

daghli became the focus of Salafist dissatisfaction because of his academic interest and expertise in the long and rich history of Tunisian Jewry. To this day, Kazdaghli is under police protection.

Furthermore, Salafist activists exchanged the Tunisian flag at the University of Manouba with a black flag depicting the Islamic creed—a symbol of Salafist presence. When student Khaoula Rachidi climbed up the flagstaff and took off the black flag, she was beaten up. The Tunisian State honored the young woman's courage with a reception at the office of the then president Moncef Marzouki. Still, during the whole course of the conflict at the University of Manouba, the Ministry of Higher Education and Science, then led by Ennahda, strikingly backed off. The then minister of Higher Education and Science, Moncef ben Salem, publicly played down the conflict and declared in September 2012 that wearing the face veil at universities was legal. Also, it is rumored that members of UGTE and Ennahda were involved at the beginning of the protests against the ban of the face veil.

#### BETWEEN TERRORISM AND REFORM

The introduction of a democratic political system in Tunisia has turned the country into an ideological enemy and recurrent target of terrorist attacks by Islamic State (IS). Tunisian university life is affected by these attacks through the state of emergency and curfews that are imposed for security reasons by the government: Evening classes are temporary cancelled, and students cannot fulfill course requirements.

Even though Tunisian students are generally well educated, the national job market cannot absorb all university graduates. The ongoing economic crisis and high unemployment are seen as the causes for why IS, according to current data, is recruiting more members in Tunisia than from any other country. Protests and hunger strikes on campuses—especially by leftist students affiliated with UGET—against the poor prospects of university graduates, are prevalent phenomena since the introduction of democracy.

Still, the governments in power since democratization put high hopes in the role of higher education for the political, social, and economic development of the country, as laid down in the “Strategic Plan for the Reform of Higher Education and Science 2015–2025.” This strategic plan aims at a better connection between universities and the job market, and regards autonomous universities as central players for the democratization of their local communities. ■

## Frantz Fanon and the #MustFall Movements in South Africa

THIERRY M. LUESCHER

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By his detractors, Frantz Fanon is decried as an advocate of anticolonial violence—that cathartic *muti* (the Zulu term for medicine) to rid native society of the parasitic colonial body politic. Yet, to Mandela's born free generation, he is the prophet of the present, foretelling in *The Wretched of the Earth* South Africa's presumed neocolonial condition: an elite wallowing in conspicuous consumption, a liberation party sunk into lethargy and corruption, masses of people living in poverty, a country in political, economic, and cultural decay. South Africans are disillusioned, and the black youth is angry. A telling placard held by students at one of the many protests in 2015 read: “In 1994, my parents were sold a dream; I'm here for the refund.”

#### #RHODESMUSTFALL

The #MustFall movements took South Africa by surprise. It all started on March 9, 2015, at the University of Cape Town (UCT) in a most unsavory way. The news of a UCT student soiling Cecil John Rhodes' towering statue on campus with human waste reached around the world. Rhodes is one of Cape Town's grandest “sons”: mining magnate, former prime minister of the Cape Colony, conqueror of the colonial “hinterland.” UCT is built in large parts on Rhodes' estate. #RhodesMustFall became the first iteration of the 2015 student movement in South Africa. Black students learn to voice their experience of being “black on campus” and throw the white masks handed to them by institutional culture, along with Rhodes, onto the ash heap of history.

While #RhodesMustFall mobilized students demanding the removal of Rhodes' statue and disappeared from the public gaze when the statue was removed on April 9, 2015, the excision of this “symptomatic sore” was but a symbolic step in the Fanonian “decolonization” process of healing the post-apartheid university, and creating a new intellectual space. Xolela Mangcu, professor of Sociology at UCT, wrote in *University World News* in March 2015 that the quality of discussions in the occupied buildings on campus “was not anything [he] had seen at the University of Cape Town, Cornell, Harvard or any of the universities [he] had attended.”

**FROM #RHODESMUSTFALL TO #FEESMUSTFALL**

#RhodesMustFall became briefly an inspiration to iconoclasts across the country. Even on university campuses as far as in the United States, the monuments of Thomas Jefferson, Woodrow Wilson, Jefferson Davis, and others, started shaking. In South Africa, true to Fanon's famed call that "each generation must, out of relative obscurity, discover its mission, fulfil it or betray it," students in other universities asked themselves what needed to fall within their context—when at UCT it was the Rhodes statue that had to fall. At the University of Stellenbosch, the #OpenStellies movement reopened the *taal debat* (language debate) on a campus which is deeply divided between mostly white Afrikaans-tuition students and mostly black English-tuition students. And suddenly hashtag movements mushroomed: #BlackStudentsMovement, #Luister, #PatriarchyMustFall, #ReformPukke, #SteynMustFall, #TheTransCollective, #TuksUprising, and so forth.

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**The #MustFall movements took South Africa by surprise. It all started on March 9, 2015, at the University of Cape Town (UCT) in a most unsavory way.**

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However, whereas #RhodesMustFall and its derivatives represented a Black intellectual rage against the ideological superstructure of South African higher education and its whiteness, the #FeesMustFall movement captured the imagination of students nationwide, as it brought things to the grassroots' level of the material conditions of student life, with the powerfully resonant demand for free education. Free education—or at least a fair chance at higher education for the poor, with state allowances and scholarships—is an unfulfilled promise of the *Freedom Charter* that has spurred the anti-apartheid movement since 1955. In the wake of the Council of the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) in Johannesburg, announcing in September 2015 that 2016 tuition fees would increase by double-digit figures, protests escalated at Wits. Within weeks (and more fee increase announcements), public universities in South Africa were shut by students nationwide.

**SURVIVOR: CAMPUS**

In all cases, the university leadership responded with the tried and tested: a measure of engagement and showing goodwill, a measure of suppression and affirming its authority, a measure of divide and rule and clamping down

on the activists—and always trying to get the process off the front-pages and into formal meetings. Many years ago, I jokingly described this strategy as "Survivor: Campus": outwit, outplay, outlast. Like the reality show, it is mostly a game of covert negotiation, the occasional show of strength, and a good dose of deceit. But just like #RhodesMustFall, #FeesMustFall proved extraordinarily successful at the game, achieving significant victory within a short period. In what was described as a "clearly panicked response," President Jacob Zuma announced on October 23, 2015, that there would be no fee increases in public universities in 2016. (Unlawfully so, for the South African *Higher Education Act* vests the authority of setting student fees in university councils.)

**AN INTERNET-AGE NETWORKED STUDENT MOVEMENT**

The truly innovative dimension of the 2015 #MustFall movements is the extent to which student activists and sympathizers took to social media and the Internet. If Manuel Castells conceptualizes in *Networks of Outrage and Hope* a new form of Internet-age social movements (at the example of Occupy Wall Street and others around the globe), the #MustFall movements signal the advent of a new way of organizing student power in a networked student movement that occupies simultaneously the cyberspace and public spaces. Students used social media and Internet-based platforms prolifically as means to conscientize and mobilize others, coordinate activism, share pamphlets, readings, pictures, and video-clips, and document in an unending stream what is happening around the country. In the public space, national protests were held at the centers of power where visibility is greatest: the Houses of Parliament in Cape Town, the ANC Headquarters in Johannesburg, and the Union Buildings in Pretoria. Similarly, campus-based protests frequently barricaded university main gates to shut down operations in full view of the public, and students occupied buildings symbolic of university power on campus, like UCT's administration building and Wits' Senate House.

**THE ROAD AHEAD**

After an initially quiet start to the 2016 academic year, student power reawakened in February with protests at a number of universities. Thus, observers like Pontsho Pilane of the *Mail & Guardian* predicted correctly that activism will rekindle in 2016 as three core student demands remain unaddressed: tuition fees have not fallen, they have only been frozen for the moment; ending outsourcing of support service workers in universities has produced only vague commitments; and most importantly, "decolonizing" South African academia remains a challenge, not the least at the conceptual level. Leigh-Ann Naidoo proposed

in the *New Agenda* that the critical task is: continuing “collective conscientization,” ongoing disruption of dominant exclusionary norms, and recreating the university’s teaching and learning space and decision-making platforms. The discovery of Fanon may give some hope; his prescription for the road ahead is radically democratic: accept that the masses are thinking people. In the context of the university: accept that the African university will not arise from an aged, white, male professoriate, but from young, astute, black staff and students. They are thinking people; they do not want their universities to fall. Networked student power can potentially be engaged for all manner of radically democratic participation in decision-making, redesigning curricula, and reorganizing university life. ■

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## Do or Die: The Dilemma of Higher Education in South Sudan

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When South Sudan became independent from Sudan in 2011, there were hopes that higher education, and education in general, would top the national spending priority list. However, the education sector lost emphasis when two ministries of higher education and general education were amalgamated to form one ministry, the current Ministry of Education, Science and Technology. Budgets were reduced as part of national austerity measures, staffs were redeployed, and directorates renamed. To make matters worse (to say the very least), when the country entered into what I personally call a war of insanity on December 15, 2013, public universities were badly affected, with students, faculty and staff displaced, and assets destroyed. Now, at certain times, university administration is challenged with the question of whether to close universities or keep them open. This article analyzes the basic challenges facing higher education institutions in South Sudan, with the hope that the recent peace deal between government and rebels will be sustainable and provide tangible solutions.

### SNAPSHOT OF HIGHER EDUCATION

South Sudan, the world newest nation, has a total of six universities. Five of these are public universities while one is a private institution. The top three university administrators are appointed by the president of the country. Each university has a vice-chancellor and two deputies for academic affairs and for administration and finance. Only one of the five university vice-chancellors is a woman. At the time of writing, the total number of students in all universities is estimated between 25,000 to 30,000.

### CHALLENGES

The most important challenge to higher education in South Sudan is the vicious circle of insecurity in both the periphery and the center of the country. Four of the five public universities are located in states prone to be attacked either by the rebels fighting the government, or by local communities in conflict with each other. As a result, many highly skilled foreign academics have left the universities and returned to their countries, or sought jobs with international nongovernmental organizations. Because of insecurity and interruptions in the learning and academic cycles, many students left the country to get enrolled in neighboring countries such as Uganda, Kenya, Ethiopia, or Sudan. Some students and staff, traumatized by the murderous attacks, are too scared to return to the campuses and thus interrupt their studies or drop out of school altogether. However, the recent peace deal signed in Juba might help overcome this fear of insecurity.

### BRAIN DRAIN AND PUBLIC FINANCING

A number of outstanding, home-grown faculty have left South Sudan to seek refuge elsewhere, in search for greener pastures. Before July 2015, academics in South Sudan were receiving 35 percent less salary than their counterparts in East Africa. This led to brain drain. The incentive of state education is that beneficiaries should pay back to the state by way of serving the community in their respective specialties. This is compromised if these individuals prefer to work elsewhere. The implication is the insufficient number of faculty at public universities, hence the huge student-faculty ratio.

The national government pays the salaries of staff and faculty at public universities, but little else. There is no funding available for construction or maintenance of infrastructure, for research, holding examinations, and student accommodations. With these realities, universities are faced with the challenge of having to shut down. So far, no university has done so, but extended holidays are not uncommon and severely disrupt academic life. The delays provoke frustration and exacerbate the need to improve