



BDS UNMASKED

RADICAL ROOTS, EXTREMIST ENDS

DAN DIKER

Foreword by
Brig.-Gen. (res.) Yossi Kuperwasser



JERUSALEM CENTER FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS

BDS Unmasked:

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“ Definitely, most definitely we oppose a Jewish state in any part of Palestine.”¹

Omar Barghouti,
BDS leader and activist

“ OK fine. So BDS does mean the end of the Jewish state... BDS is not another step on the way to the final showdown; BDS is the final showdown.”²

Ahmed Moor,
Palestinian student leader
and BDS activist

“ The real aim of BDS is to bring down the State of Israel.”

As’ad AbuKhalil,
Professor of Political Science,
BDS activist,
California State University

“ The Jerusalem Center is a leader in the effort to expose BDS for what it is: anti-peace, anti-Israel and, by singling out only Israel for BDS, anti-Jewish. It deserves our wholehearted support.”

Alan Dershowitz,
Former Felix Frankfurter
Professor of Law,
Harvard Law School

1. Executive Summary

- **BDS is commonly misunderstood in the West.** Many believe it is a progressive, nonviolent boycott movement to establish a Palestinian state in the disputed West Bank. This is a deception. The BDS leadership's publicly stated goal is to delegitimize and isolate Israel internationally with the strategic objective of causing its implosion.
- **So-called "Zionist BDS" activists including some progressive Jewish groups that call for boycotts only of settlements and Jewish businesses in the disputed post 1967 territories are neither Zionist nor progressive.** This more limited BDS campaign is flatly opposed by all Jewish and Zionist parties in Israel's Knesset, as well as the vast majority of the Israeli public. It delegitimizes Israel's democratic institutions including the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government.
- **BDS is not a new movement.** Boycotts have been used against Jews for centuries and against Israel for nearly 100 years, decades before its reestablishment. Jews were boycotted since the Middle Ages, Arab states boycotted the pre-state Jewish community in British Mandatory Palestine, and the Arab League boycotted the State of Israel with its establishment in 1948.
- **BDS campaigns that are limited to boycotting Israel's presence in the West Bank are just as radical as those calling for a total boycott of Israel.** Even these limited territorial boycotts violate the internationally-guaranteed Oslo II interim agreement that called for final status issues such as borders and settlements to be directly negotiated by Israel and the PLO.
- **There is a sharp point of intersection between anti-Semitism and the BDS and delegitimization phenomena.** Whereas historically anti-Semitism was based on religious and later racial arguments against individual Jews that are now proscribed, today's anti-Semitism is based on national arguments against the existence of the Jewish state.
- **In the Palestinian view,** Zionism cannot be countenanced as the national movement of the Jewish people because the Jews are not a people and possess no national or sovereign history in Palestine/the Land of Israel.

- **The Palestinian rejection of Zionism and Jewish nationhood is both a national commitment and a religious imperative.** It is national in the sense that the Palestinians declare their patrimony over all of Palestine. It's also a religiously-based rejection. The geographical area of Palestine was conquered as part of the early Islamic invasions and thus became the "House of Islam" (Dar al-Islam); as such, according to Islamic law, Palestine can never be ruled by non-Muslims.
- **The 2005 BDS call displayed strategic deception in the three conditions the BDS leadership required Israel to fulfill in order to cancel the boycott.** All three conditions – "ending Israel's colonization" of "all Arab lands," recognizing the right of Arab-Palestinian citizens of Israel to full equality, and protecting and promoting the rights of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes and properties in Israel in line with UN General Assembly Resolution 194 – do not refer to the territorial conflict resulting from Israel's victory in the 1967 Six-Day War, but rather refer to Israel's establishment in 1948. It's clear then that BDS requires the dissolution of Israel in order to rescind the boycott.
- **Since 2006 the Palestinian political leadership and civil society have adopted a new, overall warfare strategy featuring delegitimization and BDS as primary tactics.** In this regard, Palestinian leaders and their supporters have taken unilateral actions in international legal and diplomatic forums, while others have continued to perpetrate various forms of terror.
- **The Palestinian strategy of "denormalization" of relations with Israel is an essential feature of the overall Palestinian BDS campaign.** Anti-Normalization, like boycott, was one of the original Arab League responses to the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. Arab states refused to recognize the existence of Israel or engage with Israelis in any way, fearing "normal" relations would confer legitimacy on the newly-established Jewish state.
- **The Palestinian leadership, in contravention of the Oslo peace accords has adopted the same policy of denormalization.** They refuse cooperation with Israel in most fields including culture, sports, trade, and commerce. However, they still accept Israeli security cooperation and monthly financial assistance.
- **BDS is not intended to pressure Israel to accept a two-state solution which is evident by the common BDS chant, "From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free."** This refrain reveals BDS' true intentions to "liberate" both the disputed territories and pre-'67 Israel from the Jews. It parallels the stated goal of Hamas, Fatah, PLO groups, and other radical Arab and Islamic organizations, which is to destroy the nation-state of the Jewish people.

- **Understanding the maximalist aims of BDS presents a challenge to policymakers, shapers of public opinion, and Middle East observers alike.** The BDS movement has exercised tactical sophistication in camouflaging its radical linkages and extremist ends in a language of peace, justice, and human rights that appeals to Western progressive audiences.
- **The 2001 UN World Conference against Racism in Durban, South Africa, was a seminal event in the current global BDS campaign against Israel.** The PLO delegation led by PLO and Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat and his nephew, Nasser al-Qudwa, the Palestinian UN representative, together with other member countries of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation and Western NGOs, formulated the final NGO declaration that isolated Israel as an “Apartheid state.”
- **Despite BDS’ claims of nonviolence, terror groups such as Hamas’ Gaza leadership have endorsed international BDS activities against Israel.** A few of the 2005 BDS call’s signatories are known front organizations for the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, which is a banned terrorist group in the United States.
- **The Palestinian leadership’s denormalization campaign has assaulted the Palestinian political economy.** More than a thousand Palestinians have lost their jobs in shared industrial zones in Area C of the West Bank.
- **Due to BDS pressure, Palestinians no longer enjoy the legitimacy to cooperate publicly with their Israeli counterparts. Even in the most neutral fields,** such as joint music projects, concerts, or sports, any Palestinian (or Israeli) engaging in such cooperative ventures risks being subjected to harsh action by Palestinian officials or protesters for betraying the Palestinian cause.
- **While BDS campus organizations like Jewish Voice for Peace may claim that their mission is to end the Israeli occupation through BDS support and achieve a two-state solution,** its shared activities with groups promoting anti-Semitism and terror also make many pro-BDS campus groups complicit in denying Israel’s right to exist as a Jewish state and even advocating for its destruction. Other campus organizations, like Students for Justice in Palestine, that claim to advocate for ending the occupation of the West Bank, have delegitimized Israel, as a nation-state, espousing positions consonant with Hamas’ violent rejection of the Jewish state.
- **While BDS has achieved relatively minor success in its economic warfare against Israel, the movement’s media prowess has reverberated across European politics and in North American academia.** That is why the BDS movement must be exposed and combated as a subversive strategy whose destructive nature has generated condemnation across the political spectrum in Israel, setting back prospects for a peaceful, negotiated solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

2. Foreword: The Ideological and Political Contexts of the BDS Campaign

Brig.-Gen. (res.) Yossi Kuperwasser

This exposé of the global Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) campaign clarifies the nature of the far-reaching political, economic, legal, and cultural assault on the State of Israel. *BDS Unmasked* traces BDS's historical roots and exposes its end goal of bringing about Israel's dissolution as the nation-state of the Jewish people.

Understanding the complex DNA of the BDS phenomenon requires context and perspective. In my former professional roles, I encountered the delegitimizing ideological and political substructure of BDS, which is a constituent component of the Palestinian leadership's 100-year-old terror campaign and ideological war against Zionism – the credo

What is commonly known as “BDS” in the West is a comprehensive political-warfare endeavor to annul Israel's legitimacy as the Jewish state.

of the Jewish people's return to its ancestral homeland to establish sovereignty after 2,000 years of exile.

My Jerusalem Center colleague Dan Diker, former secretary-general of the World Jewish Congress and the author of this project in research and applied diplomacy, asked that I write a foreword to provide the political and ideological context of the BDS effort to delegitimize and ultimately eradicate Israel.

There is a sharp point of intersection between anti-Semitism and the BDS and delegitimization phenomena that this book addresses. Whereas historically anti-Semitism was based on religious and later racial argumentations that are now proscribed, today's anti-Semitism is based on national argumentation. It claims that the Jews should be treated differently from all other nations because the Jewish state and its citizens are evil; hence, Israel's existence is illegitimate and unjustifiable.

As *BDS Unmasked* reveals, the Palestinian leadership in Ramallah and Palestinian civil society play leading roles in promoting and implementing the international BDS campaign. The common view among all Palestinian factions that support Israel's delegitimization

In the Palestinian view, Zionism cannot be countenanced as the national movement of the Jewish people because the Jews are not a people and possess no national or sovereign history in Palestine/ the Land of Israel.

in general, and BDS specifically, is that Zionism constitutes an injustice that Palestinians must fight and ultimately defeat.

Thus, the historical Jewish longing for a small nation-state, which has entailed reconstituting the Jewish national home (as reaffirmed in the 1922 League of Nations mandate that Great Britain was legally entrusted to implement), is unjust. The Palestinians reject in principle the international legitimacy conferred on Israel's reestablishment as the one and only Jewish nation-state. Instead, the Palestinians insist that Judaism is only a religion, which precludes the Jews from self-determination.

The Palestinian view of Zionism as a discriminatory movement stems from the Palestinian leadership's refusal to accept Jews as neighbors in any Jewish sovereign entity. Palestinian discourse rejects Jews on the basis of the alleged Jewish character: "arrogant, cruel, power-hungry and condescending to Palestinian political culture."³ This Palestinian motif of the Jew as arrogant and cruel is rooted in the DNA of European anti-Semitism and augmented by the Islamic demonization of the Jews as "sons of apes and pigs."⁴ Moreover, Jewish sovereignty contradicts a central tenet of Islam: that no land that was ever conquered by Islam can ever be relinquished to non-Muslims.

In short, the Palestinian rejection of Zionism and Jewish nationhood is both a national commitment and a religious imperative. It is national in the sense that the Palestinians as a people declare their patrimony over all of Palestine. The Palestinian denial of Jewish nationhood is also religiously rooted. The geographical area of Palestine was conquered as part of the early Islamic invasions and thus became "house of Islam" (*Dar al-Islam*); as such, according to Islamic law, Palestine can never be ruled by non-Muslims.

Palestinian Patrimony over the Land of Israel

The Palestinians' denial of any connection between the Jewish people and the Land of Israel, or Mandatory Palestine as it was previously designated under British rule, has fueled their century-long war against Zionism. Their claims of injustice are also based on their demand for exclusive patrimony over the land, whose Islamic sanction makes permanent territorial compromise with Israel impossible.

Thus, the effort to delegitimize Zionism and Israel is based, on the one hand, on core concepts of anti-Semitism, and on the other, on the pillars of the Palestinian national identity as inculcated in the minds of the Palestinian people. Some of these pillars rest on classic anti-Semitic motifs.

The Palestinian understanding of their victimization obviates any accountability for their political violence and terror.

Palestinians, then, regard themselves as the only victims in the conflict. They attribute their exclusive victim status to the “invasions” of the colonialist West as partly manifested in Israel’s establishment, and to Zionism, which, in their view, led to the Palestinian refugee problem and both the 1948 and 1967 “occupations” of what is today Israel and Judea and Samaria (the West Bank).

In their view, the presence of Jews in their own state as a result of the European Holocaust constitutes an oppression of Palestinians that must be ended by any and all means.

Therefore, the Palestinian struggle against Zionism is protracted and irreversible. Its strategies and tactics assume various forms. Key elements include political, cultural, and economic assault, terror, and incitement. The struggle also requires Palestinian steadfastness.

The current BDS assault represents the third phase of the struggle against the Jewish state. The first phase, from 1947 to 1973, was characterized by wars against the prestate Jewish community and subsequently against the newly born Jewish nation-state. The second phase was primarily characterized by terror attacks and lasted from 1973 to 2006, ending with the defeat of the Fatah and Hamas-led Second Intifada.

Since 2006 the Palestinian political leadership and civil society have adopted a new overall warfare strategy featuring delegitimization and BDS as primary tactics. Palestinian leaders and their supporters have taken unilateral actions in international legal and diplomatic forums while others have continued to perpetrate various forms of terror.

Thus, the Palestinian Liberation Organization and its subsidiary body, the Palestinian Authority (PA), have attempted to undermine Israel’s right to self-defense by petitioning international legal bodies such as the United Nations, the International Court of Justice, and the International Criminal Court, accusing the Jewish state of war crimes, genocide, and crimes against humanity.

The PA has also actively and publicly “denormalized”⁵ relations with Israel by refusing any official cooperation in the civil, cultural, economic, and commercial spheres. The PA’s objective is to isolate Israel from the international community.

Radical Islamic Groups and BDS

This delegitimization effort underlying BDS has been conducted along two parallel paths. One is led by Hamas and affiliated groups assisted by the Muslim Brotherhood, Hamas' mother organization, in tandem with ultra-leftist groups. This "Red-Green" alliance calls for Israel's annihilation based on common antinationalist and anticolonialist goals.

These ultra-leftist groups advocate the "one-state solution." Purportedly a peaceful, even inclusive "solution," it calls for Israel's replacement as the nation-state of the Jewish people by a 23rd Arab-Muslim-majority state. In both intention and effect, the one-state solution parallels Hamas' calls for Israel's destruction.

On the other hand, former left-leaning terror organizations such as the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) have adopted, together with Fatah and the PA, a more sophisticated, nuanced, and gradual approach, in which they are joined by ostensibly more mainstream radical-left groups in the West. This camp exploits the agenda and language of human rights, which former Canadian Justice Minister and international human rights attorney Irwin Cotler has labeled "the new religion of our time," to demonize Israel as the embodiment of all evil.⁶

This purportedly more moderate approach exploits various domains that influence the Western mindset regarding the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. These include the media (both traditional and new social media), the political and diplomatic sphere, the education system (primarily universities) including faculty and students, the cultural sector, the legal arena, religious institutions, trade unions, and the economic realm in general.

With the defeat of the Second Intifada in 2006 and, earlier, the collapse of communism, which had made the commitment to destroy Israel a cause célèbre for the Western ultra-leftist organizations of the time, delegitimization's importance and visibility have grown considerably, particularly in the Western liberal discourse.

This new anti-Zionism represents a novel phase in anti-Semitism's long and violent history.

Delegitimization, and by extension, BDS's influence on Western progressive thinking was also facilitated and even exacerbated by Israel's sluggishness in responding to international opprobrium at least until the Goldstone Report of 2009 and the Gaza flotilla raid of 2010. It was also aggravated by the fact that radical Jews and even some Israelis have become important actors in the anti-Zionist camp, manifesting nationally-based and politically correct anti-Semitism as distinct from religious and racial anti-Semitism.

This new mutation was formally defined as anti-Semitism by the U.S. State Department in 2010. This intersection of anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism was also documented by the AMCHA organization in a special March 2016 report on the spread of anti-Semitism on U.S. university campuses.⁷

In short, BDS is a weapon to undermine the legitimacy of Jewish sovereignty within any borders. If left unaddressed, it has the potential to metastasize into a major national-security threat to Israel. The problem is not the relatively minimal economic damage that BDS has caused Israel. Instead, the danger lies in how BDS's anti-Zionist discourse has affected the way in which a growing chorus of liberal thinkers, not just radical theorists, view the Jewish state. In sum, BDS has penetrated the liberal discourse and is moving toward the intellectual mainstream.

BDS Unmasked exposes this nuanced, more sophisticated approach of the BDS promoters, who try to sell their endeavor as an “anticolonialist” human rights campaign. When unmasked, however, BDS is revealed to be anti-Zionist and anti-Semitic at its core.

The human rights network includes organizations that mislead some supporters of human rights into joining these toxic activities, believing that they are advancing a just Israeli-Palestinian peace. BDS crusaders, however, twist authentic and important human rights concerns to suit their own ends.

Fortunately, more and more European governments, the British cabinet, France's Paris City Council, parliamentary forums, university leaders, and public bodies in the United States, Canada, and Australia have been ripping the mask off the promoters of delegitimization and BDS, opposing

their political and economic assaults. Such bodies and individuals have been clarifying to professional and broader publics that it is BDS that is illegitimate, not BDS's victims.

In this comprehensive study, my colleague Dan Diker, who was among the first analysts to realize the strategic danger that BDS poses to Israel's ability to protect its interests and secure its existence, provides, with the scholarly assistance of Arie Kovler and Jamie Berk, a yet more effective and elaborate analysis of the BDS phenomenon.

I am confident that ongoing initiatives such as this in-depth report will expose the truth and overcome BDS's lies, slanders, and underlying assault on Israel's legitimacy. Perhaps then we will have a chance to reach a real, verifiable, and durable Israeli-Palestinian peace based on mutual recognition, including Palestinian recognition of Israel as the nation-state of the Jewish people.

3. Introduction

In recent years, Palestinian assaults against Israel have combined Islamic terror and political warfare.⁸ The global Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions campaign has acted as an operational arm of the global political-warfare campaign against Israel. Radical Islamic terror and political warfare such as BDS both serve a common goal as stated by Islamists and BDS leaders: the elimination of Israel as the nation-state of the Jewish people.⁹

Since the 2001 UN Durban Conference, which isolated Israel as the current incarnation of former Apartheid South Africa, boycotts of Israel have played an increasingly central role in the international campaign to delegitimize and isolate the country. The BDS component of the integrated assault has commanded international attention during wartime and terror campaigns against Israel even in New York City, home to nearly three million Jews. In the summer of 2014, at the height of the Gaza war, hundreds of pro-Hamas protesters in New York City carried placards that read “Israel=Racism and Genocide” and “Palestine from the River to the Sea” – a public call for Israel’s destruction – while unfurling a massive flag from the Manhattan Bridge that read “Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions.”¹⁰

The Palestinian strategy of supporting conventional terror in tandem with political warfare and BDS intensified in 2015. A spike in Palestinian terror shootings, knifings, and vehicle assaults beginning in the fall of 2015 was powered by a Palestinian Authority libel campaign accusing Israel of defiling the Al-Aqsa Mosque compound in Jerusalem, as Palestinian analyst Khaled Abu Toameh has observed.¹¹ Simultaneously, the PA has become a more active player in the BDS campaign.

BDS calls are not meant to pressure Israel to accept a two-state solution. Instead BDS is being used as a platform to advocate ending Israel’s existence as the nation-state of the Jewish people.

The BDS movement’s objectives parallel the extremist intentions of Hamas, Fatah, and other radical Arab and Islamic organizations.

BDS’s extremist agenda has come under fire both in the United States and Europe. In early 2016 the Paris City Council outlawed BDS activity.¹² Britain has outlawed BDS in local councils as “fuelling anti-Semitism.”¹³ Britain’s former Justice Minister Michael Gove labeled European BDS calls against Israel “a resurgent, mutating, lethal virus of anti-Semitism” reminiscent of Nazi boycotts of Jews on the eve of the Holocaust.¹⁴ British Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs Boris Johnson said on November 2015, “I cannot think



BDS demonstrators hang a protest flag from the south side of the Manhattan Bridge as a pro-Palestinian rally (not pictured) makes its way across the nearby Brooklyn Bridge. The protest took place during the third Hamas war against Israel, Aug. 20, 2014, in New York City.

of anything more foolish than to say you want to have any kind of divestment or sanctions or boycott against a country that, when all is said and done, is the only democracy in the region, is the only place that has, in my view, a pluralist open society.¹⁵ In June 20, 2016, New York Governor Andrew Cuomo¹⁶ signed an executive order requiring state agencies to divest from companies and groups backing the anti-Israel boycott. Cuomo tweeted in response to the backlash over the executive order, “If you boycott Israel, New York will boycott you.”¹⁷ In addition, eight U.S. states passed anti-BDS legislation, while a total of 21 states have presented bills concerning BDS.¹⁸

Despite an increase in anti-BDS legislation, BDS is commonly misunderstood in Western circles. It is generally viewed as a progressive, nonviolent campaign led by Palestinian grassroots organizations and propelled by Western human rights groups, which call for boycotting Israeli goods produced in the “occupied” or “disputed” Golan Heights and West Bank and east Jerusalem territories captured from Syria and Jordan respectively in the 1967 war.

However, a closer investigation of the BDS movement reveals a starkly different picture. BDS is a political-warfare campaign led by Palestinian groups, in cooperation with

radical left-wing groups in the West to delegitimize, isolate and ultimately destroy Israel. Since 2011, the PA leadership has played a leading role in the campaign. BDS leaders and organizations are also linked to the international Muslim Brotherhood, other radical groups, terror-supporting organizations, and in some cases even terror groups themselves such as Hamas.

Hamas has supported BDS activities both directly through its correspondent offices in London and via senior Hamas activists there such as Professor Azzam Tamimi of the University of Westminster and Mohammed Sualeh, Hamas' former commander in

The BDS movement is “a threat which seeks [Israel’s] ultimate destruction” - Ted Poe, Chairman of the House Subcommittee on Terrorism, Nonproliferation, and Trade, April 19, 2016

the West Bank. In fact Hamas' direct connection to BDS extends to the United States. Jonathan Schanzer, former terror financing analyst with the U.S. Treasury, exposed the financing links between the Hamas-supporting American Muslims for Palestine and the BDS movement. AMP has been exposed as a leading driver and funder of the BDS campaign as Schanzer revealed in testimony before Congress in April 2016.

BDS boycott campaigns have effectively misled trade unions, academic institutions, and even leading international artists and cultural icons. On the face of it, BDS activists have made seemingly earnest calls for “justice” entailing the establishment of a Palestinian state living next to an Israeli state. These BDS supporters have been led to believe that the combined pressure of boycotts, divestment, and sanctions will force Israel to withdraw to the 1949 armistice lines, otherwise known as the 1967 “Green Line,” enabling a presumptive resolution of the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict.¹⁹ However, as some commentators – including the *New York Times*' Roger Cohen and Prof. Norman Finkelstein – have pointed out, the BDS movement seeks to eliminate Israel even before addressing the Palestinian issue.

Understanding the maximalist goals of BDS presents a challenge to policymakers, shapers of public opinion, and Middle East observers alike. This monograph seeks to uncover how BDS is exploited by Palestinian groups, the Palestinian Authority, and other organizations that have misappropriated the language and cause of human rights in their ongoing attempts to vilify, criminalize, and delegitimize the State of Israel. This study also sheds light on the BDS movement's ultimate goal: far from promoting a negotiated solution to the decades-old Israeli-Palestinian conflict based on the rights and requirements of both parties, the global BDS crusade seeks the dismantling of Israel and its replacement with another Arab majority state.

4. What Is BDS?

BDS stands for Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions, and refers to three distinct yet related forms of punitive action against the State of Israel. All of these actions promote isolating, breaking off relationships with, denormalizing,²⁰ delegitimizing, and punishing the Jewish state.

- **Boycott** refers to the severing of relationships with Israel as a means of protest, punishment, intimidation, or coercion. These actions include consumer and trade boycotts, cultural and sporting boycotts, and academic boycotts.
- **Divestment** is the opposite of investment: the withdrawal of investments in Israel by banks, pension funds, and other large investors or from companies operating in Israel.
- **Sanctions** refer to punitive actions taken by governments and international organizations, including trade penalties or bans, arms embargoes, and cutting off diplomatic relations.



BDS South Africa official logo. BDS South Africa was established in 2005 and fashioned after the international boycott of the former South African Apartheid regime. The BDS South Africa movement has served as a global center for the delegitimization and isolation of Israel, accusing the Jewish state of being the world's current Apartheid regime.

The term BDS is not used in any other conflict or boycott campaign. It is nomenclature that was adopted from the global boycott campaign against the former South African Apartheid regime and refers exclusively to imposing these punishments on Israel, which today is cast as the world's new Apartheid regime.

5. The Racist Roots of BDS

The term BDS is relatively new, having been popularized following the 2005 “Palestinian Civil Society Call for Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions against Israel.” However, the roots of boycotts against Israel and the Jewish people extend back centuries.

Since the Middle Ages, European Jews were the targets of boycotts and formal legal exclusion.²¹ Jews were banned from owning property, attending universities, or practicing a trade. Even after the European Enlightenment removed many of the formal barriers to Jews, informal, grassroots boycotts and exclusion still persisted. A mass popular boycott of Jews was organized in France in the late 1890s,²² and the Jews of Limerick, Ireland, were the victims of a boycott campaign in 1904.²³ Universities in Europe and the United States²⁴ maintained official and unofficial quotas of the number of Jews they would admit, which continued well into the 20th century.

5.1 The Arab Boycott of the Jewish *Yishuv*

In 1945 the newly created Arab League declared a collective boycott of the Jews in British Mandate Palestine that was carried out with the establishment of national Arab boycott offices.

These ongoing anti-Jewish boycotts around the world were not limited to the Diaspora. Arabs in British Mandate Palestine began to boycott the pre-state Jewish *Yishuv* in the 1920s. This tactic was designed to discourage Jewish immigration to Mandatory Palestine and prevent the creation of a Jewish state.

As early as August 1922, the Fifth Palestine-Arab Congress declared a boycott against Jews and called on all Arabs to refuse to sell them land and boycott Jewish businesses.²⁵ This boycott was extended to all Jewish goods in

1929. In 1931, the Arab Workers Committee published a list of Jewish goods to boycott and issued it both to Muslim countries and to the West.²⁶ In 1937, an Arab Congress meeting in Syria passed motions calling for the Balfour Declaration to be scrapped while encouraging an economic boycott of Jews.²⁷ In 1945, the newly created Arab League declared a collective boycott of the Jews in British Mandate Palestine that was carried out with the establishment of national boycott offices.²⁸ Damascus hosted the central boycott office, while other Arab League member states set up national boycott offices as well. These offices were located in



As early as August 1922, the Fifth Palestine-Arab Congress declared a boycott against Jews and called on all Arabs to refuse to sell them land and boycott Jewish businesses. This boycott was extended to all Jewish goods in 1929. The Congress also opposed Jewish immigration to Palestine and called for a repudiation of the Balfour Declaration.

the founding member states of the Arab League, such as in Damascus and Cairo. Formally, the Arab boycott is still in effect today.

The Arab boycott spread and became a secondary boycott of companies doing business in Israel. Coca-Cola, for example, was boycotted in 1966 and disappeared from supermarket shelves around the Arab world. Little has changed: in August 2014 BDS mobs trashed the Coca-Cola section of a Tesco supermarket in Birmingham, England, to protest the soft-drink giant's continued presence in Israel.²⁹

The Arab boycott became more prominent at times, most famously after the 1973 Yom Kippur War when Arab oil-producing countries imposed an oil embargo on the United States and other Western countries as a punishment for supporting Israel. However, its economic impact largely declined in the 1990s as many Arab countries became more lax in enforcing it in light of the improvement in Arab-Israeli relations following the Madrid and Oslo peace initiatives in 1991 and 1993 respectively. In fact, Israeli trade offices and commensurate new economic relationships were launched with Arab states in the Persian Gulf, while the PLO's fledgling Palestinian Authority established economic ties with Israel and initiated wide-



BDS mobs converge on a Tesco supermarket in the UK during a day of BDS protest in 2011. BDS activists raided stores and deshelves Israeli goods while demonstrators drew attention outside.



Israeli dates in an Irish and British grocery chain, Tesco, marked with a yellow sticker. The BDS movement in Ireland is one of the most serious anti-Israel movements in Europe.

ranging private business ventures with the creation of PLO investment vehicles such as the Palestinian Investment Fund (PIF) and the World Bank-funded Planning and Development Collaborative International (PADCO) that was set up with the Palestinian leadership in Ramallah.

5.2 The Second Intifada, Durban, and the Roots of Contemporary BDS

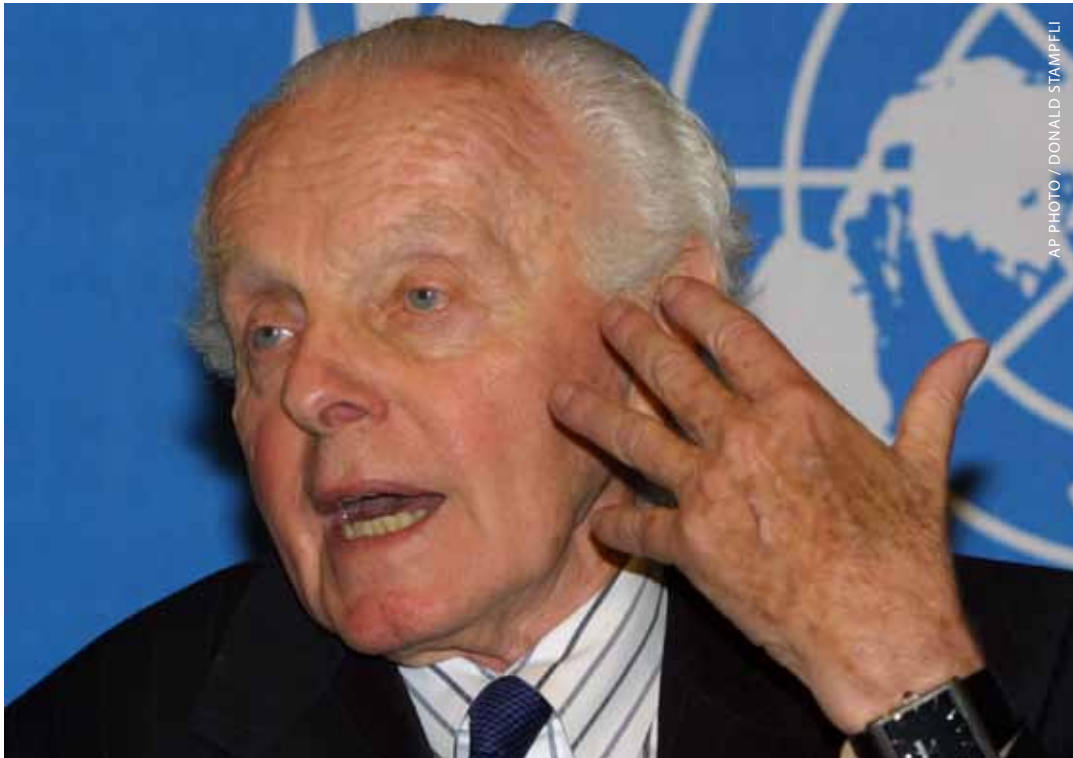
While the Arab countries relaxed enforcement of their decades-old boycott of Israel in the early 1990s, the Arab-boycott precedent would give rise to a wider international movement to isolate Israel. The Palestinian war of terror, also known as the Second Intifada, was characterized by Fatah and Hamas suicide-bombing assaults following the breakdown of peace talks in the summer of 2000, provided the foundation for an equally virulent political and diplomatic campaign against Israel.



Delegates attend the second meeting of the Preparatory Committee for the Durban World Conference against Racism, July 30, 2001, at the Palais des Nations (UN) in Geneva. Durban has become recognized as a seminal event in the current global BDS campaign against Israel.

The 2001 UN World Conference against Racism in Durban, South Africa, was a seminal event in the current global BDS campaign against Israel. Governments and NGOs from around the world convened for the formal Durban Conference and its parallel NGO Forum from August 30 to September 8, 2001. The PLO delegation led by Chairman Yasser Arafat and his nephew, Nasser al- Kidwa, the Palestinian Authority UN representative, together with other member countries of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation and Western NGOs played a central role in formulating what was called the final NGO declaration.

Human rights NGOs, with input from Arab states and Iran, ensured that the NGO Forum included a final declaration that read:



Former U.S. Congressman Tom Lantos (D-Calif.), a member of the U.S. delegation to the Preparatory World Conference against Racism, briefs the press following the U.S. delegation's withdrawal from the conference on September 3, 2001, in protest of Durban's discriminatory treatment of Israel.

[We] call upon the international community to impose a policy of complete and total isolation of Israel as an Apartheid state as in the case of South Africa which means the imposition of mandatory and comprehensive sanctions and embargoes, the full cessation of all links (diplomatic, economic, social, aid, military cooperation and training) between all states and Israel.³⁰

Durban represented a watershed moment for anti-Israel radicalism. It was no irony that the above calls to delegitimize and isolate Israel paved the way for attacks by Palestinian terror organizations. Durban's radical likening of Israel to Apartheid South Africa would help create international legitimacy for violence, or what both Fatah and Hamas call "resistance" against the "illegitimate" Jewish state, which set a precedent for future calls for its dismantling and actions to achieve that goal.³¹

To that end, the Durban Conference's NGO declaration would establish the political and ideological infrastructure for the contemporary BDS movement: economic boycotts, government sanctions, and the severing of social and cultural links with Israel were all key areas of focus. South African Human rights leader Luba Mayekiso, a former victim of South African Apartheid, has noted that "due to its own history of institutionalized racism, South

Africa's support for the false Apartheid libel against Israel lends legitimacy that no other nation can bestow in the fight to delegitimize Israel.”³²

While Durban has been accepted as the benchmark for the current global BDS campaign against Israel, it should be viewed as an internationalization and intensification of the longstanding Arab boycott. Both campaigns targeted Israel as an illegitimate entity regardless of territorial boundaries. It was this notion of a maximalist campaign to rid the world of the Jewish state that would be trumpeted by leaders of the BDS movement such as Omar Barghouti, Mustafa Barghouti, and As'ad AbuKhalil.

Tom Lantos, former U.S. representative to the Durban Conference and member of the U.S. House of Representatives, noted the role the Palestinian delegation to Durban headed by UN representative Nasser al-Kidwa played in drafting the text of the NGO declaration that branded Israel a criminal entity.³³



Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat on September 1, 2001, at the Durban Conference. Arafat, Accompanied by his nephew, the Palestinian Authority's UN delegate Nasser al-Kidwa, led Durban's campaign to delegitimize, demonize, and isolate the State of Israel.

In the period coinciding with the Durban Conference, campaigns to boycott Israel began to appear in Western countries. For example, the BIG (Boycott Israeli Goods) campaign was launched by Britain's Palestine Solidarity Campaign in July 2001 at an event in Parliament with MP George Galloway.³⁴ In 2002, academics from around the world, especially those based in the UK, United States, France, and Morocco, signed a letter stating that they refused to "cooperate with official Israeli institutions, including universities...[or] attend... scientific conferences in Israel...[or] participate as a referee in hiring or promotion decisions by Israeli universities, or in the decisions of Israeli funding agencies."³⁵ By 2004 there were regular boycott protests and events in Western countries. However, these were often local and small with limited impact.

The boycott movement appeared to be driven almost entirely by Western intellectuals and far-left activists, leading to accusations that the campaign was "Orientalist" (the projection of Western narratives onto the Middle East).³⁶

In 2004-2005 there were efforts to "Palestinianize" the boycott so as to establish its international credibility as an authentic grassroots Palestinian movement.

In July 2004, Palestinian engineer-turned-activist Omar Barghouti founded the Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI) "in response to a serious academic boycott effort launched earlier in the UK that year."³⁷ PACBI released a "call"³⁸ for a boycott of Israel, which it claimed was endorsed by a number of Palestinian civil society organizations such as trade unions, campaign groups, and NGOs.

The PACBI call was immediately useful to anti-Israel campaigners and was cited around the world as "proof" that the Palestinians had called for an academic boycott.³⁹ However, it was more narrowly focused on academic and cultural boycotts. To spur the BDS movement more generally, a broader BDS call would be needed.

6. Behind the Contemporary BDS Campaign: The 2005 Civil Society Boycott Call and the BDS National Committee

While it took several years to gain recognition as a foundational moment in the international BDS movement, on July 9, 2005, almost a year after the PACBI call was published, Palestinian NGOs released the “Palestinian Civil Society Call for Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions against Israel until It Complies with International Law and Universal Principles of Human Rights.”⁴⁰ PACBI was one of the main organizers of this new initiative, along with the Palestine NGO Network, Stop the Wall, and the Occupied Palestine and Syrian Golan Heights Advocacy Initiative. The 2005 Palestinian NGO boycott call was signed by various Palestinian civil society organizations, which, in 2007, led to the creation of the BDS National Committee (BNC) to implement and promote BDS actions.⁴¹

The 2005 BDS call and the BDS National Committee, also referring to itself as the BDS movement, have become recognized as the point of reference for the global BDS campaign.

The 2005 BDS call and the BDS National Committee, also referring to itself as the BDS movement,⁴² have become recognized as the point of reference for the global BDS campaign. Indeed, the popular term “BDS” itself was adopted from its use in the 2005 call.⁴³ Today, the BNC holds regular conferences and hosts a UK-based European coordinator, Michael Deas, who has promoted BDS in the European Parliament.⁴⁴

The BDS call urged boycotts, divestment from Israel, and government sanctions:

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



Michael Deas, a leading BDS activist who coordinates activities of the BDS National Committee, has promoted BDS in the European Parliament.

applied to South Africa in the Apartheid era. We appeal to you to pressure your respective states to impose embargoes and sanctions against Israel.⁴⁵

The explicit references to Apartheid South Africa closely reflect the language and strategy of the Durban NGO declaration a few years earlier.

The 2005 BDS call did not limit itself to the post-1967 territories; instead it referenced the establishment of Israel: “Thirty-eight years into Israel’s occupation of the Palestinian West Bank (including East Jerusalem), Gaza Strip and the Syrian Golan Heights...” and “Fifty-seven years after the State of Israel was built mainly on land ethnically cleansed of its Palestinian owners...” That is, the BDS call did not restrict its demand to the lands captured by Israel in 1967 but also included the establishment of Israel itself in 1948.

6.1 Strategic Deception

The 2005 BDS call displayed the same deceptive language in describing the requirements they demanded that Israel fulfill for the boycott to be lifted: The three conditions insisted:

1. Ending its occupation and colonization of all Arab lands and dismantling the Wall.
2. Recognizing the fundamental rights of the Arab-Palestinian citizens of Israel to full equality; and
3. Respecting, protecting and promoting the rights of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes and properties as stipulated in UN Resolution 194.⁴⁶

It is noteworthy that the second and third demands are unrelated to the aftermath of the 1967 Six-Day War but instead reference, again, the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. Similarly, BDS's second demand above regarding the rights of Arab Palestinian citizens of Israel and the "return" of "Palestinian refugees" to Israel are unrelated to the territories conquered in the 1967 Six-Day War, but rather refers to Israel's establishment in 1948. In fact, the strategic ambiguity of the first demand that "Israel end its occupation and colonization of All Arab lands" meaning even pre '67 Israel suggests that all three of these conditions promote Israel's dissolution as a Jewish and democratic state.

Regarding the third demand above, the standard UN definition of a refugee⁴⁷ does not apply to "Palestinian refugees," who uniquely inherit their status.⁴⁸ No other refugee status in the world is inherited and nobody else can be born a refugee. Hence, the number of Palestinian refugees is constantly increasing, and in 2014 constituted more than five million people.

Similarly, the 2005 call's second demand above seems to be an innocuous and uncontroversial appeal for equal rights for Israel's Arab citizens. However, this appeal too must be understood in the context of a political discourse by Israeli Arabs in which the concept of *collective* equality between Jews and Arabs means by definition that Israel can exist only as a binational state, thereby annulling its Jewish character.

The BDS demand that Israel grant citizenship to some five million Palestinian Arabs who reject the existence of Israel as the nation-state of the Jewish people essentially constitutes a call for Israel's destruction.

The Haifa Declaration of 2007, for example, a well-known Israeli Arab initiative, asserts that equality for Israeli Arabs requires "a change in the constitutional structure and a change in the definition of the State of Israel from a Jewish state" to a form of binational state. The declaration also demands an end to the Jewish Law of Return while "guaranteeing the Palestinian citizens in Israel the right of veto" over some laws.⁴⁹ Another group, the National Committee for the Heads of the Arab Local Authorities in Israel, similarly demands in its "Future Vision of the Palestinian Arabs in Israel" substantial political and cultural autonomy for Arab citizens of Israel as a precondition of equality.⁵⁰ Adalah's "Democratic

Constitution" likewise calls for a binational state⁵¹ as the path to equality.

This seemingly innocuous demand by the BDS campaign, then, can be understood as a call for the dismantling of the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state and its replacement with a binational state. Indeed, Palestinian commentator and U.S.-based BDS advocate Noura Erekat notes that this demand "exceeds the mandate of a movement

for Palestinian self-determination” and that “therefore, the BDS call has been read as an implicit endorsement of the one-state solution.”⁵²

The first point of the above-quoted 2005 BDS call, the demand for Israel to end “its occupation and colonization of all Arab lands,” sounds at first hearing like a reference to the “occupied” territories captured in the 1967 Six-Day War. However, the nomenclature “its [Israel’s] occupation and colonization of all Arab lands” is an ambiguous and even misleading phrase. Hamas and other rejectionist groups consider all of Israel to be occupied Arab land, and even the Palestinian Authority’s official media promote the notion that all of Israel is “Occupied Palestine.”⁵³

Hamas and other rejectionist groups consider *all of Israel* to be occupied Arab land, and even the Palestinian Authority’s official media promote the notion that all of Israel is “Occupied Palestine.”

This deceptive language enabled BDS leaders to present their boycott call as simply “anti-occupation” -of the West Bank territories conquered in the 1967 war-to mainstream audiences in the West who might have recoiled at the more explicit BDS call for the dismantling of Israel. There is an additional deception. The Boycott National Committee’s BDS-movement website confuses the point even further: in some places it has more narrowly defined the original BDS demand by calling on Israel to end “its occupation and colonization of all Arab lands *occupied in June 1967* and dismantl[e] the Wall” (emphasis added).⁵⁴

In other places on the BNC website, however, the original text – “its occupation and colonization of all Arab lands” – remains without any reference to 1967 territory. This confusing addition of “Arab lands occupied in June 1967” also created controversy among some anti-Israel campaigners who saw it as a narrowing and a betrayal of the original wider boycott demand. Iranian American campaigner Paul Larudee called this change “deceptive and even fraudulent,” and charged that Omar Barghouti had made this change “as an assurance that BDS would not demand the return of all lands stolen from Palestinians” in 1948 in an attempt to pander to “soft Zionists.”⁵⁵

This confusion over the true scope of the BDS call was not unplanned. Rather, it was a carefully taken strategic decision. The confusing wording allows liberal critics of Israel to express their support for the BDS movement by citing the more limited phrasing referencing the “post-’67 territories,” while the original signatories of the 2005 BDS call can maintain their loyalty to the more expansive version of the BDS call that refers to the dismantling of all of Israel. To add to the strategic confusion, both versions of the text exist side-by-side on the BDS-movement website. The BDS activists’ deliberate ambiguity

Confusion over the true scope of the BDS call allows liberal critics of Israel to express their support by citing the more limited phrasing, while the original 2005 BDS call refers to the dismantling of all of Israel.

statement. Noura Erekat writes that Palestinian organizations “viewed the comprehensive approach to Palestinian rights” of the 2005 BDS call “as a veiled endorsement of the one-state solution.”⁵⁶

Ahmed Moor, a Palestinian-American author and campaigner, wrote: “BDS is not another step on the way to the final showdown; BDS is The Final Showdown.”

enfranchisement and equal rights movement. In other words, BDS is not another step on the way to the final showdown; BDS is The Final Showdown.⁵⁷

This belief grows directly from the conviction that nothing resembling the “two-state solution” will ever come into being. Ending the occupation doesn’t mean anything if it doesn’t mean upending the Jewish state itself.⁵⁸

attracted otherwise-unintended support for BDS from some liberal critics of Israel who are likely unaware of its maximalist goals. Nevertheless, whichever way the first demand of the BDS call – on Israel “Ending its occupation and colonization of all Arab lands and dismantling the Wall” – is interpreted, the BDS call’s three demands taken together require the dismantling of Israel to be fully satisfied.

This is widely understood by the Palestinian NGOs that signed onto the

Some BDS leaders acknowledge this openly. Ahmed Moor, a Palestinian-American author and campaigner, wrote:

I view the BDS movement as a long-term project with radically transformative potential. I believe that the ultimate success of the BDS movement will be coincidental with the ultimate success of the Palestinian

6.2 The “Palestinianization” of the BDS Movement

The 2005 BDS call was successful in “Palestinizing” the anti-Israel boycott movement and was used by preexisting boycott campaigns, like the aforementioned BIG campaign, to retroactively justify their activity. Significantly, it also introduced the triad of “Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions” into the wider anti-Israel discourse, ideologically uniting otherwise disparate boycott initiatives into a “global BDS campaign.”



Palestinian supporters of the Fatah movement hold placards during a rally notably to support President Mahmud Abbas' policy and to call to boycott Israeli goods on January 26, 2015, in the center of the West Bank city of Ramallah.



Palestinian protesters hold placards during a demonstration in the West Bank city of Ramallah calling for the boycott of Israeli made products, on May 23, 2015. The banner reads in Arabic: 'Let's boycott Israeli products, we want the occupation to lose'.

7. The Extremist Goals of the BDS Movement

The global BDS movement has been effective in deceiving some global opinion shapers into believing that BDS's goal is a two-states-for-two-peoples solution. For example, *New York Times* columnist and Pulitzer Prize winner Thomas Friedman has written that the BDS movement is led by “opponents of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank.”⁵⁹ Referring to BDS, Friedman asserted that “the Third Intifada is based on a strategy of making Israelis feel strategically secure but morally insecure.”⁶⁰

Other prominent writers have understood the BDS movement's subterfuge. As noted above, *New York Times* columnist Roger Cohen, who is often critical of Israeli policy, wrote that the BDS movement's goal is “the end of Israel as a Jewish state. This is the hidden agenda of BDS, its unacceptable subterfuge: beguile, disguise and suffocate.”⁶¹ Norman Finkelstein, one of the West's most outspoken critics of Israel, also voiced

concern about BDS's disingenuous nature. Finkelstein charged that the BDS movement was a “cult” and that those who ran it were dishonest.⁶² He added, “At least be honest what you want – ‘we want to abolish Israel and this is our strategy for doing it.’”⁶³

As'ad AbuKhalil is a political science professor at the California State University, author of the *Angry Arab News Service* blog, and a prominent BDS supporter. He noted: “Finkelstein rightly asks whether the real aim of BDS is to bring down the State of Israel. Here, I agree with him that it is. That should be stated as an unambiguous goal. There should not be any equivocation on the subject. Justice and freedom for the Palestinians are incompatible with the existence of the State of Israel.”⁶⁴



A poster advertising a BDS divestment vote at the University of California San Diego that omits Israel and instead applies the colors of the Palestinian flag.

7.1 Arab Anti-Normalization

The BDS leadership has advanced anti-normalization and denormalization of relations with Israel as integral elements of the overall strategy of the BDS movement. Anti-normalization and its companion policy, “denormalization,” as described in section 7.2, have been defined by Walid Salem, former member of the Palestinian terror group Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), as, “Those (people) that do not accept the other, either as an individual, a group, or a nation.”⁶⁵ The Palestinian Boycott National Committee lists one of its main activities as “Monitoring & Rapid Response by means of BNC calls for action against projects and initiatives which amount to recognition of or cooperation (i.e., normalization) with Israel’s regime of apartheid, colonialism and occupation.”⁶⁶ These positions have since been adopted by a number of BDS campaigns, in particular at universities.⁶⁷

The “anti-normalization” of relations with Israel, or the refusal to begin any formal or informal association with the Jewish state, is currently practiced by much of the Arab world, as well as NGO groups in the Palestinian BDS leadership. Despite the treaties of peace signed by Egypt and Jordan, the Arab boycott is still in effect. The Palestinians claim that anti-normalization is a natural expression of Israel’s illegitimate character as the current incarnation of Apartheid South Africa.⁶⁸

However, history reminds us that anti-normalization, with the exceptions of the official policies of Jordan and Egypt, stems from a decades-long Arab League boycott that began in December 1945 against the Jewish community in British-mandated Palestine, and was instated against the State of Israel after its founding in 1948, decades before Israel’s victory in the Six-Day War. Palestinian anti-normalization also derives from the Palestine Liberation Organization’s refusal to recognize the State of Israel, since the Madrid and Oslo peace processes in the early 1990s, as the nation-state of the Jewish people. Palestinian anti-normalization and its companion denormalization campaign mentioned below have inspired and influenced BDS supporters in the West to adopt the same policy as is noted in the this monograph’s Forward, as well as sections 5.1, 5.2, and Chapter 10.

Middle East observers may recall that anti-normalization, like the boycott of Israel, was one of the original Arab League responses to Israel’s establishment in 1948. Arab states refused to recognize Israel or engage with Israel or Israelis, fearing that “normal” relations could confer legitimacy on the newly established Jewish state. Arab states even refused to use the name Israel, referring to the Jewish state only as the “Zionist entity.”

The Arab League’s anti-normalization policy vis-a-vis Israel was reaffirmed following the Arab League’s 1967 Khartoum Declaration, fashioned in response to Israel’s victory in the Six-Day War. Here, the historical “Three Nos” were ratified by all Arab League member states. They declared, “No peace with Israel, no recognition of Israel, and no negotiations with Israel.”⁶⁹ The “Three Nos” were unconditional; Israel and its allies could do nothing

to change the Arab world's decision that denied Israel's right to exist. This annulment automatically voided "normal" relations with any Arab League member state.⁷⁰

There has been a nominal shift in Arab anti-normalization but at a prohibitive price for Israel. The 2002 Arab League Peace Initiative (API) committed to normalizing relations with Israel if it withdrew to the truncated 1949 Armistice lines, agreed to the establishment of a Palestinian state with its capital in East Jerusalem, and accepted UN Resolution 194.⁷¹ If the API was adopted, Resolution 194 was said to allow for the "return" of millions of Palestinian refugees and their descendants to Israel, essentially destroying Israel's character as the nation-state of the Jewish people.

There are also religious motivations behind the anti-normalization campaign regarding relations with Israel in the Muslim world. Arab political commentator Khaled Abu Toameh has noted that Arab and Muslim anti-normalization efforts are sourced in and motivated by Islam. He writes, "For many Arabs and Muslims, the conflict with Israel is not about a withdrawal to the pre-1967 lines. These opponents have no intention of recognizing Israel's right to exist, even if it allows for the creation of an independent and sovereign Palestinian state in the West Bank, Gaza Strip and East Jerusalem."⁷² Dr. Ali Daghi, Secretary-General of the International Union of Muslim Scholars, writes, "There is a consensus among Muslims, in the past and present, that if an Islamic land is occupied, then its inhabitants must declare jihad until it is liberated from the occupiers."⁷³

Despite the 2016 visit to Israel of former Saudi official General Anwar Eshki, most Arab and many Muslim countries continue to back anti-normalization. Sixteen countries, all Muslim-majority nations and mostly Arab, refuse to accept visitors with Israeli passports.⁷⁴

Moreover, some Arab states' sports federations have ordered their athletes to withdraw from matches and avoid competing against Israeli athletes or teams.⁷⁵ Arab and Muslim athletes frequently refuse to compete against or even train near their Israeli counterparts, as was the case with Lebanon and Algeria in the 2012 London Olympic Games.⁷⁶ At the 2016 Rio de Janeiro Olympic Games, the Lebanese Olympic delegation reportedly blocked Israeli athletes from boarding a bus transporting the teams from the Olympic Village to the opening ceremony. Lebanese delegation head Salim al-Haj Nakoula was praised by Lebanese media. One broadcaster from the Hizbullah-affiliated Al Manar network tweeted, "The Israelis were sent away from the bus because normalization (with Israel) is not to be had in any form, and because the Lebanese identity (is that of) resistance. Be proud to be Lebanese."⁷⁷

7.2 “Denormalization”

The denormalization of relations with Israel, in contrast to anti-normalization, seeks to break pre-existing relations. Official and non-governmental Palestinian-Israeli relations were established with the signing of the Oslo exchange of letters in 1993.⁷⁸ These relations include formal diplomatic ties created via peace treaties with ally nations, and interpersonal relations with Israeli individuals, or between Israeli and foreign institutions. The BDS movement in the West has worked to denormalize diplomatic relations and limit interactions between Israel and its allied nations, or even informal relations between Israeli individuals and institutions and others via boycott, divestment, and sanctions.



British rock legend Roger Waters, co-founder of the group Pink Floyd, spraypaints graffiti against Israel's security barrier adjacent to the West Bank town of Bethlehem, July 7, 2006.

These denormalizing actions are common even in Jordan and Egypt, the only two Muslim Arab nations with which Israel has diplomatic relations and trade agreements. While Egyptian leaders such as Anwar Sadat, Hosni Mubarak, and most recently Abdel Fatah el-Sisi and others have declared support for relations with Israel since the signing of the 1979 Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty, there has been a wide gap between the Egyptian leadership keen on keeping diplomatic relations with Israel and popular support for the denormalization of relations with Israel. For example, Egyptian MP Tawfik Okasha was expelled from parliament in March 2016 for meeting with the Israeli ambassador.⁷⁹

In Egypt, broad popular support for denormalization of relations with Israel also suggests a regressive public discourse that extends beyond Israel to Egypt's alliance with the U.S.-led

Western alliance. For example, following Egyptian Islamic Jihad's assassination of Anwar Sadat in 1981, some Egyptians celebrated his murder as a rejection of Israeli normalization. They also saw it as a denunciation of the U.S. relationship including military aid, overall ties to the West, and other liberalizing reforms Sadat had implemented.⁸⁰



"An Egyptian waves an ancient map of Palestine during an anti-Israel rally protesting "the Israeli violations" against an Islamic shrine in Cairo, Egypt, Saturday, March 27, 2010."

The situation in Jordan is no less problematic. Since 2014, BDS activists in the Hashemite kingdom, which maintains full diplomatic relations with Israel, have intensified BDS-driven denormalization campaigns. The BDS leadership mobilized more than 160 civil society organizations to boycott Israel, calling on them to "reject all means of normalization with the 'Apartheid system.'" ⁸¹ They have held rallies and other civil society events to protest King Abdullah and the Hashemite Kingdom's cooperation with Israel. On March 15, 2016, BDS leaders held a press conference in Amman calling for a complete boycott of Israeli products, declaring that "economic war is no less important than military war." ⁸² Jordanian BDS leader Murda Kadi, referencing a classic anti-Semitic blood libel, reportedly said that the campaign aims to

"caution merchants and citizens over the danger of normalization with an enemy which contaminates the blood of children and women in occupied Palestine." ⁸³

7.3 Oslo's BDS Deception

The Oslo peace process was intended to launch the beginning of normalization between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). As part of the 1993 Oslo exchange of letters, PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat wrote to Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin: "The PLO recognizes the right of the State of Israel to exist in peace and security.... the PLO affirms that those articles of the Palestinian Covenant which deny Israel's right to exist...are now inoperative and no longer valid." ⁸⁴



A banner created for a pro-Palestinian BDS protest, "From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free." This BDS declaration, a staple at pro-Palestinian demonstrations on U.S. university campuses by groups such as Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) emphasizes that Israel has no right to exist and should be replaced by a Palestinian state.

This exchange created the framework for open negotiations between Israel and the PLO's newly formed Palestinian Authority and paved the way to close cooperation in a variety of fields including; security, economics, science, technology, culture, education, and people to people initiatives.⁸⁵ However, as Israeli intelligence would reveal, Arafat never accepted Israel as a Jewish state.⁸⁶ It was a rejection stance that Mahmoud Abbas, Arafat's successor, would uphold. Palestinian denial of Israel as a Jewish sovereign nation-state continues to be the source of a long list of Palestinian objections to a conflict-ending agreement with Israel.

Some parts of Palestinian society opposed the PLO's engagement with Israel, seeing it as a sellout of the Palestinian people's struggle to destroy and replace the Jewish state. The rejectionists, who opposed *any* deal with Israel, continued to promote anti-normalization and target those parts of Palestinian society that did choose to acknowledge Israel. This rejectionist trend intensified after the start of the Second Intifada in 2000.

The modern BDS campaign has continued this rejectionist line by opposing normalization between Israeli and Palestinian civil societies. The Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI) defines normalization 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.⁸⁷

PACBI and other BDS organizations campaign against all such activity, even (and especially) Israeli-Palestinian dialogue. Dialogue, they argue, “is a form of normalization that hinders the struggle to end injustice. Dialogue, ‘healing,’ and ‘reconciliation’ processes...serve to privilege oppressive co-existence at the cost of co-resistance.”⁸⁸

Some BDS rejectionists of normalization even see negotiations and peace talks between leaders as a form of normalization that must be opposed. Ziyaad Lunat, former coordinator for the BDS National Committee, wrote that the “Arab Peace Initiative” was unacceptable:

The mere offer signified a de facto acceptance of the Zionist colonial implant in the region as well as submission to its military dominance.... in light of these state-led efforts to normalize Israel’s ethnic cleansing and ghettoization of the Palestinians under a racist Apartheid regime, how can we bring back into the equation principles of justice, equality and human rights?⁸⁹

This rejection of the principle of *a tatbi* (“normalization” in Arabic) has shaped the Palestinian attitude toward negotiations and overall relations with Israel. It intensified after the failure of negotiations between PA Chairman Abbas and former Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert at Annapolis in 2008 when the PA adopted its unilateral statehood “Kosovo Strategy.”⁹⁰ Since then, the PA leadership’s declarations have underscored the Palestinian strategy of boycotting negotiations with Israel and instead exerting international pressure to force Israel to its knees. For example, during an official PA visit to Japan in March 2016, Foreign Minister Riyad al-Maliki told a press conference that: “We will never go back and sit again in direct Palestinian-Israeli negotiations.”⁹¹

The Palestinian policy of *muaradhat a tatbi* (denormalization) prohibits dialogue and bans government and private initiatives, including civil society efforts to promote coexistence. An example of this ban on normalization occurred when Abbas announced a PA prohibition against shopping at the Israeli-owned Rami Levi supermarkets in Area C of the West Bank (which remains under Israeli control as stipulated by the Oslo Interim Agreement). Rami Levi, one of Israel’s most successful supermarket entrepreneurs, has built superstores in areas where Israelis and Palestinians live and work together. Levi told this author that his aim has been to promote peaceful relations and help lay the groundwork for a final negotiated agreement.⁹² In line with company policy of *normalization*, Rami Levi primarily employs Palestinian workers and managers. However,

this gesture left Abbas unconvinced; he announced that the PA would impose fines on any Palestinian returning to PA-controlled territory with Rami Levi shopping bags.⁹³

Israel's commitment to the internationally guaranteed 1995 Oslo Interim Agreement, which calls for bilateral negotiations on borders and other core issues, has placed peace negotiators in a bind. How can Israel's peace negotiators engage their Palestinian counterparts when PA leaders voice the same three no's that their Arab predecessors laid down at Khartoum in 1967: "no peace, no negotiations, no recognition"?

7.4 Palestinian Denormalization

The Palestinian denormalization campaign seeks to undermine, uproot, and prevent Palestinian-Israeli political, economic and cultural cooperation. It also constitutes a central component of the BDS campaign. Khaled Abu Toameh has noted, "[Denormalization's] first objective is to intimidate and threaten Palestinians and Israelis who seek peace and who believe in the two-state solution. Its second objective is to delegitimize and isolate Israel in the international community. In this regard, both groups have much in common with Hamas and other terror groups that are working to destroy any chance of peace between Israel and the Palestinians."⁹⁴ In this regard, BDS and denormalization, by both Palestinian officials and BDS



Former PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat, former Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, and former Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin receiving the Nobel Peace Prize in 1994 in honor of the signing of the Oslo Accords.

leaders such as Omar Barghouti, share common goals with Hamas and other terror groups that work to destroy Israel's sovereignty and, therefore, any chance of peace between Israel and the Palestinians.

The Israel-Apartheid ideological framework for Palestinian denormalization provides context for the Palestinians' BDS zero-sum-game approach to Israel. Former PLO and PA Chairman Yasser Arafat first globalized the Israel-Apartheid South Africa analogy in his infamous 1975 UN speech,⁹⁵ and then codified its international legitimacy at the 2001 UN-sponsored Durban Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance. Since then, Palestinians and other leaders of the BDS movement have intensified the international ideological assault against Israel's existence, as Arafat and successive Palestinian leaders have charged: "colonialist, racist; it is profoundly reactionary and discriminatory; it is united with anti-Semitism in its retrograde tenets."⁹⁶

The historical roots of Palestinian denormalization of relations with Israel extend to pre-state boycotts of Jewish enterprises. Denormalization tactics were later employed in the 1970s by Palestinian terror groups like the Islamist Hamas and Marxist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Since its founding, Hamas has upheld an official policy of denormalization that includes opposition to any meeting with the "Zionist entity."⁹⁷

Not only Palestinian terrorists, but official Palestinian leaders also opposed the normalization of relations with Israel at every stage of negotiations, particularly during the Oslo process in the early 1990s. In many cases, they recommended denormalizing relations as a bargaining chip in negotiations with Israel. Denormalization campaigns have been implemented when PLO leaders feel the peace process is stalled because of Israeli indifference to Palestinian needs, or that Israeli actions are unjust and encroaching on Palestinian sovereignty.⁹⁸

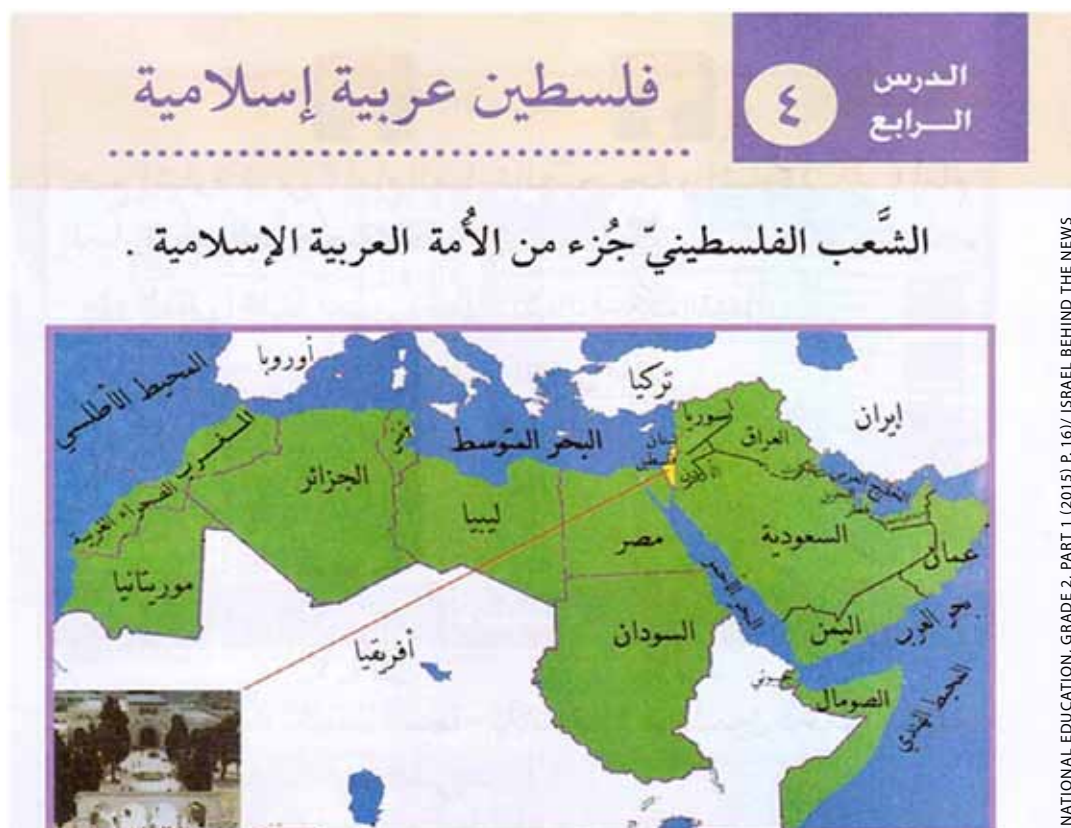
However, since 1993, Palestinian anti-normalization and denormalization should have been dead letters. The 1993 Oslo Accords were signed to usher in a new era of peace and normalized relations between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization. Subsequent peace agreements within the Oslo framework should have cemented the framework for normalized relations between Israel and the Palestinians. Article XVI of the 1995 Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement affirmed that,

Palestinians who have maintained contact with the Israeli authorities will not be subjected to acts of harassment, violence, retribution or prosecution. Appropriate ongoing measures will be taken, in coordination with Israel, in order to ensure their protection.⁹⁹

Similarly, Annex VI, Objective 1 of the agreement includes the statement, "In striving to live in peaceful coexistence, the two sides will seek to design and implement various programs which will facilitate the efforts leading to full reconciliation."¹⁰⁰

Yet, since the 1994 establishment of the Palestinian Authority, its official term for Israel is “The Other Side.” Additionally, Palestinian media and individual PA representatives often still use the pre-Oslo terms “Government of Occupation” and “Occupation Forces” when referring to Israel and the IDF. Palestinians also commonly refer to Israeli cities, particularly those with large Arab populations like Haifa, Jaffa, and Lod, as “occupied” by Jewish “settlers” and the “Government of Occupation.” According to Abu Toameh, “In this narrative, Israel is evil, as well as alien to the Middle East.” This language used by Fatah, which has an official policy of recognizing Israel, is indistinguishable from Hamas’ radical rhetoric calling for the destruction of the Jewish state.¹⁰¹

Using the threat of denormalization as a means of coercion is particularly troubling because it denies the gains that both sides have made in the peace process. It also denies any post-1993 reconciliation between Israelis and Palestinians, further protracting the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Furthermore, because denormalization threatens Israeli and Palestinian economic cooperation, political progress, dialogue, and interpersonal relationships, Palestinians have utilized it as a coercive tool in a variety of settings. Palestinian leaders, scholars, and artists have provided myriad reasons for why they have refused to cooperate with their Israeli counterparts.



A Palestinian Authority-issued schoolbook for second grade students that excludes the State of Israel, replacing it with “Palestine.”

Senior Fatah member Hatem Abdel Qader Eid has argued that he supports denormalization with Israel because Israel rejected the 2002 Arab League Peace Initiative. He argues that because Israel has not accepted the conditions of Palestinians or Arab League members, it does not deserve to have diplomatic relations with Palestinians or any Middle Eastern neighbors. Eid insists that Palestinians must refrain from attending and boycott formal and informal meetings with Israelis.¹⁰² Palestinian-American professor Rashid Khalidi, a longtime PLO advisor, argues that Palestinians should only normalize relations with Israel when there is a “final and lasting solution for Jerusalem,” with conditions he subjectively defines.¹⁰³

At a 2000 conference in Amman entitled “Arab Symposium to Counter Normalization with the Zionist Enemy,” former mayor of Nablus Bassam Shaka stressed that “normalization is a Zionist motto inherent in bilateral peace agreements,” and was the equivalent of “succumbing to the Zionist entity.”¹⁰⁴ Similarly, when asked about his views on normalization, Fatah Central Committee member and advisor to Abbas Sultan Abu al-Einan responded, “Every place you find an Israeli, cut off his head. Likewise, I am against talks, negotiations, meetings, and normalization in all its forms with the Israeli occupation”.¹⁰⁵

7.5 Delegitimizing Palestinian Normalization

Today, due to the pressure of the Palestinian Authority’s denormalization campaign, Palestinian individuals no longer enjoy the legitimacy to cooperate publicly with their Israeli counterparts. In the spring of 2015, for fear of being discovered by PA officials or Palestinian BDS activists, Palestinian high-tech startup entrepreneurs met secretly with Israeli counterparts from the JVP (Jerusalem Venture Partners) Media Quarter at the Ambassador Hotel in east Jerusalem.

Even in the most neutral fields, such as joint music projects, concerts, or sports,¹⁰⁶ any Palestinian (or Israeli) engaging in such cooperative ventures risks being subjected to harsh action by Palestinian officials or protesters for betraying the Palestinian cause. Jibril Rajoub, chairman of the Palestinian Football Association and of its Olympic Committee, has stated that: “Normalization in sports with the Zionist occupation is a crime against humanity.”¹⁰⁷

In another example, in March 2014, Palestinian academic Mohammed Dajani took a group of Palestinian students from Al-Quds University to visit the Auschwitz concentration camp. His trip provoked an outcry in Palestinian society, particularly among BDS and denormalization campaigners. His car was torched, his life threatened, and he was ultimately forced to resign from his university post.¹⁰⁸

In May 2015, a “Jerusalem Hug” peace activist, trying to promote contact between Arab and Jewish Jerusalemites, was beaten by thugs claiming to be anti-normalization activists.¹⁰⁹



Palestinian activists raise the Palestinian flag demonstrating for a boycott of Israeli goods at the Rami Levi supermarket branch located in Shaar Binyamin, an Israeli industrial zone in the West Bank providing employment to Palestinians close to the city of Ramallah on October 24, 2012.

In October 2016 four Palestinians, all relatives from the West Bank village of Wadi an Nis, were arrested and detained for the “crime” of visiting the “Succah of peace” at the home of Efrat mayor Oded Ravivi. In response to international coverage of the arrests and pressure from the Israeli side, the four were released after a week’s detention. However, a senior Palestinian security official condemned the visit as an act of “normalization,” saying, “Any Palestinian cooperation with settlers is viewed as violating the law, as he cooperates with the enemy.”

The PA itself has played an important role in denormalizing relations with Israel. In 2015, Rajoub came close to forcing Israel’s ejection from FIFA, the international soccer association. This case and the PA’s increasing role in BDS activity are detailed more fully in Section 7.8 below.

7.6 The Threat of Denormalization on Joint Initiatives

Joint Israeli-Palestinian public works projects and Israeli projects that are mutually beneficial to Palestinians have also been rejected or threatened because of Palestinian denormalization. For more than 20 years, there have been talks of diverting sewage that flows through the West Bank’s historic Kidron Valley to new sewage treatment plants in the area. This plan overwhelmingly benefits Palestinian populations in the region. A 1994-1995 joint Israeli-



The polluted Kidron Valley Stream

German wastewater treatment project for the Kidron Valley received approval from the mayors of Jerusalem and Bethlehem. Although the Palestinian Authority was intended to be an equal partner in the project, they rejected the initiative because it was tantamount to acknowledging “Israeli sovereignty over East Jerusalem.”¹¹⁰

Since 2004, the Kidron Basin Steering Committee, a governmental and NGO committee, has studied the need for a sewage infrastructure to serve the region and planned a solution for these issues. The master plan for the project was proposed in 2010, and its implementation plan was completed in 2013.¹¹¹ Nearly all of the sewage the project would treat is from Arab East Jerusalem and Palestinian villages, and treated water would partially be used to water Palestinian date crops. Additionally, the Kidron Basin Steering Committee has vowed that an international company would run the plant. Upon the establishment of an independent Palestinian state, all ownership of the plant would be transferred to the Palestinians.

Although the project has the full support of Bedouin, Christian, and local leaders living in the affected areas, it has faced a number of setbacks from the Palestinian national leadership because it normalizes relations with Israel. All construction of new wastewater facilities is contingent on the approval of Palestinian Authority Water Minister Dr. Shaddad Attili. However, Attili refused to approve the project, citing concerns that it would normalize relations with Israel. Attili said he would not give approval for this project because “95 percent of this river’s channel is located in Palestine.”¹¹²

The Steering Committee warned that the impasse will only harm the health and livelihoods of Palestinians living near the current sewage flow. This is seen in the Palestinian village of Ubiedyeh, which is located adjacent to the river of untreated sewage. Mayor Sulieman

Abdullah Al-Assa estimated that 80 percent of his time is spent on this single issue, much of it spent lobbying the Palestinian Authority to approve the Kidron Basin Steering Committee's project.¹¹³

The Palestinian Authority has pressured and even threatened local Palestinian villages that express willingness to cooperate with Jewish neighbors. Oded Ravivi, Mayor of the Efrat local council in Gush Etzion, recalled to the author that in late 2015 he offered to connect the sewage system of a neighboring Arab village to the Gush Etzion regional wastewater infrastructure. The local village leader was forced to decline, citing threats from senior Palestinian Authority officials who reportedly denied the request. The village leader recounted to Ravivi, "They would not allow Arab wastewater to flow next to Jewish wastewater."¹¹⁴

Palestinian refusal to cooperate with wastewater treatment projects because it normalizes relations with Israel directly violates the Oslo Accord's 1993 Declaration of Principles, which explicitly states Israeli and Palestinian parties should cooperate in mutually beneficial areas such as water, energy, and environmental protection.¹¹⁵

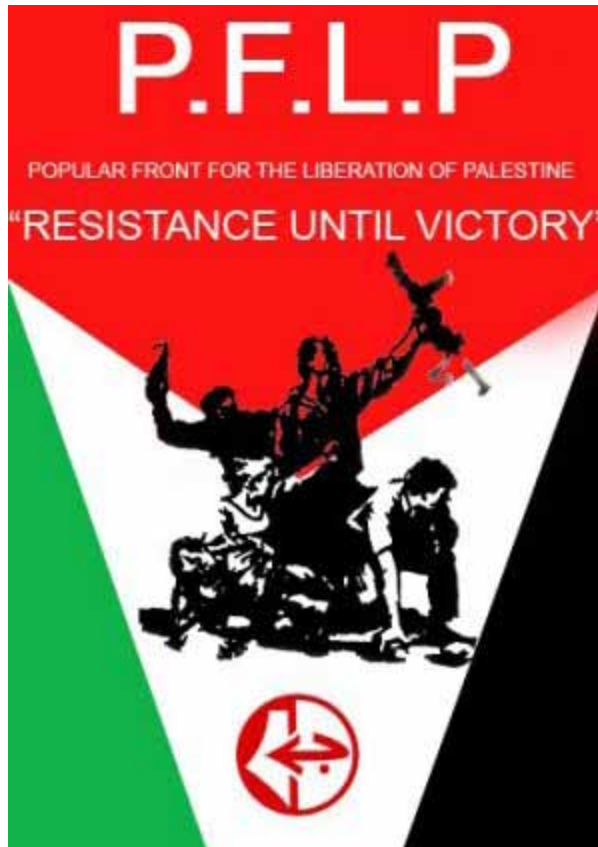
7.7 Palestinian NGOs and the BDS Movement

The Palestinian organizations that signed onto the 2005 "grassroots" Palestinian BDS call are primarily not grassroots organizations. These NGOs do not represent, as they claim, a broad swath of Palestinian society. Instead they are largely either individual anti-peace activists or fronts for rejectionist Palestinian political factions, some of which appear on international terrorist lists.

These factions, such as the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, exploit BDS as an alternative and sometimes complementary strategy to terror in attempting to cause Israel's implosion. Historical context is significant. Rejectionist groups such as the PFLP lost influence, relevance, and financial capacity with the establishment of the internationally backed, Fatah-led PA in 1994. These other Palestinian groups saw their role in BDS initiatives as a ticket to maintaining relevance and garnering local Palestinian support in opposing the newfound cooperation and spirit of political compromise between the Fatah faction and Israel following the signing of the Oslo exchange of letters and the 1995 Interim Agreement.

During the 2000s, the NGO leaders became elite political actors without the popular backing required by political parties. Indeed, many NGOs eventually broke loose of party control, sidelining political parties. According to Salah Abdel Shafi: "Some prominent NGO political activists marginalized the political party and use the NGO as a platform to enter the social and political arena."¹¹⁶ Additionally, as commentator Maha Abu-Dayyeh notes:

The increased donor aid into Palestine as a result of the establishment of the Palestinian Authority also contributed to the proliferation of NGOs that addressed a variety of social, cultural, economic as well as radical political agendas. The Palestinian NGO community has become vibrant and well-funded by international donors, *and many NGO leaders were also politically active in various [Palestinian political] parties.*¹¹⁷ (emphasis added)



PFLP, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, a PLO terror faction that has also been a main driver of the BDS movement against Israel

Tariq Dana, a political science professor at Hebron University,¹¹⁸ characterized Palestinian NGOs before the Oslo agreement as “mass-based movements,” whereas in the post-Oslo period they came to be led by two elites: “former leaders and activists, generally middle-class and politically affiliated with leftist factions,” and “a younger generation of career-oriented professionals who mostly gained their knowledge and skills from Western universities or professional experience overseas.” Dana explained that “another aspect of NGO elitism is the upward concentration of power in the hands of a few individuals.” He cited a Fafo poll in which 59 percent of respondents said that they distrusted Palestinian NGOs.¹¹⁹

Norman Finkelstein, a major critic of Israel as noted, charged that the NGO leadership of the BDS movement was unrepresentative: “the gurus in Ramallah, you know, giving out marching orders. And then if you disagree, they say, ‘10,556,454 Palestinian civil society organizations



A relentless critic of Israel, political scientist Norman Finkelstein has charged that the BDS movement is a childish “cult” whose goal is to destroy Israel as the nation-state of the Jewish people.

have endorsed this.”¹²⁰ Finkelstein further asked: “Who are these organizations? They’re NGOs in Ramallah, one-person operations, and they claim to represent what they call this thing, ‘Palestinian civil society’... [T]hen why can’t they ever organize a demonstration of more than 500 people?... [They] represent absolutely nothing.”¹²¹

Working through civil society organizations and NGOs around the world also eases the way to promoting the Durban strategy of branding Israel in terms of Apartheid, ethnic cleansing, and so on, and of course campaigning for BDS. This is clearest when examining the leaders of the NGOs that created and organized the 2005 BDS call.

7.8 The Palestinian Leadership of the BDS Campaign

Dr. Mustafa Barghouti, a former candidate for chairman of the PA, is one of the most important figures involved in creating Palestinian civil society organizations and in spreading boycotts and the “nonviolent resistance” approach in the past few years. In October 2001, he was one of the founders of Grassroots International Protection for the Palestinian People (GIPP), “a program that aims to protect Palestinians, including those engaged in nonviolent protest, through the presence of international civilians to deter or at least bear witness to IDF and settler violence.”¹²² GIPP served as an umbrella group for partnering and coordinating the activities of civilian associations, social organizations,



Mustafa Barghouti has been at the forefront of PLO efforts to unify ranks with Hamas, despite its support for terrorist attacks against Israeli civilians and its charter calling for the mass murder of Jews.

NGOs, and churches from the West Bank, Europe, and the United States; under its wing emerged the PNGO network, which today is central to the BDS movement, as well as the International Solidarity Movement (ISM), known for its involvement in violent and terrorist-supportive activities (see more on ISM below).¹²³

Currently, Mustafa Barghouti is a well-known oppositionist to Abbas. He serves as secretary-general of the Palestinian National Initiative (*Al-Mubadara*) Party (PNI). Before founding the PNI, Barghouti was secretary-general of the Palestinian People's Party (PPP) and its representative on the Palestinian National Council (PNC). The PPP under his tenure had been signatory to a November 2001 statement issued by the Council of National and Islamic Forces in Palestine (see below) that called to continue the "blessed intifada" and praised the "heroic resistance," while warning of the "tricky policy exercised by the Zionist entity in light of the Zionist Lobby control over the main keys of the U.S. decision-making process in order to guarantee full support to the policies of the racist government of Israel, especially during the reign of the terrorist Sharon."¹²⁴

Barghouti's party is the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats. Its own boycott initiative, *Bader*, aims for a systematic boycott of all Israeli goods in Palestinian territories.¹²⁵

Mustafa Barghouti's role can perhaps be best characterized as "agent" for cooperation between various rival factions within the Palestinian community, having enjoyed close ties for many years with both international far-left elements and European affiliates of the Muslim Brotherhood.¹²⁶

A different Barghouti – Omar Barghouti – is a founding member of both PACBI and the BDS movement. He is a longtime supporter of the "one-state solution," which by definition means the subversion and dissolution of the State of Israel as the nation-state of the Jewish people. Barghouti's radicalism extends to Israel's primary ally, the United States. Some of Barghouti's early writings, which are still available online, express profound anti-Americanism. In July 2004, for example, he stated:

We are witnessing the ominous rise of the most powerful empire ever to exist. Judging from consistent media reports and opinion polls, the rest of the world seems to view it as a menacing rogue state that is arrogantly bullying other nations, east and west, north and south, into unqualified submission to its self-declared designs for world domination and incontestable economic supremacy.¹²⁷

In September 2004, he wrote an open letter to the American public in which he asserted that American leaders had created a racist environment in which soldiers had stopped perceiving Iraqis as humans; that he opposed any shape or form of terrorism, "regardless whether it comes from your government – as is the case most of the time – or from any of your many victims seeking revenge"; and that since Americans chose "empire," they were "therefore guilty by association or by being an accessory to crime."¹²⁸

Omar Barghouti's leadership of the BDS campaign is a good example of the movement's long-term goals regarding Israel. He is an author of the November 2007 "One State Declaration" that emerged from "One State Solution" conferences held in London and Madrid in the same year.¹²⁹ He told the *New Republic* that even if Israel were to end its control of the West Bank, his calls for boycotts would continue. He said, "The majority of the Palestinian people are not suffering from occupation, they are suffering from denial of their right to come back home."¹³⁰ This call for the "return" of the descendants of Arab refugees to Israel is, as discussed above, effectively a call for the end of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state.

Barghouti has also written:

The two-state solution for the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is really dead. Good riddance! But someone has to issue an official death certificate before the rotting corpse is given a proper burial and we can all move on and explore the more just, moral and therefore enduring alternative for peaceful coexistence between Jews

and Arabs in Mandatory Palestine: the one-state solution.... The current phase has all the emblematic properties of what may be considered the final chapter of the Zionist project. We are witnessing the rapid demise of Zionism, and nothing can be done to save it, for Zionism is intent on killing itself. I, for one, support euthanasia.... Going back to the two-state solution, besides having passed its expiry date, it was never a moral solution to start with.¹³¹



Omar Barghouti, a Palestinian engineer-turned-activist, founded the Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI) and helped establish the BDS movement. He is a longtime supporter of the “one-state solution,” which by definition means the subversion and dissolution of the State of Israel as the nation-state of the Jewish people.

Barghouti signed a July 2010 open letter to President Abbas titled “Don’t deny our rights,” in which Palestinians from around the world demanded to have new elections after Abbas’ speech a month earlier in which he allegedly said, “I would never deny [the] Jewish right to the land of Israel.”¹³²

The letter’s signatories wrote that they:

Regard this announcement, which adopts a central tenet of Zionism, as a grave betrayal of the collective rights of the Palestinian people. It is tantamount to a surrender of the right of Palestinian citizens of Israel to live in equality in their own homeland, in which they have steadfastly remained despite the Apartheid regime imposed on them for decades. It also concedes the right of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes.¹³³

The signatories added that: “No Palestinian institution or leader has ever accepted an exclusive Jewish claim to Palestine, which is irreconcilable with the internationally recognized rights of the Palestinian people.”¹³⁴

Jamal Juma’ coordinator of the Palestinian Grassroots Anti-Apartheid Wall Campaign (also known as Stop the Wall), claims the organization has 50 popular committees under its umbrella. The popular committees that Juma’ claims to represent often blur the line

Prominent BDS activist Zaid Shuaibi said: “Freedom, justice, return of refugees and self-determination, in general, require a rejection of normalization and greater resistance against Israel’s multi-tiered system of oppression which includes occupation, colonization, and apartheid.”

between nonviolent and violent protest. Stop the Wall was one of the conveners of the first BNC conference in 2007. Juma’ has described Israel as a “colonial racist Apartheid state.”¹³⁵ He registered the current domain for the website of the BNC, bdsmovement.net, and coordinates many of the anti-Israel demonstrations in various Palestinian villages. In some cases, these demonstrations have turned violent. For example, Stop the Wall-supported demonstrations in Bil’in¹³⁶ and Nilin have often involved the rolling of burning tires and the throwing of rocks and Molotov cocktails, resulting in over 170 injuries by 2009.¹³⁷

Juma’ has blasted the PA for clamping down on both armed resistance and unarmed struggle. “For the oppressed and occupied, ongoing struggle and resistance using all necessary means is not only our right, it is our obligation,” he wrote. “Resistance will continue as the Palestinian people assert their fundamental rights.”¹³⁸

Another prominent BDS activist, Zaid Shuaibi, is the networking and outreach officer of the BNC in the Palestinian territories and the Arab world. In a June 2013 interview, he said:

Freedom, justice, return of refugees and self-determination in general require a rejection of normalization and greater resistance against Israel’s multi-tiered system of oppression which includes occupation, colonization and Apartheid. In contrast, Oslo and the peace process is a normalization project without resistance to an ongoing project of ethnic cleansing.... An absolute majority of Palestinians today is calling for abandoning this suicidal Oslo track.¹³⁹

7.9 Palestinian Terror-Group Links to the BDS Movement

Many Palestinian groups that claim to support nonviolence often exist alongside, and not in place of, groups that support violent “resistance.” For example, in November 2008 the BDS National Committee produced a position paper titled “United Against Apartheid, Colonialism and Occupation: Dignity & Justice for the Palestinian People.”¹⁴⁰



Among the endorsers of this paper is the London-based Popular Resistance Committees (PRC), which, according to the Israeli defense minister's designation, is part of Hamas' European section.

Another endorser of the 2008 paper is the Swiss-based Alkarama for Human Rights. In December 2013 the U.S. Treasury categorized as "Specially Designated Global Terrorists" both the president of the Council of Alkarama, the Qatar-based Sheikh Abd al-Rahman bin 'Umayr al-Nu'aymi,¹⁴¹ and the organization's representative in Yemen, 'Abd al-Wahhab Muhammad 'Abd al-Rahman al-Humayqani, for their funding of various al-Qaeda groups.¹⁴²

The top-listed signatory on the 2005 call is the aforementioned Council of National and Islamic Forces in Palestine (CNIF). The CNIF is described as the "coordinating body for the major political parties in the Occupied Palestinian Territory."¹⁴³ It is also a member of the BDS National Committee.

The CNIF was established by Marwan Barghouti and Yasser Arafat in 2000-2001, the early days of the Second Intifada, to coordinate terrorist activity against Israel between the nationalist PLO groups and the Islamist Hamas.¹⁴⁴

Not only is the CNIF the first listed signatory of the 2007 BDS call, the first speaker at the BNC conferences is usually a representative of the CNIF. For example, at the BNC conference in 2013, the abovementioned BDS leader Mustafa Barghouti delivered the speech on behalf of the CNIF, and the official report of the conference notes that the CNIF constitutes "a main pillar of the BNC."¹⁴⁵

Noura Erekat emphasizes that "the BNC now includes representation of Palestinian political forces in the form of the Coalition of National and Islamic Forces."¹⁴⁶ She also notes that:

The Council of National and Islamic Forces in Palestine, the coordinating body for the major political parties in the Occupied Territories, along with the largest Palestine Liberation Organization mass movements, facilitated the acceptance of the BDS call by major sectors of Palestinian civil society within the Territories and beyond.¹⁴⁷

Hadar Eid notes that “[Hamas] is represented in the BNC’s secretariat within the national and Islamic action committee.”¹⁴⁸

Hamas’ Gaza leadership has endorsed international BDS activities against Israel. According to *Middle East Monitor*, Hamas issued a statement on February 14, 2014, saying, “We

Hamas issued a statement on February 14, 2014, saying, “We in Hamas appreciate and welcome these economic boycotts against the Zionist occupation.”

in Hamas appreciate and welcome these economic boycotts against the Zionist occupation and we consider it a step in the right direction toward pressuring the occupation to stop its settlement activities and its Judaization of the Palestinian land.”¹⁴⁹

Khaled Abu Toameh reminds us of Hamas’ support for BDS. He wrote in a Gatestone Institute brief on June 12, 2015 that “Senior Hamas official Izzat al-Risheq, heaping praise on BDS advocates and activists openly,

admitted that the ultimate goal of the BDS campaign was to destroy Israel. Risheq said, “We call for escalating the campaign to isolate the occupation and end the existence of its usurper entity.”

In July 2014 Hamas’ @qassamenglish Twitter feed tweeted: “Don’t buy these products” with a link to an article about BDS¹⁵⁰ as a grassroots civil society movement.

A few of the 2005 BDS call’s signatories are known front organizations for the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, which is a banned terrorist group in the United States.¹⁵¹

Despite their bona fides as legitimate NGOs, the Union of Health Workers Committees and the Union of Agricultural Workers Committees are both campaigning charities run by PFLP members,¹⁵² as are Addameer¹⁵³ and Al-Haq. Al-Haq is an organization primarily focused on “lawfare” cases against Israel in a variety of forums, including attempts to impose boycotts and sanctions on Israel via courts.¹⁵⁴ Al Haq Director-General Shawan Jabarin is a PFLP member according to the Israeli government and Israel’s Supreme Court.¹⁵⁵

7.10 The Palestinian Authority and BDS

At first the Palestinian Authority was suspicious of the BDS movement, just as the BDS movement was hostile to the PA.¹⁵⁶ In 2009, BDS leader Omar Barghouti attacked the PA for “conceding Palestinian rights and acting against the Palestinian national interests,” accused it of a “betrayal of Palestinian civil society’s effective Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) campaign against Israel,” and concluded that “the PA must be responsibly and gradually dismantled.”¹⁵⁷

By 2011, however, the PA began to co-opt the BDS movement. Senior Fatah official Nabil Shaath told *Haaretz*:

Senior Fatah official Nabil Shaath said that Fatah supports “the BDS movement all over the world.”

We are learning how to co-exist with popular struggle. To tell you the truth, this wasn't at the beginning in the mind of Abu Mazen [Abbas]. He is gradually starting to see it – popular struggle and international activism. Abu Mazen at the beginning was scared of the idea of BDS. But if you want to put real pressure, this is the way.... The BDS groups meet here in my office... Unarmed struggle does not mean that I have submitted to Israeli occupation but that I am looking for other ways of making pressure, not armed, not violent. One of them is BDS.¹⁵⁸

Shaath also noted that Fatah supports “the BDS movement all over the world.”¹⁵⁹

The BNC's third conference in December 2011 was opened by Hebron Governor Kamil Hamid, who asserted, on behalf of President Abbas and the Palestinian leadership, that they and the PA supported all forms of “popular peaceful resistance [*muqawama*]” and all its prospects. The issues of the right of return, resisting normalization, strengthening BDS within the Palestinian camp “as an active Palestinian resistance,” and so forth were raised again.¹⁶⁰ This conference marked the adoption of BDS by other senior PA figures. It also signaled pressure to adopt it as official policy as illustrated by Wasel Abu Yousef, a member of the PLO's Executive Committee, who addressed the conference.

Members of the Palestinian Legislative Council and the PLO Executive Committee also took part in the 2012 BNC conference.

Some senior PA officials have publicly embraced BDS. For example, three PA ministers sit on the board of directors of a BDS-supporting NGO called the Palestine Economic Policy Research Institute, also known as MAS. One MAS researcher, Ismat Quzmar, was previously the BNC's coordinator¹⁶¹ and, before that, was an economic policy analyst at the PA's Ministry of National Economy. This close coordination, if not integration, between PA bodies and BDS-supporting Palestinian NGOs raises the question of whether some of these NGOs should, in fact, be considered government-operated NGOs (GONGOs). For example, Foreign Minister Riyad al-Maliki is the founder and former executive director of PANORAMA, the Palestinian Center for the Dissemination of Democracy and Community Development, which supports BDS goals.

However, the Palestinian leadership's official position has been inconsistent and unclear. It has both publicly opposed and supported the BDS movement.



Protesters boycott a branch of Israeli chocolatier Max Brenner in Melbourne, Australia, in 2012. BDS mobs assaulted local police, leading to arrests of protesters and a denunciation by Australian Jewish leaders.

One example of the official Palestinian opposition to BDS took place on April 12, 2014, when PA police forcibly broke up a BDS demonstration in Ramallah against the Indian Classical Dance Performance, Kathak. Like many visiting cultural groups, Kathak had performed in Israel before going to Ramallah and hence was considered a boycott target. The event was disrupted by boycott activists who also protested outside. The protest reportedly developed into a riot and was suppressed by PA police, who also arrested four ringleaders: Fadi Quran, Zeid al-Shuaibi, Aboud Hamayel, and Fajr Harb.¹⁶² Khaled Abu Toameh cited a PA security official who explained why they were prosecuted:

A PA official in Ramallah explained that BDS and its followers make the Palestinians appear as if they are all radicals who are only interested in boycotting and delegitimizing Israel. “This goes against the PLO’s official policy, which is to seek a peace agreement with Israel based on the two-state solution,” he said.¹⁶³

Omar Barghouti, speaking for PACBI, condemned the PA prosecution, saying: “If the four men are brought before a court, then we should prosecute the Palestinian Authority for serving the Israeli occupation’s project.... The decision to prosecute the four men was taken in collusion with the fierce Israeli campaign against the BDS.”¹⁶⁴



Palestinian Prime Minister Salam Fayyad throws a package into a fire set to burn products from Jewish settlements in the West Bank Municipality of Salfit, January 2010.

Despite this claimed general opposition to BDS, though, the Palestinian leadership's has used boycotts as a political weapon against Israel in an attempt to achieve specific goals. In 2010, PA Prime Minister Salam Fayyad participated in a demonstration in which he burned Israeli settlement products, while PA Economics Minister Hassan Abu Libdeh ordered all settlement products to be removed from Palestinian stores in the West Bank.¹⁶⁵ Palestinian calls to boycott Israeli products have not remained limited to goods manufactured in Jewish settlements.

In December 2012, then-Palestinian Prime Minister Salam Fayyad called for a boycott of Israeli goods in response to Israel's suspension of tax-revenue transfers. There was little attempt to implement this appeal. However, a similar situation in 2015 bears closer examination.

On February 9, 2015, a PA committee announced a formal boycott of five large Israeli food-manufacturing companies: Strauss, Tnuva, Osem, Jafora-Tabori, and Prigat.¹⁶⁶ The committee was headed by Fatah Central Committee member Mahmoud al-Aloul and reportedly represented "all Palestinian factions."¹⁶⁷ It was portrayed as a response to Israel's suspension of tax-revenue transfers to the PA, which itself was a reaction to the PA decision to accede to the International Criminal Court in breach of the Oslo accords.

Al-Aloul announced that stores would have two weeks to remove all goods made by these companies from their shelves. Fatah officials began inspecting food stores after the deadline, and demanding that the Israeli products be removed.¹⁶⁸ Goods from some shops were publicly destroyed by Fatah/PA officials with no compensation for the shopowner¹⁶⁹ while al-Aloul promised to widen the boycott to include all Israeli goods.¹⁷⁰

On March 5, 2015, the PLO Central Council echoed the boycott call. According to a *Guardian* report, a Central Council statement “called for a boycott of all Israeli products and not only those coming from Israeli settlements, adding: ‘Israel must pay the price for its refusal to assume its responsibilities under international law...’”¹⁷¹

Opinions differed as to the effectiveness of this boycott. One Ramallah-based source claimed 80 percent of Ramallah stores had implemented it in full.¹⁷² but Palestinian shopkeepers noted that consumers prefer Israeli goods. As *Ynet* reported in 2012:

Brand names like Strauss, Tnuva, Osem, Elite, and other smaller Israeli brands are displayed in Hebrew and Arabic side by side in stores in Bethlehem. The names are even featured on the store signs and in the stores themselves.

“People love and buy Israeli products,” says one Bethlehem minimarket owner. And while there are local dairies that sell their products in the Palestinian Authority, he says “lots of people prefer to buy Tnuva products simply because there is tighter supervision and they want to feel safe in what they buy.

“It has nothing to do with politics. When we buy a product from you (Israelis) we know it is under supervision and only made with fresh ingredients.”¹⁷³

The same report quoted Palestinian cleaning-product wholesaler Imad Naama saying: “If my clients see that the product has Hebrew letters on it or if it says the product is from Israel, they are sure that it is better.”

With the resolution of the tax-revenue dispute in April 2015,¹⁷⁴ the short-lived boycott efforts appear to have stopped. But the PA plays a risky game if it tries to harness the BDS movement, which, as shown above, sees the PA itself as an enemy or traitor.

7.11 The Case of Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA)

The Palestinian Football Association’s (PFA) attempt to force the Israel Football Association’s suspension from the world soccer body, FIFA, is a good example of the PA’s exploitation of the global BDS campaign.



Jibril Rajoub, President of the Palestinian Football Association speaks during the 65th FIFA Congress held at the Hallenstadion in Zurich, Switzerland, May 29, 2015. Rajoub, a senior Palestinian Authority official, nearly succeeded to cause Israel's ejection from FIFA, the international soccer league.

The PFA is run by senior Fatah figure Jibril Rajoub. Head of PA Preventative Security in the West Bank at the start of the Second Intifada, Rajoub is deputy-secretary of the Fatah Central Committee. He famously told a Hizbullah news channel that “in the name of Allah, if we had nuclear weapons, we’d be using them.”¹⁷⁵ More recently, he praised the Beersheva bus-station terror attack on October 18, 2015, as an “act of heroism.”¹⁷⁶ He is also chairman of the Palestinian Olympic Committee. Through his control of these two Palestinian sporting bodies, Rajoub became one of the loudest and most influential voices pushing for sporting boycotts of Israel.¹⁷⁷

In addition to his public support for terror, Rajoub also actively has led Palestinian denormalization of relations with Israel. He has declared, “Any activity of normalization in sports with the Zionist enemy is a crime against humanity.”¹⁷⁸ As the PA’s Minister for Sport, he has actively prevented joint sporting initiatives between Israelis and Palestinian athletes,

including initiatives for children. When asked about using soccer to foster peace among Israelis and Palestinians, he responded that it was “a disgrace to use sports for this purpose,” adding that “it was impossible that there be any sport-related contact with the Israeli side, in any situation.”¹⁷⁹

Rajoub used his PFA role to try and force the cancellation of the UEFA (Union of European Football Associations) Under-21 tournament held in Israel in 2013.¹⁸⁰ In the three years up to 2015, Rajoub repeatedly threatened to seek Israel’s expulsion or suspension from FIFA for a variety of reasons.¹⁸¹ Eventually, in late May 2015, Rajoub submitted to the FIFA Congress a formal proposal to suspend the Israel Football Association from FIFA.

Accompanying this move by Rajoub was intense secondary lobbying activity by pro-

Rajoub has declared, “Any activity of normalization in sports with the Zionist enemy is a crime against humanity.”

boycott activists. Petitions on popular campaigning websites *Avaaz*¹⁸² and *Change.com*¹⁸³ gathered tens of thousands of signatures. A year earlier, several soccer players including France’s Eric Cantona had launched their own campaign with the same demand as Rajoub’s: Israel’s suspension from FIFA.¹⁸⁴

Rajoub’s final push came as internal problems in FIFA were beginning to dominate the news. FIFA President Sepp Blatter was forced to travel to Israel to meet Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Abbas

in an attempt to convince Rajoub and the PA to withdraw the proposal.¹⁸⁵ Despite Israel’s willingness to compromise on travel issues for Palestinian footballers, Abbas and Rajoub were initially implacable.¹⁸⁶ In the face of pressure from FIFA and UEFA, an awkward compromise was reached where Rajoub withdraw his suspension proposal and replaced it with a largely toothless resolution.¹⁸⁷

Unsurprisingly, Rajoub faced a domestic backlash for his decision to withdraw the FIFA suspension. He was condemned by civil society groups, and BDS activist Fadi Quran launched a petition to have him removed as PFA head.¹⁸⁸ The PFLP terror group issued a statement condemning Rajoub and supporting BDS,¹⁸⁹ and even the PLO criticized him.¹⁹⁰



Palestinian legislator Hanan Ashrawi (L) shakes hands with a relative of Hamas party lawmaker Wael Salhab who is being held in an Israeli jail, outside the Palestinian Parliament building where a special session is convening to vote-in a new unity government in the West Bank city of Ramallah, March 17, 2007.

7.12 Summary: The Palestinian Authority and BDS

The Palestinian leadership maintains a thorny relationship to BDS both as a tactic and a strategic campaign. They cannot ignore BDS because its Palestinian leaders represent important and threatening anti-PA rejectionist factions; the Palestinian political leadership cannot openly support BDS because the PA is on record as committed to a two-state solution and a peace process, which is important to its international donors. BDS is the antithesis of that peace process.

Instead, the PA has pursued a dual approach. On the one hand, they have led specific boycott campaigns – such as those against Israeli goods or at FIFA. On the other hand, they have tended to back away from these campaigns in the face of anti-BDS pressure from international donor countries such as the United States. This dual approach, therefore, has tended to fail, painting the PA as anti-peace in the minds of Israelis but also disappointing the hard-line BDS-campaign rejectionists and political purists in Palestinian civil society.

8. Other Partners of the BDS Movement

Many of the organizations promoting anti-Israel boycotts are either far-left organizations or Islamist groups. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, these groups sought a new ideological *raison d'être* and began to work closely together on a number of shared causes including opposition to Israel and promotion of boycotts. This collaboration is sometimes described as the “Red-Green alliance,” a term popularized by the Reut Institute.¹⁹¹

The BDS National Committee forms the center of the contemporary BDS movement, providing BDS supporters worldwide with legitimacy by being a Palestinian organization and offering guidance and shared direction to national BDS campaigns by, for example, choosing targets. However, as noted above, local anti-Israel boycott campaign groups are often older than the 2005 BDS call and have their own radical roots.

This section provides a brief overview of these different groups, including their ideological roots and their role in BDS campaigns. Each subsection is worthy of further, fuller study.

8.1 International Far-Left Elements

Far-left elements, at best supporters of the “one-state solution,” serve as the main “mentors” for the other forces involved in the delegitimization campaign. Usually, they hold postcolonialist/postimperialist theories (inspired by intellectuals such as Edward Said, Noam Chomsky, and others), in which Israel is perceived as a Middle Eastern imperialist enclave. In the past few years, encouraged by the Czech Velvet Revolution (1989–1990), far-left, mainly anarchist groups adopted this language and methodology. It is important to note that even actions that potentially may lead to violence (such as riotous protests or occupations of public places) are still presented as “nonviolent.”

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, some far-left groups have posited that political Islam (Islamism) is the only organized force able to resist U.S. hegemony and their perception of “empire.”

The far-left groups behind BDS tend to be the remnants of the Cold War-era Marxist parties – both pro-USSR Communist parties and Trotskyites mixed with 1960s-style radicals, Greens, and newer groups of left-anarchists. These groups are diverse with their own ideologies, histories, and internal tensions.

A good example of such groups is the Socialist Workers Party UK (SWP), one of the UK's largest far-left organizations. A Trotskyist group, it sees itself as the vanguard of a Marxist revolution that will ultimately overthrow the British state. Through front organizations and directly, the SWP was a major supporter of boycotts against Israel, especially the academic boycott.¹⁹² Another example is the South African Communist Party. Once explicitly pro-Soviet, it was an early and enthusiastic supporter of BDS.

These varied groups tend to see their involvement in anti-Israel boycott efforts as one activity among many, often including it alongside campaigns in support of Cuba or Venezuela and against the United States.

One venue where these organizations converge is the World Social Forum (WSF). The WSF is an international antiglobalist gathering that was supposed to counter Davos' World Economic Forum; the WSF (and its regional gatherings, such as the European Social Forum and other local ones) has probably been the most important platform for BDS promotion and cooperation within the radical left.



Martine Aubry, left, first secretary of the French Socialist Party, confers with Senegalese Socialist Party leader Ousmane Tanor Dieng during a World Social Forum event at Place du Souvenir in Dakar, Senegal, on February 9, 2011. The World Social Forum (WSF) is an international antiglobalist gathering that has provided an important platform for BDS promotion and cooperation among radical-left groups.

The 2005 World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil, included a delegation from the aforementioned Occupied Palestine and Syrian Golan Heights Advocacy Initiative (OGAPI), a coalition of anti-Israel NGOs. One of the joint statements by organizations at the 2005 WSF focused on boycotting Israel. In January 2005, these organizations published a call for “Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions vis-à-vis Israel to End Occupation and Apartheid Policies.”¹⁹³

The statement said:

We call upon the international community and governments to impose political and economic sanctions on Israel, including an embargo on armaments. We call upon the social movements to mobilize also for divestment and boycotts. These efforts aim to force Israel to implement international resolutions, and the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice, to stop and take down the illegal wall and end all occupation and Apartheid policies.

This statement is strikingly similar to the 2005 Palestinian BDS call, and indeed, the OGAPI was one of the drafters of that call. The World Social Forum BDS statement was essentially an early draft of the Palestinian BDS call, and might represent the earliest use of the term “Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions.”

Subsequent WSF meetings reaffirmed the commitment of participant organizations to the BDS cause.¹⁹⁴

8.2 Jewish and Israeli Anti-Zionists

Jewish and Israeli anti-Zionists play a critical role in the BDS campaign. They serve as some of its most public and prominent supporters, its most important ideologues and thinkers, and a legitimizing force that the campaign uses to insulate itself against charges of anti-Semitism.

Jewish anti-Zionist legitimacy complicates the BDS movement. It is counterintuitive to think that Jewish BDS activists support the demise of Israel and its replacement by an Arab or neutral state. However, this is the case.

Some of these Jewish anti-Zionist intellectuals were members of Matzpen, a breakaway group of the Israeli Communist Party in the early 1960s. Matzpen leaders were active anti-Zionist campaigners and became the “educators” on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict of leading figures of the New Left in Europe.¹⁹⁵ Gradually, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict became an extension of other anticolonialist struggles, and the language and terminology of anticolonialism was adopted against Israel. Former Matzpen leaders are still very active in the battle today;



Two demonstrators for the pro-BDS organization Jewish Voice for Peace hold a rally at the American Museum of Natural History in New York in August 2015 to demand an end to U.S. aid to Israel.

the most prominent of them is probably Michel Warschawski, “Mikado,” who founded the Alternative Information Center (AIC) in Jerusalem and is also said to have been among the founders of the World Social Forum. Daniel Machover, son of Matzpen founder Moshe Machover, founded Lawyers for Palestinian Human Rights¹⁹⁶ in the UK.

Steven and Hilary Rose, two British Jewish academics, led the 2002 campaign for academic sanctions and boycotts against Israel¹⁹⁷ and co-drafted the original boycott call.¹⁹⁸ It was this call that inspired Omar Barghouti to found PACBI.¹⁹⁹

Many of the prominent Israeli BDS supporters have moved to the UK. Ilan Pappé, an Israeli neo-revisionist historian and former candidate for the Communist-dominated Hadash Party, is based in Exeter, England. Pappé was an early supporter of the academic boycott.²⁰⁰ Haim Bresheeth, formerly of Sapir College in Sderot, and academic architect Eyal Weitzman,²⁰¹ both BDS supporters, also relocated to Britain. Pappé and Bresheeth, along with BDS supporter Oren Ben-Dor, were signatories of the 2007 One State Declaration.²⁰²

Some of the many known Jewish BDS personalities such as Naomi Klein, Prof. Judith Butler, and Adam Shapiro – who is a founder of the violently anti-Israel International

Solidarity Movement – have been outspoken in their opposition to Israel and have mobilized public support for a Palestinian state in its place.²⁰³

Jewish anti-Zionists provide legitimacy to the global BDS campaign. They can claim to support boycotts “as a Jew”²⁰⁴ and often speak at pro-BDS events, publish articles, and appear in the media. They also form the nexus of Jewish pro-Palestinian groups such as Jewish Voice for Peace and Jews for Justice in Palestine, which also include less radical, left progressive members in addition to anti-Zionist radicals. In 2008, Jewish anti-Zionists founded the International Jewish Anti-Zionist Network.

Within Israel, the most prominent BDS organizations are Coalition of Women for Peace’s subgroup Who Profits and Boycott from Within. Who Profits has become one of the most significant web resources for BDS activists globally. Boycott from Within evolved from Anarchists against the Wall, an Israeli left-anarchist group that was set up to protest the security barrier.

A Jewish BDS demonstration, Union Square, New York City, March 8, 2014. Some Jewish groups have played a prominent role in legitimizing BDS.



A boycott of Israeli cosmetics company Ahava outside a local branch store in Berlin, October 2012. Some radical Israeli groups have legitimized the subversion of Israel as a Jewish nation-state.



A central dilemma for Israeli and pro-Israel Jewish circles when it comes to exposing Jewish extremism in the BDS movement is: at what point should the traditionally large Jewish “tent” be closed to these rejectionist Jewish groups and their supporters? These Jewish and Israeli rejectionists and BDS advocates have proved themselves just as dedicated as their fellow travelers in Christian, Islamist, and Palestinian BDS circles to the dissolution of Israel as the nation-state of the Jewish people.

8.3 Islamist Groups

Perhaps surprisingly, Islamist groups have not been at the forefront of the global BDS campaign. However, they have provided the ideological framework that energizes politically minded Western Muslims, who are often the most fervent participants in BDS activity.

There are different Islamist groups: Sunni and Shiite, Muslim Brotherhood and Salafi, supporters of violent jihad and proponents of political campaigning. Many of these groups devote much of their energy to opposing one another; in that respect, they are similar to the far-left groups discussed above. Nevertheless, there are also ideological similarities among Islamist groups, including a theological opposition to Israel’s existence.

Following the outbreak of the Second Intifada, radical Muslim clerics issued religious rulings banning the purchase of Israeli goods. Iran’s Supreme Leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, issued a *fatwa* in May 2001 in which he stated: “The purchase of any item which helps strengthen Zionism is not permissible unless it reaches the point of necessity.”²⁰⁵ Pro-Iranian organizations, such as Innovative Minds,²⁰⁶ began to promote boycotts of Israel to Muslim audiences at about the same time. Muslim groups in South Africa backed by local Muslim donors and, some allege, Qatar and the Iranian regime, are funding BDS and other anti-Israel actions on campuses.²⁰⁷ In January 2016, it was alleged that Spain’s Podemos Party – far-left, anti-corruption, and the third largest political faction – had secretly received more than five million euros from the Iranian regime.²⁰⁸ Podemos is one of the key promoters of BDS in Spanish cities including Barcelona, Madrid, and Valencia. Podemos also supported the disinvitation of the Jewish reggae star Matisyahu from the Rototom Sunsplash music festival in Valencia in August 2015. In fact, the festival made his appearance conditional on his condemnation of Israel’s presence in the West Bank. It is noteworthy that Matisyahu is Jewish but not Israeli, illustrating the anti-Semitic nature of the demand.²⁰⁹

Sheikh Yusuf al-Qaradawi is one of the leading scholars of the global Muslim Brotherhood²¹⁰ and a theological proponent and defender of suicide bombings in Israel.²¹¹ Hamas, as the Palestinian branch of the Muslim Brotherhood, looks to Qaradawi as a spiritual guide. In April 2002, Qaradawi, based in Qatar, published a *fatwa* on boycotting Israel that declared:



Iranian Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei issued a fatwa in May 2001 supporting boycotts against Israel.



In April 2002 Sheikh Yusuf al Qaradawi, the Egyptian theologian and religious authority of the International Muslim Brotherhood, published a fatwa on boycotting Israel.

It is Jihad to liberate the Islamic lands from those who attack or conquer them. These are enemies of Islam. This Jihad is an absolute obligation and a sacred duty....

Each riyal, dirham...etc. used to buy their goods eventually becomes bullets to be fired at the hearts of brothers and children in Palestine. For this reason, it is an obligation not to help them (the enemies of Islam) by buying their goods.²¹²

Qaradawi sourced the boycott in Islamic history:

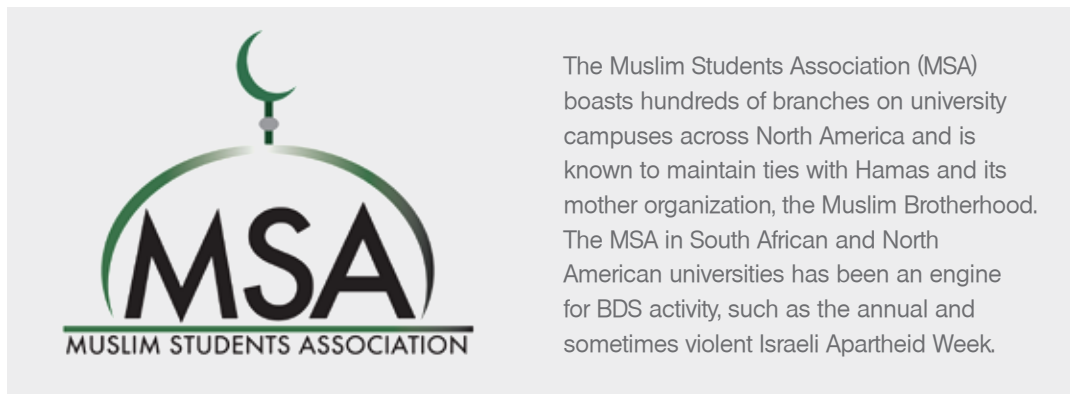
The boycott is a very sharp weapon, used in the past and recently. It was used by the pagans in Makkah against the Prophet Muhammad, peace and blessings be upon him, and his companions. It caused great harm to them; they even had to eat leaves. It was also used by companions of the Prophet, peace and blessings be upon him, to fight against the pagans in Madinah.²¹³

In the same *fatwa*, Qaradawi also mandated a boycott of American goods.

Despite this *fatwa*, and other similar calls in the beginning of the BDS campaign, only a few Western Islamist groups devoted significant resources to promoting a boycott of Israel. Far-left groups were generally more prominent in boycott campaigning than Islamist



New York University Chaplain Khalid Latif speaks to students at the university's Islamic Center on February 24, 2012. Groups at NYU such as Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) cooperated with the MSA in leading BDS and protest campaigns during Israel's 2014 war with Hamas.



groups. Among the few exceptions was the Friends of Al-Aqsa, a UK-based Islamist group specifically focused on anti-Israel campaigning.²¹⁴

As BDS campaigning has become a main form of anti-Israel political activity, more Islamist groups have been actively involved in BDS initiatives. Muslim Students Associations, many with reported ties to Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood, have become active BDS proponents in North America, South Africa,²¹⁵ and Europe.²¹⁶

8.4 Churches and Christian Groups

A full history of Christian-Jewish and Christian-Israeli relations is well beyond the scope of this study, especially as there are many different Christian denominations. However, since medieval times, Christian churches have supported and promoted anti-Jewish boycotts.

Leading Muslim Brotherhood scholar Sheikh Yusuf al-Qaradawi published a *fatwa* on boycotting Israel in 2002 that declared: “It is an obligation not to help them (the enemies of Islam) by buying their goods.”

Medieval Christians were not allowed to enter synagogues, celebrate with Jews, or attend Jewish banquets. Christians who violated the prohibitions were themselves boycotted and tainted.²¹⁷ Christian boycotts against Jews continued until the early 20th century.²¹⁸

It is noteworthy that the Vatican only recognized the State of Israel in 1993.²¹⁹ However, BDS is mainly an issue in the mainline Protestant churches, often inspired by more radical Christian ideologies among some parts of these churches.

One of the primary Christian anti-Jewish ideologies is supersessionism, also known as replacement theology. This doctrine of early Christianity held that the church had replaced

“Israel” – that is, the Jews – in God’s plan. Historically, supersessionism was used to delegitimize Judaism and to demand that Jews convert to Christianity.

In Palestinian liberation theology, it is not only the Christians who replace the biblical Jews; it is the Palestinians who become the “real” or “true” Jews of the Bible, identified with Jesus struggling against his Jewish “oppressors.”

Supersessionism began to be used as a contemporary response to Christian Zionism, which is the Christian belief established in the 19th century that the Jews have a biblical claim to Israel. If today’s Jews are not the Israel of the Bible, then Christians are able to believe in the literal truth of the Bible without supporting a Jewish claim to Israel.²²⁰

Starting in the 1980s, Rev. Naim Ateek, a Palestinian Anglican priest in Jerusalem, fused liberation theology (a Latin-American Christian theology that combines

Christianity with socialist and Marxist ideas)²²¹ and supersessionism to create Palestinian liberation theology.²²² In Palestinian liberation theology, it is not only the Christians who replace the biblical Jews; it is the Palestinians who become the “real” or “true” Jews of the Bible, identified with Jesus struggling against his Jewish “oppressors.” In Ateek’s words:

The suffering of Jesus Christ at the hands of evil political and religious powers two thousand years ago is lived out again in Palestine...hundreds of thousands of crosses throughout the land, Palestinian men, women, and children being crucified. Palestine has become one huge Golgatha [sic]. The Israeli government crucifixion system is operating daily.²²³

Ateek has referred to “Jesus Christ, living in our country as a Palestinian under occupation.”²²⁴

Ateek considers the Old Testament, with its notions of a Jewish claim to Israel, to be a “primitive form of nationalism that looked at one’s own tribal interest.”²²⁵

Ateek founded the Sabeel Ecumenical Liberation Theology Center in Jerusalem to promote his ideas. Ateek and Sabeel were early advocates of church divestment campaigns²²⁶ and are regularly cited by churches when considering divesting from Israel.²²⁷ Friends of Sabeel organizations around the world promote Sabeel’s agenda to Christian groups. In 2013, the Anti-Defamation League listed Friends of Sabeel North America as one of the top ten anti-Israel hate groups.²²⁸

In December 2009, Ateek was one of the main authors of a long religious plea for the Palestinians called *Kairos: A Moment of Truth*.²²⁹ Signed by Palestinian Christians, the

Kairos document calls for a boycott of Israel. Based on the model of the various boycott calls discussed above, the Kairos call has been cited by the Methodist²³⁰ and Presbyterian²³¹ churches to support their boycott positions and has become a rallying point for Christian anti-Israel activity worldwide.

Signed by Palestinian Christians, the Kairos call has become a rallying point for Christian anti-Israel activity worldwide.

Although they are not radical organizations themselves, many church-linked international NGOs are major donors to radical BDS-supporting NGOs – for example, Christian Aid in the UK, Sweden’s Diakonia, and the Interchurch Organization for Development Cooperation (ICCO) in the Netherlands. These organizations, often recipients of government funding themselves, provide what is believed to be the majority of the funding for the core Palestinian BDS organizations discussed above.



Mohammed Hammad, former President of San Francisco State University’s General Union of Palestine Students (GUPS), a university-sanctioned student group, and supporter of BDS and the dissolution of Israel, was widely alleged to have posted this photo on his twitter account saying, “I seriously cannot get over how much I love this blade. It is the sharpest thing I own and cuts through everything like butter and just holding it makes me want to stab an Israeli soldier.” According to AMCHA, the anti-Semitism monitoring group, Hammad was reported to have identified an Israeli soldier and said, “The only ‘peace’ I’m interested in is the head of this f*cking scum on a plate, as well as the heads of all others like her, and all others who support the IDF.”

9. The BDS *Modus Operandi*: Targeting Liberal and Progressive Critics of Israel

Far-left revolutionaries, rejectionist Palestinians, the Palestinian Authority, terrorist groups, and Islamists lie at the heart of the anti-Israel BDS campaign. However, the campaign itself is not restricted to far-left meetings or Friday mosque sermons. BDS has also penetrated university campuses, local governments, trade unions, churches, and even supermarkets and concert halls.

Many of these professional groups, unions, and associations that have subscribed to the global BDS campaign are liberal critics of Israel and supporters of a Palestinian state in the West Bank. However, these critics of Israel have become the foot soldiers of a movement whose leaders and ideologues see BDS as a step toward Israel's destruction.

Some supporters of the Palestinian cause might naturally join organizations such as the Palestine Solidarity Campaign, Students for Justice in Palestine, or the France-Palestine Solidarity Association, believing them to be mainstream organizations supporting the Palestinians. However, these campaigns are often run by the far-left, Islamist, or other anti-Israel radicals mentioned above. Notably, Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) has been censured on several U.S. campuses. The UK's Palestine Solidarity Campaign (PSC) is run by a secretive far-left group called Socialist Action.²³² While its logo includes the entire State of Israel,²³³ some of its supporters still believe that PSC supports a two-state solution.

9.1 Motions and Resolutions

BDS is often introduced to democratic civil society organizations such as trade unions, professional associations, and student governments in the form of motions and resolutions that are debated and voted on. The structure of these mainstream organizations renders them prime targets for a small number of dedicated BDS campaigners, often expatriate Palestinians or in some cases pro-Palestinian Arab nationals, Islamist activists, or members of the far left, who write and propose motions on BDS at meetings of the abovementioned trade unions, professional associations, and student governments. Frequently BDS motions are the sole proposals made on Israel and the Palestinians, and liberal pro-Palestinian voters



UK Labour Party leader Jeremy Corbyn, a pro-BDS politician who has called Hamas and Hizbullah his “friends,” stands in front of a Palestine poster during a London protest calling for boycotts against Israel in August 2014.

often vote for these BDS proposals because they “want to show support for the Palestinians” rather than because they support the BDS cause itself. Activist organizations and associations that have approved such a BDS policy might be forced to commit resources to supporting BDS to the detriment of other causes. In this way civil society organizations can essentially be subverted into becoming part of the BDS machine.

As noted above, many Palestinian civil society organizations are largely funded by Western NGOs. These NGOs, which may in turn be partially funded by governments or international organizations like the EU and UN, listen to their local partners when shaping NGO policies including BDS. Oxfam, for example, promotes boycotts and labeling of goods produced in Israeli farms beyond the Green Line²³⁴ and calls for an arms embargo on Israel.²³⁵ As extensively reported by NGO Monitor, these international NGOs are major recipients of money from Western governments. In this way, governments fund NGOs that, in turn, fund pro-BDS Palestinian NGOs.



Activists from the pro-Palestinian, pro-BDS, International Solidarity Movement (ISM) join locals in protesting Israel's security barrier that flanks the West Bank Palestinian town of Qalqilya, July 31, 2003.

9.2 Anti-Israel Delegations

Delegations to the Middle East are a key tool used by BDS leaders and activists to radicalize others. Delegations will often meet with the pro-BDS Palestinian NGOs discussed above, and will be made to feel that BDS is mainstream and widely supported.

For example, when BDS activists wanted to convince the Scottish Trade Union Congress to expand its boycott policy, they first arranged for its leaders to join a delegation to Israel and the PA-governed areas. According to the delegation's report, they "met with the representatives of four Palestinian NGOs which form part of the Boycott, Disinvestment and Sanctions Campaign based in Ramallah," including "Jamal [Juma'], the Co-ordinator of the Stop the Wall Campaign."²³⁶ At the meeting, they were told about "the major violation of 60 years ago, with the complete theft of the land and the eviction of Palestinian people"²³⁷ – referring to the foundation of Israel in 1948, not to Israel's control of the West Bank after 1967. On their return, the delegation recommended and easily pushed through a boycott of Israel.²³⁸

Parallel events transpired with South African Christian leaders who visited in 2012²³⁹ and returned citing the abovementioned Kairos document and supporting BDS, as well as with U.S. Presbyterians in January 2014 who immediately announced their support for targeted divestment.²⁴⁰

The International Solidarity Movement (ISM) pioneered a more activist way of visiting Palestinian areas. The ISM is probably the most important anarchist incubator involved in Palestinian issues, and many of its veterans create local groups in their home countries upon returning from the West Bank. ISM volunteers have often joined “popular resistance” protests against the security barrier, under the auspices of Stop the Wall. ISM volunteers undergo two days of training in Ramallah in “nonviolence strategies and philosophy, group decision making and cultural considerations for living and working in Palestine which helps prepare them for demonstrations and actions that ISM participates in against the ongoing Israeli occupation.”²⁴¹

ISM-London, which endorsed the 2005 BDS call, also offers “very highly regarded” training and says that more than 250 people have been trained since 2009.²⁴² ISM activists in Europe also join demonstrations against shops that sell Israeli products. The ISM website links to national and regional branches in Britain, the United States, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Sweden, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, and the Netherlands. ISM cofounder Huwaida Arraf participated in a meeting organized by the Global Anti-Aggression Campaign (GAAC).²⁴³ As already noted, the head of the GAAC, Sheikh Nu’aymi, was later designated by the United States for his involvement with al-Qaeda.

The Ecumenical Accompaniment Program for Palestine and Israel (EAPPI) is another program that sends large numbers of volunteers to Palestinian areas. EAPPI volunteers, known as Ecumenical Accompaniers, live in Palestinian towns and accompany Palestinians during their daily lives. EAPPI has been described by critics as biased²⁴⁴ because of the one-sidedness of the program, and it promoted the pro-BDS Kairos call.²⁴⁵ Returning volunteers are encouraged to write blogs and make speeches about their experiences in their local churches.

Many people join the BDS movement believing it to be a corrective tool that will help achieve a two-states-for-two-peoples solution. They do not know and are not told that the BDS campaign’s leaders are working toward a different goal: the elimination of Israel.

Many of the ideological leaders of the BDS campaign also make public appearances to spread their ideas. Omar Barghouti, for example, has conducted annual speaking tours of the United States since 2010,²⁴⁶ promoting his book and lecturing on college campuses.

These BDS tactics have convinced many liberal pro-Palestinian activists that BDS is a progressive, mainstream campaign. Many of these people join the BDS movement believing it to be a corrective tool that will help achieve a two-states-for-two-peoples solution. They do not know and are not told that the BDS campaign’s leaders are working toward a different goal: the elimination of Israel.



PHOTO BY ISRAELI PRESS OFFICE/POOL/ANADOLU AGENCY/GETTY IMAGES

Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu (R) and French telecom operator Orange CEO Stephane Richard (L) meet in Jerusalem, Israel, on June 12, 2015. Richard apologized to Netanyahu following the French executive's declaration in Cairo that he wanted to cancel the contract with an Israeli mobile provider, prompting a diplomatic uproar.

9.3 From the Arab League Boycott to the Arab-Street Boycott

Historically, as noted, the organized Arab League boycott of Israel did have a real economic impact. Multinational companies refused to do business with Israel for fear of retaliatory sanctions against them as part of the “secondary boycott.” This fear remained despite U.S. antiboycott laws in the 1970s.²⁴⁷

Food companies McDonald's and PepsiCo, for example, and car manufacturer Toyota, decided that trade with the Arab world was more important than doing business with Israel, and products from these companies were simply not available in Israel until the early 1990s.²⁴⁸

If the Arab League's boycott was felt by Israel, it pales in comparison with the entire Muslim world. There are approximately 1.6 billion Muslims, and Muslim-majority countries are rapidly developing markets for certain goods like consumer electronics. Arab and Muslim governments, aware of World Trade Organization rules, no longer enforce strict secondary boycotts of companies that do business with Israel, but some Arab and Muslim consumers have joined boycott campaigns.

Orange, a France-based multinational cellular communications company partially owned by the French government, grabbed the headlines in June 2015 for reports that it planned to

leave Israel. Orange has a franchise agreement with Partner Communications in Israel that allows Partner to use the Orange brand.²⁴⁹

A BDS incident in 2015 with the Orange Telecommunications Giant could be a sign of things to come.

Orange had been targeted by BDS campaigners in the West for several years, with organizations like Corporate Watch²⁵⁰ encouraging consumers to boycott the company. These efforts met with little success. However, in 2014, Egyptian BDS campaigners began to target Orange and Mobinil, an Egyptian telecoms company that is part-owned by Orange.²⁵¹ In particular, Orange Israel's adopt-a-soldier scheme during the 2014

Gaza conflict drew the attention of BDS campaigners in Egypt.²⁵² The BDS Egypt group launched a boycott campaign against Mobinil in May 2015.²⁵³

A month later, on June 3, 2015, Orange's CEO Stephane Richard visited Cairo. At a press conference he was asked by a *Daily News Egypt* journalist about Orange's business in Israel. Richard said:

Believe me I would cancel the contract tomorrow if I could.... We want to terminate this and to fix this, we don't want it....

If you take the amount of money we receive and the amount of time we take explaining this in France and elsewhere, believe me, it's not a good deal.²⁵⁴

Richard's remarks provoked a diplomatic storm because of the French government's 25-percent stake in Orange. France's President Francois Hollande called Prime Minister Netanyahu to clarify that France still opposed boycotts of Israel.²⁵⁵ Richard himself traveled to Israel a week later to "clarify" that Orange was not leaving Israel.²⁵⁶ Nevertheless, a few weeks later it was confirmed that Orange was ending its franchise deal with Partner Communications, effectively meaning that the Orange brand will disappear in Israel by 2017.²⁵⁷ Orange insists that this move was not politically motivated, but the truth remains unclear. Partner Communications removed the Orange brand in February 2016, becoming simply "Partner."²⁵⁸

Other multinational companies could find themselves facing similar decisions to Orange. In India, a campaign to boycott major multinationals over their alleged links to Israel including Coca-Cola, PepsiCo, Kraft Foods, and Nestlé²⁵⁹ began in 2014. The campaign against these companies has continued on social media. There are 172 million Muslims in India, so even a partially successful boycott of these companies would amount to a bigger market share than the whole population of Israel.

While Israeli policymakers have focused on boycotts emanating from Western countries, it may be that the real economic boycott threat lies in the Arab and Muslim world.

10. The Radical Character of the U.S. Campus BDS Movement

The BDS movement has spread rapidly on American university campuses in line with an emerging radical rhetoric mirroring the anti-Zionist discourse of the European Left. The anti-Zionist ideology that underpins the BDS movement on US university campuses denies Jewish claims to the land of Israel, and instead views the Jewish nation state as an uncompromising and often brutal, colonial, military power that illegally occupies Palestinian lands. This anti-Zionist debate has been largely successful on university campuses because of the appeal of the Palestinian cause to students and faculty whose world view is defined by a global human rights discourse informed by an intellectual and moral dedication to “anti-oppression and anti-colonialism.”²⁶⁰

There are relatively simple mechanisms within student governments that allow student groups to submit motions vilifying or boycotting Israel. The growing autonomy of student governments from university administrations enable these resolutions to pass with little oversight. Any attempts to stop BDS motions in student governments or academic associations by university administrations or external groups are perceived by student supporters as threats to freedom of speech and affronts to the democratic process. Controversy surrounding BDS votes often lead to publicized confrontations with university administrators eager to avoid the BDS issue entirely.²⁶¹

The success of BDS campaigns on campuses is reflected in data compiled by the Israel on Campus Coalition in its 2014-2015 report. ICC found that during that academic year, the number of U.S. campuses with reported anti-Israel activity increased by 31.2 percent from 138 to 181 colleges and universities nationwide. Pro-BDS organizations such as Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) and Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP) established presences on 164 new campuses in the 2014-15 academic year. Additionally, the BDS movement held 44 campus campaigns, a 132 percent jump from 19 campaigns in 2013-2014.²⁶²



Mock assassination of students at an Israel Apartheid Week demonstration at the University of California, Los Angeles, May 2010

10.1 BDS Deception on Campus

The campus BDS leadership has appeared to make similar calls demanded by many foreign governments and international organizations that Israel withdraw completely from the disputed West Bank territories and return to the 1949 armistice lines otherwise known as the “1967 borders” to allow for the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza. However, student BDS supporters do not limit their demands to a Palestinian state in these territories. Rather, the BDS rhetoric disseminated by student organizations denies Israel’s right to exist, and disregards prospects for negotiated diplomacy or compromise between Israel and the Palestinians.²⁶³

One of the campus BDS movement’s unequivocal demands, is its insistence that Palestinian refugees from 1948 and their offspring – the only descendants of refugees from any group in the world that inherit refugee status – should have the right to return to settle within Israel’s pre-1967 borders. However, if the Palestinian demand of the “right of return” were to be granted, Israel’s character would be transformed from the nation-state of the Jewish people to a 23rd Arab Muslim state. According to *The Economist*, “The positions BDS pushes are non-starters for Middle East peace negotiations. They can only inspire resentment and retrenchment, not constructive dialogue, among students on college campuses.”²⁶⁴

10.2 Unmasking the Leading BDS Student Groups

Although there are numerous organizations involved in pro-BDS student and faculty activity at U.S. universities, there is a pronounced inter-organizational link via a BDS umbrella

Other campus organizations, like Students for Justice in Palestine that claim to advocate for ending the occupation of the West Bank, have delegitimized Israel espousing positions consonant with Hamas' violent rejection of the Jewish state.

organization called the U.S. Campaign to End the Israeli Occupation. Therefore, while organizations like Jewish Voice for Peace may claim that their mission is to end the Israeli occupation through BDS support and achieve a two-state solution, its shared activities with groups promoting anti-Semitism and terror also make many pro-BDS campus groups complicit in denying Israel's right to exist as a Jewish state and even advocating for its destruction. Other campus organizations, like Students for Justice in Palestine that claim to advocate for ending the occupation of the West Bank, have delegitimized Israel espousing positions consonant with Hamas' violent rejection of the Jewish state.

Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) was founded by Hatem Bazian, a Palestinian-American professor at University of California, Berkeley in 2001. As an undergraduate and graduate student he participated in a series of anti-Semitic incidents, including his accusing a student newspaper of being run by "Jewish spies" and kicking Jewish students out of a press conference he hosted in support of an anti-Semitic mural.

10.3 The MSA and the Muslim Brotherhood

A 2012 New York Police Department report disclosed MSA members were among convicted terrorists who used MSAs as centers of recruitment

Prior to founding SJP, Bazian headed the Muslim Student Association (MSA) at Berkeley. The MSA was first established in the U.S. in 1963 at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign, with the organizational support of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood and financial backing of the Saudi charity, the Muslim World League, to support the extremist Saudi Wahhabist ideology in the U.S. However, Bazian assessed that the MSA was too limited in its Palestinian activism, so he founded the more secular SJP to rally support exclusively for the Palestinian cause.²⁶⁵

Since its founding, the Muslim Student Association, with hundreds of branches across North America, has also forayed into radicalism. A 2012 New York Police Department report disclosed MSA members were among convicted terrorists who used MSAs as centers of recruitment.²⁶⁶ Additionally, MSA leaders and speakers have made anti-American and pro-terror statements at MSA events.²⁶⁷ Prior to September 11, 2001 some MSA chapters made charitable contributions to terror organizations or charities with terror connections, such as Hamas.²⁶⁸

10.4 SJP and Anti-Semitic Activity

SJP has been known to engage in anti-Semitic actions while supporting BDS activities. One of SJP's first activities under Bazian in 2002 was to disrupt a Holocaust Remembrance Day event on the Berkeley campus in 2002, resulting in the arrests of SJP members. At a rally protesting the arrests, Bazian declared, "take a look at the type of names on the building around campus – Haas, Zellerbach – and decide who controls this university."²⁶⁹ Outside of his campus pursuits, in 2004 Bazian served as a fundraising speaker for KindHearts, a charity that served as a front for Hamas that was closed by the US government in 2006 for terrorist activity. It has been designated by the US government as a terrorist organization.²⁷⁰

As a decentralized student organization with new formal leadership, nationwide chapters of SJP receive funding from a variety of sources, including the universities themselves, like any other student organization would, including admission to events and membership fees. However, numerous external NGOs come with dubious funding sources and leadership also fund and provide training and assistance to SJP.²⁷¹

10.5 BDS and Hamas on Campus

In addition to establishing SJP, Bazian is also a leader of AMP – American Muslims for Palestine – a tax-exempt charitable organization. According to the ADL, AMP is "the leading organization providing anti-Zionist training and education to students and Muslim community organizations in the country."²⁷² The AMP has brought speakers to campuses nationwide through the SJP, sponsored national SJP conferences, and provided educational material to SJP groups, including a model of an "Apartheid Wall" to use for campus activities. In 2014 alone, AMP spent \$100,000 on campus activities.²⁷³ AMP leadership is also responsible for ordering SJP members to refuse to collaborate or dialogue with campus Jewish groups, under the guise of BDS's "anti-normalization" with students they view as being potentially Zionist.

Outside of its student support, AMP has been the source of ad campaigns on public transportation in the New York and Washington D.C. areas that spread disinformation and demonize Israel. It has openly called on Congress to embrace BDS.²⁷⁴ AMP emerged in 2005 from the Islamic Association of Palestine (IAP), "an anti-Semitic group that served as the



A banner for Students for Justice in Palestine, the BDS activists and organizers of the Dag Hammarskjold Plaza rally in New York City on August 18, 2015.

main propaganda arm for Hamas in the United States until it was dissolved in 2004,²⁷⁵ as were two other groups, KindHearts, and the Hamas-financing Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development.²⁷⁶

In testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee in April 2016, the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies' Jonathan Schanzer portrayed the AMP as a threat to the United States as well as to Israel due to its international terror connections. He testified that many of the leaders of charities that were implicated by the government for funding Hamas from 2001-2011 were deported or jailed while others joined the AMP.

Many of the pro-Hamas leaders of these NGOs that were used to fund terror now hold positions as board members of AMP. Salah Sarsour, a Milwaukee-based member of the AMP board of directors, has been investigated for funding Hamas, and has served an eight-month prison sentence in Israel for Hamas support. While imprisoned he also became a close friend of the West Bank commander of Hamas' armed wing.²⁷⁷

Additionally, one of AMP's sponsors is the Dearborn Michigan-based Middle East Financial Services, which, it has been discovered, wired money to Palestinian Islamic Jihad in 2002, although the U.S. had designated it a terror organization in 1997.

Al-Awda is another pro-BDS charity that supports SJP. Al-Awda leaders have spoken at Hizbullah-sponsored conferences, hosted Hamas speakers, and held rallies to protest Israeli independence.²⁷⁸

Both AMP and Al-Awda are parts of the vast web of NGOs that provides support for the BDS- supporting SJP, and that works collectively via the umbrella group, US Campaign to End the Israeli Occupation (USCIO). This organization's title is misleading. Although many supporters and observers may be misled to believe that this USCIO boycott umbrella group intends to trigger Israel's withdrawal from territories Israel captured in the 1967 war, in reality this BDS campaign works to cause Israel's national collapse. According to USCIO's official website, members argue that by supporting BDS it is "targeting Israel and institutions complicit in its oppressive policies towards Palestinians."²⁷⁹

10.6 Boycotting Israel on Campus

The U.S. Campaign to End Israeli Occupation's boycott activities target companies like Ben & Jerry's, Ahava, Airbnb, and Sabra Hummus, which are Israeli and international companies that sell products to Israeli civilians. Furthermore, its website and newsletters write reports and provide links to pages that deny Israel's existence or delegitimize the Zionist movement from as early as 1870, accuse the Jewish National Fund of ethnic cleansing, and post maps of "Palestine" without any sign of Israel within the curtailed 1949 armistice lines or the even more truncated 1947 partition plan.²⁸⁰

10.7 BDS Anti-Semitism and Anti-Zionism

Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP), the largest and most influential Jewish anti-Zionist group with a vast campus infrastructure, is an organizational member of the U.S. Campaign to End Israeli Occupation. According to JVP leaders, the primary goal of the organization is to drive a "wedge" in the American Jewish community to distance American Jews from the Jewish state.²⁸¹ Two JVP divisions – the Academic Advisory Council and Student Network – focus specifically on university activism. The Student Network's largest output has been the report, *Stifling Dissent: How Israel's Defenders Use False Charges of Anti-Semitism to Limit the Debate over Israel on Campus*. The report's content tries to dispel claims that anti-Israel sentiment is anti-Semitic, and that campus pro-Israeli organizations encourage Islamophobia and alienate anti-Zionist Jewish students by adopting pro-Israel policies.²⁸²

Similarly, the JVP's Academic Advisory Council advertises itself as a "fast-growing, diverse network of tenured professors, contingent faculty, independent scholars and graduate students invested for justice for Palestine." This department also works toward advancing JVP's mission of driving a wedge between American Jewry and Israel on campuses nationwide by encouraging academic boycotts. JVP counts boycotts by the American Studies Association, Women's Studies Association, and Association for Asian American Studies, Native American

According to JVP leaders, the primary goal of the organization is to drive a “wedge” in the American Jewish community to distance American Jews from the Jewish state.

and Indigenous Studies Association among its victories and encourages more academic associations to pass boycott resolutions.²⁸³

The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) is a Quaker organization active in the BDS movement. JVP, in partnership with AFSC and the Presbyterian Church, runs a summer institute for student leaders on how to launch BDS campaigns at their universities. In addition to the JVP’s work with the US Campaign to End the Israeli Occupation, it has also issued statements of support for BDS conferences. One 2012 conference at the University of Pennsylvania that the JVP endorsed featured

keynote speaker Ali Abunimah, founder of *The Electronic Intifada* website and a one-state solution activist, and speeches by board members of American Muslims for Palestine.

10.8 Student BDS and Terror Links

The activities of Students for Justice in Palestine, like its founder, are also closely connected to terror and terrorists intent on destroying Israel. In October 2012, former Palestinian Islamic Jihad member, Khadar Adnan, an open supporter of suicide bombings and terrorist attacks targeting civilians, was invited by SJP and JVP as a speaker at American University in Washington D.C. Other speakers invited to campuses on behalf of the SJP include Muhammad Desai, who organized a 2013 protest against an Israeli musician in South Africa where he started screaming “Shoot the Jew!” and Steven Salaita, who advocates for anti-Semitism as a logical response to the occupation and praised the 2014 kidnapping of Israeli teenagers by Hamas supporters. BDS founder Omar Barghouti is also a frequent speaker at SJP-sponsored events.²⁸⁴

Other SJP activities on campuses nationwide include attempts to silence and isolate any pro-Israel supporters. SJP members have frequently chanted, “From the River to the Sea, Palestine Will be Free,” as part of protests or when interrupting pro-Israel speakers. This chant bluntly suggests that there is no room for a Jewish state between the Mediterranean Sea and Jordan River, thus calling for Israel’s destruction.²⁸⁵

10.9 BDS and Violence on Campus

There is also a direct correlation between BDS groups on campus and the threat of physical violence and intimidation of Jewish or pro-Israel students. In 2014, a man tabling for SJP at



Temple University punched a student in the face and called him a “kike” and “baby-killer” for asking to discuss Israel. On other campuses, SJP members have been found guilty of anti-Semitic vandalism and assault in violation of university policy for physical violence against Jewish students or threats and intimidation.²⁸⁶

10.10 Summary: The Radical Character of the U.S. Campus BDS Movement

The growth of the BDS movement on campuses is directly correlated to a rise in anti-Semitic incidents perpetrated by BDS activists. This has resulted in fear and uncertainty among Jewish students on American campuses for either supporting Israel or outwardly expressing Jewish identity and practice. Many university communities and administrations view pro-BDS campus organizations as legitimate student groups with a right to operate freely under campus regulations and freedom of association. However, major BDS campus organizations are members of the US Campaign to End the Israeli Occupation, an anti-Semitic umbrella organization that denies Israel’s right to exist in any borders.

Furthermore, there are direct connections between the organizations funding campus BDS movements and terror activity. For example, many of the leaders of the BDS groups AMP and SJP have worked for organizations that have funded or assisted terror groups. As stated above, the leadership that was not deported or jailed for terrorism has continued to work for pro-BDS organizations. They have also advocated for boycotting Israel, have actively denied its existence, and have been shown to spread anti-Semitic and pro-terror messages on American campuses.

11. Conclusion

The global BDS movement constitutes a complex network of radical ideologies, organizations, and individuals. One of the primary challenges in understanding BDS is to see through its camouflaged exterior. The movement has succeeded to mislead many into believing that it is, as Thomas Friedman put it, simply an “intifada propelled by non-violent resistance and economic boycott,”²⁸⁷ seeking to advance a solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

However, as this study has illustrated, BDS leaders and activists have more accurately characterized their activities as a complementary strategy to the policy of terror and political violence that Hamas, other Palestinian groups, and Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated

The BDS campaign’s penetration of Western mainstream professional groups, trade unions, leading academic institutions, and even the world of cultural icons represents a dangerous globalization and mainstreaming of the BDS effort.

organizations have long embraced as part of their avowed effort to dismantle Israel as a sovereign state. And as we explained, BDS is merely a recent variant of centuries of anti-Jewish boycotts that the Arab powers embraced nearly three decades before the reestablishment of Jewish sovereignty in 1948. The difference today is that the BDS campaign includes new but equally radical actors, including far-left, Muslim, Christian, and even Jewish and Israeli groups and individuals.

In this sense, efforts to subvert Israel as a sovereign state have not changed. However, the BDS campaign’s penetration of Western

mainstream professional groups, trade unions, leading academic institutions, and even the world of cultural icons represents a dangerous globalization and mainstreaming of the BDS effort.

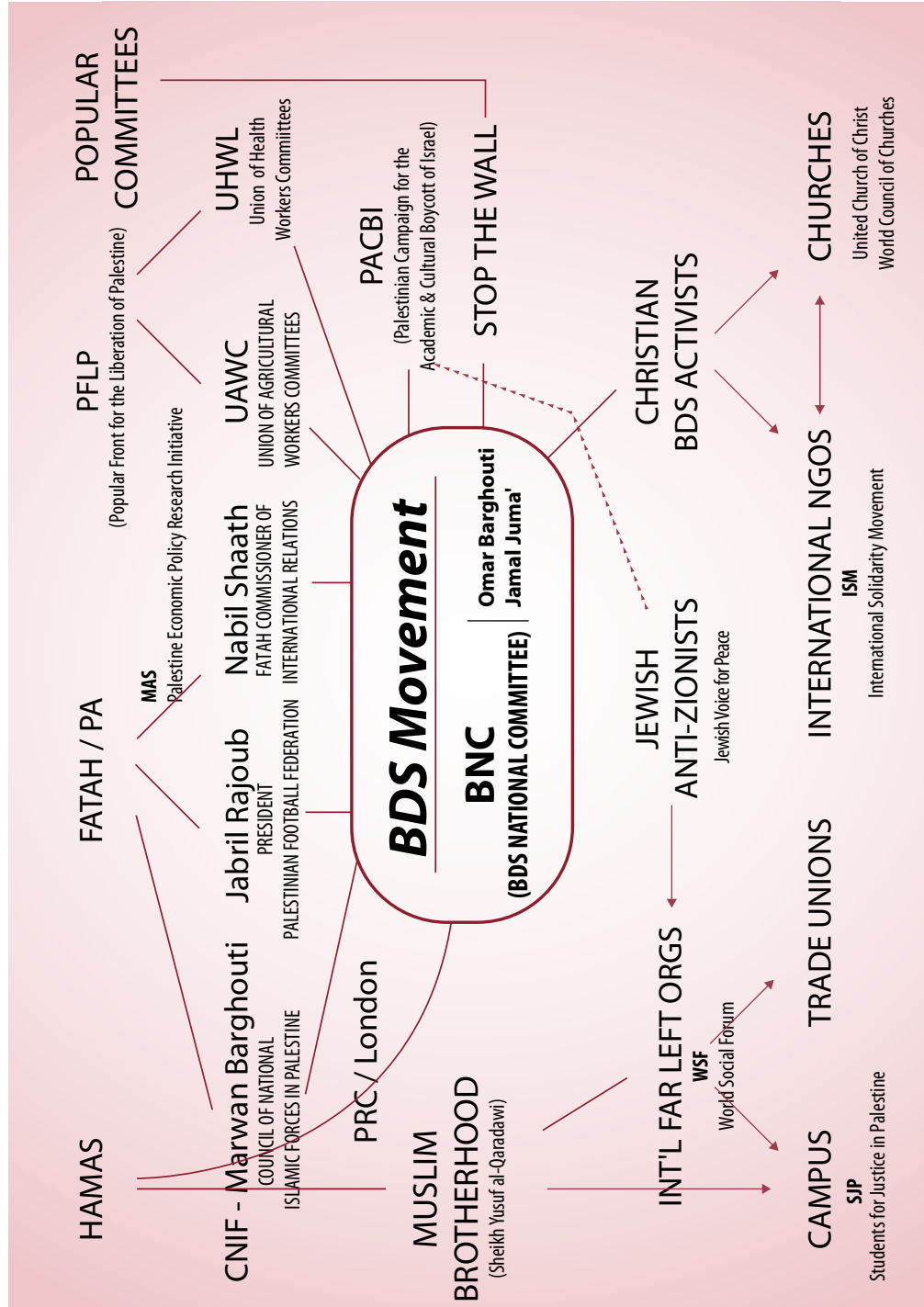
While it has achieved relatively minor success in its economic and political warfare against Israel, BDS’s media prowess – as seen with regard to Israel’s summer 2014 war against Hamas and its security measures against the ongoing Palestinian knifing-attack campaign of 2015-2016 – has reverberated across Europe and on North American campuses.²⁸⁸

That is why the BDS movement must be exposed and combated as a subversive strategy whose destructive nature has generated condemnation across the political spectrum in Israel.

Some groups have recently come to reject BDS. Palestinian workers and managers, who have lost their employment because of BDS pressure, have begun to publicly oppose the BDS campaign.²⁸⁹ At the same time, South African black intellectuals who suffered under the Apartheid regime have similarly emerged as opponents of the global BDS campaign.²⁹⁰

Moreover, BDS has also failed to arouse public support in Israel. Instead, the BDS movement has triggered deep opposition and resentment among the Israeli population and has, accordingly, set back prospects for a peaceful, negotiated solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

12. Mapping the Key Organizations and Players of the BDS Movement



13. Addendum: BNC Conferences and PACBI

First BNC Conference

The first BNC conference convened in Ramallah in November 2007, organized by the Palestinian NGO Network (PNGO), the Occupied Palestine and Syrian Golan Heights Advocacy Initiative (OPGAI), the Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI), and the Anti-Apartheid Wall Campaign.²⁹¹

The leaders of most of these groups were quoted as saying that BDS aims to bring an end to the Jewish state and delegitimize Zionism. This aim constituted a part of the conference's resolutions. Among the guests was Virginia Setshedi of the Palestine Solidarity Committee in South Africa, who reminded the audience that Apartheid was a crime against humanity and explained that the new, post-Apartheid South African social movement understood the struggle of the Palestinian people. At the time of the 2001 World Conference against Racism in Durban, she said, a commitment was made to support the Palestinian struggle to isolate "Apartheid Israel." The social movement in South Africa, which welcomed the 2005 Palestinian civil society BDS call as an appeal by the Palestinian people to launch this joint struggle, has worked ever since on building the BDS movement in South Africa – shaming the South African government and pressuring it to rescind normal relations with Israel, and boycotting Israeli consumer products. In light of the recent SodaStream controversy, it is noteworthy that during the conference it was emphasized that "Palestinian employment in Jewish settlements and Israel is to be excluded from the boycott because it is a source of necessary income that has no current substitute."

Second BNC Conference

The second conference took place in Nablus on May 22, 2010, but there is little information on the proceedings. According to the early announcement on the conference's participants and contents,²⁹² the visitors from abroad included the British union leader Hugh Lanning (who was also elected by the British Labour Party as its candidate for the parliamentary seat of Canterbury and Whitstable) and the anti-Israel journalist Jonathan Cook, while Mahmoud al-Aloul, a veteran Fatah member and former governor of Nablus, represented the Council of National and Islamic Forces. Rifat Kassis represented Kairos Palestine; a Christian organization known for its December 2009 multilingual call for Christians around the world to help fight the Israeli occupation,²⁹³ it currently plays a central role in the struggle against Christian recruitment to the IDF or civil service. Omar Barghouti and a representative of Badil were scheduled to speak about spreading BDS internationally, and Shaher Sa'ad, secretary-general of the Palestinian General Federation of Trade Unions (PGFTU), was to speak on activating BDS among trade unions.

Third BNC Conference

The BNC's third conference was held in Hebron in December 2011, and was opened by Hebron governor Kamil Hamid, who asserted, on behalf of President Abbas and the Palestinian leadership, that they and the Palestinian Authority supported all forms of "popular peaceful resistance [*muqawama*]." The issues of the right of return, resisting normalization, strengthening BDS within the Palestinian camp "as an active Palestinian resistance," and so forth were raised again.²⁹⁴ This conference was marked by the adoption of the BDS movement by other senior PA figures, and the pressure to adopt it as official policy.

The conference had several sessions followed by dedicated workshops. The opening session reportedly discussed ways to "strengthen the [boycott] campaign within the Palestinian camp." Among the speakers was Wasel Abu Yousef, a member of the PLO's Executive Committee who, in November 2013, threatened that the PA would go to the UN Security Council over an Israeli announcement of an intention to build homes in the West Bank and East Jerusalem.²⁹⁵ The international speakers included European BNC coordinator Michael Deas; Adam Horowitz, coeditor of the *mondoweiss.net* portal, which, along with *electronicintifada.net*, is probably the most important BDS-supporting outlet; and Thobile Ntola, Central Executive Committee member of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and a member of the South African Communist Party.

Among the Palestinian participants at that conference, there was at least one other example of the heavily politicized NGO environment already referred to. Ibrahim al-Shikaki is an economist who works at an NGO called the Palestine Economic Policy Research Institute (MAS),²⁹⁶ on whose board of trustees sit several senior current and previous PA officials:

- Former MAS Director-General Dr. Samir Abdullah was also a minister of planning and minister of labor in the PA and is known to be close to Foreign Minister Riyad al-Maliki.
- The current MAS director is former Minister of Planning Dr. Nabil Kassis.

Current members of the board include:

- Dr. Jawad Naji, minister of economy.
- Dr. Jihad al-Wazir, governor and chairman of the board of the Palestine Monetary Authority (PMA).
- Dr. Mohammad Mustafa, CEO of the Palestine Investment Fund (PIF) and economic adviser to Abbas. PIF is an “independent investment company, which aims to strengthen the local economy through key strategic investments, while maximizing long-run returns for its ultimate shareholder – the people of Palestine.”²⁹⁷ PIF is also connected to the PA itself.²⁹⁸
- Dr. Sabri Saydam, telecommunications and information-technology adviser to Abbas, who was quoted as promoting boycotts against Israel using new technologies.

It should also be noted that Ibrahim Dakkak, cofounder with Mustafa Barghouti of the Palestinian National Initiative (PNI), is a past deputy head of MAS.

Fourth BNC Conference

The fourth BNC conference took place on June 18, 2013, at Bethlehem University, under a slogan that reinforced the stated goals of BDS: “Boycotting Israel and Opposing Normalization Contribute to Liberation, Return of Refugees, and Self-Determination.” According to a BNC report, “Members of the Palestinian Legislative Council and the PLO Executive Committee also took part in the conference, underlining official recognition of the BDS movement’s increasing clout and impact.”

This time “anti-normalization” is a specific theme that runs throughout the BDS campaign, which involves creating “public awareness” about “the criteria for boycott and anti-normalization,” in order to construct “a popular culture of boycott.” So central is the anti-normalization theme that “a response to those insisting on normalization” was developed.

The Palestinian Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI)

PACBI was founded in 2004, with its most important European partner located in the UK – the British Committee for the Universities of Palestine (BRICUP). Following the 2008-09 Gaza war, the U.S. Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (USACBI)²⁹⁹ and the French Association des Universitaires pour le Respect du Droit International en Palestine

(AURDIP)³⁰⁰ were also launched. In most cases, members of these umbrella organizations come from far-left circles; some of them are Jewish or former Israelis. PACBI was frequently represented at the BNC conferences by Dr. Gabi Baramki until his death in 2012.

PACBI has advocated a boycott of Israeli academic and cultural institutions:

based on the premise that these institutions are complicit in the system of oppression that has denied Palestinians their basic rights guaranteed by international law. This position is in line with the authoritative call by the Palestinian Council for Higher Education (CHE) for non-cooperation in the scientific and technical fields between Palestinian and Israeli universities.³⁰¹

PACBI notes that the April 2002 statement by 120 European academics and researchers urging the adoption of a moratorium on EU and European Science Foundation support for Israel was followed by a number of pro-boycott initiatives in the same year by academics in the United States, France, Norway, and Australia. Particularly noteworthy have been the annual congresses of UK academic unions, where boycott-related resolutions have been debated and passed since 2002. BRICUP has been instrumental in the ongoing struggle to popularize the academic boycott in the union movement in the UK and beyond.

According to PACBI, the 2008-09 Gaza war

served as a catalyst for further activism, and the period since then has witnessed a tremendous growth of initiatives in the spirit of BDS and targeting Israeli academic institutions. Such efforts have come from Australia, Canada, Ireland, Norway, Egypt, Sweden, Scotland, Lebanon, Spain, the United States, Italy and France, among others. Particularly encouraging has been the founding of the U.S. Campaign.³⁰²

PACBI's definition of "normalization" of the relationship with Israel, in brief, consists of

participating in any project, initiative or activity whether locally or internationally, that is designed to bring together – whether directly or indirectly – Palestinian and/or Arab youth with Israelis (whether individuals or institutions) and is *not* explicitly designed to resist or expose the occupation and all forms of discrimination and oppression inflicted upon the Palestinian people.³⁰³

In November 2007, "An important milestone in building the global BDS campaign was achieved in Ramallah."

Some 300 activists, members of unions, associations and NGOs in towns, villages and refugee camps of the occupied West Bank, with monitors from the

global solidarity movement in Britain, Canada, Norway, Spain and South Africa, convened for a day of discussion and debate about ways to promote all forms of boycott against Israel among Palestinian community organizations, unions, as well as political, academic and cultural institutions.³⁰⁴

During this convention further strategies and goals were developed to widen BDS to other fields and new arenas. Alongside its detailed guidelines for an academic boycott, PACBI issued similar guidelines for a cultural boycott in July 2009. It is also worth noting that the central group initiating calls to artists coming to Israel to cancel their visit, the Israeli Boycott from Within, follows many of PACBI's guidelines. Most of those involved in this group are activists against the "Apartheid wall."³⁰⁵

In September 2013 BRICUP and AURDIP organized a "Letter by academic researchers to the EU regarding the participation of Israeli settlements in EU research programs." It was signed by more than 500 European academics who urged the EU "not to water down its new guidelines preventing EU funding from being awarded to Israeli projects and entities in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including eastern Jerusalem."³⁰⁶ The letter was addressed to EU foreign policy chief Catherine Ashton.

PACBI also operates through various student unions in the West. More than a few Muslim/Arab student umbrella organizations both in Europe and the United States are affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood. Usually Israel Apartheid Week (IAW), one of the most important annual events in this field, brings speakers from the BDS movement along with far-left speakers. In 2014 IAW took place during March across Europe, the United States, South Africa, and Brazil.³⁰⁷

14. About the Authors



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15. Notes

- 1 <https://vimeo.com/75201955>, 5:50
- 2 <http://mondoweiss.net/2010/04/bds-is-a-long-term-project-with-radicallytransformative-potential/>
- 3 <http://www.palwatch.org/main.aspx?fi=762&all=1>
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“Definitely, most definitely we oppose a Jewish state in any part of Palestine.”

Omar Barghouti,
BDS leader and activist

“OK fine. So BDS does mean the end of the Jewish state... BDS is not another step on the way to the final showdown; BDS is the final showdown.”

Ahmed Moor,
Palestinian student leader
and BDS activist

“The real aim of BDS is to bring down the State of Israel.”

As'ad AbuKhalil,
Professor of Political Science,
BDS activist,
California State University



“The Jerusalem Center is a leader in the effort to expose BDS for what it is: anti-peace, anti-Israel and, by singling out only Israel for BDS, anti-Jewish. It deserves our wholehearted support.”

Alan Dershowitz,
Former Felix Frankfurter
Professor of Law,
Harvard Law School

