

CAMPAIGN TO BOYCOTT THE ORAL HISTORY CONFERENCE AT HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM

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Dear Colleagues:

We are a group of Palestinian, Israeli, and other oral historians and academics from Europe, South Africa, and North America calling on you to boycott the June 2014 'International Conference on Oral History' organised by the Oral History Division of the Avraham Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem. While all Israeli universities are deeply complicit in the occupation, settler-colonialism, and apartheid, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem is particularly noteworthy, as we explain below.

Your actions have a direct impact on our joint struggle for a just peace in Palestine-Israel and on our solidarity with fellow Palestinian academics whose universities have been closed down, blockaded and even bombed by Israeli aircraft in the last three decades; universities which have been subjected to a lengthy and brutal Israeli occupation in East Jerusalem, the West Bank, and Gaza.

Specifically, the land on which some of its Mount Scopus campus buildings and facilities were expanded was acquired as a result of Israel's 1968 illegal confiscation of 3345 dunums of Palestinian land. [1] This confiscated land in East Jerusalem is occupied territory according to international law. Israel's unilateral annexation of occupied East Jerusalem into the State of Israel, and the application of Israeli domestic law to it, are violations of the Fourth Geneva Convention, and have been repeatedly denounced as null and void by the international community, including by the UN Security Council (Resolution 252, 21 May 1968). Moving Israeli staff and students to work and live on occupied Palestinian land places the Hebrew University in grave violation of the Fourth Geneva Conventions.

Further, the university is complicit in the unequal treatment of Palestinians, including those who are citizens of Israel. [2] For instance, it does not provide teaching services to the residents of Jerusalem and the surrounding areas in contrast to those provided to Jewish groups; no courses are offered in Arabic. [3] Additionally, the Hebrew University has chosen to remain silent when the entire population of Gaza has been excluded from the possibility to enrol and study in the university by the Israeli government. Palestinian students from Gaza have a better chance of getting into a university in the U.S than into Hebrew University.

The Hebrew University administration restricts the freedom of speech and protest of its few Palestinian students. For example, it had forbidden a commemoration event for the invasion of the Gaza Strip in 2008-2009 in which about 1,400 Palestinians were killed by the Israeli forces. [4] On the other hand, the Hebrew University offered special considerations and benefits to students who participated in that invasion as soldiers.

In December 2012 Israel's Minister of Defence approved recognition of Ariel University in the illegal colony of Ariel as an Israeli university in the Israeli academic system. As a result, staff from the Hebrew University take part in the supervision and promotion committees of students and staff from the colonial university of Ariel; and the (Jewish only) staff takes part in the supervision and in promotion committees for Hebrew University students and staff. The Hebrew University recognizes academic degrees awarded by the Ariel University, which is built on confiscated Palestinian land and surrounded by Palestinian communities, but does not recognize degrees awarded by the nearby Al-Quds University. [5]

Ironically, the oral history conference is organised by an institute named after Avraham Harman, President of the Hebrew University from 1968 to 1983. As President of the Hebrew University he was directly responsible

for the rebuilding and expansion of the original campus on Mount Scopus built on land illegally confiscated from Palestinians in East Jerusalem.

At a time when the international movement to boycott Israeli academic and cultural institutions is gaining ground in response to Israel's flagrant and persistent infringement of Palestinian human and political rights, we urge scholars and professionals to reflect upon the implications of taking part in a conference at a complicit institution, and to refrain from such participation. The conference is an attempt to improve the image and reputation of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in the West and to cover up for the fact that the university is closely associated with Israeli annexation and 'Separation/Apartheid Wall' policies—policies that were strongly condemned on 9 July 2004 by the International Court of Justice in The Hague.[6]

Since the hegemonic world powers are actively complicit in enabling and perpetuating Israel's colonial and oppressive policies, we believe that the only avenue open to achieving justice and upholding international law is sustained work on the part of Palestinian and international civil society to put pressure on Israel and its complicit institutions to end this oppression.

Inspired by the successful cultural boycott of apartheid South Africa, and supported by key Palestinian unions and cultural groups, in 2004, the Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI) issued a call for the academic and cultural boycott of institutions involved in Israel's system of occupation, colonialism and apartheid. The Palestinian call appealed to the international academic community, among other things, to "refrain from participation in any form of academic and cultural cooperation, collaboration or joint projects with *Israeli institutions*" [7].

Following this, in 2005, an overwhelming majority in Palestinian civil society called for an all-encompassing BDS campaign based on the principles of human rights, justice, freedom and equality [8]. The BDS movement adopts a nonviolent, morally consistent strategy to hold Israel accountable to the same human rights and international law standards as other nations. It is asking the international academic community to heed the boycott call, as it did in the struggle against South African apartheid, until "Israel withdraws from all the lands occupied in 1967, including East Jerusalem; removes all its colonies in those lands; agrees to United Nations resolutions relevant to the restitution of Palestinian refugees rights; and dismantles its system of apartheid" [9].

Paralleling the Apartheid era boycott of complicit South African universities, we believe that participation in academic conferences or similar events in Israel - regardless of intentions- can only contribute to the prolongation of this injustice by normalizing and thereby legitimizing it. It inadvertently contributes to Israel's efforts to appear as a normal participant in the world of scholarship while at the same time it practices the most pernicious form of colonial control and legalized racial discrimination against Palestinians.

Until Israel fully complies with international laws and conventions, we sincerely hope that international academics will not participate in endorsing their violations and the basic human rights of Palestinians – even if inadvertently. We call on our colleagues to treat Israel exactly the same way that most of the world treated racist South Africa - or indeed any other state that legislates and practices apartheid: as a pariah state. Only then can Palestinians hope for a just peace based on international law, respect for human rights, and, more crucially, on the fundamental principle of equality for all, irrespective of ethnicity, religion or other identity considerations.

We, therefore, urge you to boycott the Hebrew University of Jerusalem oral history conference and to call on your colleagues to refuse to participate in it; to refuse to cross the Palestinian picket line.

[Note: All footnotes are at the end of the document following a note on academic freedom.]

Sincerely,

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4. Dr. Adnan Abdelrazek - The Arab Studies Society – Jerusalem, Palestine
5. Professor Nahla Abdo Carleton University, Ottawa Canada
6. Dr. Faiha Abdulhadi, Independent researcher, writer, poet, Palestine
7. Professor Rabab Ibrahim Abdulhadi, Arab and Muslim Ethnicities and Diasporas Initiative - College of Ethnic Studies, San Francisco State University, USA
8. Hala Caroline Abou-Zaki, Phd Student, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS), Paris, France
9. Line Abou Zaki, Clinical psychologist, Lebanon
10. Professor Nadia Abu el Haj, Barnard/Columbia University, USA
11. Professor Saed Abu-Hijleh, An-Najah National University Nablus, Palestine
12. Professor Lila Abu-Lughod, Columbia University, New York, USA
13. Dr. Salman Abu Sitta, Researcher, UK
14. Professor Nadia Abu- Zahra, University of Ottawa, Canada
15. Professor Cristina Accornero, Università di Torino, Italy
16. Professor Ghada Ageel, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada
17. Professor Mumtaz Ahmad, Vice President (Academic Affairs), International Islamic University, Islamabad, Pakistan
18. Mazen Mustafa AlAbadlah, Al-Aqsa University, Palestine
19. Akkas Al-Ali, PhD candidate, University of Exeter, UK
20. Dr. Anaheed Al-Hardan, ICI Berlin Institute for Cultural Inquiry, Germany
21. Professor Bayan Nuwayhed al-Hout, Lebanese University, Beirut, Lebanon
22. Majeda Al-Saqqa, Culture and Free Thought Association, Khan Younis, Gaza, Palestine
23. Professor (emeritus) Mateo Alaluf, Université Libre de Bruxelles, Belgium
24. Professor Ammiel Alcalay, Queens College, City of New York, USA
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27. Professor Nina Allen, Suffolk University, Boston, USA
28. Dr. Valentina Anastasi, Independent researcher, Catania, Italy
29. Professor Marcos Ancelovici, Université du Québec à Montréal (UQÀM), Canada
30. Professor Rachad Antonius, University of Quebec Montreal (UQAM), Canada
31. Dr. Miriyam Aouragh, CAMRI, University of Westminster, UK
32. Professor (emeritus) Nasser Aruri, University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth, USA
33. Professor (retired) William Ayers, University of Illinois-Chicago; Cyprus Oral History Project, USA
34. Professor Alice Bach (retired), Archbishop Hallinan Professor of Religious Studies, Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland OH, USA
35. Professor Angelo Baracca, University of Florence, Italy
36. Gustavo Barbosa, PhD candidate, London School of Economics, UK
37. Professor Amjad Barham, Hebron University, President of the Palestinian Federation of Unions of University Professors and Employees, Palestine
38. Ryvka Barnard, Doctoral student, New York University, USA
39. Professor Javier Barreda, University of Alicante, Alicante, Spain
40. Professor Isaías Barreñada, Universidad Complutense de Madrid (UCM), Spain
41. Professor Enrico Bartolomei, University of Macerata, Italy
42. Professor Munir Bashour, American University of Beirut, Lebanon

43. Professor Oren Ben-Dor, Southampton University, England
44. Julie Benedetto, student, Institut d'Etudes Politiques, Lyon, France
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46. Bonita Bennett, Director, District Six Museum, Capetown, South Africa
47. David Beorlegui, PhD candidate, Basque Country University, Spain
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55. Professor (emerita) Joanna Bornat, Open University, UK
56. Dr. Samia Botmeh, Birzeit University, Palestine
57. Professor Glenn Bowman, University of Kent, Canterbury, UK
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59. Professor Haim Bresheeth, SOAS, University of London, England
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61. Professor (emeritus) Jacques Bude, Université libre de Bruxelles, Belgium
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81. Professor Nabil Dajani, American University of Beirut, Lebanon
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206. Professor Hidemitsu Kuroki, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Japan
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222. Dr. Kenneth Macnab (retired), University of Sydney, Australia
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226. Professor Rocio Medina Martin, Universidad Pablo de Olavide Sevilla, España
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228. Dr. Norma Masriyyeh, Bethlehem University, Palestine
229. Professor Joseph Massad, Columbia University, New York, USA
230. Marie-eve Mathieu, teacher, Édouard-Montpetit College, Canada
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234. Des McGuinness, School of Communications, Dublin City University, Ireland
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239. Meena R. Menon, author and oral historian, Delhi, India
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241. Professor William Messing, University of Minnesota, USA
242. Jennifer Mogannam, Ph. D. candidate, University of California, San Diego
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245. Professor Antonio Montenegro, Universidade Federal de Pernambuco, Brazil
246. Professor Annalies Moors, Amsterdam Institute of Social Science Research, University of Amsterdam, the Netherlands
247. Professor Amir Mufti, University of California, Los Angeles, USA
248. Professor Ahlam Muhtaseb, California State University, San Bernardino, USA
249. Professor Suroopa Mukherjee, University of Delhi, India-
250. Dr. Corinna Mullin, University of Tunis, Tunisia
251. Professor (emerita) Martha Mundy, London School of Economics, UK
252. Dr. M.J. Muskens, University of Nijmegen, the Netherlands
253. Professor Cynthia Myntti, American University of Beirut, Lebanon
254. Dr. Karma Nabulsi, University of Oxford, UK
255. Professor Premilla Nadasen, Queens College, City of New York, USA
256. Professor Eiji Nagasawa, Vice Director, Institute for Advanced Study on Asia, The University of Tokyo, Japan
257. Dr. Khalil Nakhleh, researcher and writer, Palestine
258. Dr. Dorothy Naor, Independent researcher, Israel
259. Professor Salem H. Nasser, São Paulo School of Law of Fundação Getúlio Vargas), Brazil
260. Dr. Marcy Newman, Independent Scholar, India
261. Dr. Sonia Nimr, Birzeit University, Palestine
262. Professor Isis Nusair, Denison University, Ohio, USA
263. Dr Barra O'Donnabhain, University College Cork, Ireland
264. Dr. Féilim Ó'Hadhmaill, University College Cork, Ireland
265. Professor Mari Oka, Kyoto University, Japan
266. Professor Gary Y. Okihiro, Columbia University, New York, USA
267. Hussein Omar, PhD student, University of Oxford, UK
268. Imranali Panjwani, PhD student, Kings College, University of London, UK
269. Professor Ilan Pappé, Exeter University, England
270. Professor Paul Parker, Baltzer Distinguished Professor of Religion, Elmhurst College, USA
271. Dr Nigel Parsons, School of People, Environment & Planning, Massey University, NZ
272. Dr. Professor Jaime Pastor, Universidad Nacional de Educacion a Distancia, Spain
273. Professor Willie Van Peer, Ludwig Maximilian University, Munich, Germany
274. Dr. Ana Pego, Business and Economic Studies Department, Open University, Lisbon, Portugal
275. Professor Sylvain Perdigon, American University of Beirut, Lebanon
276. Professor Julie Peteet, University of Louisville, Kentucky, USA
277. Dr. Elizabeth Picard, Directeur de Recherche (emerita), National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS), France
278. Professor Gabriel Piterberg, University of California, Los Angeles, USA
279. David Polden, independent researcher, Committee for Nuclear Disarmament, London, UK

280. Dr. Nicola Pratt, University of Warwick, UK
281. Dr. Nicolas Puig, Researcher, L'Institut de recherche pour le développement (*IRD*) France
282. Dr. Neshat Quaiser, Jamia Millia Islamia, Central University, New Delhi, India
283. Professor Mazin Qumsiyeh, Bethlehem and Birzeit Universities, Palestine
284. Dua'a Qurie, Executive Director, The Palestinian NGO Network, Ramallah, Palestine
285. Jorge Ramos Tolosa, researcher and professor, Universitat de València, Spain
286. Professor Marwan Rashed, Université de Paris-IV Sorbonne, Paris
287. Professor Stuart Rees, University of Sydney, NSW, Australia
288. Dr. Sophie Richter-Devroe, Exeter University, UK
289. Professor (emerita) Rosalie Riegle, Saginaw Valley State University, Michigan, USA
290. Professor Martina Rieker, American University of Cairo, Egypt
291. Dr. Rebecca Roberts, Independent scholar, UK
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310. Dr. Leena Saraste, Aalto University, Helsinki, Finland
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312. Professor Surajit Sarkar - Ambedkar University, Delhi, India
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314. Professor (emeritus) Robert M. Schaible, University of Southern Maine, USA
315. Professor (emeritus) Pierre Schapira, University Pierre et Marie Curie, Paris, France
316. Dr. Leonardo Schiocchet, Guest Researcher, Institute for Social Anthropology at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Post-doctoral grantee CAPES, Brazil
317. Professor Sarah Schulman, ACT UP Oral History Project, New York, USA
318. Professor Richard Seaford, University of Exeter, UK
319. Professor (Emerita) Evalyn F. Segal, PhD, San Diego State University, USA
320. Professor May Seikaly, Wayne State University, Detroit, USA
321. Professor Sherene Seikaly, American University in Cairo, Egypt
322. Professor Jihane Sfeir, Université Libre de Bruxelles, Belgium
323. Dr. Anthony F. Shaker, Visiting Scholar McGill University, Montreal, Canada
324. Professor Anton Shammas, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, USA
325. Dorothy Sheridan, Honorary Professor of History (retired), University of Sussex, UK.
326. Dr. Magid Shihade, Birzeit University, Palestine

327. Professor (emeritus) Kazuko Shiojiri, University of Tsukuba; Tokyo International University; Director, Institute of International Exchange (IIET), Japan
328. Professor Andor Skotnes, Chair, Dept. of History and Society, The Sage Colleges, Troy, NY, USA
329. Professor Souad Slim, University of Balamand, Lebanon
330. Richard Saumarez Smith, Professor, American University of Beirut, Lebanon
331. Dr. Graham Smith, Oral History Department of History, Royal Holloway, University of London
332. Dr. Kobi Snitz, Weizmann Institute, Israel
333. Professor Dean Spade, Seattle University School of Law, Washington, USA
334. Dr. Jane Starfield, University of Johannesburg, South Africa
335. Professor Ted Steinberg, Case Western Reserve University, USA
336. Suzy Subways, SLAM! Herstory Project, New York, NY
337. Professor Akiko Sugase, National Museum of Ethnology, Japan
338. Dr. Ziad Suidan, Independent scholar, USA
339. Dr Mayssun Sukarieh , Fellow, Cogut Center for the Humanities, Brown University. USA.
340. Sady Sullivan, Independent Oral Historian Brooklyn, New York, USA
341. Dr. Hitoshi Suzuki, Area Study Center, Institute of Developing Economies, Japan
342. Professor Paul Tabar, Director, Institute for Migration Studies, Lebanese American Univ., Lebanon
343. Professor Neferti Tadiar, Barnard College, New York, USA
344. Rabah Tahraoui ,Professeur ,Université de Rouen, France
345. Professor Carlo Taibo, Autonomous University of Madrid, Spain
346. Professor Ghada Talhami, Lake Forest College, Illinois, USA
347. Professor Vera Tamari, Birzeit University, Palestine
348. Professor Lisa Taraki, Birzeit University, Palestine
349. Sibel Taylor, PhD candidate, Oxford Brookes University, Oxford, England
350. Professor Sunera Thobani, University of British Columbia, Canada
351. Professor Simona Tobia, University of Reading, UK
352. Professor (retired) Chizuko Tominaga, Miyagi Gakuin Women's University, Japan
353. Professor Barry Trachtenberg, University of Albany, New York, USA
354. Professor Judith Tucker, Georgetown University, USA
355. Professor Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Pro Vice Chancellor Māori, Dean of Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao The School of Māori and Pacific Development, The University of Waikato, New Zealand
356. Professor Masaki Uno, Hiroshima City University, Japan
357. Professor Sharon Utakis, Bronx Community College, City University of New York, USA
358. Professor C. Utathya, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, USA
359. Professor Salim Vally, University of Johannesburg, South Africa
360. Dr. Toine Van Teeffelen, Arab Educational Institute, Bethlehem, Palestine
361. Professor Agustin Velloso, Universidad Nacional de Educacion a Distancia (UNED) Madrid, Spain
362. Professor Kamala Visweswaran, University of Texas, USA
363. Naomi Wallace, Independent scholar, award-winning playwright, UK/USA
364. Professor Devra Weber, University of California, Riverside, USA
365. Dr. Livia Celine Wick, American University of Beirut, Lebanon
366. Professor Mark R. Westmoreland, American University Cairo, Egypt
367. Professor Johnny Eric Williams, Trinity College, USA
368. Professor Ulrike Woehr, Hiroshima City University, Hiroshima, Japan
369. Dr. Patrick Wolfe, Trobe University, Australia
370. Adel Yahya, Director, Palestinian Association for Cultural Exchange (PACE), Ramallah, Palestine
371. Yoshihiro Yakushige, PhD student, Kyoto University, Japan
372. Dr. Hala Yameni, Bethlehem University, Bethlehem, Palestine
373. Professor Nadia Yaqub, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, USA
374. Professor Masae Yuasa, Hiroshima City University, Hiroshima, Japan

375. Professor (emeritus) Takehi Yukawa, Keio University, Japan
 376. Omar Zahzah, PhD student, University of California, Los Angeles, USA
 377. Professor (emeritus) Elia Zureik, Queen's University, Canada

Endorsed by the following Academic and Cultural Boycott Campaigns: Academics for Palestine (Ireland); AURDIP (France); BAB (Germany); BOYCOTT! (Israel); BRICUP (UK); InCACBI (India); PACBI (Palestine); PBAI (Spain); USACBI (USA) - and by the Alternative Information Centre (Israel); Groundwell: Oral Historians for Social Change, core working group; Independent Jewish Voices Canada; University of Toronto SJP (Canada); SJP of UCLA – and by Ronnie Kasrils, former South African government minister, anti-apartheid activist and writer.

Note: this list of signers and endorsers was updated on 11/15/2013
To add your name please email: hebrewconferenceboycott@gmail.com

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THE NECESSARY AND IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION OF ACADEMIC FREEDOM

The UN Committee on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights defines academic freedom to include:

the liberty of individuals to express freely opinions about the institution or system in which they work, to fulfill their functions without discrimination or fear of repression by the state or any other actor, to participate in professional or representative academic bodies, and to enjoy all the internationally recognized human rights applicable to other individuals in the same jurisdiction. The enjoyment of academic freedom carries with it *obligations*, such as the duty to respect the academic freedom of others, to ensure the fair discussion of contrary views, and to treat all without discrimination on any of the prohibited grounds. [10], emphasis added]

Keeping this definition in mind, we are keenly aware of the importance of the academic freedom of the individual, but also believe that such freedoms should not extend automatically to institutions. Judith Butler reminds us that: “our struggles for academic freedom must work in concert with the opposition to state violence, ideological surveillance, and the systematic devastation of everyday life.” [11]

It is incumbent on academics to develop such a nuanced understanding of academic freedom if we are to call for social justice and work alongside the oppressed in advancing their freedom, equality and self-determination.

The Israeli academy is not the bastion of dissent and liberalism it is purported to be by those who defend Israel and attempt to delegitimize the call for academic boycott. The vast majority of the Israeli academic community is oblivious to the oppression of the Palestinian people--both inside Israel and in the occupied territory--and has never opposed the practices and policies of their state. In fact, they duly serve in the reserve forces of the occupation army and, accordingly are likely to be either perpetrators of or silent witnesses to the daily brutality of the occupation. They also do not hesitate to partner in their academic research with the security-military establishment that is the chief architect and executor of the occupation. A petition Drafted by four Israeli academics merely calling on the Israeli government “to allow [Palestinian] students and lecturers free access to all the campuses in the [occupied] Territories, and to allow lecturers and students who hold foreign passports to teach and study without being threatened with withdrawal of residence visas,” was endorsed by only 407 out of 9,000 Israeli academics – less than 5% of those who were invited to sign it. [12]

Notes:

- [1] The decision was published in the official Israeli Gazette (the Hebrew edition), number 1425. It was therefore "legalized" by Israel. This land, for the most part, was (still is) privately owned by Palestinians living in that area. A large part of the confiscated land was then given to the Hebrew University to expand its campus (mainly its dormitories). The Palestinian landowners refused to leave their lands and homes arguing that the confiscation order of 1968 was illegal. When the case was taken to the Jerusalem District Court in 1972 (file no. 1531/72), the court ruled in favor of the University and the state, deciding that the Palestinian families must evacuate their homes and be offered alternative housing. See also <http://news.nationalpost.com/2012/02/12/un-report-accuses-israel-of-pushing-palestinians-from-jerusalem-west-bank/>
- [2] Keller, U. (2009) the Academic Boycott of Israel and the Complicity of Israeli Academic Institutions in Occupation of Palestinian Territories. The Economy of the Occupation: A Socioeconomic Bulletin: Alternative Information Centre. http://www.alternativenews.org/images/stories/downloads/Economy_of_the_occupation_23-24.pdf
- [3] <http://www.jpost.com/Local-Israel/In-Jerusalem/Hebrew-University-in-Arabic>
- [4] <http://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-3827102,00.html>
- [5] http://www.jewishlinkbc.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=944:lapid-threatens-to-bring-down-the-govt-on-haredi-army-issue&catid=150:news&Itemid=562
- [6] <http://www.icj-cij.org/docket/index.php?pr=71&code=mwp&p1=3&p2=4&p3=6&ca>
- [7] <http://pacbi.org/etemplate.php?id=869>
- [8] <http://bdsmovement.net/?q=node/52>
- [9] <http://www.pacbi.org/etemplate.php?id=2102>
- [10] UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, "The Right to Education (Art.13)," December 8, 1999 [http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/\(Symbol\)/ae1a0b126d068e868025683c003c8b3b?Opendocument](http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/(Symbol)/ae1a0b126d068e868025683c003c8b3b?Opendocument)
- [11] Judith Butler. "Israel/Palestine and the Paradoxes of Academic Freedom." in: *Radical Philosophy*, Vol. 135. pp. 8-17, January/February 2006. <http://www.egs.edu/faculty/judith-butler/articles/israel-palestine-paradoxes-of-academic-freedom/> (Accessed on December 10, 2011)
- [12] <http://pacbi.org/etemplate.php?id=792>