

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

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## **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 Habermas, university is not the venue for demonstrating political decisions but an ideal one to discuss politics "if and to what extent that this discussion is 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 Habermas. 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'état 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. Groslands, 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 Diplomatique*, 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. Habermas. 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