

FIGHTING THE NEW APARTHEID

**A Guide to Campus
Divestment from
Israel**

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ABOUT THIS GUIDE

This guide aspires to being a multi-dimensional resource for those constructing and engaged in divestment campaigns. Firstly, it is meant to provide a practical scaffold for groups at various stages of their divestment campaign. Secondly, it is meant to serve as a mechanism for sustaining momentum through continued connection, communication and coordination amongst divestment-active groups on an international level. Thirdly, the guide offers a modest contribution to the conceptualizing of divestment as a strategy, and understanding its goals, potential, and applicability in the case of Israel and its current practices against Palestinians.

While the content of this handbook is primarily meant to provide as many



organizations as possible with the mechanism to take the initiative of starting divestment campaigns, and provide some advice to active campaigns to recondition their campaign and move past their current stalemate, it by no means offers all there is to know about divestment, and has fallen a victim to human imperfection. As this guide offers contributions toward building campaigns, building and sustaining a movement is a different task all together, and its burden falls on all of our shoulders collectively.

Almost every divestment campaign will have a unique experience; therefore it is unlikely that there will ever be an 'all-inclusive' protocol to

carrying out successful divestment. However, drawing lessons from all the different experiences will provide the movement as a whole with a more comprehensive understanding of what the task entails, and better prepare members of divestment campaigns to deal with developments that encounter their efforts.

It is imperative, then, that local efforts, successes and failures, are transformed into learning experiences. This is best achieved by individual members of active divestment campaigns sharing their experiences in the form of case studies, essays, and articles, whether published in the appropriate publications, or circulated through the existing activist channels, especially those employing the internet.

Writing the case study of your campaign will make the knowledge you acquire available to other activists who are about to follow suite, allowing for a more efficient, successful movement. Furthermore, writing about your campaign serves as a documentation of your efforts that casts them in the appropriate light and prevents them from being distorted and misrepresented by your opponents, and gives credit where credit is due.

“ I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to wish achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.

NELSON MANDELA

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I.	Divestment: A Moral Imperative	6
II.	Proactive Activism: Practicality, Structure, and Potential of Divestment	9-14
III.	A Guide to Campus Divestment from Israel	15-27
	Establishing a Divestment Campaign	17
	Divestment Research	18-19
	Creating a Website	20
	Divestment Petition	20
	Joining a National Campaign	21
	Publicity and Promotion	22-23
	Building Alliances and Coalitions	24
	Ethical/Socially Responsible Investment	24
	Public Pressure	25
	Divestment Resolutions	26
	Private University Case	27
	Setting the Tone	27
IV.	Appendices	28
	Sample Petition	29
	Sample Articles	
	Why Divest	30-31
	Israel and Apartheid South Africa	32-33
	Sample Divestment Resolution	34



DIVESTMENT: A MORAL IMPERATIVE



DIVESTMENT: A MORAL IMPERATIVE

The successive endorsements of the fledgling divestment movement by various civil society institutions are a testament to the true promise and potential divestment holds for relieving the pain and suffering from those who long endured the hardship and bloodshed of the Palestinian Israeli conflict. They are also a testimony to the moral imperative divestment is, and a declaration to defend human life and stand up for human rights as a responsibility of all people of conscious.

Less than four years from its beginning, the advancement towards divestment from Israel welcomed among its base of support various institutions; churches, non-governmental organizations, and other civil society institutions. The Presbyterian Church (USA), holding its 216th General Assembly meeting in Richmond, VA, in July of 2004 resolved to begin a process of divestment targeting companies that profit from Israel's violation of Palestinian human rights.

“

[Responses] are also a testimony to the moral imperative divestment is, and a declaration to defend human life and stand up for human rights as a responsibility of all people.

This announcement was hastily echoed by the conference of the Non-Alignment Movement meeting in Durban, South Africa, through a call for sanctions against, and divestment from companies participating in building Israel's apartheid wall. Weeks later, the United Nations Conference for NGOs in support of Palestine issued a statement calling for divestment from companies doing business with Israel. Similarly, a delegation of the Anglican Peace and Justice Network (APJN) visiting Palestine, announced their intention to call the Anglican Consultative Council, the church's decision-making body, to divest from Israel at their upcoming meeting.

On the heels of the successful Fourth Annual Palestine Solidarity Movement Conference at Duke University in October 2004, the National Lawyers Guild voted at their national conference held in honor of the civil rights movement in Birmingham, AL to endorse divestment and dedicate a legal resource center to it. In February 2005, the World Council of Churches, meeting in Geneva, issued a recommendation to all 347 denominations it represents to follow the example of PCUSA in divestment from Israel. In spring 2005, the United Church of Christ announced divestment resolutions it plans to consider at its synod.

The far-reaching endorsements of the divestment movement are coupled with many local successes of divestment campaigns across the United States. In January of 2005, the faculty senate at the University of Wisconsin-Platteville adopted a resolution calling for the university's divestment from companies with Israeli military contracts.

DIVESTMENT: A MORAL IMPERATIVE

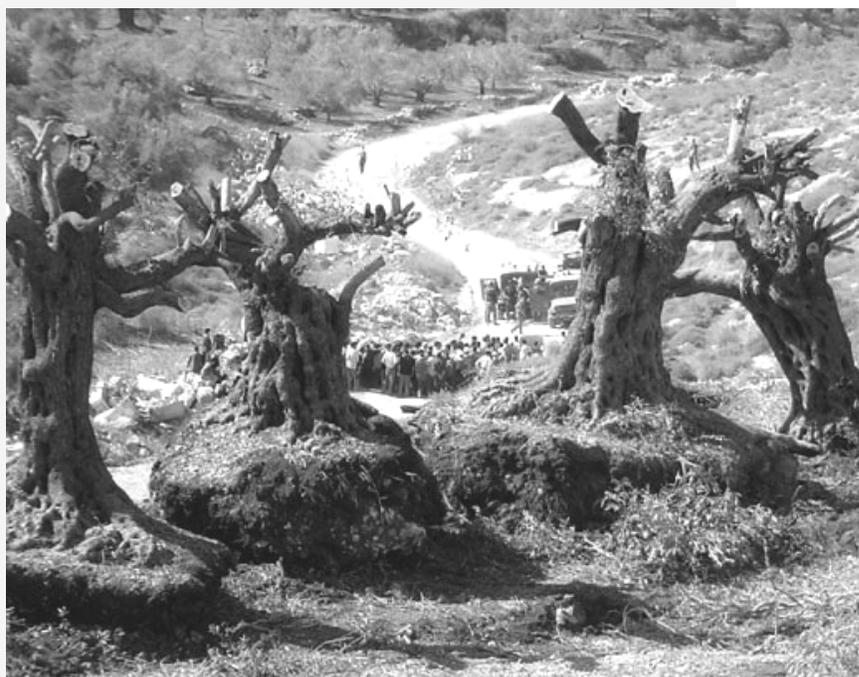
The resolution, presented by the University of Wisconsin Divestment from Israel Campaign, made the UW-Platteville Faculty Senate the highest academic body to adopt a resolution on divestment from Israel. In April 2005, a statewide union, The Association of University of Wisconsin Professionals (TAUWP), representing faculty and academic staff from twenty-five UW campuses became the first academic union in the United States to call for divestment from Israel.

This move came days after the UK's Association of University Teachers voted to boycott two Israeli universities. A divestment resolution was also adopted in the spring of 2005 by the student government at the University of Michigan-Dearborn, joining the host of resolutions adopted by academic bodies and labor unions since the start of the campaign.

As it grows, the divestment movement is enjoying first successes. Divestment campaigns continue to grow

across the country and new ones are being regularly launched. Divestment as a strategy is appealing, and attracts activists dedicated to realizing human rights for the Palestinian people. As this work is the natural product of the collective passion and dedication of those involved, divestment cannot help but enjoy continued growth and success. We shall continue the work until the brutal injustices visited upon the Palestinian people have come to an end. Our movement's agenda shall not be compromised.

The following guide is meant to provide a scaffold for those beginning divestment campaigns. More importantly, it is to provide a mechanism for sustaining momentum via continued connection and communication with divestment-active groups across the globe. We hope to evolve improved mechanisms for harnessing the fruit of all victories and to form new realized possibilities for meaningful, consequential, and shared victories.





PROACTIVE ACTIVISM:
PRACTICALITY, STRUCTURE, AND POTENTIAL OF
DIVESTMENT



Frustrated by the failure of the successive peace and diplomatic efforts, and the continuation of the human rights abuses and violations committed by the Israeli government against that Palestinian population, the divestment movement emerged to create the circumstances for change that will bring to an end the persistent suffering of the Palestinian civilian population under the oppressive Israeli military machine. As the plight of the Palestinian people became increasingly absent from the mass media in favor of reports on ‘promises’ and ‘peace process’ progress that proved fruitless, divestment became an emergent responsibility of civil society.

While early responses of civil society are highly encouraging, it is important to understand that the responsibility to divest is not easily cognizable, due to the thick layers of misinformation and mistaken generalizations that surround the conflict, the plight of the Palestinian people, and the prospects and feasibility of a resolution as perceived by much of the public.

However, years of education and awareness campaigns regarding Palestine-Israel have laid the foundation for this divestment campaign. Particularly, it has motivated a desire to address the systemic and institutional causes of the injustices, and therefore, divestment has incredible potential and appeal.

Drawing on the stark similarities between the current policies in practice by the Israeli government, and those of the Apartheid regime in South Africa; the divestment campaign is informed by and modeled after the anti-apartheid divestment movement which was led primarily by students and contributed to the fall of the South African Apartheid regime. It is a lesson that demonstrates divestment’s potential to impact global politics.

A crucial component of the divestment movement against South African Apartheid included a principled and engaging portrayal of the future of both Blacks and Whites in South Africa. This both motivated activists to continue the work to realize their principles and served to highlight how realizing such just principles necessitated the dismantling of the institutional basis of apartheid South Africa.

PROACTIVE ACTIVISM

The extent of Israel's institutionalized racism exceeds that of South Africa's apartheid regime and Israel's propaganda machine is far more zealous. The work to dismantle the apartheid characteristics of Israel will likely require a proportionate workload.

In order to be successful, the divestment from Israel campaign must focus on addressing the deep-rooted issues of Israel's racism and ethno-religious centrality rather than debating facts on the ground that can prove illusive when one attempts to build a case around them.

It is important to recognize that there are three different categories of Palestinians that are controlled and directly affected by the policies and systematically racist practices of the State of Israel. Each of the categories is worthy and deserving of our solidarity, support, and struggle.

Firstly, Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza are oppressed under a brutal military occupation by Israel that prevents economic livelihood and violates their human rights on a daily basis. This population is deprived of food, water, education, natural resources, and the freedoms of expression, worship, and travel. This deprivation only intensifies as their lands and water sources are confiscated to build Israeli colonies.



The second segment of the Palestinian population is the refugees. The Palestinian refugees have been living in exile from their homeland since 1948, as a result of their genocidal expulsion caused by the creation of the State of Israel on their land, an attempt to evade an apartheid state. Additional waves of refugees were driven out afterwards, particularly in 1967. The plight of the refugees highlights the racist core of the Israeli state and the Zionist ideology. While Israel grants citizenship and allows property rights to any person of Jewish descent to live in Palestine, irrespective of whether they have any connection to it, Israel denies the Palestinian refugees their right to return to their homes and their rights to lands and properties. This is based solely on their ethnicity or religion.

PROACTIVE ACTIVISM

Thirdly, a significant portion of the Palestinian population is living as citizens of Israel. The Palestinian-Israelis are an oppressed minority; their towns severely lack services, infrastructure, education, and resources. They are treated as a lower class group, and discriminated against in higher education and employment opportunities. Often, the basis of this discrimination is army service, which is not required of Palestinian-Israelis. The discrimination against this population has gotten to the extent of legislation being introduced in the Knesset that prevents Palestinian-Israelis from buying property, restricts them from residing in Jewish-only neighborhoods, and prevents their foreign spouses from acquiring Israeli citizenship and residence in Israel.



A successful divestment campaign recognizes that the human rights of the Palestinians in all of their categories are equal, and addressing them is detrimental to a just and lasting resolution to the conflict. Campaigns centered around ‘facts on the grounds,’ including the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, are ones that offer restricted, and temporary contributions to resolving the conflict. Justice and lasting peace for both Palestinians and Israelis are a necessity, and require addressing and resolving the deep-rooted causes.

Divestment is initiated by requests for institutions to rid their portfolios of investments that contribute to the human rights violations and abuses of the Palestinians directly, by providing equipment and services that are used to perpetrate crimes, or indirectly, by strengthening the very economy of the state that systematically prosecutes a population based on their ethnicity and religion. However, the ultimate goal of a successful divestment campaign, such as the case with Apartheid South Africa, is to cause the isolation of the racist state economically, socially, culturally, and diplomatically in the international arena. Israel must be characterized a pariah state for serious rethinking of its policies and practices to take place on a high level, likely caused by the rise of a new peace movement.

PROACTIVE ACTIVISM

It is encouraging to know that over the first four years of the campaign, divestment campaigns have grown exponentially on campuses across the United States, and received endorsements from many notable thinkers and significant civil society institutions, such as the Presbyterian Church (USA), followed by that of the World Council of Churches. The campaign is exceptionally applicable and realizable in the case of Israel, given the tremendous amount of economic, academic, cultural, and social crossover it has with the United States and Europe. It is vital to see the spell over of this divestment campaign causing calls for boycott of the State of Israel and its various representatives being heard all over the world.

Furthermore, it is important to recognize that the goals of divestment can be achieved through other means of boycott and isolation, such as academic boycott and boycott of Israeli goods. In Europe, where mass media presents a less distorted picture of the conflict and its actors, the atmosphere is more favorable for alternative efforts of boycott; campaigns can target Israel's international representation such as its membership in the European Football Association, Euroleague basketball title, Eurovision Song Contest and other athletic and social events and representations.

The campaign can be further expanded and broadened to reach all possible segments of society through other creative and innovative methods. Ballot initiatives are one of these creative methods that have been in discussion of late. Following the common procedure to place initiatives on ballots for local and state elections and referendums is a practical way to bring the issue to every voter in that state or city. Should the initiative not pass, it is still, in itself, an achievement. Initiatives can vary in their demands to suit the political atmosphere. They can, for example, call for state boycott of Israel, prevent publicly funded institutions from maintaining any relations with Israel, or prevent the investment of state pension funds in any companies with relations to Israel.

Divestment campaigns and requests for institutional divestment provide debate material that places Palestine solidarity groups in the most favorable position to present their case. No other form of activism has generated as much debate and attention towards the plight of the Palestinians as does divestment. No other approach has presented the Palestinian struggle in a more positive light than does divestment.

Student and community organizations that adopt divestment campaigns are presented with a golden opportunity to restore their base of support and generate new interest in the conflict.

Educational-activism, done primarily through panels, films, and demonstrations can now be accompanied with a call for action; a divestment campaign has the potential to involve most members of your community or student body in productive activism that is directed towards specific, attainable goals.

The potential of divestment resonates with individuals and institutions as concrete, realizable action towards bringing to an end

the suffering of Palestinians and Israelis. Educational efforts can now be channeled to present a case for divestment where the argument is more directed towards questioning the nature of the exclusively-Jewish nature of Israel and the racist policies that allow the existence of such a project. This argument is far more effective and winnable than that of debating specific events and facts.

Additionally, the introduction of divestment resolutions for voting tend to generate a significant amount of debate

and media coverage that, when handled correctly, exposes many people to the issue, and prompts them to question the nature of the conflict and racism of the apartheid regime forced on the Palestinian population by Israel. For all these reasons, divestment is unique from our past efforts in that it is playing offense.





A GUIDE TO CAMPUS DIVESTMENT FROM ISRAEL

“*Solidarity is not an act of charity, but mutual aid between people fighting for the same objectives.*”

SAMORA MACHEL

President of Mozambique

1975-1986

Have your group or organization adopt divestment as a strategy or establish an organization whose primary function is divestment.

If your group is based at a university, register your group as a student organization through all the proper university channels.

Be precise and thorough; never leave room for disqualification of your group or denial of privileges because of logistical registration mistakes!

Collectively, with other group members develop your divestment strategy, and allow for different components of the campaign to coexist and be staffed by different members of the campaign, yet with constant coordination.

Some members can build the public base of the campaign while others work through the ranks of decision makers and decisions making bodies, with lobbying-like efforts.

Some members can elect to educate the public about divestment and the conflict, while other educate themselves and the rest of the members about divestment organizing and the environment they are working in, its structure and its financial information.

🌀 Investigate your institution's investment portfolio.

Public universities make their portfolios public, and often publish them on the web.

Your targeted companies will be ones in which the university invests.

It is also important to learn about the different investment funds that belong to the university. Most universities have more than one fund, the names and functions may vary to include endowments, trust funds, employee trust funds, pension funds, and others.

🌀 Identify primary focus.

While the ultimate divestment campaign would target any and all companies that aid Israel in maintaining its current apartheid nature, focused efforts are more likely and easier to find acceptance and teach the public about.

Pick a short list of companies with material available against them on human rights violations, e.g. Caterpillar, Raytheon, Hewlett Packard, Motorola, CitiBank, etc. The list is long, and targets vary from one campaign to another.

Visit the divestment resource website (www.divestfromisrael.org) to learn of other potential targets.

🌀 Investigate contributions of targeted companies.

Most common contributions are donations, research grants, scholarship funds, business ties, etc.

Such relations must be understood and put in context.

In some cases they can be a hindrance to the campaigns, and in others they provide a new means of pressure and rallying support.

☞ **Build the case against your targeted company.**

Prepare literature documenting the company's violations of human rights and international law, as well as any other damning and indicting material.

Material is already available on most major companies and should be available at www.divestfromisrael.org.

☞ **Research and study your community/institution.**

If you are on a campus, learn the decision making process, determine relations between various divisions and entities of your institution, and establish data bases on members of the board of trustees and student government.

Identify the potential levels of bureaucratic strata your divestment proposal will have to travel. Try to identify political tendencies in those various contexts.

☞ **Document and publish your research.**

Record your research so that it is easily accessible to those who carry on with the work after you leave the group.

While your research may be more focused on the specifics of your campus or institution, it is an integral component of the growing campaign to divest from and boycott Israel on a global level. Information you may uncover about specific companies, institutions, campaigns, or the development of new strategies, are valuable information than need to be shared with fellow activists everywhere. The results of your work and research should be posted and circulated in the form of articles, databases, research papers, etc. Regardless of how incomplete you think your work may be, someone will build on it.

A website for your group is a vital resource to educate your audience.

It is likely that your work will be countered with a website, so it is important to maintain an up-to-date, user-friendly website with substantial content. Advertise your website on event or educational flyers you distribute.

To get content for your website, use available media and material from links available on the PSM website (www.divestfromisrael.org), human rights groups, news organizations and alternative media sites.

Also see the divestment resource website for model sites of other campaigns. Be sure to include all necessary information for individuals to contact your campaign, join it, and support it.

DEVELOP AN ONLINE PETITION

STEP 4

A petition is more an educational tool than a means of pressure towards a divestment resolution.

While the many signatures may increase your chances of achieving your goals, it is important that your petition is well written and very expressive of your mission, goals, and reasoning.

Individuals unfamiliar with the conflict or your campaign can find answers in the petition, as it may become the most circulated pieces of literature of your campaign.

Remember, you want the signatures of more than those who already agree with you, however, make your petition concise and of a practical length.

Circulate the petition through department chairs and deans, community members and online listservs, make a reference to available resources, such as your website, for more reading and education on the subject, and categorize signatures by their affiliation to your institution.

Circulating hard copies of your petition at events is a good way to gather signatures. However, you need to enter all signatures electronically. Your petition can be built into your website, or can be hosted at www.petitiononline.com for free. For sample petition, see appendix pg. 29.

Always stay in the loop with divestment and boycott efforts; two most direct ways to do so are:

- ✎ Joining the <solidaritywithpalestine> mailing list by sending an email to solidaritywithpalestine-subscribe@yahogroups.com. This mailing list is the place where articles and announcements pertaining divestments are posted in a timely manner and relevant discussions and skill sharing take place.
- ✎ Regularly visiting the PSM website (www.divestfromisrael.org), using its resources, and contacting its staff with questions. Once complete, this website will serve as a resource center for all those seeking to pursue divestment as a strategy; it will include material on divestment, targeted companies, recent papers and news articles, as well as other updated resources.

The PSM's national divestment campaign

can always provide you with guidance, advice, ideas, and resources. Along with material and ideas, the movement is the place to ask for experienced speakers to visit your campus. PSM activists can often assist your campaign with internal education and organizing.

Frequently update PSM organizers on your efforts, successes, failures, challenges, and opposition. This will allow them to better provide you with effective advice. It is also recommended that you contact the Divestment Strategy Team, report on your divestment campaign and ask for strategy advice.

The Divestment Strategy Team

was created with the main purpose of reviewing specific cases of divestment projects around the country and contributing to their success with advice and resources. It is highly beneficial to your campaign that you make use of this team.

Establish contact and remain in touch with the team, and update it on your progress. The team members will study your case and provide you with advice on how to approach specific stages of your campaign or deal with problems that you encounter.

The team will also be able to connect you with activists in your area who can contribute as speakers in public at divestment hearings. It will also use your success stories to benefit other campaigns.

Contact the team through
www.divestfromisrael.org
or at psmdst@riseup.net.

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- ⌘ **Use your campus or local newspaper**, be persistent, and keep submitting writings until you get published. This may require some meetings and conversation with members of the editorial board. One of the easier ways is to actually approach the editorial board and apply for an unpaid columnist position (particularly in a student newspaper), so you have a year-round forum, with more freedom in published content. It is also important to meet with reporters and staff writers of the newspaper and explain to them the importance of what you are doing. Be accessible to them, and always offer them new story ideas, for they can promote your campaign.

A synchronized and coordinated effort that sends the same message through the media appears to have more of a significant impact on the resulting debate. One of the strengths our detractors have against us in media and public relations is their ability to unite around one argument and repeat it too many times, even if it is false or manipulated.

- ⌘ **Make use of the PSM's media committee** to publicize your achievements. The media committee can assist in drafting your press release, distributing them, and provide you with practical tips and guidelines in public relations and media interactions, delivering your message positively and effectively. You can contact the media committee through www.divestfromisrael.org.
- ⌘ **Use creative action methods and direct non-violent tactics** to attract attention to your campaign. The PSM website can provide you with ideas as well as more specialized links.
- ⌘ **Use teach-ins, address high school classes and town hall meetings** if working in community institution.
- ⌘ **If you are ambitious, meet with the editorial board of your student news paper**, and try to convince them that divestment is a moral imperative, and as an editorial board they must write in favor of it. Instructions on holding such meetings and media strategy are provided by Palestine Media Watch at www.pmwatch.org.

In the early stages of your divestment campaign, it is beneficial to address the following two issues through media:

1. *Why divest from Israel?*

Some of the following talking points can be used:

- ✎ The divestment movement aims to bring about peace to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict by empowering the small, marginalized Israeli peace movement, and allowing for the reconsideration of current Israeli policies.
- ✎ Palestinians are being murdered on a daily basis, their rights are being violated; they live with settlements, checkpoints, destruction of infrastructure, and the threat of being put in Bantustan-like ghettos
- ✎ Israelis are suffering from the retaliation to their army's actions and fear of dissenting against their military government
- ✎ Divestment is a non-violent tactic that was proven effective against Apartheid South Africa, and it was carried out by a student-led movement
- ✎ Examples of PCUSA, World Council of Churches, Non-Alignment Movement, UN NGO conference, and the National Lawyers Guild.

For a sample article, see appendix pg. 30, *Divestment: For the Sake of Palestine and Israel*

2. *Similarities between Israel and the South African Apartheid regime*

Use some of the following talking points:

- ✎ Similarities of the effects of the Wall to Bantustans; ex: permits to leave Bantustans and permits to move within the West Bank and Gaza
- ✎ Colonies and settlements; Jewish-only roads, towns and facilities as result of institutionalized racial or ethno-religious segregation.
- ✎ Stealing the land of the indigenous and discrimination against the people of the land; ex: Palestinians with different license plate color and IDs labeled with ethnicity and religion
- ✎ The economic exploitation of the native population. The South African economy depended on blacks for cheap labor; the Israeli economy largely depends on Palestinian labor and the Palestinian population as a market to many Israeli products while preventing the establishment of an independent Palestinian economy, and often destroying its infrastructure.
- ✎ The brutality of the Israeli government exceeding that of apartheid
- ✎ Just like in South Africa, divestment will bring out a new type of leadership in Israel that can work towards providing equality under the law and towards recognizing human rights

For a sample article, see appendix 12.III, *Looking for a de Klerk in Israel*.

- ☞ **Establish a local network of organizations supporting a divestment resolution.** Network and coalition with student organizations of color, labor groups, human rights, peace and justice groups, anti-war groups and other organizations that may be interested in a sweeping divestment resolution on your campus for human rights, sweatshops, or environmental reasons, etc. Attend their events, and become a contributing part of the coalition. Work to productively connect the various struggles by supporting theirs. Create a place for your campaign in the community by co-sponsoring events whose patrons may be potential allies and contributors.
- ☞ **It is best to approach divestment with a unified campaign.** If your university has several campuses, divestment resolutions should come from as many of these campuses as possible. This approach will demonstrate to your administration that divestment has widespread support within their institution.

ETHICAL INVESTMENT

STEP 8

- ☞ **Introduce a socially responsible/ethical investing resolution.** Several universities have adopted clauses addressing social responsibility in their investment and trust fund policies. If your university does not have such a clause, it may be useful to introduce a resolution for the adoption of a policy that addresses the violations of human rights and international law. Such policies may be referenced on a case by case basis and divestment can be demanded from specific companies as they violate the ethical investment clause. (Stanford & U. Wisconsin policies can be used as reference)
- ☞ **Build your case.** Document violations of international law, human rights, specific violations of UN Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, the July 2004 International Court of Justice ruling on the Apartheid Wall, as well as divestment efforts by organizations and institutions such as Presbyterian Church (USA), the World Council of Churches, UN NGOs conference, Non-Alignment Movement, and other campus and community efforts to build your case. Refer to www.divestfromisrael.org for material and resources.
- ☞ **Publicize the resolution.** Socially responsible investment clause should be carefully-drafted so that it can encompass companies with indirect, or 'second-hand,' involvement in atrocities. While in most cases the institutions in question draft their own policies without consulting the public, publicizing your draft and gathering support of it would likely influence the direction they take and the language they choose.

- ☞ **Public pressure is the driving force behind successful divestment.** Among the best ways to demonstrate public support for divestment are explicit calls for it through clearly-written resolutions adopted by the various governing bodies and authorities within or with relevance to your institution as detailed below in the section on divestment resolution.
- ☞ **Be creative and unpredictable.** It is important not to base the campaign on one resolution whose passage or failure may determine the end of your campaign. It is important to have a list of various governing bodies that you can successively approach to adopt divestment resolutions. Each one of these resolutions can place additional momentum behind your campaign, and bring it to the attention of the administration, public, and media.
- ☞ **Target governing bodies.** Divestment resolutions can be introduced to various governing bodies including, particularly in the case of university divestment: faculty senates, academic staff senates, student government, teaching assistant and faculty unions, and semi-independent centers and organizations.
- ☞ **Pressure university administration.** University administrations are usually very responsive to demands that come from their major financial donors. Obtain a list of the donors and contributors to your university. This can usually be found through alumni associations or reviewing an annual fiscal report.
- ☞ **Contact university donors.** Draft a letter explaining to university donors the atrocities being committed by companies in which their money is being invested. Ask them to speak to the university administration expressing their dissatisfaction with the way their money is being used and urge them to request change in investment policies. It is also useful to get community members to join this letter campaign. Heads of student organizations, city council members, local elected officials, high school teachers, etc. are of great importance.

It is important to understand the decision making process on your campus.

You can request meetings with university officials and campus organizers to gather a better understanding of the process. In most cases, the university's Board of Trustees or the trust fund's Board of Directors are responsible for investment policies and are capable of implementing divestment.

There are numerous other institutional entities that are fit to adopt resolutions to call on the board of trustees/directors to implement divestment, for example:

- Faculty senates and unions
- Teaching assistant and employee unions
- Student governments
- Peace and justice centers
- Academic staff senates
- Think tanks or social studies research centers

Proposing a resolution to Board of Regents/Trustees, faculty senate, student senate, or City Council:

☞ Identify a sympathetic member of the board to introduce your resolution. Before the introducing the resolution, try to secure votes by approaching board members directly with the material you have compiled, have community leaders and local figures address them, or organize phone and letter campaigns by your supporters and allies. Your choice of a champion for the resolution is an important and a very vital one. Avoid those who come with a political package, such as Arabs, Muslims, and activists members of the body. Their votes are often guaranteed in favor, so it is best to get new individuals to invest in the resolution, and present it to the rest of the institution based on its merit only, and regardless of affiliation.

☞ Use the material you gathered in the steps above to present a resolution to divest the institution's stocks from targeted companies. Sample packets of relevant materials and resolutions to be presented to voting members are available at WiscDivest's website <http://alawda.rso.wisc.edu>

☞ During the voting, it is important to have supporters attend the session and speak in favor of the resolution. Gather as many supporters as possible to attend the voting session. Prior to the voting session, organize a meeting for these supporters and go over talking points and coordinate speaking styles. Use the points mentioned in Step 6, "Publicity". The Divestment Strategy Team can also direct you to locate individuals and activists in your area to address the voting members.

The language of your resolution is of great importance. The ultimate goal of the campaign is not to economically punish some companies, but rather to characterize Israel as a pariah state until an end is brought to the current Apartheid practices. It is imperative that your resolution language specifically mentions Israel, and references its documented human rights violations. Mention of specific companies is of less importance.

Prepare to negotiate your resolution. Try to increase your support by making changes to the language or content; know in advance what you can negotiate away so that you do not compromise the integrity of your resolution. Ultimately, resolutions should call for divestment from Israel: Israeli companies, Israeli bonds, and companies that have any relations with Israel. However, early resolutions may contend with specific lists of corporations to pave the way for more inclusive resolutions. **A sample resolution is presented in appendix pg 34.**

PRIVATE UNIVERSITIES

STEP 11

Private universities have a special case in that most administrations do not publicly release their investment portfolio.

As a result, campaigns at such schools are encouraged to direct their campaigns to ask for full Israel divestment and allow the burden of proof to fall on the administration.

Divestment resolutions, petitions, and public statements in this case would call for the university to divest from Israel, Israeli companies, or companies with relations to Israel, and request that the university provide a proof that it is divested.

SETTING THE TONE

STEP 12

Divestment is a peaceful way for those of us who wish to effect a change in the Middle East and bring just and lasting peace and security to both Palestinians and Israelis. The pressure applied by the world community through divestment will cause the Israeli public, as well as its political and intellectual circles, to reexamine their government's policies and practices. Such a consideration will no doubt give a hearing to the so far-marginalized Israeli peace movement.

The ascension of such peace movement in Israel is likely, as it did in the once Apartheid South Africa, and it will give rise to new policies that will grant equal rights and protection to all individuals, irrespective of their ethnicity or religion. This will create the right atmosphere for subsequent peaceful coexistence. The time for divestment is right now, and the rightful place to drive it is the academe.

While divestment campaigns are present at numerous campuses, and resolutions calling for divestment have been issued and adopted by various campus entities, university administrations remain cautious and hesitant to be the first in taking such a bold and courageous step. As a result, financial divestment from Israel has yet to be implemented at an American university.

Should your campaign be the first to achieve this goal, it will serve as the 'instigating domino' for universities throughout the country, as many administrations who may be convinced of divestment prefer not to be the first to do it, due to the likely attacks they would come under from the pro-apartheid establishment. Your achievements will be greatly publicized, and your efforts will be made an example for others to follow.



IV



APPENDICES



SAMPLE PETITION

Adopted by the University of Wisconsin Divestment Campaign, WiscDivest

To: The University of Wisconsin Board of Regents

The Palestine Solidarity Movement in Wisconsin representing a coalition of concerned groups and individuals, members of the University of Wisconsin, Madison, and State of Wisconsin communities calls on the University of Wisconsin Board of Regents to divest from companies doing business with or in the State of Israel until such time as the State of Israel accepts and facilitates the full implementation of the individual and collective human rights of the Palestinian people as those rights are enshrined in the instruments of international humanitarian law, relevant United Nations conventions, and multiple United Nations resolutions pertaining to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

The founding ideology of Israel is based on exclusive ethno-nationalism that defines the state as serving the interests of worldwide Jewish communities and not the concerns of its inhabitants regardless of their ethnic origins or religion. This has led the State of Israel to pursue policies of encapsulation, expropriation, and ethnic cleansing against the indigenous Palestinian population. Official discrimination in favor of Jews and against non-Jews occurs in many areas of life, including residency rights, the right to work, and the right to equality before the law. Israel's 'law of return' allows anyone of Jewish origin to become a citizen with all the benefits this entails, while Palestinians expelled from their homeland are actively prevented from returning to it. Furthermore, Israel constructs 'Jewish only' roads, builds highways with exits to Jewish towns and no exits to Arab towns, restricts the movement of the Palestinian population, and restricts the use of 92% of the country's land to Jews. The result of all these policies is that the Palestinians are separate but unequal – just as blacks were in Apartheid South Africa. Their communities are hemmed in by the infrastructure of an apartheid state dedicated to their exclusion and eventual expulsion.

As concerned members of the community, we call on the Board of Regents to divest from any company that does business with or in the State of Israel. In particular, we draw the Regent's attention to investments in Caterpillar Corporation, General Dynamics, Northrop-Grumman, Boeing, Lockheed-Martin, Raytheon and many others. Any investments associated with Israel subvert the implementation of norms of international humanitarian law and stand in glaring violation of Regent Policies 78-1 and 97-1 as well as the U.S. Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, 22 USC sec. 2304, which prohibits the providing of security assistance to any country whose government engages in violations of internationally recognized human rights.

As concerned and conscientious members of the University community, we are part of a growing global movement for a principled and just peace in historical Palestine, one that includes equality for Jews and Arabs under the law, constitutional guarantees of minority rights, institutionalized toleration for cultural autonomy in well-defined spheres of life, the basic right of the citizen to live where he or she chooses and the right to take full part in democratic processes. We urge the University of Wisconsin Board of Regents to recognize that divesting its holdings in companies that do business with the state of Israel is a moral imperative and an act that signifies a commitment to socially responsible investment, basic human rights, international law, and the principle that nothing should impede human freedom and flourishing.

Divestment: For the Sake of Palestine and Israel

By Fayyad Sbaih

http://www.badgerherald.com/oped/2004/09/23/divestment_for_the_s.php

The Badger Herald, Thursday, September 23, 2004

A national movement behind a campaign calling for institutional divestment of stock in companies with ties to the Israeli military is under relentless attack on a multitude of issues that leaves out divestment itself. Critics shy away from debating divestment for the lack of a case for those who oppose it. In reality, divestment is the way out for Palestinians and Israelis, and has been proven successful in South Africa, India and other locales facing struggles.

The Palestine Solidarity Movement is an umbrella coalition of diverse organizations from across North America dedicated to putting an end to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The PSM is preparing for its fourth annual conference slated to take place in mid-October on the campus of Duke University in Durham, N.C.

The conference and its organizers have been under a verbal attack starting several weeks before the conference was announced earlier this summer. Amusingly, none of the attacks or critiques has been focused on the conference's message: divestment. Rather, critics resorted to personal attacks on conference affiliates and mysterious allegations linking the group to violence.

Decades of state-led diplomacy to solve the conflict have proven to be futile. The successive resolution proposals led by the United Nations, United States and the European Union failed to recognize the root cause of the bloodshed and attempted to treat some symptoms without dealing with disease, the Israeli occupation. The monopoly maintained over the hypothetical peace process preempted the grassroots participation in it, neither by the Palestinians and Israelis, nor concerned individuals around the world. It also allowed special interest groups and powerful Washington lobbies to dictate the course of such initiatives and proposals.

Divestment is potentially the most effective non-violent tactic that would prepare the atmosphere for peaceful resolution, where the outcome is not dictated by military might. It calls for institutions, starting with universities, to sell off their stocks in companies that provide the Israeli army with weaponry that are used to kill innocent civilians and violate the basic livelihood of the others.

Caterpillar is among the foremost companies targeted in the divestment campaign for its Israeli military contracts. Caterpillar, primarily an agricultural and mining equipment supplier, provides the Israeli army with a bulldozer known as D-9. This massive, two-story high machine is designed exclusively for the Israeli Army to operate in densely civilian-populated areas. It has been used to demolish thousands of Palestinian homes, including much of the Jenin refugee camp in 2002, making thousands homeless, and burying many under the ruins of their homes. Other Caterpillar equipment is used to build Israel's apartheid wall on Palestinian land, seizing much of the land, and uprooting thousands of olive trees.

In the late '70s and early '80s, students were the backbone of anti-apartheid, divestment movement across America that helped bring an end to the apartheid regime of South Africa. Similarly, students across the U.S., heeding the calls of the likes of anti-apartheid icon, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, are rising to lift the injustices off of yet another oppressed nation.

An increasing number of diverse, civil society organizations and institutions are recognizing the need for divestment as the only promising strategy to end the misery of both peoples. The general assembly of the Presbyterian Church, held this summer, resolved to divest the church's holdings in companies doing business with Israel upward of \$1 million. Weeks later, the 115-nation Non-Alignment Movement, the largest political body outside the United Nations, decided to call on its member nations to impose sanctions on companies contributing to Israel's construction of the apartheid wall. In addition, last week the United Nations Conference of Civil Society in Support of the Palestinian People, which primarily brought national and international NGO's together, issued a statement calling for placing embargo on Israel and threatened of divestment from companies doing business in the Jewish state.

Divestment is not only to protect Palestinians, but the Israelis and the world alike. Just like it saved white colonialists in South Africa from the reprisal of the oppression they inflicted on the natives of the land, it will end the bloodshed of many Israelis and save them from the madness of their army generals, be them in the ranks of the military or the Prime Minister's office. Beyond ending of the apartheid-like regime against the Palestinians, divestment is about restoring the long-lost respect to the United States in the international arena.

Now is the time that you take charge and stand for what's right. Divestment is your peaceful way to put an end to the suffering of both peoples.

SAMPLE ARTICLE: LOOKING FOR A DE KLERK IN ISRAEL

Looking for a De Klerk in Israel

By Fayyad Sbaihat

The Badger Herald, April 8, 2004

<http://www.badgerherald.com/vnews/display.v/ART/2004/04/08/4074b85e721cd>

April marks the 10th anniversary of the end of the apartheid regime in South Africa, after it had been institutionalized for 46 years by European colonialists. While South Africa is still reeling from decades of racism, poverty, segregation, illiteracy, human rights abuses and Bantustans, today it bears the identity of its native people.

Many like to think of apartheid as a historical evil like the Holocaust -- it will not happen again. But nothing is further from the truth. Since its foundation in 1948, Israel's policies against the Palestinian population in their homeland mirror the practices of the apartheid regime, yet the international community continues to support it instead of condemning Israel as a rogue state like the South Africa of apartheid.

In 1948, the South African government introduced the apartheid regime, which meant that black Africans would be segregated and banned from white towns. This separation was manifested in the early 1970s, when over 3 million South Africans were forcibly removed from their homes and resettled in the fenced-in ghettos known as Bantustans. Bantustans were overcrowded and built on the poorest agricultural land. In order to leave them, natives had to obtain permits issued at the discretion of the occupying power and could only leave through checkpoints manned by army personnel.

Several years ago, former Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak proposed an "Us here, them there" slogan for his election campaign. Barak meant to separate the Palestinians from the Israelis. His proposal involved building a wall between the two peoples, causing full separation.

Last year, current Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon embarked on fulfilling this vision. He also had a few twists of his own to add to the project. Instead of building a wall or a fence that separates the two nations, he designed a wall to encircle the Palestinian population in Bantustan-like enclaves. It also did not draw on the demographical distribution; rather, it left many Palestinians outside the wall, under the constant threat of being removed from their towns to the Bantustans. Within the state of Israel, new Jewish-only towns and neighborhoods are being established while Palestinian citizens of Israel watch their rights to jobs, property and social services continue to diminish. Arab politicians stand helpless while their political immunity and privileges are stripped from them by a parliament in which they constitute a marginal fraction. In a Monday interview by Israel's largest daily newspaper, *Haaretz*, Sharon threatened that many of these Palestinians could be expelled into the newly created Palestinian Bantustans, a process known as "de-nationalization" in apartheid South Africa.

SAMPLE ARTICLE: LOOKING FOR A DE KLERK IN ISRAEL

South African apartheid ended in 1994, in part at the hands of white leader F.W. De Klerk. After winning the elections for prime minister of South Africa in 1989, De Klerk began a process of desegregation. He started by ending a ban on the African National Congress and releasing its imprisoned leaders, a practice inaugurated by the release of Nelson Mandela in 1990. However, the fall of apartheid was a product of far more than the good resolve of one man. De Klerk was voted into office by a majority of white South Africans who realized that putting an end to the dehumanization of black South Africans was their only way to end decades of isolation from the rest of the world.

South Africans elected a government that liberated them from decades of economic, academic and social boycott. In the early 1960s, pressure started mounting against South Africa's apartheid policies. The Olympic Games Committee was the first such organization to step up by excluding South Africa from competing. This was followed in the '70s by the termination of its U.N. membership, and economic sanctions imposed by the Security Council. Later on, sanctions and grassroots boycotts faced companies that continued to deal with the South African government.

Today, Israel models the apartheid regime in every aspect and exceeds it in brutality. Israelis must choose a leader interested in a real lasting resolution to the conflict. The world community must step up to the challenge, defend the human rights of Palestinians and save the Israelis from their successive war governments, and we must force the Israeli government into yielding to international and public demand. The open channels of unconditional aid to Israel must stop. The sale of arms to Israel and our connections to companies that deal with Israel must stop. Even our universities must take a stand and divest their withholdings from companies that supply Israel with arms.

As Israel resembles the once apartheid-ridden South Africa in every way, let there be a day when our resolve and the voice of conscious Israelis bring out a new De Klerk.

SAMPLE RESOLUTION

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

RESOLUTION ON UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN INVESTMENTS AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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