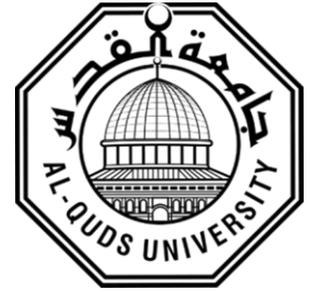


Deanship of Graduate Studies

Al-Quds University



**BDS Movement Achievements and Challenges:
Palestine, United states
2005-2015**

Mahmoud Yousef Abdelhameed Alnawajaa

M.A Thesis

Jerusalem - Palestine

2016 / 1437

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2005-2015**

Prepared By:

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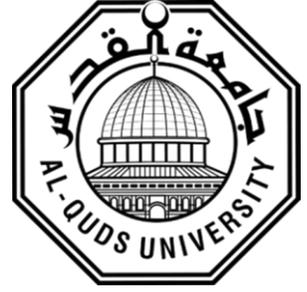
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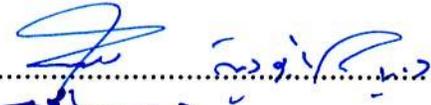
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BDS Movement Achievements and Challenges:
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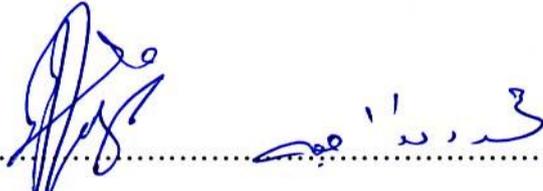
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Declaration

I certify that this thesis submitted for the degree of Master is the result of my own research, except where otherwise acknowledged, and that this thesis (or any part of the same) has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other University or institution.

Signed: 

Name: Mahmoud Yousef Abdelhameed Alnawajaa

Date: 31\8\2016

Dedication

**To My Father,
Yousef Alnawajaa**

Acknowledgments

Special thanks to my family, Friends, and my beloved wife Ruba Elaian, Words cannot express how grateful I am.

Abstract

The purpose of this study is to explore the achievements and challenges facing the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanction (BDS) movement against Israel. The movement led by the BDS National Committee, the largest Palestinian Civil Society coalition, was established in 2007, after the Palestinian Civil Society call of boycott in 2005. The methodology used in this study is that methodology of political system analysis of David Easton input output, and modifying it to fit the targeted system, which is the BDS movement as a method of non -violent resistance.

Despite the growth of the movement, it faces a set of challenges to mainstream it in the Occupied Palestinian Territories and the United States.

This Study aims to answer questions related to the challenges facing mainstreaming the movement in Palestine and the movement's ability to pass over it, to become one of the Palestinian pillars of struggle for freedom, justice, and equality, as well as a study of the challenges facing the movement in the United States of America, and the impact of the movement on the strategic relations of Israel and the U.S.

The study will analyze and compare the South African Anti Apartheid movement, and the United States Civil Rights movement, using the same methodology of analysis, to compare the indicators of success of the BDS movement that lead to the impact and the output, to measure the success of the movement.

This research will try to reduce the gap of knowledge surrounding BDS, as one of the Palestinian methods of struggle, globally adopted and led by Palestinians, against occupation, ethnic cleansing, discrimination and apartheid.

After studying the BDS movement, we will analyze its demands, environments, impact and indicator of success. It will compare its methods of struggle to other that of others movement which use the same methods. The study found that the BDS movement is using successful methods of struggle to achieve its demands, to create outcomes, and to overcome the challenges of mainstreaming it, which will just make it longer for the movement to reach its outcomes.

The effectiveness of the BDS movement also shows the great opportunity that the movement has to be considered as one of the Palestinian pillars of struggle of non violent resistance. This is indicated by the growth of the movement in its ten year existence.

العنوان: حركة مقاطعة إسرائيل، التحديات والنجاحات، فلسطين والولايات المتحدة 2005 الى 2015

إعداد: محمود يوسف عبدالحميد النواجة

إشراف: د. ياسر أبو دية

ملخص

هدفت هذه الدراسة الى معرفة الإنجازات والتحديات التي تواجه حركة مقاطعة إسرائيل وسحب الاستثمارات منها وفرض العقوبات عليها (BDS)، والتي تقودها اللجنة الوطنية للمقاطعة، التي تمثل أكبر تحالف للمجتمع المدني الفلسطيني، والتي أنشأت في عام 2007، بعد نداء مؤسسات المجتمع المدني الفلسطيني للمقاطعة الذي اطلق في العام 2005، وذلك باستخدام منهجية تحليل النظام السياسي في المدخلات والمخرجات لديفيد ايستون، وتعديله ليلائم النظام المستهدف، كوسيلة من وسائل المقاومة اللاعنفية.

على الرغم من نمو الحركة، فإنها تواجه مجموعة من التحديات التي تواجه تعميمها في الأراضي الفلسطينية المحتلة والولايات المتحدة.

وهدفت الدراسة إلى الإجابة عن أسئلة تتعلق بالتحديات التي تواجه تعميم الحركة في فلسطين وقدرة الحركة على تجاوزها، كي تصبح واحدة من ركائز النضال الفلسطيني من أجل الحرية والعدالة والمساواة، وكذلك دراسة التحديات التي تواجه الحركة في الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية، وتأثير الحركة على العلاقة الاستراتيجية لإسرائيل والولايات المتحدة، وتحليل ومقارنة حركة مناهضة الابرتهاید في جنوب افريقيا، وحركة الحقوق المدنية في الولايات المتحدة، وذلك باستخدام نفس المنهجية لتحليل ومقارنة مؤشرات نجاح حركة المقاطعة التي تؤدي إلى التأثير على المدخلات، لقياس مدى نجاح الحركة، والمخرجات الصادرة عنها.

استخدمت الدراسة التحليل والمقارنة بين حركة مناهضة الأبرتهاید في جنوب أفريقيا، وحركة الحقوق المدنية في الولايات المتحدة، وذلك بنفس المنهجية في التحليل، ومقارنة

مؤشرات حركة المقاطعة، التي أدت الى التأثير والمخرجات، وتحول هذه المخرجات الى تحقيق الأهداف المرجوة من الحركة.

من ناحية اخرى هدفت هذه الدراسة الى تقليل الفجوة في المعرفة حول حركة المقاطعة، باعتبارها شكل من أشكال المقاومة والنضال الفلسطيني، التي تم تبنيها عالمياً والتي يقودها الفلسطينيون ضد الاحتلال والتطهير العرقي والتمييز والابارتهايد.

بعد دراسة حركة المقاطعة BDS، وتحليل المطالب، والبيئة المحيطة، والتاثير، ومؤشرات النجاح، ومقارنتها بطرق النضال المستخدمة من خلال حركات تحرر أخرى، أظهرت الدراسة أن حركة المقاطعة تستخدم أساليب مقاومة ناجعة، للوصول الى اهدافها، وتخطي التحديات التي تعيق تعميمها، وتجعل العملية اطول فقط.

أظهرت الدراسة أنه ومن خلال النمو المحقق في العشر سنوات من عمر الحركة، فإن فرصة كبيرة للحركة تظهر حتى تصبح أحد اعمدة النضال الفلسطيني اللاعنفي.

Table of Content

Declaration	I
Dedication	II
Acknowledgments.....	III
Abstract	IV
ملخص	VI
Chapter One	1
Background	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Significance.....	2
1.3 Justification	3
1.4 Objectives of Study.....	3
1.5 Problem of Study	3
1.6 Questions of Study	5
1.8 Sub-Hypothesis	5
1.8 Methodology of Study	6
1.9 Boundary of Study	10
1.10 Review of Related literature	11
1.11 Definition of Terms:	14
1.12 List of Abbreviations	16
Chapter two.....	17
Conceptual Framework.....	17
2.1 Introduction.....	17
2.2. Gandhi’s philosophy of nonviolence resistance	18
2.3 Gen Sharp theory of non violent resistance	20

2.4 Martin Luther King JR’s concept on nonviolent struggle	22
Chapter Three:	24
Analysis of Struggles	24
South Africa Anti-apartheid Movement, and US Civil Rights Movement.....	24
3.1 Introduction	24
3.2 South Africa Anti-Apartheid Movement	25
The Isolation Campaign	25
3.3 The U.S. Civil Rights Movement	36
Chapter Four	42
The boycott in the Palestinian struggle	42
4.1 Introduction.....	42
4.2 Historical Background	43
4.2.1 The Boycott from 1936 to 1980	43
4.2.2 The Boycott in the first Intifada	46
4.3 The Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions against Israel.....	48
(BDS Movement).....	48
Chapter Five	68
Challenges facing mainstreaming BDS in Palestine and the United States	68
5.1 Introduction:.....	68
5.2 Challenges facing mainstreaming BDS in Palestine	69
5.2.1 Economical Challenges	69
5.2.2 Political Challenges	72
5.2.2.1 Palestinian Authority Policies	72
5.2.3. Israeli Policies and Practices	75
5.2.4 Challenges of The BDS National Committee (BNC)	78
5.3 Challenges Facing Mainstreaming BDS in the United States	82

5.3.1 Israel-American Relations	82
5.3.2 Israeli Lobby Groups.....	84
5.3.4 Legal and Congressional work	86
5.3.5 The Change in the U.S Public Opinion	95
The change of the United States policies toward Palestine must start through	
changing its public opinion. This change remains a challenge to the	
BDS movement and its partners, despite the dramatic change in public	
opinion in the U.S.A in the last few years, that is shown in polls. This	
change did not affect the policies of the U.S government itself, the U.S	
Tax money and military aid is still flowing to Israel.	
	95
A main factor behind the change in the Unites States public opinion, is the	
violation of Palestinian Human rights and the escalation of these	
violations.....	
	95
In 2014, During the war on Gaza, only 57% of Americans backed Israel’s	
actions in Gaza, despite the overwhelming support for Israel amongst	
U.S. politicians.....	
	95
In the same poll, a question raised about people’s interest, 31% said human	
rights, 24% said U.S interest, and 14% only choose Israel’s interest.	
	95
The question reflects the fact that the most concern of the Americans is human	
rights, which will help mainstream the BDS movement in the U.S as a	
human rights movement.....	
	95
Few days later, a different poll showed that amongst those under the age of 30,	
more than twice as many Americans felt Israel’s aggression in Gaza	
was unjustified (51%) felt it justified (25%).	
	95

These polls show a dramatic change in the U.S public opinion that is shifting toward the Palestinian narrative and perspective despite the huge misinterpretation of the real situation in the U.S media coverage.	96
The challenge and the duty of the BDS movement is to build on the shift of the public opinion, relying on the next generation, on those who are now school or university, Whom they are part of the demonstration in solidarity with Palestinians, many of them will be the next congress members, or the next U.S president.	96
Chapter Six	97
Conclusion	97
6.1 Introduction	97
6.3 Conclusions	99
References	103
Appendices	115

Chapter One

Background

1.1 Introduction

For decades, Palestinians have sought justice and liberation, using different tools of struggle against the occupation, and the plans of colonization against the people and the land.

Israel has denied Palestinians their fundamental rights of freedom, equality, and self-determination through ethnic cleansing, colonization, racial discrimination, and military occupation. Despite abundant condemnation of Israeli policies by the UN and other international bodies, and preeminent human rights organizations, the world community has failed to hold Israel accountable and enforce compliance with basic principles of law. Israel's crimes have continued with impunity.

After Israel was established in 1948, and occupied the rest of historical Palestine in 1967, and the formation of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) in 1964. The struggle of the Palestinians continued through armed resistance up until the Palestinian first Intifada (uprising) in 1987, which was brought to an end by Oslo accord.

In 2000, the second Palestinian Intifada broke out following the failure of the Oslo Accord's in bringing Justice and a Palestinian state where people live in dignity,

and freedom. In 2002, Israel started building the Apartheid wall, which is one of the main parts of Israel's plan of colonization and apartheid, accompanied with settlement expansion, bypass roads, checkpoints, and terminals.

In 2005, inspired by the US civil rights movement and the South African anti-apartheid movement, 171 Palestinian Civil Society Organizations and political parties, launched the historic call for Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) against Israel until it fulfills its obligations under the international law and respects the basic rights of the Palestinian people.

1.2 Significance

In 2005, the Palestinian civil society adopted the Boycott, Divestment and Sanction (BDS) call against Israel, this call developed and the BDS became one of the Palestinian strategies to end the Israeli occupation and colonization to the Palestinian land since 1967, discrimination, apartheid, and achieve the Palestinian refugees' right of return. This study will contribute to:

1. Reduce the gap of knowledge about BDS, and enriching the Palestinian and Arabic library.
2. Be a source of information's for academics, intellectuals, students and others.
3. Deep analysis of BDS, concept, motivations, and cause.
4. Study the outcome and the effectiveness of BDS, and the opportunities it may reach by being one of the pillars of the Palestinian struggle.
5. Research and compare the BDS movement to other relevant struggles such as South Africa Anti-apartheid movement, and the US civil rights movement.

1.3 Justification

The importance of this study is related to the importance of the movement and the strategic threat it became to the occupation, settler colonialism and the Israel Apartheid regime. This study will examine the movement's impact to the Palestinian struggle, as a non-violent human rights movement, and to provide Palestinian political decision makers with the needed information to adopt an effective method of struggle.

1.4 Objectives of Study

1. To study the foundation, growth and motivation of the BDS movement.
2. To investigate the effectiveness of the BDS, as a choice and strategy for Palestinian struggle to end the occupation in the lands that were occupied in 1967, and to end the discrimination and apartheid in the lands that were occupied in 1948, in addition to achieve the refugees' right of return according to UN resolution 194.
3. To study the challenges at face mainstreaming the BDS in Palestine and United States.
4. To study other movements that may have inspired and adopted the same method of struggle such as the South Africa Anti-apartheid movement and US civil right movement.

1.5 Problem of Study

In 2005, 171 Palestinian Civil Society Organizations (CSO's), political parties, launched the historic call for Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) against Israel

until it fulfills its obligations under international law and respects the basic rights of the Palestinian people.¹

Based on the BDS call, a global, Palestinian-led nonviolent BDS movement has evolved; inspired by the South African anti-apartheid movement and the US civil rights movement. The BDS aims to isolate Israel's regime of occupation, colonization and apartheid and to hold to account Israeli and international institutions and corporations, that are complicit in Israel's violations of international law and human rights.

While various forms of intervention have failed to bring about Israel's compliance with international law, the BDS movement has succeeded in entering the mainstream, including in Europe and the United States, and in convincing international civil society entities as well as academics and cultural figures to shun Israel. As a result, major pension funds, banks, investment enterprises and trade union centers have taken significant measures curtailing their involvement with Israeli entities, particularly those implicated in the occupation regime. These achievements led the Israeli government to officially recognize the BDS movement as a "strategic threat"² to its system of oppression and to fight it accordingly.

Among other measures, Israel and its lobby groups have fought BDS internationally with the "Brand Israel" campaign, with what they call "sabotage," espionage, smearing and bullying. The latest tactic adopted by Israel in its attempts to stop BDS is to wage legal warfare against the movement, by working to pass legislation in the US, Canadian and Australian parliaments to delegitimize support for BDS.

¹ Appendix A. BDS call.

² Schaeffer, Michael, Man. Omer (2015). Israel's President calls BDS a Strategic Threat. Retrieved October 14, 2015. From <http://972mag.com/israels-president-says-bds-is-a-strategic-threat/107156/>

In the Occupied Palestinian Territory (OPT), the BDS movement, despite its spectacular growth lately, is facing a different set of challenges of mainstreaming it, from normalization to the economic dependence of the Palestinian captive economy. The BDS movement is not yet being adopted as one of the Palestinians struggle pillars.

1.6 Questions of Study

This study will try to answer the following questions:

1. Did the BDS movement methods of struggle have been part of achieving other movements' demands?
2. What are the indicators of the movement to become one of the Palestinian pillars of struggle?
3. What are the foundation, growth and motivations of BDS movement?
4. What challenges face mainstreaming BDS in the OPT and United States.

1.7 Main Hypothesis

Fewer challenges and more achievements will lead to more mainstreaming opportunities in the United States and Occupied Palestinian Territories that will lead BDS to be adopted as a strategic method of the Palestinian struggle.

1.8 Sub-Hypothesis

1. When other similar movements succeed, will the possibility of BDS success be higher.

2. The more growth the BDS achieves, the more it becomes a strategic Palestinian pillar of struggle in ending occupation, apartheid, and to achieve the Palestinian refugees right of return.
3. Mainstreaming BDS may harm US-Israel relations.
4. BDS will become a strategic method of struggle when it faces less challenge and has more mainstreaming opportunities.

1.8 Methodology of Study

A developed comparative methodology based on David Easton's theory of political systems

The methodology of this study is drawn based on David Easton approach of political system input and output analysis³. As the BDS movement is not a political system as meant by Easton. The methodology developed by this studying order for it to be more relevant to a movement with more than one environment, impact on those different environments, with many responses, that one of them will serve as an indicator of outputs, which will lead to outcome of the demands.

Through this theory the study will try to analyze the demand and support for the BDS movement, as a political system by society, which will give the system the strength to maintain itself. This research will also study the current situation and attitudes of the BDS movement. It will analyze motivations, inspiration, strength behind of the movement, and the surrounding environment where it evolved to become a global nonviolent movement led by Palestinians. It will also describe the

³ Easton, David (1957). *An Approach to the Analysis of political Systems*, Retrieved Oct 14, 2015, From http://online.sfsu.edu/sguo/Renmin/June2_system/Political%20System_Easton.pdf

change in conditions and attitudes, to find out the effectiveness and growth of the movement globally.

This research will also **compare** the BDS movement, the South Africa Anti-Apartheid Movement, and Civil Rights movement in the United States; according to David Easton input output political system analysis, by demand and formulation, environment, output, success and growth.

By comparing the BDS movement to the South African and the U.S civil rights movement, the study will try to find out the opportunity of success, the BDS may have.

As the study is socially related, it includes attitudes and behaviors which could change according to many factors. The research will use tools of gathering information as personal interview, related literature, descriptions, etc... .

Obstacles of the movement in achieving its demands in Palestine and the United States, and its ability to pass through it will be added to Easton's theory of political system approach and analysis.

Below, the reader will find the **four premises**⁴ of Easton's analysis, and what it means in this study according to the development of the theory and study methodology:

1. **System**, those systems are political movements. In this study it will be social movements.
2. **Environment**. A system is distinguished from the environment in which it exists and is open to influences from it, in this study we mean by the environment, the Israeli Occupation, Settler Colonialism apartheid regime,

⁴ Ibid

which led to the formulation of the political system as a response to this environment, aiming to change it.

3. **Response, outside** response to this system may occur on different levels, nationally, internationally, and on the level of the targeted environment, positively or negatively.
4. **Feedback.** The Capacity of a system to persist in the face of stress is a function of the presence and nature of the information and other influences that return to its actors and decision makers. Feedback also includes other people who join the system, or adopt its goals and demands.

In this research, feedback could also mean the challenges facing the movement, as obstacles to reach its demands, and the movement's ability to act under the stress of these challenges.

According to Easton, political systems have **certain properties** because they are systems. These are⁵:

1. Properties of Identification: To distinguish a political system from other social systems, we must be able to identify it by describing its fundamental units and establishing the boundaries that demarcate it from units outside the system.

a. Units of Political System: The units are the elements of which we say a system is composed. In the case of a political system, they are political actions. Normally it is useful to look at these as they structure themselves in political roles and political groups.

b. Boundaries: Some of the most significant questions with regard to the operation of the political systems can be answered only if we bear in mind the obvious fact that a

⁵ Ibid

system does not exist in a vacuum. It is always immersed in a specific setting or environment. The way in which a system works will be in a part a function of its response to the total social, biological and physical environment. It is useful to conceive of a political system as having a boundary in the same sense as a physical system. The boundary of a political system is defined by all those actions more or less directly related to the making of binding decisions for a society; every social action that does not partake of this characteristic will be excluded from the system and thereby will be automatically viewed as an external variable in the environment.

2. Inputs and Outputs: When we select a political system for special research, we do so because we believe that they have characteristically important outputs.

Output in this research will be the achievement or the success of the tactics that help reaching the demands of the system, and to see whether the system achieved demands and changed the environment.

Among the inputs of a political system there are **two basic kinds**:

1. Demands and Support⁶

Demands have their birth in two sectors of experience: either in the environment of a system or within the system itself.

In this research, demands will be against or from environment, as those are system demands to change it.

Support, Easton identifies support as a supports B either when A acts on behalf of or when A orients himself toward B's goals, interests, and actions. Support is fed into

⁶ Ibid

the political system in relation to three objects: the community, the regime, and the government.

In this study, support is defined as a support that the political system received from the community to reach its demands through various means, including actions, adoption of the system, and widespread engagement in supporting the system in different ways, including integrating into the system itself.

An **Output** of a political system is a political decision or policy. Since the specific outputs of a system are policy decisions, it is upon the government that the final responsibility falls for matching or balancing outputs of a decision against input and demand.

In this research, output will mean support of the demands, usually by International actors, as a way of reaching demands, and exercising pressure to gain goals.

The **outcome** of the political system occurs when, following the support and response to the demands, these fulfilled demands interact with the environment and produce an effect.

1.9 Boundary of Study

This study will geographically focus on the Occupied Palestinian Territories of 1967 and 1948, the Palestinians refugees, and the United States of America. While the timeline of the study will be between the year of 2005-2015.

1.10 Review of Related literature

1. **Barghouthi, Omar. (2011). *Boycott, Divestment, and Sanction: The Global Struggle for Palestinian Rights*. Chicago, Haymarket Books.**

Omar Barghouthi is a human rights activist and a co-founder of the BDS movement.

In his book, he takes us through a debate about the necessity of the movement, as one of the non-violent tools, which is effective, and can be a strategic tool in the Palestinian struggle to stop Israel impunity and its violation of the International law. He concentrates on the moral responsibility of people to adopt BDS as a method of response against oppression for supporting justice, peace and equality. What is the BDS and why? Omar answers in his book and links the BDS movement as a strategy adopted by South Africa anti-apartheid movement to be used in the Palestinian Struggle against occupation, institutionalized racism, and the right of Palestinian to return.

Omar also includes the academic and cultural boycott, proving BDS works. This book is a very important resource on the BDS movement.

2. **Wiles, Rich (Ed). (2013). *Generation Palestine: Voices From The Boycott, Divestment, And Sanctions Movement*. London, Pluto Press.**

A number of very important articles are included by Rich Wiles in his book on the historical context of the Palestinian boycott, in which he links the Indian and American civil rights movements, and the boycott tactics used in that era, to the importance of the BDS call and the reasons behind the emergence of the movement.

This book also includes examples of BDS campaigns to indicate its effectiveness, and

the importance of the global solidarity.

This book ensures tell about political acts against injustice, and emphasizes the importance of the BDS movement to secure Palestinian freedom, justice and equality.

3. Dawson, C. Michael (1994). *Behind The Mule: Race and Class in African American Politics*. Chester. Princeton University Press.

This book describes the environment and the class structure of the African Americanism, the roots of group interests, and the African American economical situation after World War 2, describing the gap between black and white economic situation that indicate discrimination and racism.

This book is important to my study as it relates the legacy of previous discrimination systems such as the socio-economic gap between white people and African Americans in the United States, and much more related information.

4. Hever, Shir. (2010). *The Political Economy of Israel's Occupation: Repression Beyond Exploitation*. New York. Pluto Press.

In his book, Shir helps the reader to understand the economics of the occupation, which is highly important to understand the Palestinian cause, as this book will also help in analyzing the concept of the captive market and how the economical and political agreements between Israel and the Palestinian Authority work, and affect Palestinians lives.

5. Black, Earl. (1976). *Southern Governors and Civil Rights: Racial Segregation is a Campaign Issue in the Second Reconstruction*. London, Harvard University Press.

An important book that helps us understands racial segregation in the Southern electoral politics, following the abolishment of racial segregation in public schools in 1954 by the Supreme Court. This book examines segregation

through the dominant (the white) elite in southern politics, analyzing the relation between the racial stances of a campaigner and their ability to compete successfully at different stages.

6. Graham, H. Davis. (1990). *The Civil Rights Era: Origins and Development of National Policy 1960-1972*. New York, Oxford University Press

The other side of the civil rights era is well documented in this book. It focuses on the development of the U.S. national policy towards civil rights, the development in the presidency of Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon, archiving the intense debate in the congress and the White House that led to the creation of the laws of 1964 and 1965, the Civil Rights act, and the voting right act.

7. Meier A, Rudwick E .(1973). *CORE: A study in the Civil Rights Movement 1942-1968*. New York, Oxford University press

This book focuses on a major force of the Civil Rights era that pioneered non-violent action, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), including the environment and circumstances that led to the establishment of CORE.

The growth of the Civil Rights Movement through non-violent action led by CORE had a great impact on desegregation, leading the movement towards a new era mainstream activity.

8. Löwsted, Anthon. (5th Ed). (2008). *Apartheid: Ancient, Past, and Present*. PDF File.

From South Africa Struggle to end apartheid to Palestine, this book, analyzes the crime of apartheid against humanity, ethnic cleansing, racism, colonization, and genocide.

It describes the assaults of Apartheid against humanity, gender, and the environment as well as against the very progress of the struggle.

In discussing the similarities between various Apartheid regimes and the struggles to end them, Löwsted focuses on Palestine and the necessity of ending Israeli Apartheid.

All the aforementioned books are very useful, from Palestine to South Africa and United States, assisting in knowing the context of peoples' struggle, and the oppression of regimes based on ethnic cleansing, racial discrimination, occupation and apartheid.

They give a great opportunity of living a non-violent struggles, and tactics. People have combated these regimes in different context, united under struggle against all types of oppression, noticing the challenges, opportunities, sacrifices and the beginning of what was impossible and became reality.

This study will combine those struggles together, to examine an ongoing one, by comparing the environment, challenges, success, motivations, and other related factors, while studying the BDS movement against the ongoing oppression of Palestinians.

This study is the first as far I know, that focuses on Palestine and the United States, and connects those struggles together, by comparing the Palestinian BDS and studies it with other struggles.

1.11 Definition of Terms:

1. Apartheid⁷: Inhumane acts of a character similar to other crimes against humanity "committed in the context of an institutionalized regime of systematic oppression and domination by one racial group over any other racial group or groups and committed with the intention of maintaining that regime."

⁷ International Criminal Court (ICC), *Rome Statute 2002*. retrieved July, 7th 2014, from http://www.icc-cpi.int/nr/rdonlyres/ea9aeff7-5752-4f84-be94-0a655eb30e16/0/rome_statute_english.pdf

In this study, it shall mean Apartheid against Palestinian people, unless the context otherwise requires.

2. Colonization⁸ : The establishment, exploitation, maintenance, acquisition, and expansion of colony in one territory by a political power from another territory. It is a set of unequal relationships between the colonial power and the colony and often between the colonists and the indigenous population.

In this study, it shall mean Colonization of Palestinian land since 1948, unless the context otherwise requires.

3. Ethnic cleansing⁹: the planned deliberate removal from a specific territory, persons of a particular ethnic group, by force or intimidation, in order to render that area ethnically homogenous.

In this study, it shall mean Ethnic Cleansing of Palestinian people, unless the context otherwise requires.

4. Self-determination¹⁰: Nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and fair equality of opportunity has the right to freely choose their sovereignty and international political status with no external compulsion or interference.

In this study, it shall mean Palestinian people Self Determination, unless the context otherwise requires.

5. Impunity: exemption or freedom from punishment, harm, or loss¹¹, and shall mean Israel Impunity, unless the context otherwise requires.

⁸ The free encyclopedia, Wikipedia (2014), *Colonization* , retrieved July 17th, 2014. from <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Colonization>

⁹ The free encyclopedia, Wikipedia (2014), *Ethnic cleansing*, Retrieved July, 17th 2014, from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethnic_cleansing

¹⁰ United Nations (1960). *General Assembly Resolution 1514*. Retrieved July, 17th 2014. From <http://www.un.org/en/decolonization/declaration.shtml>

¹¹ Webster, Merriam.(No date). *Impunity: Simple Definition*. Retrieved July, 29th 2016, from <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/impunity>

6. Accountability: obliged to accept responsibility¹², and shall mean in this study the case of holding Israel accountable of its crimes against Palestinian people, unless the context otherwise requires.

7. Whitewashing: "to gloss over or cover up vices, crimes or scandals or to exonerate by means of a perfunctory investigation or through biased presentation of data"¹³

1.12 List of Abbreviations

BDS: Boycott, Divestment and Sanction Movement

BNC: BDS National Committee

CSO: Civil Society Organization

EU: European Union

FTA: Free Trade Agreement

OPT: Occupied Palestinian Territories.

PACBI: Palestinian Academic and Cultural Boycott against Israel.

PLO: Palestine Liberation Organization

PNA: Palestine National Authority

AIPAC: American Israel Public Affairs Committee

¹² Webster, Merriam.(No date). *Accountability: Legal Definition*. Retrieved July, 29th 2016, from <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/accountable#legalDictionary>

¹³ Wikipedia (2015). *whitewash (censorship)*, retrieved Sept 21, 2015. from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Whitewash_\(censorship\)#cite_note-ReferenceA-1](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Whitewash_(censorship)#cite_note-ReferenceA-1)

Chapter two

Conceptual Framework

2.1 Introduction

Over decades, the world has witnessed a surge of nonviolent resistance movements, from South Africa to India, Palestine to the U.S. Decades of struggle against discrimination and all types of oppression, thousands of people are mobilizing for change. These movements have varied widely in terms of their duration, success, and their ability to maintain nonviolent, and their cost in terms of human life.

Before studying the theories of non-violent struggle, the researcher will introduce the reader to non-violence according to Gene Sharp definition (Sharp 1985:51): Nonviolent action is a technique of conducting protest, resistance, and intervention without physical violence by:

(a) acts of omission (that is, the participants refuse to perform acts which they usually perform, or are required by law or regulation to perform); or (b) acts of commission (that is, the participants perform acts which they usually do not perform, are not expected by custom to perform, or are forbidden by law or regulation from performing); or (c) a combination of both.¹⁴

This definition stresses the tactic and actions adopted by nonviolent movements, without physical violence.

¹⁴ McCarthy, Ronald. Krueger, Christopher. (1993). *Toward Research and Theory Building in the Study of Non Violent Action*. Monograph series number 7. Albert Einstein Institution, Cambridge.

There has been large scale use of nonviolent action from demonstrations, to boycott, divestment, and civilian disobedience, with differences in structure, demands, support and response.

This chapter will include relevant theories to the questions and the research hypothesis. Almost all of the content of this research is related to the nonviolent struggle of people against oppression. It studies the previous experience on this field, and linking it to the research problem will help understand the case of the BDS movement, while providing support to the answers of the research questions. The relevant theories are:

2.2. Gandhi's philosophy of nonviolence resistance.

Gandhi did not only theorize nonviolence, he adopted and practiced it against the British colonization.

Gandhi said "Nonviolence is the greatest force of mankind, it is even bigger than weapons of mass destruction, no one can measure its limits, and it is the search of truth".¹⁵

Truth is the most important of Gandhi philosophy of nonviolent resistance; he discovered nonviolence while pursuing truth. He discovered nonviolence to be strong and effective. It must begin with the mind; otherwise it will be nonviolence of the weak and cowardly. A coward is a person who lacks courage when facing a dangerous and unpleasant situation and tries to avoid it. A man cannot practice Ahimsa* and at the same time be a coward. True nonviolence is dissociated from

¹⁵ Mkgandhi.org., (2016). *Gandhi's philosophy of Non-violence - Africa needs Gandhi*. Retrieved 26 October 2015, from

http://www.mkgandhi.org/africaneedsgandhi/gandhi's_philosophy_of_nonviolence.htm

* The noblest expression of truth.

fear. Gandhi feels that possession of arms is not only cowardice but also lack of fearlessness or courage. Gandhi stressed this when he said; "I can imagine a fully armed man to be at heart a coward. Possession of arms implies an element of fear, if not cowardice but true nonviolence is impossibility without the possession of unadulterated fearlessness." In the face of violence and injustice, Gandhi considers violent resistance preferable to cowardly submission.¹⁶

Gandhi's philosophy on nonviolent resistance reflects his struggle against the British domination and colonial power. This reflects the action adopted by him at that time. Nonviolence by Gandhi is narrowed by these actions, while this also draws the line for a wide range of actions that could be implemented against occupation, and colonial powers.

Adding to that is solidarity actions and divestment from complicit companies is part of nonviolent struggle people can adopt.

Critics of Gandhi's nonviolent philosophy by Rajani Palme Dutt construe a Marxist views of Gandhism and contend that Gandhi's methods were not as altruistic as they appeared to be. These methods were a means of protecting the privileges of Indian landlords and bourgeoisie that were being jeopardized by the unbridled force of the common masses. "Nonviolence" is seen as a design, constructed and utilized to restrain this force that struck fear into the hearts of the landed class and to harness the force of the masses to compel the British to make concessions. When the Rowlette act was passed in 1919 it added to the atmosphere of dissatisfaction among the Indian people. At the end of World War I, many Indian people expected civil liberties to be restored. The Rowlette act was in favor of continuing the "war time vigor's".¹⁷

¹⁶ Mahatma Gandhi. *Philosophy of Non violent*, retrieved October 26, 2015. From http://www.mkgandhi.org/africaneedsgandhi/gandhi's_philosophy_of_nonviolence.htm

¹⁷ M. K. Gandhi .ed.(1962). *The Essential Gandhi*. Louis Fisher. New York: Vintage Books, p 146.

Gene Sharp criticizes Gandhi's theory, as he claims that Gandhi's approach to nonviolence is unrealistic and can be confusing.¹⁸ Sharp is worried about Gandhi's eccentricities and religious symbolism and language which more often confuses than clarifies.

Sharp criticizes Gandhi on the basic Gandhi uses nonviolent, or promotes it, convincing people of acting according to his philosophy. Gandhi may choose nonviolence according to religious understanding, which will make it so hard for the West to understand, Sharp argues that Gandhi's philosophy lacks secularism, for other people to be able to involve in other basis against violence.

Gandhi's philosophy of nonviolent concentration on ending colonization only is critical, while it should also demand justice, and equality for all Indian people, struggle should not be ended before all people rights being regained.

Nonviolence in the Palestinian context is still seen as the weak's method of struggle, but it is changing as it gains achievements. People prefer to name it mass popular struggle rather than nonviolent, as they feel nonviolence can be instead of armed struggle, which they still believe in as part of the struggle.

2.3 Gen Sharp theory of nonviolent resistance¹⁹

Sharp believes that the basic political assumption of nonviolent action is that action based on: people do not do what they are told to do, and sometimes they do what that which is forbidden to be done. Political power disintegrates when the people withdraw their obedience and support, yet the military equipment may remain intact, no damage on governmental buildings or soldiers injury, but change occurs to human

¹⁸ Weber, Thomas (2003). *Nonviolence is Who?: Gene Sharp and Gandhi, Peace and Change*. vol.28, no.2, pp.240-260.

¹⁹ Sharp, Gene (1973). *Power and Struggle: The politics of Non Violent Action*. Boston. MA: Porter Sargent.

power when human assistance which created and supported the regime's political power has been withdrawn. Therefore, its power has disintegrated.

When people refuse their cooperation, withhold their help, and persist in their disobedience and defiance, they are denying their opponent the basic human assistance and cooperation which any government or hierarchical system requires. If they do this in sufficient numbers for long enough, that government or hierarchical system will no longer have power.

All systems encourage obedience, this system include specific institutions (police, courts, others), but may include other sources of power, such as a cultural dimension that may inspire obedience. Those systems also include sanctions (imprisonment, fines), and rewards (wealth, title, fame) to influence the extent of obedience.

Sharp identifies this hidden structure as providing a window of opportunity for a population to cause significant change in a state.

If the subjects of a particular state recognize that they are the source of the state's power, they can refuse their obedience and their leader(s) will be left without power.

Sharp mentions institutions that maintain the system's power, by implementing different ways of pressure to subjects (meaning people) to keep them obeying the system, adding to this, those institutions in the case of Palestine, as the system power is the occupation, are not fully separated from the power of the people themselves, this system may also use Academics, culture, sport, research institutions, business corporations, or any means of soft power, and links to the global scheme, to maintain itself.

Sharp concentrates his theory of non-violent in government only, and institutions that support the steadiness of the government., This type of non-violent resistance can be adopted in a system consisting of people and government, when

people disobey the government by ceasing to do what they usually do, or do what is forbidden to be done.

In the Palestinian context, nonviolence aims not to change the government, but to change the whole environment of the occupation, settler-colonialism and apartheid regime...

2.4 Martin Luther King JR's concept on nonviolent struggle

King's understanding of the nonviolent method of struggle is described as "a courageous confrontation of evil by the power of love".²⁰ Both "morally and practically" committed to nonviolence, King believed that "the Christian doctrine of love operating through the Gandhian method of nonviolence was one of the most potent weapons available to oppressed people in their struggle for freedom"²¹.

King's theory of nonviolence had six key principles. First, one can resist evil without resorting to violence. Second, nonviolence seeks to win the "friendship and understanding" of the opponent, not to humiliate him. Third, evil itself, not the people committing evil acts, should be opposed. Fourth, those committed to nonviolence must be willing to suffer without retaliation as suffering itself can be redemptive. Fifth, nonviolent resistance avoids "external physical violence" and "internal violence of spirit" as well: "the nonviolent resister not only refuses to shoot his opponent but he also refuses to hate him". The resister should be motivated by love in the sense of the Greek word *agape*, which means "understanding," or "redeeming good will for all men". The sixth principle is that the nonviolent resister

²⁰ encyclopedia, King. (2016). *Nonviolent Resistance*. Retrieved 20 July 2016, from http://kingencyclopedia.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/encyclopedia/enc_nonviolent_resistance/

²¹ Ibid.

must have a “deep faith in the future,” stemming from the conviction that “the universe is on the side of justice”.²²

Based and inspired by Gandhi philosophy of nonviolent, King used religious background and believes to support nonviolent struggle, supported by love to seek justice, a way for secular people to join the struggle, on human right basics.

King’s theory is in a different environment, where he seeks justice to end discrimination, and to win rights as a citizen, he demanded it from the government, and the white people who discriminate against black people.

The difference is that the BDS movement tries to impact a different environment-the global one, which can pressure Israel as another environment, which makes it an indirect engagement rather than a direct one.

Still, this pressure may lead to the creation of a different environment, which will replace discrimination, occupation apartheid regime to a democratic state, where Palestinians and Israelis live together and have the same rights as citizens with no discrimination or abuse.

²² Nonviolence, Principles. (2015). *MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.* Retrieved 5 November 2015, from <http://www.cpt.org/files/PW%20-%20Principles%20-%20King.pdf>

Chapter Three:

Analysis of Struggles

South Africa Anti-apartheid Movement, and US Civil Rights Movement

3.1 Introduction

South Africa during the Apartheid era suffered under an apartheid regime imposed on the majority of South Africans -the black people. In the United States, black people suffered from an institutionally discriminating regime. In India, people suffered from colonization, in Palestine, according to BDS, Palestinians suffer from an Occupation Settler, Colonialism, Apartheid regime, all of which are imposed on them by Israel.

This identification of the Regime imposed on Palestinians will make it clear as to why we need to learn from other peoples' struggles, and this is what the BDS movement is doing after being inspired by the aforementioned struggles, as each is very useful to be compared by one or more parts of the regime against Palestinians.

In this chapter the research will try to analyze the South Africa anti-apartheid movement, and the US Civil Rights Movement. According to this study's methodology of analysis, the nonviolent methods they used, and the environment, reasons and support of these movements, it will also try to see the differences between them.

This research will try to dig deep in the struggle of those movements against depression and discriminations, by comparing movement within the struggle of people for freedom and justice, research and study the difference methods of struggle used by and the Civil Rights movement in the United States, and South Africa. It aims to find out if these nonviolent tactics and actions reach their demands, and what was the environment at that time, the response to the struggle on the local level, and if

there was an international response helped in the success, and achievement of the demands.

3.2 South Africa Anti-Apartheid Movement

The Isolation Campaign

According to David Easton, a system is distinguishable from the environment in which it exists and is open to influences from it. In this research, what we mean by the environment is the circumstances that lead to the formulation and the establishment of the political system as a response to this environment, aiming to change it by demands and support from society which is the input of the system. This research will focus on isolation campaign tactics as methods of nonviolent struggle.

3.2.1 Environment

The environment that led to the establishment of the movement was the colonization of South Africa in the 17th century by the Dutch; descendants were called Afrikaners. In 1948: Afrikaner National Party won the election. At that time, racial discrimination was institutionalized by passing laws that segregated blacks from whites. That segregation was called "apartheid."

The National Party, following the election, and in order to keep the white supremacy, legislated laws that clearly discriminated between Africans and others, those Apartheid laws that would maintain white supremacy by forcing all South Africans to identify as European, Indian, colored (mixed-race), or African, and segregating these "races" from each other as much as possible.²³

Non-whites were reallocated to be isolated in poor areas, with permission to travel, no voting right in any election, and banned from owning land.²⁴

This apartheid imposed on the indigenous people, live in their own country, with no rights, under discrimination, depression, led to the establishment of the Anti-Apartheid movement that led the struggle against the white supremacy.

²³ Apartheid, Overcoming (2015). *South Africa: Overcoming Apartheid*. Retrieved 2 October 2015, from <http://overcomingapartheid.msu.edu>

²⁴ Google Books,. (2015). *Encyclopedia of Africa*. Retrieved 3 October 2015, from <https://books.google.co.il/books?id=A0XNvklcqbWC&pg=PA122&lpg=PA122&dq=Robinson>

3.2.2 Demands

As mentioned before, demands formulated in response to the environment in order to change it, as those political systems aim to change the situation by demands, The South African anti-Apartheid movement demanded an end to Apartheid against black people.

The demands were summarized in the Freedom Charter. Three thousand delegates from an alliance of South African political movements adopted the Freedom Charter at the 1955 Congress of the People.²⁵ The first paragraph states,

That people of South Africa should live in justice and equality, no government can claim authority against the will of all people, liberty and peace must be gained to all South Africans, equal rights, without distinction of color, race, sex, or belief.

The right to vote, that every man and woman shall have, which means that people will govern, human and equal rights shall be the same. The National wealth must be for the people of South Africa with no monopoly, and the land shall be shared among those who work on it, the restrictions of land ownership shall be ended.

People shall be equal before the law, no one to be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial, and all shall enjoy equal Human Rights, that the law shall guarantee, work and security, learning and culture for all, houses, security and comfort, peace and friendship.

Those demands reflect the call for Freedom and Equality by south Africans, the struggle to change life to end inequality and injustice, equal opportunities without discrimination based on sex, color, race or beliefs, to end monopoly and Banks industry, to bring back the wealth of the country to the people, to end the Apartheid imposed on the black majority of South Africa.

²⁵ *The Freedom Charter*, 1955. Retrieved 19th October, 2015. from <http://scnc.ukzn.ac.za/doc/hist/freedomchart/freedomch.html>

3.2.3 Support

Supported by the majority of South Africa's population (70%), and adopted by the African National Congress, these demands passed through decades of resisting discriminations, that fail to bring freedom and equality, and in incidents such as the 1960 Sharpeville massacre²⁶ and the 1976 Soweto uprising, the state cracked down harshly on protestors, arresting leaders like Nelson Mandela and killing others like Steve Biko.

In the 1970s, in support of the struggle and the Anti-Apartheid Movement, Activists began mobilizing local communities around issues like rent increases, fees for basic services like water, and forced relocations. By putting pressure on authorities through demonstrations, refusal to pay rent, picketing, and boycotts, activists made small, tangible gains.²⁷

The boycott adopted tactics by the Anti-Apartheid movement in South Africa started after activists knew they had to move beyond a series of spontaneous uprisings to build a nationwide organization... As the young leader Mkhuseleli Jack declared, they needed to "take this fight in the townships...right to [white South Africans'] homes."²⁸

The goal of the boycott was to put pressure on the government, and give it the feeling that it will not survive under instability, by affecting the local economy.²⁹

At that period of struggle, the movement was in great need of an international practice to support the struggle to end apartheid. Archbishop Desmond

²⁶ Wikipedia (2015). *Sharpeville, Massacre*, Retrieved 24.4.215, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sharpeville_massacre

²⁷ Ackerman, Peter and Jack DuVall. *A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000. Pg. 345-6

²⁸ Ibid. Pg. 356.

²⁹ Ibid. Pg. 358.

Tutu declared "and only the action of the international community by applying pressure can save us".³⁰ He called for "punitive sanctions against this government to help us establish a new South Africa," with the support of more than 70 percent of black South Africans. They knew that sanctions would cause short-term economic suffering, but they accepted this as a "[price] that we are willing to pay for our freedom."³¹

Following these activities and the adoption of various tactics, mainly the boycott from within South Africa and international sanctions, the apartheid regime cracked down on the movement in the late 1980's, when it arrested more than 25,000 people and imprisoned them without trial.³²

Local media were prevented from covering the movement. The government also banned the non-violent nonviolent actions like the boycott, declaring these actions as subversion. Then the government banned all political actions by the United Democratic Front (UDF) and The Congress of South Africa Trade Unions (COSATU) along with other groups.³³

The boycott, and the noncooperation with the system of Apartheid, with white supremacy, was one of the main tactics adopted. The nonviolent tactic of non-cooperation with the system leveraged the economic power through rent boycotts, consumer boycott of business owned by whites or black apartheid collaborators, student and worker strikes, and stay away. They kept the message of the movement

³⁰ Associated Press,. (1986). *Tutu Risks Treason Charge in Urging S. Africa Sanctions*. Retrieved 2 April 2015, from http://articles.latimes.com/1986-04-02/news/mn-2301_1_south-africa.

³¹ Boesak, Allan.(1988.). *Sanctions Are the Price of Freedom: It's Apartheid, Not Foreign Pressure, That Causes the Suffering.*" The Los Angeles Times. Retrieved 2 April 2015. From http://articles.latimes.com/1988-08-12/local/me-20_1_south-africa

³² Parks, Michael.(1986). *Prisoners in Our Minds': New Curbs in South Africa.*" The Los Angeles Times. Retrieved 4 October 2015. From http://articles.latimes.com/1986-12-04/news/mn-1333_1_restriction-orders/3

³³ Blair, Jon. (1999). *When Memory Comes: Between Hope and History, a Nation Bravely Confronts Its Traumatic Past.* The Los Angeles Times. Retrieved 1 July, 2015. From <http://articles.latimes.com/1999/aug/29/books/bk-4714>

which was that Apartheid must end, and black South Africans must be given their rights.

The consumer boycott was a particularly effective tactic; by decimating profits, it drove a wedge between business and government as white store owners put pressure on the government to change policy.³⁴

Heavy pressure on the white government, with media coverage and global solidarity drove the crack of the Apartheid regime, which indicated to be powerful tactics that can change the future of people.

3.2.4 Response

In response to the struggle of the AAM in South Africa, almost 30 years of struggle without grabbing the attention of the international community, in 1959 in a conference in London, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania called on the British public to boycott South Africa. Britain was South Africa's major trading partner at that time.³⁵

By inspiring international protests and media coverage, they convinced a growing number of states to levy sanctions against South Africa. By pressuring the government both at home and from around the world, the anti-apartheid movement made it increasingly clear that the apartheid system could not continue, and that the government would have to give in.

The international solidarity became a fully-fledged Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) campaign that assisted in the eventual triumph over Apartheid. In 1994. This campaign became an integral component of the ANC " Four Pillars of

³⁴ Ackerman, Peter and Jack DuVall. *A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000, p. 357

³⁵ Wiles, Rich (Ed). 2013. *Generation Palestine, Voices from the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions Movement*, London, Pluto Press, 2013. Kali Akuno.

Struggle,"³⁶ The African National Congress (ANC) was established in 1912, with the objective of uniting the diverse tribal formations and kingdoms of the indigenous black people.³⁷

The regime's repression backfired. Previously, countries like the United States had been hesitant to oppose South Africa, which was a Cold War ally. But after heavy media coverage of the 1986 crackdown prompted local protests around the world, the United States and the European Community imposed sanctions on South Africa, and new investments, loans, and South African imports were cut off.³⁸ This only increased the growing recognition among South Africans that the situation could not continue.

3.2.5 Output

Output is different from outcome. In this research output may be close to support but away from the support of the movement by community, much to the support of demands.

As an output of the AAM demands and the support of the South African community, in 1950, the BDS movement emerged in response to activist, groups, and the outcomes was:

- In 1965, the American Committee on Africa, following the lead of prominent British arts associations, sponsored a historic declaration against South African apartheid, signed by more than 60 cultural personalities.³⁹
- Early 1970s, a campaign to boycott apartheid sport led to the expulsion of South Africa from the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and a UN

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Reigniting the Struggle: *The 1970s Through the Release of Mandela.* South Africa: Overcoming Apartheid, Building Democracy. Michigan State University.

³⁹ Barghouthi, Omar (2008). *Electronic Intifada: Israel vs. South Africa: Reflecting on cultural boycott.* Published May 8, 2008. Retrieved, October 19th 2015. From <https://electronicintifada.net/content/israel-vs-south-africa-reflecting-cultural-boycott/7496>

resolution against apartheid in sports. The late 1960s and 1970s saw the intensification of the academic boycott, which made South African academia almost completely isolated by the 1980s.⁴⁰

- 1 April 1960 — The Security Council, in its first action on South Africa, adopted Resolution 134 deploring the policies and actions of the South African government in the wake of the killing of 69 peaceful African protesters in Sharpeville by the police on 21 March. The Council called upon the government to abandon its policies of apartheid and racial discrimination.⁴¹
- 2 April 1963 — first meeting of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa. It was later renamed the "Special Committee against Apartheid".⁴²
- 7 August 1963 — The Security Council adopted Resolution 181 calling upon all states to cease the sale and shipment of arms, ammunition and military vehicles to South Africa. The arms embargo was made mandatory on 4 November 1977.⁴³
- 13 November 1963 — The General Assembly, in Resolution 1899 (XVIII) on the question of Namibia, urged all states to refrain from supplying petroleum to South Africa. It was the first of many efforts by the UN to enact effective oil sanctions against apartheid.⁴⁴
- 23 August-4 September 1966 — International Seminar on Apartheid, Brasilia, organized by the UN Division of Human Rights, the Special

⁴⁰ BBC News (1964). *South Africa banned from Olympics*. Retrieved October 19, 2015. From http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/august/18/newsid_3547000/3547872.stm

⁴¹ The United, Nation. *The United Nation: Partner in the Struggle against Apartheid*. Retrieved October 19, 2015. From <http://www.un.org/en/events/mandeladay/apartheid.shtml>

⁴² The United, Nation. *The United Nation: Partner in the Struggle against Apartheid*. Retrieved October 19, 2015. From <http://www.un.org/en/events/mandeladay/apartheid.shtml>

⁴³ Ibid

⁴⁴ Ibid

Committee against Apartheid and the government of Brazil - the first of scores of conferences and seminars on apartheid organized or co-sponsored by the United Nations.⁴⁵

- 2 December 1968 — The General Assembly requested all States and organizations "to suspend cultural, educational, sporting and other exchanges with the racist regime and with organizations or institutions in South Africa which practice apartheid."⁴⁶
- Divestment campaigns put pressure on banks to cancel loans to South Africa, on governments to refuse to sell oil to South Africa, and on municipalities, universities, and companies to divest from South Africa.⁴⁷
- In 1986, Congress approved a law (The Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act) imposing tough U.S. economic sanctions against South Africa. President Ronald Reagan opposed the measure and vetoed it. But days later, lawmakers overrode his veto.⁴⁸

External and internal pressure helps to crack down regimes of oppression, as those regimes are usually tied with others, especially when this regime is a state, has diplomatic presentations on a global level, economic ties with other countries and trade agreements.

This external pressure against the Apartheid regime massively helped the AAM; it directly contributed to the end of the apartheid era, as this is considered an

⁴⁵ Ibid

⁴⁶ Ibid

⁴⁷ The Free Encyclopedia. Wikipedia: *Disinvestment from South Africa*. Retrieved October 19, 2015. From https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Disinvestment_from_South_Africa

⁴⁸ Simkins, Chris (2014). News of America: *US Anti-Apartheid Movement Helped Bring Change to South Africa*. published April 24, 2014. Retrieved, October 19th 2015. From <http://www.voanews.com/content/us-anti-apartheid-movement-helps-bring-change-to-south-africa/1900704.html>

input added to the national demands that led to the support of the struggle of the South African people.

When people use methods of struggles that can affect and be efficient against those ties, regimes start to get isolated, and by isolations, they crack down.

3.2.6 Outcome

Outcome of the political system occur when demands interact with the environment, after support and response to these demands resulted in the output, this lead to outcome which includes partial and full achievement of these demands.

The outcome of the political system is the achievements of its demands. In the AAM in South Africa, the achievements occur after the 1990s, when the regime of apartheid cracked down.

Outcome is not only the final result of the struggle as an election or the rise of a democratic system after the end of the apartheid. The outcome is the last phase of the struggle that may include negotiations and final resolutions that lead to the fulfillment of the demands.

The last phase of the struggle in the South African struggle to end apartheid, started when the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA)* met from December 1991 until May 1992 as a forum to negotiate a new constitution. It succeeded in developing an effective processes of consultation. All parties were represented.⁴⁹

Obstacles to the talks related to white minority special rights, and ANC opposition led to the suspension of talks many times, and political violence threatened to derail the negotiations.

⁴⁹ South Africa: *Overcoming Apartheid Building democracy*. Retrieved October 21, 2015. From: <http://overcomingapartheid.msu.edu/unit.php?id=65-24E-6&page=2>

Talks stopped and resumed in 1993, negotiators agreed on the mechanics of a transition process.

The unbanning of the ANC and Nelson Mandela's release from prison, South Africa held its first non-racial elections. Mandela became president at the head of a government of national unity, the last remaining international sanctions were lifted, and the country took up its seat again at the UN General Assembly after an absence of 20 years.⁵⁰

At the final stages, the outcomes are the end of the Apartheid era, and the beginning of South Africa democracy.

The outcome generates other demands according to Easton. These demands are after ending apartheid era, In South Africa; the next phase of struggle began to end the legacy of apartheid.

The next chapter will analyze the Civil Rights Movement in the United States, its environment, demands, input and output analysis, and in the other chapters we will compare the South African struggle with the Palestinian BDS movement, which shows now very similar struggle for freedom, justice and equality, but through different demands and context. This will be revealed by research and analysis of the BDS movement and the Palestinian context, which should give us clear information on the movement. Following this, we will be able to compare and measure its successes and challenges, and predict the future of the struggle.

⁵⁰ Henley, Jon (2014). the Guardian: *the antiapartheid movement goes online*: a unique archive of the struggle. Retrieved October 21, 2015. From <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/mar/12/anti-apartheid-movement-online-archive-south-africa>

* **Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA)** - Negotiating forum established by most political organizations in 1991 to carry out the transition from apartheid to democracy in South Africa. A second CODESA met in May of 1992. It was succeeded by the Negotiating Forum.

3.3 The U.S. Civil Rights Movement

3.3.1 Environment

Since the American Civil War, millions of black Americans were denied their right to vote, allowing only the white men to vote.

The limitation of the U.S. citizenship to whites only was changed by amendments to the constitution that ended slavery and gave the right of vote to African Americans.

Through the construction era, the U.S. tried to establish free labor and civil rights of freedom in the South that ended the slavery, many whites rejected and resisted the change that led to the establishment of racial groups as Ku Klux Klan that launched attacks on black and white republicans to maintain white supremacy.⁵¹

The domination of the democratic party by the whites that maintained their political control of the South, enforcing segregation by laws, lynching black people, and increasing violence, followed by Separate but Equal doctrine, that legitimized separation in public facilities.⁵²

The Civil Rights Movement began in the United States in response to segregation policies, and in protest of the denial of the right of access to minorities in

⁵¹ Wikipedia(2015). *African American Civil Rights Movement 1954-1968*. Retrieved October 28, 2015. From: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/African-American_Civil_Rights_Movement_\(1954%E2%80%931968\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/African-American_Civil_Rights_Movement_(1954%E2%80%931968))

⁵² Ibid.

many contexts including education. Segregation occurred in public facilities and governmental services, the blacks in the south were systematically disenfranchised.

American blacks were affected by the increasing economic pressure, denial of opportunities, and organizational and individual violence perpetrated by the government or white racists.⁵³

In general view of the circumstances that led to the demands of the movement, we should mention that in many cities and towns, African Americans were not allowed to share a taxi with whites or enter a building through the same entrance. They had to drink from separate water fountains, use separate restrooms, attend separate schools, be buried in separate cemeteries and swear on separate Bibles. They were excluded from restaurants and public libraries. Many parks barred them with signs that read "Negroes and dogs not allowed." One municipal zoo listed separate visiting hours.⁵⁴

All those circumstances are considered to be the environment that led to the establishment of the Civil Right Era, that African Americans and other minorities reject and resist this regime of oppression, and segregation imposed on them, by using nonviolent tactics, as demonstrations, boycott, lawsuit, and others.

Inhumane, unequal, and human rights abuses will be combated by people demanding their right to live in dignity, and to share their country. This occurs when people are discriminated against by their own country that is controlled by minority or majority, when they choose to fight against this inhumanity.

From these circumstances, in any context people will choose to struggle against this repression. If we take these circumstances and impose them in any other country, people will struggle for their rights, and how long that would take does not matter.

⁵³ Graham, H. Davis.(1990). *The Civil Rights Era: Origins and Development of National Policy 1960-1972*. New York, Oxford University Press. (p5-6)

⁵⁴ Ibid (p61).

3.3.2 Demands, Support and Response

Despite facing harsh injustice and segregations Black people organized actions on a mass scale for equal access to jobs and other rights in the face of widespread violence, with hundreds of African-Americans lynched by white mobs in the early years of the 20th century and race riots led by white racists decimate African-American communities in a number of cities across the country.⁵⁵

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was founded in 1909 and 8,000 African Americans marched in silence down Fifth Avenue in New York City seeking fair wages and jobs.⁵⁶

In 1941, Randolph called for a massive march on Washington, D.C. to protest job discrimination in the defense industry in which 100,000 are predicted to join.⁵⁷

The demand of the movement is ending all types of segregation and racial inequality against African Americans, which include public service, wages, work, public facilities, and job opportunities. This also included the right to vote, and stop vote being restricted to white only, federal legislation barring lynching and stopping economic oppression.

Support and response in the struggle of African Americans that led to the outcome of the struggle against discrimination mainly maintained in the movement itself, not much pressure from outside, the formulation of the movement section, and

⁵⁵ Meier A, Rudwick E .(1973). *CORE: A study in the Civil Rights Movement 1942-1968*. New York, Oxford University press. p 40-43.

⁵⁶ Non violent conflict: *The Civil Rights Movement. (1942-1968)*. Retrieved October 30,2015. From <https://www.nonviolent-conflict.org/index.php/movements-and-campaigns/movements-and-campaigns-summaries?sobi2Task=sobi2Details&catid=4&sobi2Id=22>

⁵⁷ Ibid

the integration of the black community, was supported from Asian and Latinos communities.

The establishment of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) in 1942, along with other elements of the movement, came as an organized response that formulated the demands of the movement. As a major force, it pioneered the strategy of direct non-violent action and campaigns for job, education, and voter registration, dominating the movement during the first half of the decade.

The white founders of CORE are also considered important support for the movement against white racial discrimination.⁵⁸ Their participation came as an example of response to repressive segregation, and as a source of support for the demands of the movement.

Boycott tactics adopted by the Black Liberation Movement (BLM), were the boycott and divestment initiative considered as an important elements of the struggle against slavery and to secure basic human rights.⁵⁹

The year of 1950 witnessed the employment of the boycott by the BLM, In 1955 Montgomery Bus Boycotts: NAACP member Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat on a bus to a white person. She was arrested. In response, the Montgomery black community organized a boycott against the bus system, led by Martin Luther King. It lasted for a year, and is considered as one of the three primary catalyzing moments of the high tide of the struggle.⁶⁰

Montgomery was not the first of its type, Mississippi in 1952-53, Louisiana in 1953, but when Montgomery was the platform and the spark, that launched several

⁵⁸ Meier A, Rudwick E .(1973). *CORE: A study in the Civil Rights Movement 1942-1968*. New York, Oxford University press. P3-5.

⁵⁹ Akuno, Kali. (2013). *The US Civil Rights and Black Liberation Movement: lessons and Applications for the Palestinian Liberation Movement*. In Rich, Wiles (Ed.), *Generation Palestine* (pp. 50-52). New York, Pluto press.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

and mass boycott of the Montgomery public transport system, which caused extensive financial damage to it.

The Divestment initiative led the BLM were involved in the removal of wealth, deeds, and insurance policies from financial institutions and insurance companies that support Apartheid.⁶¹

3.3.4 Output and outcome

In response to the movement's pressure, actions, demands, Civil Rights laws were created;

In 1964 Congress passed Public Law 88-352 (78 Stat. 241). The provisions of this Civil Rights Act forbade discrimination on the basis of sex as well as race in hiring, promoting, and firing. The word "sex" was added at the last moment.⁶²

External pressures also occurred helping the Civil Rights Movement against the government, and state oppression, as a world leader champion of democracy compromised with its treatment to the African Americans.

The US communist party pressured the democrats to divest themselves from the racial attitudes and practices in support of ending discrimination, but still discrimination are given much bigger coverage in Asia more than America itself.⁶³

The Voting Right Act of 1965 widely regarded as enabling the enfranchisement of millions of minority voters and diversifying the electorate and legislative bodies at all levels of American government.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² National Archives. (2015). Teaching With Documents: *The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission*. Retrieved 1 November 2015, From <https://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/civil-rights-act/>

⁶³ Wikipedia,. (2015). *African-American Civil Rights Movement (1896–1954)*. Retrieved 1 November 2015, from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/African-American_Civil_Rights_Movement_\(1896%E2%80%931954\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/African-American_Civil_Rights_Movement_(1896%E2%80%931954))

After a century of deliberate and violent denial of the vote to African-Americans in the South and Latinos in the Southwest – as well as many years of entrenched electoral systems that shut out citizens with limited fluency in English⁶⁴.

The Education Amendment of 1972 prohibited discrimination on the basis of sex in educational institutions receiving federal aid. It also modified government programs providing financial aid to students by directing monies directly to students without the participation of intermediary financial institutions.⁶⁵

Together with support of the court decisions led to the system's racial segregations back breaking, and destroyed the legal basis of denying the minorities and women to full access of education, employment, professions, public services, and opportunities of private marketplace.⁶⁶

The next chapter will analyze the boycott as a method of struggle in the Palestinian resistance, a historical background, and deep analysis of the BDS movement against Israel, the foundation, motivation, and the success of the movement as an indicator to the opportunities it has to support the Palestinian struggle for freedom, and a just peace.

⁶⁴ The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights,. (2015). *Voting Rights Act*. Retrieved 1 November 2015, from <http://www.civilrights.org/voting-rights/vra/?referrer=https://www.google.co.il/>

⁶⁵ Wikipedia,. (2015). *Education Amendments of 1972*. Retrieved 1 November 2015, from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Education_Amendments_of_1972

⁶⁶ Graham, H. Davis.(1990). *The Civil Rights Era: Origins and Development of National Policy 1960-1972*. New York, Oxford University Press. (p3)

Chapter Four

The boycott in the Palestinian struggle

4.1 Introduction

The Boycott is deeply rooted in the Palestinian struggle against occupation and colonization, a century-long fight for Palestinian rights and self-determination.

From 1936 to the 2005 Palestinian civil society call for Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions against Israel – and the international response to this call – the movement has grown and evolved, various tactics have been adopted, and the fight for freedom, justice and equality has continued.

This chapter will analyze the BDS movement as a method of non-violent resistance in the Palestinian struggle, including a historical background of the boycott.

The chapter will cover the establishment of the BDS movement, the environment and the circumstances which led to the BDS call in 2005, and the demands and response on the global and national level. It will also discuss the indicators of success or the failure of the movement's tactics, examining whether or not the movement represents a strategic pillar of the struggle.

4.2 Historical Background

4.2.1 The Boycott from 1936 to 1980

In 1936, the Palestinian revolted against the British mandate, the revolution consisted of two distinct phases⁶⁷.

The first phase was led by the Higher Arab Committee (AHC), and was mainly focused on strikes, and other forms of political protest. One of the most important is the boycott, which was used at that time to gain the rights of the people under the mandate and occupation.

The National Committee was established in villages and towns of Nablus.⁶⁸

After the pressure of the grassroots on the political leaders to be engaged in the committee, which led to the formation of the Arab Higher Committee (AHC).

The strike which began in April 21st was initially organized by workers and local committees, until the establishment of the AHC, the mandate⁶⁹ of the strike was:

1. The prohibition of Jewish immigrations.
2. The prohibition of transferring the Arab land to Jews.
3. Establishment of a national government.

Other national committees were established in Haifa, Jaffa, and Gaza, in sympathy with Nablus committee demands⁷⁰.

⁶⁷ Norris, J. (2008). Repression and Rebellion: *Britain's Response to the Arab Revolt in Palestine of 1936–39*. *The Journal Of Imperial And Commonwealth History*, 36(1), 25-45.
doi:10.1080/03086530801889350

⁶⁸ Encyclopedia Britannica,. (2015). *Peel Commission / British history*. Retrieved 6 November 2015, from <http://www.britannica.com/event/Peel-Commission>

⁶⁹ Ibid.

After that the national block and the Youth Congress associated themselves with Nablus and Jaffa committee without hesitation⁷¹.

This was followed by a meeting in Jerusalem that urged the AHC and the National committees to Boycott the British government, until the demands conceded. The same happened in Jenin, and other places.

One of the most important developments in regards to the boycott is that the National committees demand not only not to pay the tax until the British government meets its obligation, but also to boycott the goods of the Zionist and the British.

The first six months of the revolution, which lasted under different manifestations and phases for three years, was characterized at the outset by a widely observed general strike that was essentially a boycott of working within and supporting the structures and mechanisms of British mandatory rule.⁷²

The boycott continued through the Palestinian struggle and history following the establishment of Israel in 1948.

The Arab League banned all commercial and financial transactions between Israel and the League states.

In protest at Israel's creation, and driven by opposition to the cleansing of Palestinians from their lands, the boycott evolved into three core components.

A primary boycott prohibited direct trade and relations between Israel and the League members. A secondary boycott was directed at companies did business with Israel.⁷³

These layers of the boycott became institutionalized when the League

⁷⁰ Kayyaly, Abdalwahab (1978), *Palestine: the modern History*. Retrieved 2 September, 2015. From, <http://archive.org/details/ost-history-pmh>

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Baroud, Ramzy.(2015) *Beit Sahour: Boycott is Historically Palestinian*. Retrieved 2 September, 2015. From <http://ramzybaroud.net/beit-sahour-boycott-is-historically-palestinian/?print=pdf>

⁷³ Adelman, Jonathan (2008), *The Rise of Israel , A history of A revolutionary State*. New York, Routledg. p87.

established the Central Boycott Office (CBO) in 1951. Each country maintained a national boycott office, which linked up with the central regional structure. This organ met on average twice a year, with the headquarters located in Damascus. Over the next two decades, the CBO in conjunction with the national offices accumulated detailed information on Israel's economic activities as part of their efforts to ensure targeted firms and countries acceded to the boycott. A central blacklist of companies was developed and maintained, working alongside lists composed in national offices. The central blacklist worked as a guide for countries which maintained their own boycott lists that took into account pragmatic, as well as national and political interests.⁷⁴

In order to enforce the boycott, financial incentives such as a percentage cut of any confiscated goods, encouraged customs officials to report the presence of Israeli trade and to notify the authorities when dealings with Israel were suspected. At the 36th Arab Boycott Conference in 1974 in Lebanon, a decision was made to set up "civilian patrols" to prevent Arab nationals in Britain from purchasing at Marks and Spencer and Selfridges.¹²

On the whole, government officials, related institutions and businesses went through the motions of implementing the boycott. It became standardized that any business dealing between Arab states league countries, assures that Israeli technology, merchandises are no part of the transaction .

⁷⁴ A Global Movement, Toward (2007), *The Grassroots Anti Apartheid Wall Campaign (STW), A frame work of today anti-apartheid activism*. Retrieved 26 September, 2015. From <http://bdsmovement.net/files/bds%20report%20small.pdf>

4.2.2 The Boycott in the first Intifada

During the first Intifada (uprising) in 1987, an extraordinary boycott experience occurred in Beit Sahour, the Palestinian town in the governorate of Bethlehem, with a Christian majority.

One day, on September 19, 1989, Beit Sahour carries a war without guns, deciding to Boycott all Israeli goods, Institutions, and refusing to pay taxes, Beit Sahour moved the boycott to a new level, from 1936 to 1989, from refusing to pay tax to boycotting the occupation and everything related.⁷⁵

The Unified National leadership of the Uprising, urges the people of Beit Sahour not to pay the tax.

Palestinians in Beit Sahour refused to pay the taxes saying that the taxes exceed the services they get from Israel⁷⁶; they also say that according to international law, people under occupation do not pay tax to their occupier.

At that day, the mission of the Israeli army in Beit Sahour were to force the people to pay taxes⁷⁷, hundreds of the tax collectors were part of the military raid, they put the village under 42 days of curfew, preventing food and any other services.

It ended with the Oslo agreement between the Palestinian Liberation Organization and Israel, as this agreement put an end to the whole Intifada.

⁷⁵ Wiles, Rich. (Ed). (2013), *Generation Palestine: Palestine's Global Battle That Must be Won* (p 4), London, England: Pluto Press.

⁷⁶ Gradestin, Linda. (1989), *Palestinian's claim tax is unjust, many don't pay*, SunSentinel. http://articles.sun-sentinel.com/1989-10-08/news/8902030229_1_israeli-tax-collectors-west-bank-gaza-strip

⁷⁷ Baroud, Ramzy.(2015) *Beit Sahour: Boycott is Historically Palestinian*. Retrieved 2 September, 2015. From <http://ramzybaroud.net/beit-sahour-boycott-is-historically-palestinian/?print=pdf>

After the first Intifada, the Palestinian Liberation Organization, who led the Palestinian armed struggle, started the negotiation with Israel, and ended with the Oslo accord in 1994. The Palestinian Struggle turned from armed resistance for freedom and the right of return where international solidarity was only symbolic, to negotiation to build a Palestinian state.

4.3 The Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions against Israel

(BDS Movement)

The roots of BDS extend deep into decades of Palestinian popular resistance to Zionist settler colonialism.

From the 1920s onwards, boycott has for decades been an important part of the struggle for Palestinian rights. And the BDS movement came from the Legacy of the boycott practiced in the Palestinian struggle, and inspired by the BDS movement in South Africa during the apartheid era.

According to this research methodology, which is based on David Easton's political system analysis, in this chapter the study will focus on the **environment** and the circumstances that led to the establishment of the movement that created **demands** of the movement and **support**.

In 2001, the NGO forum of the United Nations anti-racism conference in Durban, South Africa condemned Israel as an apartheid regime and called accordingly for boycotts and divestments against it, similar to those applied to South Africa under apartheid.

Mr. Omar Barghouthi Said "Durban conference was a main trigger for launching the BDS Call by the absolute majority in Palestinian civil society in 2005."⁷⁸

⁷⁸ Barghouthi, Omar. Personal Interview March 4, 2015.

Barghouthi Continues "Another key trigger was Israel's re-invasion of the occupied West Bank and the massacre committed by the Israeli forces in the Jenin refugee camp in 2003, that played a key role in the development of the Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI), which was a main factor behind launching BDS in 2005".

The Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI) was one of the founding entities in 2005 of the Palestinian Civil Society BDS Campaign and remains a key part of the Palestinian-led, global BDS movement.⁷⁹

PACBI was launched in Ramallah in April 2004 by a group of Palestinian academics and intellectuals to join the growing international boycott movement. The campaign built on the Palestinian call for a comprehensive economic, cultural and academic boycott of Israel issued in August 2002 and a statement made by Palestinian academics and intellectuals in the occupied territories and in the Diaspora calling for a boycott of Israeli academic institutions in October 2003.⁸⁰

In July 2004, the Campaign issued a statement of principles, or what became known as the PACBI Call, addressed to colleagues in the international community urging them to comprehensively and consistently boycott all Israeli academic and cultural institutions until Israel withdraws from all the lands occupied in 1967, including East Jerusalem; removes all its colonies in those lands; agrees to United Nations resolutions relevant to the restitution of Palestinian refugees rights; and dismantles its system of apartheid. PACBI has consistently advocated a boycott of institutions, not individuals.

⁷⁹ BDS movement(2015). *Academic Boycott*. Retrieved September 13, 2015. from <http://www.bdsmovement.net/activecamps/academic-boycott>

⁸⁰ Ibid.

Different actors working on the same issue, Mr. Jamal Jom'a said " It started when Israeli start to build the wall, and when people decide that is separation and discrimination, at that time we called for a meeting in a village named Esla, in the north of the West Bank in September 2002, three months into the building of the wall”⁸¹

Jamal Continued" after that we had meetings with people in different places in the North of the West Bank, to discuss how we should move against the wall. Within this meeting it was really difficult to agree on what we should name the wall between segregation, separation, or Apartheid, we struggled with many to name it the Apartheid wall and we established stop the Wall (STW) coalition" ⁸²

At the same time, as one of the methods of popular struggle, STW started to attract international solidarity, and co-found the International Solidarity Movement (ISM).

In 2003, STW through its international ties called for the boycott of Israel, on every level, academic, cultural, economic, all of the boycott methods, until Israel would stop building the wall, compensate farmers, and dismantle what it had built of it, and this is what was exactly adopted by the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in 2004.⁸³

At that time when STW called for boycott, a fundamental important question faced the call “where is your ANC”.⁸⁴ This referred to the leading body of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in South Africa, and the need of a Palestinian leading body to the Boycott movement.

⁸¹ Jamal Jom'a, Personal interview August 29, 2015.

* **BADIL** Resource Center was established in January 1998 based on recommendations issued by a series of popular refugee conferences in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. BADIL is registered with the Palestinian Authority and legally owned by the refugee community represented by a General Assembly composed of human rights defenders and activists in Palestinian civil society, national institutions and refugee community organizations.

⁸² Jamal Jom'a, Personal interview August 29, 2015.

⁸³ Jamal Jom'a, Personal interview August 29, 2015

⁸⁴ Ibid.

The International Court of Justice (ICJ) advisory opinion on 2004, created a base that helps us calling on the boycott of Israel, and we also intervened in the world social forum, and the EU forum, demanding the boycott of Israel.

In 2005, PACBI, which was created after the Durban conference, STW, and BADIL* which represent the Palestinian refugees in Palestine and the Diaspora together started the effort to initiate the call, and because of the need for call to be consensus and gather all Palestinians, Jamal said "respect these guidelines":

1. Consensus.
2. Represent all Palestinian, in 1967, 1948 and Diaspora.
3. The ability for international adoption.

In 2005, we launched the call with all the signatures of 171 Palestine CSO's, and that was the trigger of the global BDS movement. We also answered the question of our ANC, which is the BNC.⁸⁵

In its Tenth year existence, the boycott, divestment, and sanctions (BDS) movement has boldly redefined the battle for Palestine in the simple, straight forward terms of human rights, more than any other tactic adopted by the Palestinians themselves ever before, from armed resistance to the popular one, BDS has changed the global equations for the Palestinians' benefit, by increasing pressure on the International Community to stop their complicity with Israel violations of the International Law, and crimes against Palestinians, as well as to stop Israel impunity.

The BDS movement created a tool of a practical solidarity with the Palestinian cause, and the seeking of self-determination, freedom, and justice.

While the international community used to practice solidarity through demonstrations, refusing Israel's crimes against Palestinians through different symbolic acts of solidarity, without a direct impact on Israel.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

The BDS movement became an effective way of practicing solidarity with a solid and effective way, which directly places huge pressure on Israel to stop its crimes against Palestinians, which at the same time, are crimes against humanity, and stop Israeli impunity by punishing Israel for its crime through BDS.

The difference that the BDS has created in the way that people can practice an effective solidarity with Palestine is to join the struggle, by adopting the BDS movement with all of its goals and strategies.

The BDS movement started in 2005, supported by the majority of Palestinian CSO's including political parties, trade unions, non-governmental organizations, and others who call for Boycott, Divestment, and Sanction against Israel until it comply to the International law⁸⁶.

The BDS call demands are:

1. End Israel occupation and colonization of all Arab lands and dismantle the Wall.
2. Recognize the fundamental rights of the Arab-Palestinian citizens of Israel to full equality.
3. Respect, protect, and promote the rights of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes and properties, as stipulated in UN resolution 194.⁸⁷

Those demands represent the Palestinians who live in the OPT, in 1948, and the Palestinian refugees who live in the refugee camps. These demands seem not only to serve as the minimum requirement to gain Palestinians rights or be the basis of any political solution, but also can unite the Palestinian people anywhere. While other

⁸⁶ BDS Call. (2005). *Palestinian Civil Society Call for BDS*. Retrieved Sept 20, 2015. From <http://bdsmovement.net/call>

⁸⁷ Ibid.

political movements are separated by demands, and practice, BDS represents all Palestinians by its demands.

Nothing in the BDS mandate is for one state or two state solutions. It mention nothing about borders or any political solution, as these are very argued among Palestinians, BDS distanced itself from them.

The BDS movement's goals are the three rights mentioned above, while the strategy is to isolate Israel in different ways, to achieve goals and reach the strategy, the BDS movement adopts new tactics, not only boycott, but also divestment and sanctions, and developed them to reach more audiences and target groups that can be effective against Israel in order to isolate it, until it complies with the International Law. The follow are the tactics explanations by the movement:

1. Boycott:

Boycott usually refers to goods. But as the BDS movements used this as a tactic, it refers to academic, cultural, and economic, and targets Israeli and International companies profiting from Israeli violation of Palestinians human rights, simply people do not buy products from these companies.⁸⁸

Academic and cultural boycotting target institutions not individuals, as (PACBI) guidelines assert, and individuals when they represent Israel's aim to whitewash the crimes of Israeli Apartheid regime.

PACBI stated that all "Israeli Academic institutions, are subjected to boycott, because of their deep complicity in maintaining the Israeli occupation and denial of Palestinians rights, whether through silence or actual involvement in justifying,

⁸⁸ BDS Movement (2015). *Introducing the BDS movement*. Retrieved Sept 21, 2015, from <http://www.bdsmovement.net/bdsintro>

whitewashing, or diverting attention from Israel's violation of international law and human rights." ⁸⁹

The Argument around the boycott is that the Palestinian Authority launched a campaign in 2009 to boycott settlements' products only, which led to confusion, because of the gap created between the Palestinian official stand and the BDS as a grassroots movement calls on boycotting Israel by any mean.

2. Divestment:

Divestment is a tactic used by the BDS movement, which means not to invest, or to divest an investment after being invested.

This tactic targets corporations complicit in the violations of Palestinian rights, and to insure any investment as pension funds investment, universities, companies, and others are not used to finance such companies. ⁹⁰

Until now, the BDS movement has no answer for the entities that divest from Israel or companies, banks complicit with Israeli crimes, and violations of international law, where to invested the money they divest from.

The researcher argues that the BDS movement should have plans where the divested money should be invested, where this money can go to help Palestinian economy.

3. Sanctions:

Sanctions are a tactics that should be applied on state, official, diplomatic levels, by applying sanctions to Israel as part of disapproval of its actions.

⁸⁹ Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural boycott of Israel (2015). *PACBI Guidelines for the International Academic Boycott of Israel* (Revised July 2014). Retrieved Sept 21, 2015. from <http://www.pacbi.org/etemplate.php?id=1108>

⁹⁰ BDS Movement (2015). *Introducing the BDS movement*. Retrieved Sept 21, 2015, from <http://www.bdsmovement.net/bdsintro>

This tactic aims to end other nations' complicity with Israel's violation of international law.⁹¹

Until now there is no sign of achievements on sanctions against Israel. This may however evolve in the next five years.

The idea behind using the three tactics is to implement the BDS strategy which is to isolate Israel, until its regime of oppression collapses, and complies with the International law, and respects the Palestinian human rights.

Every one of those tactics can be used in a wide range of activities targeting products, diplomatic ties, free trade agreements, military trade, institution, banks, and complicit companies.

While BDS is using these tactics, it did not suggest alternatives of boycotting Israel, or divesting from companies.

4.4 Response and output to the movement demands

As mentioned in the methodology of this research, response may occur on different levels, the local, international, and the environment itself which is Israel occupation, settler colonialism apartheid regime.

The response to the movement's demands indicates the success of the movement or the failure of its tactics and methods of struggle.

If the environment response to the demands of the movement, this means it affects this environment, which is that the movement has been created to resist, and it's on the way of changing it.

This will help answer the question of the research related to movement to be considered as a strategic part of the Palestinian struggle for freedom, and justice. This

⁹¹ Ibid.

will depend on the success of the movement, and the level of this success is to be considered as one of the pillars of struggle of the Palestinian resistance.

As an output of the growth of the BDS movement on the global scheme, and the great need for a leading body to coordinate and organize the efforts of the movement to reach its goals.

In 2007, the first Palestinian BDS conference was held in Ramallah, where the BDS National committee (BNC) emerged from this conference, as the Palestinian coordinating body of the global BDS movement.

The BNC's mandate and role⁹²:

To strengthen and spread the culture of boycott, formulate strategies and programs, and to serve as the Palestinian reference point for BDS campaigns in the region and worldwide. The BNC also serves as the national reference point for anti-normalization campaigns within Palestine that facilitates coordination and provides support and encouragement to the various BDS campaign efforts in all locations.

The BNC's main activities include⁹³:

Campaigning including BNC statements; public speaking; organizing the annual, advocacy by briefing and lobbying policy makers, monitoring and media outreach coordination, raising awareness, strategy development and analysis.

As a response to the demands and the boycott call, many BNC members and nonmembers of the committee launch local boycott campaigns, as an example, in

⁹² BDS Movement(2015). Palestinian BDS National Committee, Retrieved 12\10\2015, from <http://www.bdsmovement.net/bnc>

⁹³ Ibid.

2014, more than 50 initiatives and youth groups called for to boycott of Israeli goods, and in response to that, Bravo which is one of the biggest food chains in Palestine, announced itself free of Israeli goods.⁹⁴

A different response occurred from the environment which is Israel and its regime of occupation, officially represented by the Israeli government as follows:

The research found that the impact and the success of the BDS movements indicate the fast and vast growth that was very clear in the year of 2014 and 2015.

This chapter will list the reactions of y governmental officials and political leadership, in addition to some of the major successes of the movement, mainly in 2014 and 2015.

In June 2013, Israeli Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu declared the BDS movement as a “strategic threat” to Israel by deciding⁹⁵ to assign the overall responsibility for fighting BDS to the ministry of *strategic* affairs.⁹⁶

This shows that the Israeli government considers the movement as a threat equal to Iran’s nuclear program. This will also reflect on the plans and governmental strategies to combat the movement, but still, this shows the strength and power that the movement has, when it reaches the ears of the head of the Israeli government, to be considered this way.

This also shows that nonviolence could be stronger than any other form of struggle, even stronger than a nuclear power, the power of people, and the grassroots.

Meanwhile, Alan Dershowitz, the Israeli Harvard university law professor, also considers the BDS movement as " a Security Threat" to Israel, speaking at Herzliya Conference in 2014, he said "I think that anything that diminishes American

⁹⁴ News, Maan agency (2014), *Bravo supermarket announce boycott occupation goods*, August 5th, 2014. Retrieved 14.9.2015, <http://www.maannews.net/Content.aspx?id=718434>

⁹⁵ Assessment, Annual. (2012-2013), *The Jewish People Policy Institute*, Retrieved 16\7\2015, http://jppi.org.il/uploads/Annual_Assessment_2012-2013.pdf

⁹⁶ Barghouthi. Personal Interview 2015.

popular support for Israel poses a security threat", he also added that he feared that the boycott movement had become so entrenched that even if Israelis and Palestinians were to strike a peace deal, its supporters would not back down."⁹⁷

It's unclear how a nonviolent movement becomes a security threat, a human rights movement anchored in the International Law, calls on a state to comply with this law. This shows that Israeli officials and spokesperson and lobbyists are terrified from the movement, and its achievements. No part of the movement is a security threat to Israel, or even any means of threat.

This also shows that the movement somehow became a shield for Palestinians for peace talks, in order not to experience a new Oslo and to consider the movement's demands as the minimum for any solution.

In 2011, Defense Minister, Ehud Barak, said "It will start coming at us like a glacier, from all corners...to me, this uncontrollable process looks more dangerous than what the [Israeli] public perceives at the moment."⁹⁸

Barak noticed the shift in the public that the movement achieved, and the lack of Israeli propaganda to combat, this led to the end of Israel's supremacy on media, and public outreach.

In January 2014 David Elhayani, head of the Jordan Valley Regional Council body that coordinates Israeli settlements in the Jordan Valley area of occupied Palestinian territory, said "The damage is enormous. In effect, today, we are almost not selling to the European market anymore."⁹⁹

⁹⁷ Maltz, Judy (2014), Alan Dershowitz: *BDS a strategic threat to Israel in the long term*, Haartz, Retrieved 4th April 2015, <http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/.premium-1.598080>.

⁹⁸ Barak, Ehud. (2011), *Ehud Barak acknowledges the impact of BDS*, Haartz, May 6, 2011, Retrieved 14\5\2015, <http://972mag.com/ehud-barak-acknowledges-the-impact-of-bds/14233/>

⁹⁹ Horwitz, Adam (2014), *Israeli settlement exports from the Jordan Valley down \$29 million in 2013 due to international*, Mondowiss, Jan 13, 2014. Retrived Jan 5\2015, <http://mondoweiss.net/2014/01/israeli-settlement-international#sthash.cU3UQfRO.dpuf>

Even before the European Union started labeling the settlements' products, the movement has a great effect on that, this shows that the European Union just approves what had been done before.

In January 2014, Israeli politician and Justice Minister Tzipi Livni, said "The boycott is moving and advancing uniformly and exponentially"¹⁰⁰

In January 2014, a hundred Israeli business leaders sent a letter featured on the front page of Yedioth Ahronoth that said "The world is losing its patience and the threat of sanctions is increasing. We must reach an agreement with the Palestinians."

101

In August 2014, spokesperson for EDOM, a major Israeli fruit and vegetable exporter said "Importers from Europe are telling us that they can't sell Israeli produce ... I've heard of major exporters from whom chains in southern France are no longer buying. There is no official boycott, but everyone is afraid of selling Israeli fruits. We can only hope that things do not get worse."¹⁰²

In May 2015, Israeli President Reuven Rivlin said "I didn't think Israeli academia would face any real danger, but the atmosphere around the world is changing, and creating a situation in which it is impossible to deal with the issue as anything but a first-rate strategic threat"¹⁰³

All of this indicates the start of the isolation of Israel if we compare its regime to the one that people of South Africa's experienced. This is the beginning of the end

¹⁰⁰ Livni, Tzipi. (2014), *BDS Movement*, Retrived October 12, 2014,

<http://www.bdsmovement.net/2014/boycott-greatest-threat-facing-israel-leaders-say-11600>

¹⁰¹ business leader, Israeli. (2014), Yadiot, Ahronot: *Israel's captains of industry fear boycott*, Jan 20, 2014, Retrieved 5.2.2014, <http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4478838,00.html>

¹⁰² Deas, Michael (2014). Electronic Intifada: *Ireland's biggest food retailer drops Israeli produce as European boycotts surge*, August 15 2014, Retrieved 6.5.2015, <https://electronicintifada.net/blogs/michael-deas/irelands-biggest-food-retailer-drops-israeli-produce-european-boycotts-surge>

¹⁰³ Monitor, Middle east (2015), *Israel's president meets university heads, calls BDS a 'strategic threat'*, May 29, 2015, Retrieved 14.9.2015, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/news/middle-east/18916-israels-president-meets-university-heads-calls-bds-a-strategic-threat>

for it, isolation began with academia, which then moved on to culture to products, until it reached the United Nations Sanctions.

In June 2015, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, said "It's a new spectrum of arenas, it's a new spectrum of battlegrounds, that takes us to all those trade unions, to all those churches, to all those campuses and universities, and all those conferences of sciences, all museums and art exhibitions. Every element of Israeli activity is basically challenged." ¹⁰⁴

In June 2015, former Finance Minister, Yair Lapid, said "The situation is getting worse. The tide is turning and either we turn it back now or it will sweep over us." ¹⁰⁵

The wars that Israel usually has, has battles lines, army, and heavy guns, with BDS, they lose all of this.

The movement is taking them to a new type of war, a moral one that they can lose, through different arenas, where people can listen to justice, not business or money, where people can choose the right side to stand with, this is the war that Israel fears, where their propaganda can't win.

Another important **response** that can also be considered as an **output** of the movement's call and demands delivered by international players, which created more pressure on the environment.

The Israeli war against Gaza in 2008\9 was one of the main turning points in the growth of BDS globally. Omar Barghouthi said" People of conscience around the

¹⁰⁴ Monitor, Middle east (2015), *Israeli PM Netanyahu lashes out at growing BDS campaign*, June 1st, 2015, Retrieved 10.9.2015, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/news/middle-east/18964-israeli-pm-netanyahu-lashes-out-at-growing-bds-campaign>

¹⁰⁵ Harkov, Lahav (2015). Jerusalem Post: *Lapid to US Jewry: Help us fight BDS*, June 6, 2015, Retrieved 9.9.2015, <http://www.jpost.com/Israel-News/Lapid-to-US-Jewry-Help-us-fight-BDS-405218>

world seem to have crossed a threshold in challenging Israel's impunity through effective pressure, rather than appeasement or constructive engagement."¹⁰⁶

People globally react against the crimes of Israel against Palestinians in Gaza, they react in a way that hurt the reputation and the economy at the same time, reputation-related to academic and cultural boycott and a lot of success for the movement occurred at that time.

Dr Ronny Manos, one of the report's authors and a researcher in the department of Management and Economics at the Open University of Israel, said that "the decline was primarily caused by the fallout from the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) Operation Protective Edge and international boycotts against the country for alleged violations of international law".¹⁰⁷

Dr Ronny Manos said " We believe that what led to the drop in investment in Israel are Operation Protective Edge and the boycotts Israel is facing,"¹⁰⁸

BDS pressure on companies and banks to refrain from investing in the Israeli economy has heightened with the assault on Gaza, what follows was major successes of the movement tactics which is considered as an output of the movement's demands in the years of 2014 and 2015, and will be divided into movement's economic, cultural and academic growth.

Economic outputs:

A UN report in 2015, said that BDS was a key factor behind the 46% drop in foreign direct investment in Israel in 2014¹⁰⁹. The World Bank cited BDS as a key factor behind the 24% drop in Palestinian imports from Israel in the first quarter of

¹⁰⁶ Lim, Audrea. (Eds.). 2012

¹⁰⁷ Glantz, Mooshe (2015), Ynet: *Foreign investment in Israel cut by half in 2014*. June 24, 2015. Retrieved 14.9.2015, <http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4672509,00.html>

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Newsweek. (2015). *Foreign Investment in Israel drop by 50%*. Retrieved February 13, 2016. From <http://europe.newsweek.com/foreign-investment-israel-slashed-by-half-329269>

2015¹¹⁰. The Israeli government and the Rand Corporation both published reports predicting that BDS will cost Israel billions of dollars. The study will mention major BDS achievements in 2014, 2015 as outputs of the movement and indicators of success.

1. The largest Dutch pension fund company, PGGM, has reportedly chosen to withdraw all its investments from the five largest Israeli banks, whose branches are involved in financing construction in the settlements in the West Bank, divesting tens of millions of Euros from 5 of Israel's biggest banks. The fund manages the pensions of 2.5 million people.¹¹¹

2. Veolia lost out on a \$4.5bn contract following a vigorous campaign denouncing the company's provision of infrastructure to illegal Israeli settlements.¹¹²

3. Luxembourg's state pension fund FDC excludes nine major Israeli banks and firms and one US Company because of their involvement in Israeli settlements and human rights violations in the occupied Palestinian territories. Meanwhile, Denmark's largest bank Dankse Bank blacklists Israel's Bank Hapoalim over settlement construction.¹¹³

4. Earth Day network cut ties with Soadstream, due to company complicity in the Israeli Occupation, including the destruction that Israeli settlements cause to the Palestinian environment, where the company factory was built. .¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ World Bank. (2015). Economic Monitoring to the Ad Hoc Liaison Committee, V2. Retrieved February 13, 2016. From http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2015/09/29/090224b08310e894/2_0/Rendered/PDF/main0report.pdf

¹¹¹ Russia Today. (2014). *Dutch pension giant divests millions from Israeli banks involved in settlement construction*. Retrieved April 6, 2015, from <http://rt.com/news/dutch-pension-divests-settlement-309/>
¹¹² BDS Movement. (2014), UN year of solidarity with the Palestinian people begins with boycott success. Retrieved March 16 2015 from <http://www.bdsmovement.net/2014/2014-begins-with-boycott-success-11650/1>

¹¹³ BDS Movement (2014). Luxembourg pension fund dumps 9 Israeli firms over settlements. Retrieved August 3rd, 2015. from <http://www.bdsmovement.net/2014/luxembourg-pension-fund-dumps-9-israeli-firms-over-settlements-11862>

¹¹⁴ US Campaign to end the Israeli Occupation (2014). *Earth Day Network Cuts Ties with SodaStream After Palestinian Rights Groups Decry Green washing Campaign*. Retrieved June 10, 2015. From <http://endtheoccupation.org/article.php?id=4013>

5. Mekorot faces second major setback in as many months as Lisbon's water company EPAL announced that it terminated a technology exchange deal following pressure from Portuguese MPs and campaign groups.¹¹⁵

6. The Bill Gates Foundation, one of the largest private foundations in the world, owned by Bill Gates the owner of Microsoft, the giant software manufacturer, divests from G4S.¹¹⁶

7. The Presbyterian Church (USA) in Detroit divested its holdings from three US corporations – Hewlett Packard (HP), Motorola Solutions and Caterpillar – on the basis of their well-documented record of complicity in the oppression of occupation and denial of Palestinians human rights.¹¹⁷

8. BDS pressure forces G4S to announce prison pull out G4S, the British security company announces it will end its role in Israel's prison system, in 2017.¹¹⁸

9. Dutch Giant ABP divested from Aryt Industries Ltd. and Ashot Ashkelon who were blacklisted for their role in producing cluster munitions. Due to the responsible investment policy that enables the exclusion of companies "which continue to conduct business in conflict with the principles of the UN Global Compact and which show no sign of adapting their practices."¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ Nsnbc International (2014). *Mekorot Loses Portugal Deal, Faces Global Protests*. Retrieved August 12, 2015. from <http://nsnbc.me/2014/04/22/mekorot-loses-portugal-deal-faces-global-protests/>

¹¹⁶ Deas, Michael (2014), *Electronic Intifada: Bill Gates Foundations sells shares in Israeli prison contractor G4s*. Retrieved Sept 15, 2015. From <https://electronicintifada.net/blogs/michael-deas/bill-gates-foundation-sells-shares-israeli-prison-contractor-g4s>

¹¹⁷ BDS Movement (2014), *Palestinian civil society salutes Presbyterians on divestment resolution*. Retrieved August 7, 2015.

¹¹⁸ BDS Movement (2014). *BDS pressure forces G4S to distance itself from Israel's prison system*. Retrieved May 17, 2015. From <http://www.bdsmovement.net/2014/bds-pressure-forces-g4s-distance-itself-prison-system-12166>

¹¹⁹ Middle east Monitor (2014). *Dutch pension fund ABP divests from two Israeli arms companies*. Retrieved Sept 15, 2015. From <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/news/europe/12548-dutch-pension-fund-abp-divests-from-two-israeli-arms-companies>

10. Veolia lost billions of dollars of contracts as a result of campaigns over its construction of infrastructure for illegal Israeli settlements, intends to “step back from Israel as a market place” and sell most parts of its Israeli interests during 2015.¹²⁰

11. SodaStream announced it is to close its factory in the illegal Israeli settlement of Mishor Adumim following a high profile boycott campaign against the company.¹²¹

12. Kuwait boycotts 50 companies over role in illegal Israeli settlements. Kuwait blacklisted companies include some of the top corporate targets of the BDS movement, such as Veolia, Volvo, and Alstom.¹²²

13. Palestine Power Generation Company (PPGC) about the withdrawal from the agreement with the developers of the [Israeli] Leviathan natural gas field.¹²³

Much of that achievement is not directly a hit for the Israeli economy, but they affect it in different ways, while economies depend on reputation, and a good investment environment. Through BDS, Israel became a bad investment opportunity for investors, which will isolate Israel’s economy and prevent having a good investment opportunity, and that was clear by the 46% drop of the direct foreign investment.

No country can stand alone, in this world of globalization, economical ties, Free Trade Agreements, and here is where the BDS Strategy succeeds, by isolating Israel.

¹²⁰ White, Ben (2014). *After years of pressure, is Veolia quitting Israel?*. Retrieved Sept 17, 2015. From <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/blogs/politics/13856-after-years-of-pressure-is-veolia-quitting-israel>

¹²¹ BDS Movement (2014). *SodaStream to close illegal settlement factory in response growing boycott campaign*. Retrieved Sept 17, 2015. From <http://www.bdsmovement.net/2014/sodastream-closes-illegal-settlement-factory-in-response-growing-boycott-campaign-12782>

¹²² Mondoweiss (2014). *BDS Victories: Online retailer drops Ahava; Kuwait boycotts companies with settlement ties*. Retrieved Sept 17, 2015. From <http://mondoweiss.net/2014/10/victories-companies-settlement>

¹²³ Winer, Stuart (2015). *Palestinian Cancel Natural Gas Deal with Israel*. Retrieved February 12, 2016. From <http://www.timesofisrael.com/palestinians-cancel-natural-gas-deal-with-israel/>

Growth:

1. Friends of the Earth International signal its support for the campaign against the Israeli state's water company Mekorot and other boycott and divestment campaigns.¹²⁴

2. ANC joined the call of BDS, Secretary General Gwede Mantashe said "We are joining the call for a cultural, academic and education boycott of Israel, including travel bans for members and leaders of the ANC, the alliance, members of Cabinet, members of Parliament and government officials,"¹²⁵

3. Israeli Apartheid week witnessed huge growth in 2015, more than 150 cities were involved in the week's activities.¹²⁶

4. In 2015, one of the biggest BDS coalitions was established in Egypt, including eleven political parties, four revolutionary movements, trade unions, students and individuals.¹²⁷

The movement strategy in building coalition and BDS groups everywhere is connected with the global pressure that the movement can produce with partners and campaigns that can be more effective collectively.

The success of BDS in building coalition and spreading it all over the world was achieved by sticking to its human rights mandate, without engaging in Palestinian internal political arguments, while that helps maintain the BDS National committee as the biggest Palestinian coalition that leads the global BDS movement, it also maintained partners and groups.

¹²⁴ BDS movement (2014), Retrieved September 12, 2015, from <http://www.bdsmovement.net/2014/friends-of-the-earth-international-statement-11628>

¹²⁵ Enca (2014). *ANC boycotts Israel over 'oppressed' Palestinians*. Retrieved Sept 17, 2015. From <https://www.enca.com/anc-boycotts-israel-over-oppressed-palestinians>

¹²⁶ Israel Apartheid Week (2015). Retrieved January 20, 2015. From <http://apartheidweek.org/>

¹²⁷ BDS Movement. (2015). *BDS Round Up*. Retrieved February 15, 2016. From <http://bdsmovement.net/2015/bds-full-2015-round-up-13628>

Cultural and Academic outputs:

In 2014 and 2015, BDS witnessed real expansion in the cultural academic boycott of Israel, during 2015, divestment votes were also won at San Jose State University, Princeton, Earlham College Student Senate and the University of Toledo, Ohio, Oglethorpe University and Stanford.¹²⁸

1. Norwegian singer Moddi cancels a scheduled concert in Israel, his decision was in direct response to a vigorous social media campaign led by BDS activists in Gaza.¹²⁹

2. Irish students' Union votes to join BDS movement. The motion at the National University of Ireland in Galway was passed by an almost 2 to 1 margin and follows on from the Teachers Union of Ireland's 2013 endorsement of an academic boycott of Israel.¹³⁰

3. University of New Mexico,¹³¹ Wesleyan University in Connecticut,¹³² and University of California Riverside vote to support divestment from companies that help Israel violate international law, and Palestinians human rights.

4. Europe's largest teachers' union endorses Israel boycott call, the UK's National Union of Teachers votes to back the UK Trade Union Congress boycott policy.¹³³

¹²⁸ BDS Movement. (2016). *Full BDS Round UP*. Retrieved February 12, 2016. From <http://bdsmovement.net/2015/bds-full-2015-round-up-13628>

¹²⁹ Abunimah, Ali (2014). *Electronic Intifada: Moddi cancels Tel Aviv gig after appeal from Gaza*. Retrieved August 10, 2015. from <https://electronicintifada.net/blogs/ali-abunimah/moddi-cancels-tel-aviv-gig-after-appeal-gaza>

¹³⁰ BDS Movement (2014). *Victory in Galway as NUIG Students' Union votes to join BDS movement*. Retrieved June 5th, 2015. from <http://www.bdsmovement.net/2014/nuig-galway-student-votes-11859>

¹³¹ BDS Movement (2014), *Graduate students vote to divest at University of New Mexico*. Retrieved September 17, 2015. From <http://www.bdsmovement.net/2014/new-mexico-graduates-votes-divestment-12045>

¹³² AbuNimah, Ali (2014). *Electronic Intifada: Wesleyan student fund bars investment in Israeli-occupation profiteers*. Retrieved September 17, 2015. From <https://electronicintifada.net/blogs/ali-abunimah/wesleyan-student-fund-bars-investment-israeli-occupation-profiteers>

5. Over 640 Swiss artists and cultural actors demand that the Swiss Federal Council suspend military cooperation with Israel

6. US student workers' union becomes first US labor union to back BDS
Student workers at the University of California have voted by a landslide to support the BDS Movement against Israel.¹³⁴

7. More than 1,000 artists in the UK pledge not to perform in Israel. Signatories include Brian Eno, Gillian Slovo, Alexei Sayle, John Berger, Richard Ashcroft, Riz Ahmed, Miriam Margolyes and Ken Loach.¹³⁵

8. Lauryn Hill cancels Israel show following BDS pressure.¹³⁶

9. More than 1,600 academic professors and researchers from across the Spanish state sign a declaration in support of the academic boycott.¹³⁷

Many Other achievements occurred in those years. This growth of the academic and cultural boycott is not symbolic, as this affects university cooperation's, academic investment, which will affect universities and institutions in general, as part of the Israeli regime, while Israel helps maintain this regime; BDS combats this regime by BDS all its part.

The other part of the story is that Israel is using its cultural and academic ties to whitewash its violations of International law, and its crimes against Palestinians.

¹³³ White, Ben (2014). Middle East Monitor: *Europe's largest teachers' union endorses Israel boycott call*. Retrieved August 8, 2015. From <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/blogs/politics/11148-europes-largest-teachers-union-endorses-israel-boycott-call>

¹³⁴ BDS Movement (2014). *Costly pro-Israel PR campaign fails to stop UC Los Angeles divestment*. Retrieved Sept 17, 2015. From <http://www.bdsmovement.net/2014/ucla-votes-divestment-12826>

¹³⁵ Stinhauer, Jillian. (2015). Nearly 1,000 Artists commit to Cultural Boycott of Israel. Retrieved February 12, 2016. From <http://hyperallergic.com/183208/nearly-1000-uk-artists-commit-to-cultural-boycott-of-israel/>

¹³⁶ Boker, Ran (2015). *Lauryn Hill cancels Israel show following BDS pressure*. Retrieved February 15, 2016. From <http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4653468,00.html>

¹³⁷ BDS Académico por Palestina. (2015). *Campana de recogida de firmas: BDS Académico por Palestina*. Retrieved February 15, 2016. From <https://pebai.wordpress.com/2014/05/06/campana-de-recogida-de-firmas-bds-academico-por-palestina/>

The **outcome** of a political system is the achievement of its demands, as the BDS movement has not yet reached its demands, in this study we aim to find out the response and support to the movement, and the success of its adopted tactics to measure the opportunities and possibilities of the outcome to occur.

The next chapter will examine the challenges facing mainstreaming the movement in OPT and the U.S., researching those challenges, and the role they play in adopting the movement as a strategic pillar of struggle in the Palestinian resistance, and the effectiveness of the movement on the U.S.-Israeli relations.

Chapter Five

Challenges facing mainstreaming BDS in Palestine and the United States.

5.1 Introduction:

Since 1948, Israel has been colonizing the Palestinian land, by building settlements, land confiscation, theft of natural resources, and ethnic cleansing of the Palestinians. All of these are factors of a Palestinian captive economy, as Israel aims to profit from its occupation of the Palestinian territories.

The challenges facing mainstreaming BDS in the United States and Palestine are different. In Palestine the challenges are mainly on the local level and are related to the Israeli occupation and the Palestinian Authority attitudes and wills. It also depends on the Palestinian people to decide to boycott. It also depends on the level of aggression of the occupation, and the economical agreements with the occupation.

In the United States, the main indicator of promoting BDS is the institutes, students, and raising the people's awareness. The challenges mainly came from the Israeli lobbies against the movement, as AIPAC, and many other Anti BDS

campaigns. In the United States there are many groups and campaigns that adopt and endorse BDS, maybe not all the BDS mandate, but still working toward BDS against Israel. Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP), are one of the main institutions supportive to BDS.

Other factors include the political system of the United States, and the different laws in different states, positively helping mainstream BDS or could be against it.

As BDS depends on the International law and is considered as a human rights movement, in the United States it would be hard to fight it by laws, as AIPAC tried many times before.

In this chapter, the study will try to explore the challenges facing mainstreaming BDS, and mainly focuses on Palestine and the United States.

This chapter will try to search the **Feedback**, which is the challenges facing mainstreaming the movement, as this will also indicate the opportunity the movement may gain to become a strategic method of the Palestinian resistance.

Its capacity to overcome those challenges, and, as mentioned in the methodology of this research, the ability to act against these challenges indicates the potential for success.

5.2 Challenges facing mainstreaming BDS in Palestine

5.2.1 Economical Challenges

After the Oslo Accord and the Paris Economical agreement, the Palestinian market became will connected with the Israeli one, as Israel controls all the exports and imports from in and out of Palestine. The Israeli policies were largely successful in suppressing Palestinian resistance for the first two decades of the

occupation.¹³⁸ Israel is using the occupied Palestinian territories (OPT) as a market for its own companies and settlements. Any Israeli companies using the West Bank requires Illegal settlements for their factories like AHAVA (the beauty products company for extracted minerals from the Dead Sea), one of the main Israeli companies operates in the West Bank.¹³⁹

The ongoing Israeli land confiscation and thieving of natural resources and restriction of movement have created conditions of severe economic hardship to Palestinians.

The combined poverty rate of the West Bank and Gaza Strip is 70%; the unemployment rate is 26%. And as an example of the captive Palestinian market, 98% of the P.A electricity is provided by Israel.¹⁴⁰

Almost all of the Palestinian markets are controlled by Israel, by the Israeli policies and the Palestinian economical agreements with Israel.

The Paris Protocol defines the economic relationship between Israel and the Palestinian Authority. It was signed for an interim period of five years and was to be implemented gradually. The Paris Protocol remains to this day the economic framework for relations between Israel and the Palestinian Authority, even after the second intifada (the Palestinian uprising beginning in 2000) and Israel's Disengagement Plan from the Gaza Strip. In July 2012, the two sides signed a new agreement to facilitate components of the Paris Protocol.¹⁴¹ Another important element that challenges the mainstream of the BDS movement in Palestine is the Palestinian economical dependency. This includes the Israeli control of the

¹³⁸ Hever, Shir. (2010). *The Political Economy of Israel's Occupation: Repression Beyond Exploitation*. New York. Pluto Press.

¹³⁹ Who Profit (2012). AHAVA: Tracking the Trail Trade of Settlement Products. (PDF). Retrieved October 12, 2015. From http://www.whoprofits.org/sites/default/files/ahava_report_final.pdf

¹⁴⁰ The Palestinian Grassroots Anti Apartheid wall Campaign (2014), *The Palestinian Economy: Occupation, De-development and normalization* (PDF). Retrieved 5 October, 2015. From <http://www.stophthewall.org/downloads/pdf/Palestinian%20Economy%20FS.pdf>

¹⁴¹ Btselem (2012). *Restriction of Movement: the Paris Protocol*. Retrieved 6 October, 2015. From http://www.btselem.org/freedom_of_movement/paris_protocol

Palestinian natural resources in area C, the land confiscation for economic reasons and for building settlements, which will be used as an economical platform. The Palestinian Authority with the captive economy and the cooperation with the occupation economy, and the absence of laws or acts to protect the Palestinian economy lead to the weakening of it, and strengthening its ties with the Israeli one.

While Israeli companies and producers have all the facilitates and encouragement to work in the Occupied Territories even in the areas controlled by the P.A, the Palestinians companies and producers are not allowed to export to Israel except in certain cases which is under Israeli's full control. Meanwhile the Israeli settlements in the West Bank are working as an economical platform for the Israeli companies. They dominate many sectors, one of which is the agricultural sector in the Jordan Valley, this being one of the sectors in which the Palestinian Authority did not invest and one of the most important in the West Bank.

The Jordan Valley consists of almost 61% of the West Bank, and has the better quality land for agriculture, is forbidden to Palestinians, which would have pushed forward the Palestinian Economy.

The Palestinian market is a captive one, held by binding economic agreements, subject to impediments and restrictions imposed by Israel, often in the name of security and quality-control. As an example, the Palestinian pharmaceutical industry has limited access imposed by Israel to trade in various parts of the world, including the Arab world- it's immediate market, and suffers from difficulties transferring merchandise from the West Bank to the Gaza Strip.¹⁴² All the while, the Israeli industry enjoys international trade, including within the Palestinian market. Large Israeli pharmaceutical companies have expanded into multinational corporations, encompassing worldwide markets. The Palestinians, on the other hand,

¹⁴² Captive Economy (2012). who profit. Retrieved March 5th 2016. from http://www.whoprofits.org/sites/default/files/captive_economy_0.pdf

must deal with the Israeli customs and health regulations in order to import raw materials and end products, or export pharmaceuticals.

The movement demonstrated its ability to confront challenges when it kept the call not only for a settlement boycott, but for boycott, divestment, and sanctions against Israel itself. The movement works on the grassroots level, so it is not tied with those agreements, as the Palestinian Authority is.

These challenges will remain and will weaken the BDS measures against Israel, as these measures need to be supported by the Palestinian government, which not adopting those measures, and not advancing an independent Palestinian economy.

It will stay as a major challenge to the BDS movement, until it changes its policies, or at least takes some measures that can directly or indirectly help reaching some governmental or official pressure against Israel.

5.2.2 Political Challenges

5.2.2.1 Palestinian Authority Policies

After the Palestinian Liberation organization signed the Oslo Agreement with Israel, and after the establishment of the Palestinian Authority in 1994, the Palestinian Authority signed the Paris Economical Protocol, the main economical agreement that governs and regulates the trade of the Palestinian market, and the relations with the Israeli one. As mentioned in the previous section, the agreement of the Palestinian Authority with Israel is one of the main factors of the Palestinian controlled market.

Early in 2014, the Palestinian Authority signed an agreement with Delek Nobel, the Israeli American gas company to buy \$1.2 billion worth of gas over a 20-year period.¹⁴³

This deal indicates that the Palestinian Authority is not only governed by the Paris Protocol. This gas deal is not opposed to the P.A, they chose to enter into it, and there are many other alternatives to purchase gas from other places, without an illegal restriction from Israel depending on an economic agreement.

On the other side, Israel uses restrictions and sanctions against the Palestinian Authority, the tensions involved in Israel's policy of using financial sanctions against the PA, as well as the reason for their usually limited duration.

Restriction on the Palestinian Authority, and the Palestinian Authority policies toward the cooperation with the occupation, are the main factors of the Palestinian captive economy, and considered as main challenges to the mainstreaming BDS in Palestine, as it will be hard for the BDS to cut economical ties between Israel and the Palestinian economy. Therefore the BDS movement shall implement and practice pressure against Israel by popular means of boycott.

The implementation of the Economical peace, and what it meant to create peace through economic ties, as industrial zones by the P.A and the Israeli government is part of the Palestinian Authority policies, that undermine the BDS movement, and undermines the whole Palestinian struggle, while the P.A suspended the negotiations with Israel, it kept the back door open for economical projects, such as Industrial Zones.

The plans to develop 3 or 4 new joint Palestinian-Israeli industrial zones in the West Bank, where the products made in these zones will have a “made in Palestine” stamp and therefore these zones will have an advantage that previous Israeli Industrial

¹⁴³ Azran, Eran. (2014). *Palestinians Become First Customer of Israel's Leviathan Gas Field*. Retrieved 5 September, 2015. From <http://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/business/1.567216>

zones in the OPT did not, they can now act as gateways to the Arab and international markets including the EU market, and be part of passing the EU regulation against the settlement products, which have in the past rejected products made in the Israeli settlements. The first and largest Joint Industrial Zone was planned to be built near Jenin and it was predicted to be operational by 2011 but it did not.

All of the new joint industrial zones will have a gate on the Palestinian side where Palestinian workers enter from another entrance on the Israeli side where the products go out into Israel for export or sales¹⁴⁴. Products from these zones can only be exported through Israeli companies. The zones are under strict security control even though they are built on Palestinian land, the security will not be monitored by Palestinians but by private companies approved by Israel. Also, that all the industrial zones will be walled in by the apartheid wall which is a violation of international law according to the International Court of Justice in the Hague, which stated that using the wall for any purpose, even if it were to help the Palestinians, is considered collaboration in a war crime, adding to that the companies which will operate in the industrial zones are not going to be Palestinian companies but are actually Israeli or international.¹⁴⁵

What indicates a successful act toward pressuring the Palestinian Authority policies and pressuring it to adopt the BDS movement, is the adoption of the movement by the PLO central council in March 27, 2015, when the PLO called on the P.A to adopt the movement tactics against Israel.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴ Shir Hever(2009).The Industrial Zones in the Westbank : www.publicsolidarity.de (2016). Internet Archive. Retrieved 14 March 2016, from <https://archive.org/details/ShirHeverThe>

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Aljazeera.net,. (2015). *Nas Baian Almajles Almarkazy Lemonadamt Altahrir*. Retrieved 4 November 2015, from <http://www.aljazeera.net/news/reportsandinterviews/2015/3/6>

Still, the BDS movement needs to practice popular pressure against the P.A policies toward changing them. This pressure must change from statement to public actions, demonstrations and strikes.

5.2.3. Israeli Policies and Practices

Israel Policies including economic normalization, land confiscations, settlement expansion, stealing Palestinian natural resources, the apartheid wall, and many others are all factors that weaken the Palestinian economy, and maintain its dependency on the Israeli one.

Normalization will be the example of the practices that directly aim to whitewash Israel's crimes against Palestinians, and violations of international law, also as one of the most important tools, that Israel is using to fight the BDS movement.

Normalization is one of the most important tools that Israel uses to rebrand itself, after the reputational damage caused by the BDS. The aim of normalization is to normalize an abnormal relation between two parties; in this case it is to normalize the relations between Palestinians and Israelis.

The Palestinian Campaign for Cultural and Academic Boycott of Israel (PACBI), which is part of the BNC, has the overall responsibility of the academic and culture boycott of Israel, and fighting normalization, launched in 2004, a year before the call of BDS.

PACBI defines normalization as the "occupation of mind", and explains normalization not only in the Palestinian context but also in the Arab one as "the participation in any project, initiative or activity, in Palestine or internationally, that aims (implicitly or explicitly) to bring together Palestinians (and/or Arabs) and Israelis (people or institutions) without placing as its goal resistance to and exposure

of the Israeli occupation and all forms of discrimination and oppression against the Palestinian people."¹⁴⁷

PACBI normalization guidelines were adopted by the BNC in 2007, which give those guidelines people legitimacy as the BNC is the biggest coalition in the Palestinian civil society.

According to PACBI, normalization guidelines divided to three categories: Palestinians who live in the West Bank and Gaza, Palestinians who live in Israel, the Arab world citizens.

BDS anti normalization ideology is brought from the idea that you cannot have a normal relation between the oppressed and the oppressors, first you must end oppression.

Economical, cultural, and academic normalization are challenges facing mainstreaming BDS, as Israel uses it to whitewash its real identity, as an apartheid state, said Jamal Juma'a.¹⁴⁸

One of the most important examples of normalization led by a member with a suspended membership of the BDS National Committee is the Palestinian General Federation of Trade Unions (PGFTU) and its relation with the Israeli General Federation of Labor (Histadrut).

This relation who justified by PGFTU as it protects the Palestinian workers in Israel, while the BNC considers this as normalization that whitewashes the crimes and human rights violations of the Palestinian workers.

In 1970, the Histadrut was part of an agreement that exploit the Palestinian workers, which resulted to military administration supervising employment. Their wages would be distributed by the payments department of the National Employment

¹⁴⁷ PACBI. (2011), *Israel's Exceptionalism: Normalizing the Abnormal*, August 16, 2015. Retrieved from <http://pacbi.org/etemplate.php?id=1749>

¹⁴⁸ Jom'a, Jamal.(2015) Personal Interview.

Service. National Insurance coverage was permitted in only three areas: work accidents, employer bankruptcy and a grant on the birth of a child in an Israeli hospital. Ten percent of the wages of Palestinian workers went to a special “Equalization Fund,” which was supposed to supply the population in the Occupied Territories with social and cultural services. In fact, this money was used to finance the occupation. The workers did not receive unemployment and disability benefits, old-age pensions, a monthly child allowance or vocational training.¹⁴⁹

PGFTU relations with Histadrut is about the one percent that is deducted from Palestinian workers wages.

Mohamad Arqawi, vice president of the General Union of Palestinian Workers (GUPW), one of the biggest and oldest trade unions in Palestine, and member of the BNC, said " PGFTU is part of the International relation with the Histadrut, and this weakens the Boycott within the trade union movement, and the International Trade Union Federation (ITUC), as PGFTU relations can prevents any resolution that could lead to the suspension of Histadrut membership in International federation ".¹⁵⁰

This shows how a Palestinian trade union can be part of the challenges to a Palestinian movement that seeking for justice, freedom and equality for all the Palestinian people including laborers. It also shows how those normalization relations can be very effective in weakening the movement’s efforts.

Arqawi continues “we work with other trade unions to isolate the Histadrut through the Workers Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) where the Histadrut is not a member of, and on boycotting Israel in general”.¹⁵¹

Another example of PGFTU sabotaging the efforts of boycotting Histadrut, in 2010. UNISON, the second biggest Trade Union in the UK, boycotted the Histadrut,

¹⁴⁹ Greenestein, Tony (2009). *Histadrut: Israel Racist Trade Union*. Retrieved March 09th 2016, From <https://electronicintifada.net/content/histadrut-israels-racist-trade-union/8121>

¹⁵⁰ Mohamad Arqawi. Personal interview. (March 2016).

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

after having met with PGFTU, and reported their meeting as “The PGFTU said that UNISON should maintain links with the Histadrut so that we could specifically put pressure on them to take a more vocal public stance against the occupation and the settlements.”¹⁵²

In Gaza, PGFTU released a statement in which it reaffirms its unwavering commitment and huge support to the BDS movement, and Histadrut boycott.

In the statement¹⁵³, signed by 15 trade unions in besieged Gaza, Palestinian trade unionists reaffirmed their rejection of any form of normalization with the Israeli state and its institutions, as defined by the Palestinian BDS National Committee (BNC).

This also shows that PGFTU is divided on the relations with the Histadrut, as this type of relation could not be maintained for a long time, which means that the BNC is combating this relation by the PGFTU itself.

5.2.4 Challenges of The BDS National Committee (BNC)

The challenges facing the BDS National Committee (BNC), the Palestinian committee that leads the global BDS movement, are divided between the lack of staff capacity, and the weakness of general assembly members

The BNC consists of civil society organizations and political parties, as the BNC is the biggest Palestinian coalition, the membership is only for coalitions, unions, networks, and no individual organizations can apply for a BNC membership, but should be under the coalition that joined the BNC.

¹⁵² Greentsein, Tony.(2011). UNISON Boycott of Histadrut Sabotaged by PGFTU's Shaher Saeed. Retrived March 9th 2016. From <http://azvsas.blogspot.co.il/2011/05/unison-boycott-of-histadrut-sabotaged.html>

¹⁵³ *PGFTU (Gaza) Reaffirms “Unwavering Commitment” to BDS and Histadrut’s boycott* (2015). Retrived March 9th 2016. From <http://bdsmovement.net/2015/pgftu-gaza-reaffirms-unwavering-commitment-to-bds-and-histadruts-boycott-13223#sthash.O2FdI5Qy.dpuf>

The Structure of the BNC is divided between the general assembly and the secretariat. While the general assembly mainly draws the guidelines and policies, the secretariat implements the goals of the movement, and follows the daily work.

One of the challenges the BNC faces is to mainstream the BDS movement within the Palestinians society, as many Palestinian consider the BDS movement as a global one, not led by Palestinian, even though it is a Palestinian-led global movement.¹⁵⁴

The BNC was never meant to lead the movement on the local level. The concept was that the general assembly members implement plans and campaigns for the local boycott, depending on the BNC strategies and tactics, including the political parties. This has succeeded on many levels, but does not help with mainstreaming the BDS movement or the BNC, and does not have a high level of effectiveness on boycott the Israeli products in the Palestinian market.

The boycott campaigns works under the umbrella of the members, not the BNC as a coalition, which means that the BDS is not branded and reflected on those campaigns.

Jamal Jum'a said "In response to this challenge, the BNC will lead a unified boycott campaign on the national level at the end of the year of 2015".¹⁵⁵

The BNC is a wide coalition that represents the vast majority of the Palestinian society, which means different agenda and political backgrounds.

Ingrid Jaradat, a BNC secretariat member represented BADIL for a long time, said " two main challenges, the first is that many of the BNC members are part of the political forces which are part of the P.A, and the P.L.O, where different agenda and

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Jamal Jom'a. Personal Interview 2015.

political programs may contradict with the BDS movement, which considered as a human rights movement, which have no political mandate”¹⁵⁶

What Ingrid mentioned represents a big challenge to the BNC; how to maintain itself as the biggest coalition that represents the majority of the Palestinians, which the P.A is part of, and how to maintain the concept of BDS, which will still be a challenge as the P.A policies are part of the challenges themselves.

Ingrid continues “the problem is not the occupation, as many members consider it, how can we implement the right of return through ending occupation only.”

This reveals a concept of misunderstanding the logic behind the BDS call, and the three rights, connected with the settler colonialism occupation apartheid regime, which considers occupation as part of a bigger regime of oppression. "Another challenge to the movement is that it cannot accomplish achievements in a short term period, and this reflects onto campaigns of its members, who they lack of enthusiasm to do campaigns because of its long term period and impact,"¹⁵⁷ Ingrid added.

The BNC should connect the BDS achievements on the international level to the local one, in order to push the members forward to be more involved in campaign or to initiate their own.

The challenges facing the BNC will continue, as it's much harder to maintain a wide coalition with members that have different agendas. However, the BDS can still unify them at least on the tactics it uses against Israel, but not on political mandates, as the movement chooses not to have any political mandates but human rights only to remain united and to keep on presenting the majority of the Palestinian people.

¹⁵⁶ Ingrid, Jaradat. Personal Interview. February 9 2016.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid

The BNC remains as the broad coalition that unites the majority of the Palestinian people, and the shield to protect the BDS movement, and keeps its Palestinian leadership. Those challenges must not remain, it should be clear that those who are part of the BNC, have to promote, maintain and protect it, and start implementing campaigns that respect its guidelines, as those guidelines are a part of their internal policies, and strategies.

5.3 Challenges Facing Mainstreaming BDS in the United States

5.3.1 Israel-American Relations

Successive U.S. presidents and many members of Congress have demonstrated a commitment to Israel's security and to maintaining close U.S.-Israel defense, diplomatic, and economic cooperation.¹⁵⁸

The United States is the most important ally to Israel, this refers to many reasons, one of which, and the most important, is the Israeli lobby within the political system and structure of the political scope of the United States, from the Congress to the Executives.

BDS movement can affect people in the United States, but it still hard to affect the government,

One important element of this relation is the huge fund that Israel annually receives from the United States which includes the military sector. The U.S.-Israel bilateral relationship is strong, anchored with over than \$3 billion in foreign military financing annually.

The United States is Israel's largest single trading partner. The top five U.S. exports to Israel are: diamonds, machinery, agricultural products, aircraft, and optic and medical instruments. The top five U.S. imports from Israel are: diamonds, pharmaceutical products, machinery, optic and medical instruments, and agricultural products.

The U.S. direct investment in Israel is primarily in the manufacturing sector. Both have had a free trade agreement since 1985, serving as the foundation for expanding trade and investment between the two countries by reducing barriers and

¹⁵⁸ Zanoti, Jim (2014). *Israel: Background and U.S. Relations*. (PDF). Retrieved 12 October, 2015. From <https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RL33476.pdf>

promoting regulatory transparency. To facilitate economic cooperation, the two countries convene a Joint Economic Development Group each year to discuss economic conditions in both countries and possible economic reforms for the coming year.

In addition to financial and military aid, the United States also provides political support to Israel, having used its United Nations Security Council veto power 42 times with respect to resolutions relating to Israel, out of a total 83 times in which its veto has been used. Between 1991 and 2011, 15 vetoes were used to protect Israel out of 24 in total.¹⁵⁹

Bilateral relations have evolved from an initial U.S. policy of sympathy and support for the creation of a Jewish homeland in 1948 to an unusual partnership. Israel to depend on the United States for its economic and military strength, with the American superpower trying to balance other competing interests in the region. And to maintain Israel is a strategic ally, and to strengthen the U.S. presence in the Middle East.¹⁶⁰

While the strong relations between Israel and the United States is a challenge to mainstreaming BDS in the United States, the strength of the people is far different from the politicians, and BDS is supported by these people, represented by the strong allies of the movement in the United States.

Rebecca Volkomerson, said on the question of the Israeli US relation and how this can challenge the mainstream the movement, "that the movement came from Palestine, and emerged as a strategy to challenge the Israeli-US strategic relationship, because there has been no way to challenge it, showing how strong it is"¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ Okhovat, Sahar (2011). *The United Nation Security Council: Its Veto Power and Its Reform*. Retrieved 15 October, 2015. From

<http://www.miat.org.au/articles/UNSC%20FULL%20REPORT%20Sept%202011.pdf>

¹⁶⁰ Mark, Clyder R. (2002). *Israel-Unites States Relations*. Retrieved 15 October, 2015. From

<http://fas.org/man/crs/IB82008.pdf>

¹⁶¹ Rebecca Volkemerson, Personal interview, September 22,2015.

Rebecca's responds to this question indicating that the movement is challenging the Israeli-American relation, and the success of the movement in the U.S. also indicates the movement's ability to act toward these challenges.

The United States is the strongest power in the world, with huge economical and diplomatic ties, and can use those ties to protect Israel from any measures, or isolation. For this, the BDS movement plays a huge role in changing the public opinion in the U.S.A. As BDS tries to change Israel's biggest allies toward the Palestinian cause, which will lead to a change in the word policies and acts toward the Palestinian people.

5.3.2 Israeli Lobby Groups

AIPAC: as an example

The American Israeli Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) is a lobbying group that advocates pro-Israeli policies to the Congress and executive branch of the United States, while preventing any anti-Israeli policies, as it does with the BDS.

In 2014, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu told the cheering delegates, in his keynote speech to the annual gathering of the powerful Israel lobby group AIPAC in Washington, DC "One movement that's definitely on the wrong side of the moral divide is the movement to boycott Israel, the so-called BDS,"¹⁶²

The AIPAC is one of the lobbying groups that most works on anti BDS policies through the US Congress, to fight the escalated growth of the movement in

¹⁶² Abunimah, Ali. (2014) *At AIPAC, Netanyahu launches "desperate" attack on BDS movement*. Retrieved 24.4.2015. <http://electronicintifada.net/blogs/ali-abunimah/aipac-netanyahu-launches-desperate-attack-bds-movement>

the US. In an April 2015 AIPAC Memo¹⁶³, stated that "Though philosophically similar to the Arab League Boycott, BDS represents a new and unique challenge to Israel. BDS is an international, decentralized effort to delegitimize, stigmatize and isolate Israel, and it pirates the language of international law in its pursuit." The Memo Added "While BDS has many components, perhaps the most dangerous actions are led by states or international institutions that make routine business with Israel more difficult, sanctionable or even liable to criminal prosecutions."

Within many tries to delegitimize and stop the growth of the BDS movement through congressional bills, the AIPAC's last effort in April 2015, was to add an amendment to the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) between the US and the European Union. The amendment was for the authorization of negotiations on the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership will add the discouragement of BDS (Boycott, Divest, Sanction) actions as a principal objective for US envoys in the talks with Europe. This Bill ties the rejection of the BDS movement and the future of U.S trade agreement with the EU. H.R.825. the AIPAC was lobbying for this bill months before.¹⁶⁴

This is one of the many fights the AIPAC has carried out against the BDS efforts in the U.S and linked it to the EU, to protect the Israeli apartheid regime from being isolated, and to impose immorality to the free trade agreement with other countries. This bill is not yet confirmed by vote, and many BDS coalitions in the U.S are pressuring the Senate not to do so. The U.S campaign to end the Israeli occupation is part of the BDS coalition that led the efforts to stop this bill, it launched a campaign against this, asking activist to call senates saying " BDS are legitimate, nonviolent tactics to oppose Israel's ongoing oppression of Palestinians" and "The U.S has no

¹⁶³ MEMO. (2015), AIPAC on BDS: *AN overview and Approach*. Retrieved 24.4.2015, <http://www.aipac.org/~media/Publications/Policy%20and%20Politics/AIPAC%20Analyses/Issue%20Memos/2015/AIPAC%20Memo%20-%20BDS%20An%20Overview%20and%20Approach.pdf>

¹⁶⁴ Mondoweiss .(2015), *AIPAC behind new US/EU trade legislation designed to thwart BDS*. Retrieved 24.4.2015, <http://mondoweiss.net/2015/02/behind-legislation-designed#sthash.sliJaF8b.dpuf>

right to pressure other countries not to limit their commercial relations with Israeli businesses, especially those located in Israel's illegal settlements"¹⁶⁵

The fact is that AIPAC is concerned about legislations against BDS is an indicator of mainstreaming. It demonstrates how much they are worried because of the BDS movement. All those legislations against the BDS movement on Federal and states level are reasons which will launch more conversations about the movement, which will be covered by Media, and will lead to the movement to the mainstream.¹⁶⁶

5.3.4 Legal and Congressional work

One of the most important methods of acting against the BDS movement in the United States is using the congress by lobbying its members to legislate laws against the movement.

Law fare (legal war) which is considered as challenges to the BDS movement occurred on the Federal and state level in the United States, which aim to stop the movement, and prevent it from reaching the mainstream.

Members of Congress have introduced at least 14 anti-BDS bills and resolutions, of which only one has been signed into law.

One of the bills, known informally as the "customs bill", also contains an anti-BDS section. Josh Ruebner, the US campaign to End the Israeli occupation policy advisor, said "Policy Director of all four versions of these trade bills, the House version of the "customs bill" contains the most offensive anti-BDS language. It would require the president to report to Congress on BDS decisions made by foreign persons and require a foreign company operating in the United States to report on foreign

¹⁶⁵ US Campaign to end Israel Occupation (2015, Urgent: Anti-BDS Bill Up for Vote Tomorrow, Retrieved 24.4.2015, <http://endtheoccupation.org/article.php?id=4399#sthash.dbMkK6ax.dpuf>

¹⁶⁶ Rebecca Volkemerson, Personal interview, September 22,2015.

individuals and institutions boycotting or divesting from the company"¹⁶⁷. After much iteration, the bill is almost finalized and awaits final Senate approval.

There are other additional anti-BDS bills and resolutions on various aspects of BDS technically moving, although none of them, except the most recent two, appear to be moving forward. The latest-H.Res.567, which condemns the EU for labeling Israeli settlement goods¹⁶⁸.

At States level, Tennessee, Indiana, Illinois and South Carolina passed anti-BDS bills and resolutions.

From February to March 2014, South Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Florida house of representatives passed non-binding resolutions condemning American Studies Association (ASA) boycott of Israel, while Maryland passed state budget, including language condemning ASA boycott.

Other bills seeking to defund or reduce fund for colleges or universities subsidizes groups that boycott Israel.¹⁶⁹

In April, Tennessee and Indiana passed resolutions condemning BDS as anti-Semitic. They have no impact on the law in these states.¹⁷⁰

In 2015, Illinois passed a bill requiring the state to divest from foreign corporations which have acceded to BDS campaigns. As the text of the bill states" Amends to the Illinois Procurement Code prohibit a State agency from entering into a

¹⁶⁷ Ruebner, Josh. (2015, June 3rd). Take Action: Tell Your Rep. Not to Legislate against BDS. Retrieved February, 04 2016. from <http://www.endtheoccupation.org/article.php?id=4469#sthash.mUeIPPWu.dpuf>

¹⁶⁸ Reubner, Josh. (2016). US Law Makers Slam EU to Defend Israeli Settlements. Retrieved February, 04 2016. From <https://electronicintifada.net/blogs/josh-ruebner/us-lawmakers-slam-eu-defend-israeli-settlements>

¹⁶⁹ Palestine Legal. (no Date). Anti-BDS Legislation in the US. PDF version. Retrieved February, 4th 2016. From <http://static1.squarespace.com/static/548748b1e4b083fc03ebf70e/t/56017cabe4b0c86b22221071/1442938027914/Timeline.pdf>

¹⁷⁰ Ibid

contract subject to the code with a business that boycotts Israel. Amends the General Provisions Article of the Illinois Pension Code requires each of the 5 State-funded retirement systems (or the Illinois State Board of Investment where applicable) to make its best efforts to identify all companies that boycott Israel in which it has direct or indirect holdings and, under certain circumstances, to divest itself of holdings in those companies." ¹⁷¹

This bill is very consequential because it has a tangible effect on state law and is also serving as a model for additional state-level anti-BDS legislations.

South Carolina passed a bill preventing contractors with the state from engaging in discrimination based on national origin. Ostensibly a civil rights bill which does not mention Israel, this bill was declared to be a big victory against the BDS movement. ¹⁷²

The New York bill was the most dangerous yet of any anti-BDS state-level legislation. They would create a blacklist of individuals, nonprofits, and corporations supporting BDS and bar them from contracting with the state. Individuals or entities included on this blacklist would be barred from partnering with state agencies unless they can demonstrate in a written statement that they are “not engaged in boycotting Israel.”¹⁷³

¹⁷¹ STATE-PROHIBITED TRANSACTIONS, Bill Status of HB4011. 99th Illinois General Assembly. (24\4\2015).

¹⁷² Wilner, Michael (2015). South Carolina becomes first US state to take action against anti-Israel boycotts. Retrieved February 7th 2016. From <http://www.jpost.com/Diaspora/South-Carolina-becomes-first-US-state-to-take-action-against-anti-Israel-boycotts-405120>

¹⁷³ Freidman, Nora.B (2016). New York bill would create official blacklist of Israel boycott supporters. Retrieved February 7th 2016. From <https://electronicintifada.net/blogs/nora-barrows-friedman/new-york-bill-would-create-official-blacklist-israel-boycott-supporters>

Other similar bills were introduced in Florida and California; those bills aim to combat the BDS movement, in different ways, by creating a black list for companies, pension funds and even individuals.

Those bills came in a time of many activists and pro-Palestinian solidarity groups are adopting the BDS as a non-violent tactic to pressure Israel to comply with the International law, and to influence public opinion that will be reflect on states and federal level representatives.

Boycotts have long played a significant role in U.S. history, and the Supreme Court has held that boycotts to effect political, social, and economic change are protected by the First Amendment of the Constitution. The call for a boycott of Israel is based on Israel's human rights violations, and is intended to effect social and political change.

Because political boycotts of Israel are constitutionally protected, legislative efforts to punish or suppress BDS often infringe on constitutional principles. This is one of the reasons why most efforts to pass anti-BDS laws fail.

5.3.4.1 TTIP (Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership) as an example:

The United States of America and the European Union Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership agreement is a proposed free trade agreement between the two sides.¹⁷⁴

This agreement is a series of trade negotiations carried out mostly in secret between the EU and US. TTIP is about reducing the regulatory barriers to trade for

¹⁷⁴ Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (no date), Wikipedia: the free Encyclopedia), Retrieved May,17,2015, From, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Transatlantic_Trade_and_Investment_Partnership

big businesses, things like food safety law, environmental legislation, banking regulations and the sovereign powers of individual nations.¹⁷⁵

The Israeli lobby groups in the United States have succeeded in pressuring the Congress to add an amendment to this agreement.

The amendment, reportedly drafted with the American Israel Public Affairs Committee's (AIPAC) blessing,* was introduced in the House of Representatives in February 2015 as HR.825, the United States-Israel Trade and Commercial Enhancement Act (“the Amendment”) by Rep. Peter Roskam (R-IL). It was added later to the larger Customs Bill as an amendment.¹⁷⁶ As there is a reasonable chance some version of the bill will pass, it’s important to understand the Amendment, as well as its Senate counterpart, which passed in May 2015.

This amendment aims to fight the growth of the BDS movement in Europe, while it also could turn down the negotiations, not necessary because of BDS, but also as many other groups reject the TTIP for many other reasons.

This bill is introduced to the Congress to turn this trade agreement into a giant weapon against the Palestinian people and the BDS movement, and the freedom, justice and equality grass roots movement and civil society actors.

The bill will compel all EU member states to crack down on European groups participating in the BDS movement, against Israel in solidarity with the Palestinian people.¹⁷⁷

The amendment to the agreement requires American negotiators to “discourage politically motivated actions to boycott, divest from or sanction Israel and

175 William, Lee (2014), *What is TTIP? And six reasons why the answer should scare you*. The Independent, Retrieved May,17 2015, from <http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/comment/what-is-ttip-and-six-reasons-why-the-answer-should-scare-you-9779688.html>

* **Amendment can be found in <https://www.congress.gov/bill/114th-congress/house-bill/1890/text>**

¹⁷⁷ Barnard, R., Hilary, J(2015), *How EU-US trade deal could thwart “boycott Israel” campaign*. The Electronic Intifada, Retrieved May,17,2015, From <http://electronicintifada.net/content/how-eu-us-trade-deal-could-thwart-boycott-israel-campaign/14290>

to seek the elimination of politically motivated non-tariff barriers on Israeli goods, services, or other commerce imposed on the state of Israel.”¹⁷⁸

This law also applies to the West Bank as controlled by Israel, which gives Israel legitimacy over the occupied territories; this also can be considered against the International law.

This agreement is not only an anti BDS one, it is also an agreement restricting the freedom of speech and political social acts by people, which is a basic right. It is also indicate that the United States and the European Union are running away from their obligation under the international law by negotiating this agreement, as they disrespect this regulation by allowing trading and investment in settlement products, which is a crime under the international law.

This treatment is an attempt to silence the solidarity with the Palestinian people, silencing justice, freedom, and equality.

5.3.4.2 Congressional biased hearing on BDS

In July 28, 2015 the House Committee on Government Oversight and Reform’s Subcommittee on National Security held a hearing named as “The Impact of the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) Movement.”¹⁷⁹ The committee is one of the most influential in the House making this hearing a good way to gauge its respond to issues when they are brought to the general body.

As mentioned by the National Security subcommittee "The purpose of this hearing is to better understand the BDS movement, and review the economic impact of the Movement on American and Israeli businesses, reviewing the goals of BDS

¹⁷⁸ Margolin, Alex,(2015. Honest reporting: *State Department Lashes Out Against Anti-BDS Law*, <http://honestreporting.com/state-department-lashes-out-against-anti-bds-law/>

¹⁷⁹ US Congress, National Security Subcommittee , (2015), *the impact of the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanction Movement*, Hearing Session, <https://oversight.house.gov/hearing/impact-of-the-boycott-divestment-and-sanctions-movement/>

which may or may not be affected by International Trade Law, U.S. federal law, and state law. Adding to that is to seek to establish the formal position of the administration with regard to BDS and to review potential actions by the Department of State to maintain free and open trade among the U.S., Europe and Israel.

The United States administration makes it very clear that the TTIP agreement is an anti BDS one. The guests of the committee were all anti BDS including Daniel Birnbaum, the CEO of SodaStream (a recent target of the BDS), Mark Dubowitz, the executive director of the Foundation for Defense of Democracies — a neoconservative think tank—and professor of law Eugene Kontorovich. Matt Duss, President of the Foundation for Middle East Peace was the sole witness for the Democratic Minority.

The chair of the subcommittee, Representative Ron DeSilva of Gainesville, in his speech stated that¹⁸⁰ “it is clear that the ultimate goal [of the BDS movement] is not to simply exert pressure on Israel to alter its domestic policies, they would like to isolate, de-legitimize, and irrevocably cripple the Jewish state.” He continued to say that BDS is: “better understood as an attempt to single out the world’s only Jewish state for negative treatment through economic warfare. US policy should actively oppose attempts to Boycott Divest and Sanction Israel. As our most dependable ally in the Middle East, the region’s only democracy and a country that shares our values, Israel deserves our steadfast support. We need to nip BDS in the bud.”

The other guest Birnbaum, whose company closed a settlement factory after being the target of a successful BDS campaign, insisted the use of “so-called occupied territory” to describe the West Bank.

¹⁸⁰ Reform, oversight, (*Impact of the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions Movement*), 2015, July 28, retrieved 12 August 2015 from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uVbhn10yInA>

Dubowitz, insisted that the threat of economic sanctions was on par with warfare, and taking the simile further, advocated that the United States form an “economic shield of defense”¹⁸¹ to protect Israel from further isolation. Eugene Kontorovich, a professor of law at Northwestern University, argued that the rising tide of EU sanctions were of more grave importance than BDS in the United States, and insisted that international law did not prohibit the trade of materials or goods produced in the West Bank by Israel. All three majority witnesses repeated oft-heard criticisms of BDS, and intimated that the cause was motivated by anti-Semitism¹⁸².

No Palestinian or explicit advocate for BDS was invited by the committee to testify shows. The Congress is only interested in hearing anti BDS testimony, it did not invite any of the BDS Palestinian National Committee to testify.

In a petition¹⁸³ launched by the US campaign to end the Israeli occupation, it called on Congress to hear from BDS. Congress could have heard from the Palestinian BDS National Committee on the global impact of BDS, or the president of the American Studies Association on its support for the academic boycott of Israel, or the head of the United Church of Christ on its decision to divest from corporations which profit from Israeli occupation.

A very important indicator to the movement’s response to the challenges in the United States is the changing attitude in the American society to the Palestinian cause. The Jewish Voice for Peace partnering and endorsing the BDS call, can be seen as a great indicator to the success in the U.S. It is also a great response against the sabotaging and delegitimization of the movement.

¹⁸¹ <https://oversight.house.gov/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/7-28-2015-Natl-Security-Hearing-on-BDS-Dubowitz-FDD-Testimony.pdf>

¹⁸² <https://oversight.house.gov/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/7-28-2015-Natl-Security-Hearing-on-BDS-Kontorovich-Northwestern-Testimony.pdf>

¹⁸³ Ruebner, Josh.(2015), *Congress Holds BDS Hearing...With No Palestinians!*: Take Action: Tell Congress to Hold Pro-BDS Hearing, retrieved from <http://www.endtheoccupation.org/article.php?id=4523#sthash.0ZDkydEb.dpuf>

Another related indicator is a CNN poll in January 2015 which shows that two thirds of Americans today prefer neutrality towards the Palestinian-Israeli “conflict.”¹⁸⁴ The United States is the main battleground between the Palestinians and every supporter of the Palestinian rights for justice, and everyone who supports a regime of occupation, colonialism and apartheid.

The attacks on BDS in the United States reflects the support and momentum that the movement gained, as all of those challenges are indicators of the growth of the movement, as shown in the success and achievement chapter.

The intervention of the federal government and the states level also shows the strength of the movement, as it affects the public opinion and starts shifting it toward the Palestinian narrative. This will affect the policy makers, and those who are activists in the BDS movement in the U.S universities and campuses will become the policy makers in the next few years, with a different perspective on the conflict in Palestine, not only in Palestine but also in the whole Middle East, which will change U.S foreign policy especially toward Israel, that will affect the economical and political relation between the biggest allies.

Adding to that, the growing criticism of Israel’s policies toward Palestinians in the 1967 OPT, and the Palestinian minority in Israel is growing rapidly between the American Jewish community. And shows the support of the Jewish community in the U.S for the BDS movement, represented by Jewish Voice for Peace.

The growing support from Jews on the international level for the BDS call and for the boycott of Israel shows that the landscape of the debate around BDS and broader peace process in Israel-Palestine is shifting. The emerging local and international constituency of Israeli Jews and the Jewish diaspora, and their adoption

¹⁸⁴ Alexandra Jaffe, C. (2015). *Poll: Majority of Americans oppose Netanyahu invite* - *CNNPolitics.com*. CNN. Retrieved 4 November 2015, from <http://edition.cnn.com/2015/02/17/politics/poll-netanyahu-speech-opposition/index.html>

and promotion of a range of methods that fall within the scope of the BDS campaign is significant. At a deeper level, the growing support of the BDS movement is an indication that the spirit of the boycott call reflects a truly democratic vision that is shared internationally, a call that wants to see equality within Israel, and free Palestinians who live in dignity.

5.3.5 The Change in the U.S Public Opinion

The change of the United States policies toward Palestine must start through changing its public opinion. This change remains a challenge to the BDS movement and its partners, despite the dramatic change in public opinion in the U.S.A in the last few years that is shown in polls. This change did not affect the policies of the U.S government itself, the U.S Tax money and military aid is still flowing to Israel.

A main factor behind the change in the United States public opinion, is the violation of Palestinian Human rights and the escalation of these violations.

In 2014, during the war on Gaza, only 57% of Americans backed Israel's actions in Gaza, despite the overwhelming support for Israel amongst U.S. politicians.¹⁸⁵ In the same poll, a question raised about people's interest, 31% said human rights, 24% said U.S interest, and 14% only choose Israel's interest.

The question reflects the fact that the most concern of the Americans is human rights, which will help mainstream the BDS movement in the U.S as a human rights movement.

Few days later, a different poll showed that amongst those under the age of 30, more than twice as many Americans felt Israel's aggression in Gaza was unjustified (51%) felt it justified (25%).¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁵ CNN poll: *Most Americans support Israel's Gaza campaign - Diplomacy and Defense* (2014). Haaretz.com. Retrieved 5 July 2015, from <http://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/1.606557>

These polls show a dramatic change in the U.S public opinion that is shifting toward the Palestinian narrative and perspective despite the huge misinterpretation of the real situation in the U.S media coverage.

The challenge and the duty of the BDS movement is to build on the shift of the public opinion, relying on the next generation, on those who are now school or university, Whom they are part of the demonstration in solidarity with Palestinians, many of them will be the next congress members, or the next U.S president.

¹⁸⁶ Gallup, I. (2014). *Americans' Reaction to Middle East Situation Similar to Past*.Gallup.com. Retrieved 5 July 2015, from <http://www.gallup.com/poll/174110/americans-reaction-middle-east-situation-similar-past.aspx>

Chapter Six

Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

This chapter will include the conclusion and summary of this study, showing the finding of the study that answers the questions.

6.2 Summary

Decades of nonviolent resistance against oppression, occupation, colonialism, from India and South Africa, to Palestine and United States, have succeeded in achieving the demands of the people, developed over time, through strategies from mass demonstrations to boycott and divestment to global struggle and solidarity.

The aims of this study are to examine the methods of struggle used by Palestinians, the BDS movement as a method of nonviolent resistance, and the challenges facing this movement in Palestine and the United States.

The global movement led by the Palestinian BDS National Committee, the largest Palestinian civil society coalition, was established after the 2005 Palestinian Civil Society call of boycott, divestment and sanction against Israel until it complies with the International Law.

The movement adopted a strategic nonviolent method of struggle. It is also one of the Palestinian methods of struggle for freedom, justice, and equality which – despite the movement's huge growth on the international level, where it has been adopted as an effective method to practice solidarity with Palestinians – has not yet been adopted as one of the pillars of the Palestinian struggle.

The study analyzes other movements' methods and tactics, and compares them to the BDS movement, to study the effectiveness of these methods and how they

helped in achieving the goals of the South Africa Anti-Apartheid movement and the African American Civil Rights Movement.

This study also analyzes the BDS movement and its ability to surpass the obstacles to bringing it to the mainstream, examining the indicators of the movement's success and its opportunities for achieving its demands.

6.3 Conclusions

From the South Africa anti-Apartheid and United States Civil Rights movements, to Palestine, the same nonviolent method of struggle were used in different ways. In South Africa, the movement used boycott and divestment leading to sanctions. In the U.S., the movement used the boycott of public facilities and other means of struggle such as demonstrations.

In Palestine, the BDS movement, as part of the Palestinian struggle to end occupation, colonization and apartheid, has used boycott, divestment and sanctions against Israel as methods of nonviolent resistance.

In comparing the environments of these systems, the study has found that they all aim to resist a regime of oppression, discrimination, and apartheid. The demands are similar in each case; all revolve around ending their respective repressive regimes. In South Africa, the demands were ending white supremacy and discrimination that led to the establishment of the apartheid regime. In the U.S. the demands were ending the harsh injustice and segregations. In Palestine, the BDS movement called for the ending of the Occupation, apartheid and discrimination, and the right of Palestinian refugees to return.

African anti-Apartheid movement was supported by the South African majority among almost 70% of the population, the Civil Rights movement was supported by the majority of African Americans, and the BDS movement is adopted by the great majority of the Palestinian population in the OPT, 1948, and the diasporas, and supported by more than 170 CSO.

The BDS National Committee (BNC) represents the majority of Palestinians, including all the political Islamic parties, NGO networks, trade unions, and other groups, showing that all three movements were supported by the great majority of their populations.

The response can be taken as an indicator of success and achievement of demands. The South African anti-Apartheid movement gained response on different levels after almost 30 years of struggle, drawing the attention of the international community. International solidarity became a campaign of isolation, known as the BDS campaign, which assisted in the struggle against apartheid. This campaign became an integral element of the ANC Four Pillars of Struggle, and another international act took place in the United States sanctions against the Apartheid regime in South Africa.

In the U.S, the support of the Civil Rights Movement from the Asian and Latino societies and the integration of the Black community were huge, apart from pressure from the international community on the United States.

The response to BDS serves as an indicator of the effectiveness of the movement, that need to be adopted as one of the Palestinians pillars of struggle, similarly to South Africa. The national response to the BDS call was the establishment of the BNC in 2007, two years after the BDS call, to serve as a leading body to the Palestinian global movement.

The responses indicate the efficacy of the movement on the Israeli regime of oppression.

In 2013, the Israeli Prime Minister stated he considered BDS as a strategic threat, thus confirming the movement's effectiveness and ability to harm this regime, in addition, he assigned the overall responsibility to combat the movement to the Ministry of Strategic Affairs.

According to the methodology of this study, an analysis of the movements' outputs was conducted. The African anti-Apartheid movement outputs evolved from BDS on a community level to United Nations decisions against the Apartheid regime of South Africa, such as the call from the United Nations to all member countries to

suspend cultural, educational, sporting and other exchanges with the racist regime and with organizations or institutions in South Africa. The outcome of the output is the collapse of the Apartheid regime and the new constitution that led to the elections.

In the U.S Civil Rights Movement, the outcome mainly consisted of congressional acts against discriminatory legislation and other acts of discrimination; desegregation of public schools; prohibition of discrimination in jobs, hiring, and promotions; the voting right act of 1965; and the education amendment of 1972, all of which led to the end of the segregation era.

The BDS movement's output are the responses of the international community. The global response to the call of BDS, and the act of divestment from companies that complicit in the violation of the Israeli regime. The mass popular demonstration in solidarity with the Palestinian struggle.

The initial output of the movement, can be considered an impact on the Israeli regime of apartheid, and the complicit companies, while Veolia and G4S withdraw from the Israeli market, and SodaStream closed its factory in an illegal settlement, Israel's economy lost billions of dollars because of the movement.

This research findings show that the methods of struggle, that the BDS movement uses succeeded in achieving other movement demands. This proves that the BDS movement will succeed in achieving its demands,

The effectiveness of the BDS movement also shows the great opportunity that the movement has to be considered as one of the Palestinian pillars of struggle of nonviolent resistance, indicated by the growth of the movement in its ten year existence.

The other part of the study emphasized the importance of the movement's ability to respond to the challenges of mainstreaming it, the failure of the Israeli strategy to combat the BDS movement by sabotage, distortion.

The continuous growth of the BDS movement and the positive international responses to the BDS call, and the success in building worldwide coalition, and the responses by Israeli officials, all indicate the ability of the movement to overcome the challenges of mainstreaming it.

The BNC change of strategies and interventions on the national level also indicates the ability to produce new strategies and develop them, but still as to be adopted as a strategic method of Palestinian struggle, a changing in the Palestinian Authority policies must occur, and that will occur when the economical agreement with Israel is reviewed or dropped, to build an independent Palestinian economy.

In the United States, the BDS movement can affect and harm the Israeli American relations. The response to the movement by U.S. based coalition and organization, will directly or indirectly affect the Israeli American relations, by changing popular attitudes toward Israel, which will lead to the changing the governmental policies.

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Appendices

APPENDIX A

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 lanned 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.**
- 3. Respecting, protecting and promoting the rights of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes and properties as stipulated in UN resolution 194.**

Endorsed by:

The Palestinian political parties, unions, associations, coalitions and organizations below represent the three integral parts of the people of Palestine: Palestinian refugees, Palestinians under occupation and Palestinian citizens of Israel. Unions, Associations, Campaigns

- Council of National and Islamic Forces in Palestine (Coordinating body for the major political parties in the Occupied Palestinian Territory)
 - Palestinian Independent Commission for Citizen's Rights (PICCR)
 - Union of Arab Community Based Associations (ITTIJAH), Haifa
 - Forum of Palestinian NGOs in Lebanon
 - Palestinian General Federation of Trade Unions (PGFTU)
 - General Union of Palestinian Women (GUPW)
 - General Union of Palestinian Teachers (GUPT)
 - Federation of Unions of Palestinian Universities' Professors and Employees
 - Consortium of Professional Associations
 - Union of Palestinian Medical Relief Committees (UPMRC)
 - Health Work Committees – West Bank
 - Union of Agricultural Work Committees (UAWC)
 - Union of Palestinian Agricultural Relief Committees (PARC)
 - Union of Health Work Committees – Gaza (UHWC)
 - Union of Palestinian Farmers
 - Occupied Palestine and Syrian Golan Heights Advocacy Initiative (OPGAI)
 - General Union of Disabled Palestinians
 - Palestinian Federation of Women's Action Committees (PFWAC)
 - Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI)
 - Palestinian Grassroots Anti-Apartheid Wall Campaign
 - Union of Teachers of Private Schools
 - Union of Women's Work Committees, Tulkarem (UWWC)
 - Dentists' Association – Jerusalem Center
 - Palestinian Engineers Association
 - Lawyers' Association
 - Network for the Eradication of Illiteracy and Adult Education, Ramallah
 - Coordinating Committee of Rehabilitation Centers – West Bank
 - Coalition of Lebanese Civil Society Organizations (150 organizations)
 - Solidarity for Palestinian Human Rights (SPHR), Network of Student-based Canadian University Associations
- Refugee Rights Associations/Organizations
1. Al-Ard Committees for the Defense of the Right of Return, Syria
 2. Al-Awda Charitable Society, Beit Jala

3. Al Awda – Palestine Right-to-Return Coalition, U.S.A
 4. Al-Awda Toronto
 5. Aidun Group – Lebanon
 6. Aidun Group – Syria
 7. Alrowwad Cultural and Theatre Training Center, Aida refugee camp
 8. Association for the Defense of the Rights of the Internally Displaced (ADRID), Nazareth
 9. BADIL Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights, Bethlehem
 10. Committee for Definite Return, Syria
 11. Committee for the Defense of Palestinian Refugee Rights, Nablus
 12. Consortium of the Displaced Inhabitants of Destroyed Palestinian Villages and Towns
 13. Filastinuna – Commission for the Defense of the Right of Return, Syria
 14. Handala Center, ‘Azza (Beit Jibreen) refugee camp, Bethlehem
 15. High Committee for the Defense of the Right of Return, Jordan
- (including personal endorsement of 71 members of parliament, political parties and unions in Jordan)
1. High National Committee for the Defense of the Right of Return , Ramallah
 2. International Right of Return Congress (RORC)
 3. Jermana Youth Forum for the Defense of the Right of Return, Syria
 4. Laji Center, Aida camp, Bethlehem
 5. Local Committee for Rehabilitation, Qalandia refugee camp, Jerusalem
 6. Local Committee for Rehabilitation of the Disabled, Deheishe refugee camp, Bethlehem
 7. Palestinian National Committee for the Defense of the Right of Return, Syria
 8. Palestinian Return Association, Syria
 9. Palestinian Return Forum, Syria
 10. Palestine Right-of-Return Coalition (Palestine, Arab host countries, Europe, North America)
 11. Palestine Right-of-Return Confederation-Europe (Austria, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Sweden)
 12. Palestinian Youth Forum for the Right of Return, Syria
 13. PLO Popular Committees – West Bank refugee camps
 14. PLO Popular Committees – Gaza Strip refugee camps
 15. Popular Committee – al-‘Azza (Beit Jibreen) refugee camp, Bethlehem
 16. Popular Committee – Deheishe refugee camp, Bethlehem
 17. Shaml – Palestinian Diaspora and Refugee Center, Ramallah
 18. Union of Women’s Activity Centers – West Bank Refugee Camps

19. Union of Youth Activity Centers – Palestine Refugee Camps, West Bank and Gaza
20. Women’s Activity Center – Deheishe refugee camp, Bethlehem
21. Yafa Cultural Center, Balata refugee camp, Nablus

Organizations

1. Abna’ al-Balad Society, Nablus
2. Addameer Center for Human Rights, Gaza
3. Addameer Prisoners’ Support and Human Rights Association, Ramallah
4. Alanqa’ Cultural Association, Hebron
5. Al-Awda Palestinian Folklore Society, Hebron
6. Al-Doha Children’s Cultural Center, Bethlehem
7. Al-Huda Islamic Center, Bethlehem
8. Al-Jeel al-Jadid Society, Haifa
9. Al-Karameh Cultural Society, Um al-Fahm
10. Al-Maghazi Cultural Center, Gaza
11. Al-Marsad Al-Arabi, occupied Syrian Golan Heights
12. Al-Mezan Center for Human Rights, Gaza
13. Al-Nahda Cultural Forum, Hebron
14. Al-Taghrir Society for Culture and Arts, Gaza
15. Alternative Tourism Group, Beit Sahour (ATG)
16. Al-Wafa’ Charitable Society, Gaza
17. Applied Research Institute Jerusalem (ARIJ)
18. Arab Association for Human Rights, Nazareth (HRA)

19. Arab Center for Agricultural Development (ACAD)
20. Arab Center for Agricultural Development-Gaza
21. Arab Educational Institute – Open Windows (affiliated with Pax Christie International)
22. Arab Orthodox Charitable Society – Beit Sahour
23. Arab Orthodox Charity – Beit Jala
24. Arab Orthodox Club – Beit Jala
25. Arab Orthodox Club – Beit Sahour
26. Arab Students’ Collective, University of Toronto
27. Arab Thought Forum, Jerusalem (AFT)
28. Association for Cultural Exchange Hebron – France
29. Association Najdeh, Lebanon
30. Authority for Environmental Quality, Jenin
31. Bader Society for Development and Reconstruction, Gaza
32. Canadian Palestine Foundation of Quebec, Montreal
33. Center for the Defense of Freedoms, Ramallah
34. Center for Science and Culture, Gaza
35. Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Ramallah-Al-Bireh District
36. Child Development and Entertainment Center, Tulkarem
37. Committee for Popular Participation, Tulkarem
38. Defense for Children International-Palestine Section, Ramallah (DCI/PS)

39. El-Funoun Palestinian Popular Dance Troupe
40. Ensan Center for Democracy and Human Rights, Bethlehem
41. Environmental Education Center, Bethlehem
42. FARAH – Palestinian Center for Children, Syria
43. Ghassan Kanafani Society for Development, Gaza
44. Ghassan Kanafani Forum, Syria
45. Gaza Community Mental Health Program, Gaza (GCMHP)
46. Golan for Development, occupied Syrian Golan Heights
47. Halhoul Cultural Forum, Hebron
48. Himayeh Society for Human Rights, Um al-Fahm
49. Holy Land Trust – Bethlehem
50. Home of Saint Nicholas for Old Ages – Beit Jala
51. Human Rights Protection Center, Lebanon
52. In'ash al-Usrah Society, Ramallah
53. International Center of Bethlehem (Dar An-Nadweh)
54. Islah Charitable Society-Bethlehem
55. Jafra Youth Center, Syria
56. Jander Center, al-Azza (Beit Jibreen) refugee camp, Bethlehem
57. Jerusalem Center for Women, Jerusalem (JCW)
58. Jerusalem Legal Aid and Human Rights Center (JLAC)
59. Khalil Al Sakakini Cultural Center, Ramallah
60. Land Research Center, Jerusalem (LRC)
61. Liberated Prisoners' Society, Palestine
62. Local Committee for Social Development, Nablus
63. Local Committee for the Rehabilitation of the Disabled, Nablus
64. MA'AN TV Network, Bethlehem
65. Medical Aid for Palestine, Canada
66. MIFTAH-Palestinian Initiative for the Promotion of Global Dialogue and Democracy, Ramallah
67. Muwatin-The Palestinian Institute for the Study of Democracy
68. National Forum of Martyr's Families, Palestine
69. Near East Council of Churches Committee for Refugee Work – Gaza Area
70. Network of Christian Organizations – Bethlehem (NCOB)
71. Palestinian Council for Justice and Peace, Jerusalem
72. Palestinian Counseling Center, Jerusalem (PCC)
73. Palestinian Democratic Youth Union, Lebanon
74. Palestinian Farmers' Society, Gaza
75. Palestinian Hydrology Group for Water and Environment Resources Development-Gaza
76. Palestinian Prisoners' Society-West Bank
77. Palestinian Society for Consumer Protection, Gaza
78. Palestinian University Students' Forum for Peace and Democracy, Hebron

79. Palestinian Women's Struggle Committees
80. Palestinian Working Women Society for Development (PWWSA)
81. Popular Art Centre, Al-Bireh
82. Prisoner's Friends Association – Ansar Al-Sajeen, Majd al-Krum
83. Public Aid Association, Gaza
84. Ramallah Center for Human Rights Studies
85. Saint Afram Association – Bethlehem
86. Saint Vincent De Paule – Beit Jala
87. Senior Citizen Society – Beit Jala
88. Social Development Center, Nablus
89. Society for Self-Development, Hebron
90. Society for Social Work, Tulkarem
91. Society for Voluntary Work and Culture, Um al-Fahm
92. Society of Friends of Prisoners and Detainees, Um al-Fahm
93. Sumoud-Political Prisoners Solidarity Group, Toronto
94. Tamer Institute for Community Education, Ramallah
95. TCC – Teacher's Creativity Center, Ramallah
96. Wi'am Center, Bethlehem
97. Women's Affairs Technical Committee, Ramallah and Gaza (WATC)
98. Women's Studies Center, Jerusalem (WSC)
99. Women's Center for Legal Aid and Counseling, Jerusalem (WCLAC)
100. Yafa for Education and Culture, Nablus
101. Yazour Charitable Society, Nablus
102. YMCA-East Jerusalem
103. Youth Cooperation Forum, Hebron
104. YWCA-Palestine
105. Zakat Committee-al-Khader, Bethlehem
106. Zakat Committee-Deheishe camp, Bethlehem
107. The Palestinian Center for Rapprochement between People (PCR)
108. Alternative Voice in the Galilee (AVIG)

APENDICS B

BDS NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS (BNC)

Council of National and Islamic Forces in Palestine

Gen. Union of Palestinian Workers

Palestinian General Federation of Trade Unions

Palestinian Trade Union Coalition for BDS (PTUC-BDS)

Palestinian NGO Network (PNGO)

Palestinian Nat'l Institute for NGOs

Federation of Indep. Trade Unions

Global Palestine Right of Return Coalition

Occupied Palestine and Syrian Golan Heights Initiative

Gen. Union of Palestinian Teachers

Palestinian Federation of Unions of University Professors and Employees (PFUUPE)

Gen. Union of Palestinian Women

Gen. Union of Palestinian Writers

Union of Palestinian Farmers

Grassroots Palestinian Anti-Apartheid Wall Campaign (STW)

Pal. Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI)

Popular Struggle Coordination Committee (PSCC)

Civic Coalition for the Defense of Palestinian Rights in Jerusalem

Coalition for Jerusalem

Nat'l Committee to Commemorate the Nakba

Union of Public Employees in Palestine-Civil Sector

Gen. Union of Palestinian Peasants

Union of Pal. Charitable Organizations

Union of Professional Associations

Women Campaign to Boycott Israeli Products

Palestinian Economic Monitor

Union of Youth Activity Centers-Palestine Refugee Camps

Agricultural Cooperatives Union

Nat'l Committee for Grassroots Resistance

APENDICS C

PUBLIC FIGURES SUPPORT BDS and Military Embargo against Israel

Evo Morales Bolivian President

Fidel Castro Former Cuban president

Manuel Zelaya Honduran President

Arch. Desmond Tutu, Nobel Peace Laureate, South Africa

Adolfo Peres Esquivel, Nobel Peace Laureate, Argentina

Betty Williams, Nobel Peace Laureate, Northern Ireland

Jody Williams, Nobel Peace Laureate, US

Mairead Maguire, Nobel Peace Laureate, Ireland

Rigoberta Menchú, Nobel Peace Laureate, Guatemala

Jeremy Corbyn, MP (Labour), UK

Roger Waters, Musician, UK

Danny Glover, Hollywood Actor

Aki Olavi Kaurismäki , film director, Finland

Alice Walker, Writer, US

Ascanio Celestini, actor and author, Italy

Federico Mayor Zaragoza, Former UNESCO Director General, Spain

Gillian Slovo, Writer, Former president of PEN (UK), UK/South Africa

Giulio Marcon, MP (SEL), Italy

Ilan Pappé, Historian, author, Israel

John Dugard, Former ICJ judge, South Africa

Judith Butler, Academic, philosopher, US

Ken Loach, Filmmaker, UK

Luisa Morgantini, former vice president of the European Parliament, Italy

Richard Falk, Former UN Special Rapporteur on Occupied Palestinian Territories, US

Ronnie Kasrils, Former minister in Mandela's gov't, South Africa

Sir Geoffrey Bindman, Lawyer, UK

Silvio Rodríguez Cuban musician

Eduardo Galeano Uruguayan author

And many others...