

CONFERENCE REPORT:

The student organisation in the Democracy – Democracy in the Student Organisation



Kine Stenersen (ed.)

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The student organisation in the Democracy –
Democracy in the Student Organisation

SAIH's International Student Conference
September 2008

SAIH, 2009

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ISBN 978-82-990929-2-0

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Postal Address: Storgata 11, N-0155 Oslo, Norway

Cover and layout:

Unipub AS

Printed in Norway:

AiT Edit, Oslo 2009

SAIH, 2009

ISBN 978-82-990929-2-0

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Preface

SAIH's conference, The Student Organisation in the Democracy – Democracy in the Student Organisation, was organised September 13th and 14th of 2008. The topic of the conference was democratisation of higher education in the global South, student organisations and democracy within the student movement.

Students are important agents of change all over the world. SAIH has focused its work on higher education and students since the 1960s, because we recognise the power young people have to influence their own societies. We also acknowledge that in order to change the world, one must start with oneself. SAIH decided to organise this conference and invite students from South Africa, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Western-Sahara, Bolivia, Nicaragua, Colombia, Europe and Norway to discuss the role of students and the importance of democracy in creating real change. We also wanted to create a debate on the necessity to work with the democratic structures within the student organisation, as well as in society as a whole. The conference had a total of 77 participants from 33 different organisations or institutions. Unfortunately, the visa applications of the two students we invited from Western Sahara were rejected by the Norwegian embassy in Morocco, hence they could not participate. We're very sorry that the conference participants did not get to meet these brave Saharawi students, but one of the many Norwegians who work for the rights of the Saharawi people, stepped in and spoke on their behalf.

With students from all over the world participating, we knew the conference would host a number of different perspectives. Thus we decided to focus on both practical hands-on topics, such as lobby and advocacy, as well as more theoretical ones, such as academic freedom and democracy. Considerable time was set aside for workshops during the two day conference. We chose to do this because we knew that it's easier to participate more actively, and share one's opinions and experiences more easily, when working in smaller groups. We also wanted the conference to be a catalyst for cooperation across national or regional borders, and in order for people to cooperate and communicate, they need to get to know each other. In addition to the workshops, we had a tight schedule of social activities. Indeed, we received feedback that getting to know other students and learning about their situations and experiences, was a valuable part of the conference experience, also for the Norwegian students who participated at the conference or had guests staying at their houses.

The long term goal of this project was increased student participation and influence on the academic development and democratisation of higher education, at one's own institution as well as on a national level. The short term goal was an increased understanding of the role that higher education and student democracies can play in a process of democratisation. By sharing their own experiences, listening to experts on student movements and democracy, and by discussing the specific and sometimes common challenges students face all over the world, we believe that the participants all left the conference with increased knowledge and understanding of how they can influence their own lives, and how democracy and democratic processes are key components of this.

The conference program reflected our goals in different ways. We chose to focus on four of the main sessions from the conference in this report, namely 1) Organisational work when freedom of organisation is limited, 2) Organisation and Democracy, 3) Lobbying, and 4) Gender equality.

As stated in the long term goal, SAIH wanted this conference to contribute to increased participation by students, and ultimately more influence as a result of that. Personally, I believe that in order to achieve this, it is important for students in different countries to realise that we are fighting for the same goals. We should learn from each other, support each others' struggles, and show decision makers all over the world that solidarity between students and student movements creates a voice so strong that it cannot be ignored.

Finally, I want to thank all those who made this conference possible. I want to thank Forum for Women and Development, The Norwegian Children and Youth Council, The Union of Education Norway and The Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation.

I also want to extend my gratitude to the conference collaborators, the National Union of Students in Norway, the Norwegian Association of Students, the International student union of Norway and the Union of Education Norway, not only for cooperating on this conference, but for being invaluable partners for SAIH all through the year.

Last but not least a special thanks to all the participants, the speakers and all the SAIH activists who helped plan and organise the conference.

Sigrun Espe
President of SAIH
May 2009

CHAPTER 1

**ORGANISATIONAL WORK WHEN
FREEDOM OF ORGANISATION IS LIMITED**

Student activism, structural adjustment and the democratic transition in Sub-Saharan Africa

By Leo Zeilig

Abstract

This paper focuses on the impact of the neo liberal policies in the Sub Saharan African countries and how structural adjustment programs have contributed to new, and more engaged student activism and resistance. The paper also asks several related questions: Has the university students become a marginalised social group? If their status as pampered post-colonial elite has collapsed, has there been a convergence of the student and the urban population? And how has this impacted on their activism? Zeilig analyses the historical impact on the current situation within Sub-Saharan African academia and argues the importance of student engagement.

Introduction: Education in recession.

Following independence in Africa, university students were part of a privileged and transitory social group, waiting to be allotted graduate employment in an expanding civil service and across the state sector. Some describe a social pact between students and the state, seen as an implicit guarantee that had ensured employment in the formal economy for university graduates (Foucher 2002).¹ The period corresponded to a brief moment of state-led development across much of the continent; with university students overwhelmingly living comfortably on government grants and scholarships. University students enjoyed generous grants, lived easily in subsidised accommodation and ate like kings. As one student remembered about the 'payout' (grant), in the 1980s at the University of Zimbabwe:

Materially we never had any issues, we had disagreements here and there about payouts but by and large there was enough food. Actually it was excessive, in the Halls of Residence. We used to throw away bread. We used to

¹ The list of references can be found in Appendix #1.

call it, 'Christmas every day'. When you go to Varsity it is Christmas every day. In the rural areas, Christmas Day would be when you had rice and chicken. But at Varsity you would have rice and chicken everyday (Arthur Mutambara, interview, 10 July 2003).

The university was a rarefied space of material privilege and political debate. In Zimbabwe during the 1980s these payouts allowed students to build houses for their parents in the rural areas. This picture of campus comfort was repeated across much of the continent

But in a very brief period they became oppositional, regarded in the commentary of the day as 'rival politicians rather than students' (Hanna 1975: 13). Student militants frequently fuelled the early protest movements that questioned the legitimacy of the new states. Many commentators regarded them as a democratic vanguard, powered by left-wing ideology (see for example Cockburn and Blackburn 1969; Weaver and Weaver 1969; Crick and Robson 1970; Lipset and Schaflunder 1971).

By the mid-1970s many of these assurances were eroded as countries that had attempted to implement state-led development faced international recession and internal corruption and decay. Higher Education was but one of the areas that was forced to go on a starvation diet. State funding of higher education by the late 1970s was being targeted for restructuring. Student activism was affected: while students clung onto a self-conscious elitism, the reality of student poverty and the financial crises of African universities transformed their activism (Bathily et al. 1995). These processes, however, were inherently contradictory. As well as seeing their status as a privileged group collapse, there was an unprecedented 'convergence of forces' (Kagoro, interview, 23 June 2003) between students and the popular classes (Seddon 2002). The ivory tower had been turned inside out by the austerity imposed by structural adjustment and national governments. This convergence was expressed in the waves of resistance from the mid-1970s and later the 'democratic transitions' that swept the continent from the late 1980s and 1990s.

This paper surveys the role of students, the nature of their protest and their relationship with civil society in the processes that brought about a wave of multi-party elections and democratic struggles in sub-Saharan Africa. The discussion focuses specifically on student activism and protest, although it is acknowledged that this activism brings into play many other factors. The context in which students become political actors in contemporary Africa is tied to the transformation of higher education in sub-Saharan Africa, often under the auspices of the IMF and World Bank-led reform. The paper asks a number of related questions: Has the university students

become a marginalised social group? If their status as pampered post-colonial elite has collapsed, has there been a convergence of the student and the urban population? And how has this impacted on their activism?

Universities in crisis

There is considerable controversy over the number of university students in sub-Saharan Africa. According to one study of a continental population of about 500 million, fewer than 500,000 are enrolled as students in higher education (Caffentzis 2000: 9). This figure is, however, unreliable. Mama (2005: 98) states that, "Gross enrolment in African universities increased dramatically ... to over 1.75 million in 1995 and is still growing fast in most places." Caffentzis states that in 1986 the enrolment rates for higher education were about 2% of the pertinent age group; this had reached 3% by 1995 (World Bank 2000: 107). This means that Africa has among the lowest enrolment rates in the world, much less than Latin America's 12%, and 7% for the developing world as a whole. However, there are no reliable figures for sub-Saharan Africa, and Mama's enrolment numbers are contested by Altbach and Teferra (2003). This is largely due to the fact that under the impact of World Bank and IMF reforms in the 1980s cash-strapped universities stopped producing their own statistics. But at the same time these organisations demanded figures on student enrolment in order to assess the progress of reforms. Often institutions were left to 'create' numbers that had previously been collated by the university administration (Lebeau, personal communication, 14 May 2005).

Universities have been analysed as a site of contestation where the democratisation process took place, incorporating a range of political forces and agency (Akam and Ducasse 2002). Much of the commentary, however, finds unanimity in the description of the university as a neglected institution, a crumbling edifice housing impoverished students and lecturers. The physical decay of higher education is a feature common in many sub-Saharan African universities. In 2002 Femi Aborisode, Nigerian academic and trade unionist, identified a number of problems at institutions of higher education in Nigeria typical in many parts of the continent:

First, infrastructural facilities are inadequate, yet student numbers increase annually. Second, higher education is grossly understaffed. Third, libraries are inadequate and books are outdated. Moreover, many students are too poor to buy their own books. Fourth, remuneration is sometimes delayed

and not always paid in full, leading some lecturers to acquire bits of money through other means, such as charging students for photocopied lecture notes. Fifth, the supply of basic services such as water, electricity and sanitation is erratic. Upon occasion, lecturers and students have had to relieve themselves in nearby bushes. Finally, many of the problems experienced by institutions of higher education can be attributed to under-funding (Interview, 24 September 2002).

In Malawi, Kerr and Mapanje (2002: 90) note that the physical collapse of the University of Malawi, the non-payment of staff and declining facilities for students have helped to create an 'atmosphere of marginalisation' that has often led 'students to anti-social behaviour'. Nkongolo (2000: 96-98) describes a similar 'set of frustrations' and the humiliation experienced by students at the University of Lubumbashi in the early 1990s:

Us, students and tomorrow's elite of Zaire, the youth of the *Mouvement Populaire de la Révolution* (JMPR) were compelled to go to the toilet in the bush, like animals. We went there every day, in the hot and rainy season. The night like the day ... even the 'largest library in central Africa' was not saved, and was used as a WC ... The outside world must know the extent that Mobutu had humiliated us.

While it is important not to generalise uncritically from these observations there is a remarkable symmetry in the decay of sub-Saharan African universities over the last twenty five years: countries thousands of miles apart experienced the same 'erosion' of higher education. Piet Konings (2002: 181) writes about the crisis of the University of Yaounde in Cameroon in the 1990s:

[F]irst and foremost, there was growing dissatisfaction with the deepening crisis within the university and the lack of employment prospects for university graduates. Mockingly, students referred to their university as 'the bachelors' cemetery'.

Konings goes on to describe how student numbers have swelled from 10,000 in 1982 to more than 42,000 ten years later, even though the university infrastructure was only built to cope with a maximum of 7,000 students. Consequently, lecture rooms, libraries, laboratories, and office space for lecturers were inadequate and lacked necessary

equipment. The university hostel could offer accommodation to a limited number of students, often on the basis of patronage or ethnic criteria, and the vast majority of students were compelled to look for accommodation themselves (Konings 2002: 181).

Even at Makerere University, regarded as a model for the rest of Africa, half of the students questioned in a survey failed to attend lectures because there were not enough seats (Musisi and Muwanga 2003: 43). Alternative, private accommodation was invariably in overpriced 'mini-cities' surrounding the university. The same pattern of decay affected Kenya's university system. Maurice Amutabi (2002) argues that the resulting impoverishment of student life has radically altered their position in Kenyan society. They are now, he maintains, 'bedfellows' of the population as a whole. They share the same economic crisis and live the same poverty. Students, though, still have a role as 'societal watchdogs' and only their vigilance will ensure that the gains of multi-partyism and democratisation are maintained. The conditions of higher education in Africa seen from the perspective of the university's physical infrastructure and the pauperisation of staff and students declined steeply in the 1980s. The effects of structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) that have greatly exacerbated the withdrawal of state funding for universities, teaching staff and students (Konings 2002; Alidou *et al.* 2000). These policies deprioritised higher education in Africa, compelling national governments to slash state support to university budgets and insisting on the introduction of tuition fees and 'levies' on students.

Reform of higher education in sub-Saharan Africa

From the early 1980s to the early 1990s the World Bank produced a number of important studies stressing the importance of higher education reform. These studies advocated the dramatic reduction of higher education expenditure in Africa. The most important of these reports, *Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa*, which became known as the Berg Report, was produced in 1981. It focused on the general priorities for African development and prescribed policy reforms to deregulate national states. These reforms included the wholesale reconfiguration of university education in Africa. The report, which has become the subject of considerable and mostly hostile discussion (Sandbrook 1993; Diouf and Mamdani 1994), determined the approach of donor agencies to education in Africa. The problem was simple; too much money was being spent on education (World Bank 1981: 81-82).

The report recommended fundamental reforms that centred on 'cost-analysis', which pitted the economic returns of primary education against those of the tertiary sector. The

report explained the rationale behind the calculation: 'Given Africa's extreme shortage of fiscal resources and the many claims on revenue, all educational strategies must have a key objective of greater efficiency in resource use' (World Bank 1981: 82). The report provided the blueprint for higher education reform in the 1980s. Even so the reforms did not go far enough for some. At the 1986 Conference of African Vice-Chancellors in Harare, the World Bank questioned the very existence of universities in Africa (Iman and Mama 1994: 73). Another conference two years later described the bleak state of higher education, ravaged by structural adjustment. The conference – *Human Dimensions of Africa's Economic Recovery and Development* – noted that far from structural adjustment increasing the rate of primary school enrolment, the opposite was the case as all sectors of education had suffered. After five years of SAPs, social spending in sub-Saharan African countries had declined by 26 percent (between the years 1980 to 1986). Governments already facing financial crisis were under pressure to cut subsidies to secondary and tertiary level students (Caffentzis 2000).

Still the World Bank continued to argue that, unlike higher education, the primary sector had a higher return on investment, 28% against 13% for tertiary education. As Caffentzis (2000: 5) explains, 'In other words university graduates received about two and half times more income over outlay than the government; and they received from the government thirty times more than what primary students received.' Reports pointed out that while the 'white collar sector' comprised 6% of the population they received in state revenue more than 27% of the education budget (Caffentzis 2000: 5). The World Bank maintained that the thrust of their policies was to ensure a more egalitarian allocation of funding. By reallocating funds from 'urban elites' an educational egalitarianism could be achieved.²

Makerere University is an example of higher education in Africa celebrated by the World Bank. According to research (Musisi and Nansozi 2003), the university managed to extricate itself from a crisis in the early 1990s, returning to its former pre-eminence as one of the foremost universities in East Africa. The Bank highlights how the university has managed to increase enrolment rates and the number of students paying fees: almost 70% of the student population was contributing towards their fees by the end of the 1990s. Where previously the university was funded completely

2 In Senegal despite almost two decades of structural adjustment, and a concerted effort in the 1990s from the World Bank and IMF to force the government to reduce the enrolment of students into higher education, enrolment had increased (some estimate that there are now more than 30,000 students at Cheikh Anta Diop Université in Dakar, UCAD). The higher education sector by 2001 was still absorbing roughly 27% of national education budget, whereas primary education received 38.4% of the budget (Niang 2004: 67). World Bank and IMF reforms have been unsuccessful often under the pressure of student protests.

by the national government, today 30% of revenue is raised 'internally' (World Bank 2000: 54-5). The World Bank (2000: 55) emphasises the case of Makerere to stress the importance of 'releasing' universities from state funding and control in Africa: 'The Makerere accomplishment has lessons for other universities in Africa that face similar resource constraints. It shows that expansion – and the maintenance of quality – can be achieved simultaneously in a context of reduced state funding. It puts to rest the notion that the state must be the sole provider of higher education in Africa.'

Given the importance placed in the experience at Makerere University it is worth considering the reform of the institution. Makerere is not the success suggested by the WB, where private funding has supplanted public money. In a wide-ranging study, Mamdani (2007) explains that the state exchequer paid the university shillings 3 million per government funded student (US\$1,785), while for the same year, 2003-4, private sponsors only provided shillings 1.2 million per student (US\$714), less than half. Private sponsorship is not the cash-cow celebrated by market reform (Mamdani 2007: viii). Mamdani (2007: x) also shows that the effect of the penetration of the market has forced down the quality of educational standards, so 'market forces unleashed sharp competition between Faculties, Institutes and Departments ... the forces of self-interest amplified by commercialisation eroded the institutional integrity of the university from within'.

Nevertheless a series of academic studies emphasises the importance of WB reform of higher education in Africa, claiming that the only future is in emulating the commercialisation of several key African universities.³ As the preface to the series describes:

[Africa's] universities – once the shining lights of intellectual excitement and promise – suffered from enormous decline in the government resources for education. In the last half of the last decade however this began to change in a number of countries ... Our interest was captured by the renewal and resurgence that we saw in several African nations and at their universities bought about by stabilisation, democratisation, decentralisation and economic liberalisation (Musisi and Muwanga 2003).

What is remarkable about this quotation is the absence of concern for the role of external factors in the sub-continent's decline. Indeed, the case studies that make up

3 Five countries were nominated as case studies, all apparently showing positive signs of such liberalisation. These countries were: Uganda, Ghana, South Africa, Tanzania and Mozambique.

the series are highly contradictory.⁴ The reality of life for students and lecturers in much of the continent could not contrast more to the image of higher education as ‘spoilt’ and ‘over bloated’ that the WB presents. Higher education in Africa does not thrive, but in many places faces a battle for survival. If the objective is to ‘stream-line’ higher education then the question that demands answering is: where from? Africa has the lowest enrolment rates in higher education of any region in the world; further restrictions would limit access to higher education to an almost imperceptible minority of privileged and “elite” students.⁵

This has led Caffentzis (2002: 9) to comment that ‘any policy that lowers enrolment rates – hovering now near zero – can be seen as a policy of academic exterminism.’ There is also a further dimension to the debate. The WB is correct to maintain that there is ‘excessive demand’ for higher education in Africa. The university system is seen by youth as a crucial entry point to a world of greater opportunity and a way to escape poverty. The effect of the crisis that has gripped many African economies is to leave ‘youth’ without the prospect of work. Politicised youth, or the ‘youth factor’ (Richards 1996: 2002), has fuelled conflict in Africa; where youth have been recruited to movements of social breakdown in Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast, Senegal and Zimbabwe. ‘Youth’ in this context has not, as Richards argued, supplanted ‘ethnicity’, but has often turned secessionist and political conflicts in Africa into ‘ethnic-youth’ movements. The deprioritisation of higher education in the Third World has been an important contributing factor to these conflicts (Krueger and Maleckova 2002).

Some commentators argue that there has been a ‘major shift’ in Bank thinking on the role of higher education. Moja (2004: 23) cites a report from 2002 by Richard Hopper for the WB, which argues that higher education, contrary to almost two decades of Bank thinking, does have an important role to play in development. This apparent shift in Bank thinking can, as Pithouse (2006: xvi-xvii) explains, ‘best be understood as part of a broader shift by the Bank towards a rhetorical commitment to participation and empowerment’, to seek more effective methods of structural adjustment implementation. There are few signs that the Bank or IMF are willing to help reverse

4 How the experience of Makerere University in Uganda demonstrates the benefits of ‘democratisation’ in higher education in a country that has specifically outlawed ‘democratisation’ is never explained.

5 However the great majority of privileged students are not sent, and will not be sent, to improved and more selective national universities. On the contrary the trend is to educate the children of a wealthy elite in the United States (the country of preference for everyone), France (particularly for students from Senegal) and the UK. In Zimbabwe, South Africa is a closer and far cheaper option, with a large number of relatively well-funded universities. This suggests that South Africa is at variance with some of the arguments made in the introduction.

the devastation wrought by more than twenty five years of reforms that they helped orchestrated across the continent.

Students and the democratic transition

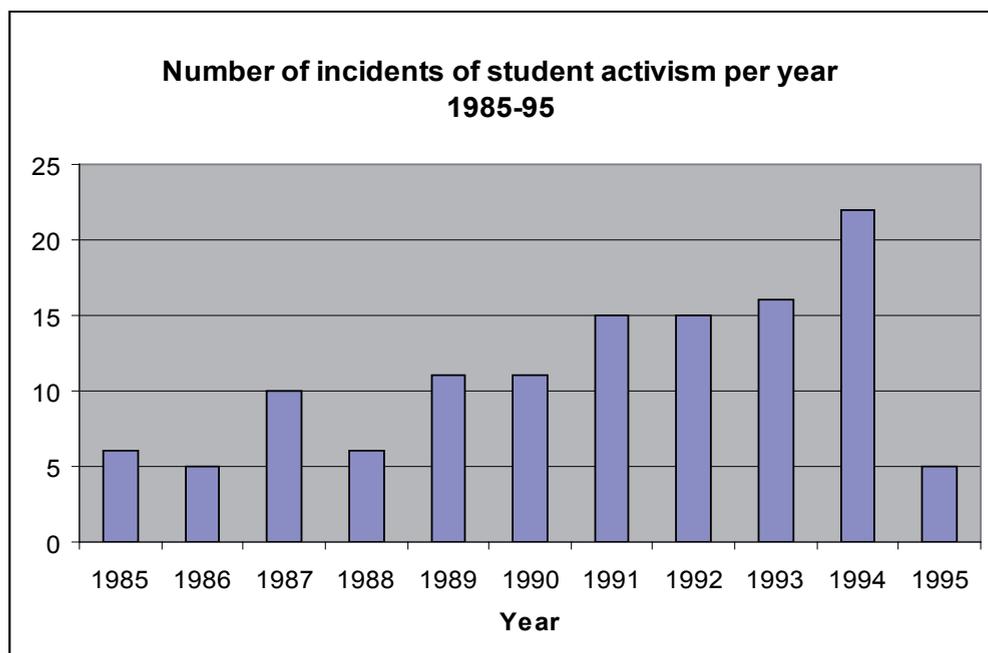
What has been the impact of this unprecedented period of adjustment in higher education on the incidents and nature of student activism in sub-Saharan Africa? In his celebrated popular history of student resistance, Boren (2001: 240) notes that the last decade of the millennium saw students in Africa play a leading role in the democratic transition: 'In the wake of Eastern European revolutions against Communism, and the rampant local economic difficulties, many African students increased pro-democracy efforts and campaigned for the establishment of multiple-party political systems.' Commentators celebrated the student revolts across Africa: 'political liberalisation, starting at the end of the 1980s unleashed an unprecedented wave of student rebellion on university campuses in West and Central Africa' (Konings 2002: 180). News reports of the day were replete with analysis of the democratic struggles in Africa, often questioning the role of students.⁶ Still, there is a recognised lack of serious research on the role of students in democratic transition (Buijtenhuijs and Thiriou 1995; Mills 2004: 671).

Students were part of the broad and popular alliances that developed between opposition groups during, and immediately after, the processes of democratic change (see figure 1). Some commentators state that the origins of these movements are found in the first wave of 'bread riots' in Egypt in 1977 and early anti-SAP revolts (Walton and Seddon 1994; Marfleet 2000; Alexander and Renton 2002). These are the arguments explicitly made by Caffentzis, Federici and Alidou in this collection.

The shared nature of the economic crisis gripping Africa brought these movements together (Saul 2001). This period also saw complex political transformation. The dismantling of the regimes in Eastern Europe and Russia undermined both the states in Africa politically connected and funded by the USSR, and the political confidence of militants and intellectuals whose ideological moorings had been tied to Stalinism. While these events might have broken the confidence of an older generation of activists, they gave new life to student politics that many argued had collapsed irredeemably into 'corporatism' and 'factionalism'.

6 'La démocratie envers et contre tout' *Jeune Afrique* 27 March - 2 April 1991; 'Que veulent les étudiants?' *Jeune Afrique* 11-16 July 1991

Figure 1



Source: (adapted from Federici 2000:112)

In 1989, the movement started in the West African state of Bénin when students demonstrated against the government in January, demanding overdue grants and a guarantee of public sector employment after graduation. The government, crippled by financial scandals, capital flight and falling tax revenue, thought it could respond as it had always done, by suppressing the protest. But the movement grew during the year to incorporate trade unions and the urban poor. Half way through the year in the hope of placating the demonstrators President Mathieu Kérékou invited a human rights campaigner into his government. In a pattern followed by other countries he set up a commission that would eventually create a 'national reconciliation conference' that included the opposition movement, trade unions, students and religious associations (*Jeune Afrique* 1991).

Students at the University of Kinshasa in Zaire were the first to initiate the protests that almost unseated Mobutu, and led to a largely urban protest movement and transition that lasted into the middle of the 1990s (Martins 2002; Renton et al. 2006). They demonstrated on 5 May 1990 asserting that the reforms announced by the dictator ten days previously were 'irrevocable'. The demonstration ended violently, after security forces attacked it. The students immediately issued an appeal for other universities and

colleges across the country to rise up in solidarity, '[D]o not cross your arms. Follow our example. The dictatorship is finished. We cannot go back. Take on the state. Demonstrate! March! (Nkongolo 2000: 182).

The call to arms was answered. Students at the University of Lubumbashi demonstrated daily in the city and at the university from 9 May. On 11 May the student uprising in Katanga (the southern most region of Zaire) was brought to a swift and violent end. A 'squadron of death' was sent to the university by the president. Several accounts suggest that dozens of students who had led the strikes and demonstrations were killed, and their bodies disappeared. Their parents were unable to complain. Without wider protests the students could be picked off, killed and isolated. For thousands the massacre in Lubumbashi exposed the reality of Mobutu's 'reforms'. There was strong condemnation of the massacre from humanitarian organisations, and the Belgian government announced the immediate suspension of official bilateral assistance to Zaire. After some procrastination and strenuous denial of the reports, Mobutu authorised an official parliamentary enquiry, as a result of which a provincial governor and other senior local officials were arrested and charged with having organised the killing of one student and the injury of 13 others. Despite a news blackout, it emerged that the massacre had sparked serious clashes between students and government forces in other towns, including Kisangani, Bukavu and Mbanza-Ngungu. The massacre was in many ways pivotal to the early stages of the transition in Zaire, and it is still the subject of controversy and debate (Nzongola-Ntalaja 2002: 155-156; Munikengi and Sangol 2004: 99).

Students were crucial to spearheading resistance in Zimbabwe. In 1989 a student leaflet denounced the Investment Code that further facilitated foreign investment in Zimbabwe, viewing it "as a further entrenchment of capitalism in Zimbabwe ... an acquiescence to the IMF and World Bank sponsored programmes ... and incompatible with the doctrine of socialism" (quoted in Tengenende 1996: 389-92). Many students attended the May Day rallies in Harare, whilst the Students Union condemned the suppression of a strike by doctors: 'The use of force which was exercised on Doctors while they were airing their clear, legitimate grievances is really an authoritarian and neo-fascist tendency and hence it has to be condemned.' When the university was closed on 4 October 1989 following the arrest of Students Union leaders for organising a celebration of the previous year's Anti-Corruption Demonstration, the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) General Secretary, Morgan Tsvangirai, denounced the closure in strong terms and was detained for over four weeks (Gwisai 2002b). At the 1991 May Day celebrations, the ZCTU organised the event under the theme 'Liberalisation or Liberation'. Workers paraded with banners denouncing SAP: 'Employers liberated, workers sacrificed'; 'Are we going to make 1991 the Year of the World

Bank Storm?'; 'The Year of the People's Misery'. Meanwhile the Ministry of Labour distributed its own leaflets telling workers to 'Suffer Now and Benefit later' (quoted in Tengenende 1996: 427). The criticism of the ZCTU mirrored that of the University of Zimbabwe Students Union (Gwisai 2002b).

In Mali it was not university students but young unemployed college graduates who initiated the first protests on the 15 October 1990 against the one-party state. The mobilisation was small, roughly 15 young men marched through the centre of the capital with banners that declared 'Down with the UDPM' [*Union Démocratique du Peuple Malien*]. The demonstrators were attacked and arrested by the police. As Brenner (2001: 242) contends, 'their initiative immediately preceded, and may well have helped to precipitate, the emergence into public of the clandestine opposition movement which had been actively organising and plotting for some years against the regime of Moussa Traoré' (see also Buijtenhuijs and Thirot 1995).

The collapse into sectarian factionalism affected the student body when the transition was frustrated or after it had been achieved. The examples of Mali and Cameroon are illustrative of these processes. Mali experienced a period of 'democratic transition' at the same time as other countries in the region. There had been major demonstrations against the regime of Moussa Traoré in January 1990, when thousands were involved in street protests demanding political reform and an end to Traoré's 22-year rule. The government was finally brought down in April 1991. The central role of students inside the *Association des Elèves et Etudiants du Mali* (AEEM) in the democratic transition is widely recognised (Brenner, 2001; Smith, 1997).⁷ A 'memorandum' was issued listing student demands in return for an immediate end to strikes. It included a 50% rise in the scholarship, followed by a further 25% in six months, the expansion of the scholarship to include secondary school students and physical improvements to the university and schools. While there was a widely recognised appreciation of the justness of these demands there was a similar understanding by the government that they could not hope to meet them (Smith 1997). Within a short space of time the new government of Alpha Oumar Konaré confronted the wrath of his erstwhile political allies.⁸ By 1993 students in AEEM were calling for action against the government for failing to honour the promises made in the Memorandum. Class-boycotts, strikes and

7 The slogan of the AEEM conjures up the atmosphere of the period *Oser lutter, c'est oser vaincre, la lutte continue* (To dare to fight is to dare to overcome, the struggle continues).

8 It is worth noting that Zeric Kay Smith (1997: 264) interviewed members of the donor community who unanimously maintained that AEEM had a negative impact on the country's democratic governance: "This negative view was also amply evident in interviews I conducted with members of the World Bank mission in Mali."

demonstrations punctuated the following years. In 1993 the leadership of AEEM was divided between those supporting the government and those arguing for more militant action. The government was keen to exploit these divisions: 'In response to this unrest, the government attempted to manipulate divisions within the AEEM leadership by funding a "palace coup" in which a faction of the student leaders ... tried to replace the elected leader' (Smith 1997: 249).

The government carried out their manipulation of the student movement thoroughly, providing scholarships to foreign universities for several leading members of AEEM. By 1995 the student union was so divided that it had lost the support of the population and could only rely on the fractured and intermittent loyalty of its own members. AEEM even split at one point with a new organisation calling itself 'Friends of the Schools' who, amid accusations that it was funded by the government, argued for the opening of schools and the resumption of classes. The rupture with the ruling party was complete by the time of the next elections, and the damage to the AEEM seemingly irreparable. Student protests were broken up by tear gas and students who had previously declared their love of Alpha 'burned campaign posters of Konaré and banners of the ADEMA party' (Smith 1997: 263).

The experience of 'democratic transition' in Cameroon contrasts with many of the examples already given. The process of political liberalisation was protracted and violent, yet it provided students with a space to express themselves (Konings 2002). This expression took both a party and ethnic line. The government exploited these differences, which resulted in the emergence of two groups at the University of Yaoundé. The student body was divided between 'strangers', students organised in the Student's Parliament aligned to the opposition, and the 'indigenous' Beti students, loyal to the ruling regime and organised in the Committee for Self-Defence and the Beti Militia. The nature of the 'democratic transition' led to the violence and disruption at the university that continued practically unabated between 1990 and 1996.

Student numbers at the University of Yaoundé exceeded 40,000 in 1992 although the conditions for students and staff were diabolical (Konings 2002: 182). The processes of political liberalisation in the 1990s combined with deep dissatisfaction at the deterioration of conditions under the impact of SAP. The introduction of multi-partyism did not cleanse the regime of undemocratic habits but led them to use the 'liberalisation' to divide the student body. As early as March 1991, *Jeune Afrique* had noted the contradiction in the progress of the 'democratic transition' in Cameroon; one article was titled *Le pluralisme en marche au Cameroun, mais l'Etat est en panne*.⁹

9 'Multi-partyism makes progress in Cameroon but the state has broken down'

The first political crisis at the university occurred in 1990, when students marched in favour of the opposition SDF and multi-partyism. This led to the permanent presence of gendarmes – or ninjas as they were called by students – on the campus. Students used the political opening allowed in the country at the time to set up their first autonomous organisations that, as we have seen, quickly became polarised. By 1991, along with the opposition, students called for a sovereign national conference, a political formation that was a popular demand during the ‘democratic transitions’ in many parts of the continent at the time. The year ended with a prolonged student strike at the late payment of scholarships. As the chaos on the campus escalated over the next few years the university authorities resorted to further desperate measures. In 1993 the university Chancellor Peter Aghor Tabi ordered the *Beti* militias on the campus to step up their attacks on students (Zeilig and Seddon 2002).

By 1996 another group directly affiliated to Biya’s party, PRESBY (‘President Biya’s Youth’), had replaced the self-defence groups. Like earlier formations, this group was a constellation “composed mainly of university students and other sections of the educated youth either engaged in informal-sector activities or unemployed, including a number of university graduates and dropouts” (Konings 2002: 201). The process of political liberalisation demonstrates diverse patterns of political behaviours and activism in the period of ‘democratic transition’. Current patterns of student activism in Cameroon, hollowed out, to some extent, of the earlier hope for political change, are illustrated in this special issue by Woudammike’s article. Students do not appear here as heroes or as a permanent political *avant-garde*, but rather as contradictory social actors, prone to political manipulation and division. The defining elements in student protests in these examples are the wider configurations of political forces involved in the ‘democratic transition’.

New student movements or the descent into corporatism?

There is the danger of exceptionalising the experience of higher education in Africa, that the university system is uniquely affected by catastrophe and crisis. This is an important consideration when examining the state of student activism in higher education in Africa (See Obono’s article on France in this collection). The commentary tends to emphasise the same ‘tragedy’, with students and youth seen as the quintessential ‘lost generation’ (O’Brien, 1996). Can we speak, as Barkan (1975: 128-130) did 30 years ago, of an ‘African pattern’ dividing the behaviour of African university students and European and American ones? Federici (2000: 103) is unequivocal about the question:

'We can speak today of an international student movement, and that African students are paying by far the heaviest cost for the effort this movement is making to reverse the corporate agenda by which education is being reshaped worldwide.'¹⁰ The argument finds a parallel in Boren (2001) whose global survey of 'student resistance' makes a case for the same pan-student approach.

There is an important divide in the research on student activism that has ramifications for understanding student politics not just in the current period but historically. One strand of opinion was propagated by the editorial board of the American activist newsletter Committee for Academic Freedom in Africa (CAFA) that has recently been suspended, and summarised in a collection of essays by the same authors of the newsletter *A Thousand Flowers: Social struggles against structural adjustment in African universities*. They have provided a running critique of the policies of the WB and IMF in Africa from the point of view of popular protest and student resistance (CAFA 1991; CAFA 1996). CAFA has been an important organisation of scholars and activists chronicling student unrest on the continent while campaigning against WB policies. The story of CAFA is described in this collection by its founders (See Caffentzis, Federici and Alidou).

CAFA maintained that in the escalation of student protest since the introduction of SAPs in Africa from the early 1980s there has emerged a new 'pan-African student movement, continuous in its political aspirations with the student activism that developed in the context of the anti-colonial struggle, and yet more radical in its challenges to the established political power' (Federici 2000: 88). The effects of SAPs have massively proletarianised the African student body, breaking them from their past as members of the elite (Federici 2000: 93).

The partial withdrawal of the state from higher education in Africa has altered the nature of elite formation at the university. Much of the research confirms these arguments. Mamdani (1994) saw a similar development as part of a process transforming the African class system, where the limited expansion of the African 'middle classes'

10 There are, of course, additional dangers of conflating the behaviour of African students with their European and American counterparts. It is hard to see any point in investigating African student movements if they are simply elements of an already existing international student movement as Federici et al. (2000) contend. To what extent do students - in Africa and Europe - regard themselves as part of such an 'international movement'? Or are these categories imposed on essentially national 'movements'? While it is possible to argue that they are linked to an international wave of resistance to structural adjustment (Walton and Seddon 1994) and neo-liberalism, for this resistance to be part of a 'movement' - let alone an international one - surely these links have to be conscious and explicit among the students themselves?

after independence has been reversed as state directed initiatives receded from the 1970s onwards. The impact on higher education was clear:

the growth in a state-financed higher and secondary education sector, whose enrolment came less and less from affluent families, went alongside shrinking opportunities for middle class advancement in a crisis-prone economy (Mamdani 1994: 258).

There has been a process of ‘institutional liberalisation’ that caused the explosions in student activism in recent years. The new *proletarianised* student population that has resisted the policies of SAPs and their application to higher education have created a qualitatively different form of student activism. This allows us to view the ‘present phase of student activism not as a set of separate struggles but as one pan-African student movement’ (Federici 2000: 96).¹¹ Some writers and activists argue that there was a ‘convergence of forces’ between previously privileged – now proletarianised – students and the urban poor. The case is put most forcefully by the former student leader at the University of Zimbabwe, Brian Kagoro (2003), referring to a period of activism in the mid 1990s:

so you now had students supporting their parents on their student stipends which were not enough, because their parents had been laid off work. So in a sense as poverty increases you have a *reconvergence of these forces*. And the critique started ... around issues of social economic justice, [the] right to a living wage ... students started couching their demands around a right to livelihood (interview, 23 June, 2003).

Seddon (2002) raises many similar themes, defining these ‘new’ popular forces as including the urban and rural working classes broadly defined as well as other categories, including the so-called ‘lumpenproletariat’, day-labourers and the unemployed, workers in the informal sector, small (and sometimes medium) peasants, small retailers, craftsmen and artisans, petty commodity producers (see also Seddon and

11 However, it is important to caution against generalising about the proletarianised status of students. The picture varies across the continent. A survey of students at the national university in Maputo in Mozambique revealed the over-representation of Maputo students at universities and a correlation between prestigious degree courses and family status (Mario and Fry 2003: 31). Mills (2004) suggests that the elite status of students in higher education in Mozambique is demonstrated at Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo where 80 percent of students speak Portuguese as a first language.

Zeilig 2005). If we extend Kagoro's argument we can say that the social expectations (and pauperisation) of students 'converged' with these 'forces' during the period of structural adjustment.

These arguments contrast with much of the commentary: for example Bathily *et al.* (1995: 401) reverse the categorisation made by CAFA and *A Thousand Flowers*. It is necessary, they argue, to separate student activism from its perceived heyday in the 1960s and 1970s to the disintegration of the movement during the last twenty years. Today students are written off, 'left with their daily corporatism and the inefficiency of their fights.' Yesterday they were harbingers of a brighter future: 'If prior to World War II students tacitly accepted being petty bourgeois with colonial linkages, up to the mid-1970s they claimed a left vanguard status' (Bathily *et al.* 1995: 401). They make their argument by charting the evolution of student activism:

But at the end of the day, they only managed some vigils with hardly any support. They appeared at most as the enlightened conscience of their people on the path to complete emancipation and modernization. They managed to shift from their role as supporters of the Western system ... to that of rejecting it totally... By the late 1970s ... students saw themselves [as] ... political and economic failures (Bathily *et al.* 1995: 401).

The argument asserts that with the collapse of the post-colonial 'social pact' student engagement has become 'corporatist', daily ones, concerned only with issues of 'bread and butter'. In the case of Senegal, 'By the late 1970s Senegalese students saw themselves more modestly as symbols of the independent stalemate, of the political and economic failure of a regime which was unable to provide them with clear survival prospects.' Students, following this argument, have lost their status, 'from providers of modernity they became aid applicants' (Bathily *et al.* 1995: 405).

While this argument tends to avoid the heroic discourse with students 'countering and confronting the abuses of state power' (Boyer 2002: 210), it misses the 'novelty' in the wave of popular protest that has swept Africa in the last fifteen years. Far from understanding the role of students in the democratic transition as part of a generalised revolt, these arguments tend to dismiss the significance of student revolt. There is also an important generational element to this demarcation of student activism, between a perceived ideological heyday and a 'bread and butter' present. As Bianchini has explained (2004: 372); 'From the view point of older generations who have "made" the student movement, the natural inclination is to valorise the student movement of their youth to the detriment of the one that followed.' Student activism

is permeated with similar generational judgements where a former activist considers that the contemporary movement has become 'corporatist', lacking the ideological and political clarity of their generation.

In contrast Federici (2000: 101) sees 'students struggle to defend education as "an inalienable right" they are fighting not in defence of a privilege or a corporatist interest, but against it.' Students are, on the contrary, attempting to 'reverse the corporate agenda by which education is being reshaped world-wide' (Federici 2000: 103). However, I would argue that there may be a tendency in *CAFA* and *A Thousand Flowers* to downplay the ambiguity of student protest. While they describe the significance and celebrate the resistance of the student population in Africa they miss the way student movements have become, in certain respects, depoliticised and subject to manipulation and co-option. Students today are 'situated in a complex field of societal power, class interest ... and moral positions' (Boyer 2002: 211) that create, in conditions of social breakdown, unique and challenging forms of activism.

New activism?

Students were not isolated political actors behaving simply as a democratic vanguard; they were neither 'demons nor democrats' as some commentary has expressed the distinction (Smith 1997). Their role in the 'democratic transitions' was complex because it was inextricably tied to the liberalisation of political space and the manipulations of these processes by incumbent governments and political parties. The 'success' of student activism was linked to the wider social forces that they could help animate and identify with, this was tied to their ability to 'converge' their struggles with broader popular forces. Mamdani (1994) is correct to recognise that when students were effective they succeeded in 'forcing an opening up' even if they lacked an alternative strategy: 'It's possibilities depended far more on the character of forces that student action succeeded in mobilising than its own internal energies' (Mamdani, 1994: 259).

Popular mobilisations were a response to widespread disaffection with the policies of austerity and structural adjustment, yet these movements were responding in new ways. Class structures in sub-Saharan Africa had been transformed, and resistance did not simply take old forms (Alavi and Shanin 1982; Cohen 1982). The processes of class alignment and resistance brought in new and heterogeneous forces (Harrison 2002; Seddon 2002; see also Seddon and Zeilig 2005). As we have seen Seddon (2002) defines the role of the 'popular classes' in Africa, describing a shifting constellation of political forces that include the unemployed, informal sector traders and trade unionists. This

paper argues that students, and unemployed graduates, have become an important part of the popular classes.

Higher education reforms, as we have seen, have transported student identity into the maelstrom of the structural crisis. Mamdani (1994: 258-9), in an important study on class and the intelligentsia, has seen these processes at work: 'previously a more or less guaranteed route to position and privilege, higher education seemed to lead more and more students to the heart of the economic and social crisis.' Institutions of higher education became a bazaar to which millions are drawn but few rewarded or given real choices. Students are no longer the transitory social group waiting to be allotted government employment; on the contrary they have become pauperised, converging more and more with the wider urban poor: social groups that they had historically regarded as their 'responsibility' to liberate.

There is an international dimension to these developments that should not be ignored. Across the world student movements have grappled with the changing nature of university education. Nowhere is this clearer than in France illustrated by the anti-CPE protests described by Obono. Here, there is a direct symmetry in the lives and experiences of students and the working class. This is explained by the Marxist writer Daniel Bensaid (2006) in his description of the differences between the current period and the so-called high-point of student unrest in 1968:

The present movement is directly based on a social question – the destruction of workplace regulations and the generalised casualisation of employment, which is common both in education and to workers. The question of the link, and not just solidarity, between the two is therefore immediate.

Finally, the fundamental difference is with the general context and in particular with the way unemployment weighs on things. In 1968, the unemployed were counted in tens of thousands in a period of great expansion, so students had no worries about the future.

Students were a privileged part of this stable economic milieu. However in France today, Bensaid continues, 'six million people are either without work or causally employed.' This has impacted enormously on the identity of students today, who require no ideological leap to connect their activism to the labour movement. The link is immediate. Students do not simply dabble in the social world outside the university campus – committed as they might have been in 1968 to building the bonds of solidarity with the labour movement – they are a central component of it. Often this

connection is explicit in terms of student involvement in the labour force, but there is also a political dimension to these changes, as Kouvelakis (2006: 6) notes:

This 'great transformation' has, of course (in comparison with 1968) not only made easier the link with workers, but, above all, has given this an 'organic' character, the character of the building of a common struggle, and not of an alliance or solidarity between separate movements.

These comments could as easily be made about the experience in much of Africa, buffeted by the same blows of globalisation. However student activism is still instilled with an important element of elitism, though now tempered by the realities of campus poverty. Students maintain their ability to mobilise in relatively autonomous urban spaces, achieving an organisational coherence that is rarely matched by other social groups. The power of students to set-off wider social protests was again vividly demonstrated by French students in 2006.

These processes have been described fairly unsatisfactorily as the 'proletarianisation' of student status; the implication is often that students have become a homogenous body of 'poor militants'. Though these have been inherently uneven processes, and vary hugely across the continent, and between Europe and Africa, the reprioritisation of higher education can be witnessed internationally. It is precisely for this reason that France is such an interesting example. University students in the anti-CPE protests even adopted the 'methods' traditionally associated with the trade union movement. Universities were 'bloquée par des piquets de grève', literally blockades defended by 'pickets'. The language of the student movement seems to have explicitly adopted the vernacular classically associated with working class protest: student mobilisation is now carried out by 'étudiants grévistes' (student strikers). The 'blockage' closes the university, ensuring that those students who receive grants will not have them suspended for their involvement in the protest (*Rouge*, 29 November 2007).¹²

These developments partly express a new reality that has linked students to the precarious world of work, where students are frequently forced to survive on the margins of society. The recent scandal of student prostitution in France expresses many of these developments (Clouet 2007). These have various effects in Europe that mirror in many respects the changes in higher education and student politics in Africa. Only recently have researchers begun to analyse this transformation. In France

12 If these students are absent three times from their classes they risk the loss of their grants. 'Amplifier la mobilisation' interview with the spokesperson for the *Coordination Nationale Etudianté in Rouge* 29 November, 2007

two sociologists, Laurence Faure and Alain Girard, have discussed how universities students, 'often live in an extended high school life', forced by financial necessity to remain in the parental home and to study at the provincial university. Students are, therefore, forced to delay the 'cultural and social break' that has previously been associated with going to university (cited in *Le Monde*, 21 November 2007). In choosing to attend regional universities close to their parental homes, students save twenty percent in educational costs. A third of these students 'de proximité' decide to stay at home, and those who stay at the university pay a fraction of the cost of moving to Paris and other large cities in France. In total thirty seven percent of university students in France stay with their parents (*Le Monde*, 21 November 2007). This phenomenon has been labelled the 'prolongation of adolescence' in the United Kingdom. These changes have an impact both on the development of student activism and the nature of contemporary university education; these are global processes involving the liberalisation of higher education.

In the context of the rapid and deleterious effects of externally supported university, and societal reforms on the continent, students have been forced to negotiate a world of collapsed hope. Student activism has evolved to fill this gap; some of the liveliest initiatives have been driven by ex-students and graduates who are confronted by seemingly unending unemployment. One example graphically illustrates some of these new forms of activism that speak of the 'convergence of forces' in conditions of the transformation of national economies. Since 2004 in Togo the *Unions des Chomeurs Diplômés* (Union of Unemployed Graduates) from a range of national universities and institutions have grown into a national movement. Developing a set of six principal demands the UCD has organised a number of protests, including hunger strikes, sit-ins and demonstrations. The interregional reach of the UCD has ensured that a number of unemployed graduates have been pulled into activism, while the classic tactic of state control has still been the cooption of student leaders, upon graduation, into the diminishing ranks of the civil service or to overseas scholarships. The UCD has attempted to resist these manoeuvres and 'negotiated a real solution for unemployed graduates while insisting on their right to maintain an independent organisation' (*Afriques en Luttés*, November 2007). These graduates, along with student activists still at university, played an important role in the national protests against election irregularities in 2005 in Togo. Whether these initiatives are capable of finding sustainable solutions to the prolonged crisis of the Togolese state is questionable, but they do show us some of the current contours of student activism. Clearly more research needs to be conducted into the nature of these changes and the development of new forms of activism.

Conclusions

This paper has concentrated on the neo-liberal reform of education across the continent in the 1980s and 1990s and the patterns of student resistance and activism. One of the central factors influencing student politics was the ability to contest the ideological foundations of structural adjustment. The capacity of student organisations to confront the ‘world view’ presented by their governments (before and after the transitions) and the IFIs, helped shape their political agency. But their ability to do this was influenced by wider political forces in society, and they were disabled by the lack of a coherent ideological alternative to neo-liberal reforms. Students found themselves buffeted together with the popular classes, by the resumption of a more or less unopposed politics of adjustment and austerity after the ‘transitions’.

Student activism has been affected by the vacillations in the popular movements that they have helped to mobilise. Once new governments had been installed (Senegal, Mali) or old regimes revived (Cameroon, Zimbabwe), the tempo of resistance and student activism receded, often returning to the ‘corporatist’ and piecemeal demands that many commentators have wrongly interpreted as representing a new phase in student activism. The ‘corporatism’ – or economism¹³ – of student politics is not symptomatic of a new and qualitatively different student movement, nor, as Bathily *et al.* (1995: 401) imply, of a slide into irrelevance. According to this account the only barrier preventing students from assuming their full role as ‘actors/initiators’ is their temporality. However, the status of ‘student’ – at university, as graduate, as a ‘cartouchard’¹⁴ and part of the mass of unemployed – is not impermanent (and nor is it always limited to Africa). The crisis for students in sub-Saharan Africa is precisely because they are not in ‘transition’; on the contrary they are increasingly permanent artefacts in the post-colonial impasse. Their activism – always complex and contradictory – retreats into a routine of ‘economic’ and factional contestation when wider popular and democratic movements in society decline or are frustrated.

In Malawi, students at the university together with academic staff were important in the mobilisations that eventually toppled the Banda regime in the multiparty elections in 1994. As Kerr and Mapanje (2002: 86, 90) have stated, ‘students and staff

13 Interestingly the same criticism of ‘economism’ is made of the trade union movement, forgetting that an umbilical cord connects political and economic struggles. This was a point made powerfully by Rosa Luxemburg (1906) in her book *The Mass Strike*.

14 Term used by in Senegal to describe a student who has exhausted almost all of their chances (literately their ‘cartridges’) giving them just one more chance in the annual exams (Bianchini 2002: 368).

marched in protest against the regime during the demonstrations sparked by the Catholic Bishops' Pastoral Letter of March 1992 and during the riots of May in the same year.' Although they note a wave of activism during the transition from 1991 to 1993, they also lament the decline of student politics into 'corporatist' concerns after this period. By 1994 there were even cases of male students at the university attacking and ridiculing female students and lecturers. They describe the increase in sexual assaults on female students and lecturers from 1994 as a 'cowardly attempt among male students to find an easy scapegoat for a much broader set of frustrations.'

After the victory of Bakilli Muluzi and his United Democratic Front, the Malawian government participated uncritically in the project of structural adjustment and economic liberalisation that had given resistance to the previous regime such impetus. The 'lassitude' that Kerr and Mapanji claim affected students after the elections in 1994 were tied to the resumption of economic structural adjustment programmes after a period of democratic transition. The same disillusionment and 'lassitude' gripped student politics in dozens of campuses across sub-Saharan Africa as governments that had emerged from the 'transition' committed themselves to implementing IMF and WB reforms. The predominance of neo-liberalism across the continent after the democratic transition ensured a quick death for the African renaissance and the movements that had heralded it.

Academic freedom

By Exildah Akabana and Chooye Habasankwa

Academic freedom can be defined as the belief that the freedom of inquiry by students and faculty is essential to the mission of the academy. It is one of the cornerstones of a free society. In recent years, academic freedom world over, has been subjected to vigorous attacks especially from selfish politicians. Academic communities are repeatedly targeted for repression due to their ability to shape and control the flow of information. In most cases, when scholars attempt to teach or communicate ideas or facts that are inconvenient to external political groups or to authorities, they find themselves targeted for public vilification, job loss, imprisonment or even death. Academic freedom for students has been limited to mean freedom of students to pursue their own course of study; taking whatever course they like at the University of their Choice.

However, Academic freedom for students goes beyond the freedom to choose what course to pursue because as students learn, they encounter ideas, books and people that challenge their preconceived ideas and beliefs. This trend tends to make students develop independent critical judgment which they are supposed to be free to share with the community. Students should be allowed to freely express their understanding of different aspects of life because competing ideas are an important catalyst for the expansion of knowledge.

The situation in Zambia

In Zambia, like in most parts of the world, academic freedom for students leaves a lot to be desired. Most students do not have the freedom to choose what course to pursue and from which University because of financial handicaps. Most students cannot afford to pay tuition fees for the courses of their choice and they cannot study at the Universities of their choices, either due to financial difficulties or the inability of the students to enrol at Universities due to limited spaces. In Zambia for instance, more than 60% of the population lives in abject poverty making it very difficult for them to meet their basic needs of life, let alone the huge sums of University tuition fees. This erodes the students of their freedom to pursue courses of their choice at universities of

their choice, thus forcing most of the less privileged Zambians to pursue short courses from colleges offering them at cheaper rates. Or to seek employment as untrained staff so as to raise money for university education. For students that can afford to meet the University tuition fees, the agony is of finding a place at a University. Most students cannot enrol at Universities of their choices but rather at Universities where they can chance a place; this is because Zambia only houses three public Universities where enrolments are highly competitive as Zambia's population is predominantly young.

A number of Universities run by the private sector have in recent years tried to rescue the situation, but they only cater for the minority that can meet the tuition fees that are by far much higher than those charged in public Universities. The minority of students that are able to enrol at public Universities especially, have their academic freedom infringed upon in the sense that they are not accorded the freedom to express independent views especially on subjects which are in the interest of the nation and perceived to be of political nature. At the University of Zambia for example, we have the University of Zambia Students' Union (UNZASU) which is an establishment of an act of parliament. The union comprises of 12 executive members who are mandated to represent all the registered students at the University and to analyze decisions made by the government to ensure that they favour the majority of Zambians. Unfortunately, students are not given the platform to air out different views, especially those opposing the operations of the government of the day. Students who oppose the government are either suspended for long periods of time or expelled from the institution, depending on how much their statements expose the ills of the government.

The national media, both radio and television, which have nationwide coverage only cover stories about students in cases where students are praising government on some positive development or in situations that portray students as enemies of public peace. Students are never covered in the public media whenever they have conflicting views with those held by government. Because in most cases, students are very objective and advance arguments which if were implemented would benefit the majority of Zambians, in contrast the governments focus is mostly limited to ventures that entail maximum gains for individual politicians in power. It is extremely difficult for students to change the selfish policies of government because they are not given a platform to expose these vices publicly. Lack of media coverage forced students to opt for demonstrations in which they blocked one of the busiest roads in Lusaka, the capital city of Zambia, as a way of expressing their grievances and at the same time educating the public on the bad policies, thus forcing the government to address the situation and implement good policies. This method of solving problems became a tool and catalyst for change in Zambia for a good number of years.

Unfortunately, student demonstrations are now met with violence from the police, thus making it impossible for students to convey their views to the public. On 16th May this year, two students at the University of Zambia were shot by the police in what was meant to be a peaceful internal demonstration by the students in protest of governments' refusal to increase the students' allowances. Some government ministers went ahead to praise the act by the police saying that University students were undisciplined and that they needed to be disciplined using whatever force. The government did not even bother to cover their medical expenses and it had to take an opposition political party president to foot the medical bills and facilitate the operations to remove the bullet which had been in the chest of one of the students for three days. The shooting of the two students and lack of remorse from the government over the shooting prompted students to have a public demonstration, unfortunately, the police were stationed at the institution and did not allow the students to go outside the University premises as they violently forced the students back into their hostels and arresting some in the process. A number of students who were perceived to have been ring leaders in the alleged demonstrations were later made to appear before the disciplinary committee and a good number of them were suspended from School and two former UNZASU officials were expelled from School.

Students have in the recent past been victims of suspensions and expulsions for speaking the truth, the most targeted are student leaders who in most cases are impeached from the union or in worse circumstances expelled from School. This practice has made it very difficult for students to positively contribute to the running of the affairs of the institution and the country as a whole. The union has been made toothless as it cannot even defend students from unfair policies implemented by the University management let alone those implemented by the government.

The road ahead

The politicians are at the verge of winning the war against students' academic freedom because in the quest to protect their education, students opt to remain quiet and painfully watch the selfish politicians take advantage of the poor peaceful Zambians. In the past, students were major advocates of change in Zambia but that is no longer the case as they have been unfairly silenced. Zambia is said to be a democratic country, the question is how democratic?

We believe a democratic society should be able to embrace conflicting views and incorporate them to come up with policies that will benefit the majority. We believe

academic freedom is an ideal worth defending because it is important to have intellectual independence from the state as it is one of the best ways of fostering national development. The question is if we are willing to sacrifice our education for the sake of defending academic freedom? Let's assume that the answer to this question is yes. What will then happen next? If we are expelled from school, how many more students will be willing to go the same path in the quest to defend academic freedom? How many students will be denied their right to education before government, if ever, realizes the importance of academic freedom?

A case study of the Zimbabwe National Students Union (ZINASU)

By Clever Bere

Allow me to start by congratulating my country for reaching a landmark and historic political agreement as she tries to rescue herself from the current multi faced crisis she is facing. Indeed things have not been well for Zimbabwe for some time now, but this should be the new beginning, in fact this must be the new beginning of better things to come. The topic here is organisational work when freedom of organisation is limited. I will try to rebrand it into organising when freedom to organise is limited.

The democratic space in Zimbabwe was nearly closed. Any voices of dissent were met with a proportionate brutal response from the despotic regime of the Mugabe administration. The Zimbabwe National Student Union has been branded to be anti-Mugabe by the Mugabe regime. This conclusion by the state was as a result of many factors, among them the continued criticism of the Mugabe administration, the role the students union played in the formation of the democratic alternative to ZANU PF, i.e., the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC).

Major challenges affecting the students

As a result of the political and economic crisis, the welfare of students deteriorated dramatically, thereby triggering a radical political response from the students union. Due to the strained national budget, the government reduced the resources it was channelling towards education, especially higher and tertiary education resulted in a number of changes. Since the resources from state coffers were now inadequate, the state went on to privatise and co modify most services required by the students for their upkeep at college.

Also as a result of reduced government support, the Ministry of higher and tertiary education had to scrape government support to students which was in the form of loans and grants. This worsened the plight of the students, most of whom coming from humble backgrounds. The plight of the students was further worsened by the

continued increase in the cost of living in the country. These challenges definitely required political responses from the union.

The ramifications of organising in this environment

Participating and organising in the students' movement became one of the most dangerous political processes in present day Zimbabwe. Student leaders and activists have become targets for assassination, unwarranted and wanton arrests, torture, abduction, explosions and suspensions from colleagues. The situation became extremely desperate as the political tension grew. Notable incidents were the state descended heavily and brutally, were the brutal assault of Batanai Hadzidzi, a first year student at the University of Zimbabwe who was killed in cold blood by drugged members of Mugabe's military. This was in 2001. In the same year, in another case of extrajudicial execution, Lamerk Chemvura, a student leader at the same university was thrown out of a moving train by war veterans. He died on the spot. These are just a few, but notable examples.

Student leaders and activists have been harassed, brutalised, maimed, and tortured by members of the dread central intelligence organisation and police internal intelligence service department. Some of them were permanently damaged.

As if this is not enough, student leaders have also fallen prey to systematic targeting and victimisation from the college and university authorities. In 2007 alone, according to a report by the student solidarity trust, the Harare administration expelled 94 students and suspended 681. Given this political context, it became apparent for the students union to be flexible enough, to come up with different strategies with aim and effectiveness, but at the same time minimising casualties. In the late 1990s and before, the students union could organise students' general meetings at colleges with minimum victimisation, minimum brutality to that extent that the students' movement, outside the labour movement, became the next forceful organised political constituency. However, at the turn of the millennium, the political environment changed the context change totally. The state tightened its security screws. Gatherings to discuss issues that had to do anything with opposition politics were crushed with brutal force.

Strategies to organise under such an environment

Having talked about the challenges facing students, and the unstable political and economic situation, it became imperative for the students to organise themselves so that their voices and concern could be heard. This was however a mammoth task given the repressive political situation. At the same time the union was being called by society to provide leadership and its organisational capabilities to mobilise, not only the students, but society in general to confront the regime. One of the things the union did was to build synergies with the broader civic society. This helped the union with material and logistical support. Such synergies and alliances would also be necessary in the future, especially in the event that a student is expelled, suspended or arrested.

It was also necessary for the union to use unorthodox means in mobilising. This meant union members sometimes had to meet at places outside campus for them to strategise and even engage in political activities like demonstrations and protests. The major reason for this was also to minimise victimisation from college authorities. Also important, for the students union in Zimbabwe, was the use of the media as a mean to express its views. This required a careful and well orchestrated media strategy that was to be explored locally, regionally and internationally. One of the most effective products of the media campaigns in Zimbabwe, were the alerts, which were basically aimed at informing the world on what was happening. This was also important in that it protected the victims, especially those arrested or abducted as the media response would expose any of those evil acts. One of the strategies the students union applied was to relocate the site of the struggle from the domestic front onto the international front. The region became the centre for the Zimbabwean struggles, especially after the violent period proceeding June 27. The union, working closely with labour movements and the civic society, placed tremendous pressure on regional leaders to take a tougher stance against Zimbabwe's geriatric despotic ruler.

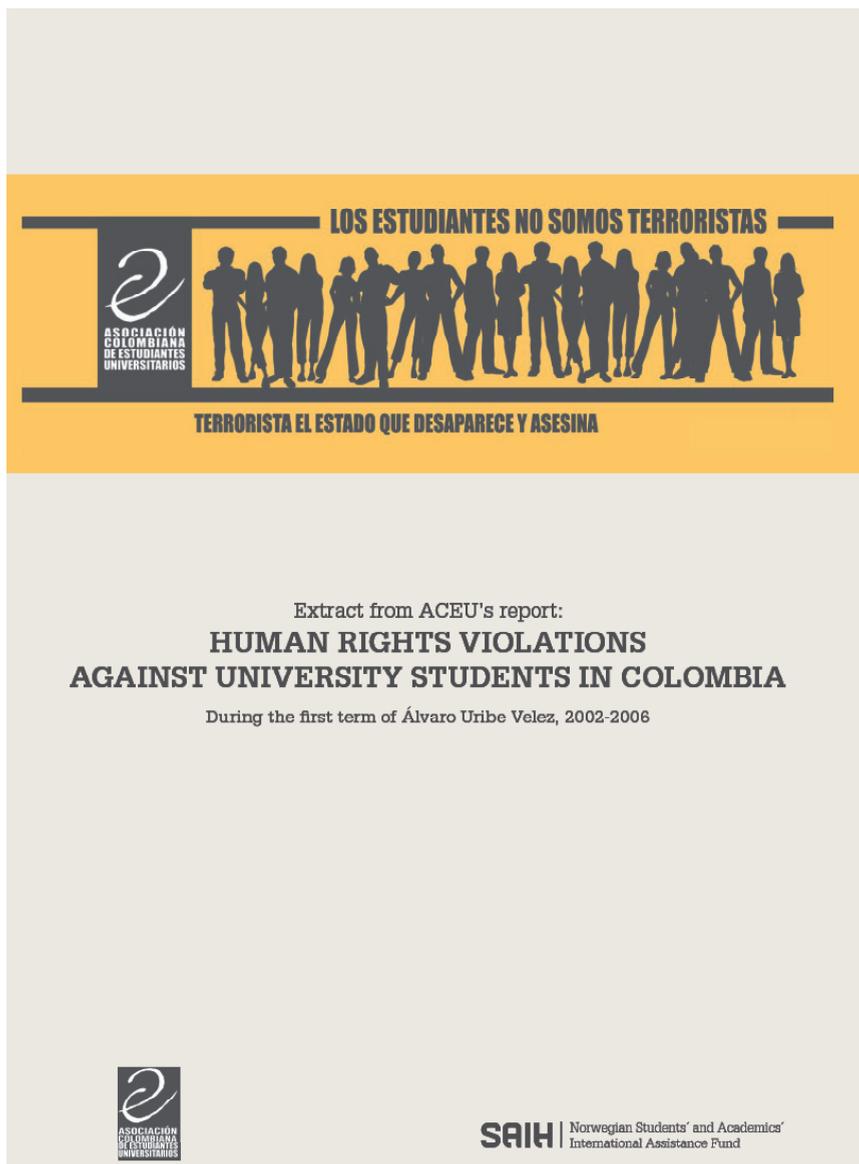
It is also important to raise one of the main areas of advocacy engaged by the students' union- boomerang advocacy. I'd like to briefly explain this form of advocacy and how it has worked for the union and Zimbabwe in general. 'Boomerang' advocacy creates an effect of pattern called boomerang effect. A boomerang pattern of influence exists when the domestic groups and social movements in an oppressive environment pass their state and directly seek, or search international allies to put pressure on the government from outside. Indeed this has produced tremendous results for Zimbabwe, with the international pressure from the international community playing a significant

role in pushing Mugabe to cease some power, thereby facilitating a political agreement.

Comrades and friends, this was just an attempt to highlight the situation in Zimbabwean education sector, the situation with regards to the freedom to organise under such an environment and the strategies the students union adopted to try and mitigate the effects to repression but at the same time continuing to organise.

Asociación Colombiana de Estudiantes Universitarios (ACEU)

Report by ACEU, Presentation by Camilla Lopez



Preface

The Norwegian Students' and Academics' International Assistance Fund (SAIH) has since 1961 been concerned with the role of higher education and students in processes of change and development. We are a student run organization, and our motto is "Education for Liberation". SAIH's main objective is to contribute in such a manner that as many people as possible may obtain an education on their own terms and that marginalized groups get to influence their own situation and their society.

Students as a group are in some ways a privileged group, but it is also important to remember that students often find themselves in difficult positions because of their role as potential agents of change in their communities, as critical and independent thinkers. Historically, students and academics have played a decisive role in political change and have worked for democratic governance. They are because of this often seen, not to mention treated, as a threat by the government. SAIH believes that a good system of higher education strengthens the education system as a whole, is crucial for the economical and social development of a country, and contributes to democracy and participation. In order to ensure that students maintain their important role in society, academic freedom is crucial.

As a solidarity organization, SAIH works with students in different parts of the world and tries to put the spotlight on situations where freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and human rights in general are being violated in order to oppress the voices of the people. ACEU's report, which was conducted in Colombia with the financial support of SAIH, illustrates the acute human rights situation for students, and we hope that students, academics and policy makers in Norway can contribute to change the situation for the Colombian students who experience these human rights abuses and have had their freedom taken from them. Norwegian students and academics must respond to their global colleagues' and fellow-students' precarious situation by getting involved in, and promoting, human rights, academic freedom and independence as important values.

Sigrun Espe
Vice President of SAIH

Abbreviations

ACEU	Asociación Colombiana de Estudiantes Universitarias Colombian Association of University Students
AECC	Association of Students from the Caribbean Coast
AUC	United Self-Defence Units of Colombia
ANEU	National Assembly of University Students
CUT -	Colombian Workers' Federation
DAS	Department of Administrative Security
ESMAD	National Police Anti-Disturbance Mobile Squadron
FEU	Student Federation
FUN	Federation of National University
JUCO	The Colombian Communist Youth
MODEP	Movement in Defence of People's Rights
SIJIN	Section of the judicial police
UIS	Santander Industrial University
UPN	National Pedagogical University

National overview of human rights violations

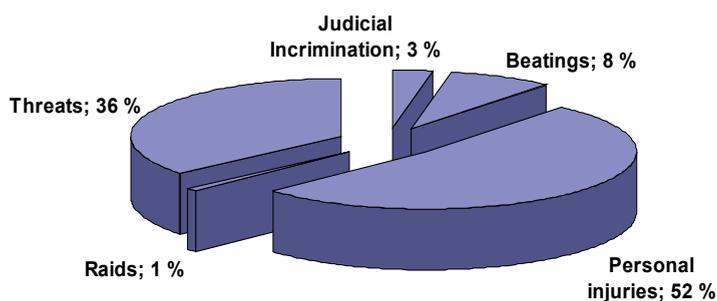
Statistical overview of violence against the Colombian student movement	
Type of violation	Total cases
Threats	120
Raids	5
Personal injuries	174
Harassment	28
Judicial incrimination	11
Arbitrary detention	204
Displacement	15
Kidnapping/Retention	11
Torture	10
Homicide	14
All cases	592

There is a need to highlight some elements of analysis within this information:

- There are a total of 592 cases in 12 different cities where one finds regional or national, private and public universities.
- When it comes to raids, most cases have occurred in public universities, showing irregularities in the state security entities' procedures.
- Concerning the judicial incrimination, out of the 11 cases, two students are still serving 15 years for rebellion.
- Concerning the 15 cases of displacement, the procedures presented includes the accusations made to governmental institutions, including the Ministry of the Interior. This Ministry should follow the cases and watch over the safety of the displaced students.
- When it comes to kidnappings and assassinations, some of the investigations have been archived due to lack of evidence (argument presented by the public prosecutors) and others have been truncated by threats (directed towards witnesses, the defence, etc.) and by different steps demanded by the concerned parties.

- The cases of assassination, of which there are internal investigations in the police and the army, (because of forced evidence) have so far, on the whole, presented neither favourable nor unfavourable findings.

Statistical overview of violence against the Colombian students movement No. 1



- **Personal Injuries**
 - The mobilisations and student activities are the main areas in which one has seen this crime materialised, and all cases are attributed to the military forces and the police, in particular the National Police Anti-Disturbance Mobile Squadron (ESMAD). These security entities have duplicated their stronghold after the arrival of President Álvaro Uribe Vélez and his government.
- **Harassment**
 - This is used to frighten students in the entire country. It has been used by paramilitary groups due to its informal character, and the military forces and the police in all regions have been abettors.
- **Judicial incriminations**
 - This procedure is used posterior to detentions and have mainly been claimed illegal by the legal advisors provided by social organisations dedicated to this

work (lawyers' collectives, judicial aid organisations etc.). In these cases one has presented assemblies to accuse the held students.

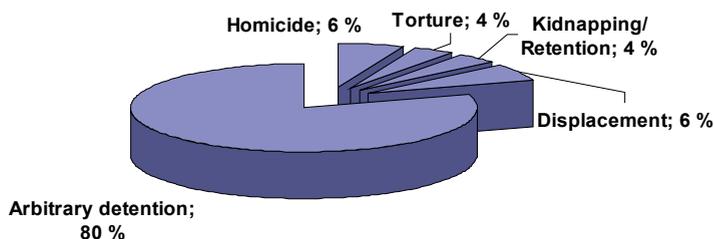
- **Threats**

- This method is the one that is most commonly used against the student movement, presented in different ways: pamphlets, mail, personal intimidation etc. In this way one tries to frighten the leaders as well as the student organisations by acting in different universities in the country.

- **Raids**

- These have mainly been conducted within university cloisters in compliance with institutional guidelines. Evidence has been planted to accuse the students of terrorist acts, and they have been surrounded by procedural defects and one has never counted on the necessary guarantees to protect the rights of the university community.

Statistical overview of violence against the Colombian students movement No. 2



- **Arbitrary detentions**

- This is the form most commonly practiced by the authorities, concerning the intimidation of students. One must highlight that this proves the inoperativeness of the entities of control and protection of human rights in the Colombian state.

- **Displacement**

- This mechanism of oppression is one of those with a grates impact on the victims, seeing as it affects not only his or her academic stability, his or her

right to organisation and restricts his or her civil rights, but it also permeates the personal and familiar settings.

- **Kidnapping/Retention**

- This situation generally presents itself in connection with forced disappearances, the extrajudicial execution of students and torture. The main perpetrators of these practices are the statly entities such as the Sections of the judicial police (SIJIN), Department of Administrative Security (DAS), the police and the army.

- **Torture**

- These cases have been proven thanks to investigations and medical examinations that demonstrate the mechanisms used to interrogate the students that have been detained, legally or illegally.

- **Homicide**

- This represents 6% of the total of cases investigated; numbering a total of 14 students killed in the first four years of the government of Uribe Vélez this is equivalent to the assassinations of two student leaders each academic semester. The majority of the cases are still to be found in impunity, something that indicates a total neglect on behalf of the judicial power. In spite of this, the first investigations show that at least 60% of these cases can be attributed to statly security entities.

We may say, therefore, that during the first four years of Álvaro Uribe Vélez' government, there were at least three human rights violations each week in the universities in the countries: threats, raids, personal injuries, harassment, judicial incrimination, arbitrary detentions, displacements, kidnappings/retentions, torture, homicides and multiple homicides.

Unfortunately there are many more cases that have not been inspected due to victims' fear, impossibility of contact after forced displacement, or fear of surviving family members. These results are, thus, merely an indicator of the grave humanitarian crisis that the universities suffer, which is much more profound than what is portrayed here.

Brief Background on the Emergence of ACEU

The Colombian Association of University Students (ACEU) emerged in May 1998 in its First Congress at the University of Cartagena. It is important to highlight that such organization was preceded by an arduous, dynamic mobilization of students, which

began with the National Assembly of University Students (ANEU) in the year 1992. This was the first step towards the convergence of national and local organizational experiences of an extensive and democratic nature to defend education as a fundamental right.

After ANEU, initiatives from within the movement decided to join efforts in order to reach advanced organizational levels, which then became ACEU, through its first national congress. This resulted in two important aspects that provide the background of the Colombian Student Movement:

First, the organizational process involved diverse sectors from Colombian Society, which included local and national university groups. Given the political scenario, the task was to consistently articulate organizational referrals from the political point of view, such as liberal youth members of the Colombian Liberal Party, the Communist Youth Organization, and other democratic and juvenile organizations with important opinions in Colombian Universities.

Secondly a program was placed on Colombia's discussion table, which included core issues such as: defense of public education as a fundamental human right that must be provided by the State, national sovereignty, a negotiated political solution to the conflict suffered by the country for the past 50 years, defense of student well-being, academic quality, and a university committed with the national reality, critically aware of itself and of the nation.

General objectives:

- a. Work to foster and build a national university movement that contributes to improving Colombian Superior Education in general.
- b. Defend the education system based on criteria for academic quality and coverage of superior education in general.
- c. Seek a negotiated political solution to the conflict currently suffered by the country, based on the ideas of defense, encouragement and protection by the State of human rights, especially by bearing in mind that education is an economic, social and cultural right of the Colombian society.
- d. Build a University community that complies with its role for transformation by obtaining university autonomy, a non-functional approach to knowledge serving specific interests, compliance with freedom of lecture series, and the existence of adequate budgets to guarantee it.

ACEU Human Rights Department

The purpose of the Human Rights Department is to build a policy around the subject of Human Rights in the university by fostering education processes, promotion and mobilization of student organizations linked to ACEU and other initiatives related to students, workers and academics.

Initiatives and work by the Human Rights Department has advanced within the framework of its general objective, which is to build and strengthen a policy to protect and spread Human Rights inside the student body, to develop and support the political conclusions of the third National University Congress. All of this, framed within the perspective of civil and political rights, as well as economic, social and cultural rights.

The line of work of the Human Rights Department in the student bodies is as follows:

1. Develop within the student movement, advanced levels of theoretical and practical understanding on the subject of economic, social and cultural human rights.
2. Serve as a space for action between the student body and the institutions, and in general, within the Human Rights Movement.
3. Consolidate and/or create initiatives for accusations and regular systematization.
4. Develop mechanisms for information spreading.

Such actions took place during the preceding year through:

1. Generation of measures or warnings through accusations and early warnings in the face of violations or possible violations of human Rights within the university.
2. Attention to and guidance for displaced student populations due to the conflict.
3. Support during mobilization campaigns in order to prevent violations, disappearances and arbitrary detentions.
4. Implementation of accusation mechanisms on a national and international scale.
5. Systematization of cases.
6. Development of campaigns for the “**Defense of Life within the University**”.
7. Maintaining regional, national and international levels of communications on the subject.

8. Coordinating data and information on the Human Rights Movement.
9. Elaborating a permanent training cycle.
10. Regional tours in order to learn about the situation in the regions.
11. Issue a bulletin to provide a communications mechanism within student organizations.

Educational reforms

Historical framework

To report on the framework of the educational history of Colombia we will begin with the transitional phase the education went through in 1980. Following the mobilizations of the 70s, the university student movement rose from the demand for both institutional and national strengthening of the policies that regulate higher or post-secondary education. From this premise, the decree which determines both the character and the function of higher education in Colombia was ratified on the 22nd of January of 1980. Following the proclamation of this document, which in turn accounts for the first advances in integration of research with teaching and which also speaks of a strengthening of the official institutions by the state, we face some elements which are outside the Colombian educational context and which should be taken into account. These elements begin to be conspicuous following the achievement of a reform attempt such as that currently faced by the university in Colombia. The education regulatory agencies begin their work primarily in the management of the institutions, prompting self-management projects and extending the decentralization of higher education. It is from this point that the administration of education in this country is put into place. A priority for the government during this period was the management that was put in place by each university administration in the country. This largely determined the results of institutional evaluations and the levels of state support provided to the universities.

Higher education in Colombia has been under the rule of international policies in education which, to a large extent, do not respond to the true conditions of the population of the country and this determined the way decentralization plans advanced. This took an even clearer form in the reform of Law 30 in 1992, with which educational regulatory efforts were intensified through the creation of entities such as CESU (National Council of Higher Education), or the ICETEX itself (Colombian Institute of Educational Credit and Technical Studies Overseas), with the goal of handing administration of education to agencies of control, of course under a strictly mercantile perspective in favor of supply and demand.

Context 2002-2006

Following a brief account of the earlier educational reforms in Colombia, it is important to describe the educational policy proposal of the government elected in 2002, when Álvaro Uribe Vélez, with his policies of educational revolution, proposes strengthening and intensifying privatization by means of measurements and assigning qualify-

ing grades for the institutions on the basis of their levels of self-management and self-financing. Incentives for excessive growth were a consequence of the policy of the band of low level coverage, which is summarized in focusing education in quantitative terms for the levels 0, 1 and 2, without any elements of pedagogical analysis when evaluating this education qualitatively or qualifying this coverage. Following fulfillment of the objective of consolidating education in Colombia, some minimum topics are put in place for the institutions in the country. These have generated a disproportionate growth of entities of technical and technological education, with greater benefits. This has generated a scarcity of offers for the professional training of young people, which as a result has led to a progressive de-financing of public professional higher education, guided by a vision of the market and sustained by the academic-administrative control established in decree 2566 from 2003, which regulates the academic programs offered to students throughout the entire country.

Following the process initiated in 2003, Colombian universities begin the struggle against the academic reform. The struggle is centered in strengthening the adjustments to credits and topics of quality, with the goal of increasing the projection of higher education. There were procedural failings in these processes in the educational faculties where students were not present at the debating table or in cases where the students and professors submitted proposals, these were not taken into account. For this reason, the Colombian student movement decides to initiate processes of mobilization and debate within and outside the universities. This has repercussions which appear in the accusations presented. In conclusion, this is a clear answer by the state to the demands for democracy, autonomy and recognition inside the universities.

The educational revolution of the government of Uribe has centered its educational policy within a framework of imposition, be this academic, institutional or even military. In higher education, financial support has been ratified in accordance with demand and the levels of self-management shown by both institutions and programs. For all of these reasons, as is cited in the original text of the Ministry of Education, the struggle for economic competitiveness is nothing other than a process of privatization that follows the interests of capital to the detriment of education and of the university that Colombian students seek to defend: a transformative and creative critical university.

Presentation of Cases of Human Rights Violations in the Period 2002 to 2006

University Institutions In The Capital District

Violations against the university students' movement have been compiled during four years in the capital district: 128 students arbitrarily detained, 9 judicially processed, 130 wounded, 15 threatened.

This disturbing situation is based on records found in human rights organizations and student organizations, although it must be stated that a large percentage of the cases of violation were not identified, reported and/or systematized by the respective human rights organizations. The following report attempts to contribution in the exercise of recovering people's memories.

Year 2002

- On **September 16, 2002**, members of the Metropolitan Police arbitrarily detained 35 persons, among them students, professors and workers from public universities. They were taken to tanker number 551 and beaten up afterwards. These events took place during a Strike Campaign summoned by the Workers' Unions.

Year 2003

- On **April 25, 2003**, ESMAD agents violently entered Science and Education Faculty of the Macarena District University at about 1:30 in the afternoon, after a student protest. When they entered, they attacked several students, causing severe personal injuries and breaking windows and doors on the university's premises. They took the students out of the university buildings and indiscriminately selected a group of 103 students that were detained and kept until late at night at the station. They were constantly beaten and subjected to mistreatment.

4 of these 103 students were taken to the SIJIN and judicial processes began against them:

- Luís Enrique Buitrago Garzón: student, legally processed
- Viviana Gutiérrez: student, member of the Colombian Communist Youth (JUCO), legally processed
- Nestor Santiago Moreno Velandia: student, legally processed
- Oscar Roberto Gutiérrez: student, legally processed

While they were in detention the four students were continuously transferred, which hindered effective and timely legal attention. They were pressed to submit a declaration at about 3:00 a.m., without the presence of their legal defense. The next day, they were placed in the SIJIN facilities, where they only admitted to holding them during the afternoon hours and then after that declared them to have disappeared.

- On **May 27, 2003**, there was a protest by the National University of Colombia in Bogotá on 26th street. After a student protest that involved throwing stones, the police entered the university grounds where members of the law enforcement agency threw a grenade that exploded in the middle of a crowd of people.
- On **August 12th**, Fernando Andrés, a student from SENA and member of the Black Flags, was detained.
- In **September 2003**, ten students from the National University of Colombia in Bogotá were threatened in a flyer which was widely spread throughout the university and signed by the Capital Block for Self-Defense. The names of the threatened students are:
 - **Carlos Álvarez**, Law student
 - **Francisco Javier Toloza Fuentes**, Political Sciences student and JUCO Member
 - **Martha Bolívar**, Law student and JUCO Member
 - **Andrés Rodríguez**, Law student
 - **Ernesto Silva**, Law student
 - **Laudaro Jiménez**, Law student
 - **Hernando Puertos**, Law student
 - **William Castro**, Law student
 - **Armando Jiménez**, Law student
 - **Martha Rodríguez**, Political Sciences student
- On **October 12, 2003**, **Andres Idarraga**, Law student from the Free University and member of the UNILIBRE National Association of Students was detained by members of the SIJIN and set free afterwards. This event happened during a national mobilization against the referendum.
- On **October 12, 2003**, **Fernando Salazar**, Law student from the National University and member of the ACEU Human Rights Department, was detained and beaten by SIJIN members during a national mobilization against the referendum.

- On **October 22, 2003**, there were protests at the National University and at the National Pedagogical University (UPN) in rejection of the referendum convened for October 25th. On this occasion the ESMAD took extremely aggressive actions against the students. As a result, several students were arrested by a police patrol in front of the university and were released late at night. In addition to this, during the attack of the students, an ESMAD tanker hit and killed a vendor.
- Since **December 5, 2003**, the Federation of National University (FUN) Commissions and the Movement in Defence of People's Rights (MODEP), both well-recognized organizations within the student movement, received e-mails from the address enlamiraesta@latinmail.com, which was signed by paramilitary forces. The e-mails contained threats and intimidations towards student representatives in the Academic Council of the District, Pedagogical and National Universities.

The last message contained this warning: *"...no more warnings. Next time, we will take actual measures"* threatening the physical integrity of the students **Adriana Lozano, Miguel Ángel Barriga and Yamile Garzón**, student representatives. In the messages they basically warn all student leaders that are in these organizations at the Pereira and Nariño Universities.

The messages accuse the FUN Commissions and warn them of the following: *"We know who you are and of your ties with the guerrilla, although you hide behind names such as MODEP and FSP, and use positions in the Universities... You conceal your ties with the guerrilla by pretending to be student representatives..."*

- On **December 13, 2003**, **Yamile Garzon**, a student representative in the Academic Council of the Pedagogical University was approached by a red Mazda car from which his photograph was taken. Then unknown agents delivered a written threat to his life.

Year 2004

- on **Friday, January 23, 2004**, at 12:40 p.m., university student **Gabriel Becerra Yañez** was detained under strange circumstances and in an aggressive and disproportionate manner while traveling in his car, which belongs to the Protection Program of the Ministry of the Interior, along Road 27 at the intersection with 13th Street in Bogota. Gabriel Becerra Yañez is the Secretary General of JUCO and member and founder of ACEU. In addition to this he is

a member of the Executive Committee of the Social and Political Front. This detention, which was performed by members of the Military Police with the presence of CTI officials, placed his physical integrity under severe risk and reveals the existence of an intimidation, persecution and harassment plan by the intelligence agencies against social leaders and the opposition.

It is worth mentioning that when urgent notice was given through a call by the person detained, the human rights movement immediately sent an alert about these events. The military officers were forced to identify themselves and to clarify their purposes, which were not made clear at first. Once at the Military Police Batallion No. 15, in Usaquen, the officers did not perform any non-official interrogation procedures, they took photographs and without further explanation, after approximately one hour set him free, arguing that they had confused him with a FARC guerrilla member. Afterwards they gave him a “Good Behavior Certificate”. This was a strange response if one takes into account the position and recognition that Gabriel enjoys in the social and popular movement, as well as the information that the authorities have about him, and his relations with the Protection Program of the Ministry of the Interior due to precautionary measures suggested by the OAS Inter-American Human Rights Commission, which *“obliges the Colombian State to provide protection due to genocide committed against the UP and the Communist Party”*.

- On **February 18, 2004**, students from the UPN used Peaceful Protest to try and dialogue with the rector at the University because he issued a resolution to oust student vendors who own shops where they sell articles such as pencils, candies and cigarettes to cover their personal expenses. Amidst peaceful action, the rector ordered the Police Force to enter and force everyone out, to which the public responded and following students suffered injuries:
 - **Paola Rincón**, student of psycho pedagogy, whose right arm was broken by members of the ESMAD when they were beating her up.
 - **Emilse Álvarez**, student in her sixth semester of Spanish and arts, who received multiple verbal offenses by the ESMAD members and different wounds caused by the use of bats and bars against her by police agents.
 - **William Leonardo Garzón**, student in his fifth semester of graphic design, whose right hand was beaten and received a fracture.
- On **Tuesday, May 18, 2004**, during protests carried out by the social, popular and student movements in Bogota, to support the strike called by Colombian Workers’ Federation (CUT) at the National University of Colombia in Bogotá,

ESMAD members brutally attacked the University, with adverse results for the following students:

Ernesto Garcia and Camilo Hernández, members of the FUN-Commissions, were temporarily detained by the ESMAD. **PAOLA SANCHEZ** was wounded by a firearm fired by the National Police. **MAURICIO ALVARADO**, was wounded during the protests by ESMAD members.

- On **Tuesday, October 5, 2004**, more than five hundred members of the ESMAD entered the National University of Colombia in Bogotá and used force to repress students, workers, employees and professors while holding a general assembly to analyze and discuss strategies to counteract the repressive policies of rector Marco Palacios. The ESMAD agents persecuted university representatives beyond the university grounds using teargas and rubber bullets. In addition to this they injured other citizens, especially children and adolescents who were returning home from school and work at that time.
- On **17th and 18th November, 2004**, the National University of Colombia in Bogotá protested against the neoliberal academic reform carried out by the current rector, Palacios. Representatives of the student community have been the victims of evictions, militarization, provocations and constant accusations from the administration.

Year 2005

- On **Wednesday, February 23, 2005**, at approximately 1 p.m., a group of students from the National University of Colombia in Bogotá protested at the entrance of career 26, promoting the national protest campaign that would take place on the following day. After a few minutes, members of the ESMAD entered the campus with two tanks and uniformed officers shooting teargas at the students, rubber bullets, dispersion grenades and explosives, endangering the physical integrity of the students that were promoting the campaign. The ESMAD members vacated the University grounds at about 4 p.m., leaving behind great physical damage within the University, two damaged vehicles and one student who wounded her leg.
- On **March 30, 2005**, members of the ESMAD entered the grounds of the National University of Colombia in Bogotá with several tanks and numerous men, launching teargas, rubber bullets and dispersion grenades against the students. They detained **Rigoberto Lopez Mejia**, a security guard at this

institution. The police vacated the National University grounds at about 11:00 a.m. leaving behind physical damage within the campus.

- On **March 30th, 2005**, at 7:00 a.m., in the facilities of the UPN, members of the District Attorney's Office detained the students **Daniel Rojas, Alexander Ramirez, Ricardo Ramirez AND Oscar Muñoz**. The judicial action had the authorization and support of the rector's office and the Academic Council through a text from 2005 where they requested the intervention by State Agencies. Once the students were detained, the members of the District Attorney's Office proceeded to make their presence known across the university, which generated a protest campaign, spreading fear among the students who were making use of their legitimate and constitutional right to peaceful protest.
- On **April 6th, 2005**, a group of students from the District University protested on the surrounding avenue, promoting the national strike planned for April 15th. The National Police, particularly ESMAD, entered the campus with several men at 1:00 p.m., and started shooting at the students with teargas, rubber bullets, dispersion grenades and explosives, placing the physical integrity of the students who were supporting the strike in danger. The repressive agency vacated the university grounds at about 4:00 p.m., leaving behind physical damage within the campus, two vehicles destroyed, and 17 students were detained, of which 1 was judicially processed and several were violently beaten and severely wounded; these were cared for in the Engineering Faculty of the same University. Others were transferred to surgical wards, as was the case of **Aiden Salgado**, who was severely wounded when the ESMAD, before leaving the university, shot pellets at his face at a distance of 3 meters. On this occasion, the Dean of the Science and Education Faculties was also attacked by ESMAD agents when he tried to stop them from entering.

Year 2006

- On **March 8, 2006**, members of the ESMAD caused the death of the linguistics student at the Francisco Jose de Caldas de Bogotá District University, **Oscar Salas** during a student protest at the National University. It is evident that the actions by ESMAD do not correspond to the principal of proportionality and that the methods used to repress protests are not only disproportionate, but also a reflection of the aggressive and repressive policy of the public order agencies, thanks to the "democratic safety" of Alvaro Uribe Velez.
- On **March 20th to 24th of 2006**, twelve colleagues from the Social Sciences Faculty of the Cundinamarca Senior College University joined a large national

march in Cartagena-Barranquilla to express their disagreement with the closing down of Uni-Atlantic without knowing the consequences of that action for our female university leaders and for members of what was then called the Unicolmayor Student Assembly. As of March 24th, a colleague from the Social Sciences Faculty of the Cundinamarca Senior College University and Social Work Program received several threats on different occasions that placed her physical, moral and psychological integrity at risk, in addition to infringing her fundamental rights as an individual in the Colombian society. The threats and harassment against our colleague included a series of telephone calls and identification of her family members, as well as pursuit of them. In this manner they tried to silence students and dissolve processes and spaces that had been consolidated with much difficulty within the University.

- On **April 4th, 2006**, Mr. Alvaro Uribe Velez, President of the Republic of Colombia, who was seeking reelection at that time, managed to enter the university sector, and was received with festivities. He then militarized the university and took the students from their classrooms, libraries, green areas and other university facilities, stating that he did not enter this space to carry out a political campaign, but rather to talk about the displacement in Colombia. The president had the honor of being invited by the Faculty of Law, which only allowed students and/or workers to enter the premises after having been searched and registered on a laptop (to what end?), with the citizen id card in hand, perhaps spreading doubt about whether or not they were students and deserved being there.

We felt invaded, and because of this some colleagues made posters in disagreement with the entry of this person into our space. Two of the military officers that were guarding the main entry questioned this unworthy treatment of the nation's king. Lastly Mr. Alvaro Uribe Velez sneered at the education at our university while he was cynically guarded even by helicopters that circled above the university and the surrounding block. He made incoherent jokes in his speech and while leaving left a clear sign as to whom we should vote for and why it was so bad to protest.

- During the **month of August 2006**, for the 60th anniversary of the Cundinamarca Senior College University, the Nation's First Lady, Mrs. Lina Moreno de Uribe, visited the university. The students were subjected to examinations upon entering the premises, and were treated, not as students, but as delinquents and vandals. The examinations were absurdly detailed and for some

quite grotesque. And if this was not enough, they closed down the university in the afternoon because the First Lady was there with a large group of her companions; students entering and leaving the establishment represented a danger to her.

- On **July 4th, 2006**, the FUN-Commissions received a threat from the following e-mail account: colombialibre20062010@yahoo.com. They accused several members of the organization of being *“guerrillas under cover as students”* and they demanded that *“they shall not stay in the universities and regions, as a punishment for their vandalic actions. If they do they will suffer the force of our presence”*. This threat was directed at the following leaders: **Miguel Barriga**, student representative in the Superior Council of District Universities; **Jose Luis Blanco**, student representative in the Academic Council of the Pedagogic and Technological University of Colombia; and **Adriana Lozano**, representative of the National FUN-Commissions.
- On **June 13th, 2006**, a student of electronics from the District University, **Juan Carlos Duque Rodriguez**, was detained by the SIJIN in the classroom accused of belonging to the ELN guerrilla group. He was found **dead** under strange circumstances in the dungeons of the same institution.

The Universities Of Northern Santander

Year 2004

- **edwin Ariel Lopez**, philosophy student from the University of Pamplona and member of ACEU was taken from his home on **April 13th, 2004**. On June 6th of the same year, 64 days after his disappearance, his body was found with signs of torture. The authors of this were paramilitary groups.
- **Gerson Gallardo**, biology and chemistry grad student, disappeared on **Thursday, April 3**, and on June 6th, 2004, he was found murdered. The events were initiated by paramilitary groups.

The Universities Of Nariño

Year 2001-2002

- On **January 14th, 2001**, **Adriana Fernanda Benitez Perugache**, a student in her ninth semester of Economy, was assassinated. The blame was attributed

to Bloque Libertadores del Sur (Liberators of the South Block), of the Self-Defense Units of Colombia (AUC).

- **Marco Antonio Salazar**, murdered on January 7th, 2002, was a student in his tenth semester of Civil Engineering and representative in the Superior Council of Universities of Nariño. His death is still unpunished although he was registered in the Protection Program of the Ministry of the Interior.
- On **April 16th, 2002**, **Tito Libio Hernandez**, security guard at the University of Nariño, was murdered inside the University by two individuals on a motorcycle. This fact provoked several mobilizations by the student movement, which in turn led to several threats by the AUC to the entire student movement during the months following the assassination. These threats stressed that Tito's murder was a sign and a "*sample of what we are capable of doing*".
- On **September 14th, 2002**, the University protested against Plan Colombia and at the end of the protest march, the student of Sociology, **Margoth Ortega**, was arbitrarily detained.

"The student was accompanied by a friend. They became aware of the fact that two individuals on a motorcycle were following them, and they tried to avoid them for several blocks and went to ask for help at the San Agustin Police Station, located in the downtown area of the city. Once they were in the CAI, the two individuals following them arrived and identified themselves as agents of the army and took the students claiming that they were members of the ELN. They were placed in the custody of the District Attorney's Office for ten days and accused of rebellion. Such accusations were a flagrant violation of their human rights as guarded by the State Declaration of Interior Commotion and Decree 2002, which anticipates arrests without requiring a court order".

Year 2003

- On **March 13th, 2003**, a new mobilization campaign against the policies of Uribe Velez and the intervention in Iraq were carried out. The public order forces responded brutally, leaving behind the following persons injured and detained:

At about 2:30 p.m., a group of university students and workers from Nariño University blocked the road leading to Sandona, in protest against the political and economic measures of the Government of Alvaro Uribe. One hour later, a group of about 150

anti-disturbance agents of the National Police arrived and vacated the road with teargas, causing a strong confrontation with students who responded with rocks. At about 4:30 p.m., the police entered the university grounds and the students retracted. One student who begged the agents to stop beating up a handicapped student with no hands who was almost unconscious from the beatings, was kicked in the chest by a policeman and was also left unconscious for a few minutes. The People's Defense Commission was also attacked, as was the rector of the University, Dr. Pedro Vicente Obando, who was beaten and had his clothes torn. The confrontations also caused damage to the infrastructure on the block; cafeteria, laboratories, windows and administrative offices.

- **On September 16th, Jairo Moncayo Pascuaza**, a student of Sociology and member of the Free Radicals, was murdered. Due to the importance of the social work he was carrying out, he was registered in the Human Rights Protection Program of the Ministry of the Interior. Despite this, on the evening of the 16th, men on a motorcycle shot him with three bullets and they had enough time to take his documents and a disk. The persons responsible for the murder of Jairo were members of paramilitary groups who had threatened him on a previous occasion.
- **On September 19th**, several students were threatened, some of which were forced to leave the city. Among them was the student of Sociology **Diego Mejía**, who moved to another town in order to save his life. On several occasions, Diego has been a victim of numerous threats against his life, and has also been arbitrarily detained. His life was in danger.

Due to continuous threats in the months following Jairo's murder, the Comisión Interamericana de Derechos Humanos (CIDH) issued precautionary measures to a great number of students:

“On December 9th, 2003, the Commission granted precautionary measures to protect the lives and personal integrity of Vicente Arbey Villota Cruz, Winston Nicolls Arteaga Aguillón, Martha Isabel Melodelgado Rosero, Alexander Libardo Garzón Rosero, Miguel López, Daniel E Cabrera Timana, Mario Fernando González Santa Cruz, Diego Mejía Moncayo, Eduardo Meneses, Mauricio Ojeda Erazo, Héctor Homero Patiño Díaz, Jaime Morrinelli, María Claudia Vallejo Ascuntar, Jorge Luis Huertas Díaz, Freddy Andrés Games, Javier Paolo Moncayo Pascuasa, Harol Mauricio Narváez Carvajal, Alex Richar Miguel

López Guerrero, Oscar Quijano, Hugo Andrés Gamajoa, Marco Antonio Salazar Pardo and Andrés Chamorro, students at the University of Nariño at Pasto, Republic of Colombia. On September 16th, 2002, the CIDH requested information from the Colombian State on the situation of 14 students of the Nariño University, including Jairo Roberto Moncayo Pascuaza, based on the request for precautionary measures. In response, on October 24th, 2002, the Colombian Government indicated that certain protective measures were taken – mainly consistent with the provisions set forth in the bulletin – on behalf of some student leaders. Recently, the CIDH learned that the threats against those students of the Nariño University continued and that on the 16th of September, 2003, the student leader Jairo Roberto Moncayo Pascuaza had been murdered. The information submitted by the CIDH on December 1st, 2003, indicates that when it comes to this murder, threats increased against certain student leaders, four of which had to be displaced. In view of the situation, the CIDH requested that the Colombian State take the necessary measures to protect the lives and physical integrity of the beneficiaries and to report the actions taken to investigate the facts and put an end to these threats. The Commission continues to receive information on the situation of these protected persons". (Precautionary Measures, CIDH 2003)

Year 2004

- On **May 18th, 2004**, a national mobilization took place to protest against the Free Trade Agreement. Several students were brutally beaten up by 60 ESMAD Agents. Once the protest ended, the following students were arbitrarily detained: **Paolo Moncayo** and **Jorge Luis Huertas** were summoned and accused of committing extortion through the Avantel carried by the two students, who had them because they were part of the Protection Program of the Ministry of the Interior after continuous threats sent to them.

"Approximately 10 civilians arbitrarily detained and handcuffed me, then I was taken to the San Agustín CAI facilities and then to a panel that led us to the El Carmen Facilities where the person responsible for the operation took my Avantel and said that we were using these to extort. They took my profile in those facilities."

Year 2005

- In **February 2005**, the huge presence of paramilitaries was evident at the university through new threats and intimidation to the student movement:

“Once again the self-denominated University Force Group of Colombia, ‘Camp Martyrs’, entered the scene at the university of Nariño. On February 23, 2005, a leaflet from this group circulated which said: ‘it is hereby stated to the evidently infiltrated informants, indoctrinated leaflet intellectuals in classrooms, as well as other collaborators in their misery, that they will continue to fall, and that they will no longer find hiding places in the UDENAR because this is a struggle to blood and fire, without any perceivable halt.’”

- On **May 1, 2005**, during the traditional labor march there was a strong presence of ESMAD. When the march arrived at the Nariño Plaza at approximately 11:00 am, the public order forces attacked the marchers and detained the Nariño University student **Yadir Arvey Enriquez**, who was on the street by the plaza riding his bike. He was severely beaten and detained for two days.

Year 2006

- In **2006**, actions of intimidation, persecution and threats continued in the university. Half way through the year 2006, new threats against the FUN-Commissions arrived. The threats were signed by a group called “Colombia Libre” (Free Colombia) and they arrived by e-mails, with the following message:

“Our struggle is for a free and peaceful Colombia, following the policies of the President, Dr. Alvaro Uribe Velez, and we inform you that the coming years will be dedicated to wiping out the enemies of authentic democracy (...) intelligent people abide by our orders and preserve their lives. The families of stubborn people who omit our communications, cry for their dead and disappeared. You decide in which group you want to be... NOT EVEN ONE MORE MONTH, OR ANOTHER SEMESTER, OR ANOTHER YEAR IN OUR UNIVERSITIES. NO MORE GUERRILLAS IN DISGUISE”.

The Bucaramanga Universities

Year 2002

- On Sunday, **October 6TH, 2002**, our fellow student **Nelson Gabriel Ballesteros Sanchez** was murdered at a rural spot in Barrancabermeja. He was a ninth semester student at the School of Medicine at the **Santander Industrial University** and his crime is currently under investigation by State authorities.
- On Wednesday, **November 20th, 2002**, **Jaime Alfonso Acosta Campo**, Engineering student in his third semester, was murdered in a confrontation with members of the National Police during a student protest against the Implementation of the student Disciplinary Regime and Hiring of Private Watchmen at the UIS. In addition, the following fellow students were arrested: **Sergio Olarte, Miguel Suárez, and Juan Portillo, Luis Freddy Fernández, Edwin Antonio Pinzón, Maximiliano González, Dennis Augusto Mendoza and Fabio Leonel González. Maximiliano Gonzalez** is still under arrest in the SIJIN dungeons; He has not been judged and the charges against him are unknown.
- On **Wednesday, November 20th, 2002**, at 1:00 o'clock in the afternoon, two individuals on a motorcycle followed our colleague **Orlando Zafra Rodriguez**, an employee of the UIS and member of the Labor Relations Committee of the UIS-SINTRAUNICOL Trade Union, from the Ramon Gonzalez Valencia University Hospital to the surrounding area of Las Banderas, located in the Alfonso Lopez de Bucaramanga Stadium;. He then returned home by taxi and observed how these same people followed him and remained at a prudent distance from his home.
- On **Thursday, November 21, 2002**, the UIS was raided by State Security Agents during dawn hours. Strangely enough and with much concern we observed how one of the most important university institutions of the nation was militarized for the first time in its 54 years of existence.
- On **Thursday, November 21, 2002**, at approximately 2:15 in the afternoon, our colleague, **Orlando Hernandez**, Mechanical Engineering student from the UIS, was summoned by one of the members of the ESMAD who asked him where he had placed one of the fences that hindered the access to the UIS. Since the response was negative, the student was physically and verbally attacked by several ESMAD agents. A colleague, **Principe Gabriel Gonzalez**, Law student at the UIS and member of the Solidarity Committee with the Santander Regional Political Prisoners, intervened by identifying

himself as defendant of Human Rights, and requested that they stop beating up **Orlando Hernandez**. In light of this request, ESMAD members beat him, insulted him and threatened to spray his face with pepper spray. Then they detained him and placed him in a National Police tank.

UIS students and workers, as well as Human Rights Organizations and Trade Unions in the city, jointly organized a symbolic funeral for Jaime Alonso at 3:30 p.m., in the surrounding area of Bolivar, when suddenly and unexpectedly, the participants were savagely attacked by ESMAD members. They beat up a good number of participants and sprayed them with pepper spray, insulted and provoked them. The results from this were eight UIS students detained who were transferred to the SIJIN facilities. Once again, at about 5:30 p.m., two persons on a motorcycle, apparently the same people as the day before, placed themselves close to the residency of **Orlando Zafra Rodriguez**, an employee of the UIS.

- On Friday, **November 22, 2002**, at 10:30 am, a new march took place from the UIS to the CUT-Santander headquarters as a symbolic funeral for Jaime Alfonso Acosta Campo. The march ended in a confrontation between students and trade unionists and members of the ESMAD. Five students were injured and nine detained.
- On Friday, **November 22, 2002**, when **Alvaro Enrique Villamizar Mogollon**, President of the Workers' Trade Union at UIS – **SINTRAUNICOL-Bucaramanga**, went by taxi to a meeting at the People's Defense Office, he was followed for more than 45 minutes by two individuals on a white Suzuki motorcycle.
- On Monday, **November 25, 2002**, the UIS was vacated during dawn after having been invaded since Thursday, November 21, by the CTI, the District Attorney's office, the DAS and the national police, in complicity with the University Directors. During morning hours a commission was appointed and integrated by directors, professors, students and SINTRAUNICOL representatives to verify the conditions in which the university was left. The following was verified after an exhaustive review:
 - In the University Welfare Building, the UIS Workers' and Employees' Trade Union Offices, UIS-SINTRAUNICOL Bucaramanga, were inspected and they damaged a file cabinet, a library and several door frames. All of the documents were reviewed and left in a total mess.

- At the Recreational Association of the Administrative Staff at the UIS-ARPAUIS, several door frames were damaged, especially the main entrance. All of the files were reviewed and left in a mess.
- At the Student Offices, a door was torn down, the lock to a library and a desk broken, and files reviewed and partly destroyed. Several documents that were of interest only to the Student Organization were stolen.
- In the Chemical Engineering, Camilo Torres and Mechanics Buildings, most of the student locks were broken into and locks and study material was destroyed. Gowns, rucksacks and tools required for academic practice were stolen.
- At the ACEU headquarters and at the Science Studies Center, doors, file cabinets, and libraries were destroyed, documents were reviewed and lost and posters were destroyed.
- The inspection ended at the work sites of **Alvaro Enrique Villamizar Mogollon** and **Luis Alejandro Dias Parada**, President and Secretary of SINTRAUNICOL-Bucaramanga.
- On **Tuesday, December 24, 2002**, **Carlos German Jaimes Duarte**, a student of Metallurgy Engineering from the UIS disappeared and was later found murdered in a rural spot of Giron-Santander Municipality.

Year 2003

- On **Wednesday, February 26, 2003**, the following colleagues from the UIS received death threats: **Rosmerlin Estupiñan**, Economics student; **Mauricio Rivera**, student representative in the Superior Council of Universities; **Julian Lozano**, student representative in the Academic Council; **Principe Gabriel Gonzalez**, Law student; **Mauricio Pinto**, Biology graduate; and **Alvaro Enrique Villamizar Mogollon**, President of the UIS SINTRAUNICOL-Bucaramanga. Allegedly the threat came from AUC when a University Congress was taking place in the UIS.
- On **Thursday, May 29, 2003**, the residence of **Luis Felipe Sanchez Triana**, fifth semester Chemistry student from the UIS, was broken into and he was taken to the DAS facilities. He was then admitted at the Bucaramanga Model Prison.
- On **Thursday, July 24, 2003**, at approximately 2:30 pm, information was received at the UIS that there were explosives at the Santander College, Middle Education Institution neighboring the UIS. After evacuating the College and nearby university buildings, members of the National Police arrived and stated that it was a false alarm. The strange and concerning issue is that at about

4:30 pm, a CTI car with license plate number BEC-49 arrived at the university grounds and went straight to the Camilo Torres Building where an explosives expert stated that there was a telephone call reporting that explosive artifacts had been found in the Camilo Torres and Physics-Chemistry Buildings. Then several members of the National Police arrived and ordered the evacuation of these buildings with support from the University Directors and members of the University Community; at approximately 5:20 pm, a detonation was heard in the Camilo Torres Building, and a few minutes later another explosion in the Physics-Chemistry Building was heard. There were no damages to people or buildings.

- On **Tuesday, July 29, 2003**, **Fabio Gonzalez Blanco** disappeared when he left his residency located in Socorro-Santander, where he lives with family. He was on his way to Bucaramanga. He is a sixth semester Chemical Engineering student at the UIS.
- End of **August 2003**, death threats appeared against **Jorge Alejandro Aguirre** and **Isnardo Arenas Navarro**, History and Mathematics students at the UIS. The threats came from the AUC, and appeared in the restrooms of the Camilo Torres, Federico Mamitza and Physics-Chemistry Buildings of the UIS.
- On **Wednesday, November 26, 2003**, a new written death threat appeared from the AUC. It was delivered at the offices of the SINTRAUNICOL National Board of Directors in Bogotá, declaring that the following colleagues were an immediate military objective:
 - **José Munera Ortega** President of the National Board of Directors
 - **Antonio Flórez**, Inter-Trade Union Secretary of the National Board and Member of the National Human Rights Coordination
 - **Luis Otalvaro Amazará**, Secretary General of the National Board
 - **Elizabeth Montoya** and **Norberto Moreno**, President and Member of the Board of Directors, Medellin Chapter
 - **Bessy Pertuz**, Vice President and Member of the Human Rights National Coordination;
 - **Luis Ernesto Rodriguez**, President, Board of Directors, Bogotá Chapter
 - **Alvaro Velez**, President, Board of Directors, Monteria Chapter
 - **Mario Jose Lopez Puerto**, Treasurer, Board of Directors
 - **Alvaro Enrique Villamizar Mogollon**, President, Bucaramanga Board of Directors and member of the Human Rights National Coordination
 - **Eduardo Camacho** and **Pedro Galeano**, Activists Ibague Chapter, Board of Directors

- **Ana Milena Cobos**, Human Rights Secretary, Board of Directors, Fusagasuga Chapter
- **Carlos Gonzalez and Ariel Diaz**, Inspector and Secretary of Human Rights, Cali Chapter Board of Directors.
- **YEAR 2004: On Sunday, January 25, 2004**, when the Systems Engineering student, **Hugo Andres Mendoza Baquero**, was on the sports field, he received a death threat by a paramilitary who said he belonged to the DAS.
- **On Tuesday, May 18, 2004**, when students, workers and employees of the UIS participated in the national strike convened by CUT, the following School of Languages students were detained:
 - **Beatriz Helena Muñoz**, in her seventh semester
 - **Olga Milena Sequeda**, eighth semester
 - **Nelson Raul Alvarez**, seventh semester
 - **Sergio Alirio Ruiz Navas**, fifth semester;
 - **Jhoney Diaz Fajardo**, History student.

All of these students were transferred by uniformed soldiers from the UIS to their General Command.

- **On Thursday, September 16, 2004**, during a large protest, several ESMAD agents pointed out **Victor Yesid Perez Calao**, Chemistry student from the UIS. After the protest, on his way home, he was detained by several policemen on motorcycles. After requesting his documents, they searched and interrogated him, and then brought him to the SIJIN offices where he was detained. Several uniformed officers and civilian staff accused him of being a guerilla agitator. They searched him and then set him free, but first they told him that they *“have a file on him, to be careful because this is only the beginning”*.
- **On Wednesday, October 24, 2004**, **Salvador Rincon Santos**, tenth semester Law student from the UIS, a student representative in the Superior Council of Universities and one of the leaders of the march *“For the Right to Health and Education”*, which took place from Bucaramanga to Bogotá in early October 2004, was traveling to the municipality of Piedecuesta (Santander), located 45 minutes by car from Bucaramanga. He was followed while going to a meeting with socialist leaders from the area. Two individuals dressed as civilians who were carrying bags followed him for approximately 6 blocks, from the UIS Faculty of Health to the bus stop. When Salvador Rincon Santos got on the bus, they did the same and sat close to him. After a while, one began questioning him in relation to the development of the Bogotá march and his leadership in

the student movement. In the meantime, the other person sat near the bus door because the other seats were taken. Salvador decided to get off the bus due to the insistence of the questioning by the unknown person. He got off the bus through the back door when the bus stopped for a red light.

- On **Saturday, October 30, 2004**, new death threats, presumably by the AUC, were left at the SINTRAUNICOL National Office in Bogotá directed at:
 - **Antonio Flores**, member of the SINTRAUNICOL National Board of Directors and of the Fusagasuga Chapter, as well as the Human Rights National Coordination Committee of SINTRAUNICOL
 - **Eduardo Camacho** from the Ibague Chapter, who is currently displaced from his city due to constant death threats from the AUC
 - **Alvaro Enrique Villamizar**, inspector of the Bucaramanga Chapter of the SINTRAUNICOL Human Rights National Coordination Committee and the Inter-Social Human Rights Commission of the UIS
 - **Carlos Gonzalez**, President of the Board of Directors of the Cali Chapter of SINTRAUNICOL Board of Directors, CUT member and of the SINTRAUNICOL Human Rights National Coordination
 - **Jose Ariel Diaz**, member of the SINTRAUNICOL Human Rights National Team, of the Coordination for the Permanent Assembly of Civil Society for Peace, and Secretary of Human Rights of the CUT, Valle Chapter.
- On **Friday, November 26, 2004**, the Chemical Engineering student from the UIS, **Diego Fernando Acosta Salinas**, received death threats from a private telephone line, expressing, “YOU SOB, YOU THINK THAT BECAUSE YOU ARE IN BUCARAMANGA WE ARE NOT GOING TO KILL YOU”. It is worth pointing out that this colleague belonged to the Student Council of the UIS at Barrancabermeja, representative of the Chemical Engineering students. This death threat came after he participated in a General Assembly of Students.
- On **Wednesday, December 1, 2004**, there was a student protest at the UIS against the privatization and restructuring of the **Ramon Gonzalez Valencia University Hospital**, and to demand a higher budget for better operation of public universities, against the privatization of higher education and to promote the respect of human rights. At approximately 9:30 AM, there was a confrontation between the ESMAD and the students at this institution. The results were negative for the University Community because they detained the following students from the UIS:
 - **Paola Andrea Arciniegas** from Social Work
 - **Aldemar Garcia Estevez** from Geology

- **Francisco Javier Arciniegas** from Civil Engineering
- **Guillermo Anaya Acevedo**, from Mechanical Engineering, as well as the Solidarity Committee with Political Prisoners
- **Carolina Rubio**
- **Dibeth Quintana**

The UIS Law student, **Principe Gabriel Gonzalez**, who is part of the Solidarity Committee with Political Prisoners, tried to stop the ESMAS agents from beating up the student **Jorge Armando Guzman**. **Principe Gabriel Gonzalez** was insulted, searched and his AVANTEL equipment was damaged. Then they took him by car and released him a few blocks away.

Attorney **Juan Jose Landinez**, well-known defendant of Human Rights and Political Prisoners experiences the same when he went to the First Command of the National Police to ask about the detained persons. He was also beat up by members of this State Agency. The following students were severely injured during these disturbances: **Mauricio Casanova**, sixth semester Biology student; **Patrick Sarmiento**, second semester of Electronics; and **Carlos Javier Molina**. They were transferred by a Red Cross ambulance to healthcare centers. Eight injured students were all injured by twelve ESMAD members. The ESMAD members entered the UIS and caused severe damage, especially in the Luis A. Calvo Auditorium; they brutally beat up two detained students on university grounds and launched teargas against civilians that were not participating in the activity.

- On **Thursday, December 2, 2004** the UIS students continued protesting against the arrest of the three UIS students and against the privatization of the Ramon Gonzalez Valencia University Hospital. While they were marching on the street, ESMAD members and State Security Agents accused **Victor Yesid Perez Calao** and **Isnardo Arenas**, Chemistry and Mathematics students, of being professional agitators and repeated that the “guerilla” had to be killed.
- On **Sunday, December 5, 2004**, at approximately 10 pm, **Walter Mayer Duarte Gomez**, Law student at the UIS and current Human Rights Delegate at the UIS, was followed by two individuals in a taxi after having been to the store. On 26 A Avenue, between 9th and 10th Street the taxi stopped and they ordered him to stop moving while one of them got out of the taxi with a firearm in his hand. He identified himself as a member of SIJIN and then insulted and threatened Walter.

- On **Wednesday, December 7, 2004**, when students, workers and professors from the UIS began a new march up to the Ramón Gonzalez Valencia University Hospital to perform the symbolic candle ceremony protesting against the closing of this center, ESMAD members attacked the participants. **Victor Mantilla**, Civil Engineering student was approached by alleged SIJIN members who placed him in a 4 door truck, transferred him to the Albania neighborhood and beat him up while threatening him to death. During the same march near the University Hospital, an ESMAD member sprayed teargas on the face of Economics student **Cesar David Fontecha**, who was doing a report for a student newspaper.
- On **Thursday, December 8, 2004**, the UIS Barrancabermeja branch student, **Julian Andres Acosta Salina**, a member of the Student Council in this institution who had received threats over the telephone on October 28, 2004, received a new call from a private number expressing the will to attempt against his life and that of **Oswaldo Enrique Olaya** from Electronic Engineering, **Ronald Ospino**, **Joan Manuel Mercado Cafiel**, from Civil Engineering at the UIS at the Santander Barrancabermeja Branch, and members of the Student Council.
- On **Thursday, December 8, 2004**, during the night and close to the residence of **Walther Mayger Duarte Gomez**, Law student at the UIS, he saw the taxi that had followed and harassed him on previous occasions, but this time it had only one occupant.
- During the night on **Wednesday, December 15, 2004**, some individuals traveling in a red Skoda threw a brick toward the window a student room belonging to one of the students who recorded the aggressions by ESMAD towards the UIS on December 1, 2004.
- At 3:10 PM on **Thursday, December 16, 2004**, when **Alvaro Enrique Villamizar Mogollon**, current Supervisor of SINTRAUNICOL, Bucaramanga Chapter, left the UIS to go home, he was terrified, harassed and threatened to death at gunpoint by two individuals that moved on a red Honda motorcycle heading north on road 30, between 12th and 13th street. The men approached the sidewalk and, in a threatening voice, stated: *“that SOB, this SOB is from the UIS trade union, he’s active in the university, participates in marches, meets with students; you launched explosives the day of the pedrea, SOB guerrilla.”* One of the men took a machine gun out of his bag, pointed it at him and said: *“the next time we see you parked incorrectly, we will break you SOB.”* After that,

the individuals continued to towards the north and disappeared on the same road 30 toward 10 Street.

Year 2005

- On **Sunday, January 16, 2005**, a Chemical Engineering student from UIS, **Diego Fernando Acosta Salinas**, received another death threat by phone from the cell number 31570020001, stating: *“If you go to barranca, don’t do anything, because if you do, we will kill you”*. He received this call after he contacted the Regional Human Rights Corporation (CREDHOS), to tell them that he was going to meet the student organization in Barrancabermeja.
- On the afternoon of **Wednesday, May 4, 2005**, **Diego Fernando Acosta Salinas**, Chemical Engineering student at the UIS and member of the ACEU – Santander Regional Branch, once again received a threatening call from the number 3115388126. The person identified himself as a member of the AUC and expressed the following: *“LISTEN GUERRILLA SOB, WE ARE FROM THE SELF-DEFENSE. GET OUT OF THAT SHIT BECAUSE IF YOU DON’T, WE ARE GOING TO BREAK YOU”*.
- On **Saturday, June 4, 2005**, Professor **Nicolas Rodriguez Otero**, Director of the School of Law and Political Sciences, and Constitutional Law Professor at the UIS, received a death threat by a telephone call to his residence.
- On **Thursday, June 9, 2005**, Professor **Cristian Blanco Tirado** from the UIS was injured when he stepped on explosives while descending the staircase in the Camilo Torres Building at the UIS.
- On **Wednesday, June 15, 2005**, **Principe Gabriel Gonzalez Arango**, Law and Political Sciences student at the UIS, Human Rights Advocate and Coordinator of the Solidarity Committee with Political Prisoners, Santander Chapter, received a death threat by unknown persons who sent a leaflet to the CUT Facilities on behalf of the AUC Bolivar Central Block. It was signed by **Nelson Bolivar**, titled *“Death Certificate”*, and it tells him and 13 other persons to leave the city of Bucaramanga because they are *“sentenced to death”*. Among the persons threatened are trade union leaders, and leaders of groups that had been subjected to forced displacement.
- On **Friday, June 24, 2005**, **Principe Gabriel Gonzalez Arango** was waiting for the bus to return to Bucaramanga together with **Carolina Rubio Sguerra**, **Jacqueline Hernandez** and **Nestor Ramirez**, all members of the Solidarity Committee with Political Prisoners, Santander Chapter. They became aware of the presence of an armed individual that was watching them while touch-

ing his weapon. They had finished interviews in the Palogordo Penitentiary located in Giron, Santander.

- On **Saturday, July 2, 2005**, at approximately 9:00 pm, **Principe Gabriel Gonzalez Arango** and **Carolina Rubio Sguerra** were going home. They became aware of an individual on a black DT Yamaha Motorcycle with a suspicious attitude at the corner of road 25th and 30th Street in Bucaramanga. When they approached 30th Street, the individual put on his helmet and took off on his motorcycle. He returned to our colleagues' apartment several times.
- On **Monday, July 25, 2005**, **Victor Alfonso Hernandez Toca**, fourth semester Mechanical Engineering student at the UIS, disappeared. Victor Alfonso traveled from Sogamoso (Bocaya) on Sunday afternoon on July 24, to go to Bucaramanga where he arrived at 5:30 AM.
- On **Tuesday, August 2, 2005**, **Principe Gabriel Gonzalez Arango**, was informed by people in his residence, that at approximately 11:30 am, four men in a dark green truck were watching his apartment for about 2 hours. Two of the men dressed as civilians got out of the vehicle with short-range weapons.

Year 2006

- On **Wednesday, January 4, 2006**, at 6:30 pm **Principe Gabriel Gonzalez Arango**, was detained by members of the District Attorney's Office and immediately transferred to the Gaula Facilities in Bucaramanga.
- On **Thursday, January 5, 2006**, **Principe Gabriel Gonzalez Arango** was placed under the jurisdiction of the Immediate Reaction Unit (URI) of the District Attorney's Office, and was accused of the crime of rebellion.
- On **Friday, January 6, 2006**, **Principe Gabriel Gonzalez Arango** was arrested in the Model Jail Center of Bucaramanga. Principe Gabriel is a Law and Political Sciences student at the UIS. He has represented the student movement in meetings with representatives from the National and Regional Government, as well as Government and Non-Government Human Rights Organizations of a national and regional scope, directors, professors, students and workers from the UIS. Principe Gabriel has represented the student movement of the UIS in meetings with the Board of Directors of this institution, is an active member of the Permanent Corporation for the Defense of Human Rights of the UIS "Christian Roa", is part of the Student Federation (FEU), is one of the most committed advocates of human rights in the university and has suffered confrontations on several occasions with members of the public order forces, such as the ESMAD and civilians in the State Security Agencies.

On several occasions Principe Gabriel has received written death threats, presumably by the AUC.

- On **Thursday, January 13, 2006**, the District Attorney's Office dictated safety measures without the possibility of bail against **Principe Gabriel Gonzalez Arango**, despite the fact that his lawyer requested the house arrest because Colombian Criminal Law allows this when the requirements are met, as was the case of **Principe Gabriel**; He does not represent any danger to society and always appears when the law requires it.
- On **Sunday, March 19, 2006**, four agents of the National Police approached **Jefferson Orlando Corredor Uyaban**, History student from the UIS and JUCO activist. At first he was searched by two policemen on motorcycles, who detained him at the entrance of the Manuela Beltran Neighborhood, in the southwestern part of the city. They took him in the patrol car and demanded his civil status, identification card, place of residence and telephone number. After this they followed him through the neighborhood, while he tried to make a call from a phone booth, and then followed him all of the way home.
- On **Monday, March 20, 2006**, at approximately 10:00 am, an unknown person called the home of **Jefferson Orlando Corredor Uyaban**. When he picked up the phone, he received the following death threat: *"Listen, SOB, be careful, we are watching you"*. The phone was then hung up immediately.
- On **Wednesday, March 22, 2006**, at approximately 7:50 am, **Eduardo Antone-lo Sotmonte Acevedo**, Philosophy student at the UIS, was harassed, terrified and threatened to death close to the Open Air Gymnasium in the northeastern sector of the UIS by four individuals who claimed to be the "Paraguayans".
- On the morning of **Thursday, May 18, 2006** after having been away from his home for a little while, **Diego Fernando Acosta Salinas**, Chemical Engineering student at the UIS, member of the Regional Executive Committee of the ACEU, and of the youth team of the Democratic Alternative Pole, found a written death threat underneath his door. It was sent by the university's anti-communist group. **Diego Fernando Acosta Salinas** has received three prior threats against his life through telephone calls.
- On **Wednesday, May 24, 2006**, the School of Philosophy at UIS received a death threat from "Free Colombia Democratic Convergence" at its e-mail address, filosofi@uis.edu.co. It was entitled "National Colombia Free from Communists, Armed Forces of the Ex-AUC". The Santander Francisco De Paula University in the City of Cucuta received this same e-mail at its address escdphmsoc@ufps.edu.co.

- On **Wednesday, June 7, 2006**, a new death threat arrived at the School of Philosophy at the UIS. This was also sent by “Free Colombia Democratic Convergence” of the Executive Committee of the Free Colombia of Communists. The Antioquia University also received this same communication at its e-mail address: socio@antares.udea.edu.co.
- On **Saturday, August 4, 2006**, the law firm “Jose Alvear Restrepo” received a new e-mail, which once again included the address of the School of Philosophy at the UIS, filosofifi@uis.edu.co. A new death threat was received from the e-address contactodirectocolombia@yahoo.com, from right-wing friends of Free Colombia Self-Defense National Unified South Command: Caribbean, plains, center, capital, east, new Pacific and new generation. It was titled “*The Counterrevolution against the Community State is Marching*”. A copy of this was also sent to the universities in Caldas, Valle and Los Llanos.
- On **Wednesday, August 16, 2006**, when **Martha Cecilia Diaz Suarez**, mother of **Tania Alexandra Ortiz Diaz**, second semester Civil Engineering student at UIS, was leaving her home, she was kidnapped by two unknown individuals who threatened her to death, brutally beat her up, terrified her and threatened to murder her daughter **Tania Alexandra**. The supposed kidnappers had a photograph of her daughter, which was taken at the UIS. **Tania Alexandra Ortiz Diaz** has been followed within the university grounds and is also being followed by a motorcycle or car when she goes back and forth from the university to her home and vice versa. It must be stated that **Martha Cecilia Diaz Suarez** is the President of the Santander Public Employees Association.
- On **Friday, August 18, 2006**, **Tania Alexandra Ortiz Diaz**, second semester Civil Engineering student of the UIS, observed a white truck going around her house on several occasions.
- On **Thursday, August 31, 2006**, **Cesar Plazas**, Electrical Engineer from the UIS and member of the Executive Committee of the CUT-SANTANDER, was threatened to death at about 9:30 in the morning, when an unidentified man entered the CUT-SANTANDER building on 42nd Street, between road 14 and 15, in Bucaramanga. He delivered an envelope addressed to **Cesar Plazas**, where the Central Bolivar Block of the AUC, declared him a military objective.

We have to announce that **Cesar Plazas** has been threatened to death, harrassed and persecuted on several occasions by civilian persons and by undercover military forces, as well as by armed military police, whenever he has performed trade union activities and worked for Human Rights.

- On **Tuesday, September 26, 2006**, **Paola Andrea Arciniegas**, tenth semester Social Work student from the UIS was beat up, threatened to death and harassed by National Police Officers that are members of the ESMAD, when students, workers and employees of the UIS participated in a march that was scheduled by the CUT. **Paola Andrea Arciniegas** was threatened to death on two other occasions, once at the tavern and another at the children's park.

The excessive aggressions by these ESMAD personalities against students, human rights advocates, trade unionists and persons that express our inconformity with the current measures by the President of the Republic, repress us with violent brutality.

- On **Friday, October 31, 2006**, **Bertha Lucia Correa Uribe**, Social Work Professor at the UIS, was threatened to death while in her office, at approximately 9:30 am, when she received several telephone calls, including one that stated that they will attempt against her life.
- On **Wednesday, November 8, 2006**, during afternoon hours, **Tania Alexandra Ortiz Diaz**, second semester Civil Engineering student at the UIS was going to the university from her home when two individuals on a red motorcycle followed her. **Tania Alexandra** was forced to take a taxi and when she got out at the UIS, she observed that once again, the two individuals were on road 27. She got nervous but saw some fellow students entering and she addressed them, commenting the situation. When these turned toward the men on the motorcycle, they withdrew with threatening gestures.
- On **Thursday, November 9, 2006**, at approximately 3:00 pm, there was a march to the **Luis Carlos Galan Plaza** due to the national strike summoned by CUT. ESMAD agents brutally attacked the marchers and arbitrarily detained two students from the UIS who were indiscriminately beat up without concern for their absolute lack of protection. **Ximena Barrera**, Law and Political Sciences student at the UIS, received a head injury when ESMAD agents used teargas, rubber bullets and pellets against the marchers when they were on the City's main streets.
- On **Tuesday, November 14, 2006**, **Bertha Lucia Correa Uribe**, student at the Social Work Faculty at the UIS, left the institution at 6:40 pm to go home. She was waiting for a taxi at the UIS entrance and a few minutes later an unknown man spoke to her from behind. He warned her to not look back because if she did he would attack her. For several minutes, this individual threatened and harassed her by telling her to be careful with what she was doing.

- On the morning of **Tuesday, November 21, 2006**, **Walther Mayger Duarte Gomez**, Law and Political Sciences student at the UIS was on his way to this institution. Two individuals approached him on road 18 and 12th Street; Each stood behind his back and one of them said, in a threatening tone, *“listen, you SOB, stop being an informant, don’t continue being involved in the mobs organized at the UIS, and in marches, otherwise you will end up with your face full of flies in the gutter”*. While he threatened Walther, he placed his hand in the bag he was carrying. Taking advantage of the fact that he was in front of a store, Walther immediately entered it and the two men continued. They went down 12th Street and when he saw that they were gone, he went home.
Walter Mayger Duarte Gomez is a member to the Executive Committee of the ACEU and of the Permanent Corporation for Defense of Human Rights at the UIS, “Christian Roa”. The night before this he participated in a cultural event commemorating the fourth anniversary of the assassination of the Mechanical Engineering student, **Jaime Alfonso Acosta Campo**, an event in which **Walther Mayger** made a speech in relation to Violations of Human Rights in Colombian Universities.

Universities On The Atlantic Coast

Year 2002

- On **November 11, 2002**, **Luis Fernando Apolinario**, member of the Association of Students from the Caribbean Coast (AECC) was arrested. There is no exact reference of his arrest because the AECC did not reveal any data in this regard. There was absolute confidentiality in managing the information on the seizure and criminal process against the colleague.

Year 2005

- On **August 17, 2005**, **Edgar Avendaño**, Nutrition Engineering student, Secretary of the Superior Council of Universities of Cartagena (San Agustin Precinct), and member of the AECC, left the University at about 5:10 pm and was approached by two individuals who violently subdued, handcuffed and threatened him with a firearm, taking him into a dark gray truck.

In light of the number of persons at the location, the individuals identified themselves as members of the National Army. The truck went through Crespo neighborhood in the direction of the beltway, in the outskirts of Cartagena where they stopped at a

police checkpoint. They saw the condition that Edgar was in, and one of the men did not have any documents, but they let them go. The men showed Edgar some supposed evidence of his ties to the 37th Front of the FARC, which were photographs of the front and back parts of Edgar's home. They also had a photograph of his face in which it stated that *Edgar de Jesus Avendaño Perez*, alias *Sincelejo*, Vice President of the AECC. They also had other photographs in which other AECC members appeared. Edgar reiterated that he was only a student and did not know anything about what they were asking him. The men threatened his wife and son.

- On **November 1, 2005**, **Guillermo Carriaso** was detained by state security agents after a person with a covered face identified him on the city bus. He was taken to Barranquilla to speed up the process, using the argument that he has ties with insurgent groups. Due to lack of evidence, he was set free after almost two years in detention.
- On **November 1, 2005**, **Adela Gonzalez**, member of the AECC, representative of the Human Sciences Faculty of the Cartagena University and Philosophy student, was detained on the same day as **Guillermo Carriazo**, apparently during joint operations, while they were enjoying a gathering with family and friends at their residence. They were set free due to lack of evidence after almost two years in jail.
- On **November 1, 2005**, **John Echenique**, member of the AECC, student at SENA, was detained in the same operation where he was charged with rebellion and terrorism.
- On **November 15, 2005**, **Elkin Espitia**, member of the AECC, was going home on a bus when uniformed men got on and ordered the men and women on the bus to get off. They captured Elkin Espitia and accused her of collaborating with an insurgent group.
- On **November 16, 2005**, uniformed men entered the home of **Roberto Jimenez** and without any respect for his family, took him out of his home by force. They later accused him of rebellion and terrorism, along with other members of the AECC. It is worth noting that at the time of these events, the individuals that broke into his home thoroughly searched the property where Roberto resided. He was set free due to lack of evidence, but he must report regularly to the District Attorney's Office. He returned to his academic activities at the Cartagena University and is in his fifth semester of linguistics and literature.

Year 2006

- On **March 6, 2006**, at 9:40 pm, **Celestino Barrera Alarcon**, after having completed his scheduled informational work on the Democratic Pole and the candidates to the Senate, Congress and Presidency, was on his way home on a motorcycle taxi and was surprised by an individual when the motorcycle stopped for a red light at the entrance of Los Caracoles Neighborhood, in the City of Cartagena. The individual took out a gun and pointed it at Celestino. This gave the student time to hit him on the arm and he managed to disarm the man, making the gun fall to the floor.

Once this happened, the student heard his aggressor shouting “*we have to kill these*” as he picked up the weapon. The motorcycle took off at high speed and removed Celestino from the area. Afterwards, he called the campaign headquarters to inform them of the event. Currently Celestino is in the City of Bogotá, displaced because the threats continued against him.

- On **May 5, 2006**, at 10:30 pm, in the City of Sincelejo, **Mayra Milena Lopez Ceveriche** and **Carlos Velez Cardenas**, both Agricultural Engineering students at the Sucre University, were detained by the DAS. The students are recognized leaders at the Sucre University. **Mayra Milena Lopez** is a member of the Organization of the Caribbean Women’s Networks and responsible for youth issues. She is also a member of ACEU and member of the Alternative Democratic Pole. **Carlos Enrique Velez Cardenas** is currently a student leader at the Sucre University and member of the Student Association “GALILEO”.
- On **October 24, 2006**, on the softball field at the Atlantic University, a group of students were presumably manufacturing explosives and they were affected by an explosion in which three of them lost their lives: **Dreiber Javier Melo**, **Darwing Adrián Peñaranda** and **Osman Fernández Díaz**. Four were severely injured, among them, **Roberto Petro Darwing Castro**, **Fariel Arias Toloza**, **Osman Turiel Rodríguez** and **Yuris Martínez Garcés**.
- During the morning hours on **December 14, 2006**, a leaflet arrived on the university grounds threatening **Ciro Eduardo Becerra Rodriguez**, who is a member of the ACEU, together with 50 other persons. The leaflet said “*We give you a week to abandon this city... affiliate yourselves to a funeral home*”. Prior to the appearance of this leaflet, there were a series of harassment, permanent persecutions and intimidations, as well as threatening phone calls where the caller was expressing obscenities and warning about being murdered.

- On **December 15, 2006**, **Fabian Enrique Escobar Duran** was traveling on Road 38 and 54th Street in Barranquilla when approached by two individuals, on motorcycles without license plates, who had their faces covered with helmets, screaming "*Communist son of a bitch, we have located all of you!*"

Universities Of Valle Del Cauca

Year 2004

- On **November 18, 2004**, the ESMAD broke into the University del Valle without a warrant and arbitrarily detained **Diana Paola Murcia**, first semester statistics student. She was immediately transferred to the Immediate Reaction Unit of the District Attorney's Office. According to the offense, this took place during the National Protest Campaign against the implementation of the privatization policies in the country's public universities.

Year 2005

- On **September 22, 2005**, the ESMAD entered the University del Valle through the Pedestrian Access No. 2, and the Comprehensive Arts Building, where they damaged the wire fence, destroyed the glass doors of the Music Building, beat up staff in the surrounding areas, and finally reached the Central Administration Building. The ESMAD agents arrived at the area surrounding the Administration Building, where university students were developing a camp, and ESMAD members arrested two students without legal grounds. These students were taken by force from the campus, placed in a tanker and driven to the police station "El Limonar", where they received cruel, inhumane and degrading mistreatment. Their right to freedom was barely reestablished in the early hours of September 23, thanks to the supportive intervention of human rights organizations and the university community.

When ESMAD members surrounded the Central Administration and the Comprehensive Arts and Sciences Buildings, numerous students ran out of fear of being the object of illegal arrest and at that moment, shots were heard at the column located at the end of the entrance hall and in the Central Administration Building, where the ESMAD agents remained. The student **Jhonny Silva Aranguren** was severely injured and died almost instantly.

Year 2006

- On **April 10, 2006**, the outstanding social and student activist, **William Ortiz** was assassinated by henchmen in Yumbo, Department del Valle. He was a Social Sciences student at University del Valle.
- On **April 14, 2006**, members of the Student Council addressed a communication to the Governor and to the Rector of University del Valle, informing them of the persecutions and threats of which they were the object, and requested guarantees for free exercise of student association and representation, as well as physical security and integrity. Among others, the following students are under threat: **Julian Hurtado, Dimas Orejuela, Ibis Yanguas, and William Correa.**
- On **October 4, 2006**, the student representatives **Julian Andres Hurtado** and **William Correa** participated in a meeting with the Governor of Del Valle, with whom they coordinated some key issues of student policies. **Julian** and **William** left the Governor's Office at about 8:00 pm. **Julian** went to his mother's house. At about 11:45 pm, **Julian** left for home but stopped at a nearby shop. Close to home, at around midnight, he was the victim of an attempted criminal action.
- On **November 2, 2006**, at 7:30 pm, a death threat directed at the student representatives **Ibis Danilo Yanguas, William Correa, Numa Andrés Paredes and Dimas Ernesto Orejuela**, as well as all of the university students, was received via telephone at the University Student Council "Julian Andres Hurtado" of the University del Valle. This threat is one of many acts of constant persecution and harassment that have taken place after the death of the student **Julian Andres Hurtado**, a member of this student council.

University Institutions Of Cauca

Year 2004

- on the **10th of October of 2004**, three men from a security group of the Colombian State, who were driving a four-wheel drive vehicle, threatened student leader **Rodrigo Montaña**. The incident occurred in this municipality, on the road going south. This action took place while students from The University of Cauca were organizing a permanent assembly, protesting against the difficult budgetary situation of the university and the application of academic reforms that aggravate its quality.
- On the **24th of October of 2004**, two members of a security group of the Colombian State, threatened student leader **Diana Herrera**. According to the

report, the victim was followed all day, initially by one man and subsequently by two men, who then uttered the threat.

- On the 30th of October of 2004, members of the administrative department of the University of Cauca threatened student leaders **Lucas Restrepo, Cristian Delgado, Judy Caldas and Alejandra Ramirez**, by accusing them of being part of the urban militia of the FARC and the ELN. This occurred when students of the University of Cauca were organizing a permanent assembly, protesting against the budgetary situation of the university and the application of academic reforms that aggravate its quality.
- On the 31th of October of 2004, three members of a security group of the Colombian State, who were driving a Renault 4 vehicle, of a bone-white color and license plates UQG, verbally threatened student leader **Jairo Andrés Bolaños Vidal**. The incident occurred in the Diamante sector, of the Pomona neighborhood, at 8:00 pm. On the 10th of October two persons were seen following the student in said vehicle. On the 31st of October, the student received a threat over the phone by a woman who did not identify herself.

Year 2006

- Beginning in the month of July 2006 several written threats were issued through text messages to students of the Faculty of Education and a member of the ACEU, among others **Jairo Andres Vidal**. In that same month, a first threat arrives at his girlfriend's house, written and signed by the *Calima Block of the UNITED SELF-DEFENSE FORCES OF COLOMBIA*, which says: "... student members of JUCO, PCC and opposition of the new government...from this moment on you have been declared military objectives for us. We warn you that continuing to carry out mobilizations, recruitment and indoctrinating activities at the unicAUCa is a conduct that will be severely punished."

The DAS initiated an investigation, but it did not show any results. On the contrary, those in charge of the investigation began to investigate the personal life of the victim, of his family, of his girlfriend, of the organization he belonged to, followed by attempts to persuade those around the student to give information about him, based on the argument that it was necessary to know what "the student and those who shared his ideas were up to." The student was subjected to persecutions and threatening phone calls, due to which **Jairo Andres Vidal** had to leave the city, quit his studies and abandon his family. His first destination was Bucaramanga. In 2006 he had to

leave the country as a result of the threats he was subjected to. He was received by a refugee program abroad.

- At the end of **August of 2006** the second threat arrives. This time the threat was directed at the Student Council of the Faculty of Law, addressed to students **Camilo Rodriguez, Leydy Bermudez, Maritza Ramires and Alejandro Vega** among others. In this threat reference is made to a: *“new political, economic, student and social order”* and continues: *“...you must adapt to it or choose exile, because this is a war without quarter against your political and student demonstrations in rejection of the new government...”*
- In **August of 2006**, during the night, student **Camilo Rafael Rodríguez**, was assaulted by two unknown subjects on a motorcycle, who said they wanted to give him a letter. The student had previously been approached at his place of residence. The subjects decided to leave when they noticed people arriving. The next day the second threat mentioning Camilo appeared.
- In **August of 2006** there were phone calls made by a supposed member of the DAS, who had a Colombian coastal accent and wanted to speak to law student **Leydy Bermudez Astudillo** in person, in order to see her house outside of office hours. She never went to those meetings nor gave the personal information the man requested.

Three days after the phone call, in the Regional Procurement Office, apparently the same subject appeared, claiming to be an official of the DAS and saying he needed the file in which two other students and **Leydy Bermudez** appeared, because they had reported a public complaint against a professor from the University of Cauca, who had physically and verbally attacked them in a classroom where they were making a public complaint about violation of human rights on the part of the Colombian State. The professor said that he was *“100% Uribista and did not share this talk of human rights, promoted by guerrillas and vandals.”* The Procurement office refused to supply the information requested, since he did not submit an official document that supported his request or his legitimacy as a DAS official.

- In **September of 2006**, in front of the place of residence of student **Leydy Bermúdez**, three men were caught by the student’s mother watching the house. The woman asked them what they were doing. They said they needed to watch the student’s house and immediately left. Neighbors commented that said men had asked questions about the student on several occasions. As a

result of this persecution, the student had to leave her city, and was received by a temporary refugee program abroad, in the year 2007.

- Throughout **October of 2006** continuous persecutions by unknown subjects and automobiles with darkened windows were detected, as well as inspections and monitoring of the place of residence of Engineering student **Carlos Mario Restrepo**.
- On the morning of **the 5th of October of 2006**, the third threat by AUC (Calima block) was found in the Student Council of the Faculty of Law. The threats were issued in the name of **Jose Alejandro Vega** who at that time was a student representative in the Academic Council of the University. In this threat **Andres Vidal** is mentioned once again.
- On **the 19th of October of 2006**, Biology student **Milton Troyano** of the Faculty of Natural, Exact and Education Sciences was assassinated. The student belonged to the Student Committee of his Faculty and was a well-known student leader. This crime remains completely unpunished.
- On **the 30th of October**, several e-mail messages are sent to the Executive Committee of the ACEU and to the personal e-mail of Diego Fernando Marin, a well-known member of the ACEU. The messages were sent from `nuevotiempocAUca@yahoo.es` with the intention of making **Ada Milena Gomez**, student of the Faculty of Biology of Natural, Exact and Education Sciences and member of the ACEU, appear to be an informant of the DAS, and creating the impression of other situations that are far from reality.
- In **December of 2006**, new e-mail messages are sent to an executive member of the ACEU in Bogotá, warning of an “infiltrator” of the DAS. The person who writes the messages insistently warns that “...*he will take care of her so she is not harmed.*” The intention of these messages was to create a level of disarticulation in the organization and warn of possible damage to the physical integrity of the Faculty of Education student mentioned in the messages, allowing such damage to be attributed to the ACEU.
- In **January of 2007** the lamentable and blameworthy displacement of this student to another city in the country took place due to security issues. It should be noted that by that date, this was the second displacement of members ACEU CAUCA.

The University Institutions Of Antioquia

Year 2006

- On the 8th of August of 2006, students **Esteban Ochoa Arredondo**, **José René Jaramillo Hoyos**, **Francisco Cañaveral**, **Gabriel Jaime Bocanumeth** and **Víctor Hugo Tobón Mesa** were outside the union headquarters of ADIDA, when they were intercepted by Jhon Fredy Muñoz David and his brother Adrian Jair, members of the network of informers, attached to the 4th Brigade of the National Army, who have been systematically violating the Human Rights of various members of the University of Antioquia, including the members of the Committee of Human Rights. The persecutors acting in the name of the Colombian State have made it known that they are part of the aforementioned structure and that it is part of the 4th Brigade. In their name, they have expressed threats and have verbally and physically assaulted students, workers and professors of the Alma Mater. **Gabriel Jaime** and **Victor Hugo** were beaten, resulting in serious injuries to the latter, to the point that he needed surgery.

The University Institutions Of Meta

Year 2006

- On the 24th of May 24 of 2006, troops of the National Army attached to the 7th Brigade, in a highly irregular manner broke into the residence of the student of the University of los Llanos, **Libardo Murcia Brands**, in the district known as *20 de Julio* in the city of Villavicencio. Here they accused him of possessing a cache of arms of the FARC guerrillas in his house. In the break-in they did not find an arms cache but they left behind intimidation and terror in the family. The student was receiving classes at the university at the time.

Organisational work in Zimbabwe

By Brilliant Dube

Zimbabwe is a country that is going through a transition. This irreversible process was born out of a bloody and concerted struggle that has spanned close to 10 years. The issues are many – ranging, from the need for Democratization of the society, demand for a new constitution, to the need for food, jobs, for equity and equality, and education and educational opportunities. The struggle has also entailed the fight against male chauvinism within the democratic movement itself and against the brutal and a repressive ZANU PF regime. It is clear that organisational work is an enormous task. It is work that can only be carried out with great risk and sacrifice to the individual, family and community.

The organisational structure

First a horizontal synopsis of the issues in Zimbabwe, thereafter a short review on the fatalities and how we have tried to minimize them. At the highest level we are organising against our self-imposed government gravitation towards a military dictatorship and naked repression, as well as the need for a people driven and people centred new constitution making process, which will give birth to a constitution by the people for the people. This position is premised on our understanding that the current regime is illegitimate and therefore the people should eventually freely and fairly elect a legitimate leadership for the country. At our level as students, the struggle has revolved around our demands for our right to education. This includes the right to access affordable and quality secured education as well as academic freedoms. We have continued to organise students to fight for freedom of expression and association, intellectual freedom to write, publish and embrace all sorts of academic opinions. We are campaigning against the increasingly impoverished standards of public education at a time when children of government officials are studying at elite institutions abroad. Zinasu is the face of the struggle for a better education in Zimbabwe.

As female students, we continue, equally so, to organize and fight alongside our male counterparts. We reject any manifestation of all pretensions to male chauvinism within

and outside Zinasu. We have stood up against our poverty status which exposes most of us to the risk of aids as students resort to prostitution to make a living. We are mobilizing female students to be on the frontline so that their leadership positions are not a product of male patronage and mere affirmative action, but merit as well.

The limitations to freedom of organisation are many. Among other things Zimbabwe has some of the most repressive laws alongside Burma, and the judiciary is partisan and subservient to the interests of the regime, while the parliament has always been weakened and undermined through unlimited and wide ranging executive presidential powers. In short there are absolutely no legal recourses; the law now belongs within the state kit of impunity. In this kit you find such laws as POSA, a relic of colonialism that Mugabe's regime has dearly clung to. This is the law that has always been used to charge and detain students for anything within and outside campuses. Students have become the most obvious targets of the regime. We have reports of arrest, abductions, beatings, expulsions and lately murders of student activists, all of them illegal and unjustifiable. Vice-chancellors fire students like they are firing their garden boys, they now determine who, how and when one can proceed with their studies. With the limited opportunities, this has made the future of many students activists quite precarious.

Irreversible road for change

But how has the students movement continued to thrive even under these treacherous circumstances? While Zinasu maintains its own identity, it has taken a position that resonates with the national cause; it has gained sympathy across the broader democratic movement, as well as solidarity. As a big family, we are together against the regime and together for each other. This has also helped to horizontally spread the risk.

We also strive to isolate issues. We are not a political organization per-sue, but we are engaged in the politics of education just as workers engage in the politics of labour. We are non partisan, but we also know and indeed have built synergies based purely on the convergence of policies and ideologies. We remain committed to shaping the future of our country even under this adversity. We have also empowered our general councillors, both male and female to clandestinely mobilize at institutional level, during classes. Class boycotts and demonstrations have been organized at institutional level by local general councillors, who are local presidents of institutions as well as nationally, by the Zinasu executive.

We have not ignored the opportunities provided by modern technologies. We publish an internet magazine called the vanguard. It carries our programs, activities and the problems we face on a daily basis. We also use cell phone communication to contact each other on a daily basis. My presentation hopefully makes it clear that organizational work is difficult where freedom is constrained. For us it is our motivation to realise a better future for all that keeps us fighting. We are on an irreversible road for change.

Presentation of the Saharawi students' rights

By Naomi Ichihara Røkkum

Since 1975, three quarters of the territory of Western Sahara has been occupied by Morocco. A majority of the population is still living in refugee camps in Algeria. Those who remained in their homeland are subjected to serious harassment from the Moroccan occupiers. For more than 40 years the Saharawi's have been waiting for the fulfilment of their legitimate right to self-determination.

Historical introduction

On 31 October 1975, Morocco and Mauritania invaded Western Sahara as Spain (the former Colonial power) looked on. The Saharawi people were expelled from their homes by force, including the use of napalm. Most fled to the Algerian desert. Mauritania withdrew its claim to Western Sahara in 1979 and left. But Morocco stayed. The Saharawi people declared their own Republic in exile, which has been recognised by more than 90 other states. Yet the world still refuses to uphold international law and bring the Occupation to an end.

The Saharawi liberation movement, known as the Polisario Front, fought the Moroccan army for 16 years, reclaiming a small section of their country. In response Morocco built a 1,000-mile long wall, heavily fortified and mined, which divides the Saharawi refugees from those who still live in the Occupied Territories. In 1991 the United Nations brokered a ceasefire and agreed to organise a referendum in which the Saharawi people could vote on the future of Western Sahara. Yet 15 years later they are still waiting for the vote to take place.

Despite the International Court of Justice ruling that the Saharawi people have a right to self-determination, the political process has stalled. Morocco refuses to agree to a referendum plan, and Western powers have turned their backs on Western Sahara.

Living in a State of Siege

Tens of thousands of Saharawi people still live under Moroccan occupation in Western Sahara. Although Saharawi have ruled out terrorism as a political tactic, their lives and activities are severely constricted by a harsh security state. The Saharawi flag is banned and speaking out for an independent state is illegal. Merely calling for human rights is enough to get organisations closed down and their leaders imprisoned. Yet Saharawi continue to speak out. Over 500 Saharawi are still 'disappeared' in Moroccan custody, possibly surviving as political prisoners. Many have not been heard from for nearly 30 years. Relatives have been imprisoned and tortured for campaigning to know the truth about their fate. Saharawi workers face greater exploitation than Moroccan settlers. Those who campaign for independent trade unions have been violently mistreated.

Peaceful demonstrations since the summer of 2005 have led to harsh repression and an uprising in the Occupied Territories. Demonstrators were arrested in large numbers, some receiving over 10-year prison sentences.

Personal experience

The rights of the Saharawi students are quite limited by the Moroccan authorities. First of all, there are no Universities in the occupied areas of Western Sahara, while the liberated does not have enough resources to create one. Therefore, Saharawi mainly study at universities in Morocco. According to the Saharawi students and some journalists, Saharawi are systematically left out from subjects such as medicine and political science even though they apply. At the study trip with two others from Young Liberals of Norway, we met both Saharawi and Moroccan students that had experienced harsh treatment from the military and the police. To get a better impression of a recent demonstration at University of Marrakech by seeing the university and talking to students, we headed to the university campus but were first mistakenly taken to the Faculty of Natural Science, located with the administration. At this campus there were only two security guards at the gate that, with the help from some Moroccan students let us in. We then visited the faculty of Social Science where we were faced with what looked more like a prison or a military base than a university.

The Faculty was surrounded by police and military more than every corner of the tall wall that surrounded this campus.

This film on YouTube¹⁵ is a scene of what happened to the peaceful demonstration that occurred few weeks prior to our study trip. The police and the military have firstly locked the students inside the campus, followed by the throwing of tear gas bombs over the wall onto the crowd of students. This was eventually followed by a storming of the campus.

The students were demonstrating for their rights; the rights of retaking an exam when encountered by illness and for equal rights for the Saharawi students.

In two confirmed and one unconfirmed incidents, the police pushed students down from the 4th floor of the student dormitory on campus. My delegation visited the Moroccan student that had been pushed and heavily injured. He told us the story of what happened and when we visited him, he was still in deep pain and in need for an operation. Another delegation with Hanne Bentsen from SAIH visited the Saharawi student that had also been pushed from 4th floor, and was at that time in a hospital in Casablanca. The covering of this in the Moroccan media was uttermost biased. However, in such situations online media such as YouTube, in this case, can be very helpful in providing the information of what actually happened.

In this tense political situation, it was a bright moment to know that my activist Saharawi friends were becoming more friendly-minded towards some Moroccans, as cooperation to fight the authorities continued

15 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EHA5MNwLkL8>

CHAPTER 2

ORGANISATION AND DEMOCRACY

An analytical approach to organisation and democracy

By Stener Ekern

Anthropologists' aim, when they approach an organisation analytically, is to understand the production of meaning inside an organisation, and understand the problematic issues about how to be democratic and see how it is carried out in practise. They want to understand and learn about the democratic aspect in an organisation by observing the actual processes that are taking place.

Democratic loyalties

Democracy today is the way of doing politics, building organisations or states. There are not many today that are opposing the democratic way of doing things, because democracy is based on the will of the people which give them a right to participation in the political process within a nation-state. At the same time it is the entrance to different world foras, so resisting it often means you are on your own without any support. An organisation however, is people joining to fight for a mutual cause, but in the process of doing this many young people cross certain family based loyalties and starts being loyal to a very abstract notion instead of to their own families.

This shift happened in Norway more than 120 years ago, but is still going on in certain places of the world, and is still just as difficult. An organisation is also about how it is structured and here there are many diverse opinions and for some it is vital to have a "strong leader" that delegates different assignments. Especially is this important to people where organisation-building is a relatively new task. They can not see the instant value or the importance of the involvement of every member and it is also difficult to break with past routines.

Definition of democracy

From a perspective of an anthropologist one could compare an organisation to a community, and to be able to understand democracy within one or the other, one need to live inside that community and experience how the word is used in its actual context. That means one should try to get a grip around the use and the implication of the word in that specific community.

In different contexts the word is being used differently, but still there are some core elements that one needs to consider if one is talking about democracy. Robert Dahl, an American scientist, has developed five criteria's for how to define if a political process is democratic:

1. Effective participation (everyone should participate)
2. Voting equality (all votes are equally valued)
3. Enlightened understanding (information before elections)
4. Control of the agenda (demos= people, community, total membership)
5. Inclusion (all members off the community)

The first criterion emphasizes the fact that everyone should participate, the second means that all votes are equally valued, and that the vote of a 50 year old man should not count for more than the vote of a 18 year old woman. The third criterion is about the fact that every citizen ought to have the same opportunity to discover and validate the choices. It must be ensured that all of those who votes are sufficiently informed and it helps minimize the power of strong leaders. This leads us to the fourth criterion, which emphasizes the demos, which is the electorate, and the demos must have the exclusive opportunity to decide how matters are to be placed on the agenda.

The last point is about inclusion and it says that it is not possible to exclude anyone on any basis. To evaluate the democratic process in an organisation one can use these five criteria's and compare and see if they all are represented and by applying them one can arrive at a well founded opinion about the prospects for the organisation. Conclusive remarks can be said to be that organizing for democracy is also organizing democratically, even though this can be difficult some places throughout the world.

Democracy, students and universities

by Jørgen Johansen

In this presentation, Jørgen Johansen, addresses the issue of democracy in an organisation and raises different essential questions about what it means to be democratic. At the same time he urges us to rethink that meaning and to look at all the diverse aspects of the word democracy.

Can we say that democracy is a good idea? For whom do we have democracy? Who needs it? Who will benefit from a democratic student organisation? The answer is not that easy. Why do you want democracy? Because you will benefit from this yourself or because you think it will make you a better human being? You have been taught that democracy is a good idea. But why is it a good idea? And where do you want democracy? In all states, companies, banks, universities or should culture or art be democratic part of the society? These are difficult questions, and they should be reflected on before you go out and promote democracy. Furthermore what should be up for democratic decision? Your private life, your family or the books that you read, what part of your life should be affected by democratic bodies?

Democracy in the spotlight

Each and one of you needs to know WHY and HOW your organization shall function, and this will depend on the context you are working in and a lot of other factors. You will organise in a different manner during wartime than in time of peace. And you will do it differently in Zimbabwe than what you would do in Norway. Do not copy the Norwegian model when you go back, because you need to take into consideration the context you are working in.

Democracy is not easy; it is a contested term and not a universal tool for everything good. It is seldom enough in it self, it is full of serious weaknesses and it is not equal to "fairness". Because if you are fair you will take the minorities into consideration, but in democracy it is the majority that decide. Even more, democracy is seldom introduced by democratic means, but often established through struggle and some even believe that democracy can be established through military means. E.g. the NATO

tried to democratize Serbia in 1999 through bombing it for three months, but in the end it was the students who created democracy through very different means and different kind of struggle on the 5th of October 2000.

One person = one vote?

What do we mean by democracy? Is one person = one vote our ultimate goal? Do you need free and fair campaigns prior to elections to be able to call it a democracy? Is it necessary with a multiparty system? Are there other possibilities? Is access to independent media a precondition? What if the state is controlling all of the mainstream media, could you then call it a democracy? If that is so then a number of countries will have difficulties in fulfilling these demands. And what about resources to run campaigns, should one limit the amount one could use on campaigns, would that be fair? These are important questions that you need to consider before you demand democracy. I do not have all the answers; I just want you all to reflect on the word democracy, and what it actually means.

CHAPTER 3

LOBBYING

Votes count, resources decide

By Rune Arctander

Lobbyism is to influence politicians to take different views and demands into consideration. Organisations can be seen as lobbyists, and sometimes it can be understood as immoral, as one does not know who the lobbyist represents. When you lobby it is important that it is carried out in a reliable and fair way, which means one should be open about whom one is representing and what kind of agenda one has. Youth organisations are interest groups' lobbyists, maybe not the same way as the typical lobbyists, but they do work for the interest they believe in, and tries to change the opinion of people, the media and the politicians about their issues. This paper will address how an organisation can be heard, how it can influence different institutions and what it requires to be able to influence.

The importance of public demand

To be able to lobby for one special interest you need some sort of organisation behind you, it is very difficult to lobby for your own personal view, that only you represent yourself. But how does one determine who is organised, and what is it that makes one organised? Everyone in our society has special and different interests, which they want to mediate, and some of these are well organised, farmers for example, while others are not organized at all. Consumers of farmer products can be understood as non organised. The groups that are organised often show that they can dominate a lot of the politics that is central in that field.

Those with the most concentrated and clearest interests have the best possibility to get well organized and be successful. This is because the end sum or the personal gain of several spread interests is less than well organised interests. Another important aspect is that special interests should be made everyone's interests, because if there is only a small part of the society that interest them selves with the issue it will be difficult to be heard. It's a lot easier if one can say that it is a public demand, and if you explain and emphasise why your organisation interests not only will benefit a small group, but the whole community, or the country as a whole. The goal is to

convince someone through different mediums that your interests will benefit all, and in that way influence someone's decision.

The importance of resources

But to be able to influence anyone, one needs resources, which can come in many different forms. If you do have the resources that are required, it is a lot easier to be visible to get heard and to get your opinion across. There are different resources that might be good to have if one wishes to influence someone. For example in order to reach out to people, campaigns can be one strategy, but then you will also need money. Because money can fund big campaigns and enable one to rent professional lobbyists, and that way it will be a lot easier to get your message across to the media, the politicians and even to dictators.

The importance of members is very significant. Because it is important to remember that it is not only you, as an individual who really wants to get your interests heard, but that there is a big group behind you who all wants the same. A successful example here is Amnesty International with their two million members all over the world, because they illustrate that it is a lot easier to convince someone and get your message across when you can say that there are that many people who believe and want the same as you. In addition you have the importance of media attention; it is important for politicians with media attention, either if it is positive or negative. You can take advantage of their fear for negative media attention, and use this to your favour.

Knowledge is the most important or the key issue when we talk about whether you will be heard or not. It is important to have personal contact, or to have meetings outside the regular meetings, which is important if you want to get through to essential decision makers. Knowledge is power; this is where the lobbyists and the ones you want to convince have to work together. Knowledge is what they want from you, and that is how you get through to the decision makers. You have to inform them with facts and arguments about your case, but you also have to know where your case is in the process, or how you can get it into the process.

Often with youth organisations the problem is that they are not in the process at all. And we have to inform and remind the government about their agenda. You also have to know who the key actors are; it's not always that it is the high level people who are the ones you need to get through to. It is central that you identify them and find out how you can get in contact with them. The most important thing that you have to offer is not your opinion, but it is your knowledge and the information

about your case. The knowledge has to be useful to the one you try to influence; otherwise it is a waste of time. It is important to remember that decision makers are often generalists and that's why they need the youth organisations which are the specialists in their field to help them on their way to reach their goals. The question is who you want to influence, the representatives, political advisors, bureaucracy, political parties, or the people. And when you identify these people it is a lot easier to find the best way to persuade them.

Some important elements while lobbying is to

- Be targeted and clear, this means your demands must be understandable if you want to get into contact or make someone change their minds. Be credible and truthful, if not it will hit back hard on you. Show commitment and be constructive, that means don't wane, there will always be problems, and the ones you try to convince don't want to hear about your struggle. They want your comments, suggestions, and by all means put it in letter form, because it is a lot easier for them to handle. It is essential to mobilise, and this is an area where the youth organisations are especially good actors, because they have the capacity to mobilise big crowds. You have to be patient, it takes time for things to change and be positive. And do not disappear if you win or lose a battle, the time after a decision is made is the most crucial, because that's when things are changing. And there are always second rounds and second chances. Believe in your case and in the direction that you started, and follow it through.
- Get noticed, this is a central element, but it is not always that simple. Every one of us and especially the politicians receive approximately twelve and fifteen hundred messages each day. Try to be visible and lasting.
- Build alliances, it can be difficult sometimes, but it is a big part of achieving what one wants. It is easy to think only about what you represent and aiming at your own goals. But sometimes its better to co operate with other organisations, even if it means you have to level on your demands. Other times it can be a god idea to work with only one organisation which shares your viewpoint on some cases. It is important to build long lasting relationships, even with organisations that do not share all of your arguments and viewpoints.
- Target the right audience, try to find out who decides and get into the process as early as possible. Give politicians input throughout the year and at the

same time follow up your case. If you want to influence political parties, in long term issues – you should try to target all parties, find out who supports you and who you can challenge and if it is agreement within the party? Your focus should be on winning the person rather than the debate and try to build trust. This is something you can achieve through acting polite, genuine and honest. But don't forget to be persistent - but at the same time do not rush the decision makers. Remind politicians about the issue, and come back later if they do not have time, with the same position as last time.

The importance of knowing how to influence

There are many ways to influence, and one aspect is to be targeted, and this means you should remind yourself of who you are talking to, and try to reach your target group through talking their language. You should build credibility over time and defend your victories. Make sure that you let your target group know that you will be there in the future. Try to be practical, emphasize the actions and not the written words. Make sure things happen, do not just talk about it. Understand and acknowledge that the politicians have limited possibility to manoeuvre, as politicians they are a part of a bigger party which can inhibit them in their actions. Be clear and focused on the grandest ideas in your project, which means that you should focus on what gains most people. Be enthusiastic by referring to the possibilities, while at the same time you lay emphasis on the quality of your work, and convince politicians because your demands are visible.

There are many ways not to influence, this means you shouldn't be self-centred, don't nag, threat or be passive. You need a plan to be influential, and if you are prepared half the job are done, it is essential to know the history and the background of what you are communicating, and remember there are so many possibilities to get your demands through. To succeed you have to meet the right person, and it is your job to find out who the right person is and give him or her, the relevant information in a clear manner. One way is to start with an email, follow up your agenda on the phone, and ask for a meeting. Concentrate the message, by being direct, short and to the point.

A meeting is another arena where you can reach your target group. To achieve attention about your project, always bring a lobby note, which should be one page, short, but with precise facts and arguments. Hand it out during the meeting, and make sure that the facts on the sheet can convince so that they again can convince others.

Keep your statements relatively short when you attend a meeting, but precise with facts and arguments and to the point, and last but not least, be well prepared. Finally it can be better to move away from the market of problems, and move towards the market of solutions. It can be easier to be heard if you don't focus on the problems, but on the solutions to the problems.

Lobbying, what is the big trick?

By Jørn A. Henriksen

In Norway it can be difficult to localise different lobbyists as they call it different things, information, - and communication advisers, communication experts and so on. That might be because lobbying is not understood as a positive word. But one can not hide the fact that lobbying is important to everyone, and that it happens everywhere.

People do not understand what lobbying is about, that is why it is perceived as negative. They do not understand what it involves, but the truth is that there is no big trick to lobbying. One should just concentrate on presenting high-quality arguments, and openly convince people through good reasons to set in motion your agenda. People often mistake corruption for lobbying, and this is also a reason why people understand it as negative. Corruption is when you pay someone to talk positively about you, while lobbying requires more difficult means such as being well organised and presenting good arguments.

Focused and influential

To be able to be well organised and present good arguments you should think through four questions that are rigorously relevant to lobbying

- *WHAT* do you want?

Here it is important to present clear ideas, and concrete proposals and solutions to the problem that is being addressed. And you should be prepared to follow up if they have critical questions, and want a new revise. It is also possible that you need to know the cost of the solution and have secondary options in case they reject your proposal.

- *WHEN* can it happen?

You must understand the political process that is going on in your home country, thus you should know when the right time to push for your agenda is. And start early, because it is easier to influence something before it is set and already written down. Furthermore, be aware of what kind of issue you are dealing with, e.g. is it a law –or election issue?

- *WHO* can provide it?

One needs to focus on finding the person who can provide one with what one wants. Try to find the person that has the formal and real power to help you change what you wish to change. Additionally you can try to find the advisors to those who have the power. Another central aspect is to reconsider who you do know. Do you have any contacts that can help you along the way? Here one can use the internet to find people that are engaged in the issues that are central to one's work.

- *HOW* can you influence them?

You must indicate and stress why your issue is important and relevant for the society as a whole. As illustrated in figure 1.1, the best way to influence the politicians is to prove that the electorate supports your agenda, and to demonstrate why it is important to the society and illustrate how it can help them e.g. by getting re-elected by referring to different documentation. These three things influence the position of the politician that also contributes to his decision about working actively on behalf of your agenda, or if he will work against it or be passive.

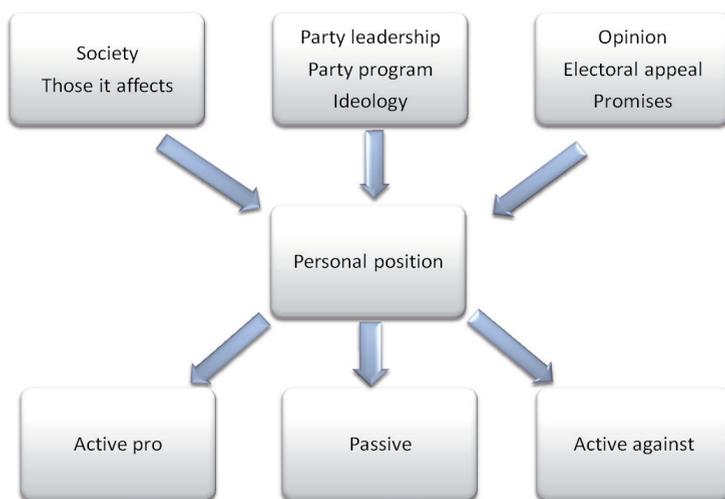


Fig 1.1 A simplified model of what influences politicians

Legitimacy, alliances and unity

Furthermore there are some decisions you have to make about the degree of conflict level for instance. There is a general understanding about consensus in Norway, but sometimes it might be necessary to raise the conflict level to be able to get your message through, even though you should be aware that too much conflict can hurt your case as well. There is also a debate about the choice between lobbying and activism. These two can go hand in hand, but also work against each other. So therefore it is beneficial to have thought this through. The utilisation of the media is useful in the information process, but it can also contribute to a higher conflict level, thus use it wisely.

For an organisation to have influence one needs to consider three different aspects. Firstly, legitimacy and broad appeals is about pushing for a cause that involves the whole society, and not only the individual. Legitimate your cause by informing the politicians about the whole context around your issue, e.g. that more students not only benefit the students alone but that it also helps people to become students and in that way lift themselves out of poverty. Secondly, making alliances is an important aspect of lobbying, because a broad appeal gives you strength as several organisations will validate your proposal. One should place emphasis on documentation like reports or polling numbers that can help strengthen your case. And be prepared for questions if you do not have it, and be prepared to explain why not. Finally, unity is of utterly importance, it is crucial that one stands together, and agrees on the different strategies.

This paper has addressed different ways to influence, and different questions one should consider in regards to lobbying. Henriksen has also stressed the importance of being well organised to be able to influence, and suggests that you should be clear about what you want and find out the right when and who.

CHAPTER 4

GENDER EQUALITY

Policy Paper on Gender Equality in Higher Education

Article by ESU, presented by Alma Joensen

Today's situation in Higher Education is far away from an equal participation of women and men in the different stages of the higher education career. The distribution of power and financial means is not the same for women and men as well as the personal benefits that result out of the education. This is a direct result of the biased situation in society, which has a lot of benefits reserved for men, but also due to the old structures and the atmosphere within the institutions of higher education. Higher education plays a key role in shaping society and building active citizens. A lot of the people who will take powerful roles in a society have a background in higher education. This implies that a gender equal higher education has also a very huge long term impact on the gender equality within the society. Therefore ESU fights for a gender equal environment in higher education that preserves equal chances for both women and men.

ESU stresses that gender inequalities are interrelated with other strands of discrimination. This results in multiple based discriminations and requires strategies to fight the existing exclusion. It is necessary that all participants of the higher education process are aware of structural discrimination in the society and are able to recognize this discrimination within their own behavior. ESU sees an urgent need to improve the situation of women and men in academia. Both women and men are tackled by outdated gender stereotypes, which may force them into a behaviour that does not suit everybody. The choices of subjects, the expected jobs taken are often based on those stereotypes. The students who do not stick to the typical male or female behaviour are likely to face unequal treatment and discrimination. The losers of the patriarchal academic system are still women. Even though they make a big number of the student population, they are rarely present in higher cycles and leading positions. Those women in higher positions earn less money and are often subject to discrimina-

tion. ESU sees the role of higher education also in creating equal opportunities for all people and therefore stresses the importance of affirmative action to overcome the actual gender based discrimination in higher education. Active measures are required in order to reach gender equality.

Analysis of the current situation

Gender refers to the socially constructed attributes of being female or male, or of femininity and masculinity. Society has different concepts of a female and male gender, which influences the perception of how a person should behave and act. These concepts build up an ideology, which is reflected in regulations and structure in four spheres of life: (i) the family and household, (ii) the market, (iii) the community and (iv) the state.¹⁶

The higher education sector, being a part of society is also influenced by the existing gender categories and stereotypes of the society. The power division of society between men and women is reflected in academia. Even though the academia perceives itself as progressive part of society, which is the key for innovations, the reality looks different.

In nearly all European countries the number of female and male students is more or less equal. In some countries, the number of women in tertiary education exceeds the number of men.¹⁷ This contradicts with the enormous lack of women in leading positions of the higher education sector, the economy and within politics. Even though women are in many countries more and better educated than their male colleagues, they still do not reach high positions in society and for their life. Informal structures are resulting in a “glass ceiling” that is preventing women from reaching higher positions.

The choice of subjects in higher education is strongly connected to the gender of the students. Even though the number of female graduates in mathematics, science and technology has slightly increased during the last few years, mostly men enroll in such subjects.¹⁸ On the other side more than 80% of the students in “education” and “health & welfare” are women. The level of doctorate students shows a very different picture. In some countries, the participation of women in this level decreases by

16 Based on: IWRAW Asia Pacific. Building Capacity for Change: Training Manual on the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of discrimination against Women (2001) Session 4.

17 Europe in figures — Eurostat yearbook 2006-07, p. 92.

18 Education and Culture DG: Key data on Education in Europe 2007, p. 168/9.

nearly 30%.¹⁹ As a result, women do not have access to higher positions in the same manner as men and therefore also have less access to money and powerful jobs.

Gender segregation can be found on all levels of higher education. It also comes with a very different face on the different levels. The gender stereotypes, which are present in society, create also a picture of a typical student in each subject, a typical doctoral student, a typical professor and a typical governor of an institution. These stereotypes may force those who want to be successful in higher education to act, think and behave in a specific way. People who do not stick to the rules are likely to face discrimination and have to fight more and stronger for equal results. This affects both men and women and has a negative impact on a lot of individuals. Mostly the stereotypes are to the benefit of the men. Hence higher education has a high impact on the future of a society, as research and development are a product of the thinking and acting of it. ESU stands for a higher education area, which is free of discrimination and unequal treatment. We therefore demand special attention to measures that overcome gender based discrimination.

Students within Higher Education

Access to Higher Education

At first sight, there do not seem to be problems with gender inequality at the entrance of higher education. In a lot of countries, the number of females slightly exceeds the number of male students in the first cycle, which still can not be seen as a reason for neglecting gender inequalities or even thinking that this fact might lead to gender equality. The choice of the subjects is still motivated by gender stereotypes. Usually a pre-decision is already made in school. When children choose their subjects in secondary education they are influenced by what their teachers, family and friends think. Teachers and their behaviour at school have impact on how girls and boys develop their interest in different subjects and disciplines. Teacher's education needs to focus on the construction and stereotyping of gender in schools, as teachers need to be aware of their own prejudices while accompanying their pupils. Gender specific thinking in families has to be taken into account when a decision about a further profession, a choice of a specific school/university or branch is taken. This can only be reached with good cooperation of students, parents and teachers.

19 Education and Culture DG: Key data on Education in Europe 2007, p. 50.

Since different professions have not the same impact on the future personal situation, the expected income and positions, the choice of a subject is more than a choice of what books to read and what content to know about. The choice should be led by a genuine interest in the field. This is only possible if the future possibilities of women and men within a specific area are equal. This precondition will be eliminated when neither sex has to explain or justify the own choice of subjects. Thus, any sort of a concept of a 'traditional norm' with regards to choice of subjects for either sex is to be abolished. Advertising and information of programmes has to be reconsidered regarding their gender impact. Those presentations as well as the illustration of textbooks and the curricula need to have a clear strategy to break gender stereotypes and show unusual pictures of the academia.

Entrance exams tend to strengthen the effects described above. While students have to make a decision that leaves less space for experiences and testing without losses, entrance exams are a barrier to unusual decision about future studies. A woman who applies for an engineering programme in front of a male interview team of professors, and has to explain why she wants to become an engineer will face as many stereotypes as a man who applies for a kindergarten teacher's programme in front of mostly female kindergarten teachers. For both of them it is less likely to enter the programme than for their gender counterparts. Open access to higher education opens more possibilities for those who do not stick to the norm and the ideas of those who are already within higher education.

The question of financing is still a main aspect for the decision on taking a course or not. Tuition fees and a lack of finances keep young people away from higher education. Experiences of several countries have shown that the bad effects of loans and student debt are much stronger on women than on men. As women earn less money on average and expect much more often to leave their job for family reasons, they suffer much more from debt. Knowing about fees and the lack of financial support this can keep them away from higher education. Loans and interest results in higher financial burden for those who are leaving work, for family care – usually women. Therefore fees also have to be abolished for gender equality reasons. A sustainable financing of living costs is essential for a free decision of profession and subject from a gender perspective.

Duration within the institution

Students in higher education institutions are very much dependent on the lecturers and teachers as they judge on the work done by the students through exams and grades. Those decisions shape the future of students very much. The presuming stereotypes of men and women are part of any judgment and teachers need to be aware of that fact. Professional education of teachers and professors must include gender awareness trainings to avoid unfair treatment of students based on gender. Examination situations are the best possibility for unequal treatment and judgment based on stereotypes. Institutions must ensure, that their examination procedures assure that all students are treated equally. Performance appraisal needs to be transparent before the exam starts. Especially oral exams should be taken e.g. by two examiners, which are gender balanced, or including externals, in order to avoid gender bias and sexual harassment. Moreover, a legal framework has to be given, forbidding gender discrimination considering evaluations and decisions regarding study progress, access and selection within higher education. Efficient systems of complaint and appeal have to exist in order to fight encountered gender-based discrimination.

Teachers also play an important role as role models for students to take a scientific job or to proceed in the academic career. The aim of every institution must be reaching an equal relation between women and men in higher positions of the university to provide role models apart from the typical subject and job division. Thus, this also has to be a substantial aspect for the selection of experts, if they are included in the curricula.

Horizontal mobility has a strong gender specific aspect. While looking at the mobile students, a lot of countries have a bigger participation of female students abroad.²⁰ This is also due to the gender specific choice of subjects that lead women more into subjects that are usually more mobile, such as language, social sciences and cultural science. But on the other hand, the access to mobility is more restricted for female students in other parts of the world. In some countries, women are even not allowed to study or they face huge discrimination. Women in subjects, who focus on these countries and regions, face disadvantages, when mobility becomes a key issue for the future job. Institutions need to ensure that institutional co operations are equally open for all students and that the support and counseling of the institution is supporting students in countries where even no legal equality is given.

All over Europe, 5-10% of the students has children and has to combine child care with their studies. In nearly all countries more women than men have children while

²⁰ Survey of the Socio-Economic Background of ERASMUS Students DG EAC 01/05, Technical Annexes of the final report, p. 17.

they are studying. In a vast majority of the countries, there is no special financial support for students with children. A consistent financial support is needed for the additional expenses students with children have to pay. But childcare is not only a financial problem for students but also a problem of time and availability. Childcare has to be available for students' children during the time of classes. Flexible curricula are needed for parenting students to combine the unpredictability of childcare with their studies. Only good study conditions for student parents enable an equal division of the childcare between women and men.

Employability and scientific career

Student employment is a part of everyday life in a lot of countries in Europe. As the general gender pay gap is constantly wide in all European countries, this is the same for student work.²¹ This increases the amount of work for female students or leaves them with less money. Students are often working within the institutions as tutors or student staff. At least here is a responsibility for the institution to give equal chances for women and men. Recruiting procedures should stick to the aim of reaching an equal number of male and female student staff in the institution. This is extremely important in positions, where jobs as student staff give an opportunity for further employment in the institution and an academic career.

First figures show, that the access to master's level changes the relation between women and men in higher education. The "pyramid", which is showing the decreasing participation of women in the academic career, gets an additional barrier through the three-cycle system. Sustainable data is crucial to find out reasons for this additional barrier and to implement measures against. Tuition fees also impact very negatively on gender equality. As fees suggest an investment in the own human capital, an unusual decision can among other things cause deep financial problems through not finding a job in a field where it is not usual to work in as a woman or a man. The gender pay gap increases the bad impact of student debt for women, as they have to pay back for a longer time and more money as their male colleagues.

Women should be encouraged to apply for research or professor positions within higher education. One way of reaching this goal would be to introduce temporary gender quotas for specific positions, in order to create gender-parity. It is crucial for the evolving of higher education that women and men are given the opportunity to

21 European Commission, DG for Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities: The gender pay gap — Origins and policy responses, July 2006.

engage and be successful in every field of study and every discipline, to overcome the persisting horizontal and vertical segregation.

Gender knowledge in education and research

Gender specific knowledge should be integrated in the curricula in all subjects. While social science is often dealing with gender studies in their field, natural science, engineering and economics lack this content in their programmes. Curricula need to be revised based on the fact, that the academic society is male dominated and often forgets women and their contributions in history, which leads to the perception of a constant and even historical lack of role models. Such a perception may lead to the belief of female of not being suited for these fields. The beliefs and ideologies, which have been excluding women from participating in higher education, have resulted in a view of science and education, excluding the bodies, lives and experiences of women from being a suitable subject for research and education. In the case that such societal perceptions still persist, action should be taken to overcome them.

Gender specific knowledge cannot be outsourced in specific lectures on “gender” but has to be integrated into the average courses and seminars. The definition of employability must include awareness regarding gender stereotypes and gender based discrimination. When curricula include soft skills, gender knowledge has to be a part of those competences.

The basis for gender knowledge in the curricula is research on related fields. Without a sustainable financing of gender related research, the necessary scientific background cannot be provided. It is essential, that gender related research is funded and given a priority in the institution. Also the research teams must head for an equal participation of women and men. Researchers are role models for students and play an important role in breaking gender stereotypes.

Higher Education governance

Gender inequalities do not only come up among students and within curricula, but also in institutional governance. Most governance structures are male dominated, only a very few female rectors or presidents exist all over Europe. This is first of all mostly

caused by the lack of women among professors, which is often a requirement for the rector's or president's position.²² The equal participation of women and men is needed in a democratic institution. Therefore ESU stresses that the legislation shall aim to reach an equal participation of men and women in the decision making of higher education. Also the institution itself has to support the participation of the underrepresented gender in all decisions. This usually affects women in the overall decision making as well as men in participating in gender politics and formal gender structures.

Quality Assurance can ensure that the institution fulfills specific criteria regarding gender equality itself. As a good system of Quality Assurance has to come along with more transparency and includes continuous possibilities to reform, it also gives great opportunity to increase Gender Equality in Higher Education. Gender Equality should be an overall aim of the institution as well as the institution should have concrete measures and structures in place that help reaching that goal. If internal structures and measures for Quality Assurance exist, they should be supervised from a gender specific perspective. If there is any body responsible for Gender Equality in the institution, it should be involved in the Quality Assurance process.

A Gender Mainstreaming Strategy needs to be evolved in each institution. Such a strategy must cover all parts of the higher education institution, including education, research and government. The institution needs to allocate financial means and a structure, which ensures long term measures and monitors the impact of tools and gender equality work.

Conclusions

ESU stresses the importance of an overall gender mainstreaming strategy for the higher education sector. The strategy needs to include specific aspects to be useful

- Analyzing the present situation of gender differences in all areas of the higher education institution
- A continuous way of collecting the relevant data to monitor the impact of the strategy and its measures
- Clear and well-defined responsibilities for the execution of the strategy and a mandate and power for the responsible people that allows the execution
- Transparent decision making procedures both for the strategy itself and for the higher education institution

22 European Commission, DG for Research: She-Figures 2006.

- Financial support for the execution of the strategy, that assures an implementation of all measures including the monitoring and follow up process
- Student participation on all levels of the strategy as well as a gender balance among the responsible actors while developing and implementing the strategy

The need of gender mainstreaming needs to be formulated on the institutional level as well as on the national level and the European level. It needs to be extended to the international level in the future. A strategy for gender equality in higher education may not be reduced to the higher education sector. Same action needs to be taken in vocational and professional training and within primary and secondary education.

ESU states that gender inequalities continue to primarily disadvantage women. The fact that women are outnumbering men in some parts of the educational sector has not yet changed that. The power division between men and women remains beneficial for men, women suffer much more from the discrimination that occurs to both genders. Therefore ESU stresses, that gender equality mechanisms mostly means to implement affirmative action to support women. Nevertheless, the gender stereotypes need to be dismantled, as they are the principle reason for inequality, prejudices and discrimination.

Any gender mainstreaming strategy needs to be connected to a wider concept of anti-discrimination work. Gender and other strands of discrimination are mutually interconnected, which needs to be reflected in the actions taken.

Gender and Equality: the case of the Zimbabwean students' movement

By Maureen Kademaunga

Zimbabwe is a historically unbalanced society where females still suffer discrimination. Zimbabwean men think women try to take their place while all the women want are equal opportunities. A critical problem is that the government does not recognize female needs and this forces us to take into our own hands. This presentation will address some of the reasons for the limited participation of female students, and look to different solutions and ways of enhancing female participation.

Limited participation of female students

A patriarchal society where socially constructed perceptions of women dominate and the emphasis on male supremacy poses limitations for women, can lead to a lack of initiatives from the female students and be a major cause for why the females are not being a part of student activism. Violence that is perpetrated by male counterparts within student bodies which mainly come in the form of sexual harassment, physical and psychological attacks instills fear in the female students and thus they end up not participating in students' politics. Torture and harassment is the worst evil perpetrated by the government on what it calls rabid critics on a regime change project. Student leaders and aspiring ones becomes the subject of attack. Many are afraid of being dehumanized, brutalized, and degraded. This and the absence of financial resources to campaign ahead of elections is also a discouraging factor for young women to participate in students union activities.

Another important aspect of why females are not participating in student activities is that the operating environment in which female student seek to participate in, is skewed and inhibitive. Stereotyping and prejudice where women who are pro-active are labeled as loose, common and vulgar and the financial constraints were also cited as limiting factors for female students who find it difficult to match the material and of their male counterparts.

As a result of all of these different factors, female student leaders are intimidated into non-participation.

Enhancing participation of female students

To be able to increase female participation one should raise awareness and female students should assemble and not be expelled from the academic environment for voicing their opinion. There is a need to unlearn both men and women of patriarchal values that create gender disparities and start equipping them with new perceptions that will lead them to appreciating each other. This can be achieved through creating different platforms for students to discuss gender and human rights issues.

And reproductive and sexual health issues of female students must be addressed in the face of the monster scourge-HIV/AIDS. Additional mentorship programs are to be implemented as a way of motivating and addressing some of the challenges faced by female students and thus encourage to increased participation.

At the same time we are trying to decentralize the information regarding the work of ZINASU for what it is and its role in the democratization of Zimbabwe in these challenging times in the history of students and their well being. Equal opportunities in student politics must be created through legislation, and there should be carried out vigorous social marketing and sensitization through social advocacy programmes aimed at promoting gender-justice

Another central initiative is to lobby for legislation that will guarantee equal opportunities for participation between male and female students more specifically in S.R.C, ZINASU General Council and National Executive Committee.

Strategic Objectives on how to achieve enhanced female participation

The Gender and Human Rights unit is striving to;

- Strategically position the female student within the students' movement and the broader democracy and human rights movement.
- Radically uproot all forms of discrimination against female students and provoke female students to be pro-active.
- Promote the coordination and the mainstreaming of Human Rights within ZINASU.

An expected outcome from all of these activities is that we will experience a critical mass of rights-conscious female students who will take the union's agenda forward and a start of a process by the female students in fighting for deeper involvement in the students' movement. And additionally we hope there will advance a culture of anti-impunity among female students in colleges.

How far so far?

Firstly we have achieved a forty percent representation in the National Executive Council, secondly the first ever female in the Presidium and thirdly a twenty percent female representation in the General council from the previous 6 percent.

We also see a general increase in active female members in the students' movement and an appreciation of female students by some of their male counterparts in terms of capacities and capabilities and not in terms of gender. At the same time there is focus on the creation of space and opportunities for female students for political maneuvering and engagement.

And finally we can maintain that the female students in Zimbabwe continue to agitate and organize their lot in championing and fighting for deeper involvement in decision making and policy development processes within ZINASU and the education sector in general.

Collaborators:

The National Union of Students in Norway (NSU)

NSU is an interest organisation for about 93 000 students attending Norwegian universities, academies of art and scientific colleges. For more than 70 years, we have been working to defend and improve the educational, social and financial rights of the students.

NSU works on a national level to influence politicians, the bureaucracy, the media, the Norwegian State Educational Loan Fund (NSELF) and the administration at the various educational institutions in order to improve the conditions for you and your fellow students.

NSU has local organisations at the Universities of Oslo, Bergen, Trondheim, Stavanger, Ås and Tromsø, as well as the Norwegian School of Economics and Business Administration in Bergen, and six scientific colleges in Oslo.

NSU works:

- For student financing to be raised to a level where students can study full time.
- To defend and improve the students' academic and social rights. One of our goals is that day-care centres for students with children should be low-priced and easily accessible.
- To encourage the building of more, reasonably priced student housing.
- With student solidarity and international collaboration between students.
- To ensure that all subjects are taught in line with good pedagogy, and that students receive better guidance from their teacher supervisors.
- To promote all aspects of equal opportunity. We are working to improve gender equality in higher education, to better the representation of minority groups in academia, and to make sure that physical disabilities do not prevent anyone from pursuing a higher education.

NSU is a member of SAIH and is represented on SAIH's board.

Norwegian Association of Students (StL)

StL is the largest student organization in Norway, and represent 100 000 students at 30 different higher education institutions. StL is a non-governmental organization, and sustains as well as promotes students' financial, academic, cultural, social and democratic interests.

StL influences and tries to improve the student finance system, focuses on improving teaching and evaluation methods, raises attention to the importance of internationalization within higher education, and works on improving the student housing and child care situation.

StL spends a lot of time and resources talking to politicians, and demands that student issues are put on the agenda. StL lobbies towards the Ministry of Education and Research, the governmental committees as well as other actors within the research and education sector.

The superior student body at any higher education institution (HEI) in Norway can become a member of StL. The student body at the HEI represents its students at StL and chooses its representatives for StL's committees. Therefore, the superior student bodies at HEI's are StL's most important supplier of terms.

StL's politics and activities are based on four fundamental principles:

The states' superior responsibility

It must be ensured that everyone can study, regardless of economical background. The state must have superior responsibility for financing higher education and ensure that the quality of teaching and research at each institution meets the requirements.

High quality of education

Education which is offered at Norwegian HEI's must have high standards and satisfy international demands. Teaching must be relevant and linked to the leading findings within research and development of the field.

Equal rights

Differences in social and cultural backgrounds, economical or geographical conditions, sex, age, sexual orientation or level of functionality must not be of any obstacle to participate in higher education.

Student's participation and responsibility

The student must be an equal partner in the higher education system, and should be encouraged take an active part in his or her study situation, through participation and reflective thinking. Students have the right, as well as an obligation, to participate in local decision-making processes that influence their education.

StL is a member of SAIH and is represented on SAIH's board.

International student union of Norway (ISU-Norway)

The International Students' Union of Norway is committed to the social, academic and political interests of all international students studying in Norway.

ISU is an independent, democratic, non-profit, non-partisan organization run for and by international students. It has partnership agreements with the two Norwegian student organizations NSU (Norsk studentunion), and StL (Studentenes landsforbund). ISU has also been a member of SAIH (Studentenes og Akademikernes Internasjonale Hjelpfond) since 2007.

The International Students' Union was formed in the late 1970s when a small group of dedicated student activists put their efforts in protecting the welfare and academic situation of international students in Norway. Eventually, in 1981, this became a unified effort and the ISA (International Students Association) was born. The organisation grew - establishing member branches at all the universities in Norway. During its history, the organization has come to be known under different names; first it changed to FSA (Foreign Students Association), then to FSU (Foreign Students Union), and finally to the current name, ISU (International Students' Union).

Currently, ISU has local member organizations at 12 different institutions of higher education in Norway, with the national office in Oslo. Each member organization has a president, who is responsible for the operation of the branch. The branches are to a large extent autonomous and must be approved into the organization by at least two thirds of the National Assembly's vote.

Union of Education Norway

Union of Education Norway is Norway's largest trade union for teaching personnel. With more than 140,000 members, the Union is the country's second largest trade union.

The Union has members working in all areas of the education system – ranging from kindergarten (pre-school), primary and secondary school level to colleges, universities and adult education. It also has special educational and administrative support functions.

The Union's size and expertise enable us to exercise considerable influence. We participate actively in the public political debate - and are also heavily involved in international work.

Union of Education Norway was founded on 1 January 2002, and is a continuation of two other teachers' unions, the Norwegian Union of Teachers (NORSK LÆRERLAG) and the Teachers' Union Norway (LÆRERFORBUNDET). Helga Hjetland is the President of Union of Education Norway, and Per Aahlin is the Vice-President.

Union of Education Norway is a member of SAIH and is represented on SAIH's board.

Appendix #1 – References

Student activism, structural adjustment and the democratic transition in Sub-Sahara Africa, by Leo Zeilig

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Appendix #2 - Conference Program:

SATURDAY 13TH SEPTEMBER

09.00 – 09.30 REGISTRATION

09.30 – 10.00

10.00 – 11.00 Organisational work when freedom of organisation is limited
Clever Bere from ZINASU, Camila Salazar Lopez from ACEU & Naomi Røkkum from NSU-UiO on Western-Sahara.

11.15 – 11.45 An analytical approach to organisation and democracy
Anthropologist Stener Ekern, Norwegian Centre for Human rights

11.45 – 12.15 Experiences from two Norwegian Student Organisations, including workshop

Jeanine Bruun (StL) and Marte Sendstad (NSU)

12.15 – 13.00 Democracy and Student Organisations Part 1

Jørgen Johansen

13.00 – 14.00 Lunch

14.00 – 15.00 Democracy and Student Organisations Part 2 - Workshops

15.00 – 15.30 Presentations of workshop conclusions

15.45 – 16.15 Public Relations

Peggy S. Brønn, Norwegian School of Management (BI)

16.15 – 17.15 Lobbying

Jørn Henriksen and Rune Arctander

17.15 – 18.15 Workshop on PR and Lobbying

18.15 – 18.45 Presentations of workshop conclusions

20.00 Dinner and social events at "Den Gode Kafé"

SUNDAY 14TH SEPTEMBER

09.30 – 11.15 Gender and gender equality in student organisations, including workshop

Maureen Kademaunga & Alma Joensen

11.30 – 12.00 Presentations of workshop conclusions

12.00 – 13.00 Lunch

13.00 – 14.45 Student Activism and Student Movements, including workshop

Leo Zeilig

15.00 – 15.30 Presentations of workshop conclusions

15.30 – 17.00 Presentations from student participants

17.00 – 18.30 International Cooperation, presentations from ISU- Norway and ESU, including workshop

18.30 – 19.00 Presentations of workshop conclusions

19.00 – 19.30 Closing words

19.30 Dinner at “Collets Café”

Appendix #3 - List of participants

Norwegian guests

1	Andersen, Charlotte	StL
2	Brattland, Sanna	Studentenes Fredspris
3	Bruun, Jeanine	StL
4	Cooper, Wendy Joseph	Student, HiO
5	Holan, Ben	NSU
6	Isaksen, Thor Richard	Studentenes Fredspris
7	Kihl, Sigurd	SLUG/Utdanningsforbundet
8	Leren, Thomas Holsten	NHH
9	Normann, Mari	ISFiT
10	Osmundsen, Elisa	Studentenes Fredspris
11	Røkkum, Naomi Ichihara	Studentparlamentet UiO
12	Sendstad, Marte	NSU
13	Stenwig, Johannes	NHH
14	Hjellesteth, Knut	RORG
15	Tråsavik, Renate	NSU
16	Tami, Farshad	ISU

International Guests

17	Akabana, Exildah	UNZASU, Zimbabwe
18	Bere, Clever Tapiwa	Zinasu, Zimbabwe
19	Dube, Brilliant	Zinasu, Zimbabwe
20	Hamusankwa, Chooye	COBUSU, Zambia
21	Joensen, Alma	European Student Union (ESU)
22	Kademaunga, Maureen	Former Zinasu, Zimbabwe
23	Mamani, Juan	CEADL, Bolivia
24	Nyirongo, Duncan P.	ZANASU, Zambia
25	Palacios, Fernando	URACCAN, Nicaragua
26	Phosa, Lucky Molojiwa	SAUS, South Africa
27	Puerta, Camilo	JUCO, Colombia
28	Rios, Cathalina	JUCO, Colombia
29	Rodríguez, Viviana	Colectivo Rebeldía, Bolivia

30	Rodriguez, Camilo	ACEU, Colombia
31	Ruiz, Daysi Maria	Unen, Nicaragua
32	Salazar, Camila	ACEU, Colombia
33	Villca, Guido Leon	UMSS, Bolivia
34	Valdez, Pamela Lizeth	UMSA, Bolivia

SAIH

35	Leder	Holmqvist, Jonas
36	1. Nestleder	Espe, Sigrun
37	2. Nestleder	Luthen, Siri
38	Valgkomité	Stølen, Kamilla
39	Valgkomité	Reinertsen, Hilde
40	Informasjonskomité	Balto, Runar
41	Informasjonskomité	Roaas, Maria
42	Informasjonskomité	Bentsen, Hanne
43	Sekretariat	Edland-Gryt, Sindre Olav
44	SAIH-Bergen	Isaksen, Eirin W.
45	SAIH-Bislet	Hansen, Nikos Tavridis
46	SAIH-Bislet	Amdahl, Lars
47	SAIH-Bislet	Gilsvik, Per-Eirik
48	SAIH-Bislet	Haukedal, Kristine
49	SAIH-Bislet	Karlsen, Kristine Mo
50	SAIH-Bislet	Thommasen, Anne Kristine
51	SAIH-Blindern	Berge, Tarald Laudal
52	SAIH-Blindern	Stenersen, Kine
53	SAIH-Blindern	Kristoffersen, Sophie
54	SAIH-Blindern	Mosberg, Marianne
55	SAIH-Blindern	Poulsen, Nicklas
56	SAIH-Blindern	Hafskjold, Mette Bjørnsdatter
57	SAIH-Blindern	Sølvberg-Louison, Anne Cecilie
58	SAIH-Blindern	Thorgrimsen, Tone Celine
59	SAIH-Blindern	Kristensen, Tove
60	SAIH-Blindern	Pedersen, Jørn W.
61	SAIH-Kristiansand	Hov, Kirsten
62	SAIH-Kristiansand	Norland, Kine
63	SAIH-Kristiansand	Kyllevik, Alexander

APPENDIX #3
LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

64	SAIH-Kristiansand	Dolsvåg, Elise
65	SAIH-Kristiansand	Johnsen, Marte
66	SAIH-Kristiansand	Rafen, Jørgen
67	SAIH-Kristiansand	Nåmdal, Torill
68	SAIH-Trondheim	Johansson, Daniel
69	SAIH-Trondheim	Solum, Aleksander
70	SAIH-Trondheim	Øren, Marthe
71	SAIH-Trondheim	Bøgseth, Magnhild

Speakers

72	Arctander, Rune	LNU - The Norwegian Children and Youth Council
73	Brønn, Peggy	BI - Norwegian School of Management
74	Ekern, Stener	NCHR - Norwegian Center for Human Rights
75	Henriksen, Jørn	SAIH
76	Johansen, Jørgen	
77	Zeilig, Leo	University of Johannesburg

Conference Report: The student organisation in the Democracy – Democracy in the Student Organisation

Kine Stenersen (ed.)

Students are important agents of change all over the world. During the international student conference “The Student Organisation in the Democracy – Democracy in the Student Organisation” which was organised in Oslo, Norway, in September 2008, students from South Africa, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Bolivia, Nicaragua, Colombia, Europe and Norway discussed the role of students and the importance of democracy in creating real change. This report sums up some of the discussions from the conference, as well as presentations from participants and speakers, within the four key issues of the conference, namely organisational work when freedom of organisation is limited, organisation and democracy, lobbying, and gender equality.

SAIH (the Norwegian Students’ and Academics’ International Assistance Fund) was the main organiser of the conference. SAIH recognises the power young people have to influence their own societies, and also acknowledges that in order to change the world, one must start with oneself. SAIH has a long history within the field of higher education, education for development and student solidarity. From 1961, SAIH has been working under the slogan *Education for Liberation*, which reflects the idea that good higher education can enlighten, raise awareness, develop and liberate individuals, groups and communities as well as providing people with the tools for critical and independent thinking.

The report is funded by Union of Education Norway



UNION OF EDUCATION
NORWAY

ISBN 978-82-990929-2-0

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International Assistance Fund