



The Center For Democracy
& Community Development
مركز الديمقراطية وتنمية المجتمع



REPRESENTATIVE OFFICE OF NORWAY
TO THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY

Academic Freedom and the Social Responsibility of Israeli and Palestinian Academics Policy Paper

By
Scott Ratner

Guiding Principles of Academic Freedom in Israel and Palestine

The Center for Democracy and Community Development
2nd Edition



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Executive Summary and Policy Recommendations

Throughout the long and arduous decades of the Zionist-Palestinian conflict, countless different approaches to reaching détente have been attempted individuals and movements from each side. From the early vision of the Brit Shalom movement in Mandatory Palestine to promote the establishment of a binational state to the path-breaking attempts of PLO stalwart Issam Sartawi to pursue dialogue with moderate Israelis in the 1970s and 1980s – a decision which

cost him his life in 1983 – the path to reconciliation in the Middle East has been fraught with controversy and danger. With the inauguration of the Oslo Peace Accords in 1993, an unprecedented sense of euphoria and optimism could be felt throughout the mainstream Palestinian and Israeli publics. It was anticipated that Israeli consent to the creation of a Palestinian state in the West Bank, East Jerusalem, and Gaza Strip, coupled with the PLO's recognition of Israel as an outcome of the political process, would foster bonds of trust and reciprocity between the two sides at a level unknown during the heyday of occupation and resistance.

Notwithstanding the elation that accompanied the Oslo Accords and Declaration of Principles, neither civil society peace activists nor academics have been able to convene a singular framework or set of parameters to guide interactions between the two sides or to institutionalize conflict-mitigating procedures when violence reemerges. Beyond the functioning of various technical and logistic committees responsible for coordinating security matters and dividing natural resources, the primary venue of Israeli-Palestinian cooperation remains in business and donor-funded projects. Moreover, it soon became evident that a certain contradiction existed between the emphasis on economic partnership that undergirded the Oslo Agreement and the reality of the continuing

Israeli occupation. Rather than subsiding and giving way to a sovereign Palestinian state along the pre-war 1967 borders, the Israeli settlement enterprise – and military presence in the region – only expanded and accelerated throughout the Oslo years. The continued Israeli occupation and political polarization culminated in waves of deadly suicide bombings that befell Israeli cities during the mid-1990s that neither Israeli nor Palestinian security forces were able to squelch. Inevitably, the internecine violence and attendant nationalist retrenchment precluded both the ability and willingness of civil society activists to cement a regime of dialogue and reconciliation.

Ultimately, Israel's lackluster commitment to Palestinian independence or abrogating its claims on East Jerusalem and the West Bank forced a reality upon Palestinians in which their work with their Israeli counterparts would have to take place in the midst of an ongoing military occupation and sustained campaign of colonization. Of course, Israeli academics and civil society organizations have been equally mindful of the asymmetry between themselves and their Palestinian colleagues as a result of the prevailing power imbalance. Nevertheless, the Israeli anti-occupation movement, in addition to lacking the momentum or mass base necessary to effect change at the policy-level, have proven unsuccessful in reconciling competing loyalties to nationalist vs. universal norms. Oscillating between the ideals that the occupation should be excised in order to salvage the state's moral and legal standing in the international community as opposed to the rationale that it constitutes an inherent normative obligation, neither a coherent discourse nor agenda has emerged in the Israeli peace camp with which Palestinians could aspire to work with in unison.

Confronted with the dilemma of how to best combat the Israeli occupation through binational unity yet without reifying the existing power imbalance, two distinct models of action have crystalized among Israeli



and Palestinian non-governmental actors. The first model can be aptly labelled “business as usual” and is typically found in private sector and donor-driven projects. Numerous Israeli and Palestinian business firms have, since Oslo, continued to conduct economic affairs in a litany of public and private sector enterprises absent any consideration of the political circumstances. Advocates of this approach claim that strengthening economic ties facilitates both political engagement and bonds of trust between the two sides, citing cases where a common frame of reference toward profit has brought together erstwhile adversaries and created commonalities that would otherwise be nearly impossible to induce.¹ Conversely, critics argue that economic cooperation in the midst of occupation helps perpetuate the status quo of occupation and is premised on the exploitation of the weaker, more vulnerable entity.² Several leading academics from Israeli and Palestinian universities have likewise posited that collaboration across the divide can contribute to a lasting peace in spite of the political impasse,³ though far fewer instances of cooperation have materialized in this sector. Donor-funded initiatives also continue to attract figures from Israeli and Palestinian civil society due to the monetary inducements they offer, but here too, the guiding framework and language tends to be neutral rather than cognizant of the fact that one side clearly predominates the geopolitical reality.

In contrast to the “business as usual” approach, a sizeable segment of Israeli and Palestinians have adopted the polar opposite stance to col-

1 “Boosting the West Bank’s Economy: Israel and Palestine.” *Economist (US)* 1 June 2013: Web.

2 Nakhleh, Khalil. *Globalized Palestine: The National Sellout of a Homeland*. New Jersey: The Red Sea Press, 2012 provides a particularly scathing critique of how Palestinian businessmen have reaped immense profits from commerce with their Israeli counterparts and in doing so, have helped entrench Israeli control over the Palestinian economy without providing any substantial benefits to the majority of Palestinian citizens.

3 “Palestinian and Israeli Academics Against the Academic Boycott.” *Nana News* 21 May 2005: Web (Hebrew). Accessed at: <http://news.nana10.co.il/Article/?ArticleID=186303>.

laboration and promulgated the “do it alone” argument by advocating for the wholesale boycott of cooperating with the other side. While the methods spearheaded by nationalistic movements from Israeli society may not be direct cognates of the Palestinian Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions Movement (BDS), the attitudes of several sociopolitical streams prevalent in the Israeli government and on campuses alike clearly approximate the “do it alone” approach. Organizations such as Zo Artzeinu and NGO Monitor have castigated and sought to sanction voices in the Israeli mainstream who have expressed either sympathy or solidarity with the Palestinian plight. From the Palestinian point of view, it has been argued that calling upon their society as well as the international community to abjure from all forms of cooperation with Israeli political, economic, and academic institutions parallels the measures that successfully brought down the South African Apartheid regime in 1994. Beyond its pragmatic utility, advocates of a Palestinian and international boycott against Israel have also pointed to the inextricable link between Israeli academic institutions and the state’s military apparatus, which enforces and justifies state policies that contravene the rights of millions of Palestinians. Clearly, a growing trend toward severing contacts across the Green Line and neglecting both the suffering and aspirations of the other can be discerned within Israeli and Palestinian society and academia. Although important differences exist between the content and specific strategies of Israeli and Palestinian movements that sideline collaboration across the divide, the overall inclination toward this frame of reference can be attributed to a belief that the “other” cannot emphasize or display a similar moral compass with which a common platform or set of ideals can be generated.

A third path that applies equally to civil society movements and organizations, economic actors, and academia that has yet to have been sig-



nificantly experimented with among Israelis and Palestinians can be appropriately termed “collaboration in accordance with Guiding Ethical Principles,” or “selective boycott.” This approach emanates from the understanding that that “business as usual” evades – and perhaps even legitimizes – the issue of the Israeli occupation and the vast inequalities it breeds while the “do it alone” only exacerbates the already high levels of polarization rather than providing an avenue for solidarity, collective action, and reciprocity. An effective middle ground must therefore enshrine the imperative to work together yet remain cognizant of and seek to rectify the power asymmetry between Israelis and Palestinians. Engendering such room for maneuver requires the application of a framework that explicitly addresses the political context that affects Israeli-Palestinian cooperation as well as how joint projects can in turn build a binational consensus aimed at ending occupation, combating all forms of injustice and violence in the region, and promoting dialogue and reconciliation. It also reserves the option to impose a boycott on institutions that either support the Israeli occupation or do not seek to uphold their social responsibility to redress the inequalities and injustices that it creates.

Academia in Israel and Palestine is particularly well-suited for the application of Guiding Principles and selective boycott because it represents a venue that is at once influential in shaping the public discourse and innately conducive to transborder collaboration. By adhering to a set of formal guidelines that oblige the stronger side to recognize the detrimental impact that their government’s policies have exacted on the weaker side – particularly their rights to higher education – members of Israeli academia can effectively demonstrate their commitment to “practicing what they preach” in the classroom. Far more than a mere condemnation of measures that inhibit Palestinians from realizing their

full potential as both individuals and a nation, Guiding Principles can enable Israeli academics to express solidarity and direct their scholarly energies toward the pursuit of goals commensurate with the aspirations of their counterparts across the Green Line. Guiding Principles would, in the same vein, bestow Palestinian academics and intellectuals with an operational framework to engage their Israeli counterparts without succumbing to the pitfalls of ignoring the political context that perpetuates there subjugation. In short, Guiding Principles would, much as they have done for countless countries throughout the world, afford Israeli and Palestinian academics the unique and unparalleled opportunity to utilize their profession craft for the purposes of consolidating two just and democratic states and societies. They would provide a common platform for matters ranging from political and corporate intervention on the campus to the academic job market in both countries to be discussed in a manner that speaks to the needs, challenges, and constraints of each side. Of perhaps greatest importance, Guiding Principles would reveal a path that can be emulated by Israeli and Palestinian societies to further advance the cause of justice, freedom, and partnership.



Chapter 1- Introduction: Academic Freedom and the Social Responsibility of Academics in Israel and Palestine

Much has transpired in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict since the Center for Democracy and Community Development and Truman Institute for the Advancement of Peace, under the guise of UNESCO, published the Proposed Guiding Principles for Israeli-Palestinian Academic Cooperation in 2005, and few would conjecture that the vast regional developments have been positive for inter-cultural dialogue and conflict resolution. Akin to the rise and fall of expectations that peace, democracy, and prosperity might finally arrive to the Arab world in the wake of the Arab Spring, the valiant efforts of civil society organizations in Israel and Palestine have been unable to stem the course of Israeli rule over the state of Palestine and the Palestinian people. Instead, the internecine bloodletting of the Second Intifada gradually faded into the shadow of a continued Israeli occupation over the West Bank, unilateral withdrawal and sporadic fighting in and along the border of the Gaza Strip, intensified polarization in both Israeli and Palestinian societies, and an overall diminished space for joint action in the struggle to end the occupation and implement the two state solution. Although Palestinians were able to achieve an important victory with their ascension to official statehood through the passing of UN General Assembly Resolution 67/19 in November 2012, neither the Palestinian Authority (PA) nor its citizenry have been able to translate this accomplishment into tangible results on the ground.⁴ Consequently, the development of the state of Palestine remains subject to the vagaries of military occupation, and even the

⁴ Notwithstanding its lack of genuine sovereignty, that Palestine has finally achieved de jure international recognition in the global community of nations behooves us to modify our lexicon accordingly. The current analysis thus refers to Palestine as a “country” or “state,” depending on the specific context, even while it is recognized that its borders and governing apparatus do not yet enjoy the attributes of a truly independent nation.

most banal forms of cooperation between the two sides cannot escape the pitfalls of the vast asymmetry created by a dyadic relationship of occupier vs. occupied.

Among the most visible outcomes of the failure to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has been the politicization of academia in tandem with the growing insulation of universities from their respective societies. Academic freedom has long been a sensitive and controversial topic heavily subject to the vicissitudes of the overall political deadlock. Nevertheless, it has experienced even more acute setbacks among students, faculties, and university administrations alike as a result of the failed peace process and prolonged duress of conflict and occupation. Contrary to what is typically associated with the Palestinian Academic Campaign for the Boycott of Israel (BDS), the obstacles to free and pluralistic campuses in Israel and Palestine emanate primarily from the detrimental impact that the Israeli occupation has had on both societies. Government bodies and partisan movements on Israeli campuses have been responsible for imposing constraints on students, professors, and administrators (Israeli and Palestinian alike) from moving freely across international borders, expressing opinions, enjoying the freedom to organize campus activities, and most importantly, to assume proactive roles as agents of change in their societies and across the divide. Yet as the declarations and charters of countless international bodies as well as private and public universities across the globe have affirmed time and time again, the responsibility of academics to contribute to the peaceful and prosperous development at the local and global level is part and parcel of the concept of academic freedom. Stated unequivocally by the International Association of Universities, the UNESCO-based worldwide alliance of institutions of higher education, a principal component of academic freedom includes “the obligation as social institutions to



promote, through teaching and research, the principles of freedom and justice, of human dignity and solidarity, and to develop mutually material and moral aid on an international level.”⁵ Universities, therefore, are not only tasked with the inculcation and dissemination of scientific knowledge, but the forging of civic-minded citizens and creating fertile ground for the peaceful advancement of communities, states, and humanity in general. In the Israeli-Palestinian context, it should go without say that the political stalemate and decline in civil society contacts between the two sides as a result of occupation should bestow intellectuals with a unique role in mediating relations between the two sides, and ultimately in facilitating moderation, justice, and an end to the conflict.

Academic freedom in Palestine and Israel encompasses far more than mere collaboration on joint scientific endeavors across the multiplicity of fields and disciplines taught on college and university campuses. Without advocating for universal rights and social justice, academics and intellectuals refrain from utilizing their knowledge for the purposes of improving their social environment. Academic freedom can therefore not exist when its practitioners abstain from applying their professional talents to improve the lives of society’s downtrodden classes. Consequently, the pressing question of the social responsibility of academics in the case of Israel-Palestine should center on how occupation and asymmetry impact the wherewithal of intellectuals from the two sides to work jointly and independently toward developing the prosperity of the two independent countries. As Palestinian and international critics of collaboration correctly point out, working with Israeli institutions that have not taken a clear and unequivocal stand against their state’s illegal occupation – and particularly the negative ramifications that

⁵ See the IAU policy statement at: http://www.iau-aiu.net/sites/all/files/Academic_Freedom_Policy_Statement.pdf.

it has had on the academic rights and freedoms of Palestinians – can have the adverse effect of ignoring the underlying context of inequality or even strengthening Israeli claims to moral certitude while their state contravenes international law and the human rights of millions. Of course, one cannot dismiss the mutual responsibility of Palestinian academics to uphold their commitment to promoting peace and reconciliation. However, as the analysis below clarifies, intellectuals from Palestinian universities and civil society alike have vigorously debated (and formally condemned) acts of violence perpetrated against Israeli civilians in the name of their nationalist cause. These constructive and encouraging activities reveal that Palestinian academics have adhered to the social responsibility incumbent upon them as their nation’s leading intellectuals. Under the current political circumstances, which show few signs of improving in the foreseeable future, academic engagement between the two sides can only be accomplished under the framework of their mutual social responsibility, which in turn must be premised on certain well-defined guiding principles and ethical parameters. Not only can a vision based on such guidelines offer the possibility of bolstering dialogue and academic freedom on Israeli and Palestinian universities, but also create a channel through which one of history’s most pertinacious conflicts can be redressed and ultimately resolved.

What is the social responsibility of academics?

In 2009, The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), it was declared that “In today’s globalized era, personal intellectual advancement must go hand in hand with broader goals of sustainable development, poverty reduction, peace and human rights.”⁶ The significance of this assertion rests on the notion that the substance and knowledge disseminated in classrooms of institutions of

⁶ <http://www.unesco.org/en/the-2009-world-conference-on-higher-education/societal-commitment-and-social-responsibility/>



higher education are, irrespective of specific disciplines, meant to contribute to the development and betterment of global society. Whether it be a geologist conducting research on seismic activity, a scholar of Confucian philosophy, or a business professor providing instruction on the free market, all forms of knowledge bequeathed by an instructor to his or her students in some way contributes to improving our understanding of humanity's interaction with the social and physical world. While it may be a naïve assumption to generalize that every individual who enters the academic community did so for altruistic purposes, it cannot be denied that the search for objective truth unites us all in a common endeavor to advance the human spirit.

Knowledge constitutes among the most potent forms of power which, over the course of history, has been utilized to execute some of mankind's most nefarious criminal and barbaric acts. From colonial-era anthropologists that undertook research on indigenous populations in order to devise policies to control and exploit them to German academics who provided empirical substantiation to Nazi racial theories represent prominent examples that reveal the extent to which academia in service of the state can transform knowledge into an instrument of subjugation and terror. In the modern era, where technological advances have created an unprecedented level of global interconnectedness, history amply demonstrate the importance in applying knowledge to the service of humanity as a collective rather than the cause of a single state or class. The concept of social responsibility does not perforce imply that academics should wholly abstain from direct involvement in their national or local governments. It does, however, oblige members of the academic community to carefully consider how their work in the public sector can direct knowledge toward a path that yields adverse consequences on academic freedom and the welfare of certain segments

of the population outside state borders. As the following section further delineates, numerous countries from around the globe have, over the past few decades, discerned that institutionalizing a set of guiding principles presents a tangible and enduring means of enshrining the commitment of their country's intellectuals to a common reference of universal human values. Far more than a testimony to the professor's obligation to the national citizenry exclusively, these charters affirm UNESCO's principle that human security and human rights signify the most formative values of academia.

Regrettably, the political conflict and resulting sociocultural alienation between Israeli and Palestinian societies have deprioritized the issue of academic freedom and the social responsibility of academics. Notwithstanding the sidelining of this vital issue, it is manifestly apparent that universities in Palestine and Israel cannot fulfill their academic social responsibility through unilateral measures or activism. Attempting to "do it alone" would inevitably fall victim to the clear common malaise afflicting academic freedom on both sides: occupation and the acts of resistance and violence that it produces. Needless to say, the fates of Israelis – Jews and Palestinian citizens alike – and Palestinians in the occupied territories are interwoven to such a degree that social responsibility in this unique milieu necessarily enjoins the stronger side to recognize the weaker side's suffering and desire for restorative justice. Accordingly, the decision to pursue a set of guiding principles for academic freedom and the social responsibility of academics stemmed from the understanding that in addition to their responsibilities toward their national citizenry, universal values, and decades of crisis dictate that conflict resolution and consensus-building must figure prominently in a future vision of the Israeli-Palestinian academic community. With the goal of engendering such a civic-minded community inclusive of

both sides in mind, our set of Guiding Principles addresses the needs, concerns, challenges, and opportunities of both sides equally and together. It highlights the areas where joint cooperation can mitigate the asymmetry of the occupier-occupied relationship as well as provide a bulwark against the utilization of knowledge for partisan political purposes.

Before moving on to the status of academic freedom in Israeli and Palestinian societies and identifying precisely where the social responsibility of academics from the two countries can promote human development across the divide, it remains incumbent to offer a glimpse into how guiding principles have enabled myriad other nations in the international community to safeguard academic freedom while providing a constructive role for society's leading intellectuals.



Chapter 2 – The International Experience With “Guiding Principles”

Any examination of the prospects for a set of guiding principles to encourage current and future members of Palestinian and Israeli academia to adhere to a vision of joint social responsibility within and across their societies requires us to first assess the impact that such principles have had on other countries around the world. The concept of “academic freedom” in its modern usage emerged in late 19th century Germany as a result of what was perceived as unduly government intervention in university classrooms and the deleterious effects that the politicization of academia brought to the pursuit of objective knowledge.⁷ In this context, the concepts of “Lehfreieit” (the freedom to teach) and “Lernfreiheit” (the freedom to learn) materialized as a framework to guide behavior in the classroom and to protect universities from government overreach as well as ensure its utilization for the production of knowledge rather than a tool in the hands of state politicians and bureaucrats. In America, academic freedom became a contested topic over the teaching of Darwinian evolution in universities founded by Christian sects that inculcated religious ideals as central to their pedagogical tradition.⁸ Growing controversy over the predilections of professors and scholars to challenge accepted mores prompted the establishment of the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) in 1915, which advocated for unbridled academic freedom in college and university campuses. Essential to the AAUP’s mission was the belief that academics occupy unique positions in their society and that their privileged access to knowledge and influence over their country’s youth confers academics with an obligation to work toward improving the welfare of the national citizenry.

7 Shils (1991).

8 Post et. al (2009).

Generally speaking, Guiding Principles of Academic Freedom and the Social Responsibility of Academics trace their origins to a) the internationalization of human rights norms, specifically the inalienable right to education, which became enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, and b) the various individual charters that public and private universities throughout Europe and America have formally adopted as a matter of policy beginning as early as the 1930s. The main issues, constraints, and challenges to academic freedom and social responsibility across time and space have related to the politicization of academia (e.g. attempts by the state to impose censorship on certain topics of inquiry as well as enforce a certain historic or political narrative in the classroom), political considerations in the appointment of tenured positions in academia, and the growing impact of privatization and corporate involvement in academic affairs. During the Cold War, for instance, it was not uncommon for countries in both the capitalist west and communist east for the state to lead purges of professors suspected of expressing viewpoints that ran counter to official state ideology or to adopt and propagate blatantly unscientific theories in order to rationalize or justify government policies.⁹ In the Soviet Union, famed biologist Trofim Lysenko advocated for the implementation of a scientifically unfounded farming doctrine that was more consistent with the propaganda requirements of the Soviet state than the needs of the Russian peasantry or food security of the populace. In return for his services to the state rather than academia, Lysenko was appointed director of the Soviet Academy for Agricultural Scientists. Conversely, Owen Lattimore, an American scholar of the Far East, was among several famed academics accused of espionage on behalf of the Soviet Union in the 1940s and 1950s during the McCarthy era campaigns to expose the (contrived) subversive activities of the country's intellectual circles.

⁹ See Altbach (2000) for additional case studies.

More recently, cases have emerged from a wide range of locales where scientific research and/or its university practitioners have been scrutinized for conducting or publishing research that counter the ideological inclinations or political agenda of the establishment. These purported transgressions are often viewed as particularly severe when they concern the responsibility and impetus of academics to uncover information that governing elites would prefer to conceal from the eye of the general public. One such instance that gained notoriety in the academic community came to light when a North African professor of public health was dismissed from his position and briefly imprisoned for contradicting the official government's statistics on national child mortality rates.¹⁰ Similar cases from around the Middle East concerning election fraud and misconduct have been subject to showcase trials and imprisoned, along with professors who have taken critical stands against their government's handling of minority or popular demands for political redress. For instance, the arrest and imprisonment of Egyptian sociologist Saad Edin Ibrahim in 2000 for producing a documentary that challenged the veracity of his country's national elections is one of the most famous of what has become a common occurrence in academia throughout much of the developing world.

Tenure constitutes one of the pillars of academia, which partly explains why it can be a topic mired in acrimony and charges of political bias. In America, tenure became a central focus in the academic community as early as 1919 when the AAUP created the Committee of Academic Freedom and Academic Tenure as a means of institutionalizing what was viewed as an essential safeguard of academic freedom. Despite persistent efforts over the years, including the revision of official documents and policy statements from the AAUP and a litany of public and

¹⁰ See Quinn (2004).

private universities, tenure remains an issue fraught with controversy in some of America's most established and prestigious institutions of higher education. Throughout the 1990s, the universities of Minnesota, Texas, and South Carolina all encountered difficulties in ironing out a tenure regime that met the academic, ethical, and moral standards that universities impose upon themselves.¹¹ When it comes to tenure and the politicization of certain academic topics, the dispute surrounding Norman Finkelstein reveals the extent to which political considerations can negatively impact academic freedom. Finkelstein drew the ire of a number of American academics after having engaged in a number of polemical issues regarding the politics of the Holocaust and the state of Israel, and was subsequently denied tenure at DePaul University after a number of professors there and elsewhere successfully lobbied the administration.

While few cases have attracted the media spotlight of the Finkelstein drama, it is noteworthy that even in America and other developed nations, the assumption that academia exists for the purpose of independent scientific inquiry rather than augmenting state capacity to formulate either foreign or domestic policy has not been taken as a matter of course. Particularly in the wake of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, specialists in a variety of disciplines from Political Science to Middle East and Islamic studies have been rebuked for failing to translate their knowledge and research into real-time policy prescriptions that address the growing radicalization of large segments of the Arab and Muslim worlds. Several debates have ensued throughout different universities and myriad departments concerning whether scholars have an inherent obligation to formulate their scholarly insights in a manner relevant to government policymakers and whether this imperative

¹¹ Altbach (2003).



takes precedent over their commitment to objective analysis. Needless to say, a plurality of voices has reached varying conclusions to this vexing question.¹² Of perhaps far greater significance, however, has been the extent to which this issue has highlighted how the two concepts of “academic freedom” and the “social responsibility” of society’s professional intellectuals still remain undefined and subject to conflicting interpretations.

An additional dimension of academic freedom and the social responsibility of professional academics that has garnered significant attention in the developing world concerns the expanding role of the private sector and corporate interests on the campus. Neoliberalism, the dominant economic paradigm throughout much of the industrialized North and developing South, has been and continues to guide state policies in the modern globalized era, leaving in its wake vastly reduced government expenditures in the public sector, including higher education. As universities across the world have witnessed sharp declines in revenue, scores of private companies representing an assortment of sectors from aeronautics to investment firms have filled the fiscal vacuum created by the neoliberal retreat from the public sector. Not surprisingly, this turn of events has created an uncomfortable nexus between academia and the corporate world. It has not been rare for private firms to inundate universities with millions of dollars for the purpose of creating academic programs tailored to producing specialists in certain technical vocations rather than inquisitive students dedicated to objective research. In the globalized era where corporate corruption, environmental nepotism, and military-industrial complexes pose existential dangers to human and national security across the globe, society’s intellectuals are often sought after to expose the venal practices of the both the public

¹² See, for instance, Goldberg, Michelle. “Osama University.” Salon.com, 6 November 2003.

and private sector. However, the growing association of corporations within the realm of academia has aroused fears that the oversight and advocacy that we expect from our leading thinkers may be indelibly compromised by the lure of financial rewards exogenous to the scholarly process.

The normative role of academics in countries plagued by prolonged and violent ethno-national conflict has also remained a vexing and persistent question in university administrations and classrooms. Societal conflicts and social protest movements almost invariably spillover onto university campuses due to the impetus of student factions and political movements to organize and promote solidarity events. Particularly in the post-Cold War era, where the locus of conflict has shifted from interstate wars to domestic contests for political power and inclusion, the centrality of academia in fostering peaceful dialogue as opposed to chauvinistic nationalism should not be underestimated. Ethnic and ideological struggles for independence, irredentism, and/or greater cultural and political rights for minorities have generated both positive and negative society-university interactions, but certainly the risk to academic freedom posed by violent political wrangling has been significant.¹³ Academics in numerous South American, Southeast Asian, and even European countries have faced threats to their life – and not a few instances these threats have been acted upon – for supporting the demands of revisionist movements either in their own individual capacity or in the classroom.¹⁴

There can be little doubt that the border between partisan political activity and the social responsibility of academics to work toward advancing justice and conflict resolution can be difficult to distinguish. On one end of the spectrum, academics have gone so far as to take the reigns of

¹³ See report from The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (1982).

¹⁴ Quinn (2009) provides several such examples from Spain and Indonesia.



violent revolutionary movements such as Abimael Guzmán, leader of the Peruvian leftist revolutionary Shining Path movement. While this extremity may be an exceptional case, the phenomenon of scholars taking on state functions and politicians assuming top roles in academia upon retirement from the government nonetheless prevails throughout virtually every country in the developing and developed worlds. Clearly, state governments are cognizant of the immense value to be gained from collaborating with their country's leading intellectuals, yet such active involvement of academics in state political institutions and vice versa can also have a corrosive impact on the quality and direction of academic research. Moreover, cases throughout history have also demonstrated how the subjugation of the scientific process to political doctrine and conformity are also likely to breed unethical practices such as cheating, plagiarism, and cronyism among student-professor relations.¹⁵

While the politicization of academia and utilization of campuses for partisan political activities certainly falls within the scope of freedom of expression, association, and assembly, it can also raise the question of the appropriate reach state security forces should have on the campus. Following wide-scale student protests throughout the 1960s and 1970s in various Latin American countries such as Mexico and Bolivia, a number of governments enacted legislation prohibiting state gendarmeries from entering the university, bequeathing this important role instead to independent campus security units. Subsequent to these measures, academics were generally in consensus that delegating the task of maintaining campus security to non-state forces had a constructive and palpable effect on the wherewithal of students and professors to conduct open discussions on topics that were once viewed as taboo and to question assumptions that were hitherto considered off limits.¹⁶

15 Bumen (2009).

16 Altbach (2000).

On the other hand, in countries such as Turkey and China, where military juntas have traditionally reigned over the central government and no separation of state and university security forces has been adopted, dissident voices have been subject to arbitrary arrests and censorship has been imposed at far higher rate than countries where relative democracy and freedom of speech prevail.¹⁷

In order to combat and counteract the formative and potentially harmful influence of politics on academic freedom and the functioning of the university as well as delineate an appropriate framework to model the social responsibility of academics and their relationship to society, a number of important measures have been adopted over the last few decades. Initiatives and referential frameworks in this field have spanned a number of academic disciplines themselves as well as entered the realm of transnational networking through various types of social media. Perhaps most fundamentally, academic bodies throughout a multitude of countries have formulated “Guiding Principles for Academic Freedom and the Social Responsibility of Academics” in order to succinctly define and institutionalize the concepts of academic freedom and the normative role of professors in assisting the development of their respective societies. One of the first such documents was composed in Lima, Peru, in 1988. The “The Declaration on Academic Freedom and Autonomy of Institutions of Higher Education” came largely in response to a series of politically-motivated appointments and dismissals as well as growing concerns over the increased presence of the private sector – particularly foreign firms – in the universities. Similar initiatives soon followed-suit in neighboring and distant countries ranging from South Africa, Uganda (the Kampala Declaration on Intellectual Freedom and Social Responsibility), the Philippines, and Tanzania.

¹⁷ Guoguang (1996).

In the Middle East, the first treatise on academic freedom came in 2004 with the “Amman Declaration on Academic Freedom and the Independence of Higher Education and Scientific Research.” Nevertheless, protection of freedom of speech and the autonomy of the campus from state overreach remains problematic throughout much of the Arab world. Weak democratic institutions and ill-defined constitutional guidelines render it difficult to translate academic declarations and rhetorical exhortations in favor of academic freedom into reality. Not surprisingly, harassment of students and professors who express dissident views continues to plague universities.

Akin to the proliferation of online modes of organization and civic activism, academics from across the world have resorted to the internet in growing numbers as an effective means of protecting the right to academic freedom and the institutionalize the social responsibility of society’s academics. Online platforms enable civic activists to monitor and expose government policies and practices that prejudice academic freedom and impose constraints on professors and students that seek to utilize their positions for advancing social and political reform. Examples of this type of activism include the Scholars at Risk Network as well as the online platforms and sub-groups established by the IAU. Students from a plethora of universities and representing a diverse array of disciplines have also employed facebook, twitter, and a host of other social media networks to galvanize conversation and reform in the academic sector.

While the nascent efforts of the upcoming generation to tackle the difficulties of building free, autonomous, and open universities where students, faculty, and administrators can positively contribute to societal development have gained momentum, numerous challenges still lay ahead. Active and latent ethno-national and ideological conflicts

across the developing world can continue to find universities as breeding ground for jingoism inside and outside the classroom. Of no less consequence is the increasing privatization of universities and the prospect that institutions of higher education morph into repositories of private firms and capital. Guiding principles shared by academics that hail from and embody the entire spectrum of society's diversity can help alleviate the intrinsic tensions of nationalism and globalism, and in doing so to, enable students and academics to fulfill the ultimate altruistic vision academia.



Chapter 3 – The Status of Academic Freedom in Israel and Palestine: Identifying Potential Roles for Social Responsibility

At first glance, the widely divergent social, political, and economic contexts of Israel and Palestine would not seem conducive to a constructive comparison of each country's respective academic challenges and opportunities. The state of Israel is characterized by stable, entrenched, and autonomous institutions of governance as well as a highly developed and diversified modern economy. Palestine, conversely, remains a state in transition and marred in a struggle to end several decades of foreign occupation. It has not been afforded the chance to develop its state institutions in a manner congruent with popular expectations, and pervasive frustration and disillusionment with the status quo persists. Yet in spite of the vast disparities between the macro-level indicators of the two countries, academic freedom and the wherewithal of professional and aspiring academics to assume positions of social responsibility suffer from essentially the same common denominator: occupation. As the following survey reveals, the politicization of both Israeli and Palestinian academia stems primarily, though certainly not exclusively, from the conditions created by prolonged occupation and the different forms of civic and violent resistance that it breeds.

Academic Freedom in Israel

Although typically considered bastions of liberal thought, scientific achievement, and pluralism, recent developments in universities across Israel confirm that academic freedom cannot be taken for granted in the current sociopolitical climate. This perception was similarly expressed by several project participants (see section on Methodology). Certainly, Israeli universities have produced scholars and civil society leaders of the highest caliber. One need only take a cursory stroll through the lists

of alumni from colleges and universities throughout Israel to obtain a glimpse of the immense contributions that the country's academic community has made throughout the world. All the same, scientific achievement does not necessarily imply academic freedom or the proper utilization of the academic milieu for the purpose of social justice. The same universities and scholars that have excelled in their disciplines have at times made significant contributions to their state's internationally recognized illegal occupation of Palestinian lands.¹⁸ Despite the widespread attention and criticism that has been levelled against Israeli academia and its complicity in their state's policies toward the Palestinian land and people, few concerted efforts have been undertaken to encourage Israeli academics to "act-knowledge" on the basis of their commitment to the mutual and beneficial development of society, particularly as it concerns the issue of occupation and the academic rights of the Palestinians.¹⁹

A number of independent studies have commended Israel for its extraordinary adherence to the principles of academic freedom. Simultaneously, however, they have also omitted any reference to either the infractions committed against students and professors who have displayed solidarity with the Palestinians or the responsibility of Israeli academics to work toward ending their state's occupation and its associated injustices.²⁰ The implications of this glaring omission and the inability to arrive at a common framework for engaging the polemical

18 Keller (2009) provides an in-depth and well-referenced account of the tight nexus between Israeli colleges and universities and the different facets of the Israeli occupation and military industrial complex.

19 See Kaufman (2005) for the experiences (and palpable frustration) of one acclaimed member of Israeli academia to enlist the country's universities and professors to the cause of ending the decade's long occupation of Palestine.

20 A recent and prominent example that makes little reference to the social responsibility of academics in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and occupation can be found in Seliktar (2012: 51, 63).



issues of occupation and Israeli-Palestinian relations have been felt on college and university campuses across the country. Most conspicuously, the freedom of Israel's Palestinian minority to organize and express themselves and participate equally on campus affairs has often been subject to undue restrictions. Palestinian student bodies have been prevented from organizing demonstrations and expressions of solidarity with the Palestinian nationalist cause, with prominent examples ranging from protests against various Israeli policies at Hebrew and Ben Gurion University,²¹ the suppression – and subsequent suspension of several student activists – of the annual Nakba commemoration at Haifa University,²² and even the informal exclusion of Arab political groups from student council elections.²³

In addition to the above violations of the academic freedom of Palestinian students at Israeli universities, the politicization of Israeli academia has also exacerbated the precarious border between academia and the politics of the Israeli occupation. In recent years, the Council for Higher Education of Israel has assumed a more assertive role in university affairs to the point that professors have complained of severe infractions against their and their peers' academic freedom.²⁴ Another aspect of the increased prominence of the Council for Higher Education in Israeli

21 Israeli-Palestinian member of the Knesset, Jamal Zahalka, recently submitted a petition to the Israeli government to address these matters. See Al Fakr. "Zahalka Raises the Case of the Suppression of Political Freedom at Universities on the Agenda." January 1, 2014, Accessed at: <http://www.elfger.net/page.php?id=48003&parnet=224&mainParent=222>. (Arabic).

22 See Ha'aretz's coverage of this episode at <http://www.haaretz.co.il/news/education/1.2324807> (Hebrew).

23 See a report provided by Coteret, based on a story covered by the Israeli daily Yediot Ahrohot, at <http://coteret.com/2010/06/23/yediot-how-an-israeli-college-succeeded-in-shutting-out-arabs-from-student-body-elections/>.

24 Skop, Yardin. University Heads Recommend to Minister of Education to not Monitor Them." January 9, 2014. Accessed at: <http://www.haaretz.co.il/news/education/.premium-1.2229474> (Hebrew). Shenhav (2004) also provides several noteworthy insights on other forms of political pressure that have been brought to bear on Israeli academics.

society has been their (ultimately successful) lobbying efforts to formally accredit Ariel University, a former college located in the built up settlement of Ariel, located deep in the state of Palestine.²⁵ This form of direct involvement in a blatant political move designed to further entrench the status quo of Israeli control over the West Bank – and further erode the prospect of a two-state solution to the conflict – constitutes an indisputable transgression of academic institutions into the political domain, yet was unfortunately not met with the collective ire of Israeli academia that it merited.

There are certainly no shortages of individual Israeli academics that have been vociferous in their condemnation of the occupation or the complicity of the country's universities in perpetuating it. Not a few Israeli academics and political commentators have even aligned with the BDS campaign by advocating for sanctions against Israeli economic and academic institutions.²⁶ Such cases may attest to a vibrant stream of debate within the Israeli academic community, but they can hardly be considered sufficient enough to claim that Israeli intellectuals have uniformly internalized the importance of using their weight in society to press for an end to the occupation. By and large, Israeli academics have refrained from assuming a proactive role in political matters or voicing opposition to either the moral or legal conundrums that their country faces as an occupying power.²⁷ Furthermore, Israeli academics have been reticent to express empathy, a core component of academic

25 Rubinstein (2013) explores the role of the CHE in accrediting Ariel University as well as the domestic and international opposition to this move.

26 For two well-known examples, see Gordon, Neve. Time to Boycott Israel. *The Guardian*. August 21, 2009, and Sarid, Yossi. "Yes to Boycott." *Ha'aretz*. February 21, 2014. Accessed at <http://www.haaretz.co.il/opinions/.premium-1.2249684> (Hebrew).

27 Similar sentiments are expressed in Yona (2005: 42) and Menuchin (2005: 53, 56), two of the few works to actively engage on the topic of Israeli academia's track record with the conflict.



social responsibility, with Palestinians living under the yoke of occupation and brutality, and attempts at doing so have even aroused the ire of university administrators.²⁸

It remains important to bear in mind that advocating for the social responsibility of academia is not and should not be equated with brining decisive partisan politics into the classroom. Under none but the most extreme circumstances should professors be called upon to alter the content of their lectures or syllabi as a result of political pressure. Nor can we neglect the deleterious consequences of professors employing the esteem invested in them by their student acolytes to influence their opinion in one direction or another. Rather, the current setting in Israel and Palestine dictates that rooting academic conduct among the side representing the stronger party in a set of ethical principles would ultimately translate into greater scholarly consideration to the illegality and injustices associated with occupation practices. Israeli policies that restrict Palestinian freedom of movement in the occupied territories and subjugate the Palestinian population of the West Bank and Gaza Strip to Israeli military law and draconian siege are foremost among the priorities that Israeli academics should be focusing their critical attention. Such consideration should be channeled into variegated forums, including publications and conferences that explicitly address the role that Israeli academics and intellectuals have in questioning the legal permissibility or moral validity of policies that directly contradict the principles of human rights and the right to education. Even more directly related to academia, the social responsibility of academics would ideally also include deeper self-introspection among academics to acknowledge the extent to which the rights and freedoms that enable them to pursue their craft are denied to their counterparts on the other side of the Green

28 Keshti, Or. "Bar Ilan University Against a Legal Professor that Expresses Concern for the Wounded on Both Sides." Ha'aretz. July 29, 2014. (Hebrew).

Line. A set of guiding principles that ensconces the inherent asymmetry between the two sides into the center of the debate and conditions collaboration on a mutual commitment to redress the injustices inflicted by occupation could mitigate the hitherto complicity and silence of Israeli academia as well as provide a platform for the joint pursuit of knowledge and justice.

Academic Freedom in Palestine

When analyzing the status of academic freedom in Palestine, it is essential to take into account the stalled process of state- and nation-building that continues to characterize Palestinian society. The Palestinian Authority (PA), a proto-state institution formed in 1994 with an interim mandate to be phased out as a sovereign, independent state of Palestine established itself in the entirety – or at the very least vast majority – of the West Bank, East Jerusalem, and Gaza Strip, remains a governing body with either no or limited control over the borders, natural resources, civilian movement, or overall economic development of its territory. Further adding to the paralysis of the ostensible Palestinian “state” is the intense political polarization between the Fatah-dominated PA in the West Bank and the Hamas-governed Gaza Strip, which has stymied the Palestinian national movement from acting effectively or in unison.

Perhaps inevitably, the lackluster performance of Palestinian political and economic institutions as well as the severity of the political infighting have both heavily affected and been reproduced on university campuses in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. To be certain, the PA has exerted strenuous efforts to highlight the importance and safeguard the future of academic freedom in Palestine. As early as 1995, President Yasser Arafat called for the formation of a university administration dedicated to preserving and protecting the integrity of university class-



rooms from foreign and political intervention.²⁹ Along with Articles 19 and 24 of the 2003 (Amended) Palestinian Basic Law, which guarantee the unfettered freedom of speech and right of every Palestinian citizen to an education, substantial efforts were clearly invested into laying the groundwork for a free, open, and uncensored Palestinian academia. Nevertheless, similar to most of the inflated expectations that encapsulated Palestinian society after the signing of the Oslo Accords in 1993, genuine academic freedom and pluralistic campuses too became the victims of domestic infighting, polarization, and perpetual occupation.³⁰ Universities under the PA became subject to the intervention of state security forces on multiple occasions in order to contain the activities of Islamic student groups.³¹ Professors and lecturers as well have been exposed to external threats in addition to internal monitoring from PA agents inside the classroom.³²

Commensurate with the sluggish development of Palestinian democratic institutions, colleges and universities have been continuously faced with formative external and internal challenges emanating from the frustrations of an elusive quest for statehood, a fragile national consensus characterized by acute factional divisions, and the lack of a western pedagogical tradition.³³ Strides toward academic freedom and healthy, active campuses in the West Bank and Gaza Strip cannot be denied, nor can the level of accomplishment that these universities have risen to in producing educated, civic-minded members of the labor force and soci-

29 See the report conducted by the Palestine Human Rights Monitoring Group at: <http://www.phrmg.org/arabic/monitor1999/jan1999-8.htm>. (Arabic).

30 Rubenberg (2003: 267-275) provides a poignant discussion of the various human rights transgressions committed by the PA in civil society and institutions of higher education.

31 PHRMG (1997).

32 "Report of the Oversight Monitoring Committee," *Al-Ayyam*. July 30, 1997. (Arabic).

33 The insight that many Palestinian academics were trained in Soviet Russia and its Eastern European satellite states during the Cold War was proffered by Professors Hisham Awartani and Abd al Karim Mizel at a conference on academic freedom in Palestine.

ety. However, the systematic development of Palestinian academic institutions along the lines of its Israeli or western counterparts has been virtually unobtainable given the occupation, torpid economic progress, and curtailed freedom of movement.³⁴

Notwithstanding the formidable challenges and constraints to academic freedom in Palestine, one cannot fault the Palestinian academic community for failing to create an interactive and constructive environment in debating and often contesting the behavior of its government and society during even the most baneful episodes of violence. Numerous Palestinian academics and intellectuals have taken to media outlets, particularly newspapers, to voice their condemnation of acts that have targeted Israeli civilians.³⁵ Moreover, during the nadir of the Second Intifada in June 2002, a cohort of 55 Palestinian intellectuals published a full page advertisement in *al Quds*, the leading Palestinian daily, insisting that attacking Israeli non-combatants ran counter to the Palestinian nationalist interest and the prospect for reconciliation between the two peoples.

During the exuberance of the Oslo years, Israeli and Palestinian academics began working together, yet it would be an exaggeration to state that the period witnessed the rise of seminal partnerships or groundbreaking scholarly work in either scientific endeavors or nationalist reconciliation. Absent tangible progress toward the establishment of an independent Palestine, resentment within the Palestinian academic community over the silence of their Israeli counterparts has often manifested in high levels of support for boycotting Israeli institutions of

³⁴ See Shalan et. al (2014) for a well-rounded review of how the Israeli occupation has adversely affected and essentially prevent Palestinian students and institutions of higher education from achieving their true potential.

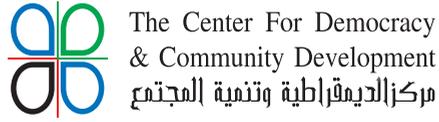
³⁵ Maliki (2005: 20) provides several such examples.



higher education.³⁶ As advocates have emphasized, the academic boycott constitutes a tactic meant to illuminate the lack of social responsibility displayed by mainstream Israeli academia and their institutions that claim to adhere to universal values. The academic boycott should thus not be misconstrued as deriving from a principle of hostility toward individual Israeli academics because of their nationality. Rather, it represents a strategy of civic, non-violent protest. All the same, while the current set of guiding principles does not adopt a stance on the existing boycott per se – in a similar vein, it refrains from relating specifically to the analogous campaigns prevalent on Israeli campuses such as Zo Arseinu, Im Tirzu, and Israel Academia Monitor – it does uphold the principle that academic collaboration should be viewed as a long-term objective if it can be accomplished under the auspices of an ethical and symmetrical framework. These premises are as consistent with the concept of the social responsibility of academics as they are potentially effectual at rallying Israeli academia behind the cause of justice. Nor are these premises refuted by the framers of the BDS movement, which openly states that the need to impose a boycott would be mitigated if Israeli academic institutions postured themselves against the transgressions of their government.³⁷ A code of ethics and guiding principles can facilitate the creation of an epistemic community between the two academic worlds and sustain cooperation when hostilities resurface, much as they have at the time of this writing. Enshrining these principles, which reflect the political context and the inherent inequality therein, as the foundation for academic collaboration between the two conflicting

36 Taraki (2006), one of the founders of the BDS movement, expounds on the underlying logic of academic boycott to protest what the collusion of Israeli academia the occupation regime as well as why the paltry efforts to create a bridge with their Israeli counterparts have only served to reinforce the existing asymmetry between the two sides.

37 See the “Call for Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel” at <http://pacbi.org/etemplate.php?id=869>.



sides and which derive from the mutual commitment of academics to produce and disseminate knowledge unlocks a possible avenue of engagement and consensus building worthy of emulation for the entirety of Israeli and Palestinian societies.



Chapter 4 – Methodology

In order to achieve a consensus between members of Israeli and Palestinian academia on how to best approach the issue of guiding principles as a basis of academic freedom and promoting a vision of peace, justice, and democracy, several approaches were taken. Over the course of the project timeline, separate meetings were held at various Israeli and Palestinian universities where leading professors, and at time students, representing a wide spectrum of disciplines, engaged in discussion of the principal issues related to academic freedom in their society and across the divide. These discussions were introduced and moderated by project leaders, which included senior members from both Israeli and Palestinian academia. Although the unilateral Israeli and Palestinian meetings were each tailored to reflect the unique circumstances, challenges, and opportunities prevailing in each society, certain common themes relevant to the social responsibility of the two sides during times of crisis were nonetheless highlighted for in depth scrutiny. Among these topics were the phenomenon of self-censorship among students and professors alike, the dangers of politicizing higher education, exploring interactions between academia and society, and understanding what type of reaction could be expected by transforming the relationship between academia and civil society among and within the two entities.

Following several meetings and online communication within each region, a daylong conference was convened with leading professors affiliated with all of the main universities from each side and presided over by various foreign academics. Senior professors and lecturers from universities on each side presented their viewpoints on the topics at hand and provided anecdotal testimony related to their experiences with academic freedom and how the concept of the social responsibility of

academics should manifest itself in the agendas of universities across the two states. Points of contention were raised by the participants on a variety of matters concerning the correlation between academic freedom and the social responsibility of academics during times of crisis and why acting on the two fronts requires Israeli-Palestinian dialogue rather than unilateral measures. Specific attention was also dedicated to discussing the role of third parties in reducing the asymmetry between Palestinian and Israeli academics. Moreover, the discussions and feedback also addressed the important question of how collaboration and social responsibility under conditions of occupation can at once avoid reifying the occupier-occupied dichotomy as well as bestow academia with a bridge-gaping role between and within the two societies. Finally, a draft version of the revised and updated Guiding Principles of Israeli-Palestinian Academic Freedom and the Social Responsibility of Academics was presented to the participants, and a final discussion was convened to incorporate the input and unique perspectives each participant. The final version of the guiding principles thus represents the culmination of eight months of unilateral and joint discussions and feedback. Needless to say, this document should not be assumed to reflect either the opinions of anyone involved in these deliberations or be taken to mean that a consensus, reflected in the principles themselves, necessarily emerged.

Guiding Principles of Academic Freedom in Israel and Palestine

Preamble

Academics and intellectuals globally and in our respective societies renew our hope that Palestinian and Israeli institutions of higher learning can fulfill our social responsibility and contribute to a just peace, the end of occupation, the establishment of a Palestinian state along the borders of the pre-1967 war, and academic freedom in both societies. It is understood that suffering and plights resulting from prolonged occupation have often been manifested in obstacles to academic freedom and the ability of academics to collaborate with one another as well as assume positions of social responsibility in their respective societies.

We uphold the principle that when premised upon Guiding Principles of Academic Freedom and Academic Cooperation, members of Palestinian and Israeli academia can accomplish more in tandem when the common goal and frame of reference centers upon ending occupation and all forms of violence and injustice against the other, fulfilling the vision of the two-state solution, as well as removing of obstacles to academic freedom on both sides of the divide. Furthermore, we call upon all representatives of Israeli and Palestinian institutions of higher education to act upon a common moral basis and awareness of the prevailing asymmetries created by occupation.

This set of Guiding Principles for Israeli-Palestinian Academic Freedom and Academic Cooperation is founded upon our shared values of human rights, equality, democracy, and peace as a common denominator. While we do recognize that boycott, even when applied to academia, is a legitimate tool of non-violent civic resistance, we nonetheless uphold the principle that selective boycott and selective cooperation with



individuals and institutions that abide by ethical principles and a firm dedication to ending occupation can provide a more effective form of civic activism. We further affirm that cooperation with academic institutions that support the illegal occupation of the state of Palestine either directly or indirectly, or are supported by the occupation (including academic institutions located in illegal settlements) does not advance the cause of academic freedom nor the social responsibility of professional academics under conditions of occupation, injustice, and asymmetry. Therefore, the ultimate goal of academic cooperation between members of the Israeli and Palestinian academic community in the short term is to end the occupation, to develop professional models for cooperation between the states of Palestine and Israel, and to guarantee the complete and unbridled academic freedom and academic rights within the two countries and across the divide.

International Referential Framework

This joint document is inspired by:

- 1. Our shared commitment to academic freedom as endorsed by the International Association of Universities (IAU). According to the following IAU definition of academic freedom, there are at least two components that pertain to the individual and collective level of academia:*
- 2. The right to pursue knowledge for its own sake and follow wherever the search for truth may lead, the tolerance of divergent opinion and freedom from political interference, and the obligation as social institutions to promote, through teaching, the principles of freedom and justice, of human dignity and solidarity, and to develop mutually material and moral aid on an international level.*
- 3. The right of the academic community to practice its educational*



activities within the academic community and as determined by the academic community, in accordance with professional ethics and world standards, and in the absence of external intervention and/or pressure.

4. Institutions of higher education shall be autonomous from the state or any other public authority in conducting their affairs and managing their academic, teaching, research, and other related programs.

5. The social responsibility for academics to assume an active role in producing research and devising policies that advance peace and development through the specialty that he/she has acquired in a specific field. This role includes advocacy against all forms of occupation, restrictions on academic freedom in both societies, as well as working for the development of civic-minded citizens.

6. The central role that academic institutions play in the development of humanity as well as free, citizen-based and democratic states and local communities.

7. Our joint understanding that academic collaboration, much as cooperation in political matters and economic endeavors, must be based on ethical guidelines and grounded in the belief that the suffering of the other cannot be tolerated. Ethical behavior and the commitment to fairness, justice, and coexistence must extend from the classroom to society at large.

8. We as academics are cognizant that our unique responsibility emanates from our privileged access to higher education, and we bear a responsibility to utilize our positions for the purpose of developing the spirit of inquiry and independent thought.

9. Our shared endorsement of the right to education, in keeping with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Art. 26, 10 December



1948): *Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance, and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for maintenance of peace.*

10. *The universal and inalienable right and freedom to think independently, question common assumptions and dogma, demonstrate solidarity, and establish professional networks without fear of punishment of any kind.*

11. *Our commitment to democratic governance, gender equality, and academic ethics as guiding principles to the administration of academic institutions.*

12. *Our joint recognition that, in accordance with United Nations General Assembly Resolution 67/19 of November 29, 2012, the state of Palestine is an international entity with the attendant rights and obligations as well as commitment to co-exist side by side with the state of Israel, accepted as a UN member in 1949. All Israeli political and civil society relations with the government and citizens of the state of Palestine (inclusive of the West Bank, East Jerusalem, and Gaza Strip) should be conducted on the basis of reciprocity and a common interest in promoting the national well-being and equality of all states.*

The Basis of Our International and Professional Ethics

Humanistic Values. We value democracy, equality, and freedom. We value wide participation, social openness, and are willing to cooperate with a diverse range of people with different opinions. We are committed to promoting non-violence within our society and to rejecting occupation and dominance.



13. Professional academic values. As academics we are committed to act according to our professional duties, protect freedoms of thought, education opinion, expression, assembly, association, access to information, openly share information with each other, and all other freedoms recognized as integral to the development of open, pluralistic universities. We are committed to conducting accurate, serious, and objective research and engaging in ongoing learning. We will stand in solidarity with other academics on the same piece of land in the protection of their academic freedom.

14. Relationship values. We recognize the difficulties in the history of our relationship with each other, and are committed to addressing the problems of asymmetry and reciprocity. We are committed to understanding the needs, concerns, and positions of the other side, and to network with each other rather than conduct parallel, overlapping projects in isolation. Furthermore, we will utilize transparent means for resolving our conflicts.

15. Financial values. We are committed to working for our common goals and not any personal or sectarian gains. We will not change our vision based on funding availability and will use all funds appropriately.

Academic Rights and the Social Responsibility of Members of Academia

16. All members of the academic community have the right to fulfill their functions of teaching, researching, writing, learning, exchanging and disseminating knowledge and information, and providing educational services without fear or interference or repression from the state or any public authority.



17. All members of the academic community shall enjoy freedom of movement within his or her country and freedom to travel outside and re-enter the country without hindrance or harassment. All students shall enjoy the freedom of access to higher education, including the right to choose the field of study from available courses.

18. Access to the academic community shall be equal for all members of society without discrimination. Every resident has the right to join the community as a student, researcher, worker, or administrator, on the basis of ability and qualifications and without prejudice due to ethnic, national, gender, or religious discrimination.

19. All members of the academic community have the right to teach and carry out research on any topic deemed suitable for scientific enquiry. No researcher shall be denied information or permission to carry out their scholarly functions due to security, political, or sociocultural considerations.

20. Contingent upon their commitment to academic ethics, all members of the academic community shall enjoy the freedom to maintain contact with their counterparts who share these ethics in any part of the world as well as the freedom to pursue the development of their educational capacities.

21. Institutions of higher education shall aim to be attentive to the professional and educational needs and aspirations of their student body.

22. The freedom of association, assembly, and expression inside the campuses constitute integral rights that must be upheld on all academic institutions.

23. Each body on the campus (student unions, faculty associations, administration unions, etc.) has the right to freely decide on matters



that pertain to their effecting functioning (student elections, the organization of special events, etc.) without interference or undue oversight from other bodies on campus.

24. Institutions of higher education must be committed to the non-violent solution of all conflicts inside the campus.

25. The commitment of all members of the campus to the principle of objective, non-partisan academic research.

26. In light of the necessity of ensuring channels of positive feedback to their respective societies, institutions of higher education in Israel and Palestine should be committed to conduct outreach activities with outside community in order to ensure that they can play an active and beneficial role in their country's development.

27. All members of the academic community have a responsibility to fulfill their functions and academic roles with competence, integrity, and to the best of their abilities. They should perform their academic functions in accordance with the highest ethical and scientific standards possible.

28. All members of the professional academic community shall exercise their rights with responsibility and without prejudice to the rights of others and the needs of their local, national, regional, and international communities.

29. All members of the academic community the obligation to inculcate the spirit of tolerance toward different views and positions and in a manner that enhances democratic debate and discussion.

30. Understanding that joint cooperation between Palestinian and Israeli academics (including professors and students of all ranks and



disciplines) must be premised on the principles of equality, dignity, reciprocity, tolerance, mutual respect, and a common dedication to ending all forms injustice and repression within and across our respective societies. In recognition of the need to bridge the current asymmetry stemming from the Israeli occupation, ties between academics are to be based on equality, mutual assistance, and solidarity.

31. Palestinian and Israeli academics, scientists, and intellectually should actively work for the creation and perseveration of conditions whereby no institution, researcher or student will be discriminated against and where all members of academia within and across their respective societies have full and free access in the pursuit of academics activities at the national, regional, or international level.

All members of the Palestinian and Israeli academic community shall consider university education as a means of creating socially conscious citizens with an open mind towards understanding the narrative and ameliorating plight of the other. This principle should translate into a shared vision whereby academics aspire to humanize the other as an equal with the same, national, political, economic, and educational rights.

32. The ultimate goal of academic freedom and the assumption of social responsibility among members of the Palestinian and Israeli academic communities is to move from knowledge to acknowledgement, and finally to “act-knowledgement,” where our knowledge and cooperation with the other is translated into a shared vision of peace, justice, equality, and freedom within and across our two societies.

33. Academics share a mutual responsibility to be independent, to rebuke attempts by the state, military, or political parties for the purposes



of advancing research dedicated to the design or manufacture of weapons, technology, or products that run counter to the positive development of humanity.

34. Academics have a universal commitment to avoiding the promotion of hatred or to be used to monitor, target, threaten, or blacklist the work of other colleagues.

Social Responsibility of Academic Institutions

35. The autonomy of the institutions of higher education shall be exercised by the democratic means of self-government, involving active participation of all members of the respective academic communities. All members of the academic community shall have the right and opportunity, without discrimination of any kind, to participate in the conduct of academic and administrative affairs on the campus. All governing bodies of institutions of higher education shall be freely elected, and shall comprise a population representative of the differ sector of the academic community.

36. The university administration should not interfere at any level in the affairs of either professors or student organizations. Administrative personnel must work to ensure the autonomy of the classroom from negative external influences (including that of the state) and that academic inquiry is not bound by any restrictions due to political sensitivity or social taboo.

37. The independence of each constituent element of the campus (student organization, faculty associations and unions, administrative bodies) and freedom to decide what policies and rules best suit their specific needs and interests shall be upheld.

38. Israeli and Palestinian institutions of higher education should be



critical of conditions of political repression and violations of human rights that take place in the name of their governments.

39. Israeli and Palestinian institutions of higher education shall work toward the just and sustainable resolution of all contemporary problems facing their respective and mutual societies. To this end, curricula and academic programs as well as other activities of the institutions shall respond to the needs of the society at large without prejudice to the needs of scientific inquiry and the production of knowledge.

40. Israeli and Palestinian institute of higher education shall extend support to other such institutions and individual members of their academic communities when they are subject to persecution both inside and outside of the country. Such support shall be both moral and material, and must include official and formal university condemnation of any state practices that adversely affect the academic freedom or well-being of academic institutions on the other side.

Israeli and Palestinian universities must act as a model for society in the fields of democratic governance and the peaceful resolution of conflicts. The social responsibility of the campus must extend to the community and nation at large by creating open institutions that welcome independent thought, freedom of association and expression, and the cessation of all forms of occupation and injustice committed against colleagues from the other side.

Obligations of the State

41. The state is obligated to assist in the development of laws and procedures that guarantee access to higher education for every citizen irrespective of religion, race, gender, national or social origin, economic



status, physical or mental disability, or political or other opinion.

42. The state of Palestine constitutes an internationally recognized independent and sovereign state. In accordance with international law and norms, Israel should end its military occupation of the lands that comprise the state of Palestine

43. Both the state of Palestine and the state of Israel are obligated to respect the autonomy of college and university campuses and refrain from ordering state gendarmeries from entering university premises with the exception of situations when a clear, present, and imminent danger to life or property of the institution cannot be averted without the presence of state security forces. The use of state forces for the maintenance of law and order on the campus constitute a threat to academic freedom and the safety and security of students and teachers alike. State forces thus includes the use of non-uniformed intelligence personnel assigned to monitor the activities of student organizations, administrative offices, university classrooms, or any organized group associated with the university.

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