

Israel/Palestine: A Resource Document for the AAA Executive Board

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1.0 Background

On December 4, 2013, the American Studies Association (ASA)¹ National Council proposed a resolution on the academic boycott of Israel;² on December 16, 2013, the ASA announced results of the membership vote: of 1252 voters (nearly 25% of the membership), 66.05% voted in favor of the boycott.³ Please see [Appendix 1](#) for the text of the ASA resolution.

Coming as it did around the time of the 2013 AAA Annual Meeting; the ASA resolution caused us to examine not only that resolution but the movement and debates connected to it, and the general position of academic associations regarding Israel/Palestine and the BDS (Boycott/Divestment/Sanctions) movement. At the request of AAA President Monica Heller, we gathered information that we felt would be potentially useful for understanding ongoing debates and for considering possible positions and options with respect to them. While at this point we acknowledge that the debates cover a wide range of issues, we began with the circumscribed question of the ASA boycott. The purpose of this memo is to provide information on the ASA boycott, the rationale for it and responses to it, as this information may factor into the interests and concerns of the American Anthropological Association.

This document does not take a position for or against a boycott, but offers information to facilitate open dialogue about the many issues concerned, and to help AAA leadership, and potentially membership, think through those issues, especially as they relate to anthropology, anthropologists and the Association.

The original draft of this document was prepared between December 22, 2013 and January 12, 2014. Additional sources have been gathered in an addendum (a list of links, not in bibliographic form). We do not claim this document contains up-to-date information. We do believe there is need for the ongoing gathering of information.

2.0 Overview of BDS

Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) is a global campaign (begun in 2004, see below), in response to calls from Palestinian civil society organizations,⁴ to pressure Israel in regards to Palestinian rights.⁵

The Palestinian BDS National Committee (BNC)⁶ coordinates the global campaign, described on its website as follows:

The campaign for boycotts, divestment and sanctions (BDS) is shaped by a rights-based approach and highlights the three broad sections of the Palestinian people: the refugees, those under military occupation in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and Palestinians in Israel. The call

¹ <http://www.theasa.net/>

² http://www.theasa.net/american_studies_association_resolution_on_academic_boycott_of_israel

³ http://www.theasa.net/from_the_editors/item/asa_members_vote_to_endorse_academic_boycott/

⁴ <http://right2edu.birzeit.edu/news/article706>

⁵ <http://www.bdsmovement.net/bdsintro>

⁶ <http://www.bdsmovement.net/BNC>

urges various forms of boycott against Israel until it meets its obligations under international law by:

1. Ending its occupation and colonization of all Arab lands occupied in June 1967 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 194.⁷

BDS involves various campaigns: consumer,⁸ cultural,⁹ and academic¹⁰ boycotts; divestment;¹¹ and sanctions.¹² We focus here on academic and cultural boycott, since this has been the dimension most discussed among academic associations recently.

3.0 The Palestinian campaign for the academic and cultural boycott of Israel¹³

The Palestinian Campaign for the Academic & Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI) issued a call in 2004 for the academic and cultural boycott of Israel. The call begins as follows: “[Whereas] Israel’s colonial oppression of the Palestinian people, which is based on Zionist ideology, comprises the following: Denial of its responsibility for the Nakba¹⁴—in particular the waves of ethnic cleansing and dispossession that created the Palestinian refugee problem—and therefore refusal to accept the inalienable rights of the refugees and displaced stipulated in and protected by international law; Military occupation and colonization of the West Bank (including East Jerusalem) and Gaza since 1967, in violation of international law and UN resolutions; The entrenched system of racial discrimination and segregation against the Palestinian citizens of Israel, which resembles the defunct apartheid system in South Africa...”

It also states that “...Israeli academic institutions (mostly state controlled) and the vast majority of Israeli intellectuals and academics have either contributed directly to maintaining, defending or otherwise justifying the above forms of oppression, or have been complicit in them through their silence...”

These are among the bases for the call, which reads as follows:

We, Palestinian academics and intellectuals, call upon our colleagues in the international community to ***comprehensively and consistently boycott all Israeli academic and cultural***

⁷ <http://www.bdsmovement.net/bdsintro>

⁸ <http://www.bdsmovement.net/activecamps/consumer-boycott>

⁹ <http://www.bdsmovement.net/activecamps/cultural-boycott>

¹⁰ <http://www.bdsmovement.net/activecamps/academic-boycott>

¹¹ <http://www.bdsmovement.net/activecamps/divestment>

¹² <http://www.bdsmovement.net/activecamps/sanctions>

¹³ <http://www.pacbi.org/>

¹⁴ Palestinians use this Arabic word for “catastrophe” to refer to the mass displacement and exodus of Palestinians in the 1948 war.

institutions as a contribution to the struggle to end Israel's occupation, colonization and system of apartheid, by applying the following:

1. Refrain from participation in any form of academic and cultural cooperation, collaboration or joint projects with Israeli institutions;
2. Advocate a comprehensive boycott of Israeli institutions at the national and international levels, including suspension of all forms of funding and subsidies to these institutions;
3. Promote divestment and disinvestment from Israel by international academic institutions;
4. Work toward the condemnation of Israeli policies by pressing for resolutions to be adopted by academic, professional and cultural associations and organizations;
5. Support Palestinian academic and cultural institutions directly without requiring them to partner with Israeli counterparts as an explicit or implicit condition for such support.¹⁵

FAQs about the US Campaign for the Academic & Cultural Boycott of Israel (on the USACBI website) contain further information on various aspects of the boycott strategy.¹⁶

4.0 Components of the ASA boycott

The American Studies Association boycott bars the ASA as an organization from entering into partnerships with Israeli institutions and bars the ASA (again, as an organization) from issuing invitations to Israeli academics as official representatives of their universities—e.g. invitations to deans and provosts. It does not bar individual Israeli academics from attending conferences or entering into research collaborations with ASA members. “The resolution does not apply to individual Israeli scholars engaged in ordinary forms of academic exchange, including conference presentations, public lectures at campuses, or collaboration on research and publication. The Council also recognizes that individual members will act according to their convictions on these complex matters.”¹⁷ “However, the boycott does oppose participation in conferences or events officially sponsored by Israeli universities,”¹⁸ and individual academics whose travel is sponsored by Israeli institutions are subject to boycott.

5.0 Other academic associations that have adopted a boycott

1. British Association of University Teachers, 2005 (rescinded one month later).¹⁹
2. Asian American Studies Association (AAAS; <http://aaastudies.org/content/>), May 3, 2013. Text at: http://www.usacbi.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/AAAS-resolution.FINAL_.pdf (see also [Appendix 2](#)).
3. Native American and Indigenous Studies Association (NAISA; <http://naisa.org/>), December 15, 2013. Text at: <http://naisa.org/node/719> (see also [Appendix 3](#)).

¹⁵ <http://pacbi.org/etemplate.php?id=869>

¹⁶ <http://www.usacbi.org/faqs/>

¹⁷

http://www.theasa.net/from_the_editors/item/council_statement_on_the_academic_boycott_of_israel_resolution/

¹⁸ http://www.theasa.net/what_does_the_academic_boycott_mean_for_the_asa/

¹⁹ <http://www.theguardian.com/education/2005/may/26/highereducation.uk1>

4. Teachers Union of Ireland (TUI; <http://www.tui.ie/>), April 4, 2013. Text at: <http://mondoweiss.net/2013/04/teachers-academic-unanimous.html> (see also **Appendix 4**).
5. Federation of French-speaking Belgian Students, April 2013 (see <http://comite-palestine.be/the-fef-belgian-french-speaking-students-federation-calls-for-a-freeze-of-all-academic-partnerships-with-israel/>).
6. The University and College Union of the UK, in 2008 and 2011, called for the circulation to all members of the call to boycott, but stopped short of formally endorsing the boycott.²⁰
7. March 2014 the Modern Languages Association (MLA) executive board decided to put before the membership a resolution condemning Israeli travel restrictions seen to violate academic freedom that had been passed by a vote in its delegate assembly in January 2014.²¹ Text at http://www.mla.org/2014_resolutions (see also **Appendix 5**).

6.0 Backlash against ASA

The media and pressure groups largely ignored the boycott resolutions passed by the Asian American Studies Association and the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association, although the AASA president notes that the leadership received hate mail. Nearly all the public attention was focused on the ASA resolution:

- 1) 8 former presidents of ASA condemned the resolution²²
- 2) Brandeis, Penn State-Harrisburg, Indiana University, Kenyon College, and Bard College withdrew membership in ASA²³
- 3) The AAUP released a statement condemning the boycott on December 16, 2013?²⁴
- 4) American Federation of Teachers (AFT) condemned the boycott on December 13, 2013.²⁵
- 5) Association for Jewish Studies condemned boycotts in general on December 17, 2013²⁶
- 6) American Council on Education condemned the boycott on December 20, 2013.²⁷

²⁰ <http://www.ucu.org.uk/index.cfm?articleid=5537#36>

²¹ <http://www.insidehighered.com/news/2014/03/14/mla-council-forwards-controversial-measure-israel-membership-vote>

²² <http://www.scribd.com/doc/190928854/American-Studies-Association-Presidents-Letter-update>

²³ <http://legalinsurrection.com/2013/12/list-of-universities-rejecting-academic-boycott-of-israel/>;
http://www.nytimes.com/2013/12/27/education/academic-leaders-denounce-israel-boycott.html?hpw&rref=education&_r=0

²⁴ http://www.aaup.org/sites/default/files/AAUPStatementASAVote_0.pdf

²⁵ <http://www.aft.org/newspubs/press/2013/121313a.cfm>

²⁶ <http://www.ajsnet.org/AJS-Board-Resolution-12-17-13.pdf>

²⁷ <http://www.acenet.edu/news-room/Pages/ACE-President-Molly-Corbett-Broad-Statement-on-Boycotts-of-Israeli-Academic-Institutions.aspx>

- 7) The boycott was condemned by 182 university presidents as of January 11, 2014²⁸ (including the presidents of Harvard, Yale, MIT, Princeton, Brown, Cornell, the University of Chicago and Johns Hopkins).
- 8) Two NY State legislators said they would introduce legislation to bar state funding to public and private universities that have memberships in the ASA or any other organization that boycotts Israel. The legislation would also ban employees of state universities from participating in ASA conferences.²⁹ The Maryland legislature is considering similar legislation at the time of writing.³⁰ Former Harvard President Larry Summers also called on universities not to pay for faculty travel to ASA conferences or for ASA membership dues.
- 9) William Jacobsen, a Cornell law professor, filed a legal challenge to ASA's non-profit status in January 2014.³¹
- 10) March 2014 saw the establishment of The Third Narrative (<http://thirdnarrative.org/>), a group of scholars supporting a two-state solution in Israel/Palestine, opposed to academic boycotts, but also opposed to sanctions against ASA that interfere with academic freedom.

In the time between the passage of the resolution and the end of 2013, 4 ASA members resigned, but 63 new members joined.³²

7.0 Arguments that have been made for and against a boycott

N.B.: This is a collation of arguments made for and against from a variety of sources; it is not an endorsement of those arguments' accuracy or veracity.

FOR

- 1) "So if the two-state solution is the way to stop the apartheid state, then how does one achieve this goal? I am convinced that outside pressure is the only answer. Over the last three decades, Jewish settlers in the occupied territories have dramatically increased their numbers.... The Israeli peace camp has gradually dwindled so that today it is almost nonexistent, and Israeli politics are moving more and more to the extreme right. It is therefore clear to me that the only way to counter the

²⁸ <http://www.insidehighered.com/news/2014/01/02/presidents-denounce-academic-boycott-israel-some-campus-faculty-and-presidents>; For a complete list, see

- <http://legalinsurrection.com/?s=ASA+boycott&image.x=0&image.y=0> and
- <http://legalinsurrection.com/2013/12/list-of-universities-rejecting-academic-boycott-of-israel/>. See also
- <http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/.premium-1.565245>

For a riposte to one of these presidents from some of his own faculty, see

- <http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/15772/open-letter-to-trinity-college-president-and-dean>
- http://ucsdnews.ucsd.edu/pressrelease/chancellors_statement_re_american_studies_association_resolution

²⁹ http://dovhikind.blogspot.com/2013_12_01_archive.html

³⁰ http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/maryland-bill-that-would-bar-participation-in-boycott-of-israel-goes-too-far/2014/03/08/5bc247f6-a5a0-11e3-84d4-e59b1709222c_story.html

³¹ <http://legalinsurrection.com/2014/01/anti-israel-academic-boycott-groups-tax-exempt-status-challenged/>

³² <http://www.insidehighered.com/news/2014/01/02/presidents-denounce-academic-boycott-israel-some-campus-faculty-and-presidents>

apartheid trend in Israel is through massive international pressure” (Neve Gordon, Ben-Gurion University).³³

- 2) “Boycotts are the weapons of the dispossessed; they are pleas for global solidarity from people who have few other forms of power. They are peaceful attempts to disrupt business as usual by setting up a global picket-line and by asking us not to cross that picket line” (Alex Lubin).³⁴
- 3) Israeli universities are STATE institutions, and they are complicit with persecution of Palestinians (training Israeli soldiers and intelligence agents, developing weapons systems for the military, suppressing Palestinian campus events, acquiescing in practices that make Palestinians second class citizens). “Every major Israeli university is a government institution that is intimately tied to the Israeli military, furnishing it with scientific, geographic, demographic and other forms of research that directly supports Israel’s human rights abuses of Palestinians” (Rabbi Brant Rosen).³⁵
- 4) Joan Scott asks why we should “oppose the boycott campaign in the name of Israeli academic freedom when the Israeli state regularly denied academic freedom to critics of the state, the occupation, or, indeed, of Zionism, and when the blacklisting of the state’s critics is the regular tool of state authorities against Israel’s own academic institutions?”³⁶ “For all of the concern over the resolution’s attack on academic freedom, it is important to note, as the ASA statement does, that Israel actively curtails and denies the academic freedom of Palestinian academics and students on a regular basis. Palestinian universities have been bombed, schools have been closed, and scholars and students have been deported and even killed. Palestinian scholars and students have their mobility and careers restricted by a system that limits freedoms through an oppressive bureaucracy. Many Palestinian scholars cannot travel easily, if at all, for conferences or research because they are forbidden from flying out of Israel” (Rabbi Brant Rosen).³⁷ “If there has been anywhere a systematic denial of academic freedom to a whole population, rather than to specific individuals or to institutions, it is surely in Palestine under Israeli occupation” (David Lloyd and Malini Schueller).³⁸
- 5) The Western invocation of academic freedom as grounds for refusing to sanction Israeli universities, ironically, provides cover for the ongoing attack on the academic rights of Israeli dissenters and Palestinian academics. And “by positing its particular notion of academic freedom as being of paramount importance, the AAUP effectively, if not intentionally, sharply limits the moral obligations of scholars in responding to situations of serious violations of human rights” (Omar Barghouti).³⁹

³³ <http://articles.latimes.com/2009/aug/20/opinion/oe-gordon20>

³⁴ <http://www.thenation.com/article/177587/why-im-voting-boycott-israel>

³⁵ <http://rabbibrant.com/2013/12/19/why-i-support-the-asa-boycott-of-israeli-academic-institutions/>. See also <http://coreyrobin.com/2014/01/01/are-israeli-universities-critics-of-or-collaborators-with-the-israeli-government/>

³⁶ <http://www.aaup.org/sites/default/files/files/JAF/2013%20JAF/Scott.pdf>

³⁷ <http://rabbibrant.com/2013/12/19/why-i-support-the-asa-boycott-of-israeli-academic-institutions/>. See also Amy Kaplan, 2010. “In Palestine, Occupational Hazards.” *Chronicle of Higher Education*, November 7. <http://chronicle.com/article/In-Palestine-Occupational/125246/>

³⁸ <http://www.aaup.org/sites/default/files/files/JAF/2013%20JAF/LloydSchueller.pdf>

³⁹ <http://www.aaup.org/sites/default/files/files/JAF/2013%20JAF/Barghouti.pdf>

- 6) Although critics of the boycott claim that it will punish those Israelis (academics) most likely to criticize government policy, very few Israeli academics have in fact stood up for the rights of Palestinian faculty and students.⁴⁰
- 7) The AAUP opposes a boycott on academic freedom grounds, and yet they publish a list of “censured institutions”. Is that so different? The AAUP has also supported faculty strikes for better working conditions that enjoined speakers not to cross picket lines.⁴¹
- 8) “As long as Israelis don’t pay a price for the occupation, or at least don’t make the connection between cause and effect, they have no incentive to bring it to an end... A boycott is the least of all evils, and it could produce historic benefits. It is the least violent of the options and the one least likely to result in bloodshed. It would be painful like the others, but the others would be worse” (Gideon Levy).⁴²
- 9) Boycott played a significant role in ending South African apartheid, according to Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Nelson Mandela.⁴³
- 10) Palestinians have called for a boycott. “The ASA did not initiate this boycott – it made a principled, good faith decision to respond to the Palestinian call for support. Thus the real question before us when addressing BDS is not 'what' about all of these other countries?' but rather 'will we choose to respond to this call?' To miss this point is to utterly misunderstand the essential concept of solidarity” (Rabbi Brant Rosen).⁴⁴
- 11) “Opponents... claim that the resolution singles out Israel while sparing countries with worse human rights records. They forget, however, that the U.S. not only gives far more military aid to Israel than to any other country, but has also vetoed all U.N. resolutions in recent memory that condemn Israel's abuses of human rights. The ASA resolution specifically cites the 'significant role' the U.S. plays in underwriting Israel's violations of international law” (Carolyn Karcher).⁴⁵
- 12) “The ASA boycott like the rest of the BDS movement’s achievements, are not examples of the world’s double standard against Israel—they’re Quixotic, rearguard actions against the world’s blatant double standard in Israel’s favor. If this country were treated with a minuscule fraction of the severity the West ordinarily visits on human rights violators, the occupation would have ended long ago” (Larry Derfner).⁴⁶
- 13) Other forms of engagement with Israel have not worked and, in the meantime, the Palestinians’ situation has deteriorated. “The world has tried what used to be called 'constructive engagement.' It has failed utterly” (Naomi Klein).⁴⁷

⁴⁰ http://www.jconline.com/article/20131230/OPINION03/312300009/Guest-column-Purdue-IU-get-wrong-blasting-Israeli-universities-boycott?nclick_check=1

⁴¹ <http://www.aaup.org/sites/default/files/files/JAF/2013%20JAF/Kapitan.pdf>

⁴² <http://www.haaretz.com/opinion/.premium-1.535596>

⁴³ <http://www.princeton.edu/jpia/past-issues-1/2000/10.pdf>

⁴⁴ <http://rabbibrant.com/2013/12/19/why-i-support-the-asa-boycott-of-israeli-academic-institutions/>

⁴⁵ <http://www.latimes.com/opinion/opinion-la/blowback/la-ol-israel-academic-boycott-blowback-20131227,0,4082285.story#axzz2ov6P0QvR>

⁴⁶ <http://972mag.com/the-worlds-blatant-double-standard-in-israels-favor/84499/>

⁴⁷ <http://www.naomiklein.org/articles/2009/01/israel-boycott-divest-sanction>

- 14) The boycott campaign is non-violent. “They are doing what many in the international community including President Obama, have repeatedly called on Palestinians to do: embrace nonviolent means in their struggle for freedom and self-determination.”⁴⁸
- 15) Boycotting South Africa seemed radical when the idea was first introduced, but soon became a normative position. The same will be true of the BDS campaign, and AAA will look timorous to future generations if it declines to participate now. “The recent passing of Nelson Mandela has reminded us of a time when people bravely stood up to apartheid by initiating boycotts and other proactive measures to isolate the South African regime. This was once a very unpopular position to take, but history proved those people right. One day, after the tide turns, boycotts against Israel and the apartheid regime it has instituted will be viewed in the same way.”⁴⁹
- 16) “In my view, BDS does three key things: First, it serves to effectively highlight issues, especially if its targets are strategically selected. The mix today is a pretty good one, going from consumer products (Ahava cosmetics, Israeli produce) and calling on TIAA-CREF to divest from Israeli military companies like Elbit through the Caterpillar campaign (highlighting Caterpillar's role in producing bulldozers for the IDF custom-made top demolish Palestinian homes) and on to calls for the US to stop giving arms to Israel. The cultural boycott -- calling on prominent artists, writers, performers not to come to Israel, or if they do, to spend time in the Occupied Territory -- is another important part of BDS. The academic boycott is another key element of the BDS campaign. It is aimed at Israeli universities who are complicit in the Occupation, either because they do not stand with their Palestinian counterparts when their academic freedoms are trampled on (Palestinian students often cannot leave the West Bank or Gaza to study abroad) or because they are actively involved with the Occupation (all Israeli universities do military research and give academic training to soldiers, many have branches or even whole campuses in the Occupied Territory). (In fact, many American universities should be BDSed because of their close ties to the US military...). The second purpose of BDS: holding states and corporations -- and universities -- accountable for their actions. They are not acting in a vacuum; there is international law, human rights covenants, UN-formulated Principles of Corporate Responsibility, UN resolutions and, yes, issues of academic freedom and responsibility. Most of Israel's policies and actions in the Occupied Territory, from house demolition to settlement to land expropriation to the economic closure to the building of the Wall, are absolutely illegal according to the Fourth Geneva Convention. Governments are required to adhere to international law, but they shirk accountability, which is what BDS highlights and insists upon. This leads into a third element of BDS, which is to give the people, citizens, civil society, the leverage to hold governments accountable... This leads into a third element of BDS, which is to give the people, citizens, civil society, the leverage to hold governments accountable.” (Jeff Halper, anthropologist, Co-founder and Director, Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions [ICAHHD; <http://www.icahd.org/>] in personal communication with Waterston). See also [Appendix 6](#) for ICAHD's position and rationale for the call for sanctions against the Israeli occupation.
- 17) AAA boycotts Arizona for its anti-immigrant laws and many southern states for anti-sodomy laws and we effectively boycotted the US Army's Human Terrain System program, so why not boycott Israel for its treatment of Palestinians?
- 18) Boycotts and sanctions are not as extraordinary as opponents of this one make out: there was a boycott of the Russian Olympics over its treatment of gays (and Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu

⁴⁸ <http://chronicle.com/blogs/conversation/2013/12/31/in-defense-of-an-academic-boycott-of-israel/>

⁴⁹ <http://chronicle.com/blogs/conversation/2013/12/31/in-defense-of-an-academic-boycott-of-israel/>

was one participant in it); France was boycotted by the left in the 1990s for its continued nuclear testing, and by the right in 2003 for its opposition to invading Iraq; Iran and Cuba are sanctioned; elite law schools boycotted military recruiters over the military's ban on gays (and the AAUP supported the law schools for doing so).

EXPLICIT “NO POSITION”

“While Jewish Voice for Peace has no position on academic boycotts, we categorically reject the assertion that boycotts to pressure Israel to abide by international law are inherently anti-Semitic. On the contrary, these boycotts use nonviolent tactics to further human rights” (Sydney Levy, Jewish Voice for Peace).⁵⁰

AGAINST

- 1) “The Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement, which now occupies center-stage among Palestine activists, claims to anchor its goals in international law. On this critical point, there’s no disagreement. Everyone starts from the premise that the strongest card Palestinians have to play in the court of public opinion is international law. The settlements are illegal, the occupation of the West Bank (including East Jerusalem) and Gaza is illegal, the denial of refugee rights is illegal. The flaw in the BDS movement is that it selectively upholds only Palestinian rights, and ignores Palestinian obligations. Under international law, Israel is a state. If you want to appeal to public opinion on the basis of international law, you can’t suddenly become an agnostic on the law when it comes to Israel. However, that’s exactly what BDS does: it claims to have ‘no position’ on Israel, whereas international law does take a position on Israel. To be consistent, BDS must either recognize Israel or cease to claim that it is anchored in international law. It cannot both appeal to international law and fall silent on Israel’s rights under that same law” (Norman Finkelstein).⁵¹
- 2) The boycotters are, in former Harvard President Larry Summers’ words, “anti-Semitic in their effect if not intent.” “The ASA boycott has nothing to do with human rights. It’s an exercise in radical chic, giving marginalized academics a frisson of pretend anti-colonialism, seasoned with a dose of edgy anti-Semitism. And don’t tell me this is merely about Zionism. The ruse is transparent. Israel is the world’s only Jewish state. To apply to the state of the Jews a double standard that you apply to none other, to judge one people in a way you judge no other, to single out that one people for condemnation and isolation — is to engage in a gross act of discrimination. And discrimination against Jews has a name. It’s called anti-Semitism” (Charles Krauthammer).⁵²
- 3) “We oppose the global Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions movement. They see Israel as hopelessly flawed. We see Israel as, pardon the syntax; hopefully flawed...NIF opposes the ASA’s decision and urges them to rescind it. We will always oppose efforts to shut down debate anywhere, not just for academics but for activists, community leaders, rabbis --- everyone...[NIF’s \[has an\] ironclad policy against funding organizations that participate in the global BDS movement](#). We have [written before](#), and will again, that we think the BDS

⁵⁰ <http://jewishvoiceforpeace.org/blog/jewish-voice-for-peace-responds-to-asas-resolution-on-academic-boycott>

⁵¹ <http://normanfinkelstein.com/2013/peace-or-palestinian-surrender-an-interview-with-norman-finkelstein/>

⁵² http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/charles-krauthammer-how-to-fight-academic-bigotry/2014/01/09/64f482ee-795e-11e3-af7f-13bf0e9965f6_story.html

movement is at best misguided and at worst an attempt to eradicate Israel as the Jewish homeland” (Naomi Paiss, New Israel Fund).⁵³

- 4) “J Street strongly opposes the American Studies Association’s decision today to boycott Israeli colleges and universities. We recognize the legitimate and urgent concerns about peace, justice and human rights that drive some of the calls from campuses and academic bodies to boycott Israeli institutions and products. We believe that a two-state solution is the best way to address these concerns and that this conflict can only be resolved through engagement and diplomacy, not alienation and isolation. Boycotts not only exacerbate the divide between Israelis and Palestinians, but create new and deep divisions among those who could be allies working together for a peaceful resolution of the conflict. In the best tradition of the university, the way to counter views with which one disagrees is not to boycott them, but to subject them to the scrutiny of vibrant and open debate. An inclusive and civil conversation on campuses and in academic bodies about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict best serves the cause of ending it.”⁵⁴
- 5) “Any such boycott of academic institutions directly violates academic freedom, which is a fundamental principle of AAU universities and of American higher education in general. Academic freedom is the freedom of university faculty responsibly to produce and disseminate knowledge through research, teaching, and service, without undue constraint. It is a principle that should not be abridged by political considerations... Efforts to address political issues, or to address restrictions on academic freedom, should not themselves infringe upon academic freedom. Restrictions imposed on the ability of scholars of any particular country to work with their fellow academics in other countries, participate in meetings and organizations, or otherwise carry out their scholarly activities violate academic freedom” (AAUP).⁵⁵
- 6) “We can disagree with the governmental policies of a nation without sanctioning the universities of that nation, or the American universities that collaborate with them. To restrict the free flow of people and ideas with some universities because of their national identity is unwise, unnecessary, and irreconcilable with our core academic values” (Wallace D. Loh, President of University of Maryland).⁵⁶
- 7) “In this strange case, why the ASA would propose an academic boycott of Israel and not, for example, of Syria, the Sudan, North Korea, China, Iran, Iraq, or Russia escapes rational thought” (James Jones, President Trinity College).⁵⁷
- 8) Some critics of Israeli policy towards Palestinians have been Israeli academics. Would we punish Chomsky as part of a boycott to punish MIT for taking military funding? A boycott is a blunt instrument, punishing Israeli academics who have worked for Palestinian rights along with others. “It is not so easy to understand how moral outrage at a political action can be so quickly translated into an obligation to deny professional courtesies to people whose

⁵³ <http://www.nif.org/media-center/component/content/article/21-guest-voices/1713>

⁵⁴ http://jstreet.org/blog/post/j-street-strongly-opposes-asa-boycott_1

⁵⁵ <https://www.aau.edu/WorkArea/DownloadAsset.aspx?id=14859>; see a similar statement by the Middle East Studies Association in response to the 2005 AUT boycott vote:

<http://www.mesa.arizona.edu/committees/academic-freedom/intervention/letters-other.html#roger051305>

⁵⁶ <http://www.umdrightnow.umd.edu/news/statement-umd-president-and-provost-opposing-boycott-israeli-academic-institutions>

⁵⁷ <http://www.trincoll.edu/AboutTrinity/offices/president/letters/Pages/default.aspx>

- responsibility for that action is at best attenuated and in many instances non-existent” (Stanley Fish).⁵⁸
- 9) “Israeli universities are actually some of the very few places in Israeli society where Jewish and Palestinian citizens of Israel interact as equals” (Ari Kelman).⁵⁹ Such spaces should be nurtured, not attacked, in order to maximize their transformative potential.
 - 10) “The primary role of a professional academic organization is to advocate for the needs and concerns of its members within their professional lives. In that regard, I believe that the American Studies Association should be devoting its energies to supporting and advancing the careers of its members by, for example, advocating for improved working conditions for adjunct faculty members” (Marc Rice).⁶⁰
 - 11) Attempts to distinguish Israeli academics from their institutions, saying we boycott the latter but not the former, are impossible in practice: where does an Israeli academic’s funding come from? And when does an individual exchange become institutional? (For example, would an American academic be allowed to affiliate as a Fulbright Scholar with an Israeli host university? Would an Israeli provost be allowed to give a talk on his or her research?) “The ASA tries to defend the boycott on the ground that it applies formally to Israeli universities rather than individual faculty, but of course, this neglects the profound impact such a ban will have on the scholars who form the intellectual heart and participate actively in the academic life and governance of those universities” (Ronald Daniels, President Johns Hopkins University).⁶¹
 - 12) “It’s repellant to contemplate Israeli professors being shut out of conferences or barred from journals for no reason other than their ethnicity” (Michelle Goldberg). “Scholars would be punished not because of what they believe – which would be bad enough – but simply because of whom they are based on their nationality. In no other context does the ASA discriminate on the basis of national origin – and for good reason. This is discrimination, pure and simple.”⁶²
 - 13) When the British Association of University Teachers briefly put in place a boycott of two Israeli universities in 2005, it included an exemption for “conscientious Israeli academics and intellectuals opposed to their state’s colonial and racist policies.”⁶³ If individual Israeli faculty are exempted from a boycott because they oppose Israeli policy towards Palestinians (a situation that developed with regard to the academic boycott of South Africa in the 1980s, though this is not what the ASA resolution advocates), then the boycott turns into an ideological blacklist.
 - 14) “Economic implosion, which a fully implemented BDS would bring about rather quickly, will cut the ground out from under Israel’s most educated and cosmopolitan people. It will not just pressure them, it will destroy them—ruin their lives, force the emigration of their children.

⁵⁸ http://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/10/28/academic-freedom-against-itself-boycotting-israeli-universities/?partner=rssnyt&emc=rss&_r=0

⁵⁹ See also <http://www.aaup.org/sites/default/files/files/JAF/2013%20JAF/Responses/Response-Budick.pdf>

⁶⁰ http://www.huffingtonpost.com/mark-rice/israel-academic-boycott_b_4392058.html

⁶¹ <http://hub.jhu.edu/2013/12/23/daniels-lieberman-asa-boycott>

⁶² From letter opposing boycott by some ASA scholars, quoted <http://www.insidehighered.com/news/2013/11/25/american-studies-association-meeting-scholars-debate-proposed-academic-boycott>

⁶³ <http://www.egs.edu/faculty/judith-butler/articles/israel-palestine-paradoxes-of-academic-freedom/>

Settlers and their ultra-allies, in contrast, have no problem with Israel turning into a poorer, purer, Jewish Pakistan. Do we really want to cause Israel's private sector to collapse or its universities to be isolated?" (Bernard Avishai).⁶⁴

- 15) "In a massive reordering of Jewish life geographically during the past century, there have developed two centers of Jewish life in the post-Holocaust world: North America and Israel. A call on American institutions to boycott Israeli institutions and academics says to us who teach and research in Jewish Studies that we cannot study directly or explore fully half of contemporary Jewish life. Our programs have no right to exist and function like other centers or programs in universities, which regularly host visiting scholars and speakers, establish ongoing exchange relations with universities abroad, and send their students to study abroad in those universities" (Kenneth Waltzer).⁶⁵
- 16) It would make more sense to target the Settlers with a boycott since they are primarily responsible for human rights violations. "What we need... is a vibrant, globalizing Israel, businesses, universities, etc. that expect to be part of the world and show the way to it; people who find Greater Israel an embarrassment and, indeed, will see an international boycott of settlements as a way of selling their case for compromise" (Bernard Avishai).⁶⁶
- 17) A majority of Israelis consistently tell pollsters that they would prefer a two-state solution to the current occupation and would welcome the opportunity to work out a compromise that would end the occupation and allow Palestinians to fulfill their national aspirations in the context of security guarantees for Israel and a genuine willingness to end hostilities. But they feel themselves to be without a credible partner in the peace process" (Eric Alterman).⁶⁷
- 18) "BDS proponents note that the movement takes no position on whether there should be one state or two between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea.... This is the fundamental problem: Not that the ASA is practicing double standards and not even that it's boycotting academics, but that it's denying the legitimacy of a democratic Jewish state, even alongside a Palestinian one" (Peter Beinart).⁶⁸
- 19) Proponents of an academic boycott advocate boycotting academic institutions because these are the only targets they, as academics, have the power to reach; but a boycott of academic institutions will have marginal impact compared to a boycott of economic and financial institutions.
- 20) A boycott could hurt Palestinian students at Israeli universities.
- 21) It is unclear under what circumstances the boycott would be ended.
- 22) Israel is one of the most democratic states in the Middle East, and its values regarding women, gays etc. are more in line with Western values than those of most of its neighbors.

⁶⁴ <http://www.thenation.com/blog/167708/opinionnation-forum-boycott-divestment-sanctions-bds>

⁶⁵ <http://www.aaup.org/sites/default/files/files/JAF/2013%20JAF/Responses/Response-Waltzer.pdf>

⁶⁶ <http://www.thenation.com/blog/167708/opinionnation-forum-boycott-divestment-sanctions-bds>

⁶⁷ <http://www.thenation.com/blog/167708/opinionnation-forum-boycott-divestment-sanctions-bds>

⁶⁸ <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2013/12/17/the-american-studies-association-is-really-boycotting-israel-s-existence.html>

8.0 Observations on the debate

Here are some observations on the terms of the debate, *without taking a position for or against either side:*

- 1) The ASA's distinction between institutions (which are boycotted) and individuals (who are free to participate in academic exchange) is problematic, since an institutional boycott will to some degree curtail opportunities for academic exchange (see #2 below). At the same time, there is surely a difference between academic exchange between individuals or small groups on the one hand, and the legitimacy an institution confers when it enters into a formal agreement as an institution, on the other. To give an example, NYU (which has condemned the ASA boycott) has a formal institutional agreement with the United Arab Emirates (UAE), where it has opened a campus. The UAE bans Israeli citizens from entering its territories. NYU's institutional agreement with the UAE does much more to legitimize its regime than academic exchanges with individual NYU faculty would; further, probably few would condemn NYU for withdrawing from its agreement with a formally anti-Israeli regime while allowing individual NYU faculty to continue their exchanges with counterparts in the UAE. In the same vein, while no one is suggesting an end to individual faculty exchanges with Chinese academics, faculty at a number of campuses (most notably Wellesley) have opposed institutional agreements with Chinese universities because of their systematic violation of academic freedom.
- 2) The ASA has defended itself against accusations that a boycott interferes with academic freedom by drawing a strong line between a boycott of institutions (which their resolution calls for) and interference in the academic expression and exchange of individuals (which they say they oppose). This distinction is not altogether tenable. For example, individual scholars whose travel to the U.S. was paid for by their institutions would fall under the scope of the boycott on institutions.⁶⁹ Moreover, the boycott movement's website gives this answer to the question whether inviting an Israeli academic to a conference would violate the boycott: "In principle, since the call is specifically for institutional, not individual boycott, such activities do not violate the boycott. However, all academic exchanges with Israeli academics do have the effect of normalizing Israel and its politics of occupation and apartheid. Academics could consider whether equally valuable contributions might not be made by non-Israeli colleagues; whether an invitation to a Palestinian intellectual might be preferable; whether the exchange is intellectually or pedagogically essential... it may also be that as a consequence of the boycott Israeli academics are now having a harder time publishing outside the country, participating in formal exchanges, sitting on boards and international committees, and the like."⁷⁰
- 3) The argument for academic freedom is the one most consistently cited by university presidents in condemning the boycott, and it may be the most compelling argument against the boycott. And yet it is inconsistently applied. The AAUP has condemned the boycott as an infringement of academic freedom, but it remained silent when the Israeli government closed the political science department at Ben-Gurion University, apparently because the department was critical

⁶⁹ Making a distinction between rights and privileges, Omar Barghouti says of Israeli scholars: "What they do face as a result of the boycott is the "*inconvenience*" of having to seek independent international funding to cover their *international* academic projects, instead of relying on Israeli state or institutional funding for that. An effective international isolation of Israeli academic institutions will undoubtedly curtail some *privileges* that Israeli scholars take for granted, from generous travel subsidies to various perks and services that have no bearing on their academic freedom" (<http://www.thenation.com/article/177596/academic-freedom-and-bds-movement#>).

⁷⁰ <http://www.usacbi.org/faqs/>

of Israeli treatment of Palestinians.⁷¹ Those American university leaders who condemn the boycott for abridging academic freedom have not condemned Israel for limiting the ability of Palestinian academics to travel and speak.⁷² Nor have they condemned Hillel chapters on U.S. campuses, which have barred their own student members' attempts to co-sponsor events with the liberal Jewish groups J Street U and Jewish Voice for Peace or to invite Palestinian speakers for debate and discussion. At one university, a Hillel student leader was forced to resign after showing the Palestinian documentary film *Five Broken Cameras* at a campus event.⁷³ It seems to us that if free academic exchange is to be at the center of a rejection of the boycott, then that rejection should be matched by a condemnation of the curtailment of academic freedom by the Israeli state and by some pro-Israel pressure groups in the U.S.

- 4) Surely there are limits to the absolutism of the academic freedom argument. Most of those who condemn the boycott of Israeli universities today presumably would not have condemned a boycott of universities in Nazi Germany in the late 1930s. The question is where is the line that makes a boycott warranted? Marjorie Heins, who generally opposes academic boycotts, says: "A state-mandated purge of all dissenters, for example, or of all professors who are not orthodox Jews, would deprive an institution of much of its claim to be a true university committed to academic freedom. Excluding such a mock or shadow university from the international community of scholars would do little harm to academic freedom; the harm would already have been done. And there would, at that point, be no dissenters left about whose academic freedom one might be concerned."⁷⁴
- 5) ASA, unlike AAA, does not have a community of scholars whose professional careers have been built around travel to and study of the Middle East. AAA should take into account the special situation of these members of our community. They may have densely networked ties in the region and a boycott may put them in a situation where they are pressured to turn down conference invitations, or cut off communications with colleagues and research subjects. Quite beyond the possible damage to their professional careers that a boycott might inflict, the work of these scholars may well require them to maintain contacts with a wide range of people in the region, and they may suddenly find themselves pressured to stop talking to some. Thus, potential victims of a boycott include not only Israeli academics, but also some of our own professional colleagues.

9.0 Some alternatives

There is a wide range of positions AAA leadership could take, including no action, further information-gathering, and deeper consideration of what the exact nature of AAA interest in the debate might be, as well as whether the issues it wishes to consider are even well-captured by the kinds of positions we have tried to describe here. In this section, again without prejudicing an open-ended conversation, we present some alternatives to a boycott that have been proposed or can be imagined within the scope of the debate as it has been presented here. Others are certainly also imaginable. Alice

⁷¹ <http://www.aaup.org/reports-publications/journal-academic-freedom/volume-4-2013/editors-introduction-volume-4>

⁷² See http://www.gisha.org/item.asp?lang_id=en&p_id=1695 and <http://www.maannews.net/eng/ViewDetails.aspx?ID=524139> and <http://isa-global-dialogue.net/political-crisis-in-israeli-universities/>

⁷³ See Laurie Goodstein, "Members of Jewish Student Group test Permissible Discussion on Israel," *New York Times* December 29, 2013, p.21.

⁷⁴ <http://www.aaup.org/sites/default/files/files/JAF/2013%20JAF/Heins.pdf>

Kessler-Harris, a former ASA President who opposed the boycott, asks, "Could not a well-intentioned group of academics think of a less-divisive strategy—a strategy that would invite Palestinian academics in and provide opportunities for them, a strategy that would enrich and widen the conversation rather than close it down?"⁷⁵

- 1) Resolution condemning Israeli policy toward Palestinians with specific reference to violations of International law, human and civil rights; and a resolution condemning US participation in supporting the occupation. (AAUP distinguishes a "censure" from a "boycott" —and this would be like a censure in AAUP terms.).
- 2) Call for universities to divest from Israel or businesses (like Sodastream, Dell, General Electric and Hewlett-Packard⁷⁶) that help sustain inequitable treatment of Palestinians. (This could be modeled on the AAUP position on the South African divestment movement: AAUP supported economic divestment from South Africa, but opposed an academic boycott, and former AAUP President Cary Nelson at one point said he supported a boycott of Israeli goods produced in the occupied territories, but not an academic boycott.).⁷⁷
- 3) More selective boycott.
- 4) Use AAA resources to create special opportunities for Palestinian scholars or for Israeli-Palestinian dialogue.
- 5) The boycott campaign website notes that "Academics [in the West] might also build momentum behind existing international efforts to overturn restrictions on foreign passport holders living and working in the Palestinian areas by helping to organize various events at Palestinian universities or by applying to work at these institutions in a temporary or permanent capacity." The site also mentions "making fellowships available to Palestinian students; sending educational materials to Palestinian institutions."⁷⁸
- 6) Join the campaign to pressure TIAA-CREF to divest from companies that profit from the occupation of Gaza and the West Bank (See <http://jewishvoiceforpeace.org/tiaa-cref>; <https://wedivest.org/>)
- 7) The MLA took a different approach with a resolution calling for US scholars, obstructed by Israel, to be allowed to accept invitations to visit the occupied territories.⁷⁹ (See Appendix 6.). (The MLA approach spared the MLA criticism that it was attacking academic freedom, but not allegations that it was singling out Israel).

⁷⁵ <http://chronicle.com/article/Membership-of-American-Studies/143645/>

⁷⁶ [http://electronicintifada.net/content/are-we-attending-university-or-cold-faceless-corporation/13055?fb_action_ids=10203142064698991&fb_action_types=og.recommends&fb_source=other_multiline&action_object_map=\[1452686841621079\]&action_type_map=\[%22og.recommends%22\]&action_ref_map=\[](http://electronicintifada.net/content/are-we-attending-university-or-cold-faceless-corporation/13055?fb_action_ids=10203142064698991&fb_action_types=og.recommends&fb_source=other_multiline&action_object_map=[1452686841621079]&action_type_map=[%22og.recommends%22]&action_ref_map=[)

⁷⁷ <http://www.aaup.org/sites/default/files/files/JAF/2013%20JAF/Heins.pdf> and <http://www.aaup.org/sites/default/files/files/JAF/2013%20JAF/Responses/Response-Nelson.pdf>

⁷⁸ <http://www.usacbi.org/faqs/>

⁷⁹ <http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/1.568174> ; http://www.nytimes.com/2014/01/12/us/another-academic-group-considers-israel-censure.html?_r=0; <http://www.insidehighered.com/news/2014/01/13/mla-delegate-assembly-narrowly-votes-criticize-israel>

- 8) The Middle East Studies Association (MESA) is on record as opposing boycotts, saying in 2005 “We find thoroughly objectionable the call of the AUT to refrain from any and all scholarly interaction with the entire professional staff of two universities because of the policies of the state in which they are situated.” MESA has two committees (one for North American universities and one for Middle Eastern universities) that draft carefully researched “intervention” letters to protest violations of academic freedom. Of the 185 such letters sent since 2001, 28 were sent to Israeli officials.⁸⁰

10.0 Recommendations for process (learning from the ASA’s and MLA’s experiences)

Some background information:

- 1) According to the ASA’s council statement (http://www.theasa.net/from_the_editors/item/council_statement_on_the_academic_boycott_of_israel_resolution/), it took six years of various kinds of dialogue within the ASA before the boycott resolution was adopted by the membership.
- 2) At an ASA open forum attended by 745 members, many more people wanted to speak than was possible. Speakers were each limited to two minutes and those who wanted to speak put their names into a box, from which names were randomly selected.
- 3) We know from prior AAA experience that some complaints about actions taken by the Executive Board are inaccurate and unfair. Bearing in mind that some of these allegations may not be entirely accurate, among complaints that were made about the ASA’s process in endorsing a boycott was that the ASA website was biased against anti-boycott arguments and resources (such as the AAUP statement, which ASA refused to have posted there). A letter signed by eight former ASA Presidents complained that ASA Members were provided only the resolution and a link to a website supporting it. Despite explicit requests, the National Council refused to circulate or post to the ASA’s website alternative perspectives.” The ASA President responded that the ASA refused to post some documents because “the documents misrepresent the current version of the resolution and the process by which it has been put forward.”⁸¹

11.0 Suggestions for AAA

- 1) AAA should invite and/or organize panels at its annual meeting on the Israel/Palestine situation and on the boycott movement. Unlike a panel at the MLA meeting that attracted criticism for only featuring pro-boycott speakers,⁸² these panels would be open to a range of views. (ASA sponsored several such panels.). The AAA program chair(s) should be part of the discussion about ensuring programming on the issue that is open to diverse points of view.
- 2) The AAA annual meeting program should include the showing of informative films and documentaries, such as *The Gatekeepers* (<http://www.sonyclassics.com/thegatekeepers/>),

⁸⁰ <http://www.insidehighered.com/news/2014/01/14/mesas-committee-academic-freedom-has-rejected-boycotts-while-condemning-abuses>

⁸¹ <http://www.insidehighered.com/news/2013/12/12/round-lobbying-over-american-studies-vote-israel-boycott>

⁸² <http://www.insidehighered.com/news/2014/01/03/debate-over-panel-mla-raises-issue-when-balance-matters>

Where Should the Birds Fly? (<http://whereshouldthebirdsfly.org/>), *Arna's Children* (<http://www.takepart.com/arnas-children>), and *Five Broken Cameras* (<http://www.kinolorber.com/5brokencameras/>), an Academy Award nominated documentary.

- 3) Robust advance notice should be given to the membership about fora on this topic at the annual meeting.
- 4) As much as possible, those moderating discussion fora will be “honest brokers.” (Some criticized the MLA delegate meeting where a resolution was discussed and voted on because the meeting was chaired by a boycott advocate, and there was confusion about parliamentary process.).⁸³
- 5) On the basis of “learnings” from ASA and MLA, it would be best if any debate in AAA were led by AAA members, rather than by a cluster of professional opinionators who tend to polarize the issue.
- 6) The AAA leadership should enter into dialogue with anyone developing a resolution on this issue to ensure that the resolution is carefully/thoughtfully/accurately crafted. (The MLA resolution had to be rewritten at the last minute when it became apparent that its language about Gaza was factually inaccurate.).
- 7) AAA should set up a website for debate of a resolution and refrain from policing people’s comments unless they are obviously defamatory or abusive. This was part of AAA process in the referenda on the Honduras issue and on the new ethics code. If people make arguments that are inaccurate, we should trust that the debate will make that clear, and that AAA members are capable of judging when an argument is invalid.
- 8) A final decision be taken by a referendum of the AAA membership, not by the Executive Board acting alone, and not at a business meeting that might be packed by a well-organized pressure group.
- 9) The MLA was criticized for denying press credentials to two reporters who wanted to cover its annual convention. One was from the Jewish News Service and the other was from the right-wing *Daily Caller*. AAA should give press credentials to any legitimate reporter and avoid giving the appearance that it is trying to pre-censor news coverage, which it has no intention of doing.
- 10) AAA may consider organizing a Task Force.
- 11) Given criticisms at the MLA meeting that the Association, whose members largely lack expert knowledge about the Middle East, was exceeding its expertise, AAA should be energetic in drawing on the expertise of the Middle East section and of anthropologists who are knowledgeable in this area. This may be in the form of a Task Force designed to gather and disseminate information on the Israel/Palestine issue and/or the broader questions it raises.

⁸³ <http://www.insidehighered.com/news/2014/01/13/mla-delegate-assembly-narrowly-votes-criticize-israel>

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- Birzeit University's "Right to freedom" site: <http://right2edu.birzeit.edu/>
- AAUP on academic boycotts in general: <http://www.aaup.org/report/academic-boycotts>

Appendix 1: American Studies Association Resolution on Academic Boycott of Israel

http://www.theasa.net/american_studies_association_resolution_on_academic_boycott_of_israel

December 4, 2013

Whereas the American Studies Association is committed to the pursuit of social justice, to the struggle against all forms of racism, including anti-Semitism, discrimination, and xenophobia, and to solidarity with aggrieved peoples in the United States and in the world;

Whereas the United States plays a significant role in enabling the Israeli occupation of Palestine and the expansion of illegal settlements and the Wall in violation of international law, as well as in supporting the systematic discrimination against Palestinians, which has had documented devastating impact on the overall well-being, the exercise of political and human rights, the freedom of movement, and the educational opportunities of Palestinians;

Whereas there is no effective or substantive academic freedom for Palestinian students and scholars under conditions of Israeli occupation, and Israeli institutions of higher learning are a party to Israeli state policies that violate human rights and negatively impact the working conditions of Palestinian scholars and students;

Whereas the American Studies Association is cognizant of Israeli scholars and students who are critical of Israeli state policies and who support the international boycott, divestment, and sanctions (BDS) movement under conditions of isolation and threat of sanction;

Whereas the American Studies Association is dedicated to the right of students and scholars to pursue education and research without undue state interference, repression, and military violence, and in keeping with the spirit of its previous statements supports the right of students and scholars to intellectual freedom and to political dissent as citizens and scholars;

It is resolved that the American Studies Association (ASA) endorses and will honor the call of Palestinian civil society for a boycott of Israeli academic institutions. It is also resolved that the ASA supports the protected rights of students and scholars everywhere to engage in research and public speaking about Israel-Palestine and in support of the boycott, divestment, and sanctions (BDS) movement.

Appendix 2: The Association for Asian American Studies Resolution for the Boycott of Israeli Academic Institutions

http://www.usacbi.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/AAAS-resolution.FINAL_.pdf

Resolution: for AAAS to honor the call of Palestinian civil society for a boycott of Israeli academic institutions; and to support the protected rights of students and scholars everywhere to engage in research and public speaking about Israel-Palestine and in support of the boycott, divestment and sanctions (BDS) movement;

Whereas the Association for Asian American Studies is an organization dedicated to the preservation and support of academic freedom and of the right to education for students and scholars in the U.S. and globally; and

Whereas Arab (West Asian) and Muslim American communities, students, and scholars have been subjected to profiling, surveillance, and civil rights violations that have circumscribed their freedom of political expression, particularly in relation to the issue of human rights in Palestine-Israel; and

Whereas the Association for Asian American Studies seeks to foster scholarship that engages conditions of migration, displacement, colonialism, and racism, and the lives of people in zones of war and occupation; and

Whereas the Association for Asian American Studies seeks to advance a critique of U.S. empire, opposing US military occupation in the Arab world and U.S. support for occupation and racist practices by the Israeli state; and

Whereas the United Nations has reported that the current Israeli occupation of Palestine has impacted students “whose development is deformed by pervasive deprivations affecting health, education and overall security”; and Whereas Palestinian universities and schools have been periodically forced to close as a result of actions related to the Israeli occupation, or have been destroyed by Israeli military strikes, and Palestinian students and scholars face restrictions on movement and travel that limit their ability to attend and work at universities, travel to conferences and to study abroad, and thereby obstruct their right to education; and

Whereas the Israeli state and Israeli universities directly and indirectly impose restrictions on education, scholarships, and participation in campus activities on Palestinian students in Israel; and

Whereas Israel imposes severe restrictions on foreign academics and students seeking to attend conferences and do research in Palestine as well as on scholars and students of Arab/Palestinian origin who wish to travel to Israel-Palestine; and

Whereas Israeli institutions of higher education have not condemned or taken measures to oppose the occupation and racial discrimination against Palestinians in Israel, but have, rather, been directly and indirectly complicit in the systematic maintenance of the occupation and of policies and practices that discriminate against Palestinian students and scholars throughout Palestine and in Israel; and

Whereas Israeli academic institutions are deeply complicit in Israel's violations of international law and human rights and in its denial of the right to education and academic freedom to Palestinians, in addition to their basic rights as guaranteed by international law; and

Whereas the Association for Asian American Studies supports research and open discussion about these issues without censorship, intimidation, or harassment, and seeks to promote academic exchange, collaboration and opportunities for students and scholars everywhere; Be it resolved that the Association for Asian American Studies endorses and will honor the call of Palestinian civil society for a boycott of Israeli academic institutions. Be it also resolved that the Association for Asian American Studies supports the protected rights of students and scholars everywhere to engage in research and public speaking about Israel-Palestine and in support of the boycott, divestment and sanctions (BDS) movement.

Appendix 3: Council of the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association Declaration of Support for the Boycott of Israeli Academic Institutions

<http://naisa.org/node/719>

Declaration of Support for the Boycott of Israeli Academic Institutions by the Council of the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association

December 15, 2013

The council of the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association (NAISA) declares its support for the boycott of Israeli academic institutions.

A broad coalition of Palestinian non-governmental organizations, acting in concert to represent the Palestinian people, formed the Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel. Their call was taken up in the United States by the US Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel. A NAISA member-initiated petition brought this issue to NAISA Council. After extensive deliberation on the merits of the petition, the NAISA Council decided by unanimous vote to encourage members of NAISA and all who support its mission to honor the boycott.

NAISA is dedicated to free academic inquiry about, with, and by Indigenous communities. The NAISA Council protests the infringement of the academic freedom of Indigenous Palestinian academics and intellectuals in the Occupied Territories and Israel who are denied fundamental freedoms of movement, expression, and assembly, which we uphold.

As the elected council of an international community of Indigenous and allied non-Indigenous scholars, students, and public intellectuals who have studied and resisted the colonization and domination of Indigenous lands via settler state structures throughout the world, we strongly protest the illegal occupation of Palestinian lands and the legal structures of the Israeli state that systematically discriminate against Palestinians and other Indigenous peoples.

NAISA is committed to the robust intellectual and ethical engagement of difficult and often highly charged issues of land, identity, and belonging. Our members will have varying opinions on the issue of the boycott, and we encourage generous dialogue that affirms respectful disagreement as a vital scholarly principle. We reject shaming or personal attacks as counter to humane understanding and the greater goals of justice, peace, and decolonization.

As scholars dedicated to the rights of Indigenous peoples, we affirm that our efforts are directed specifically at the Israeli state, not at Israeli individuals. The NAISA Council encourages NAISA members to boycott Israeli academic institutions because they are imbricated with the Israeli state and we wish to place pressure on that state to change its policies. We champion and defend intellectual and academic freedom, and we recognize that conversation and collaboration with individuals and organizations in Israel/Palestine can make an important contribution to the cause of justice. In recognition of the profound social and political obstacles facing Palestinians in such dialogues, however, we urge our members and supporters to engage in such actions outside the aegis of Israeli educational institutions, honoring this boycott until such time as the rights of the Palestinian people are respected and discriminatory policies are ended.

Appendix 4: Teachers' Union of Ireland (TUI)

<http://mondoweiss.net/2013/04/teachers-academic-unanimous.html>

TUI is the first academic union in Europe to endorse the Palestinian call for an academic boycott of Israel.

241. Executive Committee/Dublin Colleges(x4)

TUI demand that ICTU step up its campaign for boycott, divestment and sanctions (BDS) against the apartheid state of Israel until it lifts its illegal siege of Gaza and its illegal occupation of the West Bank, and agrees to abide by International law and all UN Resolutions against it.

Congress instructs the Executive Committee to:

(a) Conduct an awareness campaign amongst TUI members on the need for BDS

(b) Request all members to cease all cultural and academic collaboration with Israel, including the exchange of scientists, students and academic personalities, as well as all cooperation in research programmes.

Appendix 5: Text of Resolution sent to MLA membership in a referendum, March 2014

Resolution 2014-1

Whereas Israel has denied academics of Palestinian ethnicity entry into the West Bank;

Whereas these restrictions violate international conventions on an occupying power's obligation to protect the right to education;

Whereas the United States Department of State acknowledges on its Web site that Israel restricts the movements of American citizens of Palestinian descent;

Whereas the denials have disrupted instruction, research, and planning at Palestinian universities;

Whereas the denials have restricted the academic freedom of scholars and teachers who are United States citizens;

Be it resolved that the MLA urge the United States Department of State to contest Israel's denials of entry to the West Bank by United States academics who have been invited to teach, confer, or do research at Palestinian universities.

Appendix 6: The Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions Position on Sanctions (2005)

Anthropologist Jeff Halper, Co-Founder and Director



הוועד הישראלי נגד הריסת בתים
The Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions
الحركة الإسرائيلية ضد هدم البيوت

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January 27, 2005

SANCTIONS AGAINST THE ISRAELI OCCUPATION: IT'S TIME

After years of diplomatic and political efforts aimed at inducing Israel to end its Occupation, while watching it grow ever stronger and more permanent, ICAHD supports a multi-tiered campaign of strategic, selective sanctions against Israel *until the Occupation ends*; i.e. a campaign targeting Israel's Occupation rather than Israel *per se*. We believe that in most cases merely enforcing existing laws, international as well as domestic, would render the Occupation untenable and would pull Israel back into compliance with human rights covenants. We also favor selective divestment and boycott as tools of moral and economic pressure.

Since sanctions are a powerful, non-violent, popular means of resisting the Occupation, a campaign of sanctions seems to us the next logical step in international efforts to end the Occupation. While it will develop over time, ICAHD supports the following elements at this time:

- Sales or transfer of arms to Israel conditional upon their use in ways that do not perpetuate the Occupation or violate human rights and international humanitarian law, violations that would end if governments enforced existing laws and regulations regarding the use of weapons in contravention of human rights;
- Trade sanctions on Israel due to its violation of the "Association Agreements" it has signed with the European Union that prohibit the sale of settlement products under the "Made in Israel" label, as well as for violations of their human rights provisions;
- Divestment from companies that profit from involvement in the Occupation. In this vein ICAHD supports initiatives like that of the Presbyterian Church of the US which targets companies contributing materially to the Occupation and certainly the campaign against Caterpillar whose bulldozers demolish thousands of Palestinian homes;
- Boycott of settlement products and of companies that provide housing to the settlements or which play a major role in perpetuating the Occupation; and
- Holding individuals, be they policy-makers, military personnel carrying out orders or others, personally accountable for human rights violations, including trial before international courts and bans on travel to other countries.

ICAHN calls on the international community – governments, trade unions, university communities, faith-based organizations as well as the broad civil society – to do all that is possible to hold Israel accountable for its Occupation policies and actions, thereby hastening the end of this tragedy. While we also call on the Palestinian Authority to adhere to human rights conventions, our support for selective sanctions against Israel's Occupation policies focuses properly on Israel which alone has the power to end the Occupation and is alone the violator of international law regarding the responsibilities of an Occupying Power.

SANCTIONS AGAINST THE ISRAELI OCCUPATION: RATIONALE

“If apartheid ended, so can the occupation. But the moral force and international pressure will have to be just as determined. The current divestment effort is the first, though certainly not the only, necessary move in that direction.” -- Bishop Desmond Tutu

You can't have it both ways. You can't complain about violence on the part of the Palestinians and yet reject effective non-violent measures against the Occupation that support their right to self-determination, such as economic sanctions. You can't condemn the victims of Occupation for employing terrorism while, by opposing divestment, thereby sheltering the Occupying Power that employs State Terror. You can't end the isolation and suffering of people living under Occupation while permitting the Occupying Power to carry on its life among the nations unencumbered and normally, by withholding a boycott of its economic and cultural products.

The Case For Sanctions

Sanctions, divestment and boycotts are absolutely legitimate means at *everyone's* disposal for effectively opposing injustice. As penalties, protest, pressure and resistance to policies that violate fundamental human rights, international law and UN resolutions, they are directed at ending a *situation* of intolerable conflict, suffering and moral wrong-doing, *not* against a particular people or country. When the injustice ends, the sanctions end.

Sanctions, divestment and boycotts represent powerful international responses that arise not only from opposition to an intolerable situation, but also to the complicity of every person in the international civil society that does nothing to resolve it. Because they are rooted in human rights, international law and the will of the international community, and because they are supremely non-violent responses to injustice, sanctions carry a potent moral force. A campaign of sanctions, even if it proves impossible to actually implement them, mobilizes what has been called “the politics of shame.” No country wants to be cast as a major violator of human rights. Precisely because it is so difficult to enforce international humanitarian law, holding up its oppressive policy for all to see is often the only way of pressuring it to cease its oppressive policies. The moral and political condemnation conveyed by a campaign for sanctions and the international isolation it threatens sends a powerful, unmistakable message to the perpetrator: cease your unjust policies or suffer the consequences.

Rather than punishment, a campaign of sanctions rests upon the notion of accountability. A country threatened by sanctions stands in violation of the very principles underlying the international community as articulated in human rights covenants, international humanitarian law and UN resolutions. If we go by Amnesty's annual report, virtually every country could be “called on the carpet” for their human rights violations. A campaign of sanctions constitutes an extraordinary step, however. It is invoked when injustice and suffering have become so routinized, so institutionalized, so pervasive, so resistant to normal international diplomacy or pressures, that their very continuation compromises the very validity of the international system and the moral standing of its members, countries, corporations and citizens alike. And it targets the strong parties. The very basis of a call for sanctions is that the targeted country has the ability to end the intolerable situation. A campaign of sanctions embodies a fundamental principle of the international system: that each country must be held accountable for its policies and

actions in light of accepted international norms. The message to all countries must be: Participation in the international community depends upon conformity to the “rules of the game.”

Campaigns of sanctions are in essence educative, and that is part of their power. Since the reasons for taking such drastic action must be explicit, weighty and compelling, it forces those calling for sanctions to make a strong case for them. The very act of initiating such a campaign, then, raises awareness not only of the injustice itself, but of the principles it violates, thus strengthening the understanding of the international system itself. And since a campaign of sanctions must be accepted by the international community in order to succeed, it necessitates discussion and dialogue. The considerations behind the demand for sanctions are made transparent, and the targeted country given an opportunity to present its case. The likelihood, then, is that a campaign of sanctions initiated by civil society will express broad-based international consensus if it is to take hold.

Again, at issue is a serious violation of international law and norms. Just as in a case of an individual caught breaking the law, what is in question is what acts have been done, not *who* the country or the individual is. To paraphrase Jefferson, who spoke of “a government of laws, not men,” here we are speaking of “an international system of laws and not only countries that do whatever they want.” Thus, when the violations end, the sanctions cease and the country in question rejoins the international community.

The Case for Sanctions Against Israel

In line with the principles just discussed, economic sanctions against Israel are not invoked against Israel *per se*, but against Israel *until the Occupation ends*. With this proviso it is Israel’s policy of occupation that is targeted, its status as an Occupying Power, not Israel itself. When South Africa ended its system of apartheid, sanctions ceased and it fully rejoined the international community. When apartheid ended, so did the boycott of its sports teams, one of the most potent measures employed to impress on the South African government its international isolation. The divestment campaign currently directed against Caterpillar has gained considerable momentum among the international public, effectively educating people about Israel’s policy of demolishing Palestinian homes. It has generated calls for other sanctions, such as the Presbyterian Church’s initiative to divest from companies profiting from the Occupation. The European Parliament has also called for trade sanctions on Israel given Israel’s violation of the “Association Agreements” that prohibit the sale of settlement products under the “Made in Israel” label. The American Congress should take similar steps, since Israel’s use of American weapons against civilian populations violates the human rights provisions of the Arms Control Exports Act. The boycott of California grapes in the 1960s played a key role in gaining employment rights for migrant workers. The current boycott of settlement products is intended to express moral opposition to the very presence of settlements while making it economically and politically difficult for Israel to maintain them.

Once it builds momentum, there is probably no more effective means for civil society to effectively pursue justice than a campaign of sanctions. Its power derives less from its economic impact – although, with time, that too can be decisive – than from the moral outrage that impels it. Sanctions themselves seriously affected the South African economy. Following massive protests inside South Africa and escalating international pressure in mid-1984, some 200 US companies and more than 60 British ones withdrew from the country and international lenders cut off Pretoria’s access to foreign capital. US Congressional pressure played a crucial role as well, an element totally lacking *vis-à-vis* the Israel-Palestine conflict, which makes the possibility of actually imposing sanctions on Israel that more difficult. In 1986 Congress – *with a Republican-controlled Senate* – passed the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act over the Reagan’s veto. The Act banned new US investment in South Africa, sales to the police and military and new bank loans.

Although the Act was not strictly enforced by the Reagan and Bush Administrations, although European governments found ways of quietly doing business with Pretoria (while Israel, by the way, was helping South African businesses by-pass sanctions by peddling their products in the US and Europe under a “Made in Israel” label, as well as by continued involvement in military development in South Africa, including nuclear; Hunter 1986), it did generate a climate – moral and economic – that made it increasingly difficult to maintain business-as-usual with the apartheid regime. The moral dimension led to a delegitimization of the very apartheid system that left no room for “reform.” Carried over to Israel’s Occupation, the moral element in a larger political condemnation of Israel’s policies could delegitimize the Occupation to the point where only its complete end is acceptable. A campaign of sanctions which highlights the moral unacceptability of Israel’s Occupation could have a great impact, eventually impelling governments to impose economic sanctions while creating a climate difficult for businesses (beginning with Caterpillar) to continue function.

It is not only the political unacceptability of Israel’s Occupation which makes the call for sanction urgent and obligatory, it is the massive violations of Palestinian human rights, of international law and of numerous UN resolutions that the Occupation entails. If Israel as the Occupying Power is not held accountable for the intolerable situation within its ability, indeed, within its *responsibility* to end, the entire international system of justice is rendered meaningless and empty. And that is what makes the Occupation an international issue. If Israel succeeds in defying the Fourth Geneva Convention and making its Occupation permanent, if an entire population is literally locked behind walls and its right of self-determination trampled, then the ability of human rights to win out over an international order founded on power politics and militarism is jeopardized. We all have a stake in ending the Occupation; the implications of occupation actually prevailing and a new apartheid regime emerging are chilling. Since the Palestinians do not have the power to shake off the Occupation on their own and the Israelis will not, only international pressure will effectively achieve a just peace. A campaign of sanctions represents one of the most efficacious measures.

ICAHD’S Position on Sanctions

In principle ICAHD supports the use of sanctions against countries engaged in egregious violations of human rights and international law, including the use of moral and economic pressures to end Israel’s Occupation. An effective approach to sanctions operates on different levels, however, and requires a number of strategic considerations as to its scope and focus.

First, the generic term “sanctions” actually includes three main types of economic and moral pressure:

(1) *Sanctions*, defined overall as “penalties, specified or in the form of moral pressure, applied against a country guilty of egregious violations of human rights, international law and UN resolutions, intended to bring that country back into compliance with international norms.” Since they must be imposed by governments, regional associations (such as the EU or SEAC) or the UN, the power to actually apply sanctions falls outside of civil society. Nevertheless, governments can be prodded in that direction – and the “prodding” itself constitutes an important form of conscious-raising and moral pressure.

(2) *Divestment*, the withdrawal of investments in companies doing business with the offending country or directly involved in violating human rights and international law;

(3) *Boycott*, the voluntary refraining from purchasing the products of the offending country or allowing its companies, institutions, representatives or even professionals from participating in international intercourse.

Now sanctions, divestment and boycott can be applied either totally or selectively, the decision involving a strategic mix of efficacy and moral stance. In the most successful case of sanctions, apartheid South Africa, the call was for total sanctions, since the entire system was considered illegitimate. In the case of Israel and the Occupation, it is the Occupation which is considered

illegitimate, illegal and immoral, not Israel *per se*. Although there are those who would argue that a Zionist Israel whose ongoing policy is to displace Palestinians from the country or confine them to reservations is, indeed, as illegitimate as apartheid, this is a position from which it would be difficult to generate mass support. Most advocates of a just peace – including the Israeli peace movement, ICAHD included – support Israel’s right as a recognized member state in the UN to rejoin the international community when the Occupation truly ends and a just peace is attained. Since governments must be induced to impose sanctions, on a purely pragmatic level it is difficult to imagine the international community, with the US at its head, actually agreeing to blanket sanctions.

More do-able would be a campaign for selective sanctions. This could be no less principled and focused than a call for total sanctions, but it targets Israel’s Occupation rather than Israel itself. A campaign of selective sanctions can be effective if the choice of targets is strategic: refusing to sell arms to Israel that would be used to perpetuate the Occupation, especially in attacks on civilian populations, for example, or banning Israeli sports teams from competing in international tournaments, especially potent in the South African case. (Israel is currently the European basketball champion and is scheduled to play in the World Cup of football/soccer). These and other selected measures could have a great impact upon Israel, as well as the ability to mobilize international opposition to the Occupation. Yet, with strong civil society advocacy, they also have a reasonable chance, over time, of being adopted.

ICAHD, then, supports in principle a multi-tiered campaign of sanctions against Israel *until the Occupation ends*. We believe that a selective campaign is most effective and we would incorporate into that campaigns that other organizations have already launched. At this stage, ICAHD supports:

- Sanctions: Sales or transfer of arms to Israel conditional upon their use in ways that do not perpetuate the Occupation or violate human rights and international humanitarian law, violations that would end if governments enforced existing laws and regulations regarding the use of weapons in contravention of human rights. Rather than adopting new policies of sanctions, ICAHD calls on the governments of North America, Europe and Asia to stop selling arms to Israel that are used in perpetuating the Occupation in accordance with their own laws prohibiting sales of weapons to countries engaged in serious human rights violations. No new policy of sanctions has to be adopted; the existing laws prohibiting such sales must simply be enforced. In addition existing international law must be applied against Israel for using its weapons illegally: against civilian populations, for example, or in campaigns of extra-judicial executions, to name but two. Sanctions that comprise implementation of international and domestic laws should include a ban on purchasing Israeli weapons as well.

ICAHD is currently investigating Israel’s involvement in the world’s arms trade, including weapons development, joint production and coordinated sales with other countries. We believe this is a hidden element that underlies the broad support Israeli receives from governments, including those outwardly critical of its occupation policies. We hope that advocates for a just peace will use our information to expose their own country’s complicity in policies that perpetuate the Occupation. We also call on activist groups to investigate and publicize the forms of aid their country – and especially the US – is giving Israel. Components of that aid that support occupation or settlement, whether military, technological or economic, should be opposed. We also call on Jewish communities to oppose the use of their donations to Israel – to the Jewish National Fund, for instance, or to the United Jewish Appeal, Israel Bonds and other channels of funding – in the Occupied Territories.

- Trade sanctions on Israel due to its violation of the “Association Agreements” it has signed with the European Union that prohibit the sale of settlement products under the “Made in Israel” label, as well as for violations of their human rights provisions.

- Divestment in companies that profit from involvement in the Occupation. Here ICAHD supports the initiative of the Presbyterian Church of the US to divest in “multinational corporations that provide products or services to...the Israeli police or military to support and maintain the occupation,...that have established facilities or operations on occupied land,...that provide services or products for the establishment, expansion or maintenance of Israeli settlements,...that provide products or services to Israeli or Palestinian organizations/groups that support or facilitate violent acts against innocent civilians,...that provide products or services that support or facilitate the construction of the Separation Barrier.” We certainly support the campaign against Caterpillar whose bulldozers demolish thousands of Palestinian homes.

We join with the Jewish Voice for Peace in the US whose statement in support of the Presbyterians says in part:

At JVP, we fully support selective divestment from companies that profit from Israel's occupation of the West Bank, Gaza, and East Jerusalem. This includes American companies like Caterpillar who profit from the wholesale destruction of Palestinian homes and orchards. It also includes Israeli companies who depend on settlements for materials or labor or who produce military equipment used to violate Palestinian human rights.

We believe that general divestment from Israel is an unwise strategy at this time. We believe that economic measures targeted specifically at the occupation and the Israeli military complex that sustains it are much more likely to produce results. However, we absolutely reject the accusation that general divestment or boycott campaigns are inherently anti-Semitic. The Israeli government is a government like any other, and condemning its abuse of state power, as many of its own citizens do quite vigorously, is in no way the same as attacking the Jewish people. Further, it is crucial not only to criticize the immoral and illegal acts of the Israeli government, but to back up that criticism with action.

We also note with satisfaction the many Jewish and Israeli organizations who support the idea of selective sanctions on Israel: European Jews for a Just Peace (a coalition of 16 Jewish groups from eight European countries); Not in My Name (US); Matzpun (Israel/International); Jews Against the Occupation (NYC Chapter); the petition of South African government minister Ronnie Kasrils and legislator Max Ozinsky, which has gathered more than 500 signatories from South African Jews; Jewish Voices Against the Occupation (US); Jewish Women for Justice in Israel and Palestine (US); Gush Shalom (Israel); Jews for Global Justice (US); and Visions of Peace With Justice (US), among others.

- Boycott of settlement products and of companies that provide housing to the settlements or which play a major role in perpetuating the Occupation, a campaign initiated several years ago by Gush Shalom.

These campaigns, it seems to us, build on existing initiatives. They are capable of garnering broad international support, are focused, raise public consciousness over the economic aspects of the Occupation and expose the complicity of the international community in it. They bring significant moral pressure to bear on Israel, while moving towards effective forms of economic sanctions designed to end the Occupation.

We believe that Israel as a powerful state occupying the territory of another people should be held accountable for its policies and actions. We would therefore add to the list of sanctions the following element:

- Holding individuals, be they policy-makers, military personnel carrying out orders or others, personally accountable for human rights violations, including trial before international courts and bans on travel to other countries.

Since sanctions are a powerful non-violent means of resisting the Occupation, ICAHD supports this burgeoning movement and calls on the international community – civil society as well as governments – to do all that is possible to bring a swift end to Israel’s terrible Occupation so that all the peoples of the region, and especially Israelis and Palestinians, can enjoy the benefits of a just and lasting peace for the generations to come. The time has come; sanctions seem the next logical step in a global campaign to end the Occupation.

Addendum to Memo on the Academic Boycott of Israel

http://thirdnarrative.org/get-involved/academic-advisory-council/?utm_medium=email&utm_source=Ameinu&utm_campaign=3770174_AAC+Formation+Press+Release&dm_t=0,0,0,0

March 14, 2014

<http://www.insidehighered.com/news/2014/03/14/mla-council-forwards-controversial-measure-israel-membership-vote>

http://www.mla.org/2014_resolutions

1. [ASA boycott of *Israel* featured in the Chronicle | The Future of ...](#)
thefutureofamericanstudies.wordpress.com/.../asa-boycott-of-israel-featur...
Jan 1, 2014 - ASA makes list of top ten anti-Semitic/anti-*Israel* slurs for 2013 ... "We . . . believe that a *better focus of protest by American scholars* would be the *U.S. policy of unquestioning support of Israel.*" ... people · American Studies scholarship · Leaving the ASA · Legal challenges · Membership in the ASA · Opinion...
2. [Don't Cut Off Debate With Israeli Institutions—Enrich It Instead – The...](#)
chronicle.com/.../dont-cut-off-debate-with-i...
The Chronicle of Higher E...
Dec 31, 2013 - We also believe that a *better focus of protest by American scholars* would be the *U.S. policy of unquestioning support of Israel.*
3. [\[haw-info\] Debating the Academic and Cultural Boycott of *Israel*](#)
blog.historiansagainstwar.org/.../haw-info-debating-academic-and-cultur...
Jan 31, 2014 - We also believe that a *better focus of protest by American scholars* would be the *U.S. policy of unquestioning support of Israel.*

<http://mondoweiss.net/2013/06/letter-refugee-camp.html>

Letter from a West Bank refugee camp

[Robin D. G. Kelley](#) on June 28, 2013

<http://www.tikkun.org/tikkundaily/2014/02/28/liberal-values-and-the-bds-movement/>

<http://www.haaretz.com/news/national/.premium-1.576207>

The article is titled "Settler group getting management of Western Wall area. ELAD would also manage major sites nearby, including the Jerusalem Archaeological Park" by Nir Hasson, Feb 24, 2014.

The text of the speech given by Richard Falk at Princeton on February 18, 2014.

<https://www.princeton.edu/main/news/archive/S39/21/53Q59/>

Here is the link to Richard Falk's January 13 2014 report "Report of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in the Palestinian territories occupied since 1967, Richard Falk."

http://blog.unwatch.org/wp-content/uploads/A-HRC-25-67_en-Falkfinalreport_Feb2014.pdf

Amnesty Report: <http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/MDE15/002/2014/en/349188ef-e14a-418f-ac20-6c9e5c8d9f88/mde150022014en.pdf>

Breaking [News](#): "Settler group getting management of Western Wall area: Elad would also manage major sites nearby, including the Jerusalem Archaeological Park."

<http://www.haaretz.com/news/national/.premium-1.576207>

"An organization of archaeologists & community activists focusing on the role of archaeology in Israeli society and in the Israeli/Palestinian conflict" : <http://alt-arch.org/en/>

Yona (Yonatan) Mizrahi, archaeologist, gives "alternative" archaeological tours:

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8480304.stm>

A bit of Back story, from 2010, 60 Minutes: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N3V_0_2xW2U (effort sponsored by ELAD)

Also: a potential resource (information, films, approaches): just vision: <http://www.justvision.org/home>

<http://www.psc-cuny.org/clarion/february-2014/albany-alert-academic-freedom-risk-first-amendment-fight>

http://forward.com/articles/193165/boycott-israel-backer-judith-butler-pulls-out-of-j/#.UwepvsoE_GE.email

<http://mgaleg.maryland.gov/2014RS/bills/hb/hb0998f.pdf>

<http://www.haaretz.com/jewish-world/jewish-world-news/.premium-1.575273>

<http://www.haaretz.com/culture/arts-leisure/1.574042>

http://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/19/opinion/the-case-for-the-israel-boycott.html?_r=1

<http://blogs.timesofisrael.com/its-time-for-liberal-jews-to-wake-up-and-face-israeli-human-rights-violations/>

Here is a link with sources we may find useful

<http://www.columbia.edu/cu/palestine/news/>

<http://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/11/world/middleeast/palestinians-work-in-west-bank-for-israeli-industry-they-oppose.html?hp>

<http://jewishvoiceforpeace.org/blog/ny-state-legislator-reintroduces-bill-threatening-academic-freedom-fre>

To Presidents of US universities, a letter from Chairman of the Council of University Presidents in Israel who is from Hebrew University:

http://gallery.mailchimp.com/06b9dc627ff543140baacf624/files/Thank_You_Letter.pdf

Roger Cohen, 02/10/2014, NY Times: http://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/11/opinion/cohen-the-bds-threat.html?smid=fb-share&_r=0

<http://electronicintifada.net/blogs/ali-abunimah/ny-times-roger-cohen-bigot-not-liberal-says-omar-barghouti>

<http://www.insidehighered.com/views/2014/02/11/essay-mla-executive-director-about-debate-association-over-middle-east>

<http://www.insidehighered.com/views/2014/02/11/essay-suggests-path-forward-mla-middle-east>

For immediate release: February 4, 2014

Statement on Anti-Boycott Legislation

Washington, DC--The full statement is below and is also available on the AAUP's website at

<http://www.aaup.org/news/aaup-opposes-anti-boycott-legislation>.

<http://www.insidehighered.com/quicktakes/2014/02/07/another-anti-boycott-bill-one-congress>

<http://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/04/opinion/a-chill-on-speech.html>

<http://wesleying.org/2014/02/03/roth-denounces-asa-alums-respond/>

<http://m.chronicle.com/article/The-Sound-of-Silencing-in/144339/>

<http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2013/01/pride-and-embarrassment--at-the.html#>

Anthropology News: <http://69.63.149.182/?p=53546>

http://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/01/opinion/sunday/why-the-boycott-movement-scares-israel.html?ref=opinion&_r=0

<http://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/01/opinion/sunday/how-israel-is-losing-the-propaganda-war.html?ref=opinion>

<http://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/02/opinion/sunday/friedman-a-wonderful-country.html?ref=opinion>

<http://www.csmonitor.com/World/2014/0130/10-brands-you-ll-have-to-give-up-if-you-re-boycotting-Israel/Pampers>

http://forward.com/articles/192035/netanyahu-slams-kerry-for-comment-on-israeli-boycot/?utm_source=Sailthru&utm_medium=email&utm_term=The+Forward+Today+%28Monday-Friday%29&utm_campaign=Saturday-and-Sunday_Daily_Newsletter+2014-02-02

<http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/1.571923>

http://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2014/01/29/les-signaux-sur-l-isolement-d-israel-se-multiplient_4355907_3232.html

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