

## EUROPEAN HUMANITIES UNIVERSITY



Professor Anatoli Mikhailov, a renowned scholar in the field of German philosophy and culture, the author of acknowledged essays on the history of hermeneutics and the works of Martin Heidegger, was elected the first Rector of the University. He had extensive experience at the United Nations, he is a on of the 67 leading scholars in Belarus who were elected life members of the Belarusian Academy of Sciences. In the year 2000 the Supervisory Board reelected Prof. Mikhailov Rector of the EHU for another term.

### **Rector's Address**

The year 2004 was marked by dramatic events in the life of the European Humanities University. Until very recently, it was difficult to believe that the authorities would dare to act precipitously towards the university, damaging irreparably the country's prestige in the opinion of the civilized world. Nevertheless, that step has been taken. Belarus is now known as "a country where universities get closed."

Created in 1992, The European Humanities University focused the intellectual efforts of those interested in building a productive dialogue with Europe and the world. This wider world, due to historical circumstances, had for many decades been fenced off from us by ideological barriers. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the newly independent state of Belarus needed a professional community capable of effective interaction and cooperation with the surrounding world. This movement, which seemed self-evident in those inspiring times, turned out to be out of tune with today's reality.

The country's authorities instead chose to confront the civilized world, locking it out with a policy which continued the country's isolation. We see in this dismal consequences for Belarus' present and future. EHU's presence in Belarus has proved that high-quality education is of vital importance, and that its absence can cause harm from which it is difficult to recuperate.

EHU developed into a unique enterprise, one which was able to promote the growth of the country's intellectual potential. The people who proved to be involved in running this unique initiative, no matter what arguments guided their actions, now bear the burden of responsibility for inflicting this crying injustice on their fellow citizens. The actions of the authorities have, however, evoked an unprecedented counter wave of solidarity and support worldwide.

I admire the courage and strength of the University's students, faculty and administration as they withstood a most difficult period of lawlessness perpetrated against them. I would like to address words of special appreciation to the authorities and academic community of our good neighbor Lithuania, as well as our numerous partners in Europe and Northern America, who are rendering their assistance to restore the University in a new form, outside our country, as a "University in Exile."

Years will pass, and everything will fall into place, and all things will be called by their right names. It is my firm belief that the idea of the European Humanities University, which was proclaimed a little more than 13 years ago by a small group of committed academics, will once again come to be in great demand in its own country. Then, truly, the University will receive a new life.

Professor Dr. Anatoli Mikhailov Rector of the European Humanities University

A Mucastan

## Milestones in the History of EHU

Twelve years elapsed from the founding of EHU to the forced termination of its activities in 2004. The University began as a romantic experiment of a small group of intellectuals determined to challenge the conservative traditions inherited from Soviet higher education. It grew into something much bigger, becoming a leader in the internationalization and liberalization of higher education in Central and Eastern Europe. The founders aimed to create an independent university to educate a new generation of professionals in the field of social sciences and humanities. These young people were to promote dialogue between Western and Eastern cultures and build an open civil society in Belarus which would be based on the values of European civilization.

EHU developed into the only university in the history of higher education in Belarus to obtain real university autonomy, and retained it despite powerful pressure from the authorities. It was in many ways remarkable that a country where historical, political and socio-cultural conditions had never been favorable towards European academic culture became the seat of such an institution. EHU's reputation rapidly brought it into the league of similar well-known, centuries-old European and American universities, due both to the quality of its educational programs and the structure of its academic life.

The phenomenon of EHU was remarkable in the context of the whole post-Soviet space. It benefited from the specific historical context at the time of its establishment. Almost by accident, existing conditions emulated the environment which provided for the autonomy of European universities in Middle Ages. The fact that the Belarusian Orthodox Church took part in founding the University was effective for 10 years in countervailing and limiting the claims of the government. This support contributed to a favorable context in which university academic culture could evolve.

Long before Europe adopted the Bologna Declaration in 1999, committing itself to harmonizing the architecture of higher education systems, EHU made efforts to enrich higher education in Belarus with many of the same principles. These fundamental assumptions now guide efforts toward a joint higher education area that stretches from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean. The University always kept to this objective, even when regulations from the Ministry of education forced the University tried to reverse its reforms.

The University consolidated a strong and eminently qualified faculty by inviting well-known specialists of high standing in humanities as well as young gifted scholars. All of them were actively involved in research, developed original innovative courses and applied modern methods of teaching. Each year, about 50 visiting professors from France, Germany, Russia, the USA, and other countries were invited.



Former University's building at 24, Skoryna ave., Minsk



Prof. Vladimir Dounaev, First Vice Rector of the EHU, one of the founders of the University



Prof. Dr.R.Stober, Director of the Institute of Economic Law of Hamburg University, gives a lecture in International Economic Law



Dr. Christian Grellois, University Bordeaux IV Montesquieu, Dr. Alla Sokolova, Dean of the EHU Law Department with EHU students



Эти двоо робит и интеро симпитичных девуших — первые выпускники факультота права Европейского гуманитарного университета.

Во вторитк, покав прто што сувайного заседания, реяйнравшего из повытку покульники в потучених дипломов, в том числе и с отличных эти зипламы им кст-тако были пуркных Опросия свыстежей перводателя, запричу и обизнение, "«"д" стед кого сверку постойной первыз дипитимов ЕГУ
С трудострайством, как и извигатся при таком прекрасном образования, у тих ребят проблем мет.

First graduates of the EHU. Law Department, July 1997



Last holders of the master's degree of the old EHU. Graduates of the MA program in NGO Management,



Prof. Krzysztof Zanussi, Doctor Honoris Causa of the EHU, distinguished Polish film-maker, speaking before the EHU students



Dr. Algirdas Brazauskas, former President and now Prime Minister of Lithuania, speaking before the EHU Senate at the ceremony of the award of the Doctor Honoris Causa

EHU consisted of eight departments offering a total of 13 majors toward bachelor's degrees. Program curricula included Liberal Arts, foreign and classical languages, and modern information and communication technologies. The University was active in developing master's, doctoral and postdoctoral programs, as well as pre-admission training and continuing education. EHU was the first university in Belarus to design doctoral programs along the lines of those offered in American universities.

The EHU library comprised a unique collection of contemporary and classical publications in the humanities and social sciences, including an extensive stock of literature in foreign languages, which had no equal in Belarus.

EHU served as a venue for significant cultural events, research conferences, colloquia and international seminars. These events attracted well-known scholars, artists and political figures from the region and abroad.

The University enjoyed financial support from a number of its international donors: American Councils for International Education (ACTR/ACCELS). Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs of the U.S. Department of State, Carnegie Corporation of New York (USA), Center for Civic Education (Calabasas, CA, USA), Christian Johnson Foundation (USA), Civic Education Project (New Haven, USA), Eurasia Foundation (USA), European Commission, European Humanities University Foundation (USA), French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD, Germany), German Foundation for International Legal Cooperation (Germany), German Fund for Technical Cooperation (GTZ, Germany), German Research Foundation (Germany), Government of the State of North Rhine-Westphalia (Germany), Higher Education Support Program (OSI, Budapest, Hungary), John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation (USA), OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, Robert Bosch Foundation (Germany), Transform Program of the German Federal Government (Germany), and others,

Thanks to this international cooperation, the University created research centers, institutes and programs in various spheres of the humanities, which were unique in Belarus.

In 1993, the Embassy of France in Belarus supported the establishment of the French-Belarusian Department of Political Sciences and European Integration, operating on the educational model of the French Institutes of Political Sciences. This department proved to be the largest and most ambitious project of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs for Eastern and Central Europe and a unique precedent for international inter-university cooperation in the CIS.

That time was also marked by the unfolding programs of cooperation with the US Embassy to Belarus, with David Swartz as Head of mission, various West European and Russian universities and research institutes.

REPORTS OF REAL PROPERTY.

Thanks to the assistance of the German Embassy to Belarus, the Institute for German Studies at EHU was established in 1998 to promote cooperation between Germany and Belarus in the field of education and research. Through the Institute, the University offered educational programs in law, economics, and German studies with instruction in German, and ran Belarusian-German research and publishing projects, an unprecedented development for Belarus.

The University was also able to establish Centers for American Studies, European and Transatlantic Studies, Gender Studies, Problems of European Integration, Civic Education, Scandinavian Studies, Advanced Studies and Education (CASE), the latter specializing in Central and East European Border Studies. Moreover, EHU opened the first-ever university arts gallery in the country.

In line with the idea of bringing Belarus into the European joint higher education area, the European Humanities University joined Campus Europae, the international university consortium, based in Luxembourg. The overarching aim of it was to speed up the process of attaining the goals of the Bologna Declaration through harmonization of curricula of member universities, reciprocal recognition of degrees and provision of full-scale mobility for students. Its acceptance into Campus Europae signaled that the quality of EHU's educational program was indeed being recognized throughout Europe.

EHU was the only private institution of higher education in Belarus to hold state-recognized university status. Intensive international cooperation, numerous foreign university partners, international and foreign organizations and institutes provided support to EHU – all these were evidence of the international and national reputation and recognition enjoyed by the University.





At a conference organized by the Institute for German Studies and German Foundation for International Legal Cooperation



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At the international conference on the establishment of the Center for European and Transatlantic Studies



Alumni of the Center for Scandianavian Studies













## State vs. University: Attack on academic freedoms

Since its founding, EHU has served as a crucible for internationalization and liberalization of higher education in Belarus. The Bologna Process in Europe, the goal of which is to harmonize the educational systems of 40 countries, provided a potential framework for Belarus to integrate itself into the European joint higher education area. EHU's programs and faculty links to European higher education put it in a unique position to assist other Belarusian universities in their exploration of the possibilities offered by the Bologna Process. However, after a brief period of hopeful developments, the Lukashenko regime put an end to this rapprochement of Belarusian higher education with European colleagues. In a move to increase the state's political control over the students' population, the regime utilized an abrupt change in state policy to sharply curtail academic rights and freedoms. The attack was meant to isolate Belarusian higher education from outside influences and restore a level of state control reminiscent of the Soviet era.

The European Humanities University could not escape becoming a victim of this repressive policy.

Beginning in January 2004, the Ministry of education tried to force EHU's Rector Anatoli Mikhailov to resign. This move was clearly aimed at forcing the University to subordinate itself to the policy of isolation and suppression of academic freedoms, a move which would entail the end of the institution.

January 21, 2004. The Minister of education Alexander Radkov made a viva-voce proposition to Prof. Anatoli Mikhailov to resign his position as EHU Rector.

It was more than once that the Belarusian authorities managed, despite nominally guaranteed autonomy to higher education institutions, to exert direct control over changes of leadership and academic policies at Belarusian universities and institutes. In the case of EHU, the authorities were held to account for the legal grounds of university autonomy. This prohibited the Minister of education from discharging the Rector, who had been elected by the Supervisory Board of EHU. The Board would not allow themselves to be persuaded by the Minister to dismiss the Rector. The attempted coercion of the Board was an indicator that the regime was moving increasingly in the direction of tyranny and despotism, not only in the sphere of education but also in other spheres of public life.

The atmosphere of academic freedom at EHU, born of university autonomy, created a strong community of students and professors. Academic and civil rights and freedoms were regarded as a value to be fought for against the relentless regime, even if there were no hope that the authorities would stop their oppression. After the authorities started putting active pressure on EHU and its Rector, numerous protests took place. The University's faculty members, administrative staff and students stood up courageously for the Rector, the University's mission and the fundamental values of academic culture.



Professor Anatoli Mikhailov, Rector of the European Humanities University



Alexander Radkov, Minister of education of Belarus Currently a non-grata person in the EU countries

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The license for educational activity, delivered to the EHU by the Belarusian Ministry of Education in May 2004

January 27, 2004. The enlarged meeting of the EHU Academic Council (Senate) adopted appeals to the University's founder and members of the EHU Supervisory Board, the latter remaining in authority to appoint and dismiss the EHU Rector. Both appeals emphasized, "The Council (Senate) expresses its deep confidence in A. Mikhailov, regards as inappropriate any form of external pressure, leading him to a decision to leave his office, and considers that the forced resignation of A. Mikhailov from the Rector's position would cause substantial damage to Belarusian education and culture." Also, the Council (Senate) passed an appeal to EHU Rector Anatoli Mikhailov, giving the highest appraisal of his work as founder and leader of the University and conveying an earnest request not to leave his position.

**February 9, 2004.** Rector Prof. A. Mikhailov announced to the Minister of education that, with full support from the University faculty and after consulting with foreign donors and partners, he decided to decline the Minister's proposal to resign.

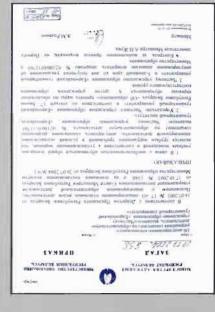
Having encountered such steadfast resistance, the regime realized that it would not be able to subordinate the University's Corporation to its will. The authorities shifted then to administrative pressure as a strategy against EHU. Throughout the last year of its existence, the University was exposed to endless inspections by various supervisory agencies. However, the authorities found no deficiencies in either instruction or administration.

In April 2005, without indicating a reason, the Ministry of education delayed the decision to renew EHU's license for educational activity. This caused a week-long suspension of the University's operations. However, owing to extensive publicity and active support from the international community, EHU was successful in obtaining a license.

May 7, 2004. EHU received an official confirmation that on April 30, 2004 a special session of the Board of the Ministry of education was held, where it was decided to grant a license for educational activity for the period of 5 years to the private educational institution "European Humanities University."

July 19, 2004. Minister of education Alexander Radkov sent an ultimatum to EHU demanding the immediate resignation of its Rector. Otherwise, the Minister threatened, the EHU would face serious reprisals.

The EHU University's Corporation again refused to agree with the Ministry's demands. The authorities then took a new approach to resolving "the EHU problem." The Presidential Administration of Belarus demanded that the University vacate their building, which housed most of EHU's academic and research divisions and provided space for classes. Several days later, the Ministry of education revoked the University's license for academic activity due to deficiency of classroom and office space.



The executive order #838, annulling theEHU's license for educational activity





During the forced removal of the University from its academic building

July 21, 2004. Exactly six months after the first demand for the rector's resignation, the European Humanities University received an official order from the Presidential Administration of Belarus which requested EHU to vacate its academic building, held on lease from the Administration, within two weeks. The demand was motivated by the alleged need to pass the space occupied by the University to the slieged need to pass the space occupied by the University to the State Control Committee and Ministry of forestry. In the end, the Enomistry of forestry was not assigned the building. Later, the Economic Court of Belarus ruled that EHU's eviction from the building had been unlawful.

July 27, 2004. Belarusian Minister of education A. Radkov signed the Ministry's executive order #838 annulling the license for educational activity, issued to the private educational institution "European Humanities University" on April 30, 2004.

September 23, 2004. While speaking before the students of Brest district, A.Lukashenko disclosed the true reasons of the state-led repression against EHU: "... there was a tacit focal intention to train here, in Belarus, in the European Humanities University, first of all, the new Belarus in the European Humanities University, first of all, the the westerners are preparing the time is appropriate, it turns out, that the westerners are preparing future leaders, the elite in the very heart of Minsk ...". President clearly rejected any notion of a European future for Belarus.

After the University was forced to terminate its work, members of the EHU Corporation continued to be attacked by the authorities. Students and professors who were transferred to state-run institutions of higher learning faced oppression. Under such difficult conditions, it is impossible to overestimate the importance of the assistance given to the University and its students by international community. This support provided hope that the University would survive and kept up the public image of the University, which refused to surrender in its fight with the regime.

#### U KOOPEAN BUANANTTERS DINTALESSIT

# Chronicles of International Support

"The flagrant violation of law by the Belarusian authorities regarding EHU induced an unprecedented solidarity from the world's academic community, which in turn supported creation of "the EHU in Exile."

From the letter of Rector Prof. Anatoli Mikhailov to the students

January 23, 2004. Ambassadors and Heads of diplomatic missions of the EU member and accession countries accredited in Minsk (France, Lithuania, Poland, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Germany, Italy, Latvia, Slovakia, Czech Republic, Estonia and Sweden), and the Ambassador of the United States of America made a visit to the Minister of education Alexander Radkov. The delegation expressed perplexity concerning the situation developing around EHU. It was with great indignation that the Ambassador of France, Mr. Stephane Chmelewsky, at that time representing the EU Presidency, read the address to the Minister of education, criticizing the general isolationist policy adopted by the Belarusian government regarding higher education, and saying inter alia, "For the European Union, as well as for the United States, EHU embodies a symbolic and significant evidence of independent scientific thinking being present in Belarus... Any kind of obstacles or difficulties created to hinder functioning of the European Humanities University will entail most negative consequences for the image... of the country abroad".

April 23, 2004. Mr. Brian Cowen, the Foreign Minister of Ireland, a State then holding the EU Presidency, addressed his Belarusian counterpart Mr. Sergei Martynov with a letter demanding, on behalf of the European Union, that the authorities put an end to the political persecution of EHU and its Rector. The question of issuing a new license to EHU was settled mainly owing to this EU intervention.

July 27, 2004. The EHU International Board met in Washington, D.C. with the participation of donor organizations. The participants of the meeting declared their intention to continue their support of the European Humanities University, placing priority on the socially disadvantaged students.

July 28, 2004. The international academic community conveyed expressions of their candid support to the University. A group of European intellectuals, including Prof. Dr. Evhen Bystrytskii, Prof. Dr. Peter Eigen, Prof. Dr. Bronislaw Geremek, Prof. Dr. Vladimir Gelman, Prof. Dr. Juergen Habermas, Prof. Pierre Hassner, Prof. Dr. Antoni Kaminski, Prof. Dr. John Loewenhardt, Prof. Dr. Raimundas Lopata, Prof. Dr. Marie Mendras, Prof. Dr. Jutta Scherrer, Prof. Dr. Gesine Schwan, Prof. Dr. Klaus Segbers, Dr. Dmitrii Trenin and Dr. Hans-Georg Wieck, sent an open letter to EHU to encourage the University Corporation and its Rector, saying, "We call on the government of Belarus to cease bureaucratic harassment, manipulation of unconstructive regulations, and the threats to EHU's leadership that imperil the University's very existence. We urge our respective governments to use all appropriate means to persuade Belarusian leaders and officials to allow the EHU faculty and its Rector, Anatoli Mikhailov, to carry on their work in a dignified and unfettered fashion".



Stephane Chmelewsky, Ambassador of France in Belarus

July 30, 2004. The Presidency of the European Union forwarded its statement on the situation in Belarus, saying, "The European Union attaches great importance to the maintenance of the academic structure and mission of the European Humanities University in Minsk as a remarkable example of academic freedom and of pursuance of true European values. The EU cannot fail to notice that the measures taken by the Belarusian authorities against the University are in sharp contradiction with the stated intention of Belarus to work with the EU towards an improvement of EU-Belarus relations. The EU cautions Belarus about the consequences of this policy for its relations with the EU and therefore strongly calls on the Belarusian authorities to reconsider their position".

**August 6, 2004.** OSCE Ambassador to Belarus, Mr. Eberhard Heyken, addressed EHU students with a letter of support.

**August 6, 2004.** US Embassy made a statement on the Belarusian authorities' actions leading to the closure of EHU and confirmed its readiness to continue supporting the University's efforts in the future.

August 11, 2004. Dr. Rainer Lindner, Chairman of the German-Belarusian Society drew up an official letter of protest against the closure of European Humanities University, signed by members of the German-Belarusian Society and German Association for East European Studies. The letter included sincere words in support of the University and its Rector and addressed the Belarusian authorities with the demands to reconsider the steps taken against EHU as lacking in prospects for the development of the national educational system of the new EU neighbor. The letter read, "It is obvious that there is no place for private universities, Bologna process and freedom of research and instruction in the educational system of Belarus, despite all official statements, claiming quite the opposite". It also expressed apprehension regarding complications in the German-Belarusian relations in the field of education and research that would follow in case the persecution of EHU does not cease.

September 25, 2004. Students of Campus Europae Universities sent a letter of support to EHU students saying, "As students have always been adamant in their determination to live up to their dreams, we feel that, together, difficulties can be overcome and that EHU will live on, continuing to pursue its distinctive and innovative mission, both in Belarus and Europe".

October 4, 2004. The General Assembly of the European University Foundation/ Campus Europae adopted a Resolution on European Humanities University, where it noted that, "Because of the intervention of the Belarus Government to curb the academic freedom and academic development of EHU, and without any fault on its part, EHU was deprived of official university status within Belarus". It also read, "The European Humanities University was, and still is, a member in good standing of the EUF/CE... EHU shall, in view of its continuing academic quality, continue to have full membership status of the EUF/CE, pending its re-establishment as a university with degree awarding powers".



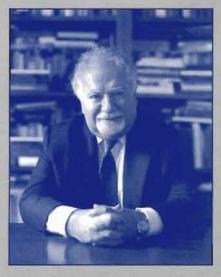
George A. Krol, Ambassador of the USA in Belarus



Dr. Anatoli Mikhailov and Dr. Noel Whelan, President of the European Universities Foundation/ Campus Europae



Dr. Jonathan F. Fanton, President of the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation



Dr. Vartan Gregorian, President of Carnegie Corporation of New York



**October 11, 2004.** Dr. Jonathan F. Fanton, President of the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation (USA), sent a letter to Alexander Lukashenko, urging the Government of Belarus to reconsider its decision to close EHU. Mr. Fanton also expressed his intention to "remain committed to fostering the important mission of EHU in whatever form may be necessary or appropriate" and passed a message of support to the University's students, faculty and administrative staff.

October 18, 2004. The Presidium of the Conference of Rectors of Polish Universities (Konferencja Rektorow Akademickich Szkol Polskich — KRASP) adopted a resolution, in which it praised the initiative of the KRASP member universities that supported EHU students in their efforts to continue their studies in Poland. The Resolution called upon other KRASP member universities to also provide an opportunity for the EHU students to continue their studies in Poland, or lend any other kind of assistance.

October 21, 2004. Mr. Lech Kaczynski, President of Poland and the then President of Warsaw, sent a letter to Prof. Mikhailov expressing the readiness to support the efforts of EHU to pursue the mission of the University. In this letter Mr. Kaczynski stated that "the closure of the University... aroused the indignation of the international community," and that the Warsaw city administration guarantees "...the possibility of support to the professors and students who would like to continue to teach and study in Warsaw".

October 29, 2004. The EHU International Board met in Washington, DC. The meeting was attended by representatives of EHU's donor organizations, the US Department of State and Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Germany and Lithuania. The Board adopted a Statement saying, "On behalf of the members of the EHU International Board, we write to affirm our gratitude to the students, faculty and staff of the European Humanities University for their extraordinary efforts over the past months to preserve the mission and vital academic work of EHU. Board Members affirm their commitment to the University and its faculty to provide support of core academic activities... for the full 2004-2005 academic year".

January 5, 2005. Dr. Vartan Gregorian, President of Carnegie Corporation of New York, sent a letter to A.Lukashenko. In this letter Dr. Gregorian wrote, "We join the Council of Europe's Committee of Ministers, who stated that the closure of EHU represents a violation of the basic principles of the European Cultural Convention, to which Belarus is a signatory".

March 10, 2005. The European Parliament passed a resolution on the situation with political prisoners in Belarus, which contained a statement on EHU: "European Parliament [is]... extremely concerned at the decision of the Belarusian authorities to revoke the license to operate as a legal entity of the internationally recognized European Humanities University in Minsk, which is a remarkable example of academic freedom and the pursuit of true European values, ... with dire consequences for the academic future of hundreds of students and teachers".

**April 14, 2005.** The 61<sup>st</sup> session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights passed a resolution on the situation of human rights in Belarus, expressing deep concern "about the revocation of the license of the European Humanities University (EHU) and the continued pressure exerted by the Belarusian authorities on the EHU and other academic institutions".

June 9-10, 2005. Inaugural Conference of E.H.U. International took place in Vilnius. The conference was attended by Lithuanian President Valdas Adamkus, leading officials of foreign offices of a number of European counties, ambassadors of the USA and EU countries to Lithuania and Belarus, representatives of European Commission and European Parliament, heads of international donor organizations, European and Lithuanian universities, nongovernmental organizations, faculty members and students of European Humanities University.

The EHU Inaugural Conference resulted in the decision to renew the operations of EHU in Lithuania with the international assistance, beginning in autumn 2005. Donors from the USA, European Commission, and EU member states expressed their commitment to supporting this project.

July 7, 2005. European Parliament adopted a Resolution on Political Situation and Independence of the Media in Belarus. The European Parliament "welcomed the inauguration of the European Humanities University for Belarusian students in exile in Vilnius, and called on the Commission and Member States to assist the University in the pursuit of its teaching and research programmes" (13). Further, it "called on the Member States to recognise the degrees awarded by the European Humanities University by way of confirmation of a high level of competence and outstanding academic skills, and called on European universities to enter into a closer cooperation with it" (14).

November 28, 2005. EHU International Board met in Washington, D.C. Members of the Board formally recognized the Lithuanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Education proven commitment and support of the University and welcomed representatives from EC, Nordic Council of Ministers, and EU member states to join the Board.

December 29, 2005. European Commission and Nordic Council of Ministers signed an agreement regarding the support of the European Humanities University's academic programs in Vilnius in 2006-2008 under the European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights. The project provides for implementation of 5 bachelor's degree and 5 master's degree programs.

In early 2006, the European Humanities University International Support Committee was formed. This group of prominent educators from Europe and North America is intended as a vehicle for expressing the solidarity of the global higher education community with EHU and the cause of academic freedom in Belarus.



Valdas Adamkus President of the Republic of Lithuania

#### **European Humanities University** International Support Committee

#### Membership list

#### Co-Chairs

Lloyd Axworthy President and Vice Chancellor University of Winnipeg

Jonathan Fanton President Emeritus New School for Social Research

#### Members

Lord Ralf Dahrendorf

Governor, London School of Economics

Walter E. Massey

President, Morehouse College

Ariel Dorfman

Walter Mines Page Research Professor of Literature, Duke University

Yehuda Elkhana

President and Rector, Central European University

Bronislaw Geremek

Chair of European Civilization, College of Europe

Vartan Gregorian

President Emeritus, Brown University

Susan Hockfield

President, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Paul LeClerc

President Emeritus, Hunter College Lorna R. Marsden

President and Vice Chancellor, York University

Joseph A. O'Hare S.J.

President Emeritus, Fordham University

Neil Rudenstine President Emeritus, Harvard University

George Rupp

President Emeritus, Columbia University

John Sexton

President, New York University

Gesine Schwan

President, European University Viadrina

Judith R. Shapiro

President, Barnard College

Michael I. Sovern

President Emeritus, Columbia University

Rolf Tarrach

Rector, University of Luxemburg



Letter of the USA President George W. Bush to the EHU



Mr. Unckel, Secretary General of the Nordic Council of Ministers, and Prof. Mikhailov, EHU Rector, during signing of the agreement between the two institutions

January 26, 2006. The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) adopted a resolution on situation in Belarus on the eve of the presidential election. The PACE resolution inter alia urged President Lukashenko and the Belarusian authorities to "respect academic freedom and in particular provide appropriate conditions for the European Humanities University to return to Minsk" (12.11). Furthermore, the Assembly invited the European Union to "continue supporting the European Humanities University in exile in Vilnius" (15.4).

March 1, 2006. President of the USA George W. Buch sent a letter to the EHU, in which he expressed his "appreciation of the administration, faculty, students, and other supporters of EHU for [their] dedication to education despite adversity". The letter read, "...By educating and informing young Belarusians and others, your school serves as a beacon of hope and gives the next generation of leaders the knowledge and understanding to build a world where people everywhere enjoy freedom and dignity..."

March 9, 2006. During the meeting with EHU students, staff and faculty, U.S. Ambassador to Lithuania Stephen D. Mull delivered a message from U.S. President George W. Bush and made a speech on the role of the European Humanities University in the struggle for democracy in Belarus. Heads of the Finnish and Swedish Missions to Lithuania, Director of the Nordic Council of Ministers Office in Vilnius, representatives of Lithuanian ministries of education and foreign affairs, and administration of Mykolas Romeris University also attended this meeting.

March 24, 2006. Mr. Per Unckel, Secretary General of the Nordic Council of Ministers, during his visit to Lithuania signed an agreement with EHU on providing the University with financial support, enabling 350 students from Belarus to study at the EHU for three years in 10 degree programs. With € 2.2 million, the European Commission became the biggest donor within this project; the other € 0.58 million is provided by NCM member states.

At the meeting with EHU students, faculty, and administration, Ms. L. Pilukaite, Acting Head of the European Commission Representation in Lithuania, voiced out a message from Ms. Benita Ferrero-Waldner, European Commissioner for External Relations and Neighbourhood Policy, saying, "Thanks to our support, around 350 Belarusian students will have access to higher education with full freedom of expression and thought. They will take home with them the experience of life in a democracy and a fuller understanding of the rights enjoyed by European citizens. This kind of contact is a lifeline to those in Belarus who yearn for an end to repression".

The undemocratic presidential election, held in Belarus on March 19, 2006, aroused many thousands of people to protest against Lukashenko's regime during mass peaceful rallies. The EHU turned to be in a position to provide international support the Belarusian students who became subject to political harassment from the side of their universities' administration and State authorities.

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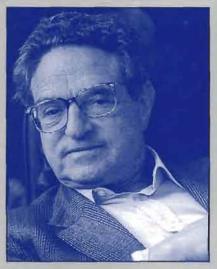
March 28, 2006. The EHU Senate adopted a statement, which read, "We the members of the EHU Senate subscribe to the demands to release participants of the peaceful rallies, which took place in Belarus after the presidential election. We are indignant over the violation of academic rights of the youth, expelled from Belarusian institutions of higher learning for political reasons. The Senate declares its readiness to admit students who have no opportunity to continue education in Belarus to the corresponding programs of EHU".

March 30-31, 2006. The Committee on Culture, Science and Education of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly held a colloguy on university autonomy and accountability in the 21st century in Prague. The Committee heard testimony from EHU Rector and a number of Belarusian students who had been thrown out of their universities in Belarus as an act of political harassment. The Committee adopted a statement on academic freedom in Belarus. In the statement, the Council of Europe parliamentarians strongly condemned denial of academic freedom in Belarus. Furthermore, "the Committee welcomed the support that the international community and in particular Lithuania provided to the European Humanities University which had to go into exile from Minsk (Belarus) to Vilnius (Lithuania). It encouraged member governments as well as universities in Europe to co-operate with the European Humanities University and facilitate student and faculty exchanges".

We would like to express our deepest gratitude to:

- the Government, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Parliament and academic community of the Republic of Lithuania for their inestimable help in the process of reestablishment of the EHU in Vilnius;
- the U.S. Government, the European Commission, the Nordic Council of Ministers, the European Parliament, EU member states, and our donors for their continuing and active support both in time of conflict and now as EHU is being reopened in Lithuania;
- Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), MacArthur Foundation, Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany to Lithuania, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, Government of Ireland, Council of Ministers of Kingdom of Belgium for providing bridging emergency grants, which were of vital importance to restart University's on-ground programs in Vilnius in October 2005.
- Our special thanks to the Higher Education Support Program
  of the Open Society Institute (HESP/OSI, Hungary), U.S.
  Department of State, American Councils for International
  Education (ACTR/ACCELS, USA), Council of Independent
  Colleges for providing financial support to EHU faculty,
  administration and students at the time of the closure of the
  University in Minsk.

We would also like to thank the world's academic community, universities and non-governmental organizations for doing all they could to prevent the closure of EHU, for manifesting their support to EHU, and for providing its students the opportunity to continue their education.



George Soros Philanthropist, Open Society Institute

#### Welcome letter at the Inauguration Ceremony

Dear friends and honored guests, It is with great regret that I am unable to be here today on an occasion of such great significance.

I am proud of my contribution over the years to the European Humanities University and I remain dedicated to keeping the university alive. The university has been a beacon of intellectual integrity in Belarus. It has helped to develop a cadre of students who will be the democratic future of the

I want to thank the Lithuanian authorities who have provided the space for EHU and are committed to building an open society in Belarus.

The MacAnbur Foundation and the admirable

engagement of Jonathan Fanton have also played an important role.

Finally, I should like to express my deep appreciation for Anatoli Mikhailov for his courageous stewardship of the university in Minsk and who will now lead it in exile in Vilnius.

With best wishes, George Soros



Dr. Dan Davidson President of American Councils for International Education, Chairman of the EHU International Board

## The following entities contributed generously to the rescue of the University, continuing its activities and the development of its programs:

- Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznan, Poland
- Alma College, USA
- · American University in Bulgaria, Blagoevgrad, Bulgaria
- Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, USA
- Bremen International University, Germany
- Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs of the U.S. Department of State
- Cabrini College, USA
- · Carnegie Corporation of New York, USA
- Charles University, Prague, Czech Republic
- · College of Mt. St. Joseph, USA
- D'Youville College, USA
- · Elon University, USA
- Eurasia Foundation, USA
- European Humanities University Foundation, USA
- European University Foundation, Luxembourg
- · European University in St.-Petersburg, Russia
- European University Viadrina, Frankfurt/Oder, Germany
- Ferrum College, USA
- · Free University of Berlin, Germany
- · Georgian Court University, USA
- German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), Germany
- Grinnell College, USA
- Heinrich Böll Foundation, Germany
- Higher School of Public Administration, Bialystok, Poland
- Higher School of Tourism and Ecology, Sucha Beskidzka, Poland
- Institute of Political Sciences in Aix-en-Provence, France
- Institute of Political Sciences in Bordeaux, France
- Institute of Political Sciences in Grenoble, France
- Institute of Political Sciences in Lille, France
- Institute of Political Sciences in Lyon, France
- Institute of Political Sciences in Rennes, France
- Institute of Political Sciences in Strasbourg, France
- Institute of Political Studies and Center for Social Studies of Polish Academy of Sciences, Poland
- International Renaissance Foundation, Ukraine
- Jackson State University, USA
- Jagiellonian University, Cracow, Poland
- John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, USA
- Kenyon College, USA
- Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Germany
- · Latvian State University, Riga, Latvia
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of France
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Germany
- Mississippi Consortium for International Development, USA
- · Mykolas Romeris University, Vilnius, Lithuania
- Oberlin College, USA
- Open Society Foundation, UK

- OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, Poland
- OSCE Office in Minsk
- Polish-American Freedom Foundation, Poland
- Robert Bosch Foundation, Germany
- Scholar Rescue Fund of the UN Institute of International Education
- Shenandoah University, USA
- Smolny College of Liberal Arts and Sciences at St.-Petersburg State University, Russia
- · Södertörn University College, Sweden
- Southwestern College, USA
- Swarthmore College, USA
- · Swedish Institute, Sweden
- The Independent University of Madrid, Spain
- The St. Petersburg School of Religion and Philosophy, Russia
- United States Agency for International Development (USAID)
- · University Henri Poincare (Nancy I), France
- · University Montesquieu-Bordeaux IV, France
- · University of Aveiro, Portugal
- · University of Bologna, Italy
- · University of Greifswald, Germany
- · University of Hamburg, Germany
- · University of Liege, Belgium
- · University of Limerick, Ireland
- · University of Lodz, Poland
- University of Novi Sad, Serbia
- · University of Saarbrueken, Germany
- · University of Southern Stockholm, Sweden
- University of Trento, Italy
- · University of Vienna, Austria
- · University of Zittau, Germany
- · Vilnius State University, Lithuania
- Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas, Lithuania
- · Warsaw Arts Academy, Poland

## Students Speak Out About EHU

We are one thousand voices. A thousand young people, who used to see each other every day, studied and spent a lot of time together, remaining all day in the university to work toward the achievement of our goals in life. A thousand very different people, grown-up and yet very young, Belarusians and foreigners, obsessed by our studies and marked by diversity. Those who came to EHU sought a truly European education and took the values of freedom and independence as their own inner values.

#### WE ARE ALWAYS TOGETHER!

After January 21, 2004, when Belarus Minister of education ordered Anatoli Mikhailov to resign, we, the EHU students, were unanimous in support of our much-esteemed Rector. Within a few days, almost all students signed an open letter to the Minister of education, which read, "While expressing complete confidence in, and sincere love for, the current Rector of EHU, acknowledging his undoubted merits in creating and maintaining the university's functioning... as well as taking into consideration his priceless contribution to the development of Liberal Arts Education in the Republic of Belarus, we herewith express our strong objection to his possible and supposed resignation."

January 21, 2005. The protest named "No One Is Forgotten" commemorated one year since the beginning of EHU's persecution by the authorities. That day, EHU students sent postcards to the Belarus Ministry of education, addressing Alexander Radkov with the words, "Greetings from EHU. January 21."

#### WE ARE ALWAYS UP TO THE MARK!

When a wave of licensing and attestation checks hit EHU, students did their best not to stain the University's good name with low grades. After several months of tenacious efforts, hard work and sleepless nights, the students defeated the endeavors of various authorities to censure EHU for a low standard of instruction. The students gave steady and confident answers during tests and examinations. We had been thrown a challenge and we met it with dignity.

#### WE ARE PREPARED FOR THE UNEXPECTED!

In late July 2004 the University was dealt a tremendous blow when it was deprived of its classroom space and had its license recalled. Only a few days later, EHU students assembled at the entrance of the academic building for their first protest.

July 28, 2004. The front steps of the EHU academic building became the venue for the students' protest and a press-conference of the University deans. It was EHU's first public action after six months of off-stage struggle for existence.

















EHU students' demands:
"EHU Should Live on!"; "We Choose the Best – EHU";
"Bring EHU Back!"
"Hands off from EHU!"
"We want European education here!"
"Every person has a right for education. Constitution of Belarus"; "Future of EHU is our future"



DROPLAN HUMANITIES UNIVERSITY

#### WE ARE BRAVE AND RESOURCEFUL!

The citizens of Minsk undertook a series of actions in defense of our University. All over the city, one could find stickers demanding that the University be reopened. Thousands of city residents listened attentively to young people, who were distributing leaflets with the true story of the conflict surrounding EHU. For the first time in Belarus, a flash mob was employed to attract public attention to a burning social issue.

August 2, 2004. EHU students performed a flash mob in the main open space of Minsk. Over 100 students spent 15 minutes on Oktiabrskaya Square, just opposite the President's Administration Building, while sitting and reading the textbooks they had brought with them. After the flash mob was over, the pavement remained covered with stickers "Bring EHU Back!" The riot squad detained four participants in this protest.

August 5, 2004. EHU students conducted a protest under the slogan "EHU Will Stay Alive!" uniting many of the University's students, administration and faculty. This action was opened with a meeting, during which EHU Vice-Rector Prof. Vladimir Dounaev stated that EHU would continue its activities as a "University in Exile".

#### WE WILL NEVER SURRENDER!

Students came to the "EHU Will Stay Alive!" action with their professors, parents, and friends. It was clear that the authorities would never break us or force us to our knees. These 1,000 young people will remember forever that they are students of European Humanities University.

Many months have passed since then. EHU students have spread all over the world, but they keep in touch with each other and the University. The students' website "SehuN" is always bustling with community postings. Students send messages to each other from different corners of the world, publish their scientific texts and artistic creations, arrange meetings and run projects. All are looking forward to the moment when we will be able to gather again and occupy ourselves with what we are best at – our studies.

October 26, 2004. The web site of the European Flumanities University's community – SehuN – was opened (http://www.segun.info).

Today, hundreds of students are receiving instruction from E.H.U. International on-line through distance learning. They are happy to know their professors are still with them and continue leading them to knowledge.

From time to time, we go out together in large numbers; e.g., Students' Day in November, New Year parties, group skating at the rink located at the former EHU administrative building...

August 5, 2005. To commemorate one year since EhIU was closed in Minsk, its students and faculty held an action called "Closed Universities" Day". The action's participants must on Minsk's central square with candles got alight. Despite the peaceful character of the action, the demonstrators were forced out from the square by the police.

The students' plans and ideas will never be exhausted.
"EHU will live as long as we, the students of European Humanities University, are alive. We are going to return, so do not forget us."





Minsk police seemed to encounter "social flash mobbing" for the first time and at first had nothing to do but just to observe the action.



Faculty members and administration of the University joined students during the action "EHU Will Stay Alive!"



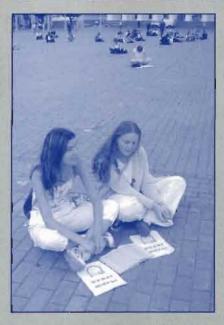
Closed Universities Day's participants accompanied by the police



Lighted candles, designed by the action's participants in the form of EHU logo







During the action its participants put on their clothes stickers "Bring EHU Back!" and "EHU Will Stay Alive!" This measure guarded them from immediate detention by the police: under the Belarusian legislation, such stickers are not considered to be banners or posters, banned during mass actions.



# European Humanities University, Vilnius, Lithuania: rebirth in exile

The forced closure of EHU does not denote the end of those research and educational initiatives that have given the University its international recognition and prestige. The academic school that has emerged in EHU is already a fact, accepted by all, and remains solid. The University is looking for new forms of knowledge generation and transfer under challenging conditions. The conflict which exploded around EHU has revealed the significant strength of the academic community, and no bureaucrat has the power to annihilate it with the stroke of the pen.

Since autumn 2004, the University has been functioning as a virtual network university, headquartered as Public Institution "E.H.U. International" in Vilnius. This new project became possible thanks to the support and advice, provided to the University by its friends and donors.

October 28, 2004. Public Institution "E.H.U. International" was officially registered in Lithuania.

Through encouragement of Lithuanian and international political and academic circles, it became possible to start reestablishment of European Humanities University in exile. On June 9-10, 2005, during the inaugural conference the EHU was announced to reopen in Vilnius, operating as a regular university in Lithuania for Belarusian students.

October 7, 2005. European Humanities University stanted a new academic year with reopening the on-ground teaching in exile. The classes of bachelor's degree programs started on October 9, 2005.

As a result of intensive competition, EHU enrolled 170 young Belarusians to attend the 4-year long course of study towards bachelor's degree. The master's programs invited 100 young professionals to raise the level of their skills during the 2-year course of study.

#### WHY DO WE CHOOSE EHU?

#### Abstracts from EHU applicants' motivation letters

"...There is Yale University, Harvard, Sorbonne... There are national institutions of higher learning in every country, which are the pride of the nations they belong to, which are recognized by the civilized society, and the prestige of which is irrefutable. As I understand it, the restored EHU is such a university for Belarusians..."

"... After having spent one year in a university abroad, I can state with certainty that even there the level of education, curricula harmonization and specialists' training are inferior to those at EHU. But still the main thing is that it is at EHU where I had my personality built up; it is at EHU where my world view and understanding of the situation in my country took shape; it is in this university where I met people who are now my closest friends. EHU has always been not merely a venue of study thus connected with my research and career plans, it has been the habitat where most important events in my life have taken place. ..."



www.ehu.lt The virtual address of EHU in exile



25, Kraziu st., Vilnius. The building hosting the headquarters of E.H.U. International









EHU opening ceremony was held under the slogan "We are EHU"

"Why EHU? Because it is the only opportunity to get the Europeanlevel education in Belarus. I like the openness of EHU, its orientation at cooperation with universities in other countries. Furthermore, I admire the spirit of unity that runs through the whole collective of EHU. I am eager to become part of your friendly community".

"I find the study at EHU attractive, because:

- EHU means prestige, success and reputation all over Europe.
- EHU means a strong base of knowledge and a perfect start for the future.
- EHU means highly qualified faculty with great expertise.
- EHU means a wide variety of different academic programs. For me personally, EHU broadens the range of employment niches and provides me with great opportunities to have a successful career after graduation."
- "... The fact that EHU has fallen into disgrace and become an irritant for the Belarusian authorities gives many hints. For example, about the level of education it suggests as a strong competitor and alternative of the state-run institutions of higher learning in Belarus. And about it being a medium of forming Europe-oriented thinking, spreader of values of democracy and liberalism. These have always had a great appeal for me..."
- "...EHU is of interest because it is an independent educational institution that has carried its point of view without losing its independent position under the pressure of the authorities. ... The University is one of the centers of the renaissance of Belarusian nation; it trains young Belarusian intellectuals who will be capable of becoming the new national elite..."
- "...I think I will be able to apply the knowledge I will graduate with from your University with dignity in I hope by then renovated, recognized and respected country. EHU is a truly Belarusian university working according to European standards, where great attention is paid to the culture and history of Belarus and my mother tongue the Belarusian language is held in respect..."
- "...EHU's experience, the accumulated theoretical footing, the high-quality teaching staff, well-established contacts with foreign organizations and research institutions avouch for the theoretical and practical goodness of the courses taught. A bonus of the master's degree program [in NGO Management] is that it will gather a group of students of best quality, who are leaders of various Belarusian public associations. In addition to learning from the University, we will learn from each other. In my opinion, such a combination of the European-quality theory and Belarusian practical experience will definitely increase the effect of our training..."
- "...You can easily become a student [of any university] in Belarus, but the problem is that you would have to give up being an active citizen in order to be able to graduate..."
- "...By receiving education in the EHU's program in International Law, I will be able to advocate rights and freedoms of ordinary people instead of the ideological values of the Belarusian State..."

Distance learning programs, supported by the Eurasia Foundation, HESP/OSI, MacArthur Foundation and U.S. Department of State remain an important element of the EHU academic offer. In the 2005 fall semester and 2006 spring semester, the University enrolled 660 and 700 students respectively for its distance-learning programs.

From the 2005 fall semester onward, EHU also offers programs that make it possible for external students to receive bachelor's degree that is acknowledged in Lithuania and should therefore be also acknowledged in Belarus. In 2005, 348 students enrolled in these programs that envisage examination sessions in Lithuania. External and distance-learning students in Minsk are offered courses in foreign languages and computer science in accordance with curricula approved by EHU.

**February 15, 2006.** The Government of the Republic of Lithuania approved the establishment and accreditation of the EHU as the 22<sup>nd</sup> Lithuanian university.

The registration of EHU is valid in Lithuania until the University can return to Belarus as a fully functioning institution of higher learning.

The beginning of EHU activities in Lithuania in October 2005 was the result of broad international support to the exiled university on the part of international organizations, government bodies and academic institutions in the USA and EU. The University obtained emergency bridging grants from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation and SIDA, as well as from Governments of the EU member states (Ireland, Germany, Luxembourg, and Belgium) to start the implementation of its regular bachelor's and master's degree programs from October 2005.

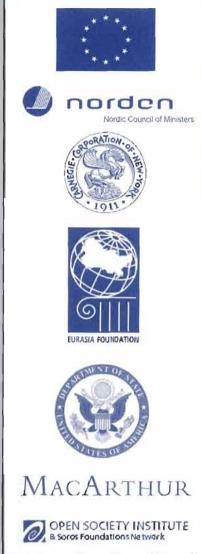
Beginning 2006, 5 bachelor's degree and 5 master's degree onground programs are financed through the European Commission three-year grant administered by the Nordic Council of Ministers, and Scholar Rescue Fund; part of EHU master's programs, activities of the Center for Gender Studies, as well as PhD programs are supported by MacArthur Foundation. Scientific research programs and regional seminars for faculty are conducted within the framework of programs sponsored by Carnegie Corporation of New York and HESP/OSI.

International support has helped the EHU university community win yet another victory. The university has reopened, but now we face new challenges: we need to create conditions for students' studies and research in a new place. The university has neither a building of its own, nor laboratories, nor library.

We do not have enough funds for new admissions of students. Financial support is particularly important for students expelled from state universities in Belarus for political reasons. Young teachers, who are still to gain scientific recognition in a new professional environment, need support too.

We need to provide social defends to those University faculty and staff, who stood up against the despotic regime in the last years of their professional careers.

The exiled university will not be able to cope with these problems alone, without international support.





EHU Certificate of official registration in the Republic of Lithuania









EUROPEAN HUMANITIES UNIVERSITY

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## **EHU Academic Programs**

#### **Bachelor's Degree Programs**

- 1. Political Science. European Studies
- 2. Media and Communication
  - Visual and Cultural Studies
    - Mass Media and Journalism
    - Visual Design and Media
- Political and Social Philosophy
- 4. Belarusian Studies
  - History and Culture of Belarus
  - Cross-Cultural Communication
  - Protection and Uses of Cultural Heritage
- 5. International Law

#### Master's Degree Programs

- 1. European Studies
- 2. International and European Law
- 3. Gender. Culture. Society
  - Gender Studies
  - Visual and Cultural Studies
- Political Sciences for Leaders and Activists of Nongovernmental Organizations. Democracy and Civil Society
- 5. Social Theory and Political Philosophy

Together with our European and American partners we are working on restoring business and economics education at EHU and on developing new bachelor's and master's degree programs in sociology, history, international relations and cultural policy.

In cooperation with our Lithuanian colleagues, we intend to restore and register doctoral degree programs in humanities and social sciences. EHU will continue to work toward integration of intellectual resources in the region for the development of research and advanced studies.

The European Humanities University becomes ever more attractive to young Belarusians, for whom our university is inseparable from our country's European democratic choice. Our students and teachers were among the leaders and participants of the March 2006 peaceful protests against the forged presidential election results. Many former and current EHU students have been subject to political persecution on the part of the authorities. However, we all believe that a free university advances the victory of freedom in our country, when we will be able to return home.

This day will come soon!