of God, human and the universe) that Islamic community was responsible for the information and scientific revolution that characterized the middle ages. What was known as a dark age of the medieval period in Western history was a golden age in the Islamic community (Mowlana, 1993, quoted in Hamada, 2004b, p5). With regard to freedom of expression, scholars find evidence in the Qur'an to support the fact that cultural diversity and differences of opinion and disagreement are natural in social life and embedded in mankind (Kamali, 1994, p.76 quoted in Hamada, 2004c, p. 12). Note for example the following text which provides "If thy Lord had so willed, He could have made mankind one nation: but they will not cease to differ" (Hud, 11: 118). The Qur'anic vision here is clearly one of pluralism, which, in turn is premised on the freedom of expression and thought, and differences of abilities, cultures, experiences among individuals and nations (Hamada, 2004c, p. 15).

Conclusion:

Communication Revolution is shaking the foundations of how universities are organized, managed and financed. The overall activities of the university-teaching research and outreach- are also being transformed. The comprehensive view of academic freedom in Arab and African universities incorporates a full engagement of the academic community in the development process of the whole society to compensate lack of rule of law and good governance. Academic freedom is not an absolute right, it is not also a privilege for university professors, but a responsibility and duty with ethical and human constrains. Finally, the paper demonstrates that Islamic culture is consistent with the spirit and necessities of communication revolution and knowledge society, and calls for the most extent possible of freedom of expression and academic freedom.

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Academic Freedom and the Right to Publish

Maitha Salem Al Shamsi
Vice-Rector, United Arab Emirates University

Basyouni Ibrahim Hamada
Professor of Mass Communication
Cairo University and the American University in Cairo
Secretary General
Global Communication Research Association

Abstract

The right to publish involves multitude of issues like copyrights and right to intellectual property, national and international laws and individual and institutional rights to publish scholarly work. The issue is also a part of the universal right to freedom of speech and thus it is inter-linked with the socio-political structure and history of a society.

The article discussed two major areas in which right to publish is frequently threatened; university-industry collaborative activities and national security. It has proved that freedom of inquiry and right to publish are crucial to the advancement of knowledge, the development of industry, and protection of the nation's security. The desire for secrecy on the part of industry and state has served against the right to publish. The conflict of interests between businesspersons and political leaders on one hand and the academics on the other has shaped the nature and extent of the right to publish. This conflict has led external sponsors of academic research whether they are businesspersons or public officials to impose a number of restrictions to keep academics from releasing their research findings or expressing their views properly and timely. This climate of secrecy reduces collegial interaction amongst faculty and students and places a chill on peer evaluation and the presentation of new knowledge at conferences, public seminars and in journals.

The other prime area in which right to publish is frequently threatened is the national security. Governments, in developed and developing countries place firm restrictions on the free flow of information especially at times of crises to safeguard national security. Other governments, especially in Arab and African regions restrict the freedom of information and right to publish whether they face crises or not under the guise of protecting national security. Undoubtedly, this trend is at odds with what is called the right to know. In democratic societies, there is a basic right to know, to be informed about what government is doing and why, what other institutions, including the universities are doing and why. People in a democratic society have the right to know results of academic research especially when these results have direct or indirect implications towards issues they face and future they hope. The article argues that without safeguarding right to communicate and right to publish academic freedom in general is far from being a reality.

INTRODUCTION

Literature on academic freedom regards the right to publish as one of the core values of and a precondition to academic freedom. In America, the university professors regard it "as the first condition of progress, [a] complete and unlimited freedom to pursue inquiry and publish its results" (AAUP General Report on Academic Freedom). The publication of research findings is vital to transmit knowledge and benefits to academics, students, and society. Research is a university mechanism for knowledge creation and is of a little value without dissemination of its findings to the targeted public inside and outside the university. The accumulated scientific knowledge is there to be shared and free inquiry and free speech within the academic community is indispensable for the spread of knowledge within a society.

Now, at this point in history, Arab and African academia should play a vital role to combat the political, economic, social, and cultural issues in these countries. Otherwise, their role and even the right to publish will remain confined to a very limited target beneficiary, with a limited concrete value. Accordingly, this article argues the right to publish be analyzed in the framework of the universal right to communicate and freedom of expression as crucial principals to safeguarding academic freedom. The article will also argue that right to publish is not only about technical and scientific knowledge but it must also bring into play all traditional and modern means of communication and expression. These media include newspaper, magazine, radio, television as well as Internet and other means of communications that allow the voice of the academic to be heard elsewhere. The article will also reflect new constrains on the right to publish after new technological development.

ORGANIZATION

The United States has a great influence or effect on the academic life of Arab and African countries as well as on other parts of the world, due to its elite status as the economic powerhouse and as the leading knowledge-producer. It also has the vital control over the dissemination of knowledge through different forms of media and communication channels. Therefore, an overview on the origin, the legal framework and the prevailing situation of the academic freedom and right to publish in the U.S. will provide a good insight to this article before discussing the situation in Arab and African countries.

The article has divided its discussion in following two main parts:

1) The first part deals with the right to publish and the problem of secrecy as related to both business and politics,

2) The second part introduces the right to publish in the context of the right to communicate.

In addition, the article includes an introduction to demonstrate the significance of the right to publish to academic freedom, and a conclusion to summarize the main findings.

OVERVIEW

Academic freedom in the United States: The USA is the present day model and the leader of freedom, academic and otherwise, however, the legal concept of academic freedom originated from Germany where in 1850 the constitution declared that science and its teaching would be free (Standler, 2000). Even the post World War II German constitution re-emphasized, "Art and science, research and teaching are free" (The German constitution of 23 May, 1949 article 5, clause 3). Many prestigious American universities like John Hopkins in 1876, University of Chicago in 1890, Harvard, and Princeton, were evolved on German model of universities such as Göttingen and Berlin and the early concept of academic freedom was imported from there though American constitution does not mention education (Standler, 2000).

The academic freedom took shape in America through court cases and supreme court verdicts and was articulated by the American Association of University Professors through 1940 Statement of Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure that was reviewed in 1970 and then in 1999. The first clause in the AAUP 1940 document declares, "Teachers are entitled to full freedom in research and in the publication of the results" (AAUP official website). The US Supreme Court first mention academic freedom about 48 years ago in a majority decision declaring "Teachers and students must always remain free to inquire, to study and to evaluate, to gain new maturity and understanding; otherwise our civilization will stagnate and die" (Warren, Sweezy v. New Hampshire, 354 US 234, 250, 1957).

Black spots also mar the American history when it comes to curbing academic freedom. During the same year when American professors came with a landmark document on academic freedom, the appointment of Professor Bertrand Russell, the most distinguished philosopher of his time, by City College of New York was revoked by an American court, denouncing his views as immoral (Kay v. Board of Education, 829, 1940). Even the earlier history of academic freedom (1865 to 1917) shows the cases of professors dismissed for expressing their political opinions (Metzger, 1961, p139-193) and there have been instances when ideological confrontation of the Cold War took its toll on academic freedom not only in the Communist World but also in the so called Free World.

In today's America, after 9/11 and after the enforcement of Patriotic Law, the universities fear again that law is used to attack academic freedom. In its annual meeting on 14 Nov 2002, American Studies Association expressed deep concerns about the storm of attacks on intellectual freedom and on open public debate "in the name of patriotism and a war on terror." Resolution says, "Free and frank intellectual inquiry is under assault by overt legislative acts and by a chilling effect of secrecy and intimidation in the government, media and on college campuses" (ASA newsletter, March 2003). The American Association of American Professors also has created a special Committee on Academic Freedom and National Security in Times of Crisis to assess how academic freedom is affected by war on terror (to be elaborated during discussion section).

The issue of present assaults on academic freedom in the US, in the name of war on terror, is more relevant for Arabs and some African academics as they are a close target of scrutiny. [In a recent incident, a Columbia University professor of Arab origin was banned from attending a training program for expressing his views on Israel (Bradley, Academe, May/June, 2005)].

Right to publish: The right to publish involves multitude of issues like copyrights, intellectual property rights, national and international laws and individual and institutional rights to publish scholarly work. The issue is also a part of the universal right to freedom of speech and in this way it is inter-linked with the socio-political structure and history of a society. Business imperatives and complications have arisen with the advent of online publishing and for the ownership of research and its dissemination. Publishing vehicles are also wide-ranged in size, effect and technology, soft and hard or both, and from a limited and specialized refereed journal to a large circulated all-purpose magazine/newspaper and the electronic media with a larger appeal. As we will discuss later, to exercise their right to publish, academics and researchers interact with most forms of communications and have a long history of political, academic, and legal struggles with gate-keeping forces in different societies.

In 1949, an American court stopped the publication of 1876 literary piece of Mark Twain (Samuel L. Clements). Reason: ownership of manuscript does not necessarily entail the right to publish (The New York Times, 19 January, 1949). Last year, the US government blocked the publishing of a book by Shirin Ebadi, the 2003 Noble Prize winner, and she had to file a lawsuit to fight the ban. Reason: the US government has forbidden American publishers to publish the works of authors from three countries, Iran, Cuba, and Sudan (Associated Press, Nov 1 2004). The Provost of the Duke University of Durham, USA, declared the publication of an advertisement in the campus newspaper opposing the war as illegal. Reason: federal tax code bans a nonprofit organization from paying for political advertisement. (Duke Chronicle, 26 March 2003, in www.collegefreedom.org). All these three are different cases but have same effect.

The right to publish may have strong linkage with political and intellectual issues but there is another dimension: transferring the rights of publishing to profit making organizations. The issue is becoming more and more significant with the growth of online publishing. According to the American Library Association (ALA), authors' eagerness to get recognition and prestige by publishing in peer-reviewed scholarly journals has created a system where authors signing away their right of scholarship in exchange for publication. ALA warned scholars that by "sign away all rights they can find themselves requesting permission from publishers to place their own articles on a personal website (Scholarly Communication Toolkit, ALA, www.ala.org). Public Library of

Science has gathered 29000 signatures from scholars and researchers of 175 countries for an open letter demanding that journals give free online access to their contents (Vaknin, UPI, 19 Feb 2002).

International treaty to protect the right to publish: A Copyright Treaty was signed in Geneva on December 20, 1996 by The World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) that police the world copyright issues and administers 23 treaties. The 1996 WIPO treaty not only recognized "the need to maintain a balance between the rights of authors and the larger public interest, particularly education, research and access to information" but also in its Article 8 deals with the 'Right of communication to the public'. The Article says the work of authors and artists "shall enjoy the exclusive right of authorizing any communication to the public of their works by wire or wireless means ..." (official WIPO website www.wipo.int). [The US government has implemented the WIPO 1996 treaty by enacting The Digital Millennium Copyright Act in 1998].

The Arab and African countries: The fragility or the weakness of political and democratic structures in most Arab and African countries, lower literacy rates, and meager spending on R&D gives a different perspective to the issues of academic freedom and right to publish. Israel spends more than 3% of its GDP on R&D as compared to less than 0.3% by most Arab countries. As a result, the numbers of refereed publications in international journals produced by Israel alone during 5 years (1995-2005) are equal to number of publications by the entire Arab world during the same period (Elsevier, www.scopus.com). Lack of policies or inaction on issues related to higher education and research, and disregard to the universal right to free speech will remain factors for a grim situation in the Arab and African countries in areas of academic freedom and right to publish.

The Arab Press Freedom Watch has quoted several cases of curbing the freedom of speech and right to publish and issued a communiqué, demanding to abolish freedom-depriving punishments and regards for the fundamental right of free speech (Casablanca communiqué, 2004). Similarly, many human rights watchdogs have brought to light the cases of academics persecuted in Arab and African countries for expressing their views (Human Rights Watch World Report 2002).

In today's globalized world, academic freedom and right to publish is not related merely to the political dissent or someone's views about a certain issue. It is also about the progress of a knowledge society given that 'knowledge rich countries will grow faster than knowledge poor countries' (Best, 2001). As we will discuss later in this article, the right to publish is also about spreading and transferring the knowledge and for the well-being of a society. 'A dynamic link has been established between the production of new knowledge, knowledge transfer, and economic performance' (Hezelkorn, 2004). An open academic environment and freedom of communication is prelude to a knowledge based society and essential not only for intellectual freedom but also for the human development of a society.

DISCUSSION

The Interrelation between Academic Freedom and Right to Publish: Freedom is "granted by society to members of academic community to ensure that they are able to fulfill the tasks given to them and, thus, to enable a university to fulfill its responsibilities to society and to contribute to the progress of humanity" (Spiro, 2003, p. 315).

Academic freedom is a duty more than a privilege, as society gave it to its super elite to produce knowledge, disseminate it through teaching, and apply it through the university outreach and community services. This duty and responsibility rested on academic researchers to make the results of their inquiries known, even if doing so is not always welcome and has many constraints. The core of academic freedom is the right to conduct research and publish its findings; to disseminate knowledge and make it available for all inside and outside the university.

Political or commercial restrictions imposed on the diffusion of research results inhibit the university to fulfill its basic role in knowledge advancement and knowledge society. The right to publish should not be confined to the publication of scholarly works. The only aspect that makes the general theory of academic freedom works is the ability of the university professors to publish their general thoughts, viewpoints and arguments as well as their special technical and scientific knowledge through specialized and mass media to reach both specialized and mass audiences. For better understanding of the place of the right to publish within the concept of academic freedom, it appears useful to briefly investigate the evolution of this concept and how it encompasses the right to publish as one of its core values.

Since 1980s, there has been growing debate about the role of academic freedom in university life; researchers suggest that academic freedom is becoming increasingly constrained in modern universities. Some warn that constraints on academic freedom will lead to deterioration in the quality of public debate and the practices of pluralistic democracy. The existing literature shows that the concept of academic freedom is open to a range of interpretations and has been used at times to support conflict causes and positions.

At its most basic, academic freedom is frequently presented as a negative right of individual academics that is, the right to non-interference in their activities. The freedom of the teacher or researcher is to investigate and discuss the problems of his/her science and to express his conclusions, whether through publication or teaching. There should not be interference from political authority or administrative officials of the institution in which he/she is employed, unless his/her methods are found clearly incompetent or contrary to professional ethics (Kerlind and Kayrooz, 2003, p. 2).

While some authors look at academic freedom as a negative right to guarantee non-interference from outsiders, others see it as being more about a freedom, i.e., a freedom to engage in appropriate academic activities. This represents a shift in the interpretation of academic freedom from being a negative right to a positive right of academics. Some also understand academic freedom as a means to an end and not an end in itself (O' Hear, 1988; Hawkesworth, 1988, quoted in Kerlind and Kayrooz, 2003, p. 2).

Researchers asked 165 social science academics from 12 Australian universities about their perception of academic freedom. The answers were varied and academics regarded academic freedom as:

1. An absence of constraints on academic activities, means unlimited freedom

2. An absence of constraints, within certain self-regulated limits

3. An absence of constraints, within certain externally–regulated limits

4. An absence of constraints, combined with active institutional support for academics' activities, and

5. An absence of constraints, combined with responsibilities on the part of academics (Kerlind and Kayrooz, 2003, p. 12).

Although academics differ on the perception of academic freedom, the majority stresses the state of non-interference and the need for social support to enable them to participate effectively in social debate that lies beyond the frontiers of the university. The right to publish in its broad sense is a positive right that requires the availability of means of communication before the academics at affordable cost and without any barriers to communicate with others.

The Right to Publish and the Problem of Secrecy: The desire for secrecy on the part of industry and state has served against the right to publish. The conflict of interests between businesspersons and political leaders on one hand and the academics on the other has shaped the nature and extent of the right to publish. This conflict has led external sponsors of academic research whether they are businesspersons or public officials to impose a number of restrictions to keep academics from releasing their research findings or expressing their views properly and timely.

"This climate of secrecy reduces collegial interaction amongst faculty and students and places a chill on peer evaluation and the presentation of new knowledge at conferences, public seminars and in journals. At its worst, the trend towards secrecy has manifested itself in attempts to suppress research that produces commercially or politically unfavorable results" (The Freedom to Publish Report, 2002, p.1). These type of restrictions, regardless of its justifications, does not fit the age of Internet as a very convenient, fast and uncensored means of communication. With its distinct features that attract academics to share knowledge, seek collaborations, impart information, it is difficult for both businesspersons and political leaders to attempt hindering academics from fulfilling their responsibilities and duties.

University-Industry Cultures: The most appropriate way to understand why businesspersons attempt to restrict the right to publish is to consider the academic and industry cultures. The tension between the two sectors is due to the conflict between different cultures, motives, and beliefs that are dominant in university and industry. In their study in culture in American colleges and universities, Kuh and Whitt (1988) define academic culture as the collective, mutually shaping patterns of norms, values, practices, beliefs and assumptions that guide the behavior of individuals and groups in an institute of higher education and provide a frame of reference within which to interpret the meaning of events and actions on and off the Campus (quoted in Kim, 1997, p. 15). Khu and Whitt continue to expand upon the definition of academic culture and introduce three basic academic values:

1. Dissemination of knowledge as the purpose of higher education,

2. The autonomy in the conduct of academic work,

3. The collegiality, mutual support, and opportunities for social interaction and in faculty governance.

Industry flourishes by controlling knowledge, while university develops by disseminating it. The industrial imperative is to gain a profit; knowledge with which one can generate a new product or process that is private property for industry. Therefore, industries tend to protect themselves by controlling their proprietary rights over knowledge generated by a university. As industry has grown more inclined to assert proprietary rights over research findings granted by faculty members, the incompatibility of such protectiveness and traditional values of open research has become obvious (Kim, 1997, p. 15).

While industry seeks to safeguard confidentiality to achieve a private interest, the university professors need their research to be published for their grading and promotions. Traditionally, publications of the scholarly works by university professors in refereed journals have been seen to perform four functions:

1. *Registration:* allowing author to be acknowledged as the person who carried out a specific research and make a specific discovery.

2. *Certification:* through the process of peer-review it is determined that the author's claims are reasonable.

3. *Awareness:* the research is communicated to the author's peer group

4. Archiving: the research is retained for posterity
(Birdsal, and Mciver, 2002, p.1).

A research publication is a fundamental value in academia. Reputation of academics depends on publication in refereed journals. For industry, however, publication may reveal critical information essential for a commercial product. Therefore, funding companies require a delay of publication in order to hold a technological advantage. Research findings can be published when they can no longer help the competition in the marketplace. (Fairweather, 1989; Kenney 1987, quoted in Kim, 1997, p. 17).

Although universities often claim that corporate monies come without strings attached, this is often not the case. Contracts for research frequently include provisions giving corporations some control over the dissemination of research results. This secrecy is impeding scientific research. Open discussions among scientists even about the preliminary results of ongoing experiments can play an important part in advancing research. Instead of an early and fruitful exchange of ideas, the secrecy agreements have imposed the ethical and operational rules of business on scientific researchers. Not all contracts contain language that merely restricts when research findings can be made public. Some contracts contain paragraphs giving the corporate contractor the right to determine whether the results can ever be released (Soley, 1998, p. 33).

Several studies indicated that the growth of university-industry collaborations may cause erosion of traditional academic values. Bok (1981) articulated four dangers of involvement with industry-related research.

1. Financial reward from industry may influence in choosing research agenda.

2. Faculty can be diverted from their own academic duties of basic research and teaching, in order to carry out profit-seeking research.

3. The secrecy principle, which comes from industry demanding proprietary rights, may violate the scientific process, where new discoveries spring from rapidly expanding knowledge.

4. Scientific leadership entrepreneurship can be impaired. Because involvement with industry negatively affects the unbiased search for knowledge, which encourages a high degree of objectivity, it elicits distrust from other scientists.
(Quoted in Kim, 1997, p. 15).

Furthermore, university-industry (R&D) relationship may push university-based research away from basic research and more toward applied research and development. Generally, the individual companies are less inclined to support basic research, since the outcomes tend to be more uncertain and risky.

This relationship may negatively affect the agenda of research; the acceptance of funding often includes restrictions on the traditional values of the university especially the academic freedom. The benefits may exceed the costs and thus make such relationship (White, 1998, p. 4). Similarly, other studies of university-industry relations conclude that this relationship influenced the selection of research agendas, interrupted free communication and information flows, and constrained disclosure in publications (Cohen *et al*, 1994, quoted in Kim, 1997, p. 15).

Contrary to this argument, university-industry relationship can add to the resources available to universities to fund research and to carry out the other functions of the university. In fact, this is one of the most important advantages for Arab and African universities, where lack of funding represents the major obstacle before R&D. The developed countries spend some 2-3.8% of GDP on R&D, compared to 0.5% or less in most developing countries. Together, Western Europe, North America, Japan and newly industrial East Asia countries account for about 85% of

scientific articles published, and more than 97% of patents registered in Europe and the United States (quoted in Saleh, 2002, P. 225).

The expanded role of the Arab and African universities should focus on knowledge production and dissemination because these activities are the keys to sustainable development. The World Development Report on Knowledge for Development observed: "Poor countries and poor people differ from rich ones not only because they have less capital but because they have less knowledge. Knowledge is often costly to create and that is why much of it is created in industrial countries (The World Bank, 1999, quoted in Benneh, 2002, p. 294). In 1990, African's research-development (R&D) expenditure represented only 0.2% of the world expenditure on R&D activities (UNESCO, 1993, quoted in Benneh, 2002, p. 294).

Another advantage is that involvement in industry–related research may offer faculty a new window through which faculty transform fundamental knowledge into an applicable product, gain practical experience useful for teaching, and research as well (Kim, 1997, p. 45). Similarly, some may argue that university-industry collaborations, provides the university with an opportunity to relate theory to practice, basic research to its applications, and the acquisition of knowledge to its use. Thus, basic and applied research has been recognized as the essential source of knowledge that would benefit the overall economy. (Lynton and Elman, 1987, quoted in Kim, 1997, p. 19).

Toward a Mutual Beneficial Collaboration: As we observe, university-industry collaborative activities have a number of negative as well as positive aspects for the two partners. Both need to take advantage of this collaboration to cope with the pressures of the open global commercial market. The local and global circumstances are moving towards more and more collaborations. The movement is moving away from pure or basic research to more applied, problem solving, commercially applicable, consultancy–based and shorter term research (Cripps et., 1999, Gibbons, 1998, quoted in Braddock, 2002, p.293). Accordingly, the main two questions are:

1. How may the freedom to research and publish be upheld at the same time meet the conditions of confidentiality which an entrepreneurial relationship often demands?

2. What safeguards should the university seek from its contractual partners to uphold the terms of its overall mission, its commitment to academic freedom and the concerns of individual scholar? (UNESCO Conference, 1998, p. 16).

There are no ready answers for these two crucial questions. It should also be clear that right to publish as a core value of academic freedom is not a negotiable right. Development and advancement are the other face of freedom (Hamada, 2003, p.5). The university is an open environment for the pursuit of scholarly work. Academic freedom and critical inquiry depend on the communication of the findings and results of intellectual investigation. The employer or the industry shall not interfere with a member's freedom to publish the results of scholarly inquiry and research, except for limitations imposed by duly constituted university research ethics board (The Freedom to Publish Report, 2002, p.2).

According to another research, a majority of respondents indicated that publication barriers do not seriously affect dissemination of their research. The major result is that the university-industry collaborations did not create negative impact on academic values. Researcher involved in industry-related research denied that working with industry negatively affected the publication of their research findings. Some researchers, however, underwent either delay or restriction of their publication due to the confidentiality agreement with industry firms. (Kim, 1997, p. 19).

Arab and Africans countries lag significantly in private investment in R&D, reflecting the legacy of a closed, controlled economic environment. The pressures of increased global competitiveness brought about by WTO and enhanced global communication necessitate increased private-sector investment in R&D as a key global differentiator and source of competitiveness. However, many Arab and African firms have limited resources and will need to pool them to develop effective R&D programs. Arab and African governments and academic institutions can usefully work with private companies to identify focus areas for investment by both the private and public sectors, based on core needs, competitiveness and existing experiences (Arab Human Development Report, 2002, p. 70). In this respect, significant attention has to be devoted to the safeguards the university professors need to protect the right to publish, and that the industry needs to ensure competitive rewards as a result of investments in R&D.

Right to publish and National Security: The other prime area in which right to publish is frequently threatened is the national security. Governments, in developed and developing countries place firm restrictions on the free flow of information especially at times of crises to safeguard national security. Other governments, especially in Arab and African regions restrict the freedom of information and right to publish whether they face crises or not under the guise of protecting national security. Undoubtedly, this trend is at odds with what is called the right to know. In democratic societies, there is a basic right to know, to be informed about what government is doing and why, what other institutions, including the universities are doing and why. Democratic process requires informed participants. Secrecy reduces the information available to the citizenry, hobbling their ability to participate meaningfully (Stiglit, 1999, P. 10). People in a democratic society have the right to know results of academic research especially when these results have direct or indirect implications towards issues they face and future they hope. To reiterate, openness is an essential part of good governance.

The following are some benefits that encourage governments to keep things secret:

1. Secrecy provides some insulation against being accused of making a mistake.

2. Secrecy provides the opportunity for special interests to have greater control. In some societies, this takes the naked form of corruption and bribery.

3. Secrecy provides the fertile ground on which special interests work.

4. Secrecy serves to entrench incumbents, discourage public participation in democratic processes, and undermines the ability of the press to provide an effective check against the abuses of government.

But the adverse effects are more pervasive. To maintain secrecy, often the circle of those involved in decision-making is greatly circumscribed; those who are able to provide valuable insights are cut out from discussions, weakening the quality of decision-making. There is, again, a brutal circle. With more mistakes, public officials become more defensive; to protect themselves, they seek even more secrecy, narrowing in the circle still further, eroding still further the quality of decision-making (Stiglit, 1999, P. 10).

Because of the real danger that secrecy brings about, the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) established a special committee to study academic freedom and national security in a time of crisis on the first anniversary of the tragic events of September 11, 2001. The committee was charged with assessing risks to academic freedom and free inquiry posed by the nation's response to the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. The report of the special committee rests on the premise that freedom of inquiry and the open exchange of ideas are crucial to the nation's security, and that the nation's security and, ultimately, its well-being are damaged by practices that discourage or harm freedom. The report questions whether security and freedom are inevitably opposed to one another. The report concludes that in these critical times the need is for more freedom, not less (AAUP Report, 2002, p.5).

In Arab and African countries where mass media are mostly government-owned and other sources of information are limited in its capacity and outreach, the right to publish as a core value of academic freedom should be consolidated even in time of crises. The university professors, in such critical times, are the credible source of information and builders of public opinion that decision makers may rely on.

In the final analysis, right to publish is a mean to attain transparency and the most important instrument for achieving human dignity. According to Stiglit, "Greater openness can be justified on instrumental grounds, as means to ends-ends like reducing the likelihood of the abuse of power. Greater openness is an essential part of good governance. Citizens have a basic right to know. This seems to be a basic part of the implicit compact between the governed and those that they have selected to temporarily govern them" (1999, P. 10).

Right to publish and Right to communicate: As stated before, the right to publish as we adopt in this article is not only about technical and scientific knowledge but it has to be closely connected to the right to communicate. Academics have a genuine right and duty to contribute to the development of their societies especially in Arab and African countries where the majority are poor. This type of contribution is chiefly dependent on their ability to express their opinions and ideas towards salient issues facing the society as a whole. Sometimes, it is the responsibility of the academics in such countries to set the agenda of discussions. As such, right to publish should not be confined to the scholarly contributions but must be extended to include all types of communications intended to reach a broad audience beyond the frontiers of the university campus. This role is guaranteed by the right to communicate which encompasses right to publish as just a part.

The right to communicate can be conceived as a human right that is the top of a cluster and hierarchy of rights, freedoms, entitlements, and responsibilities. The right to communicate includes at a minimum "the right to inform and be informed, the right to be active participant in the communication process, the right of equitable access to information resources and information, and the right of cultural and individual privacy from communication" (Richard and Anderson, 1981, p. 27, quoted in Birdsal, and McIver, 2002, p. 13). The right to communicate has received increasing focus with the 50th anniversary of the Universal Deceleration of Human Rights.

The right to communicate has also been expanded to universal access to information and communication technologies (ICTs), with access seen as a technical and a social infrastructure, the right to public access and public participation to both the means of communication and towards policymaking. Linguistic rights are also a feature of the right to communicate, as well as the substance of indigenous languages and culture. Media concentration and media globalization are also intrinsic to understanding some of the inhibiting factors for the right to communicate (Shade, 1999, p. 1).

The right to publish and academic freedom cannot become a reality without safeguarding the right to communicate. The connection between these two types of rights is supported by information and communication technologies (ICTs). With the evolution of ICTs. communication right also evolved from specific rights expressed as negative freedom to a comprehensive and positive human right. In short, the intersection of ICTs and communication right is a process of expanding universalism. Thus, we can see the Internet on the side of communication and the right to communicate on the side of human rights as together constituting what Armand Mattelart calls "networks of universalization" (Mattelart, 2002, p. 1).

Freedom of information is closely related to freedom of expression. Both types of freedoms establish a marketplace of ideas, which is fundamental not only for the development of a free personality, but also for academic freedom. Without freedom of information, freedom of expression is useless. The universal basis of human right to freedom of expression and information is embodied in Article 19 of the 1984 Universal Deceleration of Human Rights. It reads: Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to

hold opinion without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers (Linden, 1999, p. 419).

The International Covenanent on Civil and Political Rights (1966), the European Covenanent on Human Rights (1950), American Convention on Human Rights (1969), all of these speaks about freedom of expression. These not only embraces the right to hold opinions but also freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds through any media and regardless of frontiers (Arnaldo, and Alain, 1998, p. 30).

Actually, in a society that allows freedom of expression, freedom of information and right to communicate, it seems that social responsibility of the academics is clear. They must not only conduct their research, produce and disseminate new knowledge and promote its application through the refereed journals that reach a closed circle of fellow researchers, but also express their ideas widely, criticize ill decisions and policies, provide advice and lead public opinion. On the other hand, in a society where such freedoms and rights are restricted or may not exist, the responsibility of academics is huge, and difficult. They have to defend their academic freedom as well as a free society.

CONCLUSION

This article has investigated the relationship between academic freedom and right to publish. It has demonstrated the central place right to publish occupies in academic freedom. The article discussed two major areas in which right to publish is frequently threatened; university-industry collaborative activities and national security. It has proved that freedom of inquiry and right to publish are crucial to the advancement of knowledge, the development of industry, and protection of the nation's security. The articles also illustrates that right to publish and university-industry relations are not inevitably opposed to one another The analysis highlights the significance of right to communicate as a universal basic right that encompasses right to publish. The article argues that without safeguarding right to communicate and right to publish academic freedom in general is far from being a reality.

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Part   IV

Globalization and Academic Freedom

Globalisation and Academic Freedom

Adebayo Olukoshi & Ebrima Sall
CODESRIA

"Will there be 'electronic academic freedom', like we have e-democracy?"

Prof Mohamed Najib Abdulwahed

Abstract

This paper attempts to analyze the impact of globalization on higher education in general and academic freedom in particular. It indicates that the link between the knowledge revolution and globalization is an obvious two way link, one aspect of which is the ICT revolution being an engine and an expression of globalization.

The paper suggested a number of submissions for the conference to be further debated and analyzed by the participants and considered them important for understanding the link between academic freedom and globalization.

The first is that academic freedom, within the context of globalization has become a global issue since there is no region of the world where academic freedom may not be raised. The second submission indicates that globalization has changed both the ways and the conditions under which teaching, research and dissemination of knowledge are carried out. It is based on this that the terms of debates on academic freedom have become less clear. In the third and last submission, the paper indicates that neo-liberal globalization has, in some ways, increased possibilities of academic freedom, but it poses many formidable challenges to this freedom and the concept of institutional autonomy.

The paper has devoted a good part in analyzing the factors with which globalization has changed academic freedom and the global and political environments and practices. These changes may require a redefinition of academic freedom within a global context rather than the presently adopted nationally oriented concepts.

Today is 11 September. The events of which have become of a global significance. The inter-connections between situations and problematics in different parts of the world are usually quite easy to see. In a number of cases, however, they need to be highlighted. The impact of the fall of the Berlin Wall on research or, more recently, 9/11 on research funding and on academic freedom may well be felt far beyond the USA, as new fields of interest emerged (e.g. terrorism, its connections with poverty and religious extremism, etc), while others are devalued.

The struggle against terrorism and religious fundamentalism, both of which have posed serious problems to academic and intellectual freedom, has led to violations of academic freedom in a number of countries, including the United States of America—harassment of certain professors and students, restrictions on the granting of US entry visas to Arab and other Muslim scholars; the imposition of some kind of political correctness that has made it difficult to debate certain issues as openly as ought to be.

One other problem is the way in which research may be made to serve the 'emergency of the moment' (e.g. 'terrorism', or poverty), and on terms defined by the policymakers, particularly those of the global hegemons, who usually want to decide what was the emergency to be addressed.

In this presentation, we use the concept 'globalisation' mainly as a shorthand for the time-space contraction, increased and accelerated flows of capital, information, and certain goods, the spread of certain values and cultural traits, etc, and the increased polarisation, that characterise our world of today. We leave aside the discussion on how we got here (i.e. to this kind of world); and that of when globalisation has emerged, because there is a huge body of literature on these aspects.

Academic freedom has been defined in the Lima and Dar Es Salaam Declarations (adopted in 1988 and 1990, respectively) as "the freedom of members of the academic community, individually or collectively, in the pursuit, development and transmission of knowledge, through research, study, discussion, documentation, production, creation, teaching, lecturing and writing"[31]. It has also been defined by the Special UNESCO-World bank task Force on higher education and Society (TFHES 2000) as "the right of scholars to pursue their research and teaching and to publish without control or restraint from the institutions that employ them"[32]. Such a freedom is a prerequisite for serious research: "without it universities are unable to fulfill one of their primary functions: to be a catalyst and sanctuary for new ideas, including those that may be unpopular"[33].

The autonomy of higher education institutions, particularly the universities, is closely linked to, and as important as the academic freedom of members of the academic community. In the French and francophone traditions, the notion of 'franchises universitaires' invokes the autonomy of the academic institution, and a kind of *immunity* that borders on the extraterritoriality of the academic space through which freedom and immunity of individual academics are guaranteed. In fact, Rene Degni-Segui compares the 'franchises universitaires' (academic freedom) to parliamentary immunities, in the sense that they are meant to protect the academy from undue pressures that might come from politicians or other actors in society (Degni-Segui 1996). However, although one can imagine a group of scholars choosing Academic Freedom is more commonly associated with individual scholars or students, but can in fact also be an issue for groups of scholars working together as, for instance, the CODESRIA NWG's do, for such groups can have their choice of research topic, or publication censored or opposed on political or other grounds. Autonomy, however, is more for institutions.

The link between globalisation and Academic Freedom is a complex one.

Academic freedom, as we have already seen, is a precondition for well functioning universities involved in teaching, research and scholarly publishing and dissemination, and community service; therefore for scientific knowledge production. And the link between the knowledge revolution and globalisation is an obvious, two -way link, one aspect of which is the ICT revolution, itself being an engine and an expression of globalisation.

These days, knowledge is therefore said to be as important a factor of production as physical capital. A few years ago, the very prestigious Special Task Force on Higher Education in Developing Countries convened by UNESCO and the World Bank even argued, "the world economy is changing as knowledge supplants physical capital as the source of present (and future) wealth"[34]. As for wealth, a high premium is placed on knowledge for a variety of other reasons. Not least among these is its centrality to the social and spiritual life of every society that goes far back into human history. There are several types of knowledge, produced under different kinds of conditions. The question is: what are the requisite conditions for the production of scientific knowledge? And how are some of these conditions evolving? Academic Freedom is a condition, but also a condition that is realised under a set of changing local and global social, economic and political conditions.

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[31] Dar es Salaam Declaration on Academic Freedom, 1990; see also Diouf & Mamdani, 1994, Academic Freedom in Africa. Dakar: CODESRIA.
[32] The Columbia Encyclopaedia; cited in the report of the The Task Force on Higher Education and Society (TFHES), 2000, Higher Education in Developing Countries. Peril and Promise. Washington: The World Bank TFHES, p. 60.
[33] TFHES, p. 60.
[34] TFHES), 2000 p. 9.

We would like to make a few submissions to this conference.

The first is that academic freedom is a global problem:

There is no region of the world where academic freedom issues may not arise, on political, economic, cultural, gender, religious etc grounds. Philip Altbach demonstrates this in a recent overview of the state of academic freedom worldwide (Altbach 2005).

The second submission is that globalisation has changed both the ways and the conditions in which teaching, research; publishing and dissemination of scholarly publishing are carried out.

For that reason, the terms of the debates on academic freedom have thus become less clear, as questions such as what constitutes violations of academic freedom, where violations are committed, who are the perpetrators are, and who victims of violations of academic freedom are?, what instruments to monitor all that?, what would be appropriate remedies?, what are the responsibilities of the state?, academics themselves, donors and civil society etc in regard to the state of academic freedom, in what ways the evolution of cultures and values make the enjoyment of this freedom easier or more difficult within this context, and so forth and so on. All these questions become more difficult to answer with globalisation.

The third submission is that neo-liberal globalisation has in some ways increased possibilities for academic freedom, but it also actually poses many formidable challenges to academic freedom and the autonomy of higher education institutions.

In the rest of this presentation, I discuss these submissions one after the other.

1. Academic freedom is a global problem

We will not spend much time on this issue, because it is very easy for each one of us to reflect and see that like democracy, academic freedom is never a given, once and for all: even where the traditions are very strong, as economic and social conditions, and gender relations, governments, and policies, etc change, and as people move from one society to the other, the risks of academic freedom being challenged or contested, or violated in some way or other become real. The reason is simply because the potential violators of academic freedom are not only the dictatorial governments of some far away 'banana republics'; we, the scholars also run the risk of infringing upon the academic freedom of our junior colleagues, or on that of our colleagues of the other gender, or those of the other religion or party, or tribe, or ideological leaning. Market forces are strong nowadays, and the market tries to impose restrictions on what to teach, study, research, publish upon etc. The situations may change with changing circumstances: the Cold War, the Fall of the Berlin Wall, 9/11, the waves of political liberalisation in the early 90s, the outbreak of civil wars in the Balkans, in Algeria and Sudan or in Sierra Leone, Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea Bissau or the Congos. What we perhaps need is to make the traditions of academic freedom as universal as possible.

2. Globalisation is changing the academy and academic practices, as well as the environment (socio-economic, technological, cultural and political environment) within which academic pursuits are carried out.

- Changes at the Academy and in Academic Practices

    o Hybrid/variegated institutional landscapes: cosmopolitan institutions and student and staff bodies; New institutions—diversification: traditional higher education institutions, as well as Virtual, corporate, franchise, confessional, etc HEIs

- o Mixed Modes: Old/traditional New Modes—of knowledge (the so-called Mode II-specialised, more 'market sensitive' i.e. practical etc); or delivery: changes in the basic paradigm of the university: the contact mode of delivery—distance learning, mixed modes (Pretoria); trans:/Cross-border provision: satellite campuses etc.

- o For research, a diversification of sources of documentation: digital libraries, websites, online publications…But also greater possibilities for collaborative work, using the e-mail, cell and IT-based phones, etc to co-author papers and books, co-edit journals and books, etc.

- o Increased possibilities for dissemination, particularly through the websites; online journals, newsletters, etc;

- o Much of this is driven by the ICT revolution, but also by changing paradigms in development, ideological shifts etc.

- o The big question, of course, is: in what ways do such developments constitute increased possibilities for academic freedom, and what sorts of risks of restrictions or violations of academic freedom and related rights are associated with the developments that are very clearly part of globalisation?

We suggest a few possible answers below (our third submission). But before then, we look at changes in the broader socio-cultural and economic environment related to globalisation that impact somehow on academic freedom.

- • Changes in the Broader Socio-economic Environment

    - o Explosion of media outlets: I take the following quote from the report of the Commission for Africa: *"The mobile phone is creating virtual infrastructures and raising the possibility of un-thought of transformations in African culture, infrastructure and politics: studies show that when 20% of a population have the ability to exchange news and ideas through access to cell phones and text messaging dictatorial or totalitarian regimes find it hard to retain power" (CFA 2005:31).* Possibilities of easy access to information (FM stations), including international, scholarly or other information; but also possibilities for scholars to write OP-ED pieces in newspapers, take part in local and regional debates etc; e-mail access and the cell phone have also made communications among academics for academic purposes much easier—recall how difficult it was to communicate with scholars in countries where phone lines where not so good—Zaire/DRC, Nigeria etc.

    - o Growth of civil society—many human rights organisations, some of which have been even more prompt than academic staff unions in defending academic freedom (e.g. KHRC, writing on University of Nairobi, a 'Heaven of Repression'; filing what is perhaps the first complaint to the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights – ACHPR—related to academic freedom); these CSOs have a need for research based knowledge, and many actually work with scholars—teachers and students.

    - o Many more democratic governments: democracy and human rights have become global values. NB we are not advocates of any kind of so-called 'end of history' thesis: democracy, as a concept is a contested concept; and as a socio-historical process, is always a contextualized process, and a site of bitter struggles. However, the improvement of the political environment and the establishment of democratic governance systems in many parts of the world –whether as part of the so-called 'Third wave of democracy or not--has had a positive effect on academic freedom'.

o   But there are problems as well

3. Neo-liberal Globalisation Poses Challenges to Academic Freedom

Neo-liberal globalisation was spread to many parts of the developing world with the liberalisation that came with some kind of structural adjustment programme (SAP):

- Globalisation is selective; how easy is it for African and Arab students, teachers, and researchers to get funding and/or obtain visas to travel to Europe and North America?[35]; granted, the southern academic Diasporas are now huge; but academic migration is becoming more and more difficult. Reverse flows do exist but care need to be taken in regard to risks of some policies designed to attract academics in the diasporas to favour them more than those who stayed behind;

- Globalisation has increased in many ways the polarisation of the world between Norths and Souths, between halves and have-nots, between genders, and between scholars of the Norths and the Souths;

- The relations between the state and the public universities changed somewhat, with states being less inclined to provide support for the universities as much or as well as they used to do; the case of South Africa—state steering v/s state interference.

- The states themselves become weaker;

- The business-like management of universities: public universities forced to do cost-recovery, raise fees, privatize certain services etc.;

- The rapid growth of private universities—soon to outnumber the public ones; more important, they add to the pressures on the public universities. Challenge of : a) proper regulatory framework; quality assurance etc.;

- The risk of imposition of free trade rules to higher education, through WTO/GATS (particularly problematic causes include the 'Most Favoured Nation' clause;

- Autonomy more difficult;

- Political correctness: la pensée unique certainly, one of the effects of the dominance of the Washington Consensus and neo-liberal ideologies has been some kind of shyness among African academics to challenge the dominant paradigms and frameworks, let alone explore alternative pathways to development. When in 1989 the UNECA and the OAU adopted an African Alternative Framework for Structural Adjustment, there were virtually no academic debates provoked; Mafeje's discussion of it in CODESRIA Bulletin (Mafeje 1995) had no rejoinders in the English or French versions of the Bulletin;

- New Kinds of violations of Academic freedom;

- Violators more difficult to identify and to call to account: accountability for abuses—see debates in HR defendants circles;

- Finally, there is also the rising threat of marginalisation from the rest of the global community of scholars through lack of access to IT and other modern means of research and publishing.

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[35] Within Africa itself, getting a visa to attend an academic workshop in South Africa, for instance, could be quite difficult.

4. Some Reflections

If in a number of countries of Europe and North America, the freedom of research can, to a certain extent, be taken for granted, in many other parts of the world, it simply cannot.

One good thing about the knowledge revolution is that it has led to a complete change in attitudes at the level of some of the erstwhile archenemies of higher education in Africa such as the World Bank. One of the casualties of structural adjustment in Africa was higher education, for it was said to be an expensive luxury. These days, every country is said to need at least one research university, ideally fitting in, or rather, constituting the core of a "knowledge system" conceived of as a coherent whole (TFHES 2000).

This change in attitudes vis-à-vis higher education in developing countries is a welcome development that comes as a source of relief for African scholars who have had to endure the severe restrictions on funding for higher education occasioned by the economic crisis and the implementation of SAP.

However, with the conflicts and violence in countries such as Sierra Leone, the university system itself has in some instances collapsed.

Scholars are however faced with numerous resource constraints in a number of countries. The more common situation in Africa today is actually one in which the main forms of restriction to the freedom of scholars are of an economic nature: teachers are poorly paid or not paid at all; universities are overcrowded but under-resourced; student stipends are low and often not paid; teachers become consultants, taxi drivers, etc. The economic problems often lead to prolonged strikes, which are generally brutally suppressed. The paradox is that the more liberal political systems and the much stronger civil society that we have today make it possible for scholars to organise and protest more easily. However, the capacity of the state to respond to the needs of the scholars is very weak, which partly explains its nervousness and repressive attitude. There is also a problem of scale: the magnitude of the economic problems is such that the state finds it difficult to provide adequate solutions.

With SAP and the rise of neo-liberal ideologies, a major form of risk to serious scholarship is the drive for "marketability". The quality and relevance of the outputs of academic institutions and scholarship are defined more and more in terms of their so-called market value, or in terms of the ability to provide immediate solutions. The importance of disciplines and course contents, including in subjects such as law, is judged more or less in terms of their market value. *"On its own, the market will certainly not devise [quality higher education systems]. Markets require profit and this can undermind some important educational duties and opportunities. Basic sciences and the humanities, for example, are essential for national development. They are likely to be underfunded, unless they are actively encouraged by leaders in education who have the resources to realise this vision"[36].*

It is however important to remember that academic freedom is not a problem for "developing countries" alone, and least of all still a problem for African intellectuals only. Elsewhere, particularly in the industrialised countries, it is with funding and the problems of political correctness that the problem is posed. Private funders claim a right to have a say in the determination of curricula and the content of courses taught and research carried out in the universities, and to determine their quality or relevance. This puts into question the very central notion of peer review, which has always governed academic institutions and activities. *With the arrival of private higher education institutions, however, the main challenge facing the universities, Cardoso argues with regard to the case of Mozambique, is not financial, but the capacity of the state to regulate the higher education sector. With globalisation, he further argues, there is a need for well thought out national strategies, and for that there is a need for: "political will and autonomous political thought". Indeed, the independence of the mind is a precondition for the independence of the nation.*

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[36] TFHES, 2000, Higher Education in Developing Countries, p. 11.

We know that with the combined development and spread of neo-liberalism in higher education and of Mode II type of HEIs', utilitarian conceptions of higher education are becoming more widespread, and universities are being pressurized to become increasingly vocational. Furthermore, many of the universities of the 'first world' are extending their reach and powers across the globe. The question is whether the traditions of academic freedom that are cherished in the main campuses of these universities are extended to their 'Third World' affiliates or satellite campuses. This process, sometimes called "cross-border provision" of higher education, is likely to be enhanced by the application of free trade rules to higher education under the WTO's General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS). The full consequences of that for higher education, academic freedom and knowledge production in Africa are yet to be understood.

In the immediate post-independence years when several universities in Africa were emanations and affiliates of universities in France, the UK and Portugal, the laws governing the universities were basically the same as those in Europe, but the traditions of academic freedom, as Degni-Segui has argued, did not always follow (Degni-Segui 1996). These days, as can be seen in the debates over the problems of accreditation and control, the powerful and prestigious universities that go 'global' may not be so strict about standards when it comes to their outposts in the South. This may be the result of a combination of a search for material gain through investments in higher education, and what Steve Fuller has called 'Academic Caesarism' and 'Academic Imperialism': "the former points to changes in the internal structure of universities, the latter to changes in the university's relationship to the rest of society" (Fuller 2004). Fuller argues that "in the 21st century, universities will become more state-like. They will expand their governance functions across society, with the more ambitious ones taking on global governance functions, ranging from the certification of overseas degree programmes to the establishment of physical campuses on the model of 'spheres of influence'. At the same time, rank-and-file academics will cede more institutional control to the university's chief executive, whose legitimacy will rest on the ability to insulate academics from the day-t-day- need to justify their existence…" (Fuller 2004). The model academic Caesars are to be found in the USA. This may well be the model that is being pushed more or less subtly with managerialism in Africa as well. In the 1990s, the spread of campus violence, partly as a result of the existence of campus cults, led the military regime of General Sani Abacha to abolish the democratic structures of university governance in a number of universities and replace them with "sole administrators", who often were retired generals. In both cases—Caesarism as described by Fuller, and the imposition of sole administrators by military regimes, the implications for academic freedom were very serious.

Beyond academic freedom, however, the issue is that of the status of knowledge as a public good (Singh; Jonathan; Sall, Kassimir & Lebeau), and social status of knowledge producers. It may be that the Humboltian concept of the university that, as Altbach reminds us in his article, is research oriented, with the freedom to teach and to learn as its core values, is becoming more and more difficult to uphold. What Ken Prewitt calls the "threshold question" is therefore posed more and more acutely. Prewitt (2004) argues that over the past five 500 years, there have been many changes in the world--in the societies, states, ideologies, technologies, etc—in which the universities exist,

> "*yet during this half –millennium, the basic model of higher education has changed hardly at all: direct, face-to-face exchange between the learned and the learners, heavy reliance on written texts that summarize previously established knowledge, and physical sites to which faculty and students come to reside. And at least since Wilhelm von Humboldt, three core principles have been generally accepted: unity of research and teaching, protection of academic freedom including both the right of free inquiry by scholars and the right of students to choose their course of study, and the centrality of arts and sciences or liberal education*" (Prewitt, 2004).

The questions which can be raised: are we now witnessing a major change in the basic concept of the university? At least in the South, that question now has to be asked, as the modes of delivery and institutional types are evolving so rapidly with globalisation, the managerial revolution, and what Zeleza calls "the six Cs—corporatization of management (the adoption of business models for the organisation and administration of universities), collectivisation of access (growing massification of HE, continuing education or lifelong learning, and accountability to outside stakeholders), commercialisation of learning (expansion of private universities, privatised programmes in public universities, and vocational training), commodification of knowledge (increased production, sponsorship, and dissemination of research by commercial enterprises, applied research, and intellectual property norms); computerization of education (incorporation of new information technologies into the knowledge activities of teaching, research, and publication); and connectivity of institutions (rising emphasis on institutional cooperation and coordination within and across countries)" (Zeleza 2003). This would mean that from changes and innovations that have been occurring mainly on the margins and interstices of the academy, there is a substantial redefinition of the very notion of the university that is going on. Whether such an evolution, in a context where academic traditions and ethics, and scholarly communities are not so strong, is a 'positive' development as far as knowledge production is concerned, is a question for further research.

The second question that then arises is that of the implications of the change in the concept of the University academic freedom and autonomy. As André du Toit argues, "both the external and the internal contexts of academic freedom have radically changed" (Du Toit 2005). Although was referring to South Africa, but the observation is valid for many other countries.

In short, the defence of academic freedom is a defence of the possibilities for maintaining spaces for critical scholarship, in the face of challenges that are becoming more and more global, even as they become more deeply rooted locally, and against perpetrators who are more distant or virtual, and therefore difficult to identify and trace.

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New Global Economy and Academic Freedom in Kenya

Julius O. Jwan
Moi University

Abstract

This paper examines the reduced demand by learners for the arts based courses at the Kenyan Public Universities and the subsequent reduction of the number of students who graduate from these courses as a result of the global economic pressure. New global economy dictates that developing countries, that rely heavily on donor funds to meet their recurrent expenditure and provide services such as education invest and promote more courses that have higher economic returns in the world market. This influences the education policies of the affected countries. Education thus becomes more of an investment with quantified economic returns than a social and moral service to the populace. In Kenya, because of the global demands, the government put emphasis on the need for learners to concentrate more on science-related courses like mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, business studies, information technology etc., because they have visible monetary returns. Subsequently, at the University, the demand for the science-based courses has gone higher than the arts-based courses like sociology, anthropology, public administration, political science etc.

The paper recommends a re-look at the demands of new global economy on the universities with a view to focusing on the local realities of the developing countries, without depriving the universities in these countries of the academic freedom that they so much deserve.

Introduction

The concept of new global economy, according to Muller, Cleote, and Badat, (2001: 2) is the economy in all kinds of business and all kinds of activities whose organizational form and source of value and competition are increasingly based on information technologies, of which the internet is the core and the organizing form. They explain that the new global economy can be defined as the combination of three inter-related characteristics that cannot function without each other; a) It is an economy in which productivity and competitiveness are based on knowledge and information. b) It is a global economy in the context that most jobs, if not all jobs are influenced by what happens in this global core of economy. And, c) It is global in the context of technological, organizational, and institutional capacity developed and managed by various institutions. In this light, New Global Economy is one of the many 'faces' of globalization.

Globalization

The term globalization has become a household concept in the academia, business and technological circles. Its manifestations and effects gained great momentum during the closing years of the 20th century. Simply put, it is the social processes that transcend national borders. It is the competition among countries across national boundaries to attract capital. Therefore, It is "the integration and organization of economic activity at levels which transcend national boundaries and jurisdictions" (Jones, 1998:127) with major implications for regional and national economies (Gibson-Graham, 1996:121). The economy is becoming global, not in the sense that similar events are taking place in different countries but in the sense that there has developed an economy with the capacity to work as a unit in real time on a planetary scale (Castells, 1996:92). Globalization favours free trade, private enterprise, foreign investment, and liberalized trade. Marginson (2002), explains that the terms "global" and "globalization" refer to world systems that are distinct from the nation –state, crossing its boundaries and sometimes but not always, displacing it.

In spite of the variations in perspective in the description of globalization, the protagonists agree on one inherent school of thought, that it encompasses three main domains of human existence, namely economic, political and cultural.

Economic globalization can best be summarized as the convergence of the economic activities by various countries in the world (Wedikkarage, 2001), enhanced by technological advancements in microelectronics, informatics, biotechnologies and laser technology (Davis and Guppy, 1997). It involves one transacting business in Hong Kong while sitting in an office in New York and is largely controlled by Trans-National Corporations that increasingly dictate terms and conditions of economic practice. The new global economy is not viewed just as world economy, which has existed for centuries. Rather, it is viewed as one in which countries around the world interact with one another, dealing with economic and business activities on real time (Wedikkarage 2001). It is both informational and global. "It is informational because the 'competitiveness' and 'productivity' of firms and nations mainly depend upon applying efficiently knowledge-based information. It is global because the core activities of production, consumption and circulation are organized on a global scale" (Castells, 1996:92). Muller, Cleote, and Badat (2001:3) further argue that the heart of the global economy is the global financial market. Global financial interdependence has been enhanced even further recently by the combined processes of financial deregulation and electronic trading.

Political Globalization according to Little (1996b:428) means an absence of state sovereignty and a multiplicity of power centres at global and local issues in relation to a global as well as local community. It is accelerated by the increase in the power of international organizations (e.g. United Nations and its associated organizations such as the UNESCO and UNICEF; International Labour Organization (ILO); CARE; the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Trade Organization (WTO) etc. which monitor the global economy and help manage it when necessary (Castells, 1996; Carnoy, 2000). These Organizations have mandate that transcend national boundaries and each state-nation must operate within the rules of these organizations, especially the developing countries. This in turn means that the sovereignty of each nation-state is only guaranteed as long as it does not violate the prescriptions set by these Organizations.

Cultural Globalization is the adoption of certain ways of life across national boundaries to varying degrees. It is the replacement of existing locally accepted norms and activities to a considerable degree (Lechner and Boil, 2000) and thus the patterns of behaviour and operations of local institutions are heavily influenced by global ones. This has not only been facilitated and accelerated by the expansion of information technology but also by the cheap and fast ways of travel and linkages that people undertake frequently. This leads to the adoption to varying intensity of much publicized but controversial 'popular culture' exemplified in rock music (Held, et al, 1999; Lechner and Boil, 2000). All these are reflected in people's way of dressing, eating, music etc. The television is a major promoter of cultural globalization.

Implications of the New Global Economy to Higher Education

The relationship between globalization and higher education is rather complex. According to Beerkens (2004:23), discussions of the various conceptualizations of globalization and their applications in higher education research illustrates the broad field that it represents. Universities are objects as well as subjects; they influence and are at the same time influenced by the process of globalization (Scott, 1998:22). Universities become disembedded from their national contexts due to more intense flows. Scott also states that all universities are subject to the same process of globalization although they are likely to be affected differently by and contribute differently to globalization.

The impacts of globalization on higher education have been discussed in several works with different views. While some (e.g. Carnoy, 1999a; Castells, 2001; Marginson, 2002) see globalization as an opportunity, others (e.g. Nico, 2000; Stilgitz, 2002) view it as a threat to higher education. According to these new market forces under globalization, education is no longer viewed as a social good but as an economic commodity. Consequently, education is not treated as a mix of social, cultural and economic policy, rather it is viewed as a branch of economic policy alone (Wedikkarage, 2001). Education is thus not considered as "a right, a joy, and a tool for liberation and empowerment, but as an investment" (Brock-Utne, 2000b: 12). Higher education has since become a victim of "comodification" since education as a service industry can hardly be evaluated based on the economic returns.

Universities all over the world are susceptible to the forces of globalization and are therefore undergoing transformations (Carnoy, 1999a:14). According to Castells (1996) the society has become increasingly networked through systems, alliances, spread of languages and practices. Universities being integral parts of society, form part of this network. As a result, the universities are in uncertain times and are faced with diverse and complex forces, which they have to respond to (Barnett, 2003:29).

In Africa these developments pose new challenges to the universities. According to Irina (2002), universities that had virtual monopoly for decades are now encountering new challenges in the form of virtual consortia, global branches of universities, new technologies, a new breed of students with higher expectations and the increasing tendency for government to rely upon the market to encourage greater responsiveness of higher education systems. The main change to the universities in Africa has been the "comodification" of knowledge and the centrality of its generation and application to social and economic development (Sifuna, 2003) and thus transforming the university system into a corporate organization.

This concurs with the view of Punchi (2001) that within new market forces under globalization, education is no longer viewed only as a social good but also as an economic commodity. The typical strategy of economic rationalization is privatization and commercialization of public sector services.

New Global Economy and Academic Freedom in Higher Education in Kenya

Kenya was a British colony till 1963 when it attained independence and inherited the British university tradition. Since independence, the country has made several reviews of its education system. These reviews have been guided by a number of important policy and statutory documents, which, together with various Acts of Parliament, constitute the legal framework of Kenya's education system.

The government of Kenya considers the following to be the most important objectives of its educational system:

- Education must serve to foster national unity.

- Education must foster, develop and communicate the rich and varied cultures of Kenya.

- Kenya is a member of the international community and hence its education system must foster positive attitudes and consciousness towards other nations.

- Education must serve the needs of national development.

- Education must prepare and equip the youth of this country with the knowledge, skills and expertise necessary to enable them collectively, to play an effective role in the life of the nation whilst ensuring that opportunities are provided for the full development of individual talents and personality.

- Education must promote social justice and morality by instilling right attitudes necessary for the training in social obligations and responsibilities (Republic of Kenya, 1981: 7).

The last two decades have witnessed tremendous growth in the number of universities in Kenya. While in 1984 Kenya had only two public universities, today (2005), it has six, namely; University of Nairobi, Moi University, Egerton University, Kenyatta University, Jommo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology, and Maseno University. Lately, there has also been an upsurge in the number of private universities.

Over the last four decades, the social demands with respect to higher education in Kenya have clearly intensified. This has been exemplified by the rise in enrolments in public and private universities, the proliferation of more private universities and the establishment of private wings (self sponsored programs) in the public universities. Student enrolment in public universities in Kenya increased very rapidly from 600 in 1964 to 2,502 in 1982 then to 20,873 in 1990 and then to 40,000 in 1995 (Abagi, 1999:6). According to the Ministry of Education, presently, student enrolment in Kenya's universities stand at 55,200 (Ramani, 2003). The universities have had rapid increases in student enrolments. Moi University, for instance, started with only 83 students in 1984 and currently (2005) it has over ten thousand (10,000) students.

The effects of the rapid increase in enrolments and the lagging behind of the financial resources are dramatic. The share of the public budget devoted to higher education has continued to decline leading to critical consequences for the universities. The level of quality of teaching and research is declining as a result of overcrowdness, inadequate staffing, deteriorating physical facilities, poor library resources, and insufficient equipment (Salmi, 1991: 2)

Kenyan universities too are affected by the global changes. Okech and Amutabi (2002: 4) state that the idea of an academic degree as a "private good" that benefits the individual in terms of increased earnings rather than a "public good" is now widely accepted. They argue that the logic of today's market economy and an ideology of privatization have contributed to the resurgence of private higher education. According to Okech (2000:2), there is a difference between Kenya's education policies in the 1970s, 1980s and those from the beginning of the 1990s. The latest policies, he argues, were widely proposed by the World Bank and arguably relate to the role of the "market" in higher education. These dynamics of the market go against the societal or national expectations laid on higher education at independence. Republic of Kenya (1964), took cognizance of the fact that Kenya was emerging from a colonial system where university education was pursued on elitist lines and very few entered the higher education system. Higher education was, and still is supposed to enable the Kenyan society attain the goals of national development.

The requirements of the market go against the traditional view of universities too, both as educational corporations and as communities of scholars. Now they are to be regarded as corporate entities, which depend on expertise in finance, law, marketing and customer relations to survive. Higher education is now an "industry" and students "customers", and the function of the former is to deliver education and training services to customers at an affordable price. The connotations, which come with the word consumer or customer, are quite different from those of student (Ogot, 2002)

Managers of Kenyan universities are expected to adopt a market view of the services their institutions provide. This means slapping of monetary value on services which experts render; charging tuition fees and adopting business like relationships in all dealings with clients including students.

In essence, the new global economy is placing increased emphasis on mathematics and science curriculum in education. International financing agencies e.g. the World Bank and the IMF prefer these areas be given prominence in their education lending projects as opposed to financing projects related to subjects in the arts and humanities. The World Bank has repeatedly emphasized the importance of giving more priority to science related courses than to arts related

studies. This infringes on the academic freedom of the universities, which have to follow the prescriptions. The universities do not have the leeway to design their programmes according to their own needs.

The IMF and Word Bank Funding of Higher Education in Kenya.

Birgit Brock-Utne (2000a) states that both the IMF and the World Bank deliberately accelerate the globalization of capital through corporations, markets, finance, banking, communication and production. In other words, they are agents of globalization. When these organizations provide loans to the developing countries, they tend to advocate the borrowing countries to follow the path of the New Global Economy (Wedikkarage, 2001). In Kenya, it therefore means the government putting more emphasis on Mathematics, Science and Technology based courses at the expense of the arts based courses. This on the other hand goes against the objectives of education in Kenya that focuses both on social and moral values, which cannot be quantified in economic terms.

This also led to introduction of university fees in Kenya. Because the public was swayed into looking at the immediate economic returns of the courses, the demand for the arts-based courses went down. This then led to the introduction of the Privately Sponsored Students Programme (PSSP), where the 'popular' courses were being offered by the Public Universities but on a private basis. These made the universities to be driven by the demands contained in the Structural Adjustment Policies.

Structural Adjustment Programs

Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) refer to a set of free market economic policies imposed on developing countries by the World Bank and IMF as conditions for receiving loans from the two institutions in the early 1980s. The argument was that SAPs were to improve the foreign investment of the developing countries by eliminating trade and investment regulations, boosting foreign earnings by promoting exports and reducing government deficits by cuts in expenditure.

Kenya, like several other developing countries faced these conditionalities leading to big budget deficits rendering it unable to fund crucial sectors such as education. The conditionalities, it was hoped, were to lessen the debt burden of the developing countries and enhance their development. To a large extent, this expected result was negated and most of these countries, including Kenya, have found it difficult meeting them. The conditionalities spelt out in these Structural Adjustment Programs included privatization, capital market liberalization, market based pricing, free trade, decentralization and reduction of government expenditure in the public sector (George 1990). These conditionalities largely affect the operations of the universities.

Kenyan higher education was particularly one of the sectors vastly affected by these policies. The long–term educational objectives and priorities had to be shelved and replaced with neo-liberal ones. Several educational policies that were geared towards achieving the goals of education in the country started being compromised. These policies therefore, in a way, changed the view of higher education from that of a public good to that of an investment in personal well-being. A university certificate was seen as giving rise to higher private returns in form of income and better living conditions. By 1990, basic funding from the Ministry of Education for higher education declined from 50 percent to 35 percent in 2000 while the unit cost per student had, however, increased from 2 percent to 7.5 percent in the same period (Nafukho, 2002).

Because of these demands, in high schools, for example, the teachers started insisting that the students at secondary school level who were perceived as being bright take and register for science related courses such as biology, chemistry, physics and mathematics at the expense of Arts related courses such as history, religious education, music, social education and ethics and commerce. Those who were perceived as being weak were registered for the Arts courses. The students were not given a chance to choose what they preferred. This compromised the

academic freedom that the students are supposed to have in these institutions. Some parents started putting pressure on their children to pursue science-based courses because that is what would guarantee them good jobs as opposed to arts courses.

In the early 1990s The Teachers Service Commission (TSC), which is the employer of teachers on behalf of the Kenya government, deployed all the arts diploma teachers who were then teaching in secondary schools to primary schools; while those who were teaching sciences and languages were retained. All these were policy decisions based on the pressures form the funding institutions and thus constituted an infringement on the academic freedom in these institutions.

Similarly, the Kenyan government in 1991 stopped training teachers of Arts based subjects at the diploma level. Most of these colleges were made constituent colleges of the public universities.

At the public universities, the production of graduates in arts based courses went down as many students stopped applying for the courses. In Moi University, for example, the number of students graduating with Bachelor of Arts (BA general) degree went down from 305 in 1992 to only 95 in 2001. The University then decided to repackage the courses into specific disciplines e.g. Bachelor of Arts in Languages and Literary Studies, Bachelor of Arts in Economics etc in an attempt to make them popular once more. This saw the number of students graduating from the various courses formerly under BA general shoot up again in 2002, (Ref. Table 1 below).

Table 1: Students Graduating from Moi University, 1992-2003.

YEAR	Information Sciences	Bachelor of Arts	Health Sciences	Bachelor of Science	Agri-culture	Bachelor of Technology	Forestry	Business Manage-ment	Law
2003	26	323	85	116	13	109	84	170	200
2002	47	367	73	-	-	97	-	116	127
2001	49	95	67	78	-	115	81	60	21
2000	34	144	56	92	-	80	66	-	38
1999	47	165	61	93	-	85	70	-	33
1998	45	170	43	127	-	88	91	-	-
1997	38	193	18	127	-	82	97	-	-
1996	52	186	-	81	-	49	106	-	-
1995	52	371	-	97	-	-	86	-	-
1994	58	385	-	77	-	68	92	-	-
1993	52	274	-	87	-	45	122	-	-
1992	55	305	-	58	-	35	92	-	-

Source: Moi University Examinations Office

Apart from introducing the Privately Sponsored Students Programme at the public universities to cope up with the demand for Science based courses, the universities started new courses in the same areas. Moi University, for example, introduced a number of courses e.g. Business Management in 1998 and Health Sciences in early 1990s.

Within the universities, some of academic staff in these 'popular' courses started looking down upon their colleagues in the 'unpopular' courses. This trickled down to the students in the 'popular' courses, who started viewing their colleagues in the 'unpopular' courses as not being bright, thus greatly compromising the freedom of the operations of the universities.

Reflections on the Way Forward

As Muller, J. Cleote, N. and Badat, S. (2001: 217) argue, the enhancement of university systems is critical for the development process in the new world economy. The new frontier of international aid passes through the territory of higher education. However, the effectiveness of such aid will be conditioned by the ability to design policies that take into account the specificity of universities as institutions, and are able at the same time to link the science and training functions closely with the needs and goals of the economy and the society at large.

It is crucial that universities are conceived as complete academic centres of learning and research, with as many areas of study as possible, mixing science, technology, humanities, social sciences, and professional schools. The cross fertilisation between different areas of specialisation, with flexible programmes that emphasise the capacity of students to think, and find the necessary information, and be able to reprogram themselves in the future seems to be the most effective pedagogic formula according to most experts of education who are open to new characteristics of technology and management in the advanced economy.

There is need to foster institutional innovation (the setting of new institutions or upgrading of the existing ones to make them able to manage the contradictory requirements of various universities functions and provide the necessary resources for upgrading the system).

There is need for resources in human capital represented by faculty and researchers of top quality, fully integrated in the world's scientific and technological networks as well as in the local realities to help guard against blind adaptation of policies prescribed from the west.

While in the long term the Kenyan universities, like the rest from the Third World should be able to compete for resources in the open world market, as well as generating their own high-quality academic personnel, there is need to come up with policies that take cognisance of the local needs and encompass all the facets of the societal existence without putting too much emphasis on the Science courses.

Conclusion

This paper has looked at the effects of the new global economy on the academic freedom in Kenya. This has been discussed within the paradigm of the policies prescribed for the government of Kenya as conditions for receiving aid from the International Financial Institutions like the IMF and the World Bank. The paper has also highlights how the change in approach in the funding of the universities affects academic freedom in Kenya.

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Globalisation and Academic Freedom in Cameroon with Focus on the Anglo-Saxon University of Buea

Nicodemus Fru Awasom
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
University of the Gambia

Abstract

The contention of this paper is that the establishment of the Anglo-Saxon University of Buea in 1993 raised hopes among Cameroonian academics for the commencement of an alternative system of Higher Education where academic freedom and autonomy would be upheld in contrast to Cameroon's existing totalitarian system of Higher Education. However, the University of Buea tended out to be a bastion of the violation of academic freedom and autonomy. This situation can be explained in terms of the profound crisis of nation building that confronted Cameroon in the 1990s. As has been argued elsewhere, academic freedom in Cameroon's Anglo-Saxon university was primarily subverted by academics themselves with an agenda of conserving their positions and improving their political fortunes. The Anglo-Saxon university of Buea therefore dashed the hopes of many by its flagrant violation of academic freedom and autonomy. This paper is divided into three main parts. First, the author explores conceptual issues in order to illuminate the concepts of academic freedom and autonomy and show how these have been the concern of the international community and the focus of several international conferences. Second, the author takes a look at the higher education reforms in Cameroon that led to the establishment of the Anglo-Saxon university of Buea. Third, the political circumstances in Cameroon, characterized by a clamour for autonomy and the secession of Anglophone Cameroon from Francophone Cameroon, is highlighted to enable us appreciate the repression in the Anglo-Saxon university by appointees of the Cameroon government. The paper concludes that academic freedom remains an ideal that is difficult to achieve against a background of deepening socio-economic and political crisis.

Introduction

The processes of globalisation and liberalisation, particularly in their political and economic forms, impacted directly on the academic freedom and autonomy of African universities. In Africa where the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank imposed Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs), there was a marked deterioration in people's standards of living, reduced access to public services, devastated environments, and plummeting employment prospects. The economic crisis and SAP, which themselves inform several other factors inimical to academic freedom, are some of the most important factors restricting and militating against academic freedom in Africa (CODESRIA 1995, 1996, Federici 2000). What this implies is that the issue of academic freedom and autonomy has an international dimension, which impacts directly on the domestic.

The World Bank's Structural Adjustment philosophy encouraged the withdrawal of the state from the economy. The sector that suffered most from this policy was the social service sector, which was considered non-productive and therefore wasteful. Higher Education suffered as it continued to be grossly under funded. The World Bank's attempts at dictating and shaping the direction of Higher Education unquestionably represent the violation of academic freedom and university autonomy. What is more, political liberalisation also threatened one-party and military dictatorships in Africa and the attitudes of such governments towards the academia tended to be confrontational. Thus, the international and domestic environment conspired to militate against academic freedom and autonomy (*Africa Watch*, 1990, 1991, CODESRIA (1995).

This paper attempts to examine how the economics and politics of globalisation impacted on academic freedom and autonomy in Cameroon with special reference to the Anglo-Saxon University of Buea. The economic crisis in the 1980s greatly affected Cameroon and the lone state University of Yaoundé came under tremendous strain. This resulted in the 1993 university reforms which took shape in the deconcentration of the Higher Education in Cameroon through the creation of five other state universities in Dchang in the Western Province, Douala in the Littoral Province, Ngaoundere in the Adamawa Province and Buea in the Anglophone South West Province. What is special about the Anglo-Saxon University of Buea?

Cameroon's lone University of Yaoundé was established in 1962 and was modeled along the French tradition typified by excessive centralisation. Although in metropolitan France, the French system has already undergone a number of reforms and modification, in Cameroon, it remains largely centralised and is a replica of the organisation and functioning of the central administration and this leaves the university with little autonomy (MINESUP, 2005, "Association des Universités partiellement ou entièrement de langue française" (AUPELF) 1992). The administrative structure and functioning of the University of Yaoundé was therefore perceived as a replica of Ahidjo's one party state and it was increasingly treated with cynicism by academics. Another problem with higher education was the refusal by the postcolonial state to allow any autonomous trade union of university lecturers to function.

Even after the acceptance of multipartyism in 1990 and the recognition of the rights of association, Cameroon's university was excluded from this privilege of forming a union. Following the formation of several political parties and associations, university teachers forcefully came up with the National Union of Teachers of Higher Education (SYNES) in 1991 but the government snubbed them. SYNES was therefore compelled to submit a complaint in 1996 to the ILO concerning the Government's long-term refusal to register it. SYNES was finally recognized only in 1999 and thereafter, annual congresses are held.

The contention of this paper is that the establishment of the Anglo-Saxon University of Buea raised hopes among Cameroonian academics of the commencement of an alternative system of higher education in Cameroon, which will idealize the principles of freedom and autonomy, and would transform Cameroon's totalitarian model of Higher Education. However, Buea tended out to be a bastion of the violation of academic freedom and autonomy and this can be explained in terms of the profound crisis of nation building that the Cameroon nation-state is confronted with. As has been argued elsewhere (*cf.*, Ibonvbere 1993: 36-73, Chege, 1996/1997: 32-40, Mamdani and Mamadou 1994), academic freedom in institutions of Higher Education in Africa are also subverted by academics themselves with an agenda of conserving their positions and improving their political fortunes. This paper is also constructed on this premise. In order words, this paper also argues that apart from the crisis of nation building, Anglophone academics have directly contributed in eroding the academic freedom and autonomy of the Anglo-Saxon University of Buea. The Anglo-Saxon university has therefore dashed the hopes of many by its intermittent harassment of lecturers and students in flagrant violation of the academic freedom and autonomy of the university since its inception in 1993.

This partition of this paper is as follows. First, the author will explore conceptual issues in order to illuminate the concepts of academic freedom and autonomy and show how these have been the concern of academics and the theme of several international conferences. Second, the author will look at the higher education reforms in Cameroon that led to the establishment of the Anglo-Saxon university of Buea. Third, the political circumstances in Anglophone Cameroon, characterized by a clamour for autonomy and the secession of Anglophone Cameroon from Francophone Cameroon, would be highlighted to enable one appreciate the persistent repression of deviant academics in the Anglo-Saxon university by appointees of the Cameroon government. Fourthly, the state of academic freedom and autonomy in the Anglo-Saxon University of Buea, characterized by the violation of the statute establishing the University of Buea and the intermittent harassment of both lecturers and students will be analyzed. The last part of this paper is the conclusion and recommendations.

1. Conceptualizing Academic Freedom and Autonomy in higher Education

Universities are by definition and long established tradition meant to be places where all learning activities are normally governed by creative skepticism, constant questioning, disputation and argumentation. They are established to serve "as veritable centres of teaching, learning and the production of knowledge for national developments" (*The Scholar*: 2000). These are encouraged, not as ends in themselves, but as means for ensuring the discovery of novel and better solutions to both old and new societal challenges. University dons must therefore be free to pursue their objectives without unnecessary hindrances. The increasing harassment of intellectuals, particularly following the introduction of the Structural Adjustment measurements from the mid-1980s, is inimical to intellectual production. Academic freedom is therefore very important and the international community has organized several conferences to brainstorm on the issue.

The first of such meetings was the Lima Conference on Academic Freedom and Autonomy of Institutions of Higher Education organized by the World University Services in 1988. The second was the Kampala Symposium on Academic Freedom and the Social Responsibility of Intellectuals organized by CODESRIA in 1990. From these two conferences was produced the Lima Declaration on Academic Freedom and Autonomy of Institutions of Higher Education and the Kampala Declaration on Intellectual Freedom and Social Responsibilities. In 1996, another conference on academic freedom was held in Nigeria at the University of Ibadan and it issued an important communiqué underscoring the importance of academic freedom and autonomy of institutions of higher learning (*CODESRIA Bulletin,* 1996: 4-5). What does academic freedom and autonomy stands for?

The two are not necessarily the same but they are linked together, protected and flourish in an environment of democratic governance within the institutions of higher learning and research, and the respect for constitutional, human, economic and social rights (*CODESRIA Bulletin*, Nov. 1, 1990: 5, Sawyerr 1996). Academic freedom means the freedom of members of an academic community individually and collectively to pursue, nurture and disseminate knowledge through research activities, study, discussion, documentation, production, teaching, lecturing and writing in private and in public. Academic freedom is grounded in and derived from human rights, and a professional right of all persons who function within the academic community as researchers, teachers, students and workers. Academic freedom is the very basis for the functioning, survival and flourishing of an academic community. As a derivative of human rights, statutes, edicts or constitutions cannot abridge it. Academic freedom is the right to pursue the production and dissemination of knowledge without fear of persecution, harassment and intimidation. Academic freedom includes freedom of association and movement (*Ibid*) and as we shall see, this was denied to Cameroon universities for a very long time.

What specifically does autonomy entail for the University system? Autonomy is defined in terms of the freedom of universities to govern themselves, appoint their key officials, determine their conditions of service for their staff, control their students' admissions and academic curricula, control their finances and generally regulate themselves as independent legal entities without undue interference from the government and its agencies. Universities should be free from government administrative control. The University Governing Council should appoint and dismiss Vice-Chancellors, determine remuneration packages and conditions of service of all categories of staff after due negotiations with their unions. The role of the government should be limited to the provision of a baseline remuneration package below which no university will pay its staff. The university should not be treated as part of the civil service (De Moor 1993). Academic freedom and autonomy go hand in hand and are the fundamental prerequisites for the functioning of the academic community and the fulfillment of the responsibilities and duties of the institutions of higher learning and research. "The respect for the rule of law, democratically derived, is fundamental to the promotion and flourishing of academic freedom and autonomy" (*Ibid*).

Ali Mazrui notes, "in relationship to the wider world, a university has to be politically distant from the state" to be free; secondly, it has to be "culturally close to society" and third, a university "has to be intellectually linked to the wider scholarly and scientific values in the world of learning" (Mazrui 2005: 62). That universities can be funded by the state and still maintain its political distance and freedom is feasible and is the practice in the developed world. British universities still depend heavily on the state, even when they have large endowments. In the United States, government funded universities are supported mainly at the state rather than at the federal level and billions are contributed to higher education by the federal government without compromising academic freedom.

However, in Africa, there appears to be the feeling that because the government funds universities, it must dictate its internal policies to the letter. Consequently, governments tend to hamper the university system from performing their noble objectives by the overbearing interference of the state in their day-to-day affairs to the extent that they become no better than mere appendages to government parastatals. Government circulars have been allowed to override university laws and procedures on several issues ranging from day-to-day administration, disbursement of funds, staff discipline, appointments and promotions and appointments of Vice-Chancellors and other principal officers. These activities of African regimes have rendered the governing councils powerless to perform their statutory functions. Sometimes, government decides to appoint all members of the governing council of the university who have to be responsible to government and act according to government directives.

Under totalitarian regimes, universities were meant to comply with government directives. Any form of dissent in the attempt to seek clarification on sometimes conflicting, if not unimplementable directives, got equated with being confrontational and "disobedience to properly constituted authority". The policy-making organs in universities gradually became forums for rubber-stamping government's directives. University administration becomes instruments for enforcing compliance with orders from government. The resulting destruction of the traditional values of academic freedom in African universities satisfied the yearnings of some government officials who wanted to always clip the wings of arrogant academics and Vice-Chancellors who wanted to stay in power.

The systematic encroachment of University autonomy and its twin essence, academic freedom, began with the imposition of military rule and the one-party system in Africa. In Cameroon, Ahidjo's authoritarian regime stripped individuals and groups of their rights to self-governance and denied them freedom of association, of self-expression and conscience and this was carried over to institutions of Higher Learning with the collaboration of individuals from within the university of itself.

2. The 1993 Higher Education Reform in Cameroon and the Birth of the Anglo-Saxon University of Buea

Higher Education in Cameroon was plunged into tumultuous crises following the re-introduction of multipartyism in Cameroon in 1990. By 1991 the problems of higher education had nearly reached the point of explosion. There was an exponential rise in the student population of Cameroon's lone University of Yaoundé from 9,000 in 1977 to 45,000 in 1991 (Njeuma *et al*: 2003: 215-223, Ngwana 2003). There was relative stagnation in infrastructure; teacher-student ratio was uneven and continued to worsen from 1/25 in 1962 to 1/54 in 1991. These problems were compounded by a deepening economic crisis, characterized by a depleted State treasury, late and irregular payment of student bursaries and staff salaries, and a low rate of execution of the university budget. Student agitation and political demands became rife to the extent that classes were brought to a gradual halt in the University of Yaounde in 1990 (*Ibid*).

Anglophone agitation for their own university gained the central stage of political discourse and found justification in the argument that the national University of Yaoundé, which was intended function as a bilingual institution, was more French in outlook and had little to show that was English. Bilingualism as a language policy in the university was not effective since teaching was carried out predominantly in French thereby creating a situation of imbalance between the two languages. Programmes in the University of Yaoundé were essentially designed after the French university system and were taught predominantly in French. Likewise, the programmes corresponded in structure and content to those of the French university system. This drastically reduced the success rate for Anglophone students, limited their access to the University, increased their frustration and set many of them across the frontier to Nigeria and elsewhere in search of university education. The Anglophone problem was thus part of the university crisis of the early 1990s. It therefore became imperative to decongest and to decentralize the University of Yaoundé and address the issue of the Anglophone clamor for a typical Anglo-Saxon system of education that would halt Anglophone exodus. In January 1993 the government of Cameroon launched a major reform of its higher education system by creating six full-fledged universities:

- the Anglo-Saxon University of Buea in the South West Province,
- University of Dschang in the West Province,
- University of Douala in the Littoral Province,
- University of Ngaoundere in the Adamawa Province,
- the National University of Yaoundé I in the Centre Province and
- University of Yaoundé II in the Centre Province.

The creation of the University of Buea, conceived in the Anglo-Saxon tradition and therefore an English-speaking university, answered the call of Anglophone students and parents for a university system of education consistent with the education system prevailing in Anglophone primary and secondary schools and other Anglophone countries.

The Anglo-Saxon university was conceived by the civil society comprising Anglophone academics under the banner of Anglophone Parents Teachers Association, the Cameroon Anglophone Movement etc. The original status provided for full administrative and financial autonomy that characterized Nigerian universities in the aftermath of independence. It was believed that the Anglo-Saxon university of Buea would incarnate and display the true virtues of a university system, which Anglophones claimed to emanate from.

There is a strong myth generated and held by Anglophone scholars according to which Francophone-oriented universities are essentially dysfunctional and authoritarian; and Professor Bernard Fonlon's treatise on the *Genuine Intellectual* (1978) carries the Anglophone vision of a university, which they had never had the opportunity to introduce in Cameroon owing to their minority status and to the fact that such decision laid in the hands of the hegemonic Francophone state. The establishment of the University of Buea created the hope for something entirely new that would serve as a model for Cameroon's universities.

Presidential Decree no. 93.034 of 19 January 1993 established the Anglo-Saxon University of Buea. The Decree determined and defined the administrative and academic organisation of the University in the Anglo-Saxon tradition. In essence, it created an Anglo-Saxon university and endowed it with ample freedom to elect its principal officers from the Vice-Chancellor down to Heads of Departments, and determine its academic orientation from overbearing government interference. This was definitely a novelty in Cameroon, which is predominantly Francophone in outlook and tradition, and is highly centralised with every institution subordinated to the central administration.

The corporate bodies of the University of Buea established under the decree included the Council, the Senate, the Congregation, the Faculty Board, and the Departmental Board. The Council was the supreme governing body of the University and was charged with the general control and superintendence of policy, finances and property of the University including its public

relations. The Vice-Chancellor was to be appointed by decree from among members of the professorial rank of Anglo-Saxon training following the recommendation of Senate and Council. The Congregation of the University was an assembly of senior academic and non-academic staff charged with examining matters related to the welfare of staff of the University and exercise any other such functions as might be defined by Senate and Council. The Faculty Board was responsible for the selection of Faculty Dean from staff of Professorial rank and in their absence, associate professor. The person so elected had to be approved by Senate and confirmed by decree and was to hold such office for three years renewable once. A department was to be governed by an assembly of the department composed of full time lecturers and elected students. The chair was to be a professor and in the absence of that rank an associate professor. The position of chair was for a three-year period renewal once.

The creation of the Buea University known by its acronym UB raised hoped in Cameroonians of an alternative university system. The general organisation of the University of Buea, its rigid respect of the University calendar, its seriousness in course delivery among other things soon started attracting Francophone students who had to undergo special language courses before qualifying for admission. But could UB operate according to the decree of its creation, which endowed it with freedom and autonomy in a highly centralised hegemonic Francophone order? And most importantly could academic freedom and autonomy be allowed to flourish in the Anglo-Saxon University of Buea against a background of increasing Anglophone clamour for political autonomy and stateism?

3. The Resurgence of the Anglophone Problem

The Anglo-Saxon University of Buea took off at a particularly difficult socio-political and economic conjuncture and this appears to have impacted negatively on the academic freedom and autonomy promised in the statute that established the university. The year of the establishment of UB was also the year of political agitation for constitutional reforms intended to obtain greater autonomy for Anglophone Cameroon.

In response to President Biya's announcement to reform the constitution, Anglophones seized the opportunity to ventilate their grievances against over-centralisation that was eroding their values. Four prominent Anglophones namely Simon Munzu, Elad Ekontang, Benjamin Itoe and Carlson Anyangwe[1] took the initiative to convene an All Anglophone Conference (AAC) "for the purpose of preparing Anglophone participation" in the announced national debate on the reform of the constitution. Other issues related to the welfare of Anglophones, their posterity, territory and Cameroon as a whole was to be looked into (AAC 1993). Munzu, Ekontang, Itoe and Anyangwe turned out to be the ideologues of the Anglophone cause or better still the *ingénieur identitaire de la communautaire Anglophone*, to use Sindjourn's elegant expression (Sindjourn 1995: 90, 93). The Anglophone turnout for the conference was impressive and was indicative of their frustration and disillusionment with the union with Francophones. Over 5000 Anglophones attended including academics, religious, business, traditional rulers and socio-professionals and the political elite.

The expectations from the conveners of the conference were high just as the imaginations and the fantasies of the delegates ran wild about "the persecuted pure Anglophones" and "the tyrannical imperfect Francophones". The All Anglophone Conference issued the Buea Declaration, which in essence, called for a return to the federal form of government. They justified federalism on grounds of unbridgeable cultural differences between Anglophones and Francophones. (AAC 1993).

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[1] Munzu and Anyangwe were University Professors of law at the University of Yaounde 11. Benjamin Itoe was a Magistrate and a former Minister of Justice while Elad Ekontag was a practicing lawyer. These four lawyers came to the limelight during the famous tripartite conference of October-November 1991, which was convened by the Biya government to diffuse tension in the country after a protracted period of civil disobedience campaigns organised by opposition parties (*cf* Awasom 1998).

On 27 May 1993, a select AAC Anglophones Standing Committee of 65 members tidied a draft federal constitution, which they submitted to the Biya government for consideration (Standing Committee of AAC: 1993). President Biya snubbed the draft federal constitution, and in a series of interviews in Cameroon and France, he stated that federalism was inappropriate for a country like Cameroon.

Government's refusal to entertain the federal proposal of Anglophones pushed the Anglophone delegates to moot the possibility of outright secession.[2] Anglophones held another meeting, the Second All Anglophone Congress (AAC 11) in Bamenda on 29 April 1994 and resolved to proceed to the unilateral declaration of independence of Anglophone Cameroon if the Biya regime persisted in its refusal to engage in meaningful constitutional talks (Konings and Nyamnjoh 1997: 221-227).

The Anglophone pressure group, the Southern Cameroon National Congress, emerged from the dust of the All Anglophone Congress and quickly developed its motto, "the force of argument and not the argument of force." This motto was intended to indicate the non-violent nature and method of the movement to achieve statehood for the Southern Cameroons. This agenda was new and was formulated from the failure of the Biya administration to exercise flexibility and imagination in handling the Anglophone problem.

Although the SCNC adopted the motto of the force of argument, that did not spare them from government harassment in 1997 following an alleged attack on military installations in the Anglophone North-West Province in 1997. It youth-wing President, Ebenezer Akwanga, was arrested, detained and subsequently tried and imprisoned for 20 years for allegedly possessing illegal weapons and engaging in acts of sabotage. More than a score of other SCNC activists were sent to the Yaoundé high security prison at Kondenge where they are serving long terms of imprisonment. The Biya administration refused all forms of dialogue with the SCNC and preferred to crush the movement by all means.

Because of government high-handedness in handling the SCNC, the Anglophones in the Diaspora, particularly the United States, reorganized themselves and opened a website, the www.SCNC forum under the coordination of J.J. Asongu, in 1999. The website encouraged discussions and updated its subscribers about developments in the Southern Cameroons on the struggle for statehood. The SCNC in the Diaspora decided to change the name of its discussion forum from SCNC forum to SCNATION in 2001. The change of name followed the unilateral declaration of the independence of the Southern Cameroons in December 2001 by Justice Alobwede, which was accompanied by a government crack down on the secessionists. The independence declaration was treated as a non-event by the Biya administration and the Anglophones made no attempt to set up any governmental structures. The region only received troop reinforcement and was subjected to an undeclared state of siege.

The SCNC in the Diaspora therefore transformed its website from SCNCforum to SCNATION. It proceeded to set up a High Commission in New York with J.J. Asongu as its first High Commissioner. To the SCNC, the status of the Southern Cameroons is a nation, which is under the colonial administration of La République du Cameroun, as they prefer to call Francophone Cameroon. The struggle of the Southern Cameroonians, as they prefer to call Anglophone Cameroon, is the struggle for international recognition of their statehood and the expulsion of La République du Cameroun from their territory. The initiative for the progress of the Anglophone secessionist movement has therefore been displaced from the national arena to the Diaspora where it has a stronger and an unimpeded impulsion. What were the implication of these developments on academic freedom and autonomy for the University of Buea?

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[2] The Anglophone leadership actually set 1 October 1996 as the day for the declaration of independence for Anglophone Cameroon. The threat turned out to be a bluff because nothing actually happened on that day except to the speech of Ambassador Henry Fussong, the Chairman of the Anglophone Movement for sovereignty known as the Southern Cameroon National Council (SCNC). Fusssong invited Southern Cameroonians to celebrate I October 1996 as a day of prayers during which a special prayer should be made to God to "save Anglophones from political bondage". He stated that the independence of the Southern Cameroons was "non-negotiable and irreversible" (Cameroon Post, 8-14 October 1996).

4. The Stymie of the Autonomy of the Anglo-Saxon University of Buea

Given that universities are usually hotbeds of political agitation, the Anglo-Saxon University of Buea had to evolve under strict government surveillance. The first powerful signal from the government after the establishment of the University of Buea was to underscore the point that its statute was a mere piece of worthless paper by a appointing a subservient pro-government Vice-Chancellor who had the potentials of checking the restless Anglophones. Dr, Dorothy Limunga Njeuma, an Associate Professor and former Vice-Minister of National Education, was appointed Vice-Chancellor in violation of decree no. 93/034 of January 19, 1993, establishing the University of Buea which required that a Vice-Chancellor shall be appointed from professorial rank following the recommendation of Senate and Council of the University. Dorothy Njeuma is still Vice-Chancellor in 2005 and has therefore been enjoying an indefinite term of office in violation of Article 26(b) of the statute of the University which states that the Vice-Chancellor shall hold office for four years renewable once". The law therefore did not allow any individual to hold the office of Vice-Chancellor for more than eight years. After four years as Vice-Chancellor, no mention was made of the renewal of Dorothy Njeuma's tenure of office. After the end of her second tenure, there was total silence about her replacement; other ambitious professors on the line-up might have to wait for a very long time indeed and are likely to retire without ever smelling the position of Vice-Chancellor.

The other principal officers of the university comprising Deans, Vice-Deans, and Heads of Departments have never been elected by their peers but are appointees of the Vice-Chancellor and the government. Just as the government appoints all the principal officers of the universities, so can they be disappointed by being dropped at anytime if they do not live up to expectations especially by showing pro-opposition sympathies. Individuals who enjoyed the support of the Vice-Chancellor could accumulate several offices. In a memo written by an aggrieved lecturer to the Dean of the Faculty of Arts, the lecturer criticized the Dean's dictatorship and accumulation of power:

> It is most bizarre that the intellectual beacon of an arts faculty and a practicing historian to boot, would, fail to apprehend how critical thinking impacts on…relationships and perceptions in an under-developing third world milieu….I however understand why an academician politician taking refuge in the ivory tower your "letter of observation" is so suffused with such self-demeaning sycophancy for the status quo. Rector of intensive English. V.C.'s representative at the GCE board, Dean, Vice-Dean, Editor of EPASA MOTO….We do not recall receiving under your dynasty any queries from you on this subject…(*Confidential Memo* dated 29th September 2004 to Dean, Faculty of Arts, UB)

So, the Dean could accumulate so many positions because of his special relationship with the Vice-Chancellor

The Vice Chancellor's weight was increased by her politburo status of the ruling government party, which enables her to intimidate even Ministers. Most staff and students who express critical opinions are dealt with utmost severity "while dimwit loyalists and shameless bootlickers are given advantages in research grants, travels and favorable placings in the university hierarchy" (Kai Schidmt-Saltau in *the Post,* 8 June 2000). Perhaps it would be pertinent to highlight selected cases of the persecution of critical scholars.

Professor F. Nyamnjoh won the prestigious African Studies Fellowship of the African Studies Centre, Leiden, the Netherlands in 1999 to conduct research on the burning and topical "Anglophone Problem in Cameroon". Instead of being congratulated on such feat, the Vice-Chancellor found fault with the award and refused to grant permission to Professor Nyamnjoh to travel on grounds that the government of the Republic of Cameroon did not recognize anything like "the Anglophone problem". The University of Buea being a State University, such a research could not be condoned. Professor Nyamnjoh was accused of harboring SCNC sympathies and his request was turned down. The University of Buea was therefore determined to shape and direct the thinking of its lecturers in violation of their freedom to think unimpeded.

Dr. E.S.D. Fomin and this writer fell out of favor with the chair of the history department, a protégé of the Vice-Chancellor, for continuously taking critical stance on "the Anglophone problem". We were accused of secessionist (SCNC) sympathies, we were harassed and persecuted culminating in our being sacked, and our salaries suspended in 1999. All attempts at having the problem resolved by a succession of Ministers of Higher Education ended in smoke because of the powerful position Buea's Vice-Chancellor in the politburo.

Professor Kai Schidmt-Saltou, a German philosopher teaching in the University of Buea also suffered from a sack for criticizing the repressive atmosphere in the University of Buea under Dorothy Njeuma. He used the columns of several Anglophone newspapers to lambaste the University of Buea authorities after his sacking. Kai Schidmt-Saltou noted that:

A university is essentially a place for academics and not politics. But in UB subtle politics of the CPDM brand is the main stock in trade. The result is that those who hold contrary political opinions from the VC's are persistently excluded from positions of leadership…The UB administration uses authoritarian methods to get its way. The whole surrounding is mostly organized by fear. It is really a society of fear that that reigns at UB. So, you can't talk of participation (*The Freedom Forum*, 3 Jan. 2001: 7)

Kai Schidmt-Saltou argued that truth could not prevail in an atmosphere of political intolerance, absolutism and academic repression, as is the case in UB where even staff and students unions are banned, where lecturers of outstanding repute are administratively lynched-denied promotion and research grant and made to feel really persecuted.

The right of students to form unions and go on strike was recognized under the 1990 liberal legislation that introduced multipartyism in Cameroon. When the University of Buea started in 1993, students were allowed to form their union and elect their executives, making UB an exceptional university in Cameroon where Rectors were generally suspicious of student unionism and hesitant to allow students to unionize on their campuses. Following a succession of strikes against the University of Buea administration in 1993 and 1994, the student union was disbanded and its leaders sacked and refused re-admission in any State University in Cameroon for life.

Following the first student strike in the University of Buea in 1993, the university administration designed an undertaking form that students and their parents or guardians had to sign. Students had to sign an undertaking never to indulge in strikes or actions that would impede studies in the university. The relevant section of the document read:

I, the undersigned…DO HEREBY SOLEMNLY UNDERTAKE:

1. to abide by [stipulations of articles 45, 46, 61, 62, 64, 65 and 66 of decree No. 93/027 of 19 January 1993….

2. to refrain from any form of strike action whatsoever, and from any activity likely to jeopardize the smooth functioning of any of the establishments of the university (*Cf*: University of Buea, Ref. Memo no. 3851/75-4/UB/WOOO of 10 September 1993: Undertaking by Students).

This totalitarian document was illegal because the right to resort to industrial action was constitutionally provided for. Nonetheless, such an undertaking did not stop students from go on strikes,

The 2005 strike is of paramount importance because it brought the overzealous UB administration into direct confrontation and contradiction with the Ministry of Higher Education. The students' strike actually started in the l'université de Yaoundé 1 in early April over the problem of lack of or deteriorating infrastructure on campuses; the strike gradually spread to all state universities. On April 27 2005 students of the University of Buea joined the strike in solidarity with their comrades of Yaoundé 1. What is remarkable about the strike is the different

approaches to it by the government and the various university administrations. In Yaoundé 1, the Minister of Higher Education, Professor Fame Ndongo and the Rector of the University of Yaoundé 1, Professor Sammy Chumbaw went to meet the striking students for dialogue and actually addressed them under torrential rain. The Prime Minister and Head of Government, Ephraim Inoni later received the striking students, and the government pledged to bring a speedy solution to the students' problems. In the University of Buea, the situation was completely different. The Vice-Chancellor insisted that the strike was pure political manipulation with the support of dissident faculty members. On April 28, troop reinforcement from neighboring Douala and elsewhere arrived Buea and took positions everywhere on campus. Then a display of tear gas, batons, gun boots and life ammunition by the troops cost the lives of two students, Gilbert Nforlem and Aloysius Abuoam and several casualties. The troops went on rampage and both students and non-students around student residential areas suffered (*Press Release, SCNC*, 2nd May 2005).

The 2005 strike further unveiled the totalitarian qualities of the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Buea. She refused to dialogue with the students despite instructions from hierarchy to do so. She rather went ahead and issued a communiqué, which was read over the radio and in all churches on Sunday inviting all students to resume classes immediately and threatening to dismiss those who failed to do so. She also indicated her determination to fine students for any properties destroyed in the course of the strike and to have all students to sign an undertaking before re-admission into the university. Students ignored her communiqué and continued the boycott of classes.

The Minister of Higher Education had to travel to the University of Buea to diffuse the tensed situation there. He opened direct dialogue with the students and made several concessions in a bid to appease them including recognition of their union and its executive, and the unconditional resumption of classes. In other words, students were not to sign any undertaking nor pay any money for damages caused during the strike. The University of Buea boss remained defiant and protested that the Minister's action was a direct condonement of student defiance of duly constituted authority. She has already made press statements to the effect that the 2004/2005 graduating batch of students will not have any official convocation because all of them were involved in strike action and they are therefore wanting in character, even if they are worthy in learning. (*The Post,* 11 July 2005).

Even after the Minister's recognition of the University of Buea Students' Union, (UBSU), that was hastily created following a month-long strike (April 27 -May 27), that rocked the University the union has not been able to put its feet on the ground as the University authorities keep picking holes in its actions (*The Post* August 2, 2005) Since its inception, executive members of UBSU have received numerous letters from the University administration calling them to order. On July 11, the Vice Chancellor of UB, wrote a letter to Walter Onekon Angwere, UBSU President, asking him and his group to leave the town of Dschang immediately where they were attending the all-University Games of Cameroon. In the letter, titled "Unauthorized Actions Undertaken by UBSU Executive, the Vice-Chancellor stated that "the official delegation of the University of Buea to the 2005 University Games holding in Dschang [did] not include members of [the students'] union. She admonished the student union "to immediately leave Dschang as [their] presence and activities [had] evidently become a nuisance to the Local Organizing Committee of the Games and an embarrassment to the University of Buea." The Vice Chancellor accused its president, Angwere and his executive of making some assumptions and berated the UBSU for using the University logo. According to her, "the University logo is designed only for official use by the University and its legal structures. The use of the logo on the letterhead of your union is not authorized. You are, therefore, required to stop using it immediately". She informed the UBSU that they did not have written authorization from the competent administrative authorities, nor with the competent authorities of the University of Buea to operate despite recognition form the Minister of Higher Education. She insisted that UBSU constitution had not been approved by the competent authorities, contrary to statements made in a June 27 memorandum the students' union addressed to Heads of Departments of the University. Consequently, the Vice Chancellor said the memo is not only out of place but null and void. She said, "Students [were] not permitted

to give instructions to their academic hierarchy in any university in the world". It should be observed here that the point is not giving instructions but whether the idea of student unionism is accepted by the UB administration. The administration is duty bound to guide student unionism in good faith instead of getting into competition and confrontation with it.

Essentially, the University of Buea administration is quite oppressive and its relationship with students was far from cordial. The administration was equally hostile that the trade union of teachers of Higher Education known by its French acronym, SYNES.

5.   The University of Buea Administration and the National Union of Teachers of Higher Education (SYNES)

Academic freedom for universities also entails the right to unionise. Following the reintroduction of multipartyism in Cameroon in 1990, the government concedes to the idea of the birth of autonomous trade unions. However, when Teachers of Higher Education applied for the recognition of their own union, the government was adamant. In 1996, the teachers took the matter to the International Labour Organisation and it was only in 1999 that the Union was recognised and could therefore operate legally without fear of police harassment.

The National Union of Teachers of Higher Education (SYNES) by organizing a survey. The polls revealed that teachers of higher education were in extreme destitution. It was realized that 60 per cent of the teachers did not own personal vehicles, 80 per cent did not own a house, 61 per cent were periodic victims of harassment by the Electricity and Water Corporation for being delinquent payers of their utility bills. In the work environment, only 30 per cent had an office, 63 per cent did not have access to toilets, 90 per cent did not have telephones and 90 per cent did not have computers. Working conditions were horrible, as 82 per cent did not receive chalk or paper from their service; only 4 per cent of practical for the sciences could be conducted; 88 per cent of academic development did not subscribe to any professional journal. While the government trumpeted economic growth, nothing was seen in terms of improving on the lot of academics and numerous memos written to that effect fell on deaf ears. Ninety five per cent of lecturers consulted voted in favour of industrial action for their plight to be advertised for necessary government action. The National Executive Bureau of SYNES therefore had to comply to the will of its members and a notice of strike action was deposited with the Prime Minister and the Minister oif Higher Education on November 2 1999. It was decided that teachers would abstain from teaching at the rate of one week per month until such a time that the government looked into their plight. The strike action was actually launched in earnest at the beginning of the second semester. The first warning strike took place for two days starting from March 21 2000. According to a press release by SYNES, the strike was successful in all state universities with the exception of the University of Douala whose Rector decided to postpone the reopening of the university by a week.

The participation rate of the strike was as follows:

Name of State University	Percentage of participation in strike
ENS Annex Bambili	95
University of Yaounde 1	95
University of Yaounde 11	80
University of Ngaoundere	70
The Anglo-Saxon University of Buea	95
University of Dschang	95

Source: SYNES Communiqué, 22 March 2000

The strike was quite successfully despite the pseudo-syndicates created overnight to oppose the strike.

The reaction of the Vice Chancellor of the University of Buea was singular in the sense that she took the whole matter as a personal one and started issuing a series of threats. In a letter to the University of Buea Chapter of SYNES, the Vice-Chancellor stated, "the strike action called by SYNES UB Chapter resulted in work stoppage and that it was surprising because of "actions taken by the Head of State to improve on the conditions of service of teaching staff of universities". She further intimated that the strike action was an exclusively University of Buea affair and she requested SYNES Buea to provide her administration with an explanation for this unwarranted disruption of activity as well as a list of teachers of the institution who had decided to go on strike. Letter of VC, Buea to SYNES President, Buea Chapter, 20 March 2000). SYNES UB refused to be intimated and reminded the VC that the strike action was national and was called by the National Council of SYNES that met in Yaounde on 23 February 2000 of which all six state universities were represented. SYNES UB expressed surprise at the VC's attitude of trying to localise the strike and the veiled threats contained in her letter and advised her to direct her letter to the national executive of SYES (SYNES UB Chapter Memo from President to VC, 27 March 2000). Tension between the UB administration was therefore created by the strike action and the exchange of acrimonious communiqués.

At the beginning of the 2000/2001 academic year, SYNES Buea decided to seek an audience with the UB VC to concert for a better take-off of the school year that would be devoid of suspicion, bitterness, victimization and witch hunting. However, things changed dramatically with the dismissal of three assistant lecturers who were active members of SYNES. Dr. Egbewatt Nkongho, Dr. Stella Nana-Fabo and Dr. Paul Mbufong were all terminated in application of article 1, paragraphs 2 of Order no. 145 bis/CAB/PC of 15 March 2000. Although the official charge was that they had not published articles, the real reason was their SYNES activity. Dr. Mbufong, for instance, had supervised many M.A. theses in the area of applied linguistics and had been the coordinator of the use of English Programme for five years. He had actually submitted four articles in the English Department, which were simply abandoned. Although the university was understaffed and had to depend on part-time lecturers to run most of its programmes, it could still afford to do away with its experienced staff on grounds that they had not published.

Other forms of victimisation were also noticeable in UB. Application for further studies of SYNES members was often outrighly rejected. Even the extra teaching hours of SYNES members that required remuneration were arbitrarily reduced and their names systematically cancelled on various university committees. They were also relieved of their duty post by the Vice-Chancellor, the most glaring example being the case of Dr. Jonie Fonyam, the President of the UB Chapter of SYNES. SYNES members names were dropped from the teaching programmes of their specialisation. The university community therefore came to be divided into "dissidents" and loyalists depending on whether a lecturer heeded to the strike calls of SYNES or not.

Against a background of sacks, SYNES Buea made it clear to the UB administration that the issue of employment security was of paramount importance and that if the administration did not review its position; it would be compelled to go on industrial action. The VC was adamant insisting that she was simply applying the law governing the fate of teaching staff in the university. Given the tension on the rise with newspaper speculations of an impending strike in the University of Buea, the Minister of Higher Education, Jean-Marie Mebara decided to reinstate the sacked UB lecturers and transferred them to the University of Douala.

The highhandedness of the VC of UB became a cause of concern and National Union of Teachers of Higher Education during its third ordinary congress that took place in Dschang on 6 to 7 October 2001 under the theme: "The Management of State Universities Called into Question". SYNES had to address a special resolution to her. The Secretary General of SYNES wrote:

The National Union of Teachers of Higher Education (SYNES), with due respect, has the displeasure of drawing your attention to the atmosphere of intolerance and victimization that reigns between SYNES and your administration, with a view to smoothening our relationship in the future.

SYNES blamed the VC for obstructing the meeting of the UB Chapter on campus and even went as far as refusing the posters advertising SYNES Congress. The resolution passed read:

Mindful of their continuous effort to create an atmosphere to dialogue between our union and the administration of the University of Buea, the only campus where SYNES is banned,

Mindful of your arbitrary decision last year to terminate the contract of three assistant lecturers of the University of Buea because of their overt affiliation with SYNES,

Mindful of the Minister of Higher Education's decision to reinstate the three victims of your wrathful decision,

Mindful of your silence about complaint from members of our union, who suffer unjustly from all kinds of discrimination and especially from damaging administrative reports when they apply for scholarship and grants,

Hereby convey to you on behalf of the participants of the 3rd congress of SYNES their utter condemnation of your overall characteristic attitude of blatant hostility toward our union.

SYNES expressed surprise at the attitude of the Buea administration which was not in line with the policy of the government which favoured dialogue with the civil society and particularly teachers trade unions. The Minister of Higher Education often attended the opening congresses of SYNES and the Prime Minister and Head of Government periodically granted audience to the SYNES executive. SYNES then stated that "if the university of Buea [was] still one of the six state universities in [Cameroon]", then…"the vice-Chancellor of the university of Buea, appointed by the government, [had] the duty to act in compliance with government policy" called (SYNES, Third Ordinary Congress, Resolution, 1st October 2001).

SYNES touched on an important aspect of university life with direct inspiration from the decree setting up the University of Buea. It called on the democratization of university administration by giving a greater voice to lecturers in the management of their own affairs. Consequently, it called on government to allow state universities to elect Head of Departments, Deans and Rectors who would be more response to the needs of their colleagues. It called for decentralization and proposed to the Minister of Higher Education to adopt a formula for the drawing up of the budget of state universities in such a way that preference should be given to academics matters and scientific research as opposed to administrative expenses (SYNES, Third Ordinary Congress, Resolution, 1st October 2001).

SYNES Buea was not indifferent to the protracted one month-long strike April 27 -May 27 2005, in the University of Buea. SYNES therefore held an extraordinary meeting on May 25 2005 to review the situation and observed, for over 30 days, the University of Buea leadership [had] been either unable or unwilling to resolve the crisis. The communiqué noted among other things that the crisis had overstretched because of the absence of dialogue. It called on all lecturers and students to say at home until the crisis was resolved (See Appendix A). It was at this point the Minister of Higher Education had to step in to bring the crisis to an end against protest from an intransigent and overzealous University of Buea administration.

Conclusion

This paper sets out to examine the state of academic freedom and autonomy in the Anglo-Saxon University of Buea in Cameroon against a background of a highly centralized Francophone system of Higher Education. The University of Buea rose from the ashes of demonstrations in the 1990s leading to the 1993 reforms of Higher Education in Cameroon. The existing lone University of Yaoundé had been subjected to strains and stresses imposed by demographic and infrastructural problems. The only envisagable solution was the deconcentration of the University of Yaounde and this gave rise to the establishment of five full-fledged state universities, including the Anglo-Saxon University of Buea established along Anglo-Saxon lines to satisfy the Anglophone quest of a university in their own tradition.

If the presidential decree establishing the university of Buea is anything thing to go by, it provided hopes for the beginnings of greater freedom and autonomy in Cameroon's institutions of higher learning. The decree establishing the University of Buea provided for a wide margin of freedom and autonomy for the University of Buea and allowed for the election of all its principal officers. This was a novelty in the Cameroon system of higher education, which is highly centralized and is rigidly controlled by the government with all officials from the higher to the lowest being government appointees. But the liberal statute establishing the University of Buea were never implemented by a regime that does not believe in autonomous and contesting sources of power in the country.

Like in other state universities in Cameroon, all the principal officials of the University of Buea from the Vice-Chancellor to the Head of Departments were appointed directly from Yaounde with indefinite tenures of offices in violation of the decree establishing the university. What is more administrators who were not elected but were appointees of the government attempt to retain their positions by the persecution of staff and students in a bid to exhibit over zealousness and retain their positions. The University of Buea administrators therefore constitute the first violators of academic freedom and autonomy of intellectuals. Instead of behaving as responsible pedagogues towards their students, the University of Buea administrators are in constant confrontation and competition with them. Dictatorial attitudes like compelling students and their parents to sign an undertaking not to go on strike as a condition for admission or registration into the university are clear acts of intimidation that are not amicable to academic freedom.

The freedom of university lecturers to unionize is a constitutional right and after a lot of foot dragging, the government finally conceded in recognizing SYNES, the Union of Teachers of Higher Education in Cameroon. The Vice-Chancellor of the University of Buea distinguished herself as the only university administrator in Cameroon that persistently attempted to stymie the activities of SYNES on the university campus and subjected its members to various forms of intimidation and persecution including the disqualification of lecturers for promotion by writing negative administrative reports, demotions from position of responsibilities and open refusal of their dues and privileges. It is for this reason that SYNES had to raise an alarm and call the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Buea to order during g its third ordinary congress that was held in 2001. Thus, the Anglo-Saxon university that was planned to be a center of excellence and freedom has turned out to be the most repressive institution of higher education in Cameroon with a strong Stalinist coloration. There is only one solution to this abnormal situation at the University of Buea: the implementation of the 1993 decree establishing the University of Buea to the letter which provided for an institution with elected officials by their peers and a large degree of academic freedom and autonomy.

Appendix A

SYNES Communiqué on UB Stalemate (*The Post,* I June 2005)

- o Considering that some lecturers who have either taught or attempted to teach less than a handful of students in class have been identified, their car numbers circulated amongst students, and their homes identified for punitive action;

- o Considering that the misleading press release by the Minister of Communication and Spokesman for the government dated 24/05/05 stating that the students were being prevented from attending classes by Molyko inhabitants could unintentionally involve the parents and the population at large into a spiral of violence and vendetta;

- o Considering the impasse resulting from allegations of mysticism on campus by the students on the one hand and the Vice-Chancellor's avowed fears of her personal security on the other hand;

- o Considering that we cannot be unconcerned when our beautiful University which we have strenuously built over the years is being destroyed nor be indifferent to our students being killed by the security forces;

- o Given that a trade Union has as its main objective the protection of its members' interests;

SYNES HEREBY RESOLVES:

1. Lecturers shall, for their own security, henceforth stay away from classes until the crisis is resolved.

2. The Governor of the South West Province should exercise restraint in the deployment and use of security forces on campus unlike was the case on Tuesday the 24th of May 2005.

3. We condemn in the strongest terms the use of live ammunition in containing students' strikes.

4. We strongly condemn the destruction of private and public property by students.

5. Madam the Vice-Chancellor, accompanied by her close collaborators under appropriate security, should go and talk the students into campus for dialogue. Alternatively, Madam the Vice-Chancellor, in typical Anglo-Saxon culture, should tender her resignation.

6. Any students arrested and detained by the security forces should be released forthwith, in order to create a conducive atmosphere for dialogue.

7. We condemn the simplistic invention and prejudicial use of a North-West -South West divide which is being strenuously used by University hierarchy to explain away an otherwise complex and delicate situation which has unfortunately resulted in the extreme polarization of staff and students of the University of Buea and the larger population.

Done at Buea the 25th May 2005.
Secretary President
Richard Akoachere, Dr. Jonie Fonyam

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Syndicat National des Enseignant du Superieur (The National Union of Teachers of Higher Education) (SYNES) (selected Communiqués from 1999-2005)

Part V

Final Report of the Conference

Academic Freedom Conference
"Problems and Challenges in Arab and African Countries"

10-11 September 2005, Alexandria, Egypt

FINAL REPORT

Saturday, 10 September 2005

The Opening Session

The opening session was chaired by **Prof. Nouria Benghabrit-Remaoun, Prof. Shahida El-Baz, Prof. Jan Henningsson, Prof. Ebrima Sall,** and **Ms. Anna Lundh.**

Prof. Nouria Benghabrit-Remaoun welcomed the speakers and the guests, highlighting the absence of cultural aspects, which necessitates the organization of events such as the Academic Freedom conference. Higher education in this regard is a way to foster critical thought and knowledge production in the younger generations. Prof. Remaoun pointed out that one of the main objectives of the UNESCO Forum is to discuss these problems. Accordingly, all participants were invited to make recommendations and propose ideas. Next, the floor was given to Prof. Shahida El-Baz, one of the organizers of the event.

Prof. El-Baz welcomed the panel and guests, apologizing for being a late-comer to the organizing committee. She thanked all those who have contributed to the success of the event. She then officially declared the conference open, conveying the greetings of Mr. **Samir Amin**, Chairperson of the Arab and African Research Centre.

Prof. El-Baz pointed out the correlation between freedom and the advancement of nations. The conference, hence, is a venue for the defence of national identities and creativity. In this sense, it is impossible to realize the academic freedom of the intelligentsia in isolation from the community. Other relevant concepts include the dissemination of such values as education and transparency to replace those of the destructiveness witnessed in Iraq and Palestine.

Prof. Jan Henningsson, addressing the audience in Arabic, welcomed the participants and highlighted the role played by the Swedish Institute in Alexandria. Through cultural diplomacy, the Institute specializes itself in establishing cultural dialogues between the Arabs and the Europeans. He also pointed out that the Institute, in collaboration with the Bibliotheca Alexandrina, hosts the Anna Lindt Foundation. He described **Dr. Ismail Serageldin** as an inspiring personality who celebrated the culture of the mind. Hence, he invited the conference to become a celebration of the culture of the mind. He concluded by reiterating his welcome of the participants.

Prof. Ebrima Sall began his speech by conveying his greetings to the audience. Thanking the organizers of the event for their efforts and also expressed the pleasure of CORDESIA to be a partner at this Forum. Founded 33 years ago, CORDESIA has a special interest in Academic Freedom. It has throughout those years enabled African researchers to come together, and to produce a discourse which makes more sense to the Africans. Prof. Sall discussed the objectives and publications of CORDESIA, as well as its programs and achievements. Some of the key issues he raised in his speech included the following:

- The impact of the autonomy of academic institutions on the broader society
- The new challenges which face Academic Freedom (e.g.: globalization)
- Knowledge as the key for the development of Africa
- Means of knowledge production

Ms. Anna Lundh, as UNESCO representative, welcomed the participants, pointing out that the conference is indeed a good example of what the Forum aims to be: an arena which facilitates research and knowledge, and broadens the discourse. Ms. Lundh further described the structure of the Forum, the Regional Committees, as well as the importance of publication for UNESCO and for the Forum. She pointed out that the main aim is to make research available to support development.

Next the floor was given to **Dr. Soheir Wastawy** (Chief Librarian, Bibliotheca Alexandrina), who delivered the opening speech. She conveyed the greetings of **Dr. Ismail Serageldin**, and welcomed the guests to the Bibliotheca Alexandrina. She gave a short presentation about the Library, its philosophy, objectives and achievements, which was followed by a ten-minute video about the history of the Library. **Dr. Wastawy** also pointed out the importance of libraries in pursuing freedom and disseminating knowledge. In this sense the Ancient Library of Alexandria was more than a library. A Mouseion, it was the first entity in the world to make knowledge universal.

In closing the session, **Prof. Remaoun** thanked all the participants and announced the start of the working sessions.

SESSION I

The Development and Modifications of the Concept of Academic Freedom and University Autonomy in Arab and African States

Social and human sciences and academic freedom: historiographic practices in Algeria and the Arab world.
Hassan Remaoun

The main theme of this paper is the problems between memory and history, and their impact on the human and social freedom in Algeria. The main points tackled in this paper include: a) Histography and censorship b) History vs. memory c) Social history d) Facts and the legitimization projects of colonialism and e) The glorification of history.

Censorship is prominent at universities, creating many problems such as the number of people who are persecuted for their knowledge. The fact that there is censorship in other sectors of society as well has produced a constant confrontation between history and memory. Memory is selective, not critical. It selects things from the past that may interest us; hence, there is a social lack in history. The people do not always have access to, or the ability to find facts. Historians, unlike other people, admit that they may not have access to the facts. In this sense, the social history becomes a form of legitimization of the national history, which always seeks to linger between history and memory.

The universities in Europe acquired a degree of autonomy from politics, but the relation between the two is complicated nonetheless by funding. This also gave rise to problems of objectivity. In the Arab countries, the relation between nationalism and the university traditions is different. It is very similar to the relation between the Ancient Library of Alexandria and the modern Bibliotheca: there is tradition but also discontinuity. On the other hand, there is also ideological confrontation due to the dominating intellectuals in the Arab World. There are three main categories of intellectuals: a) The Liberals: they support a more philosophical approach b) The Technocrats: they enter the social sphere c) The Populists: they reach power in some states and are characterized by certain criteria among them a) opening up to modernity b) tending to the left, often socialist c) confronting theology d) ambiguous, in that they attempt to forge a national identity.

The paper concludes by saying that history is a search for identity and knowledge of what happened and why. This is one of the stakes of Academic Freedom.

The Nature and Evolution of Academic Freedom in Mali
Isaie Dougnon

The focus of this paper is on the nature and the evolution of Academic Freedom. This raises the question of funding: How can we tackle academic freedom in a country with no funding for research?

Considering higher education in Mali, we find that Malian professors were obliged to leave the country, due to lack of democracy, leading to the blocking of academic freedom. In this case it is not possible to talk about freedom across national borders, which allows intellectuals to have an impact abroad.

There are a number of factors that contribute to the violation of academic freedom. These can be summarized in the following: a) all political education is prohibited. b) Educational programs are subservient to state censorship c) The ministry of education monitors the professors d) all schools and educational institutions are monitored e) All lectures and activities are monitored and the teaching of philosophy was banned.

This is a clear indication of how academic freedom is violated. The reform of the university, meeting the needs of the society, and opening its doors to the civil society are all still very distant from Mali.

In the conclusion of the session, it was made clear that among the main problems, which hinder academic freedom and development in developing countries, is the absence of "good government". Furthermore, many Arab and African countries lack policies which support academic freedom.

SESSION II

The State vis-à-vis Academic Freedom

The chair of this session, **Prof. Mala Singh** introduced the session by raising a number of key issues which summarize the main theme of the session, namely the State vis-à-vis Academic Freedom. These can be summarized in the following:

1. The relation between the State and academic freedom is constantly negotiated and renegotiated. It is shaped by many factors and actors. The parameters are dynamic and hence the question arises: Are there minimum limits to be defined?

2. Academic freedom is not a special rights dispensation. It is rather a regular set of rights, striving for political and social rights.

Academic freedom may still be under threat. Some of the factors that may delimit academic freedom are: a) The State may be drawing academia into serving a developmental agenda that does not allow for enough critical evaluation of that agenda. b) States sponsor education: for what kinds of research and teaching is money made available? c) Religious and cultural fundamentalism also have impact on academic freedom.

The State vis-à-vis Academic Freedom
Hassan Nafaa

The presenter started by saying that the relationship between the State and academic freedom is a highly complicated matter, for academic freedom is a recent concept which presents itself forcefully. However, its constituents are not quite clear.

He further maintained that states play a major role in influencing academic freedom through a number of channels that may be categorized mainly into direct and indirect channels. The direct channels can be expressed through administrative and financial restrictions, security and monitoring activities on campuses or through direct intervention in the elections of student and faculty unions. The indirect channels can be expressed through legislative bills that impose censorship or rigid criteria for publishing research results etc.

The paper concluded by saying that academic freedom is strongly linked to the existence of general forms of freedom and democracy. It is then that universities will be able to defend their rights honourably and liberally.

Research Freedom in Arab Universities.
Namir K.S. Al-Saoudi, presented by Abdel Moneim Osman

The paper which was presented by Prof. A. Osman , due to the absence of Dr. Al-Saoudi started by saying that freedom is the ability to undertake a task freely, with no obstacles or hindrance. The academia is represented by the cultural and scientific institutions. Hence, academic freedom is the freedom of the academic institutions to conduct instruction, research and publication without the interference of any external bodies.

At university, it is essential to protect both professors and students in the search for knowledge from the interference of the authorities. There should be no religious, political or ideological restrictions imposed.

In Iraq, there were scholarships to the UK and other countries, and these Iraqi researchers later became the nucleus for the research centres. The impact of the Baath Party was very forceful, and provided sufficient resources for such centres. Studies in the fields of solar energy, water sources, astronomy, oil, medicine …etc were conducted. Since Iraq was a wealthy country, strategies aimed at improving the social conditions of the people were drafted and implemented. In the eighties, however, the Baath Party started interfering to make scientific research serve military purposes and no longer were developmental strategies a priority. Scientists and researchers began to desert these centres, and the research centres of Iraq became a constituent of the military institution. This is clearly a consequence of the negative impact of the government interference and infringement on faculty and institution's freedoms. Iraq also suffered a large magnitude of brain drain due to these government policies.

Ever Changing Contest:
The Struggle for Academic Freedom and
its Repercussion in Nigeria, 1985-2005
Yanusa Ya'u

The question of academic freedom in Nigeria has been a contested terrain. Academics, in the light of the inheritance of the anti-colonial struggle, sought to offer an alternative discourse. Hence, there is a subversive quality to academic freedom. The contest took different forms at different times.

The higher education system in Nigeria has gone, since 1978 till recently, through a series of confrontations with various political regimes which ruled the country during this period. Professors were sacked, students were killed, vice-chancellors were dismissed and the Academic union was banned various times. All these happened because of continuous infringements on academic freedom and institutional autonomy.

The situation today is that the government is committed to the IMF. If the university wants academic freedom, it has to raise its own funding and salaries. Hence, there is now a stalemate.

In the wake of totalitarian regimes and the absence of the concept of freedom, and the amount of disturbance this has created in the society, as well as the migration of the intellectuals,

and in the light of the reforms undertaken, etc. it becomes necessary to set new methodological principles for positive forms of freedom. It is essential that the states shift towards democracy. This will enhance freedom. However, change is difficult.

The chairperson concluded the session with the following closing remarks:

1. The important issue raised is the relation between academic freedom and university autonomy.

2. There is the issue of what the obligations of the states to create an environment in which freedom becomes a reality?

3. We should remember that academic freedom should not only be seen as a priority for social activists in developing countries with undemocratic regimes. It should be also a priority in ostensibly democratic regimes.

SESSION III

Social Actors in the Struggle for Academic Freedom

Prof. Shahida el Baz opened the session pointing out that there is no academic freedom without agents/actors to achieve it. Academic freedom is part and parcel of other forms of freedom, and related to the structure of society and its level of development. Hence, there are many actors.

1. Direct actors, which include the academics, the university community, etc.

2. Social forces, which include the forces in society which fight for freedom, social justice, participation in politics, etc. and are linked to social organizations.

Therefore, success is related to society – a free society. The system of education is at the heart of this problem. Once a free society is established then academic freedom would be guaranteed.

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Social Actors in the Struggle for Academic Freedom:
A Case Study of Birzeit University
Riham Barghouti & Helen Murray

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The paper started by indicating that the challenges facing academic freedom discussed so far in this conference have all been discussed within a postcolonial context. This paper tackles the challenges facing academic freedom in Palestine, a country still under occupation. It, thus, focuses on the importance of education in challenging the foundations of occupation.

Beirzeit University was established in 1957 as the first Arab university in the country with a vision of building a free Palestine society .The University has gone through various stages of development, particularly struggle against occupying forces and the struggle to emerge and survive. The freedom of the institution was often infringed upon through closer and military actions preventing students and staff from reaching the University.

There was International support for academic development. However, this support was increasingly tied with an increase in collaboration between Israeli and Palestinian institutes. Opinions of Palestinians converged on the fact that the support did not help the Palestinian people .It was based on this that there were many calls to boycott Israeli institutions not only in Britain and France but also in the United States. However, there were two main problems posed by this stance:

a. The boycott is attacked by its opponents as an infringement on academic freedom. However, the infringements on the academic freedom of the Palestinians are ignored.

b. This stance would punish that section of the society which is most likely to be sympathetic to the oppressed. This however is not really true.

Those who acknowledge the illegality of the Israeli occupation still argue that the boycott is useless.

History, however, has shown that boycotts bring an end to oppressive regimes. One obvious example is the regime in South Africa.

This is why we discuss academic boycott at a conference which focuses on academic freedom.

The paper concluded by saying that the struggle continues: there can be no academic freedom without an end to the Occupation. The role of the university, then, under occupation is not just an academic one.

The Stranglehold of Tradition and Culture on Women:
Lessons from Southern African Female Writings
Seatholo Masego Tumedi

This paper believes that the contributions made by the literary field to academic freedom should not be disregarded. For what we deal with in literature is not written in vacuum, but is formed by experience in society.

Findings of the research conducted for this paper indicate that:

- There are no complementarities between masculine and feminine gender identities in the literature produced in South Africa.

- Men have monstrous power, whereas women are powerless, have no control, are very submissive and subservient, collaborating in their own oppression.

Patriarchal oppression was found to share common ground with racial oppression. The paper examines social contracts of tradition and culture, their role in the disempowerment of women. Using a quotation from various African texts, we find these calamities depicted by a number of writers: abuse against women, assault, violence at home, arranged marriages, etc.

The most important point is the question of female education. In all texts it is rejected. Seeking to pursue education is seen as abnormal, and girls are described in "their mania" for education. The perfect kind of woman is – as described in one character – the one who is inside the house, chattering with other women, learning how to cook exquisitely, and how to please the man who will one day take her for wife.

In conclusion, the paper indicates that the issue of gender at university remains a catching issue. There is no liberation from tradition and culture. In what ways are we recreating ourselves if the highest educational institutions remain at gender imbalance under the power of the patriarchy?"

Academic freedom relates to accessibility, and hence women do not have the same access. It is based on this that women writers are beginning to bring about gender awareness and how to change the existing imbalance.

SESSION IV

Religious, Social and Cultural Aspects Impacting on Academic Freedom

Prof. Jan Henningsson then introduced Prof. El-Ahwany, describing him as an engineer-com-philosopher, an advocate of the culture of non-violence and dictates his work to Paulo Freire and Abdel Abu-Zahra, who fought for the pedagogy of freedom

**The Changing Cultural, Socioeconomic and Religious Factors
Impacting Academic Freedom in Egyptian Universities**
Ahmed el-Ahwany

The presentation is not a scientific paper. It completes previous work that analyzed the evolution of the university in the Third World, the special features of Egyptian higher education, and the rise of the freedom of speech at Egyptian universities. There was a horrible law issued on 31st May 1994, namely the law of nominating the rectors of universities by appointment, thus changing the future of universities. The aim was to control universities and the opposition in preparation for the elections, which were to be held the following year. As a result, some professors were held in prison for years.

The question raised here is, what happened in those 10 years? It is possible to say that there are three decades of deterioration and these past ten years are the culmination of this trend.

Reading most of his paper, Prof. el-Ahwany came to the following conclusion: The last three years have witnessed the decline of human rights and academic freedom for professors and students alike. The only way to overcome this situation is through non-violence movements against infringements on freedoms.

Sunday, 11 September, 2005

SESSION I

Economical Changes, Realities and Impacts on Academic Freedom

**Academic Freedom in Private Universities in Africa:
The Case of Tanzania**
Johnson M Ishengoma

Tanzania is composed of mainland and islands. In Tanzania, the private education sector is a new phenomenon. It started in 1997. Ever since 1967, Tanzania was trying to implement socialism. Higher education has to be controlled by the government as a scarce resource. The only private institutions that was allowed to exist, was St. Augustine University. The paper is based on the author's observations and research. It also records the author's personal experience of the challenges and problems, which face private education in Tanzania.

Academic freedom should include, among others, the freedom of the lecturer to grade students' papers without intimidation or fear. We have now 17 private universities. Most offer undergraduate and advanced programs in business, law, mass communication, education and secretarial studies. However, the private institutions are mostly for those students who cannot be admitted into highly competitive public universities.

Eight of these universities have appointed a vice chancellor, which is the British system of administration. Many of these universities do not have academic assemblies; indeed most of them are affiliated to religious bodies.

Funding depends largely on donations and tuition fees. Most institutions hire retired faculty from other places and rely on part-time faculty members. This is a three year contract, and hence has serious implications for academic freedom. Academic qualifications, on the other hand, are very low. The majority of the staff has masters and other degrees, but only few have PhD degrees. There is no doubt that higher academic qualifications ensure freedom that is more academic. For one thing, degrees give confidence. Also, most faculty members focus on teaching, therefore research remains limited. The question of knowledge production is not really there.

The paper concluded by saying that private education is constrained by a number of factors , important among them are: a)The nature of employment which is based on contracts, b) Retired faculty members hired, c) Low academic qualifications, d) Quality of student enrolled, e) Lack of independent research and f) No assemblies and Unions.

These constitute the main challenges for higher education in Tanzania.

From Political to Economic Constraints:
Trends in Sociolinguistic Research and Academic Freedom in Malawi
Gregory Hankoni Kamwendo

Malawi had a very oppressive political system, which constrained academic freedom until 1994. Now there are new constraints, which are economical in nature. In the period, 1964-1994 Malawi was ruled by a dictatorship. There was one nation, one language, but also one leader. Various forms of freedom were repressed. The university was strictly controlled and monitored to prevent "subversive elements" from joining the staff. In addition, "subversive disciplines" such as social sciences, political sciences and social linguistics were prohibited.

By definition, social linguistics is politically sensitive, because language is used to consolidate the dictatorship. In the context of 20 languages, one language only was promoted. The other languages were seen as against one ideology. In the early 1970s, there was a language survey conducted for Africa, but it was not allowed into Malawi. Linguists were too afraid to object to Banda's anti-linguistic lectures on language.

Following the 1994 ballots, democracy introduced new freedoms including academic freedom. The problem, however, is that a new set of constraints came up such as the fragile economy which led to low funding, therefore limited research. In 1996, the language centre at Malawi University was set up. It is severely crippled, however, because of funding. The only donor forthcoming is GTZ, the German institution for mother-tongue research. Therefore, the centre has to dance to the donor's music.

The paper concluded by saying that in the absence of funding, the institutions remain reliant on external funding and this will always affect academic freedom.

SESSION II

Academic Freedom in Areas with Armed Conflict

Due to the absence of Prof. Thierno Bah, Cameroon, who was scheduled to present a paper entitled L'Université et les libertés académique en Afrique. Hier, aujourd'hui et demain, Prof. Carlos Cardoso and Prof. Abdel Moneim Osman gave a presentation about their personal experience as academics in armed conflict areas.

Academic Freedom in Areas with Armed Conflict
with special reference to Sudan
Abdel Moneim Osman

Universities in war-zones or areas of conflict are very unique, particularly in Sudan, and face difficulties unfamiliar to other universities. In 1989, Juba was bombarded almost daily. The government decided that this is not a suitable environment for higher education, and moved the university to Khartoum.

The effects of war on the university were two-fold:

1. The physical effect: The forces took over the buildings to be used for military purposes. The buildings had cost the equivalent of 20 million Euros.

2. The human part: The effect of the situation on the students, the staff, and the mission of the university. There are ethnic groups in Sudan, so any conflict reflects itself in the university. The students and staff are divided according to their tribes or ethnicity. In this case it is very difficult to take any decision due to these sensitivities. Appointment of staff too is problematic, especially to high posts.

Under such conditions, university autonomy and academic freedom cannot be practiced.

One major phenomenon to be observed in most areas of conflict is that of brain drain. Professors migrate to more secure countries, which influences the quality of education. However, we have not focused on the lives of the students, nor on the loss of facilities, which are often irreplaceable. In the light of the massive transfer of labour into non-conflict areas, another problem arises, namely that in the new areas professors and students are often considered to be the other, and have no space to develop their creativity. On by-product of conflict, as is the case in Palestine for instance, is the targeting of higher education. However, it is not the only by-product. Conflict also affects development and aspirations. Education is part of the social fabric, and this is not acknowledged in the international frameworks for the protection of education.

In Iraq, the American forces have occupied the dormitories of student housings, which has influenced the students' lives. Part of the students left to return to their hometowns or villages, others postponed their education indefinitely. This has partly led to the establishment of private universities, which are not up to standard. Also the Kurdish community had their students' housing, part of which housed female students. The housing was invaded, under the pretext that it belonged to Islamist groups. The treatment the students received at the hands of the forces is indescribable.

SESSION III

Communication Revolution and Academic Freedom

Prof. Mohamed Abdul Wahed, chair of this session, introduced the main theme to be tackled, pointing out that the information revolution has brought in the winds of change. Humanity has moved from the age of scarcity of information to the age of wealth and abundance in information. The professor has changed from being a provider of knowledge into being a facilitator for accessing the information. Power has shifted from the professor to the student, and there are now many electronic activities available, such as e-media, e-publishing, e-democracy, e-government, e-learning, etc. Who knows? May we one day come to e-academic freedom?

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Communication Revolution and Academic Freedom
Basyouni Hamada

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There are two major considerations that need to be pointed out. First, that the communication revolution has not only affected the concepts of academic freedom, but globalization too is highly influential. Second, that the presentation given attempts to provide a global view therefore much may or may not be available in the Arab/African World. Accordingly, two major questions need to be raised:

1. Where do African countries stand vis-à-vis the communication revolution?

2. To what extent is the Islamic culture in line with technology and with the communication revolution?

To discuss the relationship between academic freedom and the communication technology requires a reconsideration of the definition of both concepts. In other words, academic freedom was conceived in a context prior to the communication revolution. In the digital age, concepts of academic freedom may be off point, since this revolution has democratised communication and has freed individuals from restrictions. All types of communication systems, but also new political systems, are formed around modes of communication. Similarly, the communication revolution has changed university structures and activities. Therefore, academic freedom should be re-examined.

The link between the communication revolution and academic freedom: The communication revolution paved the way to the knowledge society, which is a critical factor, since one strategic resource for the prosperity of humankind is knowledge itself as well as access to it. The communication revolution has also allowed for easier and faster dissemination of knowledge, in particular by diffusion through publication online. In the light of this, it is important to remember that the university is at the heart of the knowledge society. Therefore, academics are entitled to new ways of knowledge production, dissemination, learning, and empowering information sector in the economy.

The implications of the knowledge and the communication revolutions, as discussed above, indicate that Universities and the state must support each other. At the same time, it is education that maintains the political mechanism of the state. This is due to a number of facts of the current state of affairs. Firstly, power over knowledge is out of the control of the nation state. Secondly, the educational system is out of the control of the nation state. In the light of the communication revolution, interactivity will radically change the ways of conducting research, increasing efficiency and productivity. Similarly, online academic publication, changing patterns of reading, as well as the speed of change will all defeat the possibility of broad planning.

The major principles of academic freedom include that this freedom is linked to the freedom of expression and changes from being a negative right to being a positive right, expressible in terms of Freedom to …. Academic freedom requires full university autonomy, since secrecy has a negative effect on academic freedom, as will be shown by Dr. Shamsi's presentation.

Future trends of the communication revolution will be influenced by the architecture of the net, but will also emphasize the responsibility of the university professors as agents of change and freedom fighters. However, freedom is not absolute. There should be internal and external accountability.

In conclusion, it was mentioned that academic freedom in Arab and African countries lags behind the potentials of the communication revolution and this lack of academic freedom is justified by the need for stability.

Academic Freedom and the Right to Publish
Maitha Al-Shamsi & Basyouni Hamada

The paper started by saying that to publish is a right for two reasons:

1. The right to publish is an essential component of the freedom paradigm

2. Publishing is an important indicator for gauging scientific advancement

The freedom of expression in the academic milieu is essential. The right to publish is closely related to the right to communicate, which is part of human rights and freedom. When we discuss scientific publication, people believe we mean only journals. However, there is a necessity to publish and disseminate opinions in the community, be they social, political or otherwise. This is achieved through such channels as the television, the internet, etc.

The interrelation between academic freedom and the right to publish is related to the responsibility of academic researchers to make their findings known. The restrictions imposed on the diffusion of research inhibit universities from playing their role effectively, since the positive right requires the availability of means of communication.

The problem of secrecy is largely related to the concept of industrial secrecy. This highlights the conflict between the university culture and the industry culture. It is difficult to establish that mutual collaboration that can actually lead to numerous benefits. In addition, the right to publish is often tied to issues of national security. In conclusion, the paper indicated that the right to publish is central to academic freedom and is crucial to the advancement of knowledge. Without the freedom to communicate, academic freedom remains far from reality.

SESSION IV

Globalization and Academic Freedom

Prof. Abdalla Bubtana opened the session with the following possible aspects of the impact of globalization on academic freedom:

1. No doubt that globalization will have a profound effect on higher education and will change the system.

2. Further shrinking of the funding by the state, therefore the private sector will have more impact on academic freedom.

3. The possible impact of the GATS on the future of higher education especially on the national systems of higher education will be so profound.

The floor was then given to the keynote speaker.

Globalization and Academic Freedom
Ebrima Sall (representing Adebayo Olukoshi, Executive Secretary of CODESRIA)

In a previous session, the question was raised whether one day there will be e-academic freedom and e-democracy. Today is 11th September, which means that four years of global significance have passed. The interconnection between events is usually easy to see, but sometimes we need to detect them. The date 9/11 already has an impact on funding and academic freedom in and beyond the USA, especially with new fields of interest emerging, such as terrorism. Religious fundamentalism and terrorism lead to serious violations of academic freedom all over the world. One example is travelling to the USA. There is the emergence of a new state of emergency determined by the policy makers. Researchers have to deal with this. One important issue in this regard is the question of who decides what to research.

Academic freedom has been defined as the freedom in pursuit, production and transmission of knowledge in all its forms through any means. It is the freedom of researchers and scholars to pursue knowledge and the truth without interference or control. Academic freedom is a prerequisite for research. Without academic freedom, research remains "essentially ideas in closed corridors". Franchise evokes the autonomy of universities. Hence, it is the dichotomy of academic freedom versus immunity. This is comparable to parliamentary immunity.

The link between globalization and academic freedom is very complicated. There is a two-way link between knowledge and globalization. While the economy is changing, knowledge has supplanted physical wealth. Knowledge has a central place in all social groupings since the beginning of history. However, what kind of knowledge? Academic freedom is a condition for the production of knowledge, and is realised only within certain sets of conditions and closely linked to other freedoms.

Globalization is changing academic freedom and political environments and practices such as:

1. The landscape is one of very hybrid institutional environments: tradition vs. new, corporate vs. franchise, etc.

2. Mixed modes of delivery, research and publication: old and new modes, market-sensitive and practical, distance learning. etc.

3. Sources of documents in research are diverse: collaborate research, through e-mail and mobile phones, for example.

4. Increased possibility of dissemination, for example, on yahoo.

5. The explosion of the media and changes in political structures, which facilitate communication.

6. Polarization of the political space.

How do such points increase academic freedom and what are the risks?

1. Forced liberalization through globalization, but it is very selective. For example, getting a visa and the freedom of movement for scholars.

2. Globalization increased the polarization between the North and the South, not just geographically.

3. Relations between the state and the public university have changed. The state has moved from state-steering to state-interfering mechanisms.

4. The public universities are forced to functions like private universities in managing their resources.

5. The rapid increase in private education: the significance is not limited to the number of universities, but also to their effect on society and education.

6. GAT treaties applied to the higher education sector mean that higher education becomes a commodity.

7. Political correctness: exploring alternatives, scholars seem to have reached the end of history.

Academic freedom: in the light of the tremendous changes occurring in the global environment, it is necessary to retain some space for critical thought. Due to the limitations of time, the next two papers were reviewed only briefly by the speakers.

New Global Economy and Academic Freedom in Kenya
Julius O. Jwan

The paper starts by saying that the new global economy dictates that developing countries, which rely heavily on donor funds to meet their recurrent expenditures and provide social services such as education, to promote more courses that have higher economic returns in the world of work. It is based on this that education becomes more of and investment with quantified economic returns than a social and moral service to society. In Kenya, the consequence of this philosophy has resulted in the increase of demand on science and technology-based courses and sharp decrease on humanity and social science studies. In conclusion, the paper recommends a re-look at the impact of the new global economy on the universities with a view of focusing on local realities of the developing countries, without depriving the universities in these countries of the academic freedom that they so much deserve.

Globalization and Academic Freedom in Cameroon Universities
with a Focus on the Anglo-Saxon University of Buea, Cameroon
Nicodemus Fru Awasom

Since Cameroon is bilingual, for both English and French are spoken there, the establishment of an Anglo-Saxon university can be considered an identity issue. There is no doubt that the economics of globalization has affected Cameroon's higher education. For example, one university of Yaoundé is patterned along the French tradition. However, the economic crisis set in with a new demand from the English minority for "their" university. The only way to survive this crisis was to make concessions and to allow for the establishment of a minimal university. This university was thought to epitomize democracy, yet there was great disillusionment, and the question posed itself: what went wrong? A number of things can be listed as causes for this failure: Among these are: a) a rise of the Anglophone movement for cessation, b) all promises dashed, c) leaders were not elected, but hand-picked, d) "non-conformist" lecturers had to be contained, e) no publication without censorship and f) hunting and fleeing of writers because of their publications which did not conform to the "official" view of history.

In conclusion, the paper indicated that, the dream of an Anglo-Saxon university has been dashed for political reasons. The system is mainly Francophone; therefore, an Anglophone decentralizing system is not possible. At the conclusion of the session, it was clearly stated that the very mission of the university needs to be revisited.

SESSION V

Indices and Benchmarks for Academic Freedom in Arab and African States

Academic Freedom and Other Forms of Freedoms, Belief, Opinion, Association, Education
Emad S. Abdul Razaq Al-Shik Dawood

The paper started by saying that since ever universities have been established, there has been continues efforts to gain and preserve their academic freedoms. After indicating the various types of freedoms such as freedom of belief, freedom of expression, freedom of opinion and the way all these constitute the base for academic freedom, the author gave a number of examples of violation of these freedoms in Iraq. These range from assassinating professors, looting libraries, laboratories and museums to the very low salaries of professors, which have led to great magnitude of brain drain. The paper concluded by saying that in spite of all these violations and obstacles, it is necessary to continue the strive to retain academic freedom and institutional autonomy.

Academic Freedom: Misconceptions and Misuses A Search for a New Definition, Indices, Benchmarks and Index
Abdel Moneim Osman

The paper started by stating that academic freedom is specific to the university institution. We cannot have the concept without the university as a community of scholars who seek the production and dissemination of knowledge.

There are also other epistemological aspects, which need to be taken into consideration:

1. Knowledge is valuable to be disseminated. Therefore, we need a free-inquiry atmosphere.

2. Masters of knowledge have more power investigation and rights than others, especially the right to promote what they master.

Therefore, we have two concepts: that of academic freedom and university autonomy. Ashbey described them as "two quite distinct concepts but they are interdependent."

In conclusion, the paper stated the following recent statements which can be used as guidelines for new definitions:

- o Difference between academic freedom and other forms of freedom.

- o Close relation between university autonomy and academic freedom.

- o The political activity vs. political statements.

The discussions which followed the presentation centred around the following aspects:

- o The need to address the social responsibility of academic freedom.

- o The need to address the academic freedom of students.

- o The need to investigate the difference between academic and intellectual freedoms.

Recommendations of the conference

In conclusion, of the proceedings of the Conference, the following recommendations were put forward by the participants:

1. In order to have a clear definition of the issue of academic freedom, there should be an analysis of the interaction between the national, regional and global factors.

2. A call for the study of the impact of privatization in the field of education on academic freedom, as there are no concrete studies available yet.

3. To monitor the real impact of ICTs on academic freedom.

4. The partners of this conference should continue cooperating so that a convention could be established and endorsed by all academics.

5. The formation of a network of academic freedom monitors/Academic Freedom Watch, as well as interacting mechanisms for information sharing, dissemination and publication should be secured, to which UNESCO and other organizations may contribute.

6. The partners' websites should be linked to the relevant projects and programs on academic freedom.

7. To support and promote financial conditions of academics in armed-conflict areas, as well as to protect them.

8. The papers of this conference are to be published in English, French and Arabic.

9. The introduction of the concept of Intellectual Freedom in connection with Academic Freedom.

10. The consideration of the concept of hegemony over higher education through state religious machinery and the impact of this on academic freedom.

11. To maintain the role of the state in higher education and the status of state universities so as to protect and promote academic research and provide academic freedom.

12. To recommend donors and aid institutions to respect the academic role of the institutions which they are trying to help.

13. The need to send a message to the political leaders to signal the importance of knowledge in achieving development. The infringement upon academic freedom is not conducive to knowledge production and dissemination. The knowledge deficit is the main reason for underdevelopment.

14. Not to leave out the racial factors in academic freedom, such as is the case in Africa. Public affirmative action such as the empowerment of Blacks in South Africa is needed, or working towards the appointment of these to higher positions. The issues are there and need to be explored.

15. The university in conflict areas is an important issue that needs more exploration. How can the university enter into solidarity with people at Birzeit, in Iraq, etc? There is enough solitude and isolation. There must be some form of consolidation.

16. Links between universities are problematic, for there is no communication, no idea about the book collections available, etc. Academic freedom needs the free passage of

academics and ideas across borders. However, in the Arab World and Africa we have no freedom and right to move. Launching campaigns of solidarity for academics under occupation and for refugee students.

17. To elaborate indices and benchmarks.

18. To democratize the university. Students are marginalized. T.A.s have no access to department and board meetings. In this sense the university is more like politics, and closer to a dictatorship.

19. The need to evaluate the professors and teachers through a mechanism to guarantee students' rights. This is part of the social responsibility of the university.

20. A media-channel for the UNESCO to act as a window for the persecuted and the oppressed, through which they may also publish their research and their opinions.

21. The need for the autonomy of the academic institutions to safeguard academic freedom.

22. All high officials and the administration should be elected.

23. The concept of academic freedom should be redefined, practiced and evaluated through/in the light of the communication revolution.

24. The immunity of the university professor against any violation by the state or even the university officials should be ensured.

25. The gender dimension has been underplayed at this meeting. Please find a way to fit it in at following meetings.

26. The concept of duty vis-à-vis rights has been neglected. There is a need to raise the awareness of academic freedom in this light in all educational systems, and at all educational levels.

Closing Remarks and discussion of the outcomes of the Conference

Prof. Jan Henningsson: I learnt quite a lot, and was impressed by the ferocious self-critique of some participants, regardless of their personal safety. In Sweden we have a lot to learn. There are other obstacles to academic freedom than those, which are obvious and can be gauged. Methods of exclusion, gender issues, ideologies, etc. are all hindrances to academic freedom. The best way to make progress is across regional borders. I welcome further such meetings to look at each other's experiences. We need the Other not only as a mirror, but also to learn.

Prof. Ebrima Sall: We are very pleased to be part of this initiative. It has been very enlightening and we have high hopes. We will need a lot of hard work to implement the recommendations, especially through the UNESCO. But let me point out that the teachers are on the front-line every day, and they don't wait for us. The Forum is essential; however, we need to take the struggle to a higher platform.

Prof. Abdel Moneim Osman: This is a good opportunity to meet and to share, to be clear about some aspects and to exchange experiences. Dissemination of knowledge is very important, and we hope to disseminate a word or two about this conference. The civic society should be involved. I do not rely on governments and government officials. There is also a possibility of monitoring, establishing indices and benchmarks, and I hope we will see more development in this area.

Prof. Nouria Benghabrit-Remaoun: This Forum is an example of the cooperation of institutions, and I wish to thank the Swedish institute in Alexandria; AARC; and CODESRIA. Cooperation should be continuous.

Ms. Anna Lundh expressed her thanks to the partners of the Forum; the Swedish Institute; the keynote speakers and praised their contributions; the Bibliotheca Alexandrina for helping with the logistics; the interpreters for the long days of work; and the contributors of questions and interventions that made the Conference even more fruitful. She concluded by saying she hoped that each participant will now have "a seed to take home".

ANNEX A

Academic Freedom Conference
"Problems and Challenges in Arab and African Countries"
10-11 September 2005, Alexandria, Egypt

Agenda

Saturday 10 September 2005:

08.30-09.00   Registration

09.00-09.20   Welcoming remarks

Prof. Nouria Benghabrit-Remaoun, Chair, UNESCO Forum Regional Scientific Committee for Arab States

Prof. Shahida El-Baz, Arab and African Research Center in Cairo, Egypt

Prof. Jan Henningson, Director, Swedish Institute in Alexandria, Egypt

Prof. Ebrima Sall, Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA), Senegal

Ms. Anna Lundh, Acting Project Manager, Forum on Higher Education, Research and Knowledge, UNESCO, Paris

09.20-09.30   Opening speech

Dr. Sohair Wastawy, Chief Librarian, Bibliotheca Alexandrina, Egypt

09.30-10.30   Theme: The Development and Modifications of the Concept of Academic Freedom and University Autonomy in Arab and African States

Chair of Session: *Prof. Goolam Mahamedbhai*

09.30-09.45   ***"Les sciences sociales et humaines et les libertés académiques: Le cas de pratiques historiographiques",*** Hassan Remaoun, Centre de Recherche en Anthropologie Sociale et Culturelle (CRASC), Algeria

09.45-10.00   ***"De la dictature à la démocratie: nature et évolution de la liberté académique au Mali"***, Isaïe Dougnon, Mali, University of Bamako

10.00-10.30   Discussion

10.30-13.00   **Theme: The State vis-à-vis Academic Freedom**

Chair of Session: *Prof. Mala Singh*

10.30-11.00   **1ˢᵗ Keynote presentation:**

"The State vis-à-vis Academic Freedom", Hassan Nafaa, Egypt, Cairo University

11.00-11.30   Discussion

11.30-12.00   Coffee/tea

12.00-12.15   *"Research Freedom in Arab Universities"*, Namir K.S. Al-Saoudi, Iraq, University of Technology of Baghdad (presented by Prof. Osman)

12.15-12.30   *"Ever Changing Contest: The Struggle for Academic Freedom and its Repercussion in Nigeria, 1985-2005"*, Yanusa Ya'u, Nigeria, Centre for Information Technology and Development (CITAD)

12.30-13.00   Discussion

13.00-14.00   **Theme: Social Actors in the Struggle for Academic Freedom**

Chair of Session: *Prof. Shahida El Baz*

13.00-13.15   **S**ocial Actors in the Struggle for Academic Freedom: A Case Study of *Birzeit University"*, Riham Barghouti and Helen Murray, Palestine, Birzeit University

13.15-13.30   *The Strangehold of Tradition and Culture on Women: Lessons from Southern African Female Writings"*, Seatholo Masego Tumedi, Botswana, University of Botswana

13.30-14.00   Discussion

14.00-15.30   Lunch

15.30-16.30   **Theme: Religious, Social and Cultural Aspects Impacting on Academic Freedom**

15.30-15.45   Chair of Session: *Prof. Jan Henningsson*

15.45-16.00   ***"The Changing Cultural, Socioeconomic and Religious Factors Impacting Academic Freedom in Egyptian Universities"***, Ahmed El-Ahwany, Egypt, Cairo University

16.00-16.30   Discussion

16.30-17.00   Coffee/tea

17.00-18.00   **Theme: Economical Changes, Realities and Impacts on Academic Freedom**

Chair of Session: *Prof. Mustafa Attir*

17.00-17.15   ***"Academic Freedom in Private Universities in Africa: The Case of Tanzania"***, Johnson M. Ishengoma, Tanzania, St. Augustine University of Tanzania

17.15-17.30   ***"From Political to Economic Constraints: Trends in Sociolinguistic Research and Academic Freedom in Malawi"***, Gregory Hankoni Kamwendo, Malawi, University of Botswana

17.30-18.00   Discussion

18.00   Closing

20.00   Diner

Sunday 11 September 2005:

09.00-09.45   **Theme: Academic Freedom in Areas with Armed Conflict**

Chair of Session: *Prof. Carlos Cardoso*

"Academic Freedom in Areas with Armed Conflict with special reference to Sudan", Abdel Moneim Osman, The Sudan, Arab Open University in Kuwait

Discussion

09.45-11.00   **Theme: Communication Revolution and Academic Freedom**

Chair of Session: *Prof. Mohamed Najib Abdulwahed*

09.45-10.15   **2nd Keynote presentation:**
Communication revolution and Academic Freedom, Basyouni Hamada, United Arab Emirates, United Arab Emirates University

10.15-10.30   *"Academic Freedom and the Right to Publish"*, Maitha Al Shamsi & Basyouni Hamada, United Arab Emirates, United Arab Emirates University

10.30-11.00   Discussion

11.00-11.30   Coffee/tea

11.30-13.30   **Theme: Globalization and Academic Freedom**

Chair of Session: *Prof. Abdallah Bubtana*

11.30-12.00   **3rd Keynote presentation:**
Globalization and Academic Freedom, Ebrima Sall, Senegal, Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA)

12.00-12.30   Discussion

12.30-12.45   *"New Global Economy and Academic Freedom in Kenya"*, Julius O. Jwan, Kenya, Moi University

12.45-13.00   *"Globalization and Academic Freedom in Cameroon Universities with a Focus on the Anglo-Saxon University of Buea, Cameroon"*, Nicodemus Fru Awasom, Cameroon, University of the Gambia

13.00-13.30   Discussion

13.30-15.30   Lunch

15.30-16.30   **Theme: Indices and Benchmarks for Academic Freedom in Arab and African States**

Chair of Session: *Prof. Mohaya Zeitoun*

15.30-15.45   **"*Academic Freedom and other Forms of Freedoms. Belief, Opinion, Association, Education"***, Emad S. Abdul Razaq Al-Shik Dawood, Iraq, Association of Universities Lecturers (A.U.L.)

15.45-16.00   **"*Academic Freedom: Misconceptions and Misuses. A Search for a New Definition, Indicies, Benchmarks and Index"***, Abdel Moneim Osman, The Sudan, Arab Open University in Kuwait

16.00-16.30   Discussion

16.30-17.00   Coffee/Tea

17.00-17.45.1 Final Session

Chair of Session: *Prof. Nouria Benghabrit-Remaoun*

17.00-17.30   Discussion on the outcomes of the Conference

17.30-17.45   Closing session

Prof. Shahida El-Baz, Arab and African Research Center in Cairo, Egypt

Prof. Jan Henningson, Director, Swedish Institute in Alexandria, Egypt

Prof. Ebrima Sall, Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA), Senegal

Prof. Nouria Benghabrit-Remaoun, Chair, UNESCO Forum Regional Scientific Committee for Arab States

Prof. Abdel Moneim Osman, Vice-Chair, UNESCO Forum Regional Scientific Committee for Arab States

Ms Anna Lundh, Project Manager a.i., UNESCO Forum on Higher Education, Research and Knowledge.

ANNEX B

List of Contributing Authors

1. **Dr. Maitha Al-shamsi**
   Vice-Rector, United Arab Emirates University
   Al- Aine, United Arab Emirates

2. **Dr. Riham Bargouti**
   Director of Public Relations
   Birzeit University
   Palestinian Occupied Territory

3. **Dr. Abdalla Bubtana**
   Ex-Chief of the Higher Education Section, UNESCO, Paris
   Ex- Representative of UNESCO to the Arab States of the Gulf
   UNESCO Consultant

4. **Dr. Isaie Douganon**
   Professor, University of Bamako
   Mali

5. **Dr. Nicodemus Fru Awasom**
   Professor, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
   University of Gambia

6. **Dr. Basyouni Ibrahim Hamada**
   Professor of Mass Communication
   Cairo University and The American University in Cairo
   Secretary General, Global Communication Research Association

7. **Dr. Julius O. Jwan**
   Professor, Moi University
   Kenya

8. **Dr Adebayo Olukosh**
   Council for the development of social science research in Africa (CODESRIA)
   Dakar, Senegal

9. **Dr. Abdelmoneim Osman**
   Dean, Faculty of Education Studies
   Arab Open Univerity
   Kuwait

10. **Dr. Hassan Remaoun**
    Professor, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Oran
    Centre of Research in Social and Cultural Anthropology, Algeria

11. **Dr. Ibrama Sall**
    Council for the development of social science research in Africa (CODESRIA)
    Dakar, Senegal

12. **Dr. Y.Z. Ya'u**
    Centre for Information Technology and Development (CITA)
    Kano, Nigeria

Academic Freedom Conference

10–11 September 2005, Alexandria, Egypt

List of Participants

Regional Scientific Committee for Arab States

1. Prof. Nouria BENGHABRIT-REMAOUN (Chair)
Business address:
Centre de Recherche en Anthropologie Sociale et Culturelle (CRASC)
B.P. 1955
Oran, El M'Naouer
Algeria
Phone: (Office: 213 41 41 97 85/93 05 direct line); (Home: 213 41 56 43 59);
(Mobile: 213 61 20 12 41)
Fax: 213 41 41 97 82
e-mail: n.remaoun@crasc.dz ; remaoun@crasc.org

2. Prof. Abdel Moneim Mohamed OSMAN (Vice-chair)
Dean, Faculty of Education Studies
Arab Open University
P.O. Box 3322 Safat, 13033
State of Kuwait
Phone: (0ffice 965 532 9015/18 Ext. 311), (mobile: 965 901 9604),
(Home 965 565 3717)
Fax: + 965 532 9035
e-mail: Abdelosman@Arabou.org; amosman49@hotmail.com

3. Prof. Mohamed Najib ABDUL WAHED
Ministry of Higher Education,
Palestine Street
Damascus, Syria
Tel: + 963 94 522 524 (mobile)
Fax: + 963 11 213 0753
e-mail: n-wahed@scs-net.org

4. Prof. Maitha AL- SHAMSI
Research Affairs
United Arab Emirates University
P.O. Box 17551, Al Ain
United Arab Emirates
Phone: 971 3 767 2240
Fax: 971 3 767 5582
e-mail: malshamsi@uaeu.ac.ae

5. Prof. Amin AL Hakimi
Yemeni Genetic Resources Center
Faculty of Agriculture
Sanaa University
P.O. Box: 13768 Sanaa
Republic of Yemen
Phone: +967 1 226493; (mobile) +967 71658330
e-mail: aminalhakimi@yahoo.com

6. Prof. Mustafa O. ATTIR
Center for sustainable Development Research
Arab Sociological Association
P.O. Box 2698
Tripoli, Libya
Phone: 218 21 477 5769(home); 218 91 321 2460 (mobile)
Fax: 218 21 477 8007
e-mail: moattir@yahoo.com

7. Prof. Munir BASHSHUR
Department of Education
American University of Beirut
Beirut, Lebanon
Phone: 9611 340460/350000; 961 1 807 624
Fax: 009-611-744461
e-mail: bashshur@aub.edu.lb

8. Prof. Nouria LAKHDAR GHAZAL
Groupe de Recherche/Rythmes Biologiques
Unité de Neurosciences
Département de Biologie, Faculté des Sciences
Université Mohammed V-Agdal
BP. 1014, Avenue Ibn Battouta
10 000 Rabat-Maroc
Tel/Fax : + 212 37 77 54 61 / 79 34; +212 63 89 89 87 (mobile)
e-mail : nouria@fsr.ac.ma; lakhdar_ghazal_nouria@hotmail.com

9. Prof. Mohaya ZAYTOUN
Department of Economics
Al-Azhar University Women's Branch
Cairo, Egypt
Phone: 202 2630289
Fax: 202 26 31 715
e-mail: mohayazaytoun@yahoo.com

Regional Scientific Committee for Africa

Prof. Goolam MOHAMEDBHAI (Chair)
Former Vice-Chancellor, University of Mauritius
Reduit, Mauritius
Tel: +230 454 1041/464 9958
Fax: +230 465 1337
E-mail: mobhai@uom.ac.mu (June 2005: not in use anymore/AL)

Prof. Mala SINGH (Vice Chair)
Executive Director, Higher Education Quality Committee
Council on Higher Education
P.O. Box 13354, The Tramshed 0126, South Africa
+27 12 392 9100, mobile +27 82 415 1898
+27 12 392 9120
E-mail singh.m@che.ac.za

Regional Scientific Committee for Asia and the Pacific

Prof. Karuna CHANANA
19, Dakshinapuram
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110067
Tel: + 91 11 26 10 62 65 (Home) / + 98 10 14 09 28 (Mobile)
E-mail chananak@yahoo.com

Regional Scientific Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean

Prof. Hélgio TRINDADE (Vice-Chair)
Institute of Philosophy and Human Sciences
Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul
Av. Bento Gonçalves, 95000
Porto Alegre – Cep. 91505-900
Rio Grande do Sul
Brazil
Phone: +55 51 3225 0309 (home), +55 51 3331 1597, +55 51 3316 6643,
+55 51 81 14 74 54 (mobile)
Fax: +55 51 3225-0309, +55 51 3331 1597
e-mail: helgio@zaz.com.br / helgio@terra.com.br

Prof. Miguel NUSSBAUM
Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile
Departamento de Ciencia de la Computación
Escuela de Ingeniería - DCC(143)
Casilla 306, Santiago 22
Chile
Tel: (56 2) 354 4440
Fax: (56 2) 354 4444
E-mail: mn@ing.puc.cl

Regional Scientific Committee for Europe and North America

Prof. Ulrich TEICHLER
Center for Research on Higher Education and Work, University of Kassel.
Wissenschaftliches Zentrum fur Berufs-und Hochschulforschung
Universitaet Kassel
Moenchebergstr. 17
D- 34109 Kassel
Germany
Phone**:** +49 561 804 2417/15, (mobile); +49 170 48 49 832
Fax: +49 561 804 3301
E-mail: teichler@uni-kassel.de

Keynote Speakers

1. Basyouni HAMADA
Division of Language and Communication, College of Humanities & Social Sciences,
UAE University,
United Arab Emirates,
P. O. Box 17771
Tel: +971 50 4482-460
Fax: +971 3 7542–963
E-mail: basyouni@uaeu.ac.ae

2. Hasan NAFAA
Faculty of Economics and Political Science
Cairo University
Egypt
Tel: + 20-12-2301201 (Mobile)
Fax: + 20-2-7744740
E-mail: hnafaa47@yahoo.com

3. Adebayo OLUKOSHI (represented by Ebrima SALL)
Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa
Avenue Cheikh Anta Diop x Canal IV,
BP 3304, CP 18524, Dakar,
Senegal
Tel: +221 824 03 74
Fax: +221 824 57 95
E-mail: executive.secretary@codesria.sn; adebayo.olukoshi@codesria.sn; olukoshi@yahoo.com

Speakers

1. Isaïe DOUGNON
University of Bamako
Department of Social Sciences
BP 1978, Bamako, Mali
Tel: +(223) 2231688
Fax: +(223) 2232078
E-mail: isaiedougnon@yahoo.fr

2. Hassan REMAOUN
Centre de Recherche en Anthropologie Sociale et Culturelle (CRASC)
B.P. 1955
Oran, El M'Naouer
Algeria
Tel: (Office: +213 41 41 97 85); (Home: +213 41 56 43 59)
Fax: +213 41 41 97 82
E-mail: crasc@crasc.org; h.remaoun@crasc.dz; h.remaoun@crasc.org

3. Julius O. JWAN
Department of Communication Studies
Moi University
P.O. Box 3900 Eldoret
Kenya
Tel: +254 722 663550
Fax:+ 254 53 2061106
E-mail: jwanjulius@yahoo.co.uk

4. Nicodemus Fru AWASOM
University of the Gambia
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
MDI Road, P.O. Box 3530, Serrekunda
The Gambia, West Africa
Tel: +220 779 40 48/437 88
Fax: +220 439 50 64
E-mail: awasomnf@yahoo.com; nicofruawasom@yahoo.com

5. Namir AL SAOUDI
Building and Construction Engineering Department
University of Technology
Baghdad
Iraq
Tel: +964 14258378 (home); +964 17180186 (Office); +964 7901384831 (mobile)
E-mail: namirks@yahoo.com

6. Yunusa YA'U
Centre for Information Technology and Development
Flat 3, Zumunchi building
BUK Road, K/Kabuga
P.O. Box 10210 Kano
Nigeria
Tel: +234 80543 62931
Fax: +234 64 668993
E-mail: yunusa_yau@yahoo.com

7. Johnson ISHENGOMA
St Augustine University of Tanzania
P.O. Box 307 Mwanza
Tanzania
East Africa
Tel: + 255 028 2550560; + 255 0745 872 712 (mobile)
Fax: +255 028 2550167
E-mail: ishe2005@yahoo.com

8. Gregory Hankoni KAMWENDO
Department of Languages & Social Sciences Education,
University of Botswana,
Private Bag 0022,
Gaborone,
Botswana.
Tel: +(267) 72951695 (mobile)
E-mail: kamwendog@mopipi.ub.bw

9. Ahmed EL AHWANY
Chem. Engineering Dept., Faculty of Engineering
Cairo University
Egypt
Tel: + 202 38 63 010
E-mail: ahielahwany@yahoo.com

10. Riham BARGHOUTI and Helen MURRAY
Birzeit University
P.O. Box 14
Birzeit, West Bank
Palestine
Tel: +972 2 298 2059
Fax: +972 2 298 2059
E-mail: rbarghouti@birzeit.edu; right2edu@birzeit.edu

11. Seatholo Masego TUMEDI
Department of English
University of Botswana
Private Bag 0022,
Gaborone,
Botswana.
Tel: +(9267) 3552667 (ofiice), +(9267) 3973378 (home); +267 72107388 (mobile)
Fax: +(9267) 3185098 (office);
E-mail: TUMEDISM@mopipi.ub.bw; shadisquared@yahoo.com

12. Maitha AL SHAMSI (also Committee member) and Hamada BASYOUNI (also Keynote speaker)

13. Emad ABDUL-RAZAQ AL SHIK DAWOOD
Association of University Lecturers
P.O. Box 2007 Jadriyha
Baghdad
Iraq
Tel: +964 1 7780166; (mobile) +964 7901591218
E-mail: abd97@maktoob.com; emad_phd63@yahoo.com

14. Abdel Moneim Mohamed OSMAN (also Committee member)

Chairs of Session

1. Prof. Goolam MOHAMEDBHAI (also a Committee member)

2. Prof. Mala SINGH (also a Committee member)

3. Prof. Shahida EL-BAZ (also a partner representative)
Arab and African Research Center in Cairo
8/10 Mathaf EL - Manial - Cairo
Egypt
Tel/Fax: +202 105401744 (mobile)
+202 3837948 (home)
E-mail: s_elbaz@link.net

4. Prof. Jan HENNINGSSON (also a partner representative)
The Swedish Institute in Alexandria
P.O. Box 1261
Alexandria
21111 Egypt
Tel: +20-3-485 5113;
Fax: +20-3-487 3855
E-mail: jan.henningsson@swedalex.org

5. Prof. Mustafa ATTIR (also a Committee member)

6. Prof. Ebrima SALL (also a partner representative)
Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa
Department of Research
Avenue Cheikh Anta Diop x Canal IV, BP 3304, CP 18524,
Dakar, Senegal
Tel.: +221 825 6597
Fax. +221 824 12 89
E-mail: ebrima.sall@codesria.sn

7. Prof. Mohamed Najib ABDULWAHED (also a Committee member)

8. Prof. Abdalla BUBTANA
International Consultant
UNESCO Education Sector
7, place de Fontenoy, 75007 Paris
France
Tel: +33 1 45 68 17 33
Fax: +33 1 45 68 56 26 /27
E-mail: abdalla-bubtana@hotmail.com

9. Prof. Mohaya Zeitoun (also a Committee member)

10. Prof. Nouria Benghabrit-Remaoun (also a Committee member)

11. Prof. Carlos CARDOSO (also a partner representative)

Partners representatives

Arab African Research Center in Cairo (AARC):
Ms. Shahida EL-BAZ
Mr. Helmi SHARAWY

The Swedish Institute in Alexandria:
Mr. Jan HENNINGSSON

The Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA):
Mr. Ebrima SALL
Mr. Carlos CARDOSO

Alexandria Library

Dr. Sohair Wastawy
Chief Librarian
Bibliotheca Alexandrina
Chatby, Alexandria 21526
Egypt
Tel. + (203)-482-0330
E-mail: Sohair.Wastawy@bibalex.org

Dr Mohamed El Faham
Director,
Center for Special Studies & Programs (CSSP)
Bibliotheca Alexandrina
El Shatby, Alexandria 21526
Egypt
Tel:+(203) 482 0329
Fax:+(203) 482 0469
Email: mohamed.elfaham@bibalex.org

UNESCO Field Offices

Cairo Office:
Mr. Amr Azzouz

Beirut Office:
Mr Ramzi Salamé

Addis Ababa Office:
Mr Awad ELHASSAN

Bujumbura Office:
Ms. Liliane BIGAYIMPUNZI

Other participants

1. Isaac OBASI
Department of Political and Administrative Studies
University of Botswana
Private bag 0022, Gaborone
Botswana
Tel: +267 3552757 (office)
Fax: +267 72760393 (mobile)
E-mail: zikobasi@yahoo.com; obasiin@mopipi.ub.bw

2. Abdulrazak ALNAKASH
Baghdad University
Alkindy Medical College
Iraq
Tel: +964 1 4226956
E-mail: razaknakash@yahoo.com

3. Anne SIKWIBELE
Faculty of Education
University of Botswana

Private Bag 0022,
Gaborone,
Botswana
Tel: +267 71490144 (mobile); +267 355 2943 (office)
Fax: +267 318 5096
E-mail: annesikwibele@yahoo.com

4. Ayman Abdul Majeed REZEQALLAH
Development Studies Programme
Birzeit University
P.O. Box 1009
Ramallah
Palestine
Tel: +972/970 2 2959250
Fax: +972/970 2 2958117
E-mail: amajeed@birzeit.edu; ayman_I@yahoo.com

5. Eliasu YAHAYA
Kwara State College of Arabic and Islamic Legal Studies
PMB 1579 Ilorin
Nigeria
Tel: +2348033727692
E-mail: eliasuyahaya@yahoo.com

6. Imad AL JAWAHIRI
Al Qadisiyah University
Diwaniyah Governorate
Iraq
Tel: +9643 652676
Fax: +9643 8164160
E-mail: unv-qadisiyah@yahoo.com

7. Etanislas NGODI
Interdisciplinary Research Group on Contemporary Africa
University of Marien Ngouabi
BP 13244, Brazzaville
Congo
Tel: +242 6635756
E-mail: ngodi_etanislas@yahoo.fr

8. Salif YONABA
University of Ouagadougou
03 P.O. Box 7021, Ouagadougou 03
Burkina Faso
Tel: +226 50 30 70 64/65 Ext.: 6116 (office); +226 50 37 05 67 (home); +226 70 25 15 61 (mobile)
Fax: +226 50 30 72 42 (university)
E-mail: Salif_Yonaba@univ-ouaga.bf

9. Samir KHDHIR YASSIN AL-ANI
Computer Science Department
University of Baghdad
Iraq
Tel: +964 1 5431027
E-mail: smsdd2003@yahoo.com

10. Yves Alexandre CHOUALA
Group of Administrative, Political and Social Research,
The University of Yaoundé II-Soa and the International Relations Institute of Cameroon
P. O. BOX 1637 Yaoundé,
Cameroon
Tel: + (237) _7899714
Fax: + (237)222 38 59
E-mail: ychouala@yahoo.fr

11. Oluwatoyin KOLAWOLE
Obafemi Awolowo University
Faculty of Agriculture
Ile-Ife
Nigeria
Tel: +234 802 300 8960; +234 8139470
E-mail: toyin_kolawole@yahoo.com; toyinkolawole@oauife.edu.ng

12. Orlando ALBORNOZ
Central University of Venezuela
Caracas
Venezuela
Tel: +58 212 7822259
E-mail: oalbornoz@reacciun.ve

13. Henri AWIT
Saint Joseph University
Rue de Damas
P.O. Box 17-5208 Mar Mikhael,
1104 2020 Beirut
Lebanon
Tel: +961 1426475
Fax: +961 1611773
E-mail: service.academique@usj.edu.lb

14. Saad MOHALLEL MOHAMED
Egyptian Association of Friends for Bibliotheca Alexandria
lafizone street behind 93 ,bulklly , Alexandria
Egypt
Tel: +202-03 – 5336928
Fax: +202-03-5827462
E-mail: saadmohallel@yahoo.com

15. Ahmed MOUSTAFA
Nearby 46, Edrees Bldg, Apt No.3,
Youssef El Hakeem St, Karmooz,
Alexandria, Egypt
Tel: + 2-03-3623178 / + 2-0124111314
E-mail: solimon246@yahoo.com

16. Inam BIOUD
High Arab Institute of Translation
Haïessabr, N°9, Zeralda
Alger
Algeria
Tel: +213 21 32 50 43
Fax: +213 21 32 75 56
E-mail: bioudam@yahoo.fr

17. Abdullahi Yusufu RIBADU
Federal University of Technology
P.M.B. 2076, Yola, Adamawa State
Nigeria
Tel: + 234 75 627344; +234 8035974875 (mobile); +234 8053283191
Fax: +234 75 625426; +234 75 624416
E-mail: ayribadu@yahoo.com

18. Abdallah WALI
Federal University of Technology
31, Mississippi Street, Maitama, Abuja,
Nigeria
Tel: +234 – 803 302 5220
Fax: 234 – 9 – 413 0013
E-mail : abdallahwali@yahoo.com