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Between the State and Intellectuals: Dialectics of the Struggles for Academic Freedom in Africa

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Abstract

This study examines the nexus between the state and intellectuals to appraise the dialectics of the struggles for academic freedom in Africa. The study locates the challenges of academic freedom across academic institutions to poor funding and excessive control by the state in a quasi-capitalist system in Africa. The study argues that the struggles for academic freedom between the state and intellectuals have been fierce since independence. Despite the fact that political class that took over power at independence used the intellectuals, they have remained reluctant to grant academic freedom for fear of having their hold onto power undermined. The study, however, posits that academic freedom was only permitted to the extent that it will not influence the people against the state. It concludes and suggests organized struggles by the intellectuals against state's control and poor funding is essential for academic freedom in Africa.

Keywords: State, State power, Academic struggle, Academic freedom, Africa.

Introduction: Throughout history, people have struggled and fought to exercise freedom and express their opinion publicly and freely. Freedom of speech has been viewed as a privilege to be enjoyed. It has also been seen a problem to the state (Awake, 22 July 1996). No wonder in human history, civil rights granted by governments were often altered or withdrawn at will. The effort to regain human rights was accompanied by never ending struggles. The medieval period was a watershed in the pursuit for human rights. It was a period that the people demanded written statements, spelling out categorically rights and obligations of citizens, as well as the limitations on decisions and actions of government. Popular struggles led governments to pass significant bills of rights, such as the Magna Carta Bill of Rights, the English Bill of Rights (1689), the Virginia Declaration of the Rights Human Beings (1776), the French Declaration of the Rights of Man (1789), and the United States Bill of Rights (1791) among others. Between 17th and 20th century, several voices of leading figures were on the struggles for freedom (Awake, 22 July 1996).

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Intellectuals in their own rights played significant roles to ensure greater latitude for human rights and freedom.

History will recall the role of Socrates (470-399BCE) on the struggles of rights and freedom to produce and distribute knowledge. Socrates teaching in Athens caused serious crisis among the political and religious classes, as there was the feelings that he was corrupting youth with his philosophy. In a contentious atmosphere, he agitated and defended academic freedom. The defense remains one of the most eloquent and factual in human history, which is stated:

If you offer to let me go at this time on the condition that, I am no longer to speak my mind in this search for wisdom, and that if I am caught doing this again I shall die, I should say to you, "men of Athens, I shall rather obey the gods than men". While I have life and strength, I shall never cease to follow the philosophy and to exhort and persuade any one of you whom I happen to meet. For this ... Athenians, I should go on to say, either acquit me or not; but understand, I shall never act differently even if I have to die for it many times (as cited in Awake, 22 July 1996).

Taking into consideration Socrates defense, African countries have witnessed political underbellies that had direct effects on academic freedom, rendering it difficult to produce and distribute knowledge freely. Historically, the struggle for academic freedom in the 1980s was motivated by the need to not only permit intellectuals, but also researchers and publicists, to enjoy the freedom to express their ideas through publications and other related means. The exercise of academic freedom is closely linked to the freedom of the people and society. This is because the intellectuals are a part of the society (Academic Freedom Conference, 2005). The enormous challenges there are between the state and intellectuals, revolves around the struggles for academic freedom, which the dialectical nature requires investigation to provide pragmatic suggestion toward academic freedom in Africa.

Academic Freedom: What is it?

Academic freedom is “the conviction that the freedom of inquiry by faculty members is essential to the mission of the academy as well as the principles of academia, and that scholars should have freedom to teach or communicate ideas or facts (including those that are inconvenient to the external political groups or the authorities) without being targeted for repression, job loss or imprisonment” (Wikipedia, 2016). Academic freedom is also the freedom of the scholars in the academic to teach without external control and the freedom of the students to learn. This also means that academic freedom offers special protection to the intellectuals to exercise freedom to teach within the parameters of the classroom and the laboratory as well as in the field of their expert knowledge, which is further expanded by the fact that the academia is providing valuable social, political, economic and scientific criticism, while pursuing and upholding the truth in the society (Altbach, 2011).

The university is not a political institution and intellectuals are not politicians. Therefore, they must not be involved in partisan politics. The American Association of University Professors (2016) provided the basic principles of academic freedom, thus:

- Teachers are entitled to the freedom to conduct research and make public the results, subject to the adequate performance of their other academic duties. Research for pecuniary return should be based upon an understanding with the authorities of the institution.
- Teachers are entitled to freedom in the classroom to discuss their subjects, but be careful not to introduce into their teaching controversial matters, which have no relation to their subjects, because of religions. Institutional limitations of academic freedom should be clearly stated in writing at the time of appointment.
- Teachers are citizens, members of learned profession, and officers of educational institutions, as such they should be free from institutional censorship or discipline and their special position in the community imposes special obligations, and
- As scholars and educators, the public judge their professions and institutions by their utterances, they should be accurate, exercise appropriate restraints, show respect for opinions of others, while not speaking for the institution (see 1940 Statement of Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure).

Sweezy also identified other four essentials of academic freedom, which include “to determine academically who may teach, what may be taught, how should be taught, and who may be admitted to study” (Lee, 2015). Globally, the foregoing affirms university and institutional autonomy in knowledge production and distribution.

Intellectuals and Socio-Political Context of Popular Struggle: Popular struggles for academic freedom in Africa date to the colonial era. At the centre of the struggles are issues of popular rights – the rights that are first inalienable and lastly, the rights and indeed, privileges to secure for the continent independence in order to be free and prosperous. In Africa, popular struggles inspired many people, especially the first generational scholars to further enhance the plight of achieving freedom for Africa through their respective academic exercises, because without rights and freedom to exercise people are reduced to nothing. This affirmed Nzongola-Ntalaja’s observation when he stated that:

Growing up as a teenager in the mid-1950s, I was greatly inspired by Egypt’s victory in the Canal crisis of 1956, the independence of Ghana in 1957, and the rise to self-assertion of peoples, in all corners of the African continent in favour of freedom and prosperity. When I entered secondary school in 1958, there was no doubt for me, my family and circle of friends, that this was a first step to joining a new African elite, one that would dedicate itself to fulfilling our people’s expectations of independence or their deepest aspirations for legitimate and democratic governance as well as economic and social development in a free, peaceful and prosperous Africa (Nzongola- Ntalaja, 1987).

This ordeal expresses the spirit of nationalism and pan-Africanism in Africa. The general feelings that enveloped Africans at that time were the struggles for decolonization and liberation of Africa from the rubbles of colonialism. Nationalism was synonymous to patriotism. It was a political movement that sought to attain and defend an objective, otherwise, national integrity and indeed, freedom and dignity. In the quest for freedom, political movements based on feelings of collective grievances was organized to rid-off the continent of foreign rule (Minogue, 1967). The nationalist feelings were factored into pan-Africanism, which became a vehicle for the struggles to regain pride, strength and independence. Pan-Africanism as a racial movement did not arrogate to itself any kind of superiority over other races or set out to exploit other nations, but to make use of human and material resources to develop the people of Africa (Okonkwo, 1976). The most potent instrument in the propagation of nationalist ideas and racial consciousness was the press (Coleman, 1967) under the control of African intellectuals. Newspapers were used to challenge colonial government and to demand for democratically elected government. The press was the most effective constitutional weapon for ventilating grievances and influencing the trends of events. Newspapers became the guardian of the rights and liberties of the people, and the interpreters of people's ideas and aspirations (Schwarz, 1965:162).

During this period, the colonial rulers relegated the colonized people to the rank of subordinates, subaltern who cannot take initiatives of any importance without relying on the colonialists. University education permitted the colonizers to assign new tasks without allowing subalterns the entire responsibility to direct their own destiny. The local universities were avenues for the training of mimics, puppet men or women, who should exercise the power conceded to them in a dependent mode. To render Africans dependent intellectually, the colonial authority defined the curriculum to be taught and also exercised direct or indirect control of the products in operation by the established system (Kom, 2005). This perspective was thwarted by the first generation of educated African elites. The educated elites collaborated with the political elites, the civil society and the uneducated population against colonial rule. Most countries in Africa secured independence either through constitutional struggle or armed struggle. Africans paid dearly and sacrificially with the hope that such struggles will better their conditions. Amilcar Cabral cautioned leaders to note that:

...the people did not fight for ideas, for things that exist only in their heads. The people fought for freedom and they accepted the necessary sacrifices. But they did it in order to gain material advantages, to live in peace and to improve their lives, to experience progress, and to be able to guarantee a future for their children. National liberation, the struggle against colonialism, and working for peace and progress independently – all these will be empty words without significance for the people unless they translate into real improving the conditions of life (Cabral cited Wilmot, 1979:72).

Despite the people struggled to secure freedom for themselves and the future of their children. However, they could not articulate the ideas of liberation, without relying on the

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Intellectuals, Student Unions and the Civil Society, whose responsibility is to lead and guide the people toward achieving physical, physiological and moral objectives (Wilmot, 2007). It is not in doubt that intellectuals have had positive effects on liberation struggles in Africa.

State, Popular Struggles and Dialectics of Academic Freedom: There was no need to agitate for academic freedom as it is now obtained in contemporary times in Africa, because majority of those who assumed the leadership rostrums were academics. They appreciated the need for academic freedom, because of the understanding that intellectuals provided the ideological force for the popular struggles against colonial rule that brought them to leadership position. They created an environment that was conducive and necessary for knowledge production and distribution. To attest to this fact, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, for example allocated vast land considered the best ground amidst greenery trees for the establishment of the University College of Dar es Salaam, which later became University of Dar es Salaam (Shivji, 2005:3).

In the same manner, Kwame Nkrumah, Nnamdi Azikwe, Obafemi Awolowo, Sekou Toure, Modibo Keita, Gamal Abdel Nasser, Aristides Pereira, and Leopold Seder Senghor among others, did the same by allowing the university to be the nerve centre of excellent knowledge production and distribution. African universities flourished as hotbeds of radical nationalism and researches to reclaim African history. There were debates in these universities as a way of debunking colonial intellectuality of racial superiority and domination. In these universities, students demonstrated and protested against injustice and oppression, exploitation and discrimination, imperialism and apartheid; it never mattered whether the victims of injustices and oppression were white, black, brown or yellow. The concern was human liberation and human freedom (Shivji, 2005:3). The struggles produced notable and vibrant African scholars and political leaders in Africa. Not too long into independence, the celebration of academic freedom was short-lived. One reason is attributed that. Amilcar Cabal's caution was not adhered to, when he stated:

If we accept the principle that the liberation struggle is a revolution and it does not finish at the moment when the national flag is raised and the national anthem played, we will see that there is not, and cannot be national liberation without the use of liberating violence of the nationalist forces, to answer the criminal violence of the agents of imperialism. Nobody can doubt that, whatever its local characteristics, imperialist domination implies a state of permanent violence against the nationalist forces. There are no people on earth, which, having been subjected to the imperialist yoke (colonialist and neo-colonialist), has managed to gain its independence without victims (Cabral, 1974).

Notwithstanding, attention was not also paid to the peasant of the Congo-Kinshasa who, unfortunately only three years following the end of colonial rule in 1960, were so disappointed with the struggle against colonial rule to secure independence for their country (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 1987). The people of Congo-Kinshasa could not enjoy the benefits of

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independence which their organic intellectuals were precursor, and because of it called for the second independence of their country. The challenge with independence in Africa was that the remnants of the dominant forces of feudalism, who would have been the victims of the liberation struggles because of commonalities with the capitalist system, were allowed to consolidate. The capitalist system found them to willing allies for sustaining imperialism in post-independence Africa. For example, the incorporation of imperialist Ethiopia into the world capitalist system in the 20th century did not change its feudal character until the revolution of 1974 (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2008).

The class that emerged at the periphery became the class of an appendage bourgeoisie to the metropolitan bourgeoisie. The attribution for this situation is as a result of the lack of the socio-economic base of politics. Frantz Fanon described this class as “the bourgeoisies of the civil service or state bourgeoisie – a true branch of the bourgeoisie of the mother country that derives its legitimacy, its force and its stability from the bourgeoisie of the homelands (Fanon, 1963). The dominant groups at the periphery called “state bourgeoisie” were the leaders, considered the deviants of the independence struggle, the military officers who were largely uneducated and the post-decolonization university cadres, mainly from the feudal background (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2008). When the groups were faced with two options, first, to ally with the imperialists or second, with the militants, in favour of the deepest aspiration of their own people, they chose the first option (Cabral, 1979:36). The few of them who were likely to reject or have rejected the alliance with the imperialists, such as Patrice Lumumba, Kwame Nkrumah, Thomas Sankara, Chris Hani and Amilcar Cabral among others, were politically and or physically eliminated (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2008). The imperialist allies who were kept in power became major problems to the exercise of human rights and freedom in the post-colonial Africa. This explains the basis for the challenges the intellectuals encountered with regard to the pursuit of academic freedom. The struggle gave birth to the Kampala declaration on academic freedom and social responsibility.

The Kampala declaration on intellectual freedom and social responsibility reaffirmed the independence and autonomy of the higher learning institutions from the state or any other public authority in conducting academic and administrative responsibilities that have direct bearing on teaching, research, and other related programmes. It also set out the obligations of the state, which include among others the continuous provision of adequate funding to academic/research institutions without state’s control. The post-colonial leaders in Africa considered the Kampala declaration as an affront. Consideration the role of African intellectual in the decolonization process of Africa, the political leaders were not ready to make the same mistakes that was responsible for social and political struggles for independence in Africa. However, Africa leaders failed to respond adequately to the Kampala obligations. This also reproduced the same struggles African intellectuals had with the colonialists to liberate the continent. The current struggle for academic freedom is to liberate the peoples’ minds in order to make the government responsive and accountable, by creating conducive space for knowledge production and distribution.

State, Intellectuals and Struggles for Academic Freedom: The roles colonialism set for universities in developing countries, particularly African universities, were specific and limited. The universities were to produce workforce to serve as veritable conduit for class formation of a new modernizing elite in Africa. The basic assumption that underlined the colonial doctrines of African universities was the production of men and women with standard and capacity for leadership, which self-rule required for transition from colonialism to neo-colonialism (Bako, 2006). That is, to produce political leadership that will replicate the far-reaching effects of colonization in post-independence Africa. In the same vein, Cameron (1968) affirmed that in colonial Africa, the system of education was actually toward producing the much-needed clerks, teachers, bookkeepers and preachers for the colonial administration and the commercial houses and the missionaries other than anything else. This system of education was inherited and sustained after the colonialism in Africa. The people received an education that made them conformists and not people who will ask questions and agitate against the political systems to set off the balance that will enhance knowledge production and distribution based on the principles of academic freedom. They provided for Africa knowledge imperialism, which was not very much useful for achieving fundamental human rights, freedom and development.

As a Native American, Ward Churchill satirically pointed that the university catalogues of programmes in the Western world consisted of what they called African studies, Islamic studies, Latin American studies and Arab studies among others, without having the White studies. The reason attributed this was because all higher education is actually White studies (Shivji, 2005:3). To change this, the first generation of African universities did credibly well in Africanizing Africa's state and economy, as well as the production of indigenous academic staff that can ask questions about academic freedom for African universities themselves. However, the aspirations of generating succeeding sets of scholars was abandoned or subordinated to the colonially created comprador bourgeoisie class. Even the main objectives of establishing universities in Africa, namely to conserve, generate and transmit knowledge through teaching, research and community development was also abandoned. African universities were subordinated to the politics of Africanization of leadership, leaving very little for advancing the frontier of knowledge and socioeconomic development in Africa (Bako, 2006).

Principally, the university as Kom (2005:4) presented it is to be seen as a laboratory, a space in which local or external cultures were transformed in contact with exogenous cultures. It is for each country or each community to place their accent on one or the other specialities of fundamental or applied researches, on giving areas of research or training, and on the development of relevant services for the community within the scope of the public needs. In most parts of Africa, this was a failure and it is linked to the inability of the post-independence African intellectuals to relate the universities and other higher education institution to the total liberation of the people, socially, economically and politically, from unwanted endogenous and exogenous forces prevalent in Africa.

In contemporary Africa, with all the eggheads there are in the various African universities, the inability to translate the universities to achieve the ideals of freedom and development, are no less the institutional accomplices of the government. This is because they have no use for the society. To have universities in Africa to perform their principal functions, social actors for academic freedom must have to redefine the context of the existence of universities and other higher learning institutions in Africa. They must define for themselves the social projects necessitating such institutional development that enhances the achievement of the objectives of academic freedom factored into the 1990 Kampala declaration on academic freedom (Kom, 2005), which permits them to the struggle for and participate in the emancipation of the people.

Intellectuals and the Challenges of Academic Freedom: The higher education has long-standing problems in Africa. This is despite the transformative purposes of intellectual production of knowledge. The challenges can be understood from the dialectics associated with the domination of the state in determining university leadership. The choices are usually influenced by a number of factors, such as the pervasive ethnic and/or religious considerations among others (Aseka, 2001). This undermines the drive toward educational development capable of surmounting development challenges in Africa. The politics of university leadership and control in Africa, directly relates to politics of state. This pays off in the control and formulation of institutional policies, as well as the allocation of human and material resources (Aseka, 2001). The Vice Chancellor who is appointed by the visitor, the president, is a major player and a dominant force in making strategic decisions affecting the university (Martey, 2005). Politics is struggle for power. The ultimate response to abuse of power is resisting it, that is why authoritarianism in universities in Africa has always been contested (Aseka, 2001:18), in order to enable academic freedom prevail.

The Lima (1988) and Dar es Salaam (1990) declarations on academic freedom defined the academic community as all those who teach, research, study or simply work in the university and other institutions of higher learning. The declarations considered Students as members of the academic community, whose freedom include the liberty (a) to determine their field of research within the limits of the facilities available, (b) to express their views on the services provided by the university, and (c) to form and control associations. The declarations of academic freedom have been seen as a threat to the state. To counter the threat, the state makes use of brute force to victimize university intellectuals. It also privatized higher education institutions to deter African intellectuals from asserting their rights. Using the case study of Nigeria to demonstrate this situation, before the Lima (1988) and Dar es Salaam (1990) declarations on academic freedom, the students of Ahmadu Bello University in the spirit of the two declarations, protested against the university administration for limiting their freedom to express their views and control over their association's leadership.

On the 22 May 1986, the students of the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, on main campus held a rally and boycotted lectures indefinitely until the university administration rescinds the rustication of two of their Students Union leaders. They also called for the

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removal of the Vice-Chancellor, Professor Ango Abdullahi, by processing and chanting “Ango must go! Inikori must go! Abalaka must go!” The students ended up in a sit-down protest in the Senate building of the University from morning to the evening that day (ASUU, 1986). On the 23 May 1986, instead of the university administration to engage the students in a peaceful dialogue, it resorted to the use of brute force, which led to the death of four students and 23 casualties. The Vice-Chancellor, Ango Abdullahi and the government showed no remorse for inhuman actions against the students and the death of the students (Punch, 30 May 1986). Also, the Commissioner of Police, Kaduna State Command, Mr. Nuhu Aliyu, justified their action (Nigerian Tribune, 5 June 1986). The National Association of Nigerian Students (NANS), Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC), Nigerian Union of Journalists (NUJ), the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) and the Religious bodies among others, were the only group that challenged such action by the university administration and the government.

The Academic Staff Union of Universities, (ASUU), Ahmadu Bello University Branch, in a memorandum presented to Tribunal of Inquiry appointed by the federal military government of Nigeria vented its feelings and resistance against anti-academic freedom. The concern raised by ASUU was the implications of the tragic killing of the students of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria which it considered as significant potential threat to the stability of the nation. A clear testimony to this was the chain reactions of killing across the country that culminated in the impasse between NLC and the Federal Military Government over the proposed formal mourning arrangements of the murdered students. ASUU reacted to the shenanigans of the ABU administration for remaining unapologetic for killing students who were agitating for their rights. The reaction of ASSU was conditioned by its obligation as parent and guardian of the students on the campus (ASUU, 1986:3). There was a general call for the punishment of the principal actors of the Ahmadu Bello University to prevent future occurrence.

A panel led by General Abisoye was instituted. The report of the investigations was on the side of the people. The panel condemned the killing. Abisoye, the chairman of the panel while presenting the report to President Babangida, stated that “What all young men and women in the higher institutions were asking for was what the future holds for them” (Abisoye, 1986). He further stated:

No nation can grow and be developed by the wanton destruction of its youths... How long must these young graduates, men and women continue to suffer from the sins of their fathers? What moral justification the country has for sending children to acquire university education without plans for viable job opportunities ... enough is enough (Abisoye, 1986).

Despite Abisoye’s patriotic positions, for whatever reasons, the government failed to implement the panel’s recommendations. In 1994, General Sani Abacha’s regime acted in the same manner. That year a serving Army General, Mamman Kontagora was appointed the Sole Administrator of the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. His job was to militarize the

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character of the academics, which he did by turning the faculties into battalions and departments into unit commands. Deans of faculties were called battalion commanders and heads of departments were unit commanders. The Student Union Government was banned.

In 1999, the academic community thought the struggle for academic freedom was over. Alas, democracy came with its branded form of authoritarianism. ASUU in the attempt to contribute to democratic development observed that the education sector has been neglected. ASUU demanded an improved welfare and funding of higher education. It also sought that government appreciate the peculiarity of the works perform by university scholars. They also demanded the removal of the university from the civil service framework and to address the funding and exploitation of extra-budgetary sources of fund in Nigeria (Guardian, July 2, 2007). In order to secure the attention of the government to implement these demands, it decided to embark on industrial action. The government reacted by imposing the Trade Dispute Act of “no work, no pay” against ASUU members. Section 42 of the Trade Dispute Act (CAP 4332) provided that:

Where any worker takes part in a strike, he shall not be entitled to any wages or other remuneration for the period of the strike and any such period shall not be counted for the purpose of reckoning the period of continuous employment and also where any employer locks out its workers, the workers shall be entitled to wages and any other applicable remuneration for the period of the lockout.

The implications of the Trade Dispute Act for ASUU were twofold. The University intellectuals were like every other civil servant and threat of non-payment of wages was applied as a means of control. These two consequences were direct limitations on the exercise of academic freedom in the universities. As the was in the case of the ASUU strike of 2001, the four-month strike embarked by ASUU was called off mainly because the lecturers were demobilized economically based on the principle of “no work, no pay.” The strike ended on the terms of non-victimization of the striking lecturers entered into between the government and ASUU. However, 49 lecturers of the University of Ilorin were sacked in violation of the agreement and the Kampala Declaration. Since 2001, several strikes were embarked upon by ASUU to have the government reinstate its members, but were to no avail.

The experiences faced by Nigeria universities played out in North African states, such as Ethiopia. After the Ethiopian authorities manipulated the result of the 2005 general election that was greeted by mass protests, 38 Ethiopians were arrested and several others were forced into exile. These persons were initially charged with assortment of offences, arising from general election. Majority of these people were intellectuals in the academia, the media, and the civil society. The government brutally suppressed popular protests, arrested and held tightly in prolonged detention without trial many leading figures of the opposition under conditions were harsh and inhumane (CODESRIA, 2007). All the appeals made for their release fell on deaf ears. The government proceeded to charge them with treason before a tribunal of doubtful independence. The tribunal suddenly abridged the judicial

process and pronounced a guilty verdict on the 38 Ethiopians sentenced, either some or all of them handed death penalty (CODESRIA, 2007). The cases of non-compliance to and respect for the principles of academic freedom in Nigeria and Ethiopia are replicated in other countries in Africa.

In most parts of Africa, academic intellectuals as social actors with the capacity of transforming not only the education sector, but also the society, are rather seen as enemies of governments. Africa has had their intellectuals fleeing to other continents due to political repression and economic deprivation (Wilmot, 2007). Patrick Wilmot was apt to state that, while European leaders steal from other countries to enrich their own countries, African leaders steal from their own people to enrich Europe. Instead of murdering foreign enemies, African leaders slaughter their own citizens, justifying the racism of their conquerors (Wilmot, 2007). This situation continued to reverberate in contemporary times by undermining the efforts to achieve development. African intellectuals have a responsibility to their people and countries. Therefore, they must resist repressive political character in most parts of Africa.

Conclusion and Recommendations: The specialized nature of knowledge production and distribution makes the intellectuals certainly development engineers. Unfortunately, the society has remained underdeveloped (Wilmot, 2007). The reason attributed to the condition is associated with the barbaric, brainless or brain-dead rulers in piloting the affairs of government in Africa. The interest and commitment of leaders in Africa is to purchase mansions in Europe, before building one at home. They are concerned about saving stolen money in European banks rather than the local banks, and to have their wives give birth to their children in the Cromwell hospital, because they have rendered the health care system dysfunctional. They are also interested in sending their children to school abroad. The simple reason is because they have successfully destroyed the education system at home (Wilmot, 2007). Accordingly, the prevalence of the decay in the system is as a result of the failure of the African intellectuals to challenge the political leaders in Africa. They have through knowledge production and distribution done less to respond to the challenges bedeviling the continent of Africa (Diouf and Mamdani, 1994:9). African intellectuals are also indicted for keeping silent and allowing African leaders to loot resources for personal gains using religion, region, ethnicity and other primordial identities to mystify the people. There is no religion, regional or ethnic group that glorifies theft (Wilmot, 2007). Diamond (1997:14) attributed the challenges of African intellectuals to tackle the problems of development in the continent to the inability of having institutions whose goals correspond with the immediate and future needs of African people.

There is need for the creation of viable institutions that can resist the passage of time and satisfy collective ambitions of the African people. The collective ambitions should be to root out the remnants of feudalism, imperialist agents and their foot soldiers in higher educational institutions. This will take the form of the second independence struggle. The struggle will be meaningless if it is not in pursuant of popular struggle to secure academic freedom. African intellectuals must develop social and political theories to recapture

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leadership of the world once dominated by black people. The Egyptian Imhotep was probably the first world intellectuals that established disciplines, such as architecture, medicine, politics and several other sciences. In modern times, no one is concerned with the nationality or religion of Newton, Marx, or Einstein. Rather their intellectual achievements have benefited the whole world. Also, African intellectuals must developed frameworks to prevent the class of corrupt and incompetent. Leaders in Africa must learn from countries, such as China, India and other victims of imperialism to understand and appreciate their paths to stability and development. Above all, citizen's rights and privileges must be restored. It is the duty of the African intellectuals to ensure through every means possible the provision of good life for the people (Wilmot, 2007).

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