

Divest **Now!**

A Handbook for
Student Divestment Campaigns



This handbook was compiled for student activists by
the **US Campaign to End the Israeli Occupation**
www.endtheoccupation.org

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* We are working to update this document, though it's becoming a classic. If you have suggestions for improvement please let us know. media@endtheoccupation.org 09/16/10

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This handbook provides an overview of campus divestment strategies, focusing on student campaigns for divesting school endowments of support for Israel's occupation and apartheid policies. Boycott, divestment, and sanctions (BDS) campaigns must be uniquely tailored to each campus where they operate; this handbook provides a generic framework for organizing BDS campaigns well as tips on navigating questions that will have to be worked out on individual campuses. There are many strategies for student BDS that this handbook does not cover in an exhaustive detail, but, it does answer the fundamental "why" and "how" questions about campus BDS, building on previous work by student activists at the University of Wisconsin, The Ohio State University, and Hampshire College.

The foreword to this handbook includes three letters of support to student BDS activists from organizers who have played critical roles in past BDS efforts. The first letter, from Noura Erekat, explores the nature of Israeli apartheid. The use of an anti-apartheid framework can be instrumental for student BDS activists, because some schools already have policies prohibiting investment in apartheid. The second letter is from Fayyad Sbaihah and recaps the advances of BDS campaigns targeting Israel, from the 2001 national divestment conferences at UC-Berkeley to the 2005 Palestinian Unified Call for BDS to the rash of BDS victories in the wake of Israel's brutal assault on the Gaza Strip in late 2008/early 2009. Finally, Brian Kelly, an alum of Hampshire's South African BDS campaign, compares the nature and context of BDS campaigns in solidarity with South Africans and Palestinians struggling for justice.

Key aspects of group organization and campaign strategy are covered in Chapter One, *Planning the Campaign*. This chapter includes things to keep in mind when conceptualizing your campaign, suggestions for how to divide work amongst your group, and a general timeline for your campaign. This chapter closes with a reminder about documenting your campaign for the benefit of future activists.

Chapter Two, *Researching Corporate Involvement in the Occupation*, suggests methods to uncover who is profiting from occupation. This chapter primarily focuses on using the Interfaith Peace Initiative's report on corporations involved in Israel's occupation and the Coalition of Women for Peace's database, found online at whoprofits.org. Advice for doing further research on corporations is detailed in Appendix B, but we suggest starting with whoprofits.org and the Interfaith Peace Initiative, as they have already documented hundreds of corporations' support for Israel's occupation and apartheid practices.

The third chapter, *Understanding and Researching College/University Investments*, guides readers through the various kinds of investments commonly held by institutions of higher learning and details the process for tracking down the investments of these bodies are tied to. Chapter Three provides a road-map through various school hierarchies and investment firm bureaucracies which will be helpful in attaining actual investment records. This chapter also suggests various methods for learning which corporations are included in mutual funds, popular investment options that often obfuscate where invested assets actually end up.

Chapter Four outlines the steps to publicly launching your campaign. This chapter, entitled *Building the Grassroots and Launching the Campaign*, suggests steps for building a coalition, navigating the power-brokers at institutions of higher learning, media outreach, and deflecting opposition. Faculty, student governments, boards of trustees, and off campus groups can make or break campus BDS campaigns and this chapter offers tips for integrating all of them into a successful BDS campaign.

Finally, this handbook's appendices offer resources for use during various stages of student BDS campaigns. Appendix A lists contact information for groups that can offer support to student BDS campaigns, as well as groups that regularly publish useful resources for BDS campaigns. The groups listed in Appendix A can be utilized for campaigns beyond the scope of this handbook, including academic and cultural boycott, and non-BDS human rights advocacy. Appendix B lists databases and websites, as well as instructions for use, which will help students to do further research on corporations involved in Israel's occupation and apartheid practices. The text of the Palestinian Unified Call for BDS is included in Appendix C. Showing reverence for the concept of self-determination is key when struggling in solidarity, and this call should be the basis for international BDS campaigns to challenge Israel's occupation and apartheid. Readers can find a sample BDS resolution in Appendix D. This sample resolution was presented to the University of Wisconsin Board of Regents by The Association of University of Wisconsin Professionals when they attempted divestment throughout the University of Wisconsin system.

We hope that this handbook will be an inspirational and, above all else, practical tool for student BDS activists. Because this handbook was commissioned for use in a series of campus BDS conferences, the authors have compiled much more information than is included in these pages and they are willing to share it with anyone who has time to listen. Please do not hesitate to contact the contributors listed in the beginning of this handbook for more information, including workshop ideas and consulting on BDS campaign strategy.

FOREWORD

This handbook hopes to serve as a guide for student activists starting divestment campaigns at their college/university campuses.

Since 2005, activists around the world have responded to the Palestinian civil society Unified Call for Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) against the state of Israel as means of pressure Israel to end its military occupation and apartheid policies, allow for the return of Palestinian refugees to the homes that they fled since 1948, and end discrimination against Palestinian citizens inside Israel. After 42 years of a brutal and illegal occupation, and in light of the recent assault on Gaza in January 2009, the need for divestment has never been clearer or more pressing.

This handbook offers ideas for creating a divestment campaign, researching corporate involvement in the occupation, researching school investments, building a base of support, and launching the divestment campaign. This guide was inspired by Fayyad Sbaihat's "Fighting the New Apartheid" (2005), which should still be a reference for its critical analysis of Israeli apartheid.

The following articles were written by three anti-apartheid activists, Noura Erakat, Fayyad Sbaihat, and Brian Kelly, who eloquently place this guide in the context of Israeli apartheid, global BDS activism, and student power in global solidarity movements.

ISRAELI APARTHEID

By: *Noura Erakat*

Since its establishment in 1948, Israel has conditioned its identity as a Jewish homeland on a demographic equation: achieving a Jewish majority in historic Palestine. However, that equation is hardly plausible in light of the existing demographic realities. Within Israel Proper and the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPTs) today there exist 6.3 million Jews and 5.9 million Palestinians. And in Israel Proper alone, Palestinian citizens of Israel will outnumber their Jewish counterparts by 2025. What does that mean for Israel, which seeks to be both Jewish and democratic in nature? It leaves Israel with three choices—first, it can reevaluate its equation and opt for a state of all its citizens irrespective of their religion; second, it can eventually allow a Jewish minority to rule over a Christian and Muslim Palestinian majority; or third, it can adopt measures to limit the presence and growth of its minority population.

Israel has never considered the first option seriously. Instead today it has made its aversion to secular coexistence explicit in its demand for recognition of itself as a Jewish state from Palestinian leadership. It has also done what it can to avoid the second option because as put by former Israeli Prime Minister, Ehud Olmert, failure to create a Palestinian state would force Israel to "face a South African-style struggle for equal voting rights, and as soon as that happens, the state of Israel is finished". Disavowing a secular state as well as an explicitly South African apartheid state model leaves Israel with one choice: to limit its minority population by any means necessary.

Such means include discriminatory laws aimed at both limiting the presence, as well as, impeding the full integration of, Palestinians within Israel Proper as well as the OPTs. Consider that within the Israeli legal system, there are twenty discriminatory laws—seventeen of which are discriminatory on their face in that they only relate to the rights of Jews in Israel or alternatively abridge the rights of Palestinian-Israelis. A complex web of 1,500 military laws define the fate of Palestinians in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and East Jerusalem, making the tactics in the OPTs much less subtle and much more violent. Still, in both instances, these policies amount to an Apartheid system.

In 1973, the United Nations adopted the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, declaring Apartheid to be a crime against humanity and hence made illegal those policies and practices enacted in order to establish and maintain domination by one racial group of persons over any other racial group of persons and systematically oppressing them. More broadly, apartheid refers to any social system that separates and discriminates against people based on race or ethnicity when that system is institutionalized by laws or decrees. Therefore, while the South African experience globalized the term, it by no means hegemonized it and apartheid continues to refer to a practice as opposed to an experience.

Although not a requisite element for establishing the existence of apartheid, there are significant parallels between South African and Israeli apartheid policies. Whereas in South Africa, apartheid distinguished between whites and non-whites, in Israel the parallel categories are Jews and non-Jews. This distinction is especially relevant in the US where black/white racial struggles are much more personal than they are foreign whereas Arabs and Muslims are not only seen as "other" but also as "terrorists" thereby sanctioning harm inflicted upon them. Such preconceptions impede a U.S.-based collective mass from perceiving the Palestinian-Israel conflict as one over institutionalized discrimination as opposed to one over deep-seated religious strife.

In application, the main difference between the two case studies is that in South Africa, the system was created primarily to exploit non-white labor, while in Israel it is implemented in order to control as much land as possible for exclusive Jewish use, however in both cases the purpose and effects of apartheid policies are the exploitation of *both* land and labor.

The pillars of Israeli apartheid are the The Law of Return (1950) and The Citizenship Law (1952), which allow Jews to freely immigrate to Israel and gain citizenship, but simultaneously deny Palestinians refugees that same right as guaranteed by United Nations Resolution 194. According to Azmi Bishara, exiled Palestinian-Israeli politician and scholar, this constitutes a meta-form of apartheid wherein the forcible separation upheld by decree is that which prohibits the return of Palestinians to their lands. Today, nearly 5.5 million Palestinians constitute a global diaspora who have the right to return to their home as enshrined by international law but lack the international political will necessary to do so. On the ground, Israeli apartheid policies aim to expropriate as much Palestinian land with as few Palestinian inhabitants as possible.

Confiscation of Palestinian land for Jewish use within Israel Proper began in 1948, when the state was established and continues to this day. Such expropriation is facilitated by a number of laws including the Absentee Property Law of 1950, which declares all lands that were fled from in 1948 as State Property. Considered in the context of the Law of Return, the Law of Citizenship and the denial of UN Resolution 194—the Absentee Property Law cynically conditions expropriation of land on its abandonment while systematically prohibiting the entry of the land’s Palestinian owners thereby enforcing abandonment. In effect, between 1948 and 1953, Israel established 370 new settlements for Jews only, 350 of which were located on land confiscated as “absentee” property. Since 1978, settlement policies inside the State have focused on settling Jewish populations in the areas outside greater Tel Aviv, especially the Galilee in order to manipulate the local demography.

Land expropriation began in the Occupied Palestinian Territories after Israel occupied the West Bank, Gaza, and East Jerusalem in the aftermath of the 1967 Six-Day War. Since 1967, Israel has systematically confiscated Palestinian land in East Jerusalem, Gaza, and the West Bank for settlement expansion. The situation is especially harsh in Jerusalem where Israel has embarked on a “Judaization” campaign by disproportionately serving its Jewish residents. According to the Israeli human rights group B’tselem, Jerusalem’s Jewish population, who make up 70% of the city’s 700,000 residents, are served by 1,000 parks, 36 public swimming pools and 26 libraries. In contrast, the 260,000 Palestinians living in the east of the city have 45 parks, no public swimming pools, and 2 libraries. This is to say nothing of the complex system of Jewish-only roads, checkpoints, settlements, and the Separation Barrier, also known as the Apartheid Wall, in the OPTs which explicitly demonstrate the nature of Israeli apartheid.

Israeli apartheid characterizes Israeli policies both within Israel proper as well as the OPT: in both contexts a racial hierarchy is firmly established with the primary aim of maintaining a Jewish majority within nation-state borders. The apartheid paradigm has a profound impact on the movement, because it simply and brilliantly draws on a historical example of apartheid and calls upon the tactics used in that struggle to fight apartheid in its newest form—boycott, divestment, and sanctions (BDS). The apartheid paradigm allows peace and justice



activists to challenge Israel's "moral authority" and for the first time to set the terms of the debate.

THE MORAL IMPERATIVE AND STRATEGIC POTENTIAL OF DIVESTMENT

By: *Fayyad Sbaihat,*
The University of Wisconsin Divestment Campaign 2001-2005

The student-led movement to divest from Israel began to take shape in North America in 2001, shortly after the beginning of the second Palestinian Intifada. The movement, which modeled its campaign after the anti-apartheid divestment movement against South Africa, was launched the following year with a national divestment conference at UC-Berkeley, with students representing universities from across the United States.

Within a few years, and despite having to deal with formidable challenges presented by the strong pro-Israel tendency and the unpopularity of pro-Palestinianism in the American political establishment, the divestment movement was met with ringing endorsements from unions, churches, academic bodies, and human rights groups.

Early successes in the divestment movement came in the form of endorsement and calls for divestment from Israel by institutions including Presbyterian Church (USA), at its 216th General Assembly, the Non-Alignment Movement, the largest political body outside the United Nations, United Nations Conference for NGOs, the Anglican Peace & Justice Network, National Lawyers Guild, World Council of Churches, University of Wisconsin faculty bodies, and University of Michigan student bodies.

In July of 2005, the divestment movement received the support, endorsement, and urging of the moral authority on Palestine and Palestinian rights. A coalition of over 170 Palestinian civic society organizations

issued a general call for Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) against Israel. Urging individuals, institutions, and organizations around the world to employ the BDS tactics in support of Palestinian people, the Palestinian Civil Society not only endorsed the student divestment campaign in North America, but also called for the expansion of the campaign globally and to include Boycott and Sanctions against Israel.

Divestment, which itself is one form of boycott against Israel and its apartheid regime, had been introduced in North America as stepping stone towards a broad, comprehensive boycott of Israel. As the Palestinian cause was severely mischaracterized in the US, and in the post 9-11 world of anti Arab and Muslim sentiment, a limited demand of boycott was the necessary approach to create a debate around the merits of boycott and Israel's apartheid policies, and lay the foundation for the future comprehensive BDS call.



Hampshire College Students for Justice in Palestine present their research at an informational meeting on divestment.

The BDS movement was reinvigorated with the anger that built up in the world in light of Israel's inhumane onslaught against the civilian population of the Gaza Strip in early 2009. BDS campaigns began racking up successes at a much faster pace; within months of Israel committing the Gaza massacre, a US-based

institution, Hampshire College, finally took specific action to rid its endowment of investments in companies that aid Israel's military occupation, and others in Europe were forced to end contracts that supplied universities with Israeli products, such as bottled water.

Furthermore, the breadth of the BDS movement, has offered advocates of Palestinians' rights the opportunity to organize as appropriate to their setting and their community. Labor unions have withheld their services from Israel related products, Israeli academics are being boycotted, athletes and artists are being picketed and protested, film festivals have been boycotted for including Israeli films and sponsors, and Israeli consumer products have been de-shelved and boycotted across Europe and North America.

Pressure on Israel is an absolute must to make the Israeli public reconsider its support for their government's atrocities. Currently, Israel has no incentive to work towards peace: It occupies all the land, it controls the resources, it is able to brush aside any criticism as it appears to enjoy immunity by western governments, and it is not being demanded to change course by its Jewish population.

As a matter of fact, Israel's Jewish population itself has no incentive to demand peace. It enjoys a high, by regional measures luxurious, living standard; it enjoys natural resources such as water at disproportionate ratios to Palestinians; it is reaping the benefits of a booming economy that is built on the fear industry -security, counter terrorism, spying, etc, that only thrives on the lack of peace; and it can afford, financially and politically to travel abroad on frequent vacations, oblivious to the suffering of millions of Palestinians living in open-air prisons in the West Bank and Gaza and in slums inside Israel, or the millions of refugees who are awaiting a chance to return home like those Israeli tourists. It is not surprising then, that 94% of Israelis supported their government's brutal massacre against the civilians in Gaza in January of 2009.

The inconvenience visited upon Israelis by boycott and divestment, and eventually sanctions, is the only non-violent method with the compelling potential to prompt the Israeli public to reconsider their support for the oppressive apartheid policies of their government. BDS is the price that must be exacted from Israelis to achieve justice for the Palestinian people, the foundation for a shared future based on justice and equality.

When Israeli athletes and artists are prevented from participating in global competitions and performances, academics are denied collaboration opportunities, politicians are picketed and protested, and Israeli products are no longer selling in European and American stores, Israelis will finally understand that their government, its policies, and their support for them, are immoral and unethical.

Early successes in the BDS movement have achieved this exact effect, with several Israeli academics voicing the view that Israelis must pay a price through BDS, to begin desiring a just peace. They will then begin to realize that their own prosperity and freedom is tied to that of the Palestinians, not in spite of it or even on its expense.

Boycott and divestment campaigns offer a great potential to bring about a real change in Israel/Palestine. They offer a context for debate that places Palestine solidarity groups in a most favorable light to make their case. No other form of activism has generated as much debate and attention towards the plight of the Palestinians as does BDS. No other approach has presented the Palestinian struggle in a more positive light than does BDS.

LETTER OF SUPPORT FOR BDS MOVEMENT

By: Brian Kelly,
Award winning labor historian and Director of After Slavery Project

Like much of the world, I was both outraged and deeply shaken by Israel's pitiless onslaught against the densely packed and half-starved Gaza at the end of 2008. It wasn't merely the *scale* of the terror that Zionism brought to a mostly defenseless civilian population that left me despondent (though even by the standards of recent 'shock and awe' it was a barbarous crime), but the *impunity* with which the Israeli state managed to carry out its dirty work. All through the assault the official 'world community' – led by a hugely unpopular outgoing US administration – looked on with calculated indifference, anxious above all to block any prospects for a ceasefire until Israel had accomplished its war aims. In a world that has been reminded too often, lately, of the murderous capacity of modern, asymmetrical warfare, the horror inflicted on Gaza brought us to a gruesome new low.

Through the gloom and the rubble came shards of light—first, in the evidence that for all its wanton brutality, 'Operation Cast Lead' could not break the Palestinians. Secondly in the rounds of mass protests that rippled across the world: in Cairo and Kabul, London, Cape Town and Sao Paulo, and in every major city in the United States, the global antiwar movement formed in response to the Iraq invasion came back on to the streets to express the deep revulsion so many of us felt. The campaign for a trade-union boycott against Israel was transformed overnight, as dockworkers in South Africa refused to unload Israeli ships, Greek dockers threatened to block an Israeli weapons shipment, and the call for a boycott found its way into the labor movement across Europe, the Americas and the Asian Pacific. A worried American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) warned its members that the boycott movement was "invading the mainstream discourse," and the Israeli government dispatched an army of propagandists to counter the sharp turn in public opinion. If the diplomats constituting the overhyped 'world community' were indifferent to Israel's crimes in Gaza, the rest of us clearly weren't. take out if you need to

Within several days of the Durban dockworkers' announcement, another very bright spark emerged, this one from the United States. *Students for Justice in Palestine* at Hampshire College announced that their campaign to force the college to divest its holdings in companies involved in the occupation of Palestine had succeeded, making Hampshire the first school in the US to unhitch itself from the occupation.

Under intense pressure, Hampshire's administration bungled its way through a miserable retreat over the following week, but that is of little consequence: Israel and its defenders in the US know that we have crossed a turning point from which there is no going back. Revulsion at Israel's occupation will continue to grow,



"The Elders," a group initiated by Nelson Mandela, including Jimmy Carter, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, and Mary Robinson visit the grave of Bassem Abu-Rahme who was killed by the Israeli military as he nonviolently protested the apartheid wall. While Carter took little real action to end apartheid during his presidency, he's now joined with South African leaders to end apartheid in Israel and Palestine.

and the divestment movement, led by inspired and committed student activists like those at Hampshire, is today moving from strength to strength on campuses across the US and around the world. Together with the growing labor-based campaign, this movement holds the potential to turn mounting opposition to the Israeli occupation into a powerful force that can challenge longstanding US complicity, hold Israel to account for its crimes and, at long last, offer to the brave, much-abused Palestine people the kind of solidarity that has been lacking for too long.

For me the victory at Hampshire had a special meaning because, as an undergraduate there more than thirty years ago, I'd been involved in the first successful campaign to force an American college to divest from apartheid South Africa. Today no one publicly defends the white minority regime that brutalized South Africa's black majority for so long, but it's worth remembering that in 1977 things were not so clear cut. A small core of African-American activists had been vocal opposing apartheid from the late 1940s, but for many years theirs had been voices in the wilderness. The Carter administration felt compelled to distance itself rhetorically from Pretoria, but in the UN it held to a policy of opposing sanctions. Carter's UN representative Andrew Young would grow more outspoken towards the end of his tenure, but early on he opposed South Africa's expulsion, and insisted that rather than divesting, US corporations could become "instruments of change."

This policy of "constructive engagement" was elevated under Ronald Reagan to a point of principle, and became the fig leaf behind which conservatives rationalized their support for the apartheid regime, then regarded a strategic ally in the Cold War and, as Reagan himself put it, "essential to the free world in its production of minerals." Of course it was heavily-exploited black labor—denied the most basic democratic rights—that brought those minerals out of the earth, but Reagan vetoed legislation calling for sanctions against South Africa, and then-House Republican leader Dick Cheney opposed a resolution calling for the release of Nelson Mandela, adding his vote to those upholding Reagan's veto.

The point of all this is that the project of isolating South African apartheid had to confront powerful opposition. The sneering editorials then littering papers like the *Harvard Crimson* confirm that some students devoted lots of energy to questioning the "moral arguments for divestment," and even at Hampshire it took a student occupation to shake the administration out of its support for "constructive engagement." But once the movement had succeeded in exposing the cynicism and self-interest motivating that policy, the divestment campaign spread like wildfire across the United States, until it became nearly impossible for university administrations to justify doing business with South African apartheid.

A look back at the difficulties of building effective solidarity with Palestine in the same period confirms the sea change that has taken place in public opinion. Morally the situation was no different—Palestinians were then subjected to both the routine and colossal violations of their rights that have persisted since 1948, and Gaza had its forerunner in the massacres at Sabra and Shatila during the 1982 Lebanon invasion. But on college campuses and elsewhere Palestine solidarity was confined to the fringe: many people still saw Israel as the underdog in a hostile region, compelled against its better nature to lash out for survival. Among young Jewish Americans, many still viewed Israel as an egalitarian state, even a socialist one. Others argued that Jews needed Israel as a refuge from the threat of anti-Semitism.

Today all three of those arguments are widely discredited. Israel is clearly a militarist aggressor in the Middle East, a partner in imperial control of the region and one backed to the hilt with massive US military aid, and its own historians now acknowledge that the state was built on systematic ethnic cleansing. No one any longer takes seriously its egalitarian veneer, as the visceral racism generated by occupation festers throughout Israeli society. Finally, Israel's existence has not prevented the revival of fascism—an increasingly worrying threat across Europe—or the reemergence of anti-Semitism, which is everywhere linked to the Right's resurgence. Today, as in the 1930s, the fight against anti-Semitism is bound up with the struggle against all forms of racism

and inequality, including Islamophobia and anti-Arab racism.

The struggle against South African apartheid then, the struggle against Israeli apartheid now, are links in a long chain of resistance against oppression, links that bind ordinary people in Durban and Detroit, Belfast and Tiananmen, Port au Prince and Santiago, Fallujah, Hanoi and New Orleans. The brutality meted out day in and day out to the people of Palestine in full view of the 'civilized world' is an offense to humanity, and in building a movement that can, at long last, lift the heavy oppression that they have endured we lift ourselves up as well. I wish every success those of you active in the movement for boycott, divestment and sanctions. You carry the light in a world looking for a way out of the darkness.

Planning the Campaign

One of the most important components of your divestment effort is the underlying structure of your student group. In this section, we'll discuss the importance of gaining recognition from your school and offer some tips for developing your campaign statement, which will include:

- Identifying objectives;
- Planning a reasonable timeline for the steps involved;
- Creating materials for educating/gathering support for your campaign.

BECOMING A RECOGNIZED STUDENT ORGANIZATION

Official student organizations on campus generally have access to certain privileges, including access to school resources and special clout in the policymaking processes.

To find out how to become a recognized student group:

- Visit the website of your school's office of student organizations, or visit the office to speak with someone in person.
- Ask what the specific requirements are for gaining official recognition. These may include a faculty advisor, a group constitution, or a minimum number of students. Ask how long the process takes to complete, and follow up with school officials via email or in person if there are any delays.
- Be sure to discuss and have general consensus on the group's mission statement.
- If the period for group recognition has passed for the current semester or year by the time you approach them, begin on the rest of your campaign, but file for recognition at the next possible opportunity.

Also, look through your school's student handbook or school policy book and familiarize yourself with your rights as students and as a student group.

Unfortunately, Palestine-solidarity work has historically been some of the least-supported work by school bodies and administrations, primarily because of the significant work and presence of Israel-supporting organizations on campuses. It is important to keep your undeniable rights as students and equal members of the school community in mind, especially in the event that you are challenged by another student group or by school administrators. Be prepared for controversy.

CRAFTING THE CAMPAIGN -- CONCEPTUALIZING YOUR GOALS

It is very important that your group come to agreement on the scope of your campaign. Based on precedents set by other student boycott & divestment campaigns, there are several options for your campaign's focus. Here we will discuss three general options.

1. **“Blanket BDS”**

This involves academic and cultural boycott of Israel, divestment from Israeli government bonds, boycott and divestment from all Israeli firms, and boycott and divestment from all non-Israeli firms operating in the Occupied Palestinian Territories or profiting from the occupation and settlement industries. The goal of a blanket BDS is to pressure Israel to end its military occupation and apartheid policies toward Palestinians by severing all economic relationships with Israel, making it an international pariah.

While this handbook will focus on university and college divestment from corporations profiting from the Israeli military and settlement industries, it also includes information on academic and cultural boycott, divestment from Israeli government bonds, and industries not directly related to the military and settlement industries in Appendix B.

2. **“Selective divestment”**

This strategy involves strategically targeting companies based on their location and/or involvement in the occupation, such as divestment from companies that provide weaponry to the Israeli military, companies that profit from the construction or maintenance of Jewish-only settlements in the West Bank, or a small number of companies that epitomize those characteristic of the occupation that we are fighting against. American companies that assist in prolonging the occupation are often selected as the targets of divestment.

3. **Socially-Responsible Investment (SRI) policy/committee**

If your divestment campaign includes the establishment of a committee or policy for socially-responsible investment, you could bring in a broader coalition of groups looking to divest from other corporate crimes around the world and lay the groundwork for future human rights activists on your campus. Our goal is to highlight the Israeli occupation, but you can also include broader language in your SRI committee's constitution, thereby prohibiting all investments in occupation and apartheid. These mandates would necessarily target Israel, while leaving open opportunities for additional countries from which others might be advocating divestment, such as Sudan and Burma.

There is a strong case for blanket BDS targeting Israel as part of the larger BDS movement. However, if this is an unrealistic goal due to your school's political climate, you may want to start on a campaign for an SRI committee. With an SRI committee in place, your group will have the opportunity to expose Israel's human rights violations to the appropriate people on campus.

Once you have decided the best way to approach divestment, consider including other “points of action” in your demands so your efforts are not based solely on divestment. This way, you won't set yourself up for total defeat if divestment doesn't pass on the first attempt. Additional points of action might include “positive investment” in Palestinian products and industries (such as buying olive oil or textiles from Palestinian producers), partnering with a Palestinian college or university, or establishing an exchange and/or scholarship

program for Palestinian students. This is an area where it would be useful to the Palestinian Boycott National Committee and other anti-occupation groups to share ideas for expressing solidarity.

Because the realization of Palestinian rights is the ultimate goal, the processes by which you gather support and educate others about the campaign, and hence the occupation, is just as important as achieving divestment. Don't base your measures of success on whether or not divestment passes, as bringing the issue of Israeli apartheid to mainstream campus dialogue is a success in itself. While divestment is an important tool for ending the occupation, changing American public opinion through education will ultimately have a greater impact than individual schools divesting.

DIVIDING LABOR

Since campaigning for divestment requires a significant group effort, you should allocate different areas of work to specialized working groups. The entire group should be involved in conceptualizing and writing the official campaign statement, but after that point there are tasks that should be the focus of just a few people. This will allow your group to ensure that various campaign efforts are simultaneously underway. These working groups aim to ensure central coordination, accountability, and involvement of every group member in the work process.

Some potential working groups include: corporate research, investment research, popular support/education, coalition-building, media relations, any other important topics that may surface as your campaign develops.

Also, an important part about organizing is being mindful of how labor is divided among group members. You should avoid burdening freshmen and sophomores with a disproportionate amount of the mundane work while allowing upperclassmen to take credit for it. Be careful not to reproduce the systems of oppression that BDS campaigns seek to end. Similarly, time management and avoiding burnout is integral for organizing. Look out for one another's mental and physical health and don't sacrifice anyone's health or wellbeing in the name of expediency. Try to find the balance between socializing with your political activist friends and demanding long hours of tedious work from each group member.

Developing a Campaign Statement

When you have identified your main objectives, draft a document that will be your campaign's formal statement. Make sure the language reflects your group's principles and clearly states your campaign goals.

Here are some key components for an effective campaign statement:

- A brief history of your group and its stated purpose; including how you came to decide upon your particular plan of action;
- Background information on the occupation, including the Palestinian Unified Call for BDS and the importance of international acts of solidarity (see Appendix C for the text of the Palestinian Unified Call for BDS);
- The concrete short-term and long-term goals that your campaign hopes to achieve;
- The research you have compiled regarding the companies in your school's investment portfolio that profit from the occupation;
- Ways in which individuals can contact your group, join your efforts, and show support for the campaign statement (most likely by signing a petition or a pre-written letter addressed to campus officials such as student senators, the Dean of Students, the Board of Trustees, etc.).

VISUALIZING A TIMELINE

Divestment campaigns are not quick or easy, but the *means* to achieving the *end* (divestment) are integral to the BDS movement. The educational component of your work is vital, and should continue even after your school divests. That said, there are general guidelines regarding the amount of time that each area of building the case for divestment will take. We've broken down the timeline into three general phases, which can be used as a basic model for your campaign plan.

1. Initial research

This includes going through existing research on corporate involvement and also accessing and looking into your school's investments. (~ 2 months)

- As you will read in the “Researching Corporations” section, most of the research you’ll need has already been done for you. You'll need a few people to go through existing research, who will then need to take time to check this list against your school's investments once you've gathered that information. Also, you might want to do additional research into other companies in your investment portfolio. If you are planning a selective divestment campaign, try to select 6-12 companies that epitomize the most oppressive aspects of the occupation. All in all this should take 2-3 weeks, with a few people working on it.
- The time involved for researching your school's investments will depend on the time commitment of your group’s organizers and on your school's bureaucratic structure. The actual work involved will probably take between 10-20 hours. You will likely receive assistance in your school library by asking a librarian to see the financial statements, financial summaries, or endowment information from your school. Once you find the names of specific mutual funds in the investment portfolio, search through the funds’ “holdings” online to find the companies in which the funds hold stock. With the different tasks that are involved in this research, you should expect this to take a few people 3-4 weeks at minimum and 2-3 months at most.

2. Building a base of support

This includes establishing organizational allies and building/tracking public support (2-3 months)

- Having a formal or informal base of allied campus groups will be very important for when you are ready to present your divestment proposal. Developing relationships with groups can be a long process, so this should begin early in your campaign and should continue until you've secured enough allies to build a formidable coalition. A few group members should be the central contact people for reaching out to other groups.
- Building public support is also an ongoing and essential part of your campaign. Tabling with a petition should begin when you finalize the campaign statement, and should occur on a weekly basis, if possible. Your group should host educational events such as teach-ins and film screenings as soon as you decide to start a campaign. A few group members should be in charge of planning events and coordinating the tabling schedule, but everyone in the group should participate in the events and staff tables.

3. Sustaining support, spreading the message

This includes creating media to engage the community at and around your school and sustaining the support you've gathered.

- It is important to continue tabling and hosting events throughout your campaign as part of the larger effort of educating your school community about the occupation. Similarly, you should

cultivate the relationships you have with the other groups in the coalition.

- Creating media (fliers, posters, pamphlets, graphics, website/blog, etc.) should begin as you develop your campaign in preparation for going public. A few people should work on putting together educational materials to have on the tables and at your public events as well as creating and updating your website. Similarly, it could be helpful to make art and other props in order to bring a creative character to the campaign. After a few weeks of creating different media your group will have campaign materials to use for its different events.
- Other individuals should engage with outside media, such as campus and local news publications. If there are a few people doing this work, they should each expect to put in at least 8-10 hours a month reaching out to school and local contacts, writing and submitting op-ed articles, writing letters to the editor, etc. The amount of time you spend on the campaign is up to you, but there will always be plenty of opportunities for productive work!

DOCUMENTING YOUR EFFORTS

Establish someone, or a group of people, as “historian(s)” who can make print (and electronic) copies of all the materials you have put together. Copy newspaper articles about your group, op-ed’s by group members, and relevant letters to the editor that have been published in your school paper. The historian(s) should maintain an account of the group and the campaign, with organizers’ names and contact information. The historian(s) should look for repositories for the record that they are creating. Some suggested repositories include your school library’s archive, the US Campaign to End the Israeli Occupation, the Interfaith Peace Initiative, the Palestinian National Boycott Committee, and the Responsible Endowments Coalition. This will be very useful for passing knowledge down to new organizers in your group or at other schools looking to start similar campaigns.

RESEARCHING CORPORATE INVOLVEMENT IN THE OCCUPATION

Below is a description of research that other activists have done to document corporations’ complicity in the occupation. Familiarize yourself with this list, as you’ll want to search through your investments for the companies listed below. Then, we’ve listed various places to do your own research on other companies in your investment portfolio, such as with the Whoprofits.org database, as well as others.

REPORT: “COMPANIES SUPPORTING THE ISRAELI OCCUPATION OF PALESTINIAN LAND”

Susanne Hoder, with the Divestment Task Force of the New England conference of the United Methodist Church put out a report detailing multi-national corporations’ involvement in the maintenance of occupation, either aiding the Israeli military or making products in the Occupied Palestinian Territories. After releasing the list of corporations in which the Church was invested, she continued her research to produce the most comprehensive list of corporations complicit in the occupation (using her criteria). The companies included in the Hoder report are very large, mainly multi-national corporations, so they are often included in profitable investment funds. The full report includes descriptions of how 56 corporations are



Coalition of Women for Peace joint Israeli-Palestinian march in A-Ram, where Israel's apartheid wall bisects the main street.

involved in the occupation. You can access the report on the Interfaith Peace Initiative's website at <http://www.interfaithpeaceinitiative.com/profit.php>. This is an important list to cross-reference with the list of corporations that your school is invested in.

As of now, there is no permanent storage of the sources of this research other than website urls and relevant samples of text. Hopefully these will be archived to prevent losing them and therefore losing the evidence behind the documentation of corporations' activity. In the meantime however, to avoid having these supporting webpages "disappear" (aka be removed from the internet by the accused corporation), print the pages of the report, and even the websites that it references if you can access them, so you have hard copies of the evidence behind your accusations.

WHOPROFITS.ORG, A PROJECT OF COALITION OF WOMEN FOR PEACE, ISRAEL

In February 2009, the Coalition of Women for Peace in Israel launched Whoprofits.org, a website database documenting corporate involvement in Israel's occupation and settlement industries. The website catalogs businesses by the specific aspect of the occupation that they support, by the country that the corporation is based in, and by where in Israel and/or the Occupied Palestinian Territories the corporation is operating. Because the Coalition is an Israeli organization, much of the research that they've done has been first-hand, gathering names and activities based on what is seen, reported, and then investigated. The companies they target are "civil," not necessarily military-identified, companies that profit from the unique position that the occupation affords them. Companies in the whoprofits.org database are involved in: the settlement industry, economic exploitation of Palestinians and Palestinian resources, and population control.

For your research, this website database will be most useful for searching for companies in school investment portfolios and documentation about their involvement in the occupation. You can also search companies by their country of origin, and then search within your investment portfolio for those companies if you think that would make them more likely to be in your school's investments. The website has a [guided tour](#) that will give you a better sense of how to use the search functions of the database, especially the "[advanced search](#)."

Not all of the research done by the Coalition of Women for Peace has been uploaded into their website database. If you contact them using the form on their website at <http://whoprofits.org/Contact.php> they can share any information they have on a specific company with you. Do not forget to fill in your contact information so they can be in touch with you.

Although the information in Susanne Hoder's report and the Whoprofits.org database is extensive, it doesn't track all companies involved in the occupation and might not do so using the same criteria as you may wish to use. There are ways for you to do your own research, so we've included different websites and online databases that you can use for this purpose in Appendix B.

UNDERSTANDING AND RESEARCHING COLLEGE/UNIVERSITY INVESTMENTS

It is important to understand your school's financial structure, the bureaucracy that governs those finances, and which types of investments you will be targeting before starting to research your school's investment portfolio.

The end of this section outlines a few methods for doing research into your school's investments, so if this introduction is not necessary for you, you can skip to page twenty-eight.

FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT 101

OPERATING BUDGET

Most colleges divide their finances between their “operating budget” and “endowment.” The operating budget is the part of the school’s finances that go towards the costs of running the college, such as faculty, staff, and administrative salaries, dining services, construction projects, and other expenses paid on a regular or single-time basis, usually supported by student tuition, fees, alumni donations, and grants.

ENDOWMENT

When a donation is made to the college, it usually goes into the other portion of the school’s funds called the “endowment.” The endowment is essentially the school’s savings account, which is invested in individual or multiple funds that accrue interest, which goes back into the college’s operating budget, but a portion of it remains in the endowment to continue earning interest. Aside from contracting companies for business, investing endowment funds is the other way in which colleges engage with corporations and thus become implicated in their (good or bad) business practices.

FACULTY PENSIONS, SCHOLARSHIP FUNDS, AND OTHER FUNDS

There are other funds held by the school or school-community members that have their own investments and investment managers. Faculty pension funds are almost exclusively managed by TIAA-CREF, a national faculty campaign for an occupation-free pension option from TIAA-CREF would be a huge boost to the BDS movement. If staff at your school are organized in unions, they might have pension funds of their own. In working on divesting endowment investments, you might be able to turn to members of the coalition such as faculty and staff and see if you can work together to divest these other funds.

PUBLIC VERSUS PRIVATE SCHOOLS

Public universities usually receive between 20-40% of their budget from government funding, depending on the size and location of the school and the state’s budget. The amount, if any, of public funds going into a school’s endowment varies by state, and you will have to do this research yourself.

If you go to a large public university with multiple campuses, the endowment might be managed by the central university Board of Regents. It would be all the more powerful if your campaign targeted the entire university system’s endowment funds rather than just those of your individual campus. This could mean bringing in a lot of community (non-school) members and lead a campaign targeting all of the state's investments. This might not be possible if this is your first attempt at divestment, but it’s something to consider for the future.

Similarly, larger public schools might keep their endowment in separate, sometimes private, non-profit foundations, with the managers of these foundations working closely with the university board but ultimately making the investment decisions themselves. If this is a private foundation, its information is not free to the public through FOIA; however there are other ways to find out how it manages school investments as a non-profit, similar to a private college or university.

INVESTMENT ASSET CLASSES

There are various types of “asset classes” which compose endowment funds. Schools often put their investments in a diverse array of these classes so as to minimize risk if something bad were to happen in any one of them.

Cash

Money that is readily available in the operating budget or that is part of the endowment but held in a bank as liquid funds. Cash is usually managed more by the administration than by the trustees, as it serves more immediate purposes than larger-vision projects for the college or university.

Bonds

Also known as “debt securities,” that are issued by companies, governments, or banks with a fixed rate of return and usually low risk depending on who issues them. Some states and private investors hold bonds issued by the Israeli government. These bonds support the New Israeli Shekel and allow Israel’s occupation and apartheid policies to continue.

Public equity or stocks

Shares of a company that colleges/universities may own when their investors use endowment funds to buy percentages of a company. When a company makes a net profit from its business, shareholders are at the end of the receiving line of that profit, and will earn. When a company like Boeing or United Technologies increases its sales during wartime or the Israeli military contracts more Caterpillar bulldozers to demolish homes to make way for the separation wall, it is earning a profit. This profit raises the price of shares and shareholders receive a dividend. This is what it means for a college or university to profit from war and apartheid.

Real assets or real estate

Materials that are purchased and kept as inventory or property, such as land or gold.

Private equity or hedge funds

More exclusive, less transparent funds managed by individuals who buy out stock or entire companies for a usually large fee. Smaller colleges and universities will probably not deal with these types of funds or fund managers.

Public equity holdings and Israeli government bonds are targets for divestment, as these are the means by which colleges profit from Israel’s occupation and apartheid policies and hence the best way to publicize and take action against the inhumane practices of these corporations because of the stake your college holds in them. This is also the easiest way to make the case for divestment because colleges/universities are usually less attached to the company itself but rather the dividends from the stock or bond that it holds.

MANAGERS OF SCHOOL INVESTMENTS

THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES AND INVESTMENT COMMITTEES

The Board of Trustees or Regents manages the entirety of the school budget, primarily the endowment, and its members are usually more concerned about school finances than culture or politics. The Investment committee is usually a sub-committee of the Board, which might have a school administrator, Board Trustees, and/or private consultants and managers who help with finance management. You should familiarize yourself with the Board's structure and decision-making process by asking the Board Secretary or inquiring in the school Treasury office. This will help you successfully pitch divestment to the appropriate channels after building a support base.

INVESTMENT MANAGERS

Often schools hire private consultants to manage their investments. These people have no affiliation with the school and therefore are only concerned with returns on investments and not social responsibility or school politics. Investment managers are not decision makers in investment policy, they generally follow orders from the board. If investment managers are the primary managers of the school's investments then the funds in which school investments are held might be under the name of the manager, which could be harder to access as private records.

STUDENT REPRESENTATION ON THE BOARD

If your school allows students to be involved in the Board of Trustees, especially in any of the committees that deal with investment policy, you should try to have a member of your group elected to that position. This will give you access to the board's processes and politics.

SOCIALLY-RESPONSIBLE INVESTMENT COMMITTEES

Through successful divestment activism in the 70's and 80's, many student activists succeeded in establishing Board committees focused on "socially-responsible investment" to preclude school investment in apartheid, nuclear proliferation, or other human rights violations. These committees may already exist in an inactive state at your school.

Having a committee for socially responsible investment can be quite advantageous in the fight for divestment because once you prove the illegality of the occupation, then the case for divestment from apartheid and war crimes is made for you.

- A campaign to reactivate or start one of these committees could bring human rights activists together. A larger, more diverse coalition will make a divestment campaign more sustainable and more difficult for your opponents to defeat.
- A campaign for an active socially responsible investment committee would also leave a legacy of human rights that will help future activists in their struggles.

For more information about launching responsible-investment committee campaigns, see Chapter 6 of the Responsible Endowments Coalition's Student Handbook (see Appendix A).

ACCESSING SCHOOL INVESTMENT RECORDS

Your school's investments are most likely very extensive, so you're going to want to do targeted searches for the companies in the earlier-mentioned reports. Below are a few different methods for doing this research. Using a combination of them, you should be able to gain access to everything you're looking for. Most of the information in this section was found using the resources of the Responsible Endowments Coalition; see Appendix A for more information about The REC and its resources.

ASKING THE RIGHT QUESTIONS

The recommended way to start your search is to approach your school's Treasury office or Investment committee contacts and ask! This should provide this information to students that request it, but know that they might not be cooperative.

- When you approach people with questions, be prepared to answer why you are asking for this information. You might want to prepare a written request for information on specific companies (such as the Hoder Investment Research or HIR list, if that is how you are focusing your campaign). A list like this is easier to respond to than a general request for all investment records. However, a verbal or written request may not be enough to get the information.
- Be mindful of how much amount of information you offer in your first contacts with your school's administration. Administrators may withhold information without what they consider to be a legitimate reason. You may also choose not to reveal your full intentions if you suspect it will cause extra trouble with your school's administration.

RESEARCHING SCHOOL RECORDS ONLINE

If you were not able to get the information that you're looking for by asking for it on your first try, there are online tools that are great sources of information for school investment records. Your school is most likely invested in funds that contain hundreds of companies, so may not have enough time to go through all of them.

- Search school investment records online for the companies listed on the HIR list, as well as any others from the Whoprofits.org database that you want to target.
- If you want to do your own research on companies that you've found in your investment portfolio, search for them at Whoprofits.org or using the methods in Appendix B. This may be a preferable method if you are looking for companies based on criteria (location, involvement, etc) that weren't used by those who compiled the HIR list.

1. Money Market Directories

There is an online directory of many schools' investment management records, which includes the asset allocation of investment funds, campus contacts for Investment Committee members, and any outside money managers. If you're not aware of your school's password, ask a school librarian if they know it; otherwise contact the Responsible Endowments Coalition, as they may be able to send you your school's profile.

- Your school's report will include a breakdown of the endowment's investments by asset class. You will also see a list of contact information for individuals who are related to fundraising or

funds-management at the school. The report lists all of the investment managers, who are usually hired to manage funds, along with the percentage of the endowment's investments that they manage. If your school's endowment is handled by a private foundation, information on this foundation will also be listed.

- Once you have the list of investment managers, use the Security and Exchange Commission database to look into the funds that these investment managers or companies control. Information on how to use their website is listed below.
- The Money Market Directories database can be found at <http://www.mmdwebaccess.com/>. You can also contact the Responsible Endowments Coalition at Info@endowmentethics.org

2. **IRS 990 Forms**

All colleges and universities are registered with the IRS as non-profits and therefore file 990 tax forms detailing their expenses every year. Guidestar.org is a website database that lists data for all registered non-profits, including the 990s that the IRS receives and the one that the school provides to the website (which are sometimes different). The database is free to use but you have to register. Sometimes the records are outdated, but you should be able to find recent, relevant information.

- 990 Forms list all of the school's expenses, so it will most likely list the investment managers that the school pays. You can use this information to look funds up. (using the SEC database) by using the manager's name if you don't have access to any other information.
- There should be a section in the 990 that lists "Total Assets and Investments," which will list the different asset classes and the amount invested in each. Sometimes, if investments are directly in companies, it will list their company name as "securities" with the amount, but often it just lists the mutual or hedge fund name.
- At the bottom there is a more-detailed list of the investments that will tell you which funds the school is invested in. Once you have this information, you can then go to other sources, like the SEC website (listed below), to find out which companies are included in those funds.

3. **Freedom of Information Act (FOIA)**

All (and only) public universities are legally bound to provide any information, with some restrictions but none pertaining to investments, on their affairs that you request through a FOIA request.

- If your school fails to answer your questions in your first request, you can take the next step by filing a letter requesting the specific information you're looking for. They are legally bound to answer with either the information you requested, or a legitimate reason why they are not going to provide that information, within 20 days.
 - Amnesty International USA's SHARE POWER Campaign has prepared a sample FOIA request letter at <http://www.amnestyusa.org/business-and-human-rights/share-power/share-power-campaign/page.do?id=1101699>.
 - For information on your state's FOIA statutes and how to best utilize them, fill out the Student Press Law Center's form at <http://www.splc.org/foiletter.asp>
- In your letter, be very specific about the information you're requesting, which should be a list of any companies in the school's investments that are either on the Hoder Investment Research list or meet the criteria that you have set for your divestment campaign. You may have to

request a list of all companies in the school's investment funds, which you would have to go through yourself to cross-reference with the HIR or other lists.

- Your school may not have access to its complete investment information, depending on how localized investment management is. In case investment information isn't locally held or managed, you should also ask for the list and contact information of any external investment managers who would have that information.
- You can also request records of correspondence between school administrators and the investment managers, which can give you a sense of how they interact and who the decision makers whom your campaign should target are.
- This is an opportunity to access as much information as possible about your school's investments, but you may be overwhelmed with the number of documents you receive. The Responsible Endowments Coalition can go through these documents with you to find relevant information. (See below for a link to their webpage.)

4. **Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC)**

The Securities and Exchange Commission is the governmental agency that regulates the trading of stocks and documents all company records that deal with stock holdings. Having already gathered the list of investment managers and/or investment funds using the methods listed above, you should use this website to search within those managers' files for the companies that you're targeting.

- First, go to <http://www.sec.gov/search/search.htm> and type in the name of the management company you are searching for under "Search Company Filings." In the search results, be sure to find the exact company that you're looking for, as there might be multiple companies with the same or similar names. If you know the management firm's location, you can use this to locate the company's information. Click on the company in/near where you think they're from, or go by the type of company as it is called, such as "___ advisors" or "___ capital."
- Within this listing, find the document labeled "13F" or "13F-HR". If the document name says "Notice," then this is a non-list document related to that fund; you're looking for the "Holdings Report." Within the Holdings Report, you'll find the complete list of companies that are held by the investment fund. Hopefully this information will be available and up to date; if so, cross-reference your list and their list, on which you can build your case for divestment!
- If investment firms make changes to the companies included in their funds, there will be records of those changes in the firm's files along with the 13-F. Be aware of other files listed next to the 13-F. These files may notify you of any changes in the firm's holdings.

5. **Contacting investment firms**

If the information you've been looking for is only in the name of private investment firms and it's not available on the SEC website, you might want to contact the investment management firm themselves to gain this information

- Find out if the firm has a website, and if they do, look through it to find any information on the companies in their investment funds or on recent updates or changes to their holdings
- If there isn't much on the investment firm's website, use the contact information you received from previous methods' searches or from their website and reach out to them.

Tell them that you go to ___ school, whose investments they manage, and you are interested in finding out information about the funds' holdings. The worst thing that can happen is they turn you down.

BUILDING THE GRASSROOTS AND LAUNCHING THE CAMPAIGN

Once you have conceptualized your campaign and have the information to support it, you will be ready to launch your campaign, by mobilizing public support, building allies, identifying targets, and engaging the media.

EDUCATING AND BUILDING PUBLIC SUPPORT

Gathering signatures on a petition is the most commonly used form of demonstrating public support and should be one of the ways you engage people.

- Petitions are both tools for educating the community about your campaign and for keeping a record of people who support the campaign. These people can be called on to support your campaign financially or by attending meetings where your resolution is debated
 - The ultimate purpose of the petition is to present it alongside your divestment resolution to student government or the Board to demonstrate the number of people in the community who support divestment.
 - Collect signatures from students, faculty, staff, alumni, and even family and friends; increase your campaign's record of support.
- To create a petition, print out your campaign statement and write a small paragraph stating that the signatories support your campaign. Your petition should include the key components of the campaign statement
 - Print a table where people can write their signatures, names, addresses or other forms of contact, for evidence of residence, status at the school, and for future contact.
 - You can also host an online petition through the US Campaign to End the Israeli Occupation^[1] or [Petition Online](#).
- Tabling is a great way to educate people about the campaign (and the occupation), gather signatures on the petition, and distribute educational materials.

Throughout the campaign, your group should also host educational events on campus. These could be

- Teach-ins, where your group presents on topics related to the Israeli occupation and apartheid
- Discussion forums
- Film screenings, which help people to understand the apartheid underlying Israel's occupation. (examples: *Occupation 101*, *Gaza Strip*, *Slingshot Hip Hop*, *Salt of this Sea*)
- A faculty panel, featuring professor allies or non-allies who can speak to the occupation and the Palestinian struggle through an academic lens

BUILDING A COALITION

Having a formal or informal coalition of allied groups is an essential element of a successful campaign. Coalition members should be other campus and community groups that agree with the principles of your campaign, are willing to formally endorse it as a group, and will also show support in times of need.



- A formal coalition might be an actual body of representatives from different groups that meets regularly, has its own means of communication (such as a listserv), and decides on a plan of action as a separate group.
- A less formal coalition might be a series of partnerships between your and other groups, in which you contact representatives of other groups to whom you can reach out when you need to make an announcement or call for support.

Hopefully you'll know of organizations, or people who are members of organizations sympathetic to human rights issues, who may or may not be familiar with the occupation, to whom you can reach out.

- Approach friends or the leaders of those groups and ask if you can present at one of their meetings.
- Put together a small presentation about the occupation, the nature and expectations of the campaign, and the spectrum of support you're looking for in group allies.
- An important part of coalitions is the reciprocity that comes with allied relationships.
 - Explain to allies the terms on which you can show support for their efforts, which should be very similar to what you are asking of them.
 - Be sure everyone is on the same page with what is involved as a group ally and maintain contact with the group liaison to sustain the relationship.

Having non-student allies will bring new dimensions and perspectives to your campaign and will enhance its effectiveness.

- Faculty have their own bodies of organization, and also have pension funds which could join the divestment effort.
- Staff might be members of unions that could show collective support, possibly by divesting their pension funds or issuing statements of support.
- Keep in mind that while most faculty have tenure, most school employees have much less job security than professors, so you should not ask them to put themselves in situations to risk their employment.

IDENTIFYING THE TARGET POWER-HOLDERS

Once you have gathered what you deem an adequate level of public/organized support, you should identify who holds the power to make the decision to divest and the different ways you can demonstrate your own power to influence their decision.

SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS AND “FRIENDS”

The Board of Trustees has ultimate power over investment policy, so they are the ultimate targets of the campaign. Become familiar with:

- Who is on which committee (especially the Investments Committee), where their political loyalties might lie, and how to contact them.
- If you are not able to have direct representation on the Board/committees, think about whom you're going to ally with so they can champion divestment in the arenas to which you may not have access.
 - Establish that alliance, if possible, and stay in touch with them to receive updates and build rapport for when you'll need them to be firm allies.
- Familiarize yourself with the way the Board works, such as
 - When Board meetings are held and when policy decisions are made.
 - The format in which proposals are presented and who can present them.

STUDENT GOVERNMENT RESOLUTIONS

Although the Board ultimately makes decisions over investments, student government resolutions carry significant legitimacy as a student voice and are a great way to advance your campaign. This same process can be replicated with other governing bodies of your school, such as faculty senates, staff unions and even academic centers or departments.

- Establish an alliance with a student representative or have a group member run for a student government position.
 - It is indispensable to have someone who works on the inside of campus government bodies to bring up divestment and champion it through the voting process.
- Draft a resolution demanding what you determine to be an appropriate action step at that time, depending on your progress in the campaign and what type of support you are looking for from student government.
 - If you know all of your investments and are ready for approval of your campaign demands, you can rewrite them in the format of a resolution and begin soliciting support.
 - If you were unable to access information on your school's investments, advocate passing a resolution for transparency in your school's investment management so you can do the research necessary to build the case for divestment.
 - Tie in or separately propose a resolution for creating a socially-responsible investment policy that specifically mentions occupation, apartheid, and other human rights violations.

- See Appendix D in this handbook for an example of how to craft a resolution and the type of background information to include.
- Continue proposing resolutions (with language changes so you can resubmit them) until your demand passes, whether that be for transparency, after which point you propose divestment resolutions, or divestment itself.
 - The campus government resolution process may take a while, so it should be an ongoing part of your campaign, operating simultaneously with other efforts for mobilizing and demonstrating support.
- Find out when the proposal is going to be presented and voted on. Bring a big group of supporters to fill the audience at this meeting.
 - Have someone ready to advocate for or debate the proposal in front of the meeting, using talking points on your campaign statement and the occupation.

UTILIZING AND CREATING MEDIA

Throughout your campaign, you should create materials, build tools for communication, and publish articles to bring a public face to the campaign.

- Task a group with putting together informational materials, such as a brochure with your campaign statement and background information on your group, which can be handed out when tabling or hosting public events.
- A few individuals should write about your divestment efforts and the occupation in op-ed pieces to be submitted to school and community publications.
 - Form a relationship with the editor or contributors to the school paper and try to get a column or space for submitting articles. Try to use controversy around divestment as a selling point for your articles – you are literally making news.
 - Gather contact information of local journalists so you can send them articles you've written or press releases.
- Make creative and artistic materials to use as props at events, demonstrations, and tabling.
- Create a website to keep the public updated on campaign developments, events, the online petition and general information about your group and campaign.
 - Use social networking sites to create groups or send out updates about the campaign, although it would be a less formal way of tracking support than a petition itself.

Although the prospect of divestment might be far in the future, you should begin to think about how you are going to deal with the media early on. Ideally, you will frame the media debate, but it is possible that your opposition will break the story of divestment before you formally announce your campaign.

Here are some first few steps to consider when breaking news of divestment in the media:

1. Decide on who will be the primary media spokespeople for your group

- They should be able to do interviews whenever a news outlet gets in touch with you, especially after you send out your press release.
- The spokespeople should be very familiar with your group, your campaign, and general information about the occupation.
- It would be helpful if your group had at least one spokesperson who could give interviews in Arabic and/or Hebrew, as divestment is currently a very hot topic in Israeli and Arab media.

2. Draft a press release

- Be deliberate in the language that you use to frame [\[2\]](#) divestment and your school's intentions behind it.
- Be sure to include information on your organization and the efforts that led to successful divestment.
- Include the names and places of contact (phone numbers and email addresses) for your group spokespeople so journalists can easily get in touch with them

3. Gather contact information for any local, statewide (including campuses), and even national news publications that you wish to send your press release to.

- When you have finalized your press release, send it to all of these contacts so they can pick up the story and contact you for more information or an interview.

Be on top of the media discourse over your school's divestment, as oppositional groups that hear of your efforts will try to publicize their spin on the divestment first. You should respond to inaccurate allegations about your group or your school's actions, but not get bogged down in your opposition's attempts to change the subject, such as allusions to the holocaust or Europe's history of anti-Semitism.

If you would like help crafting your media campaign, there are people who have experience and can help you listed in Handbook Appendix A.

DEALING WITH OPPOSITION

You are probably already familiar with any organizations and individuals on campus who are strong supporters of Israel and who therefore will oppose your campaign.

- Expect that they will show up at your events, challenge your student government proposals, and possibly even run their own public campaign to try to discredit your campaign.
- Don't engage with oppositional people or groups unless you think it will be constructive.
 - Distribute response statements if your opposition makes false allegations that could be taken more seriously than they should be.



As a supplement to your BDS work, consider selling Palestinian products in your community or getting involved with micro-credit programs with communities in need.

- If you find it appropriate to engage with them directly such as in a co-sponsored debate, make sure anyone you send to represent your group is very knowledgeable about the occupation and is able to eloquently represent your group's principles and goals.
 - Be sure you can set terms for the debate so you are not cornered into a defensive position that you can't get out of. Don't let your main points drown in a sea of details about past peace deals or 2000 years anti-Semitism. Stick to your main point that human rights are being violated and your school is profiting from these violations. Educational institutions should make space for human rights, not profit from violations, period.

Often, attacks from Zionist groups are quite predictable, in fact you can check out several handbooks for Zionist activists on campus on the following website: <http://www.middle-east-info.org/take/index.htm>. In order to better prepare you for some of the claims that will be made against your group and

your campaign, some of the most common claims, and rebuttals for them, are listed below

BDS is anti-Semitic. Are critics really suggesting that collective punishment, home demolitions, targeted assassinations, curfews, the uprooting of over a million trees, etc. are Jewish practices? These are gross violations of international law and must be condemned and challenged wherever they occur. Speciously bandying accusations of anti-Semitism about dilutes the power of such charges and makes it more difficult to fight actual instances of anti-Semitism. The root of anti-Semitism is racism and solidly grounding your campaign in an anti-racist framework will make these accusations less powerful.

BDS is negative and doesn't offer opportunities for positive investment. BDS is not an "either/or" proposal. It is easy to both divest from a corporation supporting occupation and at the same time seek positive investments within Palestinian communities to help provide employment. Fair trade olive oil, textiles, and other Palestinian products do exist and are vital to the Palestinian economy. Unfortunately, the Israeli military has destroyed many Palestinian businesses and even projects funded by international investors. Ending the occupation and dismantling apartheid will do far more to build the Palestinian economy than individual investments.

BDS supports and emboldens terrorists. This is an ugly and slanderous attack that tries to shift attention away from the flagrant violations of international law in Israel's longstanding occupation and apartheid practices. We need to reframe the question: are universities, in so far as they have not yet divested, profiting from the ongoing terror of occupation and apartheid? Let's push the criticism further. What is it that Christian Zionist organizations, such as Christian Friends of Israeli Communities (i.e., illegal settlements), are doing when they adopt an Israeli settlement and when they send what has amounted to millions of dollars to support illegal settlements—including night goggles, bullet-proof vests, bullet-proof vehicles. The aid goes to armed, paramilitary communities of immigrants who are living on land taken from Palestinians at gunpoint.

BDS activists are collaborating with the Arab League boycott and are allowing themselves to be tools of non-democratic Arab regimes. Arab governments rarely aid Palestinians, except occasionally in their rhetoric. Today's BDS activists are not acting in accordance with the Arab League boycott, which calls for boycott and divestment of any corporation doing business with or in Israel. Modern BDS campaigns take their cues directly from Palestinian civil society groups – not governments or political parties – and target corporations and institutions profiting from Israel's occupation and apartheid practices. Caterpillar Inc., a popular target for BDS campaigns, actually has contracts with many Arab governments that have failed to challenge the company's connection to Israel's occupation, so clearly our efforts are not coordinated with these regimes.

Israel is unfairly singled out for criticism. There is some irony in this claim. For years, Israel was singled out for its exemption from criticism. Morally responsible investors have challenged corporations linked to human rights abuses in China, Burma, Sudan, Indonesia, and South Africa, but not in Israel. They have challenged corporate links with military and paramilitary forces in Colombia, Nigeria and Liberia, but not in Israel. The U.S. government has imposed sanctions

on Iraq, Iran, Syria, Libya, Sudan, North Korea, and Cuba, but not on Israel.

If your group comes under serious attack, such as being ostracized or threatened by school or outside public figures, know that you are not alone and that other groups will come out to show support.

- Call on any campus group or individual allies that you've secured support from, who can issue statements and come out to events to demonstrate their support.
- Reach out to various human rights and anti-occupation groups in your own community or nationally to appeal for support. You can find some of these groups in Appendix A or on the US Campaign's website at <http://www.endtheoccupation.org/groups.php>

ALTERNATIVES TO INVESTMENT IN THE OCCUPATION

When you present divestment to your student government or the Board, it is not your responsibility to propose alternative ideas for investment once they do divest; however it doesn't hurt to have a few ideas.

There are ways to invest in less destructive companies or industries, such as "green technology" industries or corporations with stronger human rights standards than the corporations that you're seeking divestment from.

- This will ensure a long-term benefit and preclude your school's reinvestment in another company or industry that has ties with human rights abuses or military conflicts.
- The Social Investment Forum provides detailed information on various "socially-responsible" mutual funds and other available options for investment. Visit their website to look more into their resources and socially-responsible screening at www.socialinvest.org. When using existing socially responsible investment screens, remember that the devil often is in the details. Many SRI screens don't count international subsidiaries as part of the parent company or may not respect the same criteria that your group uses in its divestment campaign.
- If you'd like more information or help with alternative investment options, you can contact the Responsible Endowments Coalition at Info@endowmentethics.org.

REFLECTIONS

Now that you have read through our suggestions for your campaign and are ready to approach divestment organizing, think about the most crucial components that you want to take away from this and record those thoughts so they're handy as you plan and work on your campaign.

Most of this information reflects the experiences of the people who put this handbook together, which should be considered and learned from, but this is not the only prescription for a divestment campaign. As iterated throughout the guide, heed the suggestions that make sense for your group and the unique context of your community, but follow your intuition if something doesn't resonate and your organizing efforts require different approaches.

Remember, the ultimate goal is realizing Palestinian rights under international law. Divestment is the tool that

we are choosing to use. Equally important to achieving divestment is the process that gets you there. In carrying out this campaign, you will:

- Educate your community about Israeli apartheid, the brutality of the occupation, and the significant support that the US government shows to Israel despite its internationally-condemned policies.
- Bring new allies to the struggle to end Israel's occupation
- Lead your institution in an act of solidarity that will reverberate on campuses around the country and world.
- Empower individuals and communities to take collective action to end the occupation.

APPENDIX A: ORGANIZATIONS & RESOURCES

Below is a list of organizations to which you can reach out if you need help with your divestment campaign. The nature of their work varies, but the descriptions should give you a sense of what they do and how they might be useful to you.

US CAMPAIGN TO END THE ISRAELI OCCUPATION

The US Campaign is a diverse coalition working for freedom from occupation and equal rights for all by challenging U.S. policy towards the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The US Campaign's work is based on human rights and international law, providing a non-sectarian framework for everyone who supports its Call to Action.

www.endtheoccupation.org

Contact person: Rob Mosrie, Executive Director

202-332-0994

director@endtheoccupation.org

HAMPSHIRE COLLEGE STUDENTS FOR JUSTICE IN PALESTINE (HSJP)

In February of 2009, Hampshire SJP succeeded in divesting their school's endowment from several corporations involved in the occupation. HSJP members are excited to share their experiences with student activists engaged in similar struggles for human rights. HSJP's website provides a record of their campaign and you can contact them for further information or to request one of their members visit your group.

<http://www.hsjp.org/>

Contact: HampshireSJP@gmail.com

COALITION OF WOMEN FOR PEACE

The Coalition of Women for Peace is a consortium of Israeli feminist organizations working towards a just peace between Israelis and Palestinians, ending to the occupation, and ending racism within Israeli society. In February 2009, they launched whoprofits.org, the website database that tracks corporate involvement in industries reliant on the occupation for profit.

<http://coalitionofwomen.org/home/english>

Contact: http://coalitionofwomen.org/home/english/contacts/the_coalition/

RESPONSIBLE ENDOWMENT COALITION (REC)

REC is a non-profit organization which strives for the goal of fostering social and environmental change by making responsible investment common practice amongst colleges and universities. REC also supports the next generation of activists with a new and powerful toolkit. REC is a great resource for information on school investments and socially-responsible investment campaigns.

www.endowmentethics.org

Contact: info@endowmentethics.org

INSTITUTE FOR MIDDLE EAST UNDERSTANDING (IMEU)

IMEU is an organization that strives for more accurate reporting on Middle East issues. Meeting with media management and placing op-eds are IMEU's primary objectives, but they are also a great primary source for information about Israel and Palestine and their staff are often available to consult on media strategy.

<http://imeu.net/>

Contact: info@imeu.net

PALESTINE SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT (PSM)

PSM was initiated in 2002 with the “Student Conference on the Palestine Solidarity Movement” to unify student Palestine solidarity activism in North America. PSM has held a few conferences since then and has many resources available on its website for student activists to use in their divestment campaigns. PSM organizers also help student activists with media engagement for divestment campaigns.

www.palestinesolidaritymovement.org

Contact: media@palestinesolidaritymovement.org

U.S. CAMPAIGN FOR ACADEMIC AND CULTURAL BOYCOTT OF ISRAEL (USACBI)

USACBI is a network of U.S. faculty and students working on advancing academic and cultural boycott using the guidelines issued by the Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI). Academic and cultural boycott are tactics by which your community severs ties with academic and cultural institutions that support Israel’s occupation and apartheid policies targeting Palestinians. USACBI’s network can connect you with sympathetic faculty and offer information about the reasons for and tactics to support academic and cultural boycott of Israel.

<http://usacbi.wordpress.com/>

Contact: uscom4acbi@gmail.com

Below is a list of organizations committed to investigating human rights violations and/or ending the occupation whose websites contain invaluable reports, articles, information, and organizing resources.

PALESTINIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE BDS CAMPAIGN (BNC)

The PNC is the central coordinating committee of the global BDS movement, having launched the Unified Palestinian Call for BDS in 2005. The BNC held its first conference in Ramallah in November 2007, and agreed upon its goals:

- To strengthen and spread the culture of Boycott as a central form of civil resistance to Israeli occupation and apartheid;
- To formulate strategies and programs of action in accordance with the 9 July 2005 Palestinian Civil Society Call for BDS;
- To form the Palestinian reference point for BDS campaigns worldwide;
- To form the national reference point for the anti-normalization campaigns within Palestine;
- To coordinate the various BDS campaign efforts in all locations;
- To organize a yearly conference of the organizations and initiatives involved in the BDS campaign.

www.bdsmovement.net/

STOP THE WALL

The Palestinian Grassroots Anti-Apartheid Wall Campaign is the main national grassroots body coordinating the struggle against the Wall. They are a coalition of 10 popular district committees representing over 100 communities, youth committees and Palestinian NGOs. They act as the voice of communities on the local level and as their mobilization and coordination tool on the national level; and are part of the global struggle against colonization and racism. They mobilize, coordinate and call for boycott, divestment and sanctions (BDS) on the local, national and international levels.

www.stopthewall.org

B'TSELEM

The Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories, B'Tselem, provides a comprehensive legal explanation of human rights violations by all actors in the conflict, including Israeli and Palestinian officials, parties and organizations. B'Tselem's publications can provide compelling moral arguments against the occupation, and also include involvement of corporations in carrying out the functions of the occupation. <http://www.btselem.org/english/>

PALESTINIAN CENTRE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

PCHR is an organization based in Gaza City that reports on violence and human rights violations within the West Bank and Gaza Strip. They base their findings on standards of international law and democratic principles, and are a good source of information on current events on the ground in the Occupied Palestinian Territories.

<http://www.pchrgaza.org/index.html>

ISRAELI COMMITTEE AGAINST HOUSE DEMOLITIONS (ICAHD)

ICAHD is an organization committed to educating about and protesting the demolition of Palestinian homes within the Occupied Palestinian Territories. ICAHD volunteers also physically rebuild Palestinian homes demolished under order of the Israeli military. Their work highlights the details and the human side of the crimes that corporations supplying construction equipment to the Israeli military commit in the West Bank. They also highlight the devastation of Israel's occupation and apartheid policies in articles and statistics.

<http://icahd.org/eng/>

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

Articles and links to all of AI's reports are on the Israel/Occupied Palestinian Territories section of their website, including their recent investigations into "Operation Cast Lead." They do great work to tie corporate activity directly to human rights violations.

<http://www.amnestyusa.org/all-countries/israel/occupied-palestinian-territories/page.do?id=1011175>

HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH

HRW has published extensive reports on human rights violations by the Israeli government, especially on issues beyond the occupied West Bank and Gaza, including violations against Palestinian citizens of Israel in the Negev and refugees in Southern Lebanon.

<http://www.hrw.org/en/middle-eastn-africa/israel-and-occupied-territories>

APPENDIX B: RESEARCHING CORPORATIONS

SOURCES FOR INDIVIDUAL CORPORATE RESEARCH

Before trying different websites, start your research by doing a general search using a search engine and key target words to get you to the information, or places directing you to the information, that you're looking for. Keywords to search with might be: "[company name]" plus "Israel," "Israeli military" or "Israeli Defense Forces," "Israeli settlements" or "Palestinian [land, homes, etc]"

Other, more relevant, keywords might come up as you work, which you should use as well. If you haven't found enough information, use the websites and databases listed below to continue your research.

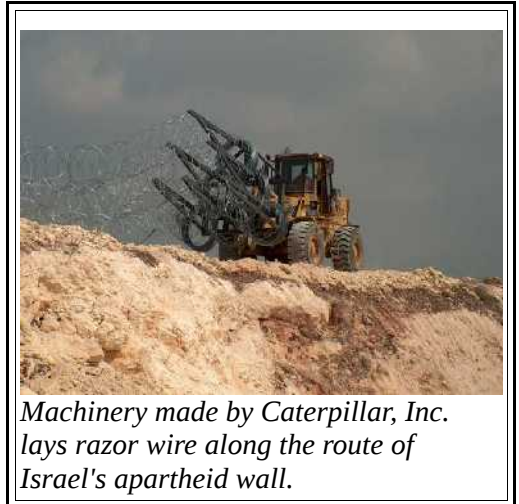
When using the databases listed below, there are a few things to keep in mind:

1. Most of them are extremely expensive to use, but have free trials that you can sign up to use for a limited period of time. You usually have to fill out a form to request a free trial. Free trials registration may require you state your intentions in using the site. Use discretion when filling these forms out.
2. Because you have a limited time to get information from these databases, usually a matter of a few days or less, you should gather all of your questions and companies before starting your searches so you can dedicate a significant amount of time during those days to finding all of the information that you can. It might be possible to use multiple free trials with different people's information, depending on how in-depth the questionnaire is.

Company websites are also a good place to search. If you search the company's name, you can then search for keywords in the site's search field (using the previously mentioned keywords), which should bring you to news updates or changes in activity that may relate to Israel and the occupation. This information may or may not contradict other reports of their activity, but it's good to see what the company themselves say (or don't say) about this type of activity.

BUSINESS DATABASES

- *Capital IQ* – this website contains multiple financial databases, but the one you will find most useful is the "Company Fundamentals" database, which provides thorough information on company profiles, activity, investment managers, governance, news, and more. It is unclear how long the free trial period is, but you can fill out their request form at <https://www.capitaliq.com/Main3/meeting.asp>
- *Hoovers Online* – also contains a comprehensive company database to find information on corporate activity and relations, although it does not list detailed records of company transactions, so this might not be the ideal source of information on government or military contracts. To request a free 24-hour trial, you have to sign up using their request form at <http://www.hoovers.com/free/mktg/join.xhtml?pageid=16100&source=HPFLASH>
- *Israel Venture Capital*- an online database for high-technology businesses in Israel. It provides company profiles and information about business activity of Israeli companies. <http://www.ivc-online.com/>



Machinery made by Caterpillar, Inc. lays razor wire along the route of Israel's apartheid wall.

BUSINESS NEWS SOURCES

- *High Beam Research* is a library of almost all major news publications (newspapers, journals, magazines, and websites), national and international, that you can search for articles on many different subjects. They've archived tons of articles that announce or track company activity, including government contracts, so this is a great place to get primary information. You can sign up for a 7-day free trial.
<http://www.highbeam.com/>
- *Goliath Business News*- Goliath is a business news database, created by the Gale Group, an information database builder. On this website, you can find news articles about businesses and specific industries, company profiles, and other business-related information. They offer a free trial for 3 days.
<http://goliath.ecnext.com/>
- *American-Israel Chamber of Commerce* - There are a few regional American-Israel Chambers of Commerce established around the country to promote trade and foreign direct investment between the U.S. and Israel. You can peruse their regional websites, or try searching some of the links to trade organizations or news websites that they provide on their website at
<http://www.israeltrade.org/links.htm>
- *Public Register's Annual Report Service* – an online service for ordering entire company annual reports for free. If there is a specific company on whom you want to do extensive research, you can request their annual report and this site will mail it to you in one day.
<http://www.prars.com/index.php>

OTHER BUSINESS NEWS PUBLICATIONS

- *Reuters Business & Financial News* - <http://www.reuters.com/finance>
- *Business on Haaretz English* - <http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/pages/LiArt.jhtml?contrassID=2&subContrassID=2&sbSubContrassID=0>
- *Forbes.com business news* – <http://www.forbes.com/>
- *Google Finance news*- <http://www.google.com/finance?hl=en&tab=we>
- *Globes Online: Israel's Business Arena* - <http://www.globes.co.il/serveen/globes/nodeView.asp?fid=942>

MILITARY NEWS WEBSITES

These websites contain information on American and/or Israeli military sales and conduct. They will most likely have information on military contractors and types of weapons, but also on military-corporate news. The depth of information they contain differs, so try searching a variety of them for information on military-related contracting. Keep in mind these are sites that promote militarism and weapons sales, so beware in case you're easily disturbed by that.

- *Israeli Weapons Ltd.* - <http://israeli-weapons.com/>
- *Military.com* - <http://www.military.com/>
- *US Department of Defense website* - <http://www.defenselink.mil/>
- *Defense Security Cooperation Agency website* - <http://www.dsca.mil/>
- *Defense News* - <http://www.defensenews.com/>

- *Defense Industry Daily* - <http://www.defenseindustrydaily.com/>
- *Army-Technology.com* - <http://www.army-technology.com/>
- *GlobalSecurity.org* - <http://www.globalsecurity.org/>
- *Janes* - <http://www.janes.com/>

OTHER SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Jewish Virtual Library

This website contains a section called “Israel and the States” which details individual U.S. states’ relationships with Israel, including military aid provided specifically by that state, trade deals, and recipients of binational foundation grants. Unfortunately, there is no documentation of their sources, so this should be used as a basis for doing further research into government relations on state websites. Otherwise, JVL gives a more general sense of how involved individual states are with the Israeli government and initiatives that have been taken to increase or decrease that relationship. <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/israel/index.shtml>

APPENDIX C: THE PALESTINIAN UNIFIED CALL FOR BOYCOTT, DIVESTMENT & SANCTIONS

Palestinian Civil Society Calls for Boycott,
Divestment and Sanctions against Israel Until
it Complies with International Law and
Universal Principles of Human Rights

9 July 2005



One year after the historic Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) which found Israel's Wall built on occupied Palestinian territory to be illegal; Israel continues its construction of the colonial Wall with total disregard to the Court's decision. Thirty eight years into Israel's occupation of the Palestinian West Bank (including East Jerusalem), Gaza Strip and the Syrian Golan Heights, Israel continues to expand Jewish colonies. It has unilaterally annexed occupied East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights and is now de facto annexing large parts of the West Bank by means of the Wall. Israel is also preparing - in the shadow of its planned redeployment from the Gaza Strip - to build and expand colonies in the West Bank. Fifty seven years after the state of Israel was built mainly on land ethnically cleansed of its Palestinian owners, a majority of Palestinians are refugees, most of whom are stateless. Moreover, Israel's entrenched system of racial discrimination against its own Arab-Palestinian citizens remains intact.

In light of Israel's persistent violations of international law; and

Given that, since 1948, hundreds of UN resolutions have condemned Israel's colonial and discriminatory policies as illegal and called for immediate, adequate and effective remedies; and

Given that all forms of international intervention and peace-making have until now failed to convince or force Israel to comply with humanitarian law, to respect fundamental human rights and to end its occupation and oppression of the people of Palestine; and

In view of the fact that people of conscience in the international community have historically shouldered the moral responsibility to fight injustice, as exemplified in the struggle to abolish apartheid in South Africa through diverse forms of boycott, divestment and sanctions; and

Inspired by the struggle of South Africans against apartheid and in the spirit of international solidarity, moral consistency and resistance to injustice and oppression;

We, representatives of Palestinian civil society, call upon international civil society organizations and people of conscience all over the world to impose broad boycotts and implement divestment initiatives against Israel similar to those applied to South Africa in the apartheid era. We appeal to you to pressure your respective states to impose embargoes and sanctions against Israel. We also invite conscientious Israelis to support this Call, for the sake of justice and genuine peace.

These non-violent punitive measures should be maintained until Israel meets its obligation to recognize the Palestinian people's inalienable right to self-determination and fully complies with the precepts of international law by:

1. Ending its occupation and colonization of all Arab lands and dismantling the Wall;
2. Recognizing the fundamental rights of the Arab-Palestinian citizens of Israel to full equality; and
3. Respecting, protecting and promoting the rights of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes and properties as stipulated in UN resolution 194.

Appendix D: Sample Resolution

Courtesy of Fayyad Sbaihah's "Fighting the New Apartheid"

Adopted by The Association of University of Wisconsin Professionals, TAUWP, April 23rd, 2005

RESOLUTION ON UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN INVESTMENTS AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

WHEREAS, American principles, values, and traditions emphasize the right of the individual to basic freedoms without regard to ethnic origin or religious affiliation and support the protection and extension of these freedoms to all peoples around the globe, and where the systematic denial of these freedoms prompted the University of Wisconsin System to affirm its commitment to socially responsible investment by divesting its holdings in Apartheid era South Africa, in accordance with investment policy 78-1;

WHEREAS, independent human rights organizations such as Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, B'Tselem, Israeli Committee against House Demolitions, and Al-Haq; the United Nations Human Rights Commission, and numerous NGOs have documented serious and widespread violations of international law and the human rights of Palestinian civilians by Israeli forces operating in the West Bank and Gaza;

WHEREAS, the International Court of Justice has ruled that Israel's separation wall violates international law and the fundamental human rights of the Palestinians;

WHEREAS, there is irrefutable evidence that U.S. based companies in which the University of Wisconsin is invested provide material aid to the Israeli Army in the form of weapons, equipment, and supporting systems used to perpetrate human rights abuses against Palestinian civilians, and where knowingly continuing this support implicates these companies in practices that violate international humanitarian law;

WHEREAS, In so far as the effort to divest from these companies has as its foundation a commitment to international law and the fundamental rights that belong to every human being, it lays the groundwork for a just and enduring peace and is therefore an expression of the hope for a free and secure future for every Israeli and Palestinian currently suffering under the burden of conflict.

WHEREAS, the U.S. Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, 22 USC sec. 2304, provides that "no security assistance may be provided to any country the government of which engages in a consistent pattern of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights;"

WHEREAS, University of Wisconsin System Regent Trust and Fund Policy 78-1 provides that "In accordance with Sec. 36.29(1) Wis. Stats., all investments "made in any company, corporation, subsidiary or affiliate which practices or condones through its actions discrimination on the basis of race, religion, color, creed or sex. . . ." shall be divested in as prudent but rapid a manner as possible."

WHEREAS, University of Wisconsin System Regent Trust and Fund Policy 97-1 (Investment and Social Responsibility) provides that "the Board acknowledges the importance of maintaining an awareness of public concerns about corporate policies or practices that are discriminatory (as defined by 36.29(1) Wis. Stats.) or cause substantial social injury, and (that) it will take this factor into account."

BE IT RESOLVED that TAUWP calls upon the University of Wisconsin System Board of Regents to divest from Boeing, Caterpillar, General Dynamics, General Electric, Lockheed Martin, Northrop-Grumman, and Raytheon based on evidence of the active role these companies play in enabling Israeli Forces to engage in practices that violate international law and the human rights of the Palestinian people.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that TAUWP urges all UW System governing bodies and affiliated institutions and unions to adopt similar resolutions aimed at ensuring the implementation of UW System investment policies and by extension upholding international law and safeguarding the human rights of all peoples.

[1] Contact the US Campaign's National Organizer, at 202-332-0994 or organizer@endtheoccupation.org if you would like the US Campaign to host your petition.

[2] For a comprehensive discussion of what framing means and why it's useful we recommend reading George Lakoff's short guide, *Don't Think of an Elephant*.