The Nature of the BDS Movement on US College Campuses: A Brief Analysis in Three Case Studies

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It has come to my attention in my studies while at Brandeis that the US, as a whole, is lacking in higher education in both the Holocaust and antisemitism. This is something I hope to help change in my academic career.

This thesis is dedicated to anyone and everyone who has endured the damage wrought by antisemitism and persevered to survive and teach their experiences.
ABSTRACT

The Nature of the BDS Movement on US College Campuses: A Brief Analysis in Three Case Studies

A thesis presented to the Department of Near Eastern and Judaic Studies

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This thesis studies the nature of the Boycott Divestment and Sanctions movement against Israel on select US college campuses. Using case studies as a method of information collection and presentation, I determined the primary BDS supporting student group on each campus. I then analyzed events held by the groups in order to evaluate how the student group garners support for and advances the ideology of the BDS movement on the college campuses. Additionally, this thesis evaluates if BDS on US college campuses is contributing to the spread of a “new” form of antisemitism in the guise of anti-Zionism. The campuses studied are University of California, Los Angeles, University of Michigan, and Columbia University. The student groups examined are the Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) and Students Allied for Freedom and Equality. Through lenses of alterity and liminality, this thesis examines the literature and activities of the aforementioned pro-BDS student groups on each campus for rhetoric, group definitions, justifications, and stances. This thesis offers an in depth examination into the language of the charters of the SJP groups as well as student reactions to events
held on campus. When the language used and the details of their activities are measured against the U.S. State Department’s official definition of antisemitism, it becomes clear that there exists underpinnings, and in some cases outright examples, of antisemitism. This thesis ultimately concludes that BDS support on college campuses is indeed contributing to the evolution of a new antisemitic movement that implements a focus on the delegitimization of Israel as its primary vehicle. Additionally, this thesis theorizes that without better, and in some cases more, education of college students about the nature of what is and is not antisemitism, this troubling trend will continue to grow and gain popular support.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

iii

## CHAPTERS

1. INTRODUCTION ................................................................. 1

2. LITERATURE REVIEW .......................................................... 5

3. CASE STUDY OVERVIEW ....................................................... 20

4. CASE STUDY: UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES ............ 22
   - UCLA Basic Campus Information ........................................ 22
   - Campus Club Life for Students ........................................... 23
   - Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) .................................. 25
   - UCLA SJP BDS Activity ..................................................... 30
   - UCLA SJP Example Event .................................................. 38
   - Concluding Thoughts about the UCLA SJP Chapter .................. 42

5. CASE STUDY: UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN ................................ 45
   - Basic Campus Information .................................................. 45
   - Campus Club Life for Students ........................................... 49
   - Students Allied for Freedom and Equality (SAFE) ...................... 50
   - University of Michigan SAFE BDS Activity ............................ 54
   - University of Michigan SAFE Example Event .......................... 61
   - Concluding Thoughts about the U of M SAFE Chapter ............... 64

6. CASE STUDY: COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY .................................. 66
   - Basic Campus Information .................................................. 66
   - Campus Club Life for Students ........................................... 70
   - Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) .................................. 70
   - Columbia University SJP BDS Activity .................................. 71
   - Concluding Thoughts about Columbia University SJP Chapter ....... 79
7. CONCLUSION ........................................................................................................... 82

APPENDICES ........................................................................................................... 94

A. UCLA PRINCIPLES OF COMMUNITY........................................................................ 94
B. COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY APARTHEID DIVEST PETITION................................. 96
C. CALL FOR THE ACADEMIC AND CULTURAL BOYCOTT OF ISRAEL............. 99
D. PALESTINIAN CIVIL SOCIETY CALL FOR BDS............................................... 102
E. PACBI GUIDELINES FOR THE …BOYCOTT OF ISRAEL................................. 105
F. UCLA MISSION AND VALUES.............................................................................. 112
G. UCLA SJP CONSTITUTION ................................................................................ 114
H. PALESTINIAN BDS NATIONAL COMMITTEE...................................................... 137
I. PACBI STATEMENT REGARDING “NORMALIZATION”.................................... 139
J. UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN SAFE CONSTITUTION....................................... 145
K. U OF M SAFE DIVESTMENT CAMPAIGN........................................................ 156
L. UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN SAFE MOCK EVICTION NOTICE ..................... 157
M. COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY RESPONSE TO CUAD DEMANDS ....................... 158

BIBLIOGRAPHY ....................................................................................................... 160
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

The concept of boycotting and imposing sanctions on a government in order to achieve political and social goals is not novel. They have been used previously to protest governmental/social situations such as apartheid in South Africa, and economic sanctions remain in place against many governments, such as those against Iran today.\(^1\) However, a specific Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) campaign now targets Israel. It seeks legitimacy through comparisons to South African apartheid, albeit that this may not be an appropriate comparison for a variety of reasons.

In my opinion, a problem inherent in the BDS movement aimed at Israel lies in distortions and ignorance of Israel’s actual policies regarding the Palestinian people. This lack of knowledge has led social justice elements on many college campuses and in many academic circles to attack the State of Israel for its policies in relationship to the Palestinian people. Through social justice activism, much good has been done and many changes for the betterment of various societies have been implemented. However, social justice activism ought to demand activists who are fully informed and investigate the facts of the issue they advocate for or against.

As Cary Nelson, in his introduction to the work entitled *The Case Against Academic Boycotts of Israel*, states:

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\(^1\) Many of these sanctions are set to be lifted with the Iran Nuclear Arms Deal.
The international Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement is the most influential current version of a long-term effort to delegitimate the State of Israel. Many of BDS’s most prominent advocates support an agenda that would bring Israel’s Jewish identity to an end by allowing the Palestinians who fled the new State of Israel in 1948 to return, along with their millions of descendants, thereby replacing the Jewish state with an Arab-dominated country.\(^2\)

As the “right of return” for all displaced Palestinians is foremost on the list of demands made by those advocating for the Palestinian people, this is an important point. However, this is not always the position that is embraced by many college campus activists. The primary group that involves students in the BDS movement against Israel is the Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP). There are other groups as well, but the SJP is the major organization supporting and organizing BDS activity on US college campuses. They are also the group usually responsible for organizing activity against pro-Israel events on the same campuses.

The purpose of this thesis is to study the nature of the BDS movement against Israel on select US college campuses. Due to the BDS movement gaining traction among young people at an increasing rate, it is necessary to examine who is driving the movement on the campuses and who is being targeted, both for membership and for marginalization. Using theories such as alterity (or othering) and liminality, I will examine the literature of the SJP groups on each campus for rhetoric that defines in groups and out groups as well as the “justification language” for their stances that these groups present.

The BDS movement employs “othering” as a tool as it seeks to distinguish the Palestinians from other Arab Muslims, mark them as “other” in an international

community, and promote their "otherness" within Israel, despite the fact that many Palestinian Arabs live as Israeli citizens. The SJP chapters also practice a plan of "othering" in targeting Israel and all Jews by association, as they seek to create a greater point of distinction between Israelis and Arabs, mark the Jews as “other” within society, and target Jewish students as "other" on college campuses. I also believe there exists an inherent liminal, a “betwixt and between,” situation for those students who want to participate in social justice but do not educate themselves on the specificities of BDS. They are, quite often, victims of their own lack of knowledge and acceptance of distorted facts and reporting. Additionally, I will employ the ideology of nationalism in presenting how some students join a cause not their own by creating empathy and identification with an oppressed people. Nationalism also offers an explanation for why many Muslim students join SJP, even those born and raised in the US.

Methods to be employed are those that involve information gathering of the student groups themselves, via their websites (if applicable), social media pages, campus newspapers, and regular media reported incidents. Additionally, I will be employing close analysis of primary documents from the BDS movement itself and the national SJP charter. I will also examine the literature presented by the BDS movement itself as well as the content of social media for the SJP chapters at the campuses being examined in the case studies. In reviewing the demographics of the campuses, I will employ data analysis by comparing reported antisemitic events now with previous decades, where available.

The campuses selected for this thesis were chosen for geographical location as well as quantity of reported BDS related and antisemitic activity. Each case study will
include information about the campus itself as well as which groups on campus are supporting BDS. This study is examining BDS support by student groups as opposed to faculty led support. Additionally, I will attempt to ascertain if the rhetoric being employed at rallies and events is that of the BDS movement specifically, or whether the SJP and other student groups are using their own material. The schools to be examined are the University of California, Los Angeles, the University of Michigan, and Columbia University.

It is the postulate of this thesis that the nature of the BDS movement, as it manifests on US college campuses, is one with antisemitic underpinnings. Often BDS rallies and demonstrations erupt into problems for students who do not agree with the BDS movement and Jewish students have been singled out, sometimes physically and verbally attacked, simply for being Jewish. Creating mock checkpoints and handing out fake eviction notices that target Jewish students, regardless of whether they are or are not Israeli citizens, goes beyond simply supporting a boycott of Israel’s governmental policies toward the Palestinian population. It is targeting people based on their religion or ethnic origin, which is exactly what the BDS and SJP state they are fighting against. If someone is singled out because of their skin color, name, religion, origin, ethnic identity, or any number of genotypically and phenotypically identifying characteristics, then racism, prejudice, and bigotry are being employed. It is the intention of this thesis, then, to discover the actual nature of the BDS movement, as expressed by SJP and other student groups, on US college campuses, based on what they have put forth for the media and public to see.

3 It is the SJP in most cases, but there are additional, smaller student groups as well as faculty offering tacit support in most cases.
CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

The specific topic of examining the nature of the BDS movement on college campuses has not been widely evaluated at this time, nor has it been extensively written on. What will be provided in this literature review are portions of the “Call for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel,” portions of the “BDS Call,” as well as information on the BDS movement from Omar Barghouti’s work *BDS Boycott Divestment Sanctions: The Global Struggle for Palestinian Rights and The Case for Sanctions Against Israel*, edited by Audrea Lim. I will also discuss a few important works done by opponents of the movement, such as Philip Mendes and Nick Dyrenfurth’s work *Boycotting Israel is Wrong*, Jed Babbin and Herbert London’s *The BDS War Against Israel*, and *The Case Against Academic Boycotts of Israel*, edited by Cary Nelson and Gabriel Noah Brahm. Additionally, I will discuss information available on the BDS internet page as well as the information pages on the Students for Justice in Palestine’s (SJP) main home page in order to understand not only what the BDS movement itself states its mission and stance to be, but also to understand what the “official” mission statement of the SJP is, in order to evaluate in the case studies where and if the local campus chapters differ in mission and practice.

The document that is considered the official “Call for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel” states:
Whereas Israel’s colonial oppression of the Palestinian people, which is based on Zionist ideology, comprises the following: Denial of its responsibility for the Nakba…Military occupation and colonization of the West Bank (including East Jerusalem) and Gaza since 1967…[and] the entrenched system of racial discrimination and segregation against the Palestinian citizens of Israel…

The actual “call” contained in the document reads as follows:

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

This BDS call is one that makes several assertions regarding the history of the State of Israel, as seen through the eyes of the founders of the BDS movement. This is the rhetoric that the Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI) also uses and is what the SJP and SAFE student groups employ as well in stating their agreement and support for the BDS movement.

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4 “Call for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel,” in Omar Barghouti, BDS: Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions, the Global Struggle for Palestinians Rights, (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2011), Appendix 1, 235. The complete document is in the Appendix.
5 Ibid., 236.
Omar Barghouti, in his book, *BDS: Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions, the Global Struggle for Palestinian Rights*, states the following in his introduction:

For more than six decades Israel has enjoyed the best of both worlds, a free hand to implement its extremist colonial agenda of ethnically cleansing as many indigenous Palestinians from their homeland and grabbing as much of their land as possible and, simultaneously, a deceptive, mythical reputation for democracy and enlightenment. It has effectively succeeded in cynically exploiting the Nazi genocide of European Jewish communities, transforming the pain and guilt felt across the West into an almost invincible shield from censure and accountability.6

Barghouti goes on to state:

- The BDS campaign is among the most important forms of [a] ‘resolute struggle’ by the great majority of Palestinians, who resist the colonialization of their land and minds and demand nothing less than self-determination, freedom, justice, and unmitigated equality. The BDS call, anchored in international law and universal principles of human rights, adopts a comprehensive rights-based approach, underlining the fact that for the Palestinian people to exercise its right to self-determination, Israel must end its three forms of injustice that infringe international law and Palestinian rights by:
  - Ending its occupation and colonization of all Arab lands [occupied in 1967] and dismantling the wall
  - Recognizing the fundamental rights of the Arab-Palestinian citizens of Israel to full equality
  - Respecting, protecting, and promoting the rights of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes and properties, as stipulated in UN Resolution 1947

It is noteworthy that Barghouti himself is a benefactor of an Israeli education, as he holds a Master’s degree and is pursuing a PhD from Tel Aviv University.

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7 Ibid., 6.
Barghouti also describes the BDS Movement’s calls for academic boycotts of Israeli institutions, stating:

In the same spirit of rejecting complicity in Israel’s violations of international law and Palestinian rights, British academics were the pioneers in launching international academic pressure campaigns against Israel. A petition initiated by Hilary and Steven Rose for a moratorium on EU funding of research collaboration with Israel was published in the Guardian in April 2002, with 130 signatures, triggering a singular backlash from Israel and its lobby groups but also giving birth to a new form of solidarity with Palestinian rights.\(^8\)

This petition had farther reaching effects, as Barghouti also relates:

In response to the call by the Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI), the British Committee for Universities of Palestine (BRICUP) was formed and subsequently led several successful campaigns in British academic unions at the front of adopting the logic of a boycott of Israel.\(^9\)

Additionally, the “official” BDS Call, wherein the “Palestinian Civil Society calls for Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions Against Israel until it Complies with International Law and Universal Principle of Human Rights,” dated 9 July 2005, states:

In light of Israel’s persistent violations of international law, and

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

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

In view of the fact that people of conscience in the international community have historically shouldered the moral responsibility to fight injustice, as

\(^8\) Ibid., 19.
\(^9\) Ibid., 19.
exemplified in the struggle to abolish apartheid in South Africa through diverse forms of boycott, divestment and sanctions;

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

We, representatives of Palestinian civil society, call upon international civil society organizations and people of conscience all over the world to impose broad boycotts and implement divestment initiatives against Israel similar to those applied to South Africa in the apartheid era. We appeal to you to pressure your respective states to impose embargoes and sanctions against Israel. We also invite conscientious Israelis to support this Call, for the sake of justice and genuine peace.10

The Call goes on to state its requests:

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

Ending its occupation and colonization of all Arab lands and dismantling the Wall;

Recognizing the fundamental rights of the Arab-Palestinian citizens of Israel to full equality; and

Respecting, protecting and promoting the rights of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes and properties as stipulated in UN resolution 194.11

In addition to these foundational calls and requests, there exists the “PACBI Guidelines for the International Academic Boycott of Israel,” dated as a revision in August 2010. It states:

Academic institutions in particular are part of the ideological and institutional scaffolding of the Zionist settler-colonial project in Palestine,

11 Ibid., 240.
and as such are deeply implicated in maintaining the structures of domination and oppression over the Palestinian people. Since its founding, the Israeli academy has cast its lot with the hegemonic political-military establishment in Israel, and notwithstanding the efforts of a handful of principled academics, is deeply implicated in supporting and perpetuating the status quo.\textsuperscript{12}

In response to some grey areas of misunderstanding as to just who or what should be boycotted in an “academic” boycott, Joel Beinin writes, in his essay “North American Colleges and Universities and BDS,” that “although the boycott is directed at Israeli institutions, perhaps boycotting some individuals…solely on the basis of their institutional affiliation would make a readily understandable political statement.”\textsuperscript{13}

However, Beinin himself quotes John Berger, who stated:

Boycott is not a principle. When it becomes one, it itself risks becoming exclusive and racist. No boycott…should be directed against an individual, a people, or a nation as such. A boycott is directed against a policy and the institutions which support that policy either actively or tacitly.\textsuperscript{14}

Beinin goes on to discuss boycott activities on US college campuses, such as those exhibited by the UC Berkeley chapter of SJP. Beinin states:

The first effort, in 2001, demanded that the university divest all its holdings from firms that do business in Israel. The university did not do so. Pro-divestment students occupied several buildings in response, and a very vociferous and bitter debate ensued. But the campaign petered out.\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{12} “PACBI Guidelines for the International Academic Boycott of Israel,” in Omar Barghouti, \textit{BDS: Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions, the Global Struggle for Palestinians Rights}, (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2011), Appendix 1, 249. The complete document is in the Appendix.
\textsuperscript{14} Ibid., 62, Beinin is quoting from the following source: “John Berger and 93 Other Authors, Film-Makers, Musicians and Performers Call for a Cultural Boycott of Israel,” December 15, 2006, at electronicintifada.net
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., 73.
Beinin closes his essay by stating:

One of the two main tendencies in the BDS movement sees it as a campaign against Israel, or at least against the Zionist character of the state. The second main tendency envisions the more limited objective of ending Israel’s occupation of the West Bank and imprisonment of the Gaza Strip. These differences may, but do not necessarily, involve selecting different targets and, just as importantly, different framing messages.\(^{16}\)

Overall, Beinin appears to believe that BDS is not inherently antisemitic in nature and that the movement is simply about ending certain policies in Israel about the Palestinians and about empowering the Palestinians. However, his essay does not achieve his goal of explaining how and why the boycott by US academic institutions and students would help the Palestinian causes, especially in light of the fact that many, if not all, of those institutions and students use products developed in Israel daily.

In their work, *The BDS War Against Israel*, Jed Babbin and Herbert London present a number of examples of nations that have oppressed their peoples.\(^{17}\) They state that these nations have been given “pardons” from the world for their actions or, as in the case of what they call “rogue nations,” North Korea, Sudan, and Cuba, are “penalized for their conduct by economic sanctions and isolation.”\(^{18}\) They go on to state that Israel, however, “is not a rogue nation or a sponsor of terrorism. It is not ruled by despots or dictators. Its citizens—Jew and Arab alike—equally benefit from the nation’s embrace of democracy and human rights.”\(^{19}\) In the opinions of Babbin and London, “the

\(^{16}\) Ibid., 74.


\(^{18}\) Ibid., 2.

\(^{19}\) Ibid., 2.
Palestinians have failed to defeat Israel by terrorism and subversion, so they have settled on the BDS movement as a secondary strategy.”

Babbin and London discuss the BDS movement as “ideological warfare,” with a clear objective: to “change people’s minds.” They go on to state that the “BDS supporters routinely accuse Israel of being an apartheid nation,” which they contend is an “example...that turns the plain meaning of a term on its head.” Their chapter entitled “BDS in America” discusses how the BDS movement has gained traction in the US. They state: “the BDS movement hasn't had much luck in convincing Americans, at least outside of academia, to join in its boycott of Israel.” The academic circle is different and is the focus of this thesis. Babbin and London cite the December 2013 American Studies Association (ASA) vote of support for BDS, which reads, in part:

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…

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.

This resolution caused the immediate withdrawals of several universities across the US from the ASA and Babbin and London are of the opinion that the resolution was not

20 Ibid., 2.
21 Ibid., 19.
22 Ibid., 19.
23 Ibid., 49.
24 Ibid., 50. They are quoting from http://www.thesa.net/american_studies_association_resolution_on_academic_boycott_of_israel
terribly consequential for gaining BDS supporters from Americans. However, they also state that:

it appears that the BDS movement in American is growing slowly and with increasing effect in the colleges and universities, just as the antiwar movement did in the 1960s and 1970s. It has the potential to become very large, for many of the same reasons the antiwar movement did.

Men and women of college age are often more passionate about politics and more open to new trends of thought than older people. Idealism is one of their greatest virtues. Given the fact that most faculties are overwhelmingly liberal, the faculties’ attitudes and peer groups can—as they did in the antiwar movement—ignite protests and even propel them to national attention. When you add to that faculty members who are pro-BDS activists, the result is inevitable.25

The result they are referring to and are concerned about is that professors who do not separate their personal views from their teaching produces students who do not learn to separate their personal and professional views and actions. Ultimately, Babbin and London sum up their discussion about the BDS movement in the US by stating that “whether the BDS movement will have success out of academia is impossible to say. But given its abilities to gain publicity, it cannot be discounted as a force in American politics.”26

In their book, Boycotting Israel is Wrong, authors Philip Mendes and Nick Dyrenfurth state in their introduction:

To boycott, or not to boycott? This is the question that has gripped sections of progressive politics and the trade union movement across much of the West since the BDS campaign was launched a decade ago. BDS advocates claim to be motivated by a concern to alleviate Palestinian suffering, and to end the denial of national rights to Palestinians living inside the Israeli-occupied West Bank.27

25 Ibid., 52.
26 Ibid., 54.
While this is a simplified breakdown of the BDS movement’s core principles, the authors’ opening question is one that creates dialogue, both good and bad. The authors continue, stating:

But [this] analysis of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is based on a simplistic world view of good and bad nations. This caricature labels the Israelis as nefarious and the Palestinians as defenceless and innocent victims. Hence they construct superficial and false race-based analogies between current Israeli policies and earlier South African apartheid, rather than acknowledging the real complexity of two peoples with equally legitimate national aspirations struggling over one piece of land.28

This is the presentation package that is available through the SJP and SAFE events on the college campuses. At times, the BDS movement appears as the most important student movement on the various campuses where such calls take place. As Mendes and Dyrenfurth also state:

consciously or not, BDS supporters also adopt a blasé attitude to the historical analogies with earlier calls to boycott Jews, whether those of Nazi-era Germany, the Arab League boycott of Israel beginning in 1948, or the less well-known banning of Jewish student societies in the West during the 1970s. By contrast, they have little to say of ongoing Palestinian rejectionism, especially of the racist, religious fundamentalist Hamas variety. Significantly, BDS supporters seem unconcerned that they may in some way contribute to the growing unease felt by sections of the Jewish diaspora, especially in Europe.29

Additionally, a major issue with the BDS movement, especially as it manifests on college campuses, is, as Mendes and Dyrenfurth state,

BDS recycles images of Jews as bloodthirsty oppressors exercising disproportionate influence; and popularises the specious idea that people

28 Ibid., 2.
29 Ibid., 5-6.
who raise the issue of anti-Semitism are doing so in bad faith in order to silence any criticism of the Israeli State.

By portraying Israel as a unique evil, the BDS movement tends to demonise anybody who opposes these methods, most commonly Israelis but also diaspora Jews.  

If students believe what others who are representing the BDS movement tell them, then what Mendes and Dyenfurth believe can have deleterious consequences for Jewish students. Indeed, according to the AMCHA Initiative’s website, many Jewish students on US college campuses are already reporting being targets of verbal abuse and in some cases, threats of physical violence and even death.  

The academic concern over the BDS movement reached a high in 2014-2015 and there were many books published on the subject. One book, already far-reaching and well referenced, is *The Case Against Academic Boycotts of Israel*, edited by Cary Nelson and Gabriel Noah Brahm. This volume contains many essays that could be cited as arguments against the BDS movement. However, they (the essays) are not all germane to the topic of this thesis: discussion of how the BDS movement manifests itself on US college campuses and what can be extrapolated from the manner of such manifestation. Several essays relevant to those aims will now be discussed.

Russell A. Berman’s essay, “Scholars Against Scholarship: The Boycott as an Infringement of Academic Culture,” discusses the ASA’s support of the BDS movement. He states:

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30 Ibid., 8. This quotation retains the authors spelling in British English.

31 The AMCHA Initiative’s site has pages for each campus that has antisemitic activity and also tracks BDS activity. There are far too many statements from students and references to problematic events linked to outside media sources to cite them here.
The call by the American Studies Association to boycott Israeli academic institutions has elicited a range of critical responses that provides a useful frame for understanding the implications for academic culture.\textsuperscript{32}

He states later in the piece that “by depicting Israel as the functional equivalent of apartheid South Africa, the ASA has borrowed from an incendiary rhetoric of vilification that casts Israel as the enemy of humanity.”\textsuperscript{33} Berman also expresses his concern over this type of branding, as he states:

> every political movement has its fanatics who are eager to take the law into their own hands, and the ASA statement provides cover for such anti-Israeli vigilantism. Some extremists will take the boycott endorsement as license for extreme action, and nothing in the ASA directives cautions its members against extremism in the boycott. On the contrary, the apartheid rhetoric invites direct action with no limitations.\textsuperscript{34}

The concept of giving “corporate” sanction to extremism is, and should be, disturbing. Academia should seek to remain legally and officially impartial. Its members should not be allowed to blur the lines between personal convictions and professional presentation. However, the ASA statement endorses such blurring.

Another essay, entitled “Is the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions Movement Anti-Semitic?” by Kenneth L. Marcus, tackles the “elephant in the room” question. The UN has declared Zionism to be a racist ideology; therefore, anti-Zionism could not possibly, in the UN definition, be antisemitic. However, the US State Department definition of antisemitism, adopted from the “working definition of Anti-Semitism by the European Monitoring Center on Racism and Xenophobia, reads as follows:

\textsuperscript{33} Ibid., 55.
\textsuperscript{34} Ibid., 55-56.
Anti-Semitism is a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of anti-Semitism are directed toward Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, toward Jewish community institutions and religious facilities.\(^{35}\)

The State Department page goes on to list “Contemporary Examples of Anti-Semitism,”

- Calling for, aiding, or justifying the killing or harming of Jews (often in the name of a radical ideology or an extremist view of religion).
- Making mendacious, dehumanizing, demonizing, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews as a collective—especially but not exclusively, the myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or of Jews controlling the media, economy, government or other societal institutions.
- Accusing Jews as a people of being responsible for real or imagined wrongdoing committed by a single Jewish person or group, the state of Israel, or even for acts committed by non-Jews.
- Accusing the Jews as a people, or Israel as a state, of inventing or exaggerating the Holocaust.
- Accusing Jewish citizens of being more loyal to Israel, or to the alleged priorities of Jews worldwide, than to the interest of their own nations.\(^{36}\)

It then defines antisemitism in relation to Israel:

**DEMONIZE ISRAEL:**
- Using the symbols and images associated with classic anti-Semitism to characterize Israel or Israelis
- Drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis
- Blaming Israel for all inter-religious or political tensions

**DOUBLE STANDARD FOR ISRAEL:**
- Applying double standards by requiring of it a behavior not expected or demanded of any other democratic nation
- Multilateral organizations focusing on Israel only for peace or human rights investigations

**DELEGITIMIZE ISRAEL:**
- Denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination, and denying Israel the right to exist


\(^{36}\) Ibid., 2.
However, criticism of Israel similar to that leveled against any other country cannot be regarded as anti-Semitic.\textsuperscript{37}

Given this definitive statement regarding what does constitute antisemitism, it becomes somewhat simpler to determine when BDS crosses the line into antisemitism. However, it is difficult to make this distinction when, as Marcus relates, there is history that appears to point to an answer:

As a political and human rights campaign, the BDS campaign appears at first blush not to be a form of discrimination...But the line between political movements and ideological prejudice may be more permeable than it seems, as modern anti-Semitism emerged as a nineteenth-century political ideology and movement. Nor would this be the first time that a systematic boycott of the Jewish people was rationalized as a response to alleged Jewish crimes. Indeed, such justifications have been a distinctive characteristic of anti-Jewish boycotts since 1933. When seen in historical perspective, the BDS campaign is the latest in a series of efforts to resist the normalization of the Jewish people. But determining whether BDS is anti-Semitic is a difficult question requiring more than historical research.\textsuperscript{38}

He goes on to list his four criteria for determining whether BDS is antisemitic:

(i) Conscious hostility toward Jews (Intentionality),

(ii) Unconscious hostility towards Jews (Tacitness),

(iii) Transmission of negatively coded cultural myths, images, or stereotypes (Mimesis), or

(iv) Irrational ethnic trait discrimination (Jewish traits).

In other words, the BDS movement is anti-Semitic if its proponents are consciously motivated by anti-Jewish bigotry, driven by unconscious anti-Semitism, immersed in a climate of opinion that is increasingly hostile to Jewish people, or engaged in irrational ethnic trait discrimination.\textsuperscript{39}

\textsuperscript{37} Ibid., 2.


\textsuperscript{39} Ibid., 244.
These criteria make it clear that it is not the BDS movement, as a movement, that is or is not antisemitic in nature. Rather, it is the people endorsing and advancing BDS ideology that illustrate the movement’s manifested nature. It is the intentions and actions of the students who make up the student groups such as SJP and SAFE on US college campuses that provide insights as to whether the BDS movement is antisemitic on each individual campus. This nature of how the student groups act and what their behaviors are at their hosted events is what this thesis will now explore.
CHAPTER 3
CASE STUDY OVERVIEW

These case studies will look at overviews of the background and history of the universities selected for this thesis. These are the University of California, Los Angeles, the University of Michigan, and Columbia University. Each campus section will contain some basic information about the campus and recorded BDS activity, as well as a study of the student groups endorsing/advancing BDS sentiment on the campus. The case studies will also present information and quotes from mainstream publications, campus publications, websites dedicated to collecting data on campuses, and student group websites where possible. Any pertinent publications offered by either the SJP or other student groups at each of the campus’ BDS events will be attached in the appendix.

Using college campuses as focus of study was due to my personal observation through social and traditional media that there are generations of young people entering college with less formal education about antisemitism and the Holocaust than previous generations. The fact that we are losing Holocaust survivors to old age means that the students in college right now are quite possibly the last age group that will have had the opportunity to hear survivors speak and share their stories in person. While there have been recordings made of many stories and great amounts of information collected and archived, it is also true that meeting and hearing from someone who survived such an event has a greater impact on the audience members. This is partially why the SJP and SAFE groups try to hold events with Palestinian speakers sharing their personal stories. It is my belief that the changes in academia generally and in the student bodies specifically must start with open dialogue and education of the issues on both sides.
Neither side is completely right nor is either side completely wrong. Because of this, it is of utmost importance to examine how those supporting and advancing the BDS movement are doing so on college campuses. Quite simply, college campuses provide the largest essentially “captive” audience with many members of the audience entering the campus community with little to no experience or education about the BDS movement and the history of the Israel-Palestine conflict.

Determining the nature of the BDS movement on the US college campus is the primary focus of this study. However, this is coupled with the desire to examine the ways in which the student groups supporting the BDS movement function. Therefore, I selected campuses in three different geographical regions for their student group activity rather than faculty led activity. Additionally, I purposely tried to select campuses whose student groups have not been as highly profiled in mainstream media for BDS activity, such as Northeastern or UC Berkeley, in order to offer perspectives from other campuses. In this way, I hope that this thesis will provide insight on more campuses regarding the student groups and their BDS activity.
CHAPTER 4

CASE STUDY: UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES (UCLA)

The UC system is a public collection of universities in California first established in 1873. Its system webpage states that it is the “the only world-class public research university for, by and of California.” The system has a core structure composed of a Board of Regents, an Academic Senate, and an Office of the President. The Academic Senate represents the university faculty and is Empowered by the regents to decide academic policies, including approving courses and setting requirements for admission, certificates, and degrees. The Senate also advises the administration on faculty appointments, promotions and budgets.41

UCLA Basic Campus Information

The campus at UC Los Angeles (UCLA) was established in 1919 and is the second oldest campus in the UC system. The campus has an overall description on its main page:

We doubt the critics, reject the status quo and see opportunity in dissatisfaction. Our campus, faculty and students are driven by optimism. It is not naïve; it is essential. And it has fueled every accomplishment, allowing us to redefine what's possible, time after time.42

This description of the overall attitude of UCLA as an entity describes the expected atmosphere and character of the campus. UCLA also provides its mission statement on the informational webpage, the beginning of which is as follows:

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42 Ibid., 1.
UCLA’s primary purpose as a public research university is the creation, dissemination, preservation and application of knowledge for the betterment of our global society. To fulfill this mission, UCLA is committed to academic freedom in its fullest terms: We value open access to information, free and lively debate conducted with mutual respect for individuals, and freedom from intolerance. In all of our pursuits, we strive at once for excellence and diversity, recognizing that openness and inclusion produce true quality. These values underlie our three institutional responsibilities. This commitment to academic freedom is supported by the campus’ enumerated “Principles of Community,” found in the Appendix.

**Campus Club Life for Students**

All of the information provided by the campus website is geared toward persuading prospective students into applying and possibly attending UCLA for their undergraduate career. Moving to the “campus life” portion of the website, information is available that begins with an announcement: “Our campus is not a backdrop. It’s the foreground of the future.” The website also refers to the students adhering to the “Bruin Code,” which states the following list:

- True Bruins conduct themselves with integrity, understanding that the quality of our UCLA experience reflects the quality of our work and service to the community.
- True Bruins strive for excellence in all that they do, in both work and service.
- True Bruins maintain accountability for their conduct and commitments. When they face adversity, they reflect thoughtfully and make ethical decisions.
- True Bruins respect the rights and dignity of others. They listen carefully, communicate clearly and remain open to diverse perspectives.

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43 "UCLA." *Mission & Values.* Accessed 31 Jan. 2016, 1. The rest of the mission statement can be found in the Appendix.

True Bruins are leaders on campus and in the community. They make a positive impact on the world through public service.45

The page where this information is found also includes a link to report incidents of bias and the link opens a page entitled “Report an Incident,” where it states the following:

UCLA is committed to creating a community in which bias and intolerance have no place. If you have experienced a hostile climate incident, this site provides a direct link for reporting the incident to the Dean of Students office. Please provide as much detail as possible, including names of those involved, names of witnesses, if available, and your contact information.46

The clubs and student organization page states that there exists over “1,000 clubs and student organizations” as “UCLA is a mosaic of culture and activity.”47 A search for the UCLA chapter of the Students for Justice in Palestine through this directory reveals a quick page with the basic information for the club, including an email address, a phone number, a website, and a statement of purpose.48 The website, however, is no longer functioning. The statement of purpose reads as follows:

Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) is a diverse group of students, faculty, staff and community members at the University of California, Los Angeles, organized on democratic principles to promote justice, human rights, liberation and self-determination for the Palestinian people.”49

49 Ibid., 1.
A Google search reveals that the UCLA chapter of SJP does indeed have a major website, but with a different web address that is not hosted through the campus hosting site.

**Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP), UCLA Chapter**

The website for the UCLA SJP chapter is hosted at a free blog site called Weebly. It has many tabs with multiple sub-tabs offering a plethora of SJP centered information. The homepage does not list the statement of purpose of the club, but there is a sub-tab called “about us.” This tab offers the following:

Students for Justice in Palestine at UCLA was founded in 2005 and is organized to support the Palestinian struggle for justice and equal rights. As a solidarity organization, we support the Palestinian call for 3 basic rights, as outlined in 2005:

The right not to live under occupation in the West Bank and Gaza Strip
The right to equality for Palestinian citizens of Israel
The right for Palestinian refugees to return to their homeland

As a group, we focus on supporting these rights instead of advocating for a particular political solution (such as one or two states).

At UCLA, we are working to encourage our university to cease investing in companies that support the violation of these rights. Currently, UC student tuition and other funds are being invested in corporations such as Hewlett-Packard, Motorola, Cemex, and Caterpillar, which all directly contribute to violations of Palestinian human rights and international law. You can read more about this issue on our BDS page.

Some of the groups we work with in Los Angeles include: SJP at USC, Jewish Voice for Peace, BDS-LA, and the Palestinian American Women’s Association.

**Positions**

Our group rejects against all forms of discrimination and oppression, including racism, sexism, homophobia, ableism, anti-Semitism, and Islamophobia. In the past, we have signed onto public statements reiterating this position.
We have also taken a stance against dialogue between groups that is not aimed at ending the ongoing violations of Palestinian rights.50

Embedded on the same page is the group’s constitution, which cannot be printed or downloaded in any way as the site that actually hosts the document not only requires membership, the document is set to private and thus, cannot be downloaded or printed in any regular means.51 According to this document, the mission statement is as follows:

Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) is a diverse group of students, faculty, staff, and community members at the University of California, Los Angeles, organized on democratic principles to promote justice, human rights, liberation, and self-determination for the Palestinian people. As an advocacy group, SJP believes that key principles grounded in international law, human rights, and basic standards of justice, dictate concrete steps that will be fundamental to a fair and lasting resolution of the Israel-Palestine conflict.52

The document also goes on to state the following as “guiding principles”:

Most important among the concrete steps that will be fundamental to a fair and lasting resolution to the Israel-Palestine conflict are:

- An end to the Israeli military occupation of the West Bank, East Jerusalem, and Gaza Strip.
- An end to the blockade of humanitarian aid to the Palestinian territories.
- The recognition of the Palestinian people as an independent and autonomous cultural group with unique traditions, practices and ways of life.
- The establishment of either a fully independent and viable Palestinian state in the Occupied Palestinian Territories, or of one secular, democratic state over all of modern-day Israel or Palestine.
- An end to Israel’s system of apartheid in the Occupied Palestinian Territories, as well as its system of discrimination against the Arab population within its own borders.

51 I will be copying and pasting this Constitution into a Word document so as to include it in the Appendix of this thesis.
• Withdrawal and end to the illegal Israeli settlements in Palestinian territories.
• A just solution to the Palestinian refugee problem; The Israeli State acknowledges the right of Palestinians to return to their native land.\textsuperscript{53}

Many of these statements are not necessarily what one might expect to find as the guiding principles of a student group on a university as none of these statements describe what the group does. Rather, it seems that these are the expected concepts that prospective members should agree to. Additionally, the Constitution states:

As members of a student solidarity group, we defer to Palestinian civil society's leadership and requests regarding international support. To that end, we have endorsed the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions movement and the rights it is aimed at achieving. In addition to calling for economic and state pressure on Israel, the BDS guidelines also define and clearly oppose normalization.\textsuperscript{54,55}

The group also cites text from the PACBI statement of request for solidarity:

...international supporters of BDS are asked to refrain from participating in any event that morally or politically equates the oppressor and oppressed, and presents the relationship between Palestinians and Israelis as symmetrical.\textsuperscript{55} Such an event should be boycotted because it normalizes Israel's colonial domination over Palestinians and ignores the power structures and relations embedded in the oppression.\textsuperscript{56}

The chapter's commitment to the PACBI call is describes as follows:

To that end, we as students in solidarity with Palestinians refrain from participating in projects that normalize the occupation. Specifically, we will

\textsuperscript{53} Ibid., 2.
\textsuperscript{54} Ibid., 2.
\textsuperscript{55} Normalization in this sense refers to how PACBI and the BDS movement define and use the term. The following is a quote from the Palestinian BDS National Committee: “Monitoring & Rapid Response by means of BNC calls for action against projects and initiatives which amount to recognition of or cooperation with Israel's regime of apartheid, colonialism and occupation (i.e., normalization).” This document is attached in the Appendix.
\textsuperscript{56} The entire PACBI statement is found in the Appendix.
not participate in collaborative or dialogue projects unless they are "based on unambiguous recognition of Palestinian rights and framed within the explicit context of opposition to occupation and other forms of Israeli oppression of the Palestinians."\(^5\)

This wording implies that the SJP club expects to be able to refuse to have dialogue with any group that does not implicitly recognize Palestinian rights, even though the SJP does not speak as an official functionary of the Palestinian Authority and has no legal standing regarding Palestinian rights or recognition. The Constitution states in Section 3, the General Code, the following:

SJP’s activities include educational events, film screenings, discussion forums, and demonstrations meant to promote awareness of the plight of the Palestinian people and encourage activism in solidarity with their struggle. More broadly, SJP will work to link the pro-Palestine movement with other movements seeking political, social, economic, or environmental justice in the Middle East and across the world. To this end, SJP may elect to endorse the programs or activities of other organizations whose principles and objectives are consistent with its own.

Just as SJP condemns the racism and discrimination underlying many of the policies of the state of Israel, SJP also categorically opposes any form of prejudice or discrimination based on race, religion, ethnicity, gender, or sexual orientation. At the same time, SJP rejects any attempts to equate principled criticism of Zionism, or of the character and policies of Israel, with anti-Semitism. Furthermore, SJP condemns all acts of unlawful violence, or violence that indiscriminately targets civilians or civilian infrastructure, committed by either side in the course of the conflict. Ultimately, SJP's strength flows from the diversity of its membership, comprising individuals of varied racial and ethnic backgrounds and political orientations, all united under these stated principles in the struggle for peace and justice in Palestine.\(^5\)

This language states, very specifically, that SJP, as an entity, rejects “attempts” to identify a correlation between “principled criticism” of Zionism and antisemitism.


\(^5\) Ibid., 3.
According to Ian Shapiro in his work, *Political Criticism*, “principled criticism” is discussed as follows:

To take up principled criticism is to engage in a social practice and, as with any other social practice, involves learning its distinctive norms and modes of proceeding. Principled criticism has just been characterized as telling people the truth about how they live, but what does this mean in concrete terms? Principled criticism of necessity tracks the practices it analyzes; there is therefore no single set of injunctions for its most appropriate conduct... *principled criticism cannot be an exclusionary practice.* Given that its existence partly rests on a recognition of the inherent tensions between the human interest in knowing and acting on the truth and claims to political expertise, principled criticism cannot itself be an expert field like linguistics, pure mathematics, or quantum mechanics...[and]... *principled criticism must begin and end in an idiom common to the participants in the practices it analyzes.*

With this definition of “principled criticism,” it is not clear that it is being employed in the proper manner in the SJP Constitution. Additionally, stating the group does not accept the correlation does not mean it does not exist or is not motivated by antisemitism. Additionally, the language regarding “condemning the racism and discrimination” being practiced by Israel does not allow for a dissenting opinion. Rather, the document relates that the SJP has decided, unequivocally, that Israel's policies are, in fact, racist and discriminatory.

The Constitution, in Article VI, Section 4.8 reveals that there is a position within the SJP entitled “Boycott, Sanctions, & Divestment Director.” This position has the following responsibilities:

1. The BDS Director shall ensure that the organization continues to strive towards its vision, as outlined in Article III.
2. The BDS Director shall promote participation of the Members in SJP events, programs and activities.
3. The BDS Director shall perform all duties assigned by the President.

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60 Ibid., 10.
4. The BDS Director shall be present at all SJP events, programs and meetings.
5. The BDS Director shall oversee the Boycott, Divestment & Sanctions Committee, with the assistance of the President and Vice President.
6. The BDS Director shall oversee the timeline and implementation of goals in regards to the BDS campaign at UCLA.
7. The BDS Director shall maintain relations with other organizations involved in BDS campaigns. Such organizations include, but are not limited to, BDS-LA, US Campaign to End the Israeli Occupation, and university organizations working towards boycott and divestment.  

It is worth noting as well that the Facebook page for the "SJP at UCLA" states that it is a "political organization" rather than a university student club/organization.

UCLA SJP BDS Activity

In order to better assess the nature of the BDS movement on UCLA's campus, I will now examine the information provided on the UCLA SJP website. From the BDS link on their “About us” page, BDS is described as follows:

Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) is a global movement that aims to put an end to these types of irresponsible investments by:

- making a moral statement that the behavior these companies and institutions are engaged in is wrong, and
- putting financial pressure on the occupation so that there are more incentives to end it.

The UCLA SJP BDS information page also states:

The BDS call is focused on achieving 3 basic rights that Palestinians are guaranteed under international law:
- The right not to live under military occupation
- The right to equality as Palestinian citizens of Israel
- The right to return for people made refugees through ethnic cleansing in 1948 and subsequently.

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61 Ibid., 10.
63 BDS," Students for Justice in Palestine at UCLA. UCLA SJP, Web. 01 Feb. 2016, 1. Please also refer to the official BDS call in the Appendix.
64 Ibid., 2.
Also according to this information page, the SJP believes the following is what each portion of the Boycotts, Divestment, & Sanctions means:

**Boycott** means ceasing to buy products that are financially connected to policies of occupation, discrimination or violence against Palestinians. For example, Ahava cosmetics is a boycottable product as its manufacturing plant is located on stolen Palestinian land in the West Bank, and it uses resources in the Palestinian territory for producing its skin products. There are also cultural boycotts aimed at cultural productions that are complicit in the occupation, whether through an explicit political position or through funding from Israeli state agencies, and boycotts of academic institutions (not individuals) that have supported or refused to oppose violations of Palestinian rights.

**Divestment** means convincing investors (like mutual funds, pensions, etc.) to stop investing funds in companies that are tied to occupation policies. One example here at UCLA is Hewlett Packard, which provides electronics used at the checkpoint system that monitors and restricts Palestinian movement throughout the West Bank.

**Sanctions** occur when governments implement policies designed to pressure Israel to stop violating Palestinian rights. One example could be banning products made in the illegal settlements and sold internationally. There are already examples of European governments who have taken steps towards such a ban.65

Finally, the SJP page states how BDS has been successful at different campuses in the UC system:

The growing consensus in support of Palestinian rights at the University of California has led to several important BDS victories. In 2010, the UC Berkeley student senate passed a divestment bill calling on the UC to cease investments in several companies tied to violence against Palestinians during Operation Cast Lead. Although this motion passed overwhelmingly, it was later vetoed by the student government president. In 2012, students at UC Irvine passed a similar divestment bill unanimously. In 2013, UC San Diego and UC Berkeley also passed divestment bills by wide margins. UC Riverside and UC Santa Barbara

65 Ibid., 2.
also saw majority votes for divestment, but the bills did not sustain permanent victories.\footnote{Ibid., 2.}

The voting on such BDS bills has not yet impacted the majority of the campuses within the UC system. However, it appears that the SJP, at UCLA at least, is interested in more than simple campus activity showing solidarity with the Palestinians.

They, as a student group, have published on Scribd a short booklet entitled “An Introduction to Palestine.”\footnote{Scribd is an online self-publishing site that requires paid membership in order to download or print the documents uploaded to the site. However, documents can also be set to read only and configured in such a way that to attempt to use copy/paste results in the need for only a few sentences at a time to be copied and then, re-fonting the text from extremely large to a readable size.} This piece is sixty-one pages in length and contains chapters including the following: “The West Bank,” “East Jerusalem,” “Restrictions on Palestinian Movement,” “Destruction of Property,” “Prisoners,” “The Apartheid Analogy,” “Gaza,” “Assaults on Gaza,” “Refugees,” and “Palestinians in Israel.”\footnote{SJP, UCLA. “An Introduction to Palestine.” \textit{Scribd}. UCLA SJP, 13 Jan. 2014. Web. 1 Feb. 2016, 3-5.} Each chapter has sub-headings which include topics such as “Settler Violence,” “The ‘Judaization’ of East Jerusalem,” “Denial of Freedom of Worship,” “The Apartheid Wall,” “Home Demolitions,” “Torture & Abuse,” “Child Prisoners,” and more.\footnote{Ibid., 3-5.} The book itself is largely a compilation of short pieces of information based on UN statements or resolutions, but there is little to no analysis or investigative fact checking. The chapters do not end with suggestions for further reading and they do not reference academics who work in the appropriate fields.

The UCLA SJP has also published, via the same online site, a pamphlet entitled “al-Nakba The Catastrophe,” which is a twenty-page piece done in graphic art depicting the events of the 1948 War and issued for the commemoration of the “64\textsuperscript{th} anniversary
of al-Nakba." The current activity being hosted by the UCLA SJP is the annual event, the Palestinian Awareness Week (PAW). This event hosts speakers each day of the week, each sharing their own stories, and offers talks stated to be educational in nature. It is unclear from the informational website if dissenting voices are welcome at the events. However, the Constitution states that the SJP will refuse any dialogue with any entity that will not agree to support the PACBI statement and agree to the Palestinian rights as sought by PACBI and BDS. At one of the PAW events with speakers Max Blumenthal and Miko Peled, both from Jewish Voices for Peace, a student attendee reported to AMCHA that "the speakers condoned terrorism and the introductory speaker compared Jews to Nazis and endorsed the ‘one state’ which deny’s [sic] Jews self-determination." 71

With a Constitution that is unable to be freely obtained and contains wording that specifically labels the UCLA SJP as an essentially political entity that supports the dissolution of the State of Israel in favor of a Palestinian State, it is difficult not to believe that the UCLA chapter of the SJP is one that was formed to advance the tenets of the BDS movement rather than just focus on assisting the Palestinians with concerns about living in Israel. Their website contains no interviews with Palestinian Israeli citizens to present a balanced picture of what those Palestinians might desire. Rather, the club repeats the demands and tenets of PACBI and the BDS movement. The fact that its Constitution literally states that it, as an entity, and therefore, its members by extension, refuse to engage with any entity or individual who does not profess to support the BDS

or PACBI call shows a decided unwillingness to listen. Additionally, the fact that attendees of SJP sponsored events repeatedly report being shouted down and, in some cases, threatened for speaking out or asking oppositional type questions, the SJP members are also engaging in denial of the freedom of speech to the opposing side. If the UCLA Bruin code requires freedom of speech and tolerance to be practiced by all students, then how is the UCLA SJP able to have intolerance built into its Constitution? Again, the UCLA SJP Constitution reads:

To that end, we as students in solidarity with Palestinians refrain from participating in projects that normalize the occupation. Specifically, we will not participate in collaborative or dialogue projects unless they are "based on unambiguous recognition of Palestinian rights and framed within the explicit context of opposition to occupation and other forms of Israeli oppression of the Palestinians."

If the club is indeed a chartered and recognized campus student club, it is liable for adhering to the campus policies of freedom of speech and tolerance for all other students. By refusing to engage with other students or student group that do not unequivocally recognize Israel as an occupying oppressive force, SJP is refusing to engage in tolerance and the free exchange of ideas. And, if the UCLA SJP chapter wants to advise the public and prospective members of its Constitution, which contains its mission and standard guidelines, as well as information regarding the duties of the club officers, it would seem that it should be made available for downloads and printing.

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Additionally, how can events take place on campus with campus resources that advance only one side of the narrative of this complex issue?\textsuperscript{73} Comments from students on UC campuses reported to the AMCHA Initiative show that there exists bias against the Jewish students, not just against the policies of the State of Israel. Some of these comments include statements such as:

In just a little over a year at UCLA I have interacted with remnants of anti-Semitism far too often. They come in the form of “conversations” about Israel, speeches about purported human rights, and eligibility for student leadership positions. It is the new normal and it is numbing.\textsuperscript{74}

Advocating for the establishment of a Palestinian state or advocating on behalf of the Palestinian people should not require calling for the destruction of the Jewish state and justifying the murder of the Jewish people. In the last years, SJP has unapologetically employed such rhetoric and imagery.

This rhetoric can be seen in footage of SJP chapters across the University of California, including SJP at UCLA, chanting, “From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free.” To an ordinary bystander, this phrase probably means absolutely nothing. To a student who is aware of the geography of the Jewish state, this is a direct call for its annihilation.\textsuperscript{75}

Over the course of what was probably no longer than an hour, my history was denied, the murder of my people was justified, and a movement whose sole purpose is the destruction of the Jewish homeland was glorified. Statements were made justifying the ruthless murder of innocent

\textsuperscript{73} I called the Office of Community Programs at UCLA and was advised that they could not tell me if the SJP was an official student group. However, they did confirm that all official student groups are eligible to apply for resources to assist in paying for events held. Additionally, they advised that if a group is listed on www.studentgroups.ucla.edu they are considered an official group. At the time of this writing, Students for Justice in Palestine is listed with the following description: “Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) is a diverse group of students, faculty, staff and community members at the University of California, Los Angeles, organized on democratic principles to promote justice, human rights, liberation and self-determination for the Palestinian people.” Contact information for the club is listed as: Signatories: Prateek Puri, Eitan Peled, Yacoub Kureh Advisor: Jake Gildea


Israeli civilians, blatantly denying Jewish indigeneity in the land, and denying the Holocaust in which six million Jews were murdered.\textsuperscript{76}

It is one thing to be anti-political policies; it is quite another to take that out on people who are barely, if at all, associated with those political policies. A story in the Jerusalem Post discussed a recent issue over a student at UCLA who also worked at the Medical Center posting virulent antisemitic hate speech. The piece reads:

The recent rise in anti-Semitism at UC is directly related to BDS. BDS injects hatred onto the campus and breeds anti-Semitism. It pits students against each other and is blatant discrimination. Students repeatedly report that during and immediately after BDS debates there is a dramatic increase in swastikas and harassment on campus. In fact, last year, swastikas were spray-painted on a UC Davis Jewish fraternity after fraternity brothers spoke against divesting from Israel, “grout out the Jews” and “Hitler did nothing wrong” were carved into school property on two different UC campuses after contentious BDS campaigns and a UCLA Jewish student running for office was questioned about her eligibility to serve by pro-BDS activists. Just a few weeks ago a student government representative at UCSC was warned to abstain from a BDS vote just because he is Jewish.\textsuperscript{77}

The statement in the article cannot unequivocally prove that the rise in antisemitic activity is related to the presence of the SJP club and its advancement of the BDS charter. However, a new study recently completed by AMCHA shows a direct correlation between the presence of SJP clubs and antisemitic activity on college campuses.\textsuperscript{78} The study reports, in its findings, the following:

\begin{quote}
Antisemitic Expression and BDS Activity are both strongly associated with the Targeting of Jewish Students for Harm, and Antisemitic Expression
\end{quote}

and BDS Activity are themselves very strongly associated [and] There is a very strong correlation between the presence of anti-Zionist student groups such as Students for Justice in Palestine and overall antisemitic activity, as well as strong correlations between the presence of anti-Zionist student groups and each kind of antisemitic activity independently.\(^79\)

The author of the Jerusalem Post article referenced above merely states the “Students Supporting Israel (SSI) Blog.” It appears that this author would like to remain anonymous. The question is why? It is quite possible that the author believes that he or she will be targeted for harassment if his or her real name is known.

The UCLA SJP chapter also has engaged in questionable practices when targeting Jewish students serving on the campus government. In 2014, after losing the divestment vote, a “student activist” “asked candidates for all undergraduate student council offices to sign a pledge that they would not take trips to that Middle Eastern country under the sponsorship of three pro-Israel lobbying groups.”\(^80\) One student running for office, Sunny Singh, is quoted as stating: "It seemed unnecessary" and that “[they] spent a lot of time talking about what we thought about Israel.”\(^81\) Additionally, “Singh and others felt that a small group of students had tried to bully them” and ultimately, “Singh lost by 31 votes to a candidate who signed the pledge saying he wouldn’t take trips sponsored by the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, the Anti-Defamation League or Hasbara Fellowships.”\(^82\)

The pledge garnered a response from UC Chancellor Gene Block, who stated in

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\(^81\) Ibid., 1.

\(^82\) Ibid., 1.
a campus wide email:

I am troubled that the pledge sought to delegitimize educational trips offered by some organizations but not others,” he said. "I am troubled that the pledge can reasonably be seen as trying to eliminate selected viewpoints from the discussion.\(^{83}\)

Additionally, UC President Janet Napolitano stated that she “shared Block’s concerns,” stating:

The principles of civility, respect, and inclusion ... should also govern our campuses," she said. "The actions of these students at UCLA violate these principles.\(^{84}\)

**UCLA SJP Example Event**

While there is an “events” link on the UCLA SJP website, it does not show any current events. There is a statement across the top stating “Events from one or more calendars could not be shown here because you do not have the permission to view them” and the calendar itself is dated 2013-2014.\(^{85}\) However, one of the main events that the UCLA SJP chapter hosts each year is the Palestine Awareness Week (PAW). The information for this year’s event, posted on the “News” tab of the UCLA SJP website, provides the following information:

Following a decade-long tradition, Students for Justice in Palestine is hosting its annual Palestine Awareness Week this week to raise awareness about the ongoing occupation of Palestine and the daily struggles of the Palestinian people. With evening talks featuring distinguished speakers, live musical performances, and interactive education as well as daily activities, Palestine Awareness Week allows the space to have critical and robust conversations, and to broaden students’ perspectives in ways which may not occur in the everyday UCLA classroom.

Every year, Palestine Awareness Week has some theme or focus. Two

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\(^{83}\) Ibid., 2.

\(^{84}\) Ibid., 2.

years ago, the week was co-hosted by IDEAS at UCLA and drew on the intersections between the U.S.-Mexico border here in our backyard and the apartheid wall in the West Bank. Last year, Palestine Awareness Week focused on the case for divestment and built student support for UCLA’s successful undergraduate student council resolution to divest from companies that profited off of the occupation of Gaza and the West Bank.

This year, we want to build on that progress by focusing on the question of intersectionality. We aim to have insightful, thought-provoking, and powerful events which draw on the connections of oppressive systems and highlight the need for coalitions across identity groups. Our central focus is to emphasize the broad spectrum of resistances which occur within Palestine, by integrating narratives of Palestinian refugees, queer folks of Palestine, Israeli peace activists, and more. Inspired in part by the ongoing Black Lives Matter movement, we hope that Palestine Awareness Week will provide the space for critical dialogue on the interconnectedness of power and oppression systems and allow us to build these much needed coalitions.

On Tuesday, we held a student run teach on [sic] about the ABCs of Palestine. Wednesday, we are pleased to host Israeli peace activist Miko Peled and outspoken author and journalist Max Blumenthal who will speak about their experiences and the ever growing movement in the Jewish community to advocate for a just solution to the Palestinian question. Thursday will draw attention to the personal histories and struggles of the people of Palestine through the daring research of Palestinian professors Ahlam Muhtaseb and Sa’ed Atshan. These stories will highlight the experiences of refugees expelled from Palestine in 1948, as well as discuss the politics of being queer in Palestine.

It is an unfortunate reality that few classes on campus talk about Palestine at all, and even fewer talk about Israeli and Jewish support for Palestine, queer liberation, or refugees. But these issues are crucial to a holistic understanding of the issue. Although many think that students at UCLA are here just to learn, PAW is an important example of how we can also serve as teachers, and show each other information that has yet to make it into our textbooks and classrooms.

Finally, at a time when the progressive community is increasingly supportive of Palestinian rights and freedom, we hope this week of events helps make the case that one cannot be progressive without supporting Palestinian freedom. This is why our events focus on explaining what is happening in Palestine and what we think needs to be done to support a just solution to the conflict. Therefore, we especially invite progressive students unfamiliar with these issues to learn why supporting the human rights of Palestinians is central to their ethic of supporting other
progressive issues. We hope that the student body can come and engage, that individuals not familiar with the Palestinian cause can gain insightful knowledge, and that returning members can continue to understand various aspects of the Palestinian identity and narrative.86

The Daily Bruin, the UCLA campus newspaper, also ran several articles about the event. There have been articles in the past about the PAW, but this year's event, based on a search of the Bruin's archives, seems to have sparked more response. The event was held between January 25-28, 2016. The first article in The Daily Bruin is dated January 29, 2016 and is merely the submission of the event information to the campus newspaper with a title of “SJP Focuses on Intersectionality during Palestine Awareness Week.” The second article, dated February 3, 2016, is also a student submission, entitled “Polarization Undermines Israeli-Palestinian Dialogue.” The student, the public relations director for Bruins for Israel Matan Neuman, writes the following:

As a pro-Israel student at UCLA, it has become abundantly clear to me that there is no place for nuance in the current dialogue that takes place about Israel and Palestine. Students are forced to pick a side and publicly oppose the other to the point that dialogue and mutual recognition are virtually nonexistent.87

He continues, stating his opinion of the event and what he believes to be the SJP’s intent:

The pro-Palestine movement at UCLA has long claimed to be fighting for justice for Palestine and Palestinians. However, recent events proved that these groups have begun to use their platform not to build up the Palestinian state and the Palestinian people, but to incite hatred against the Jewish state and the Jewish people.

Advocating for the establishment of a Palestinian state or advocating on behalf of the Palestinian people should not require calling for the

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destruction of the Jewish state and justifying the murder of the Jewish people. In the last years, SJP has unapologetically employed such rhetoric and imagery.

This rhetoric can be seen in footage of SJP chapters across the University of California, including SJP at UCLA, chanting, “From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free.” To an ordinary bystander, this phrase probably means absolutely nothing. To a student who is aware of the geography of the Jewish state, this is a direct call for its annihilation.

In this chant, “the river” refers to the Jordan River, which is the eastern border between Israel and Jordan, and “the sea” refers to the Mediterranean Sea, which is the western border of Israel. Chanting “from the river to the sea” is not a call for the “liberation of Palestine.” Rather, it is a call for wiping the Jewish state off the map. Something along the lines of “from the river to the sea, coexistence shall come to be,” would be far more appropriate.

The response to this article, also a submission by students, was published on February 9, 2016 and written by Eitan Peled and Prateek Puri. This article, entitled “SJP Emphasizes that Pro-Palestinian Does Not Mean Anti-Israeli,” is primarily a piece to rebut the statements of Neuman. It states:

A phrase used by pro-Palestinian activists is that “from the river to the sea, Palestine will be free,” which was referenced in last week’s article. Palestine is the name many use to refer to the geographic region that encompasses Israel, the West Bank and Gaza. The call for the entire region to be free is not a call for annihilation, but rather a call for everyone living between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea, be they Palestinian or Israeli, to live with the same freedoms that currently only the Jewish Israelis are granted.

This is a glimpse into how the BDS movement and its rhetoric have divided students on the same campus, some even from the same backgrounds. As noted, both authors are students; “Peled is the president of Jewish Voice for Peace at UCLA and the

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88 Ibid., 2-3.
programming director of Students for Justice in Palestine at UCLA. Puri is a graduate student in physics and a member of SJP.”

Comments from students are often the best way to gauge the audience reaction to the events held by the SJP. In many cases, such as the one above, different students take away different understandings of the rhetoric employed and statements made. The students themselves are forced into positions where they are counted as “other” by each opposing side. This can bleed into problems in the academic side of their college experiences because it is entirely possible that the same students who vehemently oppose one another in the BDS arena, must work together in a class. Students who might not be concerned over a national identity often find themselves needing to choose a side in an issue that is not so simple.

Concluding Thoughts about the UCLA SJP

UCLA is but one site in the greater UC system of nine campuses. It is not the sole campus with an SJP club nor is it the sole campus hosting BDS rallies and events. It is also not the sole UC campus with students calling for the university to adopt a divestment resolution. UC Berkeley is the campus with the loudest SJP group and the greatest history of hosting BDS events. As mentioned previously, I chose UCLA to discuss as opposed to another campus in the UC system in an attempt to present the happenings at a campus other than UC Berkeley. I did expect to find a healthy amount of BDS activity sponsored by the SJP club. I did not, however, expect to find the level of activity presented here and on the internet in general. What I also found is that the level of activity is variable depending on the event. In a personal interview with a Jewish

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90 Ibid.
community leader attached to UCLA (who asked to remain anonymous), I was advised that his opinion of the issues on the campus are related to ideas regarding power and authority as opposed to anything racially or discrimination driven. Unfortunately, his perspective is not reflected in the news articles and reports examined in my research.

To date, the most current piece of news on the UCLA BDS front is an article posted on the Electronic Intifada from December 7, 2015, entitled “UCLA Student Groups Face Funding Cuts over Israel Divestment.” This article relates the following:

The Graduate Students Association at UCLA in California has put stipulations on funding for student groups based on affiliation with Palestinian rights activism.

Students and civil rights organizations are concerned that such conditions are the result of overt willingness by University of California’s top officials to exceptionalize free speech rights and threaten punishment against student activists.

In mid-October, the president of UCLA’s Graduate Students Association sent an email to a student group that was seeking funding for a diversity caucus event. The association represents thousands of UCLA’s graduate students and provides resources, including funding, to graduate students and organizations. Members pay mandatory fees each academic quarter.

The association’s president informed the group that “GSA leadership has a zero engagement/endorsement policy towards Divest from Israel or any related movement/organization” (emphasis in original) and awarded the group $2,000 in funding based on their “zero connection” to a “Divest from Israel” group.91

This is an interesting step for an entity at UCLA as the university has previously shown a policy of non-activity with regards to the BDS movement as endorsed by the student groups as an aspect of academic freedom of speech. The article also claims to have

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received an email claiming that the university itself is looking into the statement made by the GSA (Graduate Student Association) as a First Amendment violation, but has no citation or proof of this claim. Overall, the campus climate at UCLA seems to be one of medium to high BDS activity and the vocal desire for divestment. Additionally, it seems that the SJP student group at UCLA is largely in existence as a college campus vehicle for the BDS movement, as its constitution contains the BDS call in its mission statement.
CHAPTER 5

CASE STUDY: UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Basic Campus Information

The University of Michigan plays an important part in the conversation about antisemitic activity on US college campuses due to the regional historical connections to American antisemitism. It was “founded in 1817 as one of the first public universities in the nation.” The history page of the main website for the university also states the university’s mission as follows:

The mission of the University of Michigan is to serve the people of Michigan and the world through preeminence in creating, communicating, preserving and applying knowledge, art, and academic values, and in developing leaders and citizens who will challenge the present and enrich the future.

Additionally, the main page includes a link for a page entitled “Diversity, Equity, & Inclusion,” which has a link at the upper right corner entitled “Report a Bias Incident.”

The first statement on this page advises that the university has a specific commitment:

At the University of Michigan, our dedication to academic excellence for the public good is inseparable from our commitment to diversity, equity, and inclusion. It is central to our mission as an educational institution to ensure that each member of our community has full opportunity to thrive in our environment, for we believe that diversity is key to individual flourishing, educational excellence and the advancement of knowledge.

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92 I refer to the publication of Henry Ford’s The International Jew in The Dearborn Independent.
96 Ibid., 1. The statement is credited to University of Michigan President Mark S. Schlissel
The preceding statement was made by current University of Michigan President Mark S. Schlissel and is part of his new program at the University, which also entails the following:

To advance the ideals of academic excellence and its symbiotic relationship with diversity, equity and inclusion, President Schlissel has called upon the university’s vast energies and intellectual and planning resources to develop U-M’s first five-year strategic plan on diversity, equity and inclusion. The President’s Diversity, Equity & Inclusion Strategic Planning Initiative was officially launched in September 2015 after more than a year of pre-launch activities.

The planning process has been designed to engage all sectors and constituents of the university and the planning structure comprises more than 90 planning leads in every school, college and unit. In November 2015, the university held the first-ever campuswide Diversity Summit. Thousands of students, faculty and staff participated in a variety of events, forums and activities to lend their voices to the planning process and help create the vision forward.

Planning activities now are underway across campus, and all community members are encouraged to get involved at the local level, in their school, college or unit. All the units will produce their own five-year strategic plans in the spring of 2016, which will roll up to create the overall U-M Strategic Plan on Diversity, Equity & Inclusion. The U-M plan will be implemented starting in September 2016.97

Additionally, the University held a "Diversity Summit,"

As part of our Diversity, Equity & Inclusion Strategic Planning Initiative, thousands of university community members participated in the first-ever U-M Diversity Summit, November 4-13, 2015. It included a number of campuswide events designed to stimulate conversation and ideas about diversity, equity and inclusion. [Also] Additional local events and activities were also held across campus in schools, colleges and units. The entire university community was encouraged to participate in the planning process and help create our vision for the future.98

The University has published some of the comments submitted at this event, hyperlinked on the “Diversity Summit” information page. Some of the statements follow, in different categories. The first are ideas about what “success” in this Diversity, Equity & Inclusion Initiative would look like:

Our campus population reflects the racial diversity of our state, but our commitment to diversity, equity and inclusion goes beyond racial diversity to include differences in gender and gender identity, sexual orientation, socioeconomic status, language, religious beliefs, age, (dis)ability status, size, personality types, political affiliation, ideas and opinions.

There is an absence of fear on campus and all are welcome to posit their thoughts and ideas, regardless of identities, backgrounds or beliefs. All university community members can afford to live in Ann Arbor and students are not required to work full time in order to pay rent.

We have maintained high standards for academic excellence, but all students have the resources and support they need to be successful and to feel included, paying particular attention to students from first-generation and low-income households, international students, and undocumented students.

Staff are treated as equals and their professional growth is encouraged, retention of faculty and staff of color is a priority, and males and females are paid equally for the same work.

Doing the right thing is not a volunteer role, but is built into performance evaluations for all faculty and staff.99

This set of comments, stating what the summit participants would like to see at their campus, speaks volumes. The first point addresses the need for true equal inclusion. Statements of inclusion and diversity are made. However, the actions and wording of the student groups on campus do not clearly demonstrate truly equal inclusion and even raise opposite questions. True equality means everyone is treated equally, regardless of

who they are or where they came from. The second point is of utmost importance on university campuses, anywhere. Certainly students, and faculty and staff, should feel that they are safe to voice their opinions on their campus. The fact that it needs to be stated implies that there exist people on the campus who do not feel safe at all times, for whatever reasons.

The next part of the summit responses, which discuss how the campus should expect to get to the ideals first listed, include the following:

All university community members should be asked to take personal action and be accountable for our institutional commitment to diversity, equity and inclusion.

Provide financial support in the form of scholarships, endowed chairs, funded summer internships, tuition waivers for employees and their children, and housing subsidies. We should consider special outreach to alumni to fund these kinds of programs.

Pursue a variety of innovative student recruitment strategies.

Re-evaluate admissions standards and consider other factors besides GPA and test scores, and we should make special efforts to admit students from marginalized communities, including prisons.

Consider using the support services provided to student athletes as a model for all students, and create programs that remove economic barriers and ensure all students can thrive.

Provide more accommodations in physical spaces for community members with special needs and create a campus guide to related facilities and services so they are easily accessed.

Provide training to all hiring managers on how to recruit and interview diverse candidates effectively, and diversity and inclusion should be embedded in all staff work plans.

Consider offering additional resources for staff in the lowest salary brackets, including subsidized housing, childcare and professional development stipends and tuition waivers.
Address classroom climate issues holistically, requiring that all students and faculty receive relevant training and we incorporate these issues into our teacher-training programs. We should also require cultural competency and diversity training for all staff, including frontline staff.

Address issues of inequality among faculty, including re-evaluating tenure criteria and hiring practices, equalizing pay for male and female faculty, and increasing compensation and stature for faculty in certain fields.

Recognize the differences between diversity, equity and inclusion and be sure to address them each individually, as well as collectively.

Dedicate appropriate budget to these issues across the institution and take measures to coordinate all related services and initiatives across campus.

Publicize accomplishments and accountabilities for strategic planning and implementation, but don’t make it all about quotas—find other ways to measure success. We should also acknowledge where we’ve failed to make progress.

Address issues of diversity, equity and inclusion in our Health System, including increasing and retaining racial diversity among nurses, and ensuring that women’s health is taken seriously.  

This is a long list, which is actually quite encouraging. However, several are re-worded versions of other statements and several address issues at the faculty/staff level. The issues with a campus start with how its students feel since many of the students are paying to be there. Those on scholarships often have different ideas of diversity and inclusion and this is sometimes where the traditional clashes occur in a student body, on any campus.

**Campus Club Life for Students**

Campus clubs are often one of the most common ways for new students to get involved with their new community and classmates as they engender a sense of belonging to something larger, but not so large as the university overall. Most students

100 Ibid., 2-3.
attending a university at the same time, will never meet one another, simply due to time
schedules, course requirements, and the sheer volume of available student activities.
However, there are resources available for those who so desire to find groups and clubs
with like-minded individuals.

**Students Allied for Freedom and Equality (SAFE)**

The University of Michigan does not have an SJP chapter like the other case
study schools in this thesis. Rather, it has a chapter of Students Allied for Freedom and
Equality (SAFE). This group, along with the university’s chapters of Jewish Voices for
Peace (JVP) and the Muslim Students Association (MSA), are those promoting the BDS
movement at University of Michigan. SAFE’s website, not hosted on the University
server, states how SAFE considers itself:

> Students Allied for Freedom and Equality (SAFE) is a Palestine solidarity
organization at the University of Michigan – Ann Arbor. Our coalition of
diverse members seeks to advance the causes of freedom, justice, human
rights and equality for all peoples. Though SAFE’s domain is not limited to
any single issue, our foremost objective has been and always will be to
promote the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination.

Additionally, the SAFE page has its constitution embedded in the site, as well as linked
through Scribd. It states the following as its mission and code of conduct:

**Mission**

Students Allied for Freedom and Equality (SAFE) is a group of student
activists organized to promote social justice, human rights,
liberation, equality, and self-determination
for the Palestinian people as the fundamental principles for a just
resolution of the Israeli occupation of Palestine.

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102 “Charter | Students Allied for Freedom and Equality.” Charter | Students Allied for Freedom and
Code of Conduct
SAFE upholds itself and its members to a high standard of conduct in order to engage in positive student activism that promotes the stated mission. Individuals or groups acting as members, representatives, or sponsors of SAFE agree to abide by the guiding principles of the organization.\(^{103}\)

Additionally, the "Guiding Principles" of SAFE are listed as

As an advocacy group, SAFE is committed to a core set of principles grounded in international law, human rights, and basic standards of justice. These include but are not limited to the following:

1. The end of confiscation of all Palestinian lands and the return of and/or compensation for all previously confiscated lands to their original owners.

2. The end of the Israeli occupation of the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, including East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, as asserted by United Nations Resolution 242 and grounded in the impermissibility of the acquisition of land by war.

3. An end to the Israeli system of occupation and discrimination against the Palestinians, via granting citizenship rights to all peoples under Israeli civil or military control and the reform of Israeli policies, within Israel proper, to ensure equal benefits, treatment, and rights for all citizens, regardless of race or religion.

4. The implementation of the right of return and/or reparation for all Palestinian refugees as stipulated by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the United Nations Resolution 194.

5. An end to the construction of illegal settlement and transfer of Israeli citizens into the Golan Heights, Gaza Strip, and the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, as stipulated by the Fourth Geneva Convention.

Just as SAFE condemns the racism and discrimination resulting from Israeli policies and laws, SAFE rejects any form of hatred or discrimination against any religious, racial, or ethnic group. SAFE supports oppressed and exploited peoples in their struggles for freedom and basic human and civil rights. SAFE welcomes individuals of all ethnic and religious

\(^{103}\) Ibid., “Students Allied for Freedom and Equality Constitution,” 1. I will attach this full Constitution in the Appendix.
backgrounds to join in solidarity with the struggle for justice and peace in the Arab-Israeli conflict.\textsuperscript{104}

Article II of the Constitution states the Purpose of the organization:

SAFE was established in order fulfill the mission stated above through education and discourse and various forms of activism within the University of Michigan - Ann Arbor campus community. SAFE shall also actively engage the University administration, other student groups, and responsible community organizations in our collective attempt to contribute to achieving the aforementioned guiding principles.\textsuperscript{105}

This document also lists two different types of membership, active and general. The primary differences between these two forms of membership centers on how much volunteer/event participation is expected of the member. Membership is open to all faculty, staff, community members, and students at the University of Michigan - Ann Arbor. Executive board membership is restricted to currently enrolled undergraduate students.\textsuperscript{106}

As with UCLA's SJP chapter, University of Michigan's SAFE Constitution advises, under Article IV, Executive Board Officers, of

Section 4. Boycott, Divestment & Sanctions (BDS) Chair
The BDS Chair’s responsibilities in SAFE will include leading and facilitating any of the BDS initiatives that SAFE will engage in and ensuring attempts towards progress with respect to BDS are being made.\textsuperscript{107}

\textsuperscript{104} Ibid., 1. There are two UM SAFE websites and this is cited from the older one that has the Constitution linked and contains specific language in each point regarding Israel as the one they are holding accountable for the actions against the Palestinians. The newer website simply substitutes “its occupation” for Israel’s occupation and other such substitutions. However, both sites identify as the University of Michigan’s SAFE student group website.

\textsuperscript{105} Ibid., 1.

\textsuperscript{106} Ibid., 2.

\textsuperscript{107} Ibid., 3.
Article IV also discusses other Board Officer positions, including a Media Chair, which has a responsibility to maintain the “design of DiagDissent.com.”\textsuperscript{108} At the time of my access to this site, I was not able to load the page as the internet error message of “page could not be loaded” appeared. Section 7 of Article IV advises that the Outreach Chair is:

responsible for reaching out to student organizations/groups on and off campus in order to build allies and gain a strong sense of community. The job of the Outreach Chair is to initiate these conversations and make direct connections, while also strengthening ties with previous groups that are allies. Communication could come in the form of specific event planning in which a campus group would be a suitable sponsor, reaching out in order to further SAFE’s mission via teach-ins and other collaborations. In addition, it is the job of the Outreach Chair to ensure that SAFE is present in two other meetings and/or events from different organizations.\textsuperscript{109}

The question to ask here is, is SAFE, like the UCLA SJP, only interested and willing to work with groups who share their views and beliefs for the BDS motivated resolution of the Israel-Palestine conflict? Or, are they truly amenable to working with any group which is committed to working together to achieve an equitable solution for all parties involved and one that does not delegitimize Israel as a state? These questions cannot be answered as this statement of responsibility does not indicate which position SAFE holds.

There is also, under Article IV, the descriptions of the responsibilities of the Cultural Chair, the Spokesperson, and the Humanitarian Aid Chair, all as follows:

Section 8. Cultural Chair
The Cultural Chair has a crucial role in humanizing the Palestinians as a people. Events the Cultural Chair will spearhead may include cultural

\begin{footnotes}
\item[108] Ibid., 3.
\item[109] Ibid., 4.
\end{footnotes}
nights, festivities on the Diag, events showcasing personal Palestinian struggles, etc.

Section 9. Spokesperson
The role of the Spokesperson is to essentially be SAFE’s voice on campus. Responsibilities include making connections and communicating with campus-wide organizations such as the Michigan Daily, Dean of Student Affairs, and other relevant groups, both on and off campus. Because of the nature of the activism we engage in, issues may arise where SAFE has been compromised and/or threatened as a student organization. In these cases, it is the job of the Spokesperson to respond appropriately by negotiating meetings with relevant parties and making sure our voice is appropriately represented through news articles, viewpoints, and advertising campaigns. The Spokesperson is also responsible for ensuring that press releases for all of SAFE’s events are published.

Section 10. Humanitarian Aid Chair
The role of the Humanitarian Aid Chair is to organize charity/donation events that will go to relief foundations pertaining to Palestine and/or Palestinians. This is to ensure that SAFE continues to make a direct impact on the improvement and well-being of the Palestinians facing or being affected by the occupation.110

All of these board positions have careful language that does not indicate the extent to which each officer can or cannot bring his or her own bias into the position. Additionally, there is no specific mention in this Constitution whether or not SAFE at University of Michigan supports the BDS movement.

University of Michigan SAFE BDS Activity
While it is true that the University of Michigan SAFE Constitution does not contain any mention, specifically, of the BDS movement, this is not true of SAFE’s actual website. There is a tab entitled “#UMDIVEST” that then leads to a statement and discussion of what SAFE is calling for and supports on the University of Michigan

110 Ibid., 4.
In a section entitled “Divestment Campaign 2014-2015,” the following statement appears:

As students at the University of Michigan who are committed to the self-determination and humanity of all people, we, Students Allied for Freedom and Equality (SAFE), call for our University to stand by its history of supporting civil and social justice movements, as well as upholding this institution to the high standard of Leaders and Best. We specifically call upon the University to divest from companies that profit from the systematic violation of Palestinian human rights. In standing by our moral obligations as university students, SAFE officially announces the launch of its #UMDivest campaign for the 2014-15 school year.

Palestinian suffering is thoroughly documented by scholars, human rights activists, and world leaders. Since 1967, Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza have been living under Israeli military occupation. This occupation is recognized as illegal under international law, with Palestinians in the Occupied Territories subjected to a system of discriminatory and arbitrary laws. Segregated bus systems, restricted freedom of movement, and routine incarceration without due process are part of Palestinians’ daily reality. In clear violation of the Geneva Convention, the Israeli government also forcibly removes Palestinians from their homes and demolishes them to make way for illegal settlements in the occupied West Bank. More than 500,000 settlers currently inhabit the West Bank in over 100 illegal settlements, which are subsidized and facilitated by the Israeli government.

As part of the occupation, Palestinians in Gaza also face routine military assaults killing thousands of civilians. The most recent massacre being this past summer’s Operation Protective Edge, a 50-day long war on Gaza in which the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) killed more than 2100 Palestinians, wounded 11,000, and displaced 500,000 Gaza residents.

As our University remains invested in these companies, we as students are complicit in the perpetuation of these human rights violations. SAFE calls upon the University of Michigan student body to reflect and learn more about the current situation. We announce a year-long series of events that work to educate our campus and allow for open discussion on the #UMDivest initiative. We refuse to be unwillingly implicated in the oppression of others and believe that any prospect for justice and peace begins with an unconditional respect for human life and dignity.111

By using a “hashtag” method of naming their call for BDS, SAFE has enabled the movement to become global very quickly as anyone clicking on the link that the hashtag creates on both Facebook and Twitter can trace the lineage of the posts and add to the support. Social media has made these issues no longer confined to the locality of the campus. Rather, such movements benefit from globalization, much in the same ways that other industries have benefited. The same page of SAFE’s website also advises what companies they are advocating divestment from:

In the case of the University of Michigan, there are multiple companies that the University invests in that aid and facilitate this system of violence and oppression against Palestinians. Two of which include Caterpillar and United Technologies. The following outlines some examples of the crimes in which the University of Michigan is investing in:

**Boeing** “has been a major supplier of the F-15 Eagle and the AH-64 Apache attack helicopters to Israel. These aircrafts have been used to attack Palestinians in the Occupied Territories, resulting in many civilian casualties. Boeing makes missile systems, F-15 software, Apache Helicopters, and Joint Direct Attack Munitions (JDAM), a guided air-to-surface weapon”

**Caterpillar** “manufactures and provides bulldozers and civil engineering tools...used in demolitions of Palestinians’ houses in the occupied territories, in the construction of the separation wall and settlements on Palestinian land, in military incursions and as weapons. The Israeli army has used unmanned D9 bulldozers (Dawn Thunder) in the Dec 2008 attacks in Gaza” and in the murder of American Evergreen College student Rachel Corrie.

**G4S** “provides security systems for prisons for Palestinian political prisoners in Israel and in the West Bank” in which Palestinian prisoners are regularly tortured, as documented by various human rights groups ”

**United Technologies** “produces Blackhawk helicopters which are used by the Israeli military to attack Palestinian cities, refugee camps and villages. Many civilians have been killed in these attacks”. 112

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112 Ibid., 1. The statements in quotation marks are taken directly as is from SAFE’s page and there is no indication where these quotes are from. Bold emphasis in original text.
These statements are not footnoted and while appearing to be quotations from outside sources, the SAFE page does not list where they might have come from. This page also contains another embedded Scribd document, on University of Michigan Central Student Government letterhead, entitled “Assembly Resolution 4-042 A Resolution to Call Upon the University of Michigan to Appoint a Committee to Investigate Investments in Socially Irresponsible Companies that Violate Palestinian Human Rights.”\textsuperscript{113} The document uses standard BDS trope in referencing previous divestments undertaken by the University, such as in reference to South African apartheid, and states:

\begin{quote}
Palestinians are subject to systemic discrimination through Israeli governmental policies which are well documented by academics, activists, and human rights groups; \textbf{AND, WHEREAS},
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Palestinian human rights are infringed upon in such ways as, the building of settlements on Palestinian land, the unlawful demolition of Palestinian homes, the administrative detention of Palestinians without charge, the siege and blockade of Gaza, and illegal checkpoints\textsuperscript{114}
\end{quote}

The document goes on to list the companies also listed on the SAFE webpage, this time including citations. The document then continues by stating:

\begin{quote}
Palestinian civil society has called on people of conscience around the world to pressure Israel to comply with international law; \textbf{AND, WHEREAS},
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
the aforementioned companies profit off of the facilitation of Palestinian civilian death, torture, restriction of movement, home demolitions, apartheid wall, all of which are illegal under international law; \textbf{AND, WHEREAS},
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
the University of Michigan’s investments in the aforementioned companies, which are involved in socially irresponsible and unethical activities in Palestine, not only personally impact Palestinian students at the University of Michigan, but also calls into question the University’s
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{113} Ibid., 1. Embedded document, this document will also be in the Appendix.
\textsuperscript{114} Ibid., 3. Bold emphasis in original text.
commitment to invest in socially responsible companies; AND,
WHEREAS,

the concern to be explored is expressed broadly and consistently by the
campus community over time, and the action in question is antithetical to
the values of the University.

With this document, SAFE is using one issue in the world to call the University’s
reputation into question when there are surely other minority situations in the world that
are also in need of global attention and could benefit from student groups rallying to the
cause. After reading over both the documents available from SAFE and the UCLA SJP,
the question remains -- where does the connection to apartheid enter the conversation
and why is it given so much traction on US college campuses? The SAFE call for
divestment continues, stating:

following divestment from Apartheid South Africa, it was proclaimed: “If the
Regents shall determine that a particular issue involves extremely serious
moral or ethical questions which are considerable concern to many
members of the University community, an advisory committee consisting
of members of the University Senate, students, administration and alumni
will be appointed to gather information and formulate recommendations for
the Regents’ consideration”; AND, WHEREAS,

the Central Student Government states that “Every month, the President
of the Central Student Government gives a report to the University of
Michigan Board of Regents, addressing activity within CSG and bringing
corns of the student body to the Regents, demonstrating their
responsibility to function as liaison between students and the Regents;
THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED,

that the Central Student Government calls upon the University of Michigan
Regents to appoint a committee, as stipulated above, to investigate the
ethical and moral implications of our investments in the corporations
Boeing, Caterpillar, G4S, and United Technologies, and all other
companies that explicitly profit from human rights violations in accordance
with international law, against the Palestinian people; AND BE IT
FURTHER RESOLVED,

115 Ibid., 3. Bold emphasis in original text.
that the Central Student Government urges the University of Michigan asset managers to divest, as soon as such divestment may be accomplished without injury to the University of Michigan’s assets and investment strategies, from all such companies that, within one year from the date of engagement remain uncommitted to a diligent plan for terminating all such unethical business activities; **AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED,**

that a copy of this resolution be sent to the University of Michigan Board of Regents, in addition to the President’s Advisory Committee on Labor Standards and Human Rights, for their consideration; **AND BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED,**

that this resolution is in line with University of Michigan’s deeply held principles of justice and equality for all people, and that the Palestinian people are not exempt.\textsuperscript{116}

Essentially, using rhetoric that implies the companies mentioned are directly responsible for any wrongdoing that occurs from their products, and referencing true apartheid and the University’s actions in that incident, SAFE invokes the demands of prior generations to seek what it believes to be justice for an oppressed victim. The question, again, remains one of whether or not the Palestinian people themselves believe this rhetoric as put forth by groups like SAFE and SJP.

The definition of apartheid is “a policy or system of segregation or discrimination on grounds of race.”\textsuperscript{117} The term apartheid was first used in print “in a pamphlet issued at a conference on the missionary endeavors of the NG Church in Kroonstad in 1929.”\textsuperscript{118} David M. Scher, in his article “The Consolidation of the Apartheid State, 1948-1966, states that it was around 1942 that Dr. D. F. Malan, the “leader of the [National Party (NP)], began to use the term in Parliament to differentiate his party’s policy from

\textsuperscript{116} Ibid., 4-5. Bold emphasis in original text.
\textsuperscript{117} www.oxforddictionaries.com
the segregation plan of the ruling United Party (UP)."\textsuperscript{119} Essentially, once the NP took over the government in 1948, the Party sought to “replace the racial policy of its predecessor and believed that the solution for the country’s racial issues lay in the implementation of a policy of apartheid (literally ‘separateness’).\textsuperscript{120} Scher explains that:

> the NP government was convinced that social apartheid was crucial to the preservation and safeguarding of the white population’s identity and wellbeing. The first measure to implement social apartheid was the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949. This made all marriages between white people and those of other races illegal.\textsuperscript{121}

While such ethnic/race identification based laws are certainly not unprecedented in the annals of history, the example first brought to mind is the Nazi Germany Nuremberg Laws of 1935. While civil marriage does not exist in Israel, and Jews are \textit{halakhically} forbidden to intermarry, this is a religious based stricture, not an ethnic one. If an interfaith couple chooses to marry outside of Israel, then Israel does indeed recognize the marriage. If a non-Arab Israeli and an Arab Israeli are both Jewish, then there is no religious stricture. The comparison to apartheid in this case, then, is inaccurate.

Additionally, under South African apartheid, the Population Regulation Act of 1950:

> provided for the classification of the population on the basis of racial categories. The racial group of an individual was determined by physical appearance (such as skin color), general social acceptance and repute. In accordance with this Act racially based identity documents were issued.\textsuperscript{122}

Again, this brings to mind shades of laws and the pseudo-scientific identifications under Nazi Germany, rather than modern Israel. There are many Arab Palestinians in Israel

\textsuperscript{119} Ibid., 329.
\textsuperscript{120} Ibid., 328.
\textsuperscript{121} Ibid., 329.
\textsuperscript{122} Ibid., 330.
who are, in fact, Israeli citizens. If Israel were indeed practicing apartheid, no person of Palestinian appearance, social circle, or reputation would be granted citizenship.\(^{123}\)

**University of Michigan SAFE Example Event**

Possibly the most noticed and disturbing event that the University of Michigan SAFE chapter has held was the December 2013 “mock eviction” notices. This event was enacted on several campuses and usually carried out by the SJP chapter on campus. As discussed previously, there is no SJP chapter at University of Michigan, so it was SAFE who completed the action. *The Michigan Daily*, University of Michigan’s campus newspaper, reported on the event in an article entitled “‘Evictions’ in Residence Halls Cause Stir on Campus” published December 10, 2013. Author Alicia Adamczyk writes:

> Students in six residence halls across campus woke up to eviction notices Tuesday morning. The notices, which were satirical, were distributed by Students Allied for Freedom and Equality — a student organization that promotes human rights, social justice, self-determination and liberty for the Palestinian people — and other student activists to raise awareness and demand that the University divest from companies that support Israel and subsequently its eviction of Palestinians from East Jerusalem.\(^{124}\)

The notices read, in part, the following:

> **If you do not vacate the premises by 13 DECEMBER 6 PM, we reserve the right to demolish your premises without delay. We cannot be held**

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\(^{123}\) The comparison and analysis of South African apartheid and the accusations of apartheid in Israel is a topic that cannot be adequately covered in this thesis. The information provided here is merely meant to clarify but a couple of points regarding the primary aspects of South African apartheid and how they are dissimilar to the modern State of Israel.

\(^{124}\) Adamczyk, Alicia. “‘Evictions’ in Residence Halls Cause Stir on Campus.” *The Michigan Daily*. The University of Michigan, 10 Dec. 2013. Web. 19 Feb. 2016, 1. Similar events occurred at several campuses across the US. It is not possible to document all of them here; however, other such events occurred at NYU, Northwestern University, Florida Atlantic University, and Claremont College. Kenneth L. Marcus, of the Louis D. Brandeis Center, has been quoted as saying university leaders should “take these eviction notices as a teachable moment to explain that hostility to Israel often crosses the line into anti-Semitism.” http://www.jns.org/latest-articles/2014/6/22/campus-eviction-notices-are-fake-but-their-anti-semitism-is-real-experts-say#.VubztvkrLIU=
Jewish students have reported feeling targeted, but there is no proof on the SAFE webpage or any statements made by the SAFE members who spoke to media sources that confirm this. However, the important element is that the students were made to feel targeted and their feelings dismissed by SAFE members who felt that the statement “this is not a real eviction notice” at the bottom of the notices was enough to alleviate any sense of real panic or concern.126

Adamczyk also writes that, according to “Zeinab Khalil, a member of the BDS committee,” “SAFE’s Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions committee conceptualized the notices.”127 Khalil claimed that:

there has been tremendous support for the movement and its associated hashtag, #UMMockEviction, so far, especially from communities of color.

“We really want to get this discussion going on campus and not have it be silenced,” Khalil said. “It seems like the University doesn’t act until it’s forced to ... we decided to do something that speaks directly to the students’ [and] that SAFE members were not the only students involved in the event, but that people in a number of activist groups across campus took part.”128

Unfortunately, Khalil did not comment as to how the SAFE BDS committee’s decision to enact the “mock evictions” affected other students and their collective feelings of acceptance and safety (she only “acknowledged that students had issues with the event.”)129 Adamczyk also reports:

many students were offended by the event and the University has indicated the move violated the residence hall’s no-soliciting policy.

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125 Primary document, UM SAFE eviction notice, copy appears in the appendix.
126 Ibid.
127 Ibid., 2.
128 Ibid., 2.
129 Ibid., 3.
University of Michigan Hillel sent out an e-mail to members recognizing that students reported feeling unsafe after the eviction notices were sent out, and said they had contacted University administrators.\(^{130}\)

The event was disturbing to many and, according to university officials, illegal:

University Housing spokesman Peter Logan said the demonstration was in violation of University Housing’s policy, which prohibits handing out flyers and other types of marketing activities.

“The residence halls are actually private residences, and in the interest of preserving the sense of privacy and security for our residents, we don’t allow solicitation, even from recognized student organizations, not even from housing organizations,” Logan said.

The flyer was labeled “Department of Housing,” which is not the official name for University Housing. Because the letter also wasn’t explicitly labeled as being distributed by SAFE, Logan said he was concerned that the group was trying to impersonate University Housing.

“We weren’t really happy with them using our name to carry out their statement, per se,” Logan said, adding that the message upset some housing residents.\(^{131}\)

Logan additionally stated that “University Housing has informed the SAFE executive board that they violated Housing policy and asked them to refrain from handing out flyers in the future.”\(^{132}\) However, the question to be asked is whether the SAFE chapter feels as though it was actually wrong in its actions or if they feel that their understanding of actions in another state justifies harassing students at their university and violating campus regulations.

\(^{130}\) Ibid., 3.
\(^{131}\) Ibid., 3.
\(^{132}\) Ibid., 3.
Concluding Thoughts about the UM SAFE group

The activities of the UM SAFE student group appear to be, much like the UCLA SJP, driven by the endorsement and desire to advance the BDS movement. UM’s SAFE group also ran a blog up to 2010, where they have links at the bottom of every page that connect to sites they believe are also of interest to those visiting their site. One such link connects to a site entitled “If Americans Knew,” which is a:

501(c)3 tax-exempt, independent research and information-dissemination institute, with particular focus on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, U.S. foreign policy regarding the Middle East, and media coverage of this issue. Specifically, the organization’s objective is to provide information that is to a large degree missing from American press coverage of this critical region.133

This entity’s page lists Students for Justice in Palestine as a “secular peace group.”134 It has been speculated that the SAFE groups are simply another branch of SJP but there does not seem to be accompanying speculation as to why there would be another group with the same agenda and activism when both groups do not generally exist on one campus.

The UM SAFE group showed, with their mock evictions, that they are willing to disregard the rights of other students in furthering their own agenda as well as being willing to distort the facts when publishing and distributing their propaganda.135 The fact that Jewish students felt targeted is not important to the members of SAFE, even though these results of their actions violates their own code of conduct, as quoted

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135 The mock eviction notices stated reasons for the evictions as ethnic cleansing and “to make life so miserable for Arabs that they leave.”
above, which reads “SAFE upholds itself and its members to a high standard of conduct in order to engage in positive student activism.” Making students feel unsafe on their campus and in their dorm rooms, on the last day of classes, is not an example of positive student activism. Rather, it relies on scare tactics and intimidation, as well as seeking to engender a climate of anxiety over not knowing what might be happening next.

As the UM SAFE constitution, much like the UCLA SJP’s, contains the language of specifically supporting and advancing the BDS movement, I must again conclude the existence of SAFE on US college campuses is to be the campus BDS vehicle.
CHAPTER 6

CASE STUDY: COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Basic Campus Information

According to the Columbia University main webpage, in the “about” and “history” tabs, Columbia University was founded in 1754 as King’s College by royal charter of King George II of England. It is the oldest institution of higher learning in the state of New York and the fifth oldest in the United States [and] controversy preceded the founding of the College, with various groups competing to determine its location and religious affiliation.¹³⁶

Founded in controversy, the university has continued to have campus conflict at different points in its history. Indeed, in the 1960s, a decade of unrest throughout the entire country, Columbia University experienced the most significant crisis in its history. Currents of unrest sweeping the country—among them opposition to the Vietnam War, an increasingly militant civil rights movement, and the ongoing decline of America’s inner cities—converged with particular force at Columbia, casting the Morningside campus into the national spotlight. More than 1,000 protesting students occupied five buildings in the last week of April 1968, effectively shutting down the University until they were forcibly removed by the New York City police. Those events led directly to the cancellation of a proposed gym in Morningside Park, the cessation of certain classified research projects on campus, the retirement of President Grayson Kirk, and a downturn in the University's finances and morale. They also led to the creation of the University Senate, in which faculty, students, and alumni acquired a larger voice in University affairs.¹³⁷

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¹³⁷ Ibid., 2.
The ability to handle campus and community unrest in the 1960s should indicate that Columbia University administration and student body possess the skills necessary to navigate troubled situations. The creation of the University Senate to deal with student body concerns was a very forward and positive action taken in response to the issues many universities were facing in the 1960s.

The “Fall Admission” page also provides a set of “useful links” that include the “Essential Policies for the Columbia Community,” “Student Consumer Information,” and “Columbia University FACTS.”

The Student Consumer Information contains information for prospective students who are interested in learning basic information regarding matters such as transfer credits, financial aid, and general information about the university and campus. Likewise, the link for the FACTS leads to a page of pdf files that each leads to a four page file that lists basic facts of the campus and important student information. This page states:

Columbia University FACTS is an annual publication summarizing essential information about the University's history, governance, faculties, enrollment, and financials. No longer distributed in paper form, FACTS is available here as a .pdf for download.

Finally, the link that leads to the “Essential Policies for the Columbia Community” states that it contains valuable information to help students, faculty, and staff understand some of the policies and regulations of the University. Policies on this website pertain to campus safety (including harassment and

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141 Ibid., 1.
discrimination), the confidentiality of student records, drug and alcohol use, student leaves, and political activity, as well as others.\textsuperscript{142}

The page contains a wealth of links for information about the campus and how and where students should look for and access places of interest or information necessary for almost anything. Some links of interest to this thesis are “University Event Policies” and “Campus Safety and Security.”\textsuperscript{143} The “University Event Policies” page discusses the legal requirements of hosting events on the university grounds as well as whether an event is considered a “special” event. Events that are considered “special” have the following criteria:

Special Events include those events that meet the following criteria:
- presence of press/media (invited or otherwise)
- advertised beyond Columbia’s campus
- high attendance/capacity
- presence of alcohol
- potential for significant disruption
- security concerns on the part of the recognized student group, advisers, or guest

The presence of one of these criteria may not necessarily elevate the event to a Special Event status; however, these factors should be considered cumulatively.\textsuperscript{144}

The “Campus Safety and Security” page states the following:

At Columbia University, the safety and wellbeing of our students, faculty, and staff is an important priority. Columbia's campuses and their environs are safe and have a relatively low crime rate for an urban university. The University is required by federal law to publish an annual security report containing information with respect to campus security policies and


\textsuperscript{143} Ibid.

statistics on the incidence of certain crimes on and around our campuses.\textsuperscript{145}

The page entitled “Policies and Procedures on Discrimination and Harassment” possesses a link that is somewhat easy to miss as it is contained with a wordy paragraph that leads to the “Notice of Nondiscrimination.” This page states:

Columbia University is committed to providing a learning, living and working environment free from unlawful discrimination and to fostering a nurturing and vibrant community founded upon the fundamental dignity and worth of all of its members. Consistent with this commitment, and with all applicable laws, it is the policy of the University not to tolerate unlawful discrimination in any form and to provide persons who feel that they are victims of discrimination with mechanisms for seeking redress.

Columbia University prohibits any form of discrimination against any person on the basis of race, color, sex, gender, pregnancy, religion, creed, marital status, partnership status, age, sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression, national origin, disability, military status, or any other legally protected status in the administration of its educational policies, admissions policies, employment, scholarship and loan programs, and athletic and other University-administered programs.

Nothing in this policy shall abridge academic freedom or the University’s educational mission. Prohibitions against discrimination and discriminatory harassment do not extend to statements or written materials that are relevant and appropriately related to the subject matter of courses.\textsuperscript{146}

This policy page also includes links, like the other campuses in this thesis, to report an incident that a student (or faculty/staff member) has witnessed or experienced. The question, of course, with all three schools is not whether or not they have such mechanisms in place; rather, it is what happens to the reports once filed.


Campus Club Life for Students

Access to the student life section of the Columbia University page requires simply clicking from the home page on the link entitled “Resources for Students.” This leads to a page full of links for the various resources students might need. There is not, however, any information regarding the expectations for conduct of student organizations or any prominently displayed statement of inclusion and equality. Indeed, if there exists such a statement, it is not apparent from the home page of Columbia University.

Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP)

The link for “Student Organizations” reveals that there is not an official SJP chapter at Columbia University. However, there does exist an SJP group that claims to be the Columbia University chapter, as evidenced by the website, “Columbia Students for Justice in Palestine.”147 The small “About” section of their homepage states:

We are a Columbia student group organizing around human rights and justice for Palestinians. We follow the Palestinian Civil Society call for Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions of Israel.148

They have a Twitter page as well as a Facebook page, but do not seem to have their charter or constitution linked or embedded on their page. Their “Archive” link has links to articles dating back to 2010, but there is no link to more information about the chapter itself or, for the most part, its activities on Columbia University’s campus.

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148 Ibid., 1.
Columbia University SJP BDS Activity

Since the webpage of the Columbia SJP page states that it follows the call for BDS, it is not surprising then that they participate in what are now typical BDS events on college campuses, such as the Israeli Apartheid Week and the traveling wall exhibit. According to the AMCHA campus tracker page, the Columbia SJP has several other student groups as allies in their endorsement of the BDS movement. These groups include the Columbia Jewish Voices for Peace (JVP), the Palestine Solidarity Committee, LUCHA (a social justice student group whose name means “struggle”), the Columbia University Black Students’ Organization, and the Barnard Columbia Socialists.149 Many of these groups are not listed on the university’s page for all student groups. However, they organize events on campus. According to AMCHA, a report from November 12, 2015, states that the Columbia SJP was one of 10 local SJP chapters endorsing an advertisement for a rally that contained several classic and contemporary antisemitic tropes: it called CUNY’s leadership “the Zionist administration” and claimed that the administration “reproduces settler-colonial ideology throughout CUNY through Zionist content of education”; it suggested that the administration’s ties to israel [sic] were responsible for tuition hikes; and it claimed that the birthright trips and study abroad programs in Israel were in “occupied Palestine,” effectively denying the existence of the Jewish state. In addition, one of the endorsers’ demands included on the advertisement was that CUNY “divests from Israel, companies that maintain the Zionist occupation [sic].”150

The event being referenced was the “Million Student March” technically held at Hunter College, but endorsed by many student groups, such as the Columbia SJP as a BDS event. The event page, hosted on Facebook, states the following:

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150 Ibid., 1.
On November 12th, students all across CUNY will rally to demand a freeze on tuition and new contracts! We must fight for funding for our university, and for CUNY to be accessible to working class communities in NYC as the public university system. The Zionist administration invests in Israeli companies, companies that support the Israeli occupation, hosts birthright programs and study abroad programs in occupied Palestine, and reproduces settler-colonial ideology throughout CUNY through Zionist content of education. While CUNY aims to produce the next generation of professional Zionists, SJP aims to change the university to fight for all peoples liberation.

We demand:

An End to the Privatization of Education!

- Tuition-Free Education
- Cancellation of all student debt!
- $15 minimum wage for campus workers!

An End to Racial and Economic Segregation in Education!

- Racialized college-acceptance practices
- Work Program requirements for students on public assistance
- Rapid gentrification and privatization of public school property.

Transparency in Administration!

- Gender Resource Centers and perpetrators [sic] of sexual assault expelled
- Demand CUNY divests from Israel, companies that maintain the Zionist occupation, private prisons, and prison labor.
- Pay Parity for Adjunct Professors
- A fair contract for CUNY Professors

ENDORSED BY:
NYC Students for Justice in Palestine
Students for Justice in Palestine at Hunter College
Students for Justice in Palestine at Brooklyn College
Students for Justice in Palestine- St. Joseph’s College
Students for Justice in Palestine at College of Staten Island
Students for Justice in Palestine at John Jay College
CUNY School of Law Students for Justice in Palestine
Students for Justice in Palestine at Pace University - Pleasantville
Obviously this student march of protest was directed at the CUNY system, but it was endorsed by the various local SJP chapters and lays blame on the “Zionist” administration for the different elements of their complaint. It is unclear, even on the various group webpages and Facebook pages, why the groups are claiming that Israel and Zionism are responsible for any perceived pay issues for the faculty. Beyond the obvious request that CUNY divest from companies supporting Israel, there is not publicly available information as to the reasoning behind the correlation the students made in their demands. The Million Student March is a student led grassroots movement demanding “tuition-free public college,” “cancellation of all student debt,” and “a $15 minimum wage for all campus workers.”¹⁵² In the downloadable “Million Student March Organizing Guide Part One” that is linked from the Million Student March site, there is no mention of the words “Israel,” “Zionism,” or “Jewish.”¹⁵³ There is also no “Part Two” mentioned on the main website or the end of the guide. The NYU SJP page states the following:

The Zionist administration invests in Israeli companies, hosts birthright programs and study abroad programs in occupied Palestine, and reproduces settler-colonial ideology throughout CUNY through Zionist content of education which erases the reality that Palestinians live through every day. While CUNY aims to produce the next generation of professional Zionists, SJP aims to change the university and fight for all peoples liberation.¹⁵⁴

While it is certainly a point of discussion, and it is unclear why the NYU SJP added a BDS agenda element to a student protest of another matter, this event is germane to this thesis because the Columbia SJP supported the event.

In a more recent set of events, the Columbia SJP has been in online and campus reporting. The *Algemeiner* published an article entitled “Student Israel Advocates Leading Anti-BDS Effort at Columbia: ‘It’s Considered Cool to Oppose Zionism’.” The article begins:

A student group at Columbia University is gearing up to counter an anti-Israel boycott, divestment and sanctions (BDS) campaign being launched on campus this Thursday, *The Algemeiner* has learned.

The Columbia chapter of “Students Supporting Israel” (SSI) – established in September to prevent and combat such efforts, which have become increasingly commonplace at colleges across America – intends to send a delegation to attend a launch event, sponsored by Columbia University Apartheid Divest (CUAD), a joint organization formed by Students for Justice in Palestine and Jewish Voice for Peace.  

The article also states that CUAD, the creation of SJP and JVP, has been advertising on social media and in fliers distributed throughout the Ivy League school in New York City that it is holding an event to kickstart its BDS endeavor, which is focused on pressuring the university to divest “from companies that benefit from or provide funds for the continued presence of Israeli homes, business, and infrastructure in the West Bank,” as *The Algemeiner* reported on Tuesday. It has also been circulating an online petition and referring students to a Facebook invitation page called BDS 101.

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*Ibid., 1.*
This Facebook page shows a date for a planned event as February 4, 2016 and shares only the following information:

Columbia Students for Justice in Palestine and Columbia/Barnard Jewish Voice for Peace have united to launch their B [oycott], D [ivestment], and S [anctions]; Columbia University Apartheid Divest.

Come learn more about BDS, its goals, and the significance of BDS for our campus.

PLEASE NOTE THAT THIS EVENT IS RESTRICTED TO CUID HOLDERS ONLY.

Cosponsored with Barnard Columbia Socialists

The Columbia SJP Facebook page itself has an update posted on February 1, 2016, stating:

It is against the backdrop of Columbia and Barnard students' history of moral commitment to social, political, and economic justice that we, as members of Columbia Students for Justice in Palestine and Columbia/Barnard Jewish Voice for Peace, come together as Columbia University Apartheid Divest to call for the University to divest its stocks, funds, and endowment from companies that profit from the State of Israel's ongoing system of settler colonialism, military occupation, and apartheid law.

Sign our petition to demand Columbia divest from apartheid now!

To stay up to date on our campaign, like us on facebook, follow us on twitter (@ColumbiaBDS) and check our website apartheiddivest.org

This statement is a clear statement by the Columbia SJP members that they, as a group, believe that they are simply advancing the same ideals as advanced by students in the 1960s. However, it is also clear that the group is targeting one specific state and

its policies as opposed to targeting all states that engage in colonialism, military occupation, and apartheid law.

In an article entitled “New BDS Fight Brewing at Columbia”, published on February 10, 2016, in the online newspaper The Jewish Week, author Hannah Dreyfus writes:

Emboldened by recent campaigns to get Columbia University to divest from the private prison industry and from fossil fuels, a coalition of university students is spearheading a new campaign to divest from Israel.

And pro-Israel forces on campus appear ready for the fight to come.

The BDS campaign — titled Columbia University Apartheid Divest — is the first student-led boycott, divestment and sanctions campaign to embroil this university. Previous BDS campaigns were led by Columbia faculty and resulted in no policy changes.

But, according to Jewish students leading the initiative, this time promises to be different.159

The student group has been successful in gathering other students who are willing to listen to their platform, as the event mentioned above was considered a success,

Last week, JVP and SJP ran their first event publicizing the campaign, entitled “BDS 101”; according to Kalikoff, 65 students attended, and they had to turn away almost 100 students due to lack of space. A petition is also circulating among students and faculty — Kalikoff said numbers will be released shortly. Another introductory seminar, open only to Columbia students, is scheduled for this Thursday night.160

Additionally, an anonymous student stated that the atmosphere was certainly what the SJP chapter has hoped for:

One Columbia senior and pro-Israel campus leader, who asked not to be named for fear of retaliation, described the overall mood at the first

160 Ibid., 2.
meeting as “triumphant and ecstatic.” Many students were wearing keffiyahs, checkered scarves worn as a symbol of Palestinian nationalism. “The few people who asked questions were shot down,” she said, citing examples of someone who asked about Hamas’ open support of terrorism and another attendee who asked about the death penalty for homosexuality in Gaza. “People mostly laughed and sneered at questions.”

In response to the divestment campaign, pro-Israel student activists launched a counter-campaign called “Invest in Peace.” The purpose of the campaign is to educate students about how divestment generates distrust, and will only make it harder to achieve peace between Israelis and Palestinians, said Daniella Greenbaum, president of Aryeh, the Columbia student association for Israel.161

The fact that questions asked about realities of life for some Palestinians were ridiculed is something that begs explanation and possibly, investigation by campus officials.

According to most campus student group regulations, student group events must be fair and impartial to all attendees.162 The BDS campaign often lends itself to not being fully explained or even understood by those endorsing it, and, is often considered more harmful than beneficial by those who have weighed the pros and cons, such as Kenneth Waltzer who states in the article:

‘No divestment motion to date has led to changes in investment procedures,’ said Kenneth Waltzer, co-founder of the Academic Engagement Network (AEN), a recently formed national faculty coalition that aims to unite academics to facilitate constructive dialogue about Israel. ‘If you go back over recent confrontations on campus, faculty voices have been consistent in opposing divestment. It’s an unproductive activity — it doesn’t change anything with respect to actual relations between Israelis and Palestinians in the Middle East,’ he said.

Still, mounting a campaign itself promises to fuel the national BDS movement’s end goal, he said: to ‘delegitimize and demonize Israel.’ On a campus as prominent as Columbia, the effects of a student-led BDS effort may be magnified. The Palestinian BDS National Committee is a broad

161 Ibid., 2.
162 I cannot find the rules and regulations for Columbia University’s student clubs on their website. I will be contacting them for this information.
coalition of Palestinian organizations, trade unions, networks and NGOs; the group refers to the Jewish state in quotations marks on its website.

‘These students made no bones about it — they openly and unabashedly allied themselves with the national BDS movement,’ Waltzer said, adding that this is something he hasn’t seen from students in the past. ‘It’s going to come back and bite them. They don’t realize it, but now they’re saddled with all the commitments and goals of the movement. They can’t claim they only stand for peace.’

By stating that the group stands for peace but not allowing dissenting voices to even ask questions, the BDS rhetoric seemingly undermines any possible legitimacy the student groups might claim. Indeed, many of the students who support BDS and divestment on their own campuses do not even know if targeted companies are invested in by their university, as evidenced by this statement in the article referencing students at Columbia: “Of the eight companies selected, students behind the campaign admitted to not knowing whether Columbia held any shares in these companies.”

Students have admitted to feeling threatened and intimidated on their campuses due to BDS activity. One student, Students Supporting Israel (SSI) founder Alexandra Markus, stated:

The professors who support us have said they can’t come out publicly on our side, because they’re afraid it would jeopardize their careers. And they’re right. Look what happened to [Connecticut philosophy professor] Andrew Pessin. And to tell you the truth, I am also petrified that my pro-Israel activism could ruin my career.

This train of thought is one to think about in the discussion about the nature of the BDS movement on US college campuses and the student groups that are

164 Ibid., 3.
advocating for it. Are the students truly joining out of the spirit of social justice or is there a deeper motivation? And, does the BDS movement, as understood by university students, only desire an end to any perceived Palestinian injustice or does it seek to delegitimize Israel? And, possibly most importantly, does this distinction matter to the majority of the students endorsing and fighting for BDS?

Concluding Thoughts about Columbia University SJP

Columbia University, being the campus with the youngest SJP chapter, is an evolving story. It is unclear from the campus webpage if the SJP chapter is a chartered club on campus or if it merely a group of students who have affiliated themselves independently with the national SJP organization. It would appear that, since the group does use the university name, they believe themselves to be the legitimate SJP club on campus. Of course, this distinction only matters in terms of gaining university funding and access to university function/event rooms. Of greater concern at Columbia is the new element created called CUAD. Since this is an entity that is a partnership between SJP and JVP at Columbia, it can create confusion in the campus community as entering students may believe that a group that is co-sponsored by a Jewish student group should not be sponsoring BDS events. Additionally, it can create divisions between different groups within the community because if SJP holds events that target Jewish students, there is little way for outsiders to know which students to target. Thus, the students may feel doubly threatened because SJP would rely on the JVP members to advise who is pro-Israel and who is not.

This is a problem not seen on the other campuses at this time as there is no known coalition between SJP or SAFE and JVP or another Jewish student group that
works together to advance BDS. Additionally, this movement is also gaining faculty endorsement. As of Monday, February 29, 2016, “forty faculty members have signed a petition calling upon the University to “divest from corporations that supply, perpetuate, and profit from a system that has subjugated the Palestinian people.” The petition, which can be found in its entirety in the Appendix, also contains the following language:

We now stand with Columbia University Apartheid Divest, Columbia Students for Justice in Palestine as well as with Jewish Voice for Peace in calling upon the University to take a moral stance against Israel’s violence in all its forms. We demand that the University divest from corporations that supply, perpetuate, and profit from a system that has subjugated the Palestinian people for over 68 years. We note that our position unequivocally stands in support of a non-violent movement privileging human rights as the only means toward finding a political resolution.

By gaining faculty support, CUAD has opened the door for other university groups to solicit their own faculty support as opposed to now, where faculty BDS activity has been separate from student BDS activity. This could become a greater problem for US college campuses where it is difficult to imagine how well a campus can regulate its professors in terms of keeping personal agendas and beliefs out of the academic arena that is supposed to be the classroom.

A recent development, published at the time of this writing, in the Columbia University’s CUAD case has revealed that:

Over 200 faculty members have signed a petition expressing their commitment to Columbia’s ties with Israel and opposing divestment from companies that conduct business in the country.

This petition, released Sunday afternoon, follows the launch of Columbia University Apartheid Divest, which is calling on the University to “divest

from corporations that supply, perpetuate, and profit from a system that has subjugated the Palestinian people.\textsuperscript{168}

Additionally, the article related that the petition reads:

It would not be just or principled to respond to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by disengaging from Israel or from companies that do business with Israel,” the petition said. “It would be unjust to blame only one side for this conflict, and unprincipled to single out Israel for this sanction, while maintaining ties with other nations that – unlike Israel – are undemocratic, repressive, and much less restrained in their use of force. [And]

Israel is a thriving democracy. It has democratic elections, a free press, rule of law, and strong protections for the individual rights of all citizens, including Arabs as well as Jews,” the petition said. “Israel also is the home of great universities, a vibrant culture, and an innovative high-tech sector.\textsuperscript{169}

This show of support for Israel against the BDS movement from the faculty of Columbia University is encouraging as the community, both on the campus and off, must look to educators employed by the various universities and colleges to educate the students about social justice causes presented to them.


\textsuperscript{169} Ibid., 1.
CHAPTER 7
CONCLUSION

This work contains but a small sample of the microcosm that is the network of universities in the US. Using three case studies, I have presented what appears to be a common thread among BDS supporting groups at the university level: that of using aggressive tactics to instill fear and unease in their classmates. Some groups studied would, of course, have less offensive tactics and events, while others might have greater levels of offense. I believe that these case studies show a view of what can be considered a “normal” level of BDS activity on US college campuses. It is true that large numbers of students are not being physically harmed during the events on these campuses. However, psychological damage is not a tangibly measurable element and no one can accurately predict how these events may affect students going forward. Additionally, it is impossible to gauge if the hostile and aggressive tactics will increase in the future without following these groups over a span of several years.

The climate on many campuses in the United States is becoming more and more polarizing for students in regard to the Israel/Palestine issue. Many Jewish students feel threatened on campuses that they state they formerly felt safe on. Many Jewish

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170 The AMCHA Initiative’s page does contain reports of students alleging that they were physically assaulted by SJP members, both at campus events and off campus. However, these instances are very few and do not seem to have been investigated by campus police.

171 Comments from students collected from various campuses on the AMCHA Initiative “Campus Tracker” web pages.
students feel targeted as guilty of committing crimes against the Palestinians, even though they might never have been to Israel themselves. And, many Jewish students feel betrayed when groups such as Jewish Voices for Peace support the SJP and SAFE student groups and co-sponsor the BDS events.

One question to explore further is who, precisely, is funding these student groups and at what level. The SJP and SAFE groups appear to be being used by larger BDS promoting entities, such as PACBI, as campus vehicles for the BDS movement. However, there is nothing that can be gleaned from their own websites to indicate what groups are funding them and how much funding is gained from various places. There is much speculation regarding who is funding the various branches of the BDS movement, but, I have found little that offers concrete evidence. An article by Mitchell Bard entitled “BDS Money Trail Suggests Opaque Funding Network” states the following:

Despite the communal money being thrown at the BDS problem, and despite the headlines it has garnered around the world, little is known about how the movement gets its domestic funding. A month-long investigation by The Jewish Week reveals an opaque funding picture complicated by the fact that the main campus BDS group — Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) — is not a registered charity and does not have to report its funding to the Internal Revenue Service, and that university money flowing to BDS campus groups through student fees is anything but transparent.172

Additionally, Bard states: “WESPAC, nestled in Westchester’s arts district, provides a window into how the BDS movement gets funded. It is one of a handful of groups that helps fund SJP” but acknowledges that:

Financial reports do not disclose how much money WESPAC collects and distributes for SJP. Donations are designated for SJP so they should be recorded as restricted funds in their accounts; however, their tax filing only

lists general categories of expenses. For example, in 2013, WESPAC spent $54,000 on conferences, donated $7,500 and provided $16,000 for honoraria, but none of this is identified as being spent for SJP activities.\textsuperscript{173}\textsuperscript{174}

The money trail is well hidden from public view and as campus student groups are not always required to report all funding (this varies from campus to campus), there is no way to investigate where, precisely, the student groups are obtaining their funding for events, rallies, and hosting high profile speakers.

The SJP and SAFE groups are relatively recent developments on US college campuses, essentially formed since 2001. Student groups such as the Muslim Student Alliance (MSA) have existed for some time longer and, prior to the early 2000’s and the subsequent explosion of BDS activity, generally co-existed peacefully with other ethnic/cultural groups on campuses. With BDS entering the academic arena, new groups were needed to further the cause and serve as more dedicated vehicles for the BDS movement and anti-Zionist activity; thus, the SJP and SAFE groups were born.

What is also speculated about the formation of the SJP is that it:

was co-founded by the chairman of the radical anti-Israel organization, American Muslims for Palestine (AMP). Hatem Bazian has a track record of making incendiary comments and has been noted for his anti-Semitic remarks allegedly made during the 1990s at San Francisco State University. He allegedly attacked the student newspaper, saying it was full of Jewish spies.\textsuperscript{175}\textsuperscript{176}

\textsuperscript{173} Ibid., 2.
\textsuperscript{174} WESPAC Foundation is, according to their website at wespac.org, a group that “has been a leading force for progressive social change in Westchester County, New York, since 1974. We have been educating, agitating and organizing for a more just and peaceful world, an end to militarism and racism and a more fair economy that works for all. Our members are currently involved with food justice work, anti-fracking/anti-nuclear and pro-safe energy, solidarity with Indigenous Peoples, an end to militarism and drone warfare and a just resolution to the Israel/Palestine conflict.” "About WESPAC ::" WESPAC Foundation. WESPAC Foundation, 2016. Web. 07 Mar. 2016, 1.
\textsuperscript{176} American Muslims for Palestine (AMP), according to their FAQ page, has as its mission: “to educate the public about the just cause of Palestine and the rights of self-determination, liberty and justice.
This information has not been stated on any of the SJP club webpages I investigated in this thesis. At the time of this writing, the National SJP website, www.sjpnational.org was down. However, according to a report by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), entitled “Students for Justice in Palestine,” SJP was founded in 2001 and:

[its] “unification” efforts are partially a result of the influence on college campuses of American Muslims for Palestine (AMP), the leading organization providing anti-Zionist training to students and Muslim community organizations in the U.S. AMP increased its focus on anti-Israel advocacy on college campuses in 2010 and specifically targeted SJP for this effort. AMP organized various panels and conferences on the topic of Palestinian advocacy on campus and invited SJP students to lead and participate in these discussions. When the first SJP chapter was formed at the University of California, Berkeley in 2001, the group organized a Palestine Solidarity Movement (PSM) conference to coordinate divestment efforts among anti-Israel groups around the country.177

With neither group stating their relationship to the other, connections other than the panels and conferences hosted by the AMP cannot be verified. However, it is quite possible that such connections exist, as well as others not uncovered as yet.

Additionally, chartered clubs on college campuses typically require a faculty sponsor.178 The level to which that faculty member is involved varies from group to group as well as campus to campus. Some advisors merely sign their name to issues that require the faculty signature while others are actively involved with the meetings and events planned and held by the group. This level of faculty involvement is possibly the most serious issue regarding the student group activism in supporting the BDS

Through providing information, training and networking with like-minded individuals and organizations that support peace, AMP will raise awareness of the issues pertaining to Palestine and its rich cultural heritage.” http://www.ampalestine.org/index.php/about-amp/amp-faq/213-what-is-amps-mission
178 From my own experience at re-chartering the Religious Studies academic club at CSU Long Beach and discussions with students at other campuses.
movement due to the outside connections/memberships in larger entities those faculty members might hold. For instance, CSU Stanislaus Political Science professor Asad AbuKhalil is a leading voice of BDS support. He has stated, in an article critiquing Norman Finkelstein on the BDS movement:

Finkelstein rightly asks whether the real aim of BDS is to bring down the state of Israel. Here, I agree with him that it is. That should be stated as an unambiguous goal. There should not be any equivocation on the subject. Justice and freedom for the Palestinians are incompatible with the existence of the state of Israel.\(^{179}\)

Does AbuKhalil keep his controversial views out of the classroom? There is no way to know that unless you have been in his classes. Often, professors who do hold controversial beliefs gauge the class climate before divulging their personal opinions. Additionally, their time out of the classroom is technically their own and they are private citizens with the same rights to free speech as anyone else. Academically, the professor is protected by academic freedom of speech as well. However, it is a question of ethics when the professor is in a unique position to influence his students by his outside actions.\(^{180}\)

The BDS movement makes its intentions clear in its statements and its primary proponents are equally clear in how they support, endorse, and advance their positions. However, the student clubs on college campuses are much less clear and far less likely to be as transparent due to their very nature. The fact is, the vast majority of people in the US are not privy to the actions on college campuses and most also do not read campus news publications. There is a generation of students being divided by a topic


\(^{180}\) My reference to this professor is in no way meant as an attack or judgment of him as a person, merely a discussion of a professor already in the news for his position as a BDS supporter and advocate.
that many non-academically connected Americans know little about. More disturbing and concerning is the fact that, most often, dissenting or questioning voices are drowned out or threatened into silence, if they are not forcibly removed from the BDS events. Academic freedom of speech inherently includes everyone. The BDS campus movements seem to belie that inherent inclusion and demand the right to only have those who agree with them appear at their events. Multiple stories and reports exist of invited speakers who, when they talk about the human rights violations committed against the Palestinians by Palestinian groups such as Hamas, are shouted down by SJP members and, in some cases, threatened with physical violence and death. SJP members often engage in creating disturbances at Jewish student group events, often to the point of the events being shut down by campus security.

The SJP groups repeat, officially, that they are in no way antisemitic. However, in looking at the US State Department’s definition of antisemitism, quoted in Chapter 2, it becomes disturbingly clear that the BDS movement, as exemplified on US college campuses, has shades and underpinnings, if not an outright display, of antisemitism. The addition of anti-Zionist rhetoric to the Million Student March is an example of these underpinnings. This is not to say that every student who belongs to SJP or SAFE is personally antisemitic, nor is it to say that every chapter on every college campus is blatantly antisemitic. However, as seen for the campuses studied in this thesis, the executive board members of the SJP and SAFE chapters are required to be pro-BDS. Additionally, in the events examined, there appears to be an antisemitic/anti-Jewish agenda. Jewish students on these campuses report feeling targeted, threatened, and

181 For a recent example, see reports of Bassem Eid's talk at University of Chicago on February 18, 2016.
generally unsafe on their campuses. Freedom of speech has never included the right for a group to employ violent rhetoric and threaten the safety and wellbeing of a targeted group. Academic freedom cannot be held to a different standard, simply by virtue of being on a college campus.

In addition to the recent development at Columbia University discussed above, the UC Regents have also been constructing a “policy statement that could be a major advance in the battle against campus anti-Semitism.”\(^\text{182}\) Kenneth L. Marcus, President and General Counsel of the Louis D. Brandeis Center for Human Rights Under Law, states the following:

In response to anti-Semitic incidents throughout the UC system’s 10 campuses, the Regents have released an important draft Statement of Principles Against Intolerance. It is not what the Jewish community requested. But it will be a game-changer nevertheless—if the Regents formally adopt it at their March 23-24 meeting.\(^\text{183}\)

Marcus also reveals that he is “one of the two national experts on anti-Semitism with whom the Regents consulted.”\(^\text{184}\) He states:

UC leaders refuse to speak out when anti-Israel bias spills over into anti-Semitism. Often the problem is that officials disagree about where the line is between anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism.

The Regents’ new statement can change that.

The text is deceivingly bland. True, it does “call on University leaders actively to challenge anti-Semitism and other forms of discrimination when and wherever they emerge within the University community.” But it does not define anti-Semitism, and UC administrators do not always know it when they see it.

\(^{183}\) Ibid., 2.
\(^{184}\) Ibid., 2.
The Regents' breakthrough is not in the text, but in the accompanying “Contextual Statement.”

In 15 words, the Regents have significantly shifted the discourse on campus anti-Semitism: “Anti-Semitism, anti-Zionism and other forms of discrimination have no place at the University of California.”

Here, for the first time, a major American university will acknowledge that extreme “anti-Zionism” is “a form of discrimination” like racism or sexism or homophobia. In other words, Jewish students won’t have to argue that anti-Zionism is also anti-Semitic, because the Regents have established that anti-Zionism is also bigotry.

To be clear, the Regents do not say that anti-Zionism will be banned. Nor should they. As a public institution, they are bound to comply with the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Indeed, the Regents state with admiral clarity that “the University will vigorously defend the principles of the First Amendment and academic freedom against any efforts to subvert or abridge them.”

At the same time, the Regents are quite bold when they declare that “anti-Zionism has “no place at the University of California.” They speak here not as censors but as leaders. They use their own freedom of speech to announce that anti-Zionism, like any other form of bigotry, is inconsistent with their values and should be publicly condemned.  

This is a serious step forward for a university system to take. In officially adopting this statement, the UC Regents will not only have adopted language that sets a precedent for other universities to follow, it will have created definite guidelines for campus officials to follow when dealing with reports of discrimination. Marcus makes a simple, yet powerful observation when he states:

The Regents’ statement would have been stronger if the Regents accepted the organized Jewish community’s recommendation that they adopt a strong uniform definition of anti-Semitism. But they are doing something that may turn out to be equally important. They are recognizing, at long last, that extreme anti-Zionism is a form of hate.  

185 Ibid., 2-3.
186 Ibid., 5.
A recent blog post by Izzy Ezagui, blogger for The Times of Israel, discusses his experience speaking at the University of Louisville. A former Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) member, Ezagui relates his previous experiences while speaking at various universities:

The chants of Students for Justice in Palestine have shadowed me on countless campuses. No matter the college or university, their slogans germinate and sprout by a predictable process of evolution, a precise set of rules. They’re nourished by the condemnations against Israel freshly chalked onto the sidewalk. Their cries climb like ivies in the courtyard up the Ivory Towers of higher education. Soon enough, they spread through the corridors and classrooms inside where minds are meant to stay open.

His comments remind of the potential psychological damage BDS rallies are causing students, as he states:

I rarely have cause to fear for my physical safety on campus. But each time I hear such chants targeting my lectern, I’m dragged back to the Gaza border. The PA on base is blaring, “RED ALERT!” and my pulse grows wild. Why should the complaints of my detractors bring me back to a state of war? Because I know that after both forms of warning, an explosion follows.

He continues sharing his personal feelings as he prepares for his talk and watches his audience fill the room:

I won’t pretend the hostility doesn’t slice into me like a pizza-wheel through thin crust. Whoever came up with that pat phrase about sticks, stones, and bones is chock-full of tomato sauce. Words do hurt. Witnessing an army of young protestors file aggressively into your lecture brings pain beyond the mere physical sphere. Their slurs are meant to inflame, their slogans on posters and banners intend to sting. The

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187 Izzy Ezagui is a reservist in the Israeli Special Forces. He lost an arm by mortar attack during Operation CastLead, January 09. Izzy currently lives in the United States where he is a motivational speaker – and is working on a memoir titled, Disarmed.
189 Ibid., 1.
righteous fury they aim at anyone they oppose can send even the bravest ninja – turtle or otherwise – deep into his shell.\textsuperscript{190}

He relates that the talk resembles others he has given:

The process starts out the same. The chants build and bounce. The posters slam and sicken. The room fills with protesters, and their rage immediately starts to seesaw. It travels through my divided audience like lightening between cumulus clouds. Protesters from Students for Justice in Palestine stand rigidly at attention, banners and flags held with pride. They refuse to take seats. Despite my invitation, they opt to stand opposite the chairs of the women and men who have come to support Israel.\textsuperscript{191}

But Ezagui notices that something at this event at the University of Louisville was different. He noticed that the SJP students and supporters were willing to allow him to speak:

The protesters hold their ground, but they choose not to push deeper into the battlefield. These students allow me to speak for 25 minutes without disruption—that’s a rarity. They don’t cause further mayhem in the name of Palestine as so many other SJP chapters would. Instead, they stand proudly with their banners in hand – cardboard and ink that equates Zionism to terrorism. But that’s okay; they choose not to stifle my freedom of speech. They hold up their opposition to my existence with outstretched arms the entire time I speak. They are close enough that I can see their hands shaking from the effort.\textsuperscript{192}

The difference between many events attended by the SJP members and this event at University of Louisville is stark, as Ezagui relates his typical experience:

"We don’t dialogue with terrorists!"

This is what I’m used to hearing from members of SJP before they disrupt, shout, and storm out. But the Louisville chapter stands quietly until it’s time for questions and answers. They keep their fury in check, but, like the

\textsuperscript{190} Ibid., 2.
\textsuperscript{191} Ibid., 2.
\textsuperscript{192} Ibid., 3.
students in most other chapters, they care passionately about their cause. Their questions make that clear.\(^{193}\)

During the question and answer section, he invites questions from the SJP members and respectfully answers them in turn. He points out something that many speakers at such events are not able to discuss, due to constant interruptions and general disruptions:

A lot of the issues that arise for the Palestinians come from their own leadership. What’s happening to these people is disgusting. But it’s also unfortunate that you’re placing all the blame on Israel. That can’t lead to a solution. Israel is doing what it must do to survive. And no more... If you guys focused more on calling out their leadership — men who are siphoning away aid that flows from the rest of the world — and if you condemned Hamas for killing its political opposition, for murdering gay people, and all the other atrocities they carry out — you’d get better results than standing here defiantly...in this wonderful way. I love that you’re standing up for something ...I just wish you were directing your efforts at someone who deserves it.\(^{194}\)

This statement, unlike everything else Ezagui had said that day, resonated with these students:

The foundation of this living, breathing wall softens ever so slightly. What a sight. What a feeling. I can see the cogs turning, right below that layer of bridled rage. These students care. They want to find a solution for an injustice, for the people of Palestine whom they’ve chosen to champion, a people who differ from my own, who often murder my own—and yet I find myself inspired by the students’ courage. Not for showing up, nor for holding aloft their thoughts so tirelessly. Instead, I’m inspired by their willingness to have a dialogue, to hear a narrative that differs so greatly from their own, to keep an open mind.\(^{195}\)

No one should ever claim that the students who form the various SJP and SAFE chapters are not willing to learn. Rather, everyone should seek to understand where

\(^{193}\) Ibid., 3.

\(^{194}\) Ibid., 4.

\(^{195}\) Ibid., 4.
their collective positions come from and learn how to engage them in helpful and constructive dialogue. Ezagui saw a transformation in a group of students he had cause to be worried about from his own previous experiences. Surely such transformations are possible in other groups as well.

Recognizing the forms of hate is only the first step and the problem of the BDS movement is much larger than many believe it to be. I have discovered that many people removed from the academic community are not aware of what the BDS movement is. This is not surprising; it is not uncommon for people who do not have college connections to have little to no understanding of the events on campus. As formal education on antisemitism is lacking in many current school curricula, many students are entering college without the proper tools to recognize antisemitism that is not blatant or openly declared. Due to this lack of education, many students are then also unprepared to critically evaluate the message of movements like BDS. When this generation of students is being exposed to such violent, prejudiced, and often misinformed rhetoric without the education to recognize it, the question arises: how will these students teach the next generation?
APPENDIX A

UCLA PRINCIPLES OF COMMUNITY

The University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) is an institution that is firmly rooted in its land-grant mission of teaching, research, and public service. The campus community is committed to discovery and innovation, creative and collaborative achievements, debate and critical inquiry, in an open and inclusive environment that nurtures the growth and development of all faculty, students, administration and staff. These Principles of Community are vital for ensuring a welcoming and inclusive environment for all members of the campus community and for serving as a guide for our personal and collective behavior.

• We believe that diversity is critical to maintaining excellence in all of our endeavors.
• We seek to foster open-mindedness, understanding, compassion and inclusiveness among individuals and groups.
• We are committed to ensuring freedom of expression and dialogue, in a respectful and civil manner, on the spectrum of views held by our varied and diverse campus communities.
• We value differences as well as commonalities and promote respect in personal interactions.
• We affirm our responsibility for creating and fostering a respectful, cooperative, equitable and civil campus environment for our diverse campus communities.
• We strive to build a community of learning and fairness marked by mutual respect.
• We do not tolerate acts of discrimination, harassment, profiling or other conduct causing harm to individuals on the basis of expression of race, color, ethnicity, gender,
age, disability, religious beliefs, political preference, sexual orientation, gender identity, citizenship, or national origin among other personal characteristics. Such conduct violates UCLA’s Principles of Community and may result in imposition of sanctions according to campus policies governing the conduct of students, staff and faculty.

- We acknowledge that modern societies carry historical and divisive biases based on race, ethnicity, gender, age, disability, sexual orientation, and religion, and we seek to promote awareness and understanding through education and research and to mediate and resolve conflicts that arise from these biases in our communities.

The “Principles of Community” statement was developed by the Chancellor’s Advisory Group on Diversity, since renamed the UCLA Council on Diversity & Inclusion, which is comprised of representatives from administration, faculty, staff, students and alumni. For more information, or to download copies of the statement, please see www.diversity.ucla.edu.

May 2010 | Updated March 2011
APPENDIX B

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY APARtheid DIVEST PETITION

CU Apartheid Divest Petition

We demand that Columbia University end its investments in Israeli Apartheid.

We call upon the Columbia community to support Palestinian human rights.

We stand united for justice.

Sign our petition and demand Columbia divest from apartheid!

Read our full statement to the Columbia community at apartheiddivest.org

* Required

Name *

First and last

Affiliation *

- Student
- Faculty
- Staff
- Alumni
- Other: 

If you are a Columbia affiliate, what is your school? *

If you are an alum, please list your school and grad year in 'other'. If you are a non-affiliate, please click 'non Columbia'.

- Barnard College
- Columbia College
If you are a Columbia affiliate, list your UNI. If non-Columbia, list n/a. *

If you would like to stay up to date on our campaign, please give us your email.

Submit

Never submit passwords through Google Forms.
As both scholars and community members, we are professionally, intellectually, and morally invested in our University. We deem it our duty to hold our institution accountable for the ethical implications of its own actions, notably its financial investments and their implications around the world. In particular, we take issue with our financial involvements in institutions associated with the State of Israel's military occupation of Palestinian lands, continued violations of Palestinian human rights, systematic destruction of life and property, inhumane segregation and systemic forms of discrimination.

In 2002, faculty members across various departments called for an end to our investment in all firms that supplied Israel's military with arms and military hardware. Students, alumni, faculty, and staff agreed to attach their name to a call to remove the State of Israel's social license in its use of asymmetrical and excessive violence against Palestinian civilians.

We now stand with Columbia University Apartheid Divest, Columbia Students for Justice in Palestine as well as with Jewish Voice for Peace in calling upon the University to take a moral stance against Israel's violence in all its forms. We demand that the University divest from corporations that supply, perpetuate, and profit from a system that has subjugated the Palestinian people for over 68 years. We note that our position unequivocally stands in support of a non-violent movement privileging human rights as the only means toward finding a political resolution.

We call on our University to recognize its undeniable role in, and influence upon, global systems, a distinguished role that comes with a commensurately weighty measure of moral accountability.

**Signatories**

If you're a member of the Columbia/Barnard faculty, click here to sign the petition.

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196 I have not listed all signatories to this document as there are over 75. They can be viewed at: http://apartheid-divest.rhcloud.com//
APPENDIX C

CALL FOR THE ACADEMIC AND CULTURAL BOYCOTT OF ISRAEL

Whereas Israel's colonial oppression of the Palestinian people, which is based on Zionist ideology, comprises the following:

- Denial of its responsibility for the Nakba—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;

Since Israeli academic institutions (mostly state controlled) and the vast majority of Israeli intellectuals and academicians have either contributed directly to maintaining, defending or otherwise justifying the above forms of oppression, or have been complicit in them through their silence,

Given that all forms of international intervention have until now failed to force Israel to comply with international law or to end its repression of the Palestinians, which has manifested itself in many forms, including siege, indiscriminate killing, wanton destruction and the racist colonial wall,
In view of the fact that people of conscience in the international community of scholars and intellectuals have historically shouldered the moral responsibility to fight injustice, as exemplified in their struggle to abolish apartheid in South Africa through diverse forms of boycott,

Recognizing that the growing international boycott movement against Israel has expressed the need for a Palestinian frame of reference outlining guiding principles,

In the spirit of international solidarity, moral consistency and resistance to injustice and oppression,

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

Endorsed by (2004):
Palestinian Federation of Unions of University Professors and Employees; Palestinian General Federation of Trade Unions; Palestinian NGO Network, West Bank; Teachers’ Federation; Palestinian Writers’ Federation; Palestinian League of Artists; Palestinian Journalists’ Federation; General Union of Palestinian Women; Palestinian Lawyers’ Association; and tens of other Palestinian federations, associations, and civil society organizations.
APPENDIX D

PALESTINIAN CIVIL SOCIETY CALL FOR BDS

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

9 July 2005

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

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

Given that, since 1948, hundreds of UN resolutions have condemned Israel’s colonial and discriminatory policies as illegal and called for immediate, adequate and effective remedies; and
Given that all forms of international intervention and peace-making have until now failed to convince or force Israel to comply with humanitarian law, to respect fundamental human rights and to end its occupation and oppression of the people of Palestine; and

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

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

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

These non-violent punitive measures should be maintained until Israel meets its obligation to recognize the Palestinian people’s inalienable right to self-determination and fully complies with the precepts of international law by:
1. Ending its occupation and colonization of all Arab lands and 
dismantling the Wall
2. Recognizing the fundamental rights of the Arab-Palestinian citizens of 
Israel to full equality; and
3. Respecting, protecting and promoting the rights of Palestinian refugees 
to return to their homes and properties as stipulated in UN resolution 
194.

Endorsed by:

The Palestinian political parties, unions, associations, coalitions and organizations 
below represent the three integral parts of the people of Palestine: Palestinian refugees, 
Palestinians under occupation and Palestinian citizens of Israel.\(^{197}\)

\(^{197}\) I have not included the several pages of supporters, which number 173 in total. The list of named 
supporters can be found at: https://bdsmovement.net/call
APPENDIX E

PACBI GUIDELINES FOR THE INTERNATIONAL ACADEMIC BOYCOTT OF ISRAEL

(revised July 2014)

Being the part of the Palestinian BDS National Committee (BNC) tasked with overseeing the academic and cultural boycott aspects of BDS, the Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI) has advocated, since 2004, for a boycott of Israeli academic and cultural institutions. This is based on the fact that these institutions are deeply complicit in the Israeli system of oppression that has denied Palestinians their basic rights guaranteed by international law, or has hampered their exercise of these rights, including academic freedom and the right to education.

Academic institutions are a key part of the ideological and institutional scaffolding of Israel’s regime of occupation, colonialism and apartheid against the Palestinian people [1]. Since its founding, the Israeli academy has cast its lot with the hegemonic political-military establishment in Israel, and notwithstanding the efforts of a handful of principled academics, the Israeli academy is profoundly implicated in supporting and perpetuating Israel’s systematic denial of Palestinian rights [2].

The institutional academic boycott that PACBI is calling for has been endorsed by the Palestinian Council for Higher Education (CHE), is in line with the CHE’s authoritative call for "non-cooperation in the scientific and technical fields between Palestinian and Israeli universities" [3], and is supported by the Palestinian Federation of Unions of University Professors and Employees (PFUUPE).

Academic Freedom

The BNC, through the PACBI guidelines presented below, upholds the universal right to academic freedom. The institutional boycott called for by Palestinian civil society does not conflict with such freedom. PACBI subscribes to the internationally-accepted definition of academic freedom as adopted by the United Nations Committee on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (UNESCR):

Academic freedom includes the liberty of individuals to express freely opinions about the institution or system in which they work, to fulfill their functions without discrimination or fear of repression by the state or any other actor, to participate in professional or representative academic bodies, and to enjoy all the internationally recognized human rights applicable to other individuals in the same jurisdiction. The enjoyment of academic freedom carries with it obligations, such as the duty to respect the academic freedom of others, to ensure the fair discussion
of contrary views, and to treat all without discrimination on any of the prohibited grounds. [4]

Anchored in precepts of international law and universal human rights, the BDS movement, including PACBI, rejects on principle boycotts of individuals based on their identity (such as citizenship, race, gender, or religion) or opinion. If, however, an individual is representing the state of Israel or a complicit Israeli institution (such as a dean, rector, or president), or is commissioned/recruited to participate in Israel’s efforts to “rebrand” itself, then her/his activities are subject to the institutional boycott the BDS movement is calling for.

*Mere affiliation of Israeli scholars to an Israeli academic institution is therefore not grounds for applying the boycott.*

While an individual’s academic freedom should be fully and consistently respected in the context of academic boycotts, an individual academic, Israeli or otherwise, cannot be exempt from being subject to “common sense” boycotts (beyond the scope of the PACBI institutional boycott criteria) that conscientious citizens around the world may call for in response to what they widely perceive as egregious individual complicity in, responsibility for, or advocacy of violations of international law (such as direct or indirect involvement in the commission of war crimes or other grave human rights violations; incitement to violence; racial slurs; etc.). At this level, Israeli academics should not be automatically exempted from due criticism or any lawful form of protest, including boycott; they should be treated like all other offenders in the same category, not better or worse. This is in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in which the BDS movement’s principles are based, and which states:

> In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order, and the general welfare in a democratic society. [5]

**Academic Boycott Guidelines**

Since 2004, PACBI has carefully examined many academic projects and activities, assessing the applicability of the boycott criteria to them and, accordingly, has issued open letters, statements or advisory opinions on them. Based on this experience and in response to the burgeoning demand for PACBI’s specific guidelines on applying the academic boycott to diverse projects, from conferences to exchange programs and research efforts, the Campaign lays out below unambiguous, consistent and coherent criteria and guidelines that specifically address the nuances and particularities of the academy.
These guidelines are mainly intended to assist conscientious academics and academic bodies around the world to be in harmony with the Palestinian call for boycott, as a contribution towards upholding international law and furthering the struggle for freedom, justice and equality. Similar guidelines for the cultural boycott have been issued by PACBI [6].

As a general overriding rule, all Israeli academic institutions, unless proven otherwise, are subject to boycott because of their decades-old, deep and conscious complicity in maintaining the Israeli occupation and denial of basic Palestinian rights, whether through their silence, actual involvement in justifying, whitewashing or otherwise deliberately diverting attention from Israel’s violations of international law and human rights, or indeed through their direct collaboration with state agencies in the planning and implementation of projects that contravene international law and Palestinian rights. Accordingly, these institutions, all their activities, and all the activities they sponsor or support must be boycotted. Projects with all Israeli academic institutions should come to an end, as was the case with all South African academic institutions under apartheid.

Based on the above, PACBI urges academics, academic associations/unions, and academic -- as well as other -- institutions around the world, where possible and as relevant, to boycott and/or work towards the cancellation or annulment of events, activities, agreements, or projects involving Israeli academic institutions or that otherwise promote the normalization of Israel in the global academy, whitewash Israel’s violations of international law and Palestinian rights, or violate the BDS guidelines.

Specifically, the following events, activities, or situations are in violation of the Palestinian academic boycott:

1. **Academic events (such as conferences, symposia, workshops, book and museum exhibits) convened or co-sponsored by Israel, complicit Israeli institutions or their support and lobby groups in various countries.** All such academic events, whether held in Israel or abroad, deserve to be boycotted on institutional grounds. These boycottable activities include panels and other activities sponsored or organized by Israeli academic bodies or associations at international conferences outside Israel. Importantly, they also include the convening in Israel of meetings of international bodies and associations.

The general principle is that an event or project carried out under the sponsorship/aegis of or in affiliation with or funding by an official Israeli body or a complicit institution (including lobby groups) constitutes complicity and therefore is deserving of boycott. The same may apply to support or sponsorship from non-Israeli institutions that serve Israeli propaganda purposes.
2. **Research and development activities that fall into these broad categories:**

(a) **Among academic institutions – Institutional cooperation agreements with Israeli universities or research institutes.** These agreements, concluded between international and Israeli academic institutions, typically involve the exchange of faculty and students and, more importantly, the conduct of joint research. Many of these schemes are sponsored and funded by the European Union (in the case of Europe), and independent and government foundations elsewhere.

(b) **Among the Israeli government and other governments or foundations/institutions.** Researchers in such projects could be based at U.S., European or other universities.

(c) **Among corporations and academic institutions –** Research and development activities on behalf of international corporations involving contracts or other institutional agreements with departments or centers at Israeli universities.

The clearest example of academic complicity with Israel that is supported by governments is Horizon 2020 [7]. Including Israel in this massive academic research project despite Israel’s persistent violations of the human rights clause of the EU-Israel Association Agreement [8], the legal framework for Horizon and other EU-Israel schemes, is tantamount to whitewashing the long list of violations of human rights that Israel and its complicit universities have committed over the last decades.

Other examples include the United States-Israel Binational Science Foundation (BSF) [9], an institution established by the US and Israeli governments in 1972 to sponsor research by Israelis and Americans, and the “Eureka Initiative,” [10] a European inter-governmental initiative set up in 1985 that includes Israel as the only non-European member. The Britain-Israel Research and Academic Exchange Partnership (BIRAX), a politically motivated project that aims to counter the growing support of the academic boycott of Israel among British academics and their unions [11] is another example.

3. **Funding from Israel or its lobby groups to academic activities/projects.** All academic projects and activities funded, partially or fully, by Israel or any of its lobby groups are boycottable. Any international academic forum/project that accepts funding from Israel, its lobby groups or complicit institutions is conflicting with the Palestinian academic boycott of Israel.

**Note:** An Israeli academic is entitled, as a taxpayer, to receive funding from his/her government or institution in support of academic activities, such as attendance of international conferences and other academic events, so long as this is not conditioned upon serving Israel’s policy interests in any way, such as
public acknowledgement of this support by the organizers of the conference or activity/event. Mere affiliation of the academic to an Israeli institution does not subject the conference or activity to boycott.

4. **Addresses and talks at international venues by, as well as debates with, Israeli state officials or official representatives of Israeli academic institutions** such as presidents, rectors or deans.

5. **Study abroad schemes in Israel for international students.** These programs are usually housed at Israeli universities and are part of the Israeli propaganda effort, designed to give international students a “positive experience” of Israel, whitewashing its occupation and denial of Palestinian rights. Publicity and recruitment for these schemes through students’ affairs offices or academic departments (such as Middle East and international studies centers) at universities abroad should come to an end.

6. **Special academic honors or recognition granted to Israeli officials, representatives of Israeli academic institutions (such as the bestowal of honorary degrees and other awards) or to Israeli academic or research institutions.** Such institutions and their official representatives are complicit and as such should be denied this recognition.

7. **Normalization Projects.** Academic activities and projects involving Palestinians and/or other Arabs on one side and Israelis on the other (whether bi- or multi-lateral) that are based on the false premise of symmetry/parity between the oppressors and the oppressed or that claim that both colonizers and colonized are equally responsible for the “conflict” are intellectually dishonest and morally reprehensible forms of normalization that ought to be boycotted [12]. Far from challenging the unjust status quo, such projects contribute to its endurance. Examples include events, projects, or publications that are designed explicitly to bring together Palestinians/Arabs and Israelis so they can present their respective narratives or perspectives, or to work toward reconciliation without addressing the root causes of injustice and the requirements of justice. Other factors that PACBI takes into consideration in evaluating such activities and projects are the sources of funding, the design of the project or event, the objectives of the sponsoring organization(s), the participants, and similar relevant factors.

Joint projects that meet the following two conditions are *not* considered forms of normalization and are therefore exempt from boycott:

(a) the Israeli party in the project recognizes the comprehensive Palestinian rights under international law (corresponding to the 3 rights in the BDS call); and
(b) the project/activity is one of “co-resistance” rather than co-existence. [13]
Debates between Palestinians/Arabs and Israelis are also excluded from the boycott if organized without any cooperation with Israel, its lobby groups, or its complicit institutions.

Conditioning support for Palestinian academic institutions on their “partnership” with Israeli institutions is also a coercive form of normalization that is rejected by the BNC, including PACBI and the Palestinian Federation of Unions of University Professors and Employees (PFUUPE). It contributes to covering up the Israeli institutions’ complicity and to enhancing their legitimacy as centers of excellence, instead of directly and independently strengthening the research capacity of Palestinian institutions.

International academics who insist on crossing the BDS “picket line” by pursuing activities with boycottable Israeli institutions and then visiting Palestinian institutions or groups for “balance,” violate the boycott guidelines and contribute to the false perception of symmetry between the colonial oppressor and the colonized. The BNC (including PACBI) rejects this attempt at “fig-leafing” [14] and does not welcome such visits to Palestinian institutions.

8. **Institutional membership of Israeli associations in world bodies.** Targeted and selective campaigns demanding the suspension of Israeli membership in international forums contribute towards pressuring Israel until it respects international law. Just as South Africa’s membership was suspended in world academic—among other—bodies during apartheid, so must Israel’s.

9. **Publishing in or refereeing articles for academic journals based at Israeli universities or published in collaboration with Israeli institutions, or granting permission to reprint material published elsewhere in such Israel-based journals.** These journals include those published by international associations but housed at Israeli universities. Efforts should be made to re-locate the editorial offices of these journals to universities outside Israel.

10. **Serving as external reviewers for dissertations, writing recommendations or other forms of refereeing such as advising on hiring, promotion, tenure, and grant-making decisions at Israeli universities** [15]. International academics who choose to review the academic work of faculty or students at Israeli universities on a *personal basis* are not conflicting with the boycott guidelines, so long as their names are not used by those universities in any way (to gain legitimacy). Accepting to be on a dissertation, referee or review committee appointed by or serving an Israeli university, however, directly conflicts with the institutional boycott of these universities, as it legitimates Israel’s academic standing around the world. The boycott also applies to writing tenure or promotion recommendations addressed to university administrators. Furthermore, international faculty should not accept to write recommendations for students hoping to pursue studies in Israel, as this facilitates the violation of guideline 11 below.
11. **International students enrolling in or international faculty teaching or conducting research at degree or non-degree programs at an Israeli institution.** If conducting research at Israeli facilities such as archives does not entail official affiliation with those facilities (e.g. in the form of a visiting position), then the activity is not subject to boycott.

12. **All academic visits or fact-finding missions that receive funding from Israel, its complicit institutions or its international lobby groups.** Israeli government funding or funding by Israeli lobby groups should be boycotted. On the other hand, balanced, independent fact-finding missions, even those that include meetings with complicit Israeli academic institutions, are not boycottable, provided that no institutional link (e.g., seminars, workshops, exhibits, etc.) of any sort is established with Israeli institutions.

The institutional boycott of Israeli academic institutions should continue until these institutions fulfill two basic conditions:

a. **Recognize the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people as enshrined in international law** (including the three basic rights outlined in the 2005 BDS Call) and

b. **End all forms of complicity in violating Palestinian rights as stipulated in international law.** This complicity includes discriminatory policies and practices as well as diverse roles in planning, implementing and/or justifying Israel’s human rights abuses and violations of international law.

PACBI
www.pacbi.org
APPENDIX F

UCLA MISSION AND VALUES

OUR MISSION

UCLA's primary purpose as a public research university is the creation, dissemination, preservation and application of knowledge for the betterment of our global society. To fulfill this mission, UCLA is committed to academic freedom in its fullest terms: We value open access to information, free and lively debate conducted with mutual respect for individuals, and freedom from intolerance. In all of our pursuits, we strive at once for excellence and diversity, recognizing that openness and inclusion produce true quality. These values underlie our three institutional responsibilities.

Learning and teaching at UCLA are guided by the belief that undergraduate, graduate and professional school students and their teachers belong to a community of scholars. This community is dedicated to providing students with a foundational understanding of a broad range of disciplines followed by the opportunity for in-depth study in a chosen discipline. All members of the community are engaged together in discovering and advancing knowledge and practice. Learning occurs not only in the classroom, but also through engagement in campus life and in communities and organizations beyond the university.

Discovery, creativity and innovation are hallmarks of UCLA. As one of the world's great research universities, we are committed to ensuring excellence across a wide range of disciplines, professions and arts while also encouraging investigation across disciplinary boundaries. In so doing, UCLA advances knowledge, addresses pressing societal needs and creates a university enriched by diverse perspectives where all individuals can flourish.

Civic engagement is fundamental to our mission as a public university. Located on the Pacific Rim in one of the world's most diverse and vibrant cities, UCLA reaches beyond campus boundaries to establish partnerships locally and globally. We seek to serve society through both teaching and scholarship, to educate successive generations of leaders, and to pass on to students a renewable set of skills and commitment to social engagement.

UCLA endeavors to integrate education, research and service so that each enriches and extends the others.

This integration promotes academic excellence and nurtures innovation and scholarly development.
PRINCIPLES OF COMMUNITY

The University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) is an institution that is firmly rooted in its land-grant mission of teaching, research and public service. The campus community is committed to discovery and innovation, creative and collaborative achievements, debate and critical inquiry, in an open and inclusive environment that nurtures the growth and development of all faculty, students, administration and staff. These Principles of Community are vital for ensuring a welcoming and inclusive environment for all members of the campus community and for serving as a guide for our personal and collective behavior.

- We believe that diversity is critical to maintaining excellence in all of our endeavors.
- We seek to foster open-mindedness, understanding, compassion and inclusiveness among individuals and groups.
- We are committed to ensuring freedom of expression and dialogue, in a respectful and civil manner, on the spectrum of views held by our varied and diverse campus communities.
- We value differences as well as commonalities and promote respect in personal interactions.
- We affirm our responsibility for creating and fostering a respectful, cooperative, equitable and civil campus environment for our diverse campus communities.
- We strive to build a community of learning and fairness marked by mutual respect.
- We do not tolerate acts of discrimination, harassment, profiling or other conduct causing harm to individuals on the basis of expression of race, color, ethnicity, gender, age, disability, religious beliefs, political preference, sexual orientation, gender identity, citizenship or national origin, among other personal characteristics. Such conduct violates UCLA's Principles of Community and may result in imposition of sanctions according to campus policies governing the conduct of students, staff and faculty.
- We acknowledge that modern societies carry historical and divisive biases based on race, ethnicity, gender, age, disability, sexual orientation and religion, and we seek to promote awareness and understanding through education and research and to mediate and resolve conflicts that arise from these biases in our communities.

The Principles of Community statement was developed by the Chancellor’s Advisory Group on Diversity, since renamed the UCLA Council on Diversity & Inclusion. The group includes representatives from the administration, faculty, staff, and student and alumni communities.
APPENDIX G

UCLA SJP CONSTITUTION

students for justice in palestine - ucla

Constitution [sic]

Adopted as of 7/21/12

Amended 4/16/14

Constitution Summary

Article I - Name

Article II - Affiliation

Article III - Vision

Article IV - Membership

Article V - Electoral Process

Article VI - Board and Committees

Article VII - Accountability

Article VIII - Meetings and Workshops

Article IX - Finances

Article X - Transitioning

Article XI - Amendment Process

Article I: Name

Section 1

The name of the organization whose functions and goals are enumerated herein shall be Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) at the University of California, Los Angeles.
Section 2

The name of the organization, or the abbreviation SJP UCLA, shall appear on all official documents and publications sponsored by the organization.

Article II: Affiliation

Section 1

SJP shall remain an officially registered student organization at UCLA.

Section 2

SJP does not represent UCLA.

Section 3

SJP at UCLA shall remain independent of any umbrella organization.

Article III: Vision

Section 1 - Mission Statement

Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) is a diverse group of students, faculty, staff, and community members at the University of California, Los Angeles, organized on democratic principles to promote justice, human rights, liberation, and self-determination for the Palestinian people. As an advocacy group, SJP believes that key principles grounded in international law, human rights, and basic standards of justice, dictate concrete steps that will be fundamental to a fair and lasting resolution of the Israel-Palestine conflict.

Section 2 - Guiding Principles

Most important among the concrete steps that will be fundamental to a fair and lasting resolution to the Israel-Palestine conflict are:

- An end to the Israeli military occupation of the West Bank, East Jerusalem, and Gaza Strip.
- An end to the blockade of humanitarian aid to the Palestinian territories.
- The recognition of the Palestinian people as an independent and autonomous cultural group with unique traditions, practices and ways of life.
- The establishment of either a fully independent and viable Palestinian state in the Occupied Palestinian Territories, or of one secular, democratic state over all of modern-day Israel or Palestine.
- An end to Israel’s system of apartheid in the Occupied Palestinian Territories, as well as its system of discrimination against the Arab population within its own borders.
- Withdrawal and end to the illegal Israeli settlements in Palestinian territories.
- A just solution to the Palestinian refugee problem; The Israeli State acknowledges the right of Palestinians to return to their native land.

SJP deals with an extremely complex and controversial issue that never fails to stimulate discussion and interaction amongst students and other student organizations dealing with similar issues. The main topic of discussion that arises from SJP events is about the Palestine question. SJP strives to bring together students of different beliefs and backgrounds to discuss their concerns on the topic in a safe environment. We not only want to educate others on this issue, but also have them relate it to their own struggles.

As members of a student solidarity group, we defer to Palestinian civil society's leadership and requests regarding international support. To that end, we have endorsed the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions movement and the rights it is aimed at achieving. In addition to calling for economic and state pressure on Israel, the BDS guidelines also define and clearly oppose normalization. As the Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel describes it,

"...international supporters of BDS are asked to refrain from participating in any event that morally or politically equates the oppressor and oppressed, and presents the relationship between Palestinians and Israelis as symmetrical. Such an event should be boycotted because it normalizes Israel’s colonial domination over Palestinians and ignores the power structures and relations embedded in the oppression." (1)

To that end, we as students in solidarity with Palestinians refrain from participating in projects that normalize the occupation. Specifically, we will not participate in collaborative or dialogue projects unless they are "based on unambiguous recognition of Palestinian rights and framed within the explicit context of opposition to occupation and other forms of Israeli oppression of the Palestinians." (2)

(1) http://pacbi.org/etemplate.php?id=1749
(2) http://www.pacbi.org/etemplate.php?id=1107

Section 3 - General Code

SJP’s activities include educational events, film screenings, discussion forums, and demonstrations meant to promote awareness of the plight of the Palestinian people and encourage activism in solidarity with their struggle. More broadly, SJP will work to link the pro-Palestine movement with other movements seeking political, social, economic, or environmental justice in the Middle East and across the world. To this end, SJP may elect to endorse the programs or activities of other organizations whose principles and objectives are consistent with its own.
Just as SJP condemns the racism and discrimination underlying many of the policies of the state of Israel, SJP also categorically opposes any form of prejudice or discrimination based on race, religion, ethnicity, gender, or sexual orientation. At the same time, SJP rejects any attempts to equate principled criticism of Zionism, or of the character and policies of Israel, with anti-Semitism. Furthermore, SJP condemns all acts of unlawful violence, or violence that indiscriminately targets civilians or civilian infrastructure, committed by either side in the course of the conflict. Ultimately, SJP’s strength flows from the diversity of its membership, comprising individuals of varied racial and ethnic backgrounds and political orientations, all united under these stated principles in the struggle for peace and justice in Palestine.

Article IV: Membership

Section 1 - Eligibility

Any person currently or previously enrolled or employed at UCLA and fulfills the requirements outlined below shall be eligible to be a member of SJP.

SJP shall not be discriminatory in terms of race, religion, color, age, national origin, sex, sexual orientation, physical ability, mental ability, marital status, financial status or social status.

Section 2 - Categories of Membership

Membership in the organization shall be extended to UCLA students and staff who agree with the Mission Statement, Guiding Principles and General Code of SJP. Each category of membership is mutually exclusive.

Section 2.1 - General Member

1. General Members shall receive weekly announcements regarding SJP activities and events.

2. General Members shall hold the responsibility to express their opinions and concerns through the process outlined in Article VII.
Section 2.2 - Active Member

1. An Active Member shall be determined by sufficient participation within the organization as set by the current Board. The Board shall take into consideration participation in general body meetings, and all other SJP programs.

2. Sign-in sheets to determine Active Membership shall be required at all general body meetings and similarly proportionate events.

3. The Board shall not hold the right to deny membership without legitimate cause. If under question, legitimate cause shall be determined by the Active SJP Members collectively.

4. Active Members shall hold the right to vote in the decisions made within SJP.

5. Active Members shall hold the responsibility to express their opinions and concerns through the process outlined in Article VII.

Section 2.3 - Alumni

1. Alumni shall hold the responsibility to provide advice to current SJP leadership.

2. Alumni shall hold the responsibility to express their opinions and concerns through the process outlined in Article VII.

Article V: Electoral Process

Section 1 - Purpose

The purpose of the electoral process shall be to ensure that the individuals chosen for leadership are committed to fulfilling the vision of SJP as outlined in Article III.

Section 2 - Eligibility

Only those who fulfill the following requirements shall be eligible for nomination or application to a Board position:

1. Must be an Undergraduate or Graduate student at UCLA.

2. Must be an Active Member for the minimum of one academic quarter.
Section 3 - Elections Committee

1. The Board shall appoint the Elections Committee, which shall consist of 1-2 graduating Board Members and 2-3 graduating Active SJP UCLA Members.

2. Nominees/Applicants are not allowed to sit on the Elections Committee, as they will be a part of the Electoral Process.

3. The Elections Committee shall oversee The Electoral Process, and ensure Elections are held in a professional and just manner.

4. Nominees for President and Vice President, along with the number of nominations each candidate received, shall be kept confidential throughout the Electoral process, with the exception of the Elections Committee.

5. The Elections Committee must review all Nominees and Applicants and confirm that they are eligible to be Candidates for their respective categories. They must confirm all relevant information with the Nominees and Applicants.

6. The Elections Committee does not have the authority to create new Board positions. Their sole concern is to review all Nominees for the established Board positions as outlined in Article VI.

7. The Elections Committee will officially announce the start of the Electoral Process at the Elections General Body Meeting.

Section 4 - Nomination and Electoral Procedure

1. Following the Elections GBM of Week 3 in Spring Quarter, the Elections Committee must send out an email to the general body listserv including a list of Active Members who are eligible for nomination for the roles of President and Vice President, along with the application for Board. Members have until Monday evening (11:59 pm) of the Week 4 to submit their nominations and applications for Board.

2. Tuesday morning of Week 4, the Elections Committee tallies the nominations. The Elections Committee must verify that nominees applied for Board, and sends an email to each eligible nominee informing them of their nomination. The nominees must notify the Elections Committee by Thursday morning regarding their intent to accept the nomination.

The Elections Committee reads the applications for Board and verifies that applicants are eligible and qualified to apply. Once verified, the Elections Committee sends an email to each of the applicants for Board to schedule interviews for all applicants during Week 5.

3. Thursday of Week 4: following the confirmation of all nominees, Elections Committee sends out an email to the general body listserv notifying them of all nominees and voting begins. Members have until Sunday evening (11:59 pm) to submit their votes. The Elections committee tallies the votes and the winners for President and the Vice President are announced the following morning via email.
4. Monday through Wednesday of Week 5: Elections Committee will hold interviews with each board applicant.

5. Thursday of Week 5: Elections Committee meets for deliberation and votes on the incoming board. Incoming board members are notified of their acceptance. Following the confirmation of all incoming Board members, the Elections Committee shall email Incoming Board and Outgoing Board to determine a transition meeting time during Week 6.

6. Week 6: The Elections Committee convenes with the incoming Board members, in order to collectively decide on the Board positions. All outgoing Board members will also be present in order to provide recommendations. The Election Committee announces the final Board members and their respective positions Friday via email.

Section 5 - Electoral Structure

1. Only Active Members shall be eligible to vote.
   
i. Non-UCLA students who agree with the Mission Statement, Guiding Principles and General Code of SJP are eligible to vote following certain guidelines: they must demonstrate sufficient participation within the organization (as set by the current Board), and must gain unanimous Board approval before they may hold the right to vote.

2. Active Members of SJP UCLA shall submit their nominations to the Elections Committee by secret ballot.

3. The Elections GBM must have a specified start and end time, which it must adhere to unless there is an emergency.

4. The Elections GBM will be held at the most convenient time for the majority of the Active Members.

5. Active Members may abstain from voting during the Electoral Process.

Section 6 - Electoral Process

SJP UCLA’s Electoral Process is based on a simple majority system.

**Section 6.1 - President**

1. An Active Member must receive a minimum number of Nominations, as determined by the Elections Committee, to be eligible for President.

2. The President shall be voted for through secret ballot.

3. The Nominee that receives the highest number of votes shall become President.
Section 6.2 - Vice President

1. An Active Member must receive a minimum number of Nominations, as determined by the Elections Committee, to be eligible for Vice President.

2. The Vice President shall be voted for through secret ballot.

3. The Nominee that receives the highest number of votes shall become Vice President.

Section 6.3 - Board

1. An Active Member must fully agree with SJP’s mission and vision in order to be eligible to apply to SJP Board, as outlined in Article IV, Section 1.

2. No eligible Active Members shall be turned away from SJP Board.

Article VI: Board & Committees

All leadership positions within SJP shall fulfill the responsibilities of their positions as laid out in the Constitution and agreed upon with the current Board and Active Membership. If an individual does not fulfill their responsibilities, accountability procedures shall be followed as enumerated in Article VII.

Board Members

Section 1 - Purpose

The Board shall establish the means by which SJP accomplishes its vision, as outlined in Article III.

Section 2 - Structure of Board

1. There shall be nine Board Positions, presented below by order of succession. Board Positions are subject to change, with respect to position types and/or quantity, based on what is appropriate for the respective year’s membership and Board applicants.

2. There shall be one President on Board.

3. There shall be one Vice President on Board.

4. There shall be one External Affairs Director on Board.

5. There shall be two Outreach Directors on Board.

6. There shall be one Programming Director on Board.
7. There shall be one Finance Director on Board.

8. There shall be one Education & Resources Director on Board.

9. There shall be one Boycott, Divestment & Sanctions Director on Board.

10. Board members shall serve a term of one full year.

Section 3 - Responsibilities

1. The Board shall manage all SJP UCLA affairs.

2. The Board shall manage General Body Meetings.

3. The Board shall keep the Active Members updated on the current state of affairs with SJP.

4. In the case of issues with a divisive nature, information shall be disclosed at the discretion of the Board.

5. Board shall be collectively responsible for determining source material for all educational literature.

6. The Board shall preserve the autonomy of the organization.

7. Board members shall alternate in the responsibility of taking minutes at all SJP Board and general body meetings.

Section 4 - Roles & Tasks

Section 4.1 - President

1. The President shall ensure that the organization continues to strive towards its vision, as outlined in Article III.

2. The President shall oversee the establishment of all SJP events, programs and activities.

3. The President shall promote participation of Members in SJP events, programs and activities.

4. The President shall organize and lead Board Meetings, unless they appoint others to do so.

5. The President shall be the spokesperson for SJP in its relations with the campus and the community.
6. The President shall monitor all mailing lists.

7. The President is responsible for sending reminders to the Board listserv about weekly Board meetings.

8. The President will act as a link to all regional and national SJP list-servs.

9. The President shall assist in the coordination of SJP Student Liaison, Outreach and BDS committees, as well as the Palestine Reading & Discussion Group.

**Section 4.2 - Vice President**

1. The Vice President shall assume full responsibilities of the President in the case of an absence or dismissal from the organization.

2. The Vice President shall ensure that the organization continues to strive towards its vision, as outlined in Article III.

3. The Vice President shall perform all duties assigned by the President.

4. The Vice President shall be present at all SJP events, programs and meetings.

5. The Vice President shall promote participation of the Members in SJP events, programs and activities.

6. The Vice President is responsible for presiding over and organizing all general body meetings, unless they appoint others to do so.

7. The Vice President shall oversee the establishment of all SJP events, programs and activities.

8. The Vice President shall assist the Board Members with their assigned duties.

9. The Vice President shall assist in the coordination of SJP Student Liaison, Outreach and BDS committees, as well as the Palestine Reading & Discussion Group.

**Section 4.3 - External Affairs Director**

1. The External Affairs Director shall ensure that the organization continues to strive towards its vision, as outlined in Article III.

2. The External Affairs Director shall perform all duties assigned by the President.

3. The External Affairs Director shall be present at all SJP events, programs and meetings.

4. The External Affairs Director shall promote participation of the Members in SJP events, programs and activities.
5. The External Affairs Director shall oversee the SJP Student Liaison Committee, with the assistance of the President and Vice President.

6. The External Affairs Director is responsible for meeting with other on-campus student organizations, including the Mother Orgs and all other groups within the community coalition.

Section 4.4 - Outreach Directors

1. The Outreach Directors shall ensure that the organization continues to strive towards its vision, as outlined in Article III.

2. The Outreach Directors shall promote participation of the Members in SJP events, programs and activities.

3. The Outreach Directors shall perform all duties assigned by the President.

4. The Outreach Directors shall be present at all SJP events, programs and meetings.

5. The Outreach Directors shall oversee the SJP Outreach Committee, with the assistance of the President and Vice President.

6. One Outreach Director shall be responsible for all online outreach and media relations.
   a. The Outreach Director shall submit a minimum of 2 viewpoint articles to UCLA’s *Daily Bruin* per quarter, or ensure that others submit articles.
   b. The Outreach Director shall organize proper online outreach methods for SJP events, including the creation of Facebook pages for every event and general body meeting.
   c. The Outreach Director is responsible for the creation and distribution of a monthly SJP e-newsletter.
   d. The Outreach Director is responsible for maintenance of the SJP website.
   e. The Outreach Director is responsible for sending reminders about events to the general body listserv.

7. One Outreach Director shall be responsible for all tangible outreach and design.
   a. The Outreach Director is responsible for creating flyers for all SJP programs and events.
   b. The Outreach Director is responsible for designing banners and merchandise for SJP as necessary.
b. The Outreach Director shall organize and oversee weekly tabling on Bruin Walk.

c. The Outreach Director shall organize and oversee flyering, chalkboarding, and other outreach strategies for all SJP events.

8. The Outreach Directors may exchange tasks as desired, but tasks shall be distinct and consistent.

Section 4.5 - Programming Director

1. The Programming Director shall ensure that the organization continues to strive towards its vision, as outlined in Article III.

2. The Programming Director shall promote participation of the Members in SJP events, programs and activities.

3. The Programming Director shall perform all duties assigned by the President.

4. The Programming Director shall be present at all SJP events, programs and meetings.

5. The Programming Director is responsible for booking rooms for Board meetings, GBMs, and SJP events, as well as all other logistical aspects of programming.

6. The Programming Director is responsible for contacting speakers, ordering food, booking projectors and other necessary equipment required for SJP programming.

Section 4.6 - Finance Director

1. The Finance Director shall ensure that the organization continues to strive towards its vision, as outlined in Article III.

2. The Finance Director shall promote participation of the Members in SJP events, programs and activities.

3. The Finance Director shall perform all duties assigned by the President.

4. The Finance Director shall be present at all SJP events, programs and meetings.

5. The Finance Director shall manage all financial affairs for SJP.

6. The Finance Director is responsible for submitting appropriate funding applications for all SJP programs and events.

7. The Finance Director shall maintain records of all financial transactions that occur.
Section 4.7 - Education & Resources Director

1. The Education & Resource Director shall ensure that the organization continues to strive towards its vision, as outlined in Article III.

2. The Education & Resources Director shall promote participation of the Members in SJP events, programs and activities.

3. The Education & Resources Director shall perform all duties assigned by the President.

4. The Education & Resources Director shall be present at all SJP events, programs and meetings.

5. The Education & Resources Director shall oversee the Palestine Reading & Discussion Group, with the assistance of the President and Vice President.

6. The Education & Resources Director shall organize a minimum of 2 educational workshops/activities (in collaboration with appropriate Board members) per quarter.

7. The Education & Resources Director is responsible for developing educational material for all SJP workshops.

8. The Education & Resources Director shall act as club Historian, and keep record/timeline of SJP UCLA events throughout the school year.

9. The Education & Resources Director shall be responsible for the SJP Resources Binder(s). This includes all SJP contacts and resource materials vital to facilitating the means by which SJP accomplishes its vision.

10. The Education & Resources Director shall organize and coordinate Board and General Body development tutorials and activities throughout the school year. Typical associated duties include, but are not limited to: Weekly Board Meeting and GBM updates on current events in Palestine, forwarding appropriate news stories to Board/general body listservs, and organizing Palestine-related games/activities for Board Meetings and GBM's.

Section 4.8 - Boycott, Divestment & Sanctions Director

1. The BDS Director shall ensure that the organization continues to strive towards its vision, as outlined in Article III.

2. The BDS Director shall promote participation of the Members in SJP events, programs and activities.

3. The BDS Director shall perform all duties assigned by the President.
4. The BDS Director shall be present at all SJP events, programs and meetings.

5. The BDS Director shall oversee the Boycott, Divestment & Sanctions Committee, with the assistance of the President and Vice President.

6. The BDS Director shall oversee the timeline and implementation of goals in regards to the BDS campaign at UCLA.

7. The BDS Director shall maintain relations with other organizations involved in BDS campaigns. Such organizations include, but are not limited to, BDS-LA, US Campaign to End the Israeli Occupation, and university organizations working towards boycott and divestment.

Section 5 - Board Meetings

1. The Board shall maintain constant and open communication.

2. The Board shall have consistent weekly meetings.

3. Board meetings shall be open to the general body. Segments of Board meetings that concern divisive or confidential issues may be closed to the Board.

4. Decisions shall be made with the majority of Active Membership participation, except in regards to divisive or time sensitive issues.

Committees

Section 1 - Purpose

Committees shall work with the Board in establishing and facilitating the means by which SJP accomplishes its vision, as outlined in Article III. Any Active Member may participate in SJP Student Liaison, Outreach & BDS committees, as well as the Palestine Reading & Discussion Group.

Section 2 - Structure of Committees & Appointment

Section 2.1 - Student Liaison Committee

1. Committee members shall work under the direction of the External Affairs Director.

2. The External Affairs Director shall appoint all Student Liaison Committee members.
a. The Committee shall be open to all SJP members who are willing and able to commit for a minimum of one quarter.

b. The number of committee members may fluctuate on a quarterly basis.

Section 2.2 - Outreach Committee

1. Committee members shall work under the direction of the Outreach Directors.

2. The Outreach Directors shall appoint all Outreach Committee members.
   
a. The Committee shall be open to all SJP members who are willing and able to commit for a minimum of one quarter.

   b. The number of committee members may fluctuate on a quarterly basis.

Section 2.3 - Boycott, Divestment & Sanctions Committee

1. Committee members shall work under the direction of the Boycott, Divestment & Sanctions Director.

2. The BDS Director shall appoint all BDS Committee members.
   
a. The Committee shall be open to all SJP members who are willing and able to commit for a minimum of one quarter.

   b. The number of committee members may fluctuate on a quarterly basis.

Section 2.4 - Palestine Reading & Discussion Group

1. Group members shall be overseen by the Education & Resources Director.

2. The Palestine Reading & Discussion Group shall be open to all SJP members.

Section 3 - Responsibilities, Roles & Tasks

Section 3.1 - Student Liaison Committee

1. Under the direction of the External Affairs Director, Committee members will make presentations on Palestine to campus organizations throughout the school year.

2. Committee members shall establish and maintain relations with other campus organizations throughout the school year.
3. Participants must attend all SJP Presentation Workshops and related training sessions.

Section 3.2 - Outreach Committee

1. Under the direction of the Outreach Directors, Committee members will assist SJP UCLA by carrying out specified outreach duties for the organization throughout the school year.
   
   a. Typical associated duties include, but are not limited to: Tabling on Bruinwalk for a designated amount of hours per week and flyering for SJP events to the campus and local community.

2. Participants must attend all SJP Outreach Workshops and related training sessions.

Section 3.3 - Boycott, Divestment & Sanctions Committee

1. Under the direction of the BDS Director, Committee members will assist SJP UCLA by carrying out specified BDS campaign duties for the organization throughout the school year.

2. Participants must attend all SJP BDS Workshops and related training sessions.

Section 3.4 - Palestine Reading & Discussion Group

1. Under the direction of the Education & Resources Director, group members shall meet regularly to read and discuss a variety of educational materials.

2. Group members shall present materials at SJP general body meetings and lead insightful discussions.

Article VII: Accountability

Section 1 - Purpose

The procedures outlined below shall hold leadership within SJP accountable to their duties by the Active Members.

Section 2 - Accountability Process

The Mediation Process is outlined in the Appendices. It shall be the first procedure taken when a dispute arises within SJP regarding policies or leadership. If the Mediation Process
is not sufficient to resolve the dispute, then the following procedure will be followed with
the presence of the Mediator:

Section 2.1 - Board

If an Active Member is unsatisfied with the Board and how it is upholding its
responsibilities:

1. The Active Member shall first go to a Board Member they trust regarding their
   concerns. The Board Member shall address it with the President or Vice President,
   depending on the concerns.

2. If the concerns are not resolved, the Active Member(s) may then request a meeting
   with the Board to address their concerns.

3. If this does not resolve the issue, a meeting may then be called between the Board
   and SJP membership. At least five Active Members must call for the meeting. The
   purpose of the meeting must be to resolve the issue at hand. An understanding and
   action plan should be determined at this meeting.

4. If the previous steps have not mediated the issue, five or more Active SJP Members
   may then start the Impeachment Process.

Section 3 - Impeachment

Section 3.1 - Impeachment of a Board Member

1. A minimum of five Active SJP Members must petition the President to begin the
   Impeachment Process.

2. The President must obtain unanimous Board approval to proceed with the process,
   except from the Board Member in question.

3. There must be a public vote through secret ballot, where two-thirds of the Active
   Members approve Impeachment.

4. In the case Impeachment occurs, the Board will appoint an Active Member to the
   vacant position.

Section 3.2 - Impeachment of the President

1. A minimum of five Active SJP Members must petition a Board Member to begin the
   Impeachment Process.

2. The Board must give unanimous approval, except from the President.
3. There must be a public vote through secret ballot, where two-thirds of the Active Members approve impeachment.

4. In the case impeachment occurs, the vacant position shall be appointed by Board with respect to existing Board hierarchy.

Section 4 - Resignation

1. The Board Member must submit signed resignation in writing to the Board.

2. The resignation must have unanimous Board approval. If one Board member objects then the Mediation process (outlined in the Appendices) is taken.

3. Once a resignation is accepted, it cannot be reversed.

4. An Active Member shall be appointed to the vacant position by the Board.

Article VIII: General Body Meetings (GBM’s) & Workshops

General Body Meetings

Section 1 - Purpose

SJP General Body Meetings shall provide a forum for discussion, debate and decision-making. Another primary focus of the meetings is to present membership with a consistent source of opportunities for involvement within the organization and its activities.

Section 2 - Meeting Logistics

Section 2.1 - Location

1. Meetings shall be held on UCLA’s campus.

2. Under special circumstances, meetings may be held at an alternative public venue.

3. Programming Director shall determine venue based on projected capacity.

Section 2.2 - Publicity

1. General body meetings shall be publicized to Active Members a minimum of forty-eight hours in advance. Only under time sensitive circumstances, meetings may be publicized to Active Members a minimum of twenty-four hours in advance.

2. All Board Members shall have prior knowledge of meetings before they are publicized.
Section 2.3 - Time

1. Meetings shall be held at a time wherein the largest number of Active Members who wish to attend have the chance to do so.

Section 3 - Procedure

Section 3.1 - Initiating Meetings

1. Regular general body meetings shall be set and publicized by the Board.

2. A Meeting Agenda shall be set in advance.

Section 3.2 - Format

1. Only SJP Board Members have the authority, under the direction of the President and Vice President, to lead general body meetings unless otherwise specified.

2. Meetings shall follow the set agenda.

3. Meetings shall begin and end at the scheduled times.

4. General body meetings shall begin with an icebreaker or introductory exercise.

Workshops

Section 1 - Purpose

SJP Workshops shall provide a space in which SJP members are able to educate themselves on a defined area of focus. Workshops are designed to establish a more well-informed membership base to help facilitate the means by which SJP accomplishes its vision, as outlined in Article III.

Section 2 - Workshop Logistics

Section 2.1 - Location

1. Workshops shall be held on UCLA’s campus.

2. Under special circumstances, Workshops may be held at an alternative public venue.

3. Programming Director shall determine venue based on projected capacity.
Section 2.2 - Publicity

1. All SJP Workshops shall be publicized to Active Members a minimum of one week’s notice. Only under time sensitive circumstances, workshops may be publicized to Active Members a minimum of forty-eight hours in advance.

2. All Board Members shall have prior knowledge of Workshops before they are publicized.

Section 2.3 - Time

1. Workshops shall be held at a time wherein the largest number of Active Members who wish to attend have the chance to do so.

Section 3 - Procedure

Section 3.1 - Initiating Workshops

1. Workshops shall be set and publicized by Board when deemed necessary.

2. Workshop content and structure shall be set in advance.

Section 3.2 - Format

1. The Education and Resources Director (in collaboration with Board) retains the authority to determine curriculum, content and speakers for all SJP UCLA Workshops.

   i. Typical Workshop focuses include, but are not limited to: Boycott, Divestment & Sanctions; Zionist Rhetoric; SJP Outreach and SJP Presentations.

2. Workshops shall follow the set agenda.

3. Workshops shall begin and end at the scheduled times.

Article IX: Finances

Section 1 - Funds

1. There shall be a designated Finance Director to manage SJP funds.

2. This person shall be selected before the fiscal year begins.

3. The Finance Director must approve monetary expenditures before a Member can spend SJP funds.
4. Funds shall not be allocated without Board approval.

Section 2 - Budget

There shall be a quarterly and annual budget set by the Board before the academic year begins.

Section 3 - Reimbursement

Active Members that have been allocated SJP funds shall coordinate with the Finance Director. They must present proper receipts and paperwork in order to receive full reimbursements for any purchases or payments made on behalf of SJP.

Article X: Transitioning

1. Incoming Board shall receive the SJP Resources Binder before the academic year begins.

2. Every incoming Board member shall receive a copy of the Constitution as well as transitioning guides for their respective positions.

3. Every incoming Board shall discuss how to implement the Constitution for their respective year before the academic year begins.

4. A series of transitioning meetings shall be held between the outgoing Board and the incoming Board before the academic year begins.

Article XI: Amendment Process

1. An Active Member must submit a formal proposal to the current SJP Board outlining the proposed amendment.

2. Eighty-five percent of the Board members must endorse the amendment.

3. The amendment shall be ratified into the constitution after meeting these requirements.
Appendices

Appendix 1: Ratification

1. There must be unanimous consent by the current SJP UCLA Board.

2. The Constitution will be adopted as the official document of SJP UCLA after meeting this requirement.

Appendix 2: Mediation Process

Section 1 - Purpose

To provide a framework to resolve conflicts in SJP. A conflict entails any disputed issue that significantly hinders the ability of those involved to carry out the work of the organization.

Section 2 - Process

1. Possible scenarios include conflict within the SJP leadership, between active SJP members, or between SJP leadership and Active Members.

2. Procedure:
   i. Appoint a generally neutral SJP Board Member or Alumni to plan and facilitate a meeting or conference call to discuss the issue. This facilitator will be responsible for ensuring that sufficient notes are taken during this meeting.

   ii. The facilitator will first remind the participants of the importance of trust, honesty, and confidentiality.

   iii. All participants will individually answer the following questions, as deemed relevant by the facilitator. Each person will speak, uninterrupted, before any discussion begins:

      1. What is the issue and what is your position?

      2. How pressing is the issue in terms of the organization’s mission and goals?

      3. Identify at least three ways your position helps further SJP’s mission and goals.

      4. Identify, if possible, how the other position may contribute to SJP’s mission and goals. If it does not, explain why.

      5. How, in your opinion, should the problem be resolved?

   iv. Discussion will take place after everyone receives an opportunity to explain their perspective. If no compromise is reached and the conflict is not resolved,
the facilitator will introduce the mediation process as the next step. Participants must understand that any conclusions reached by the mediators should be accepted regardless of the outcome.

v. Mediation: Three mediators will be chosen to resolve the conflict. The mediators must be:

- Experienced, and dedicated to the mission of SJP UCLA
- An Alumni who has recently and closely worked with SJP UCLA
- Generally neutral on the subject
- Mutually agreed upon, with respect to all those involved in the conflict.

vi. The initial facilitator should also be one of the three mediators.

vii. The mediators will read over the meeting notes and brainstorm together on solutions.

viii. Mediators will have a second meeting or call with those involved in the conflict to ask questions and discuss possible solutions.

ix. If no resolution is reached at this meeting, mediators will decide separately what the best solution is. This final resolution will be submitted in writing to all those involved. Everyone is expected to follow the decision of the mediators, and the initial facilitator will ensure that this takes place.

x. The entire mediation process should be completed in a timely manner (set at 7 days unless extenuating circumstances call for a lengthier period of time).
APPENDIX H

PALESTINIAN BDS NATIONAL COMMITTEE

The broad consensus among Palestinian civil society about the need for a broad and sustained Campaign for Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) resulted in the Palestinian Call for boycott, divestment and sanctions against Israel that was launched in July 2005 with the initial endorsement of over 170 Palestinian organizations. The signatories to this call represent the three major components of the Palestinian people: the refugees in exile, Palestinians under occupation in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and the discriminated Palestinian citizens of the Israeli state.

The efforts to coordinate the BDS campaign, that began to grow rapidly since the 2005 Call was made public, culminated in the first Palestinian BDS Conference held in Ramallah in November 2007. Out of this conference emerged the BDS National Committee (BNC) as the Palestinian coordinating body for the BDS campaign worldwide.

The BNC’s mandate and role is:

• To strengthen and spread the culture of boycott as a central form of civil resistance to Israeli occupation, colonialism and apartheid;

• To formulate strategies and programs of action in accordance with the 9 July 2005 Palestinian Civil Society BDS Call;

• To serve as the Palestinian reference point for BDS campaigns in the region and worldwide;

• To serve as the national reference point for anti-normalization campaigns within Palestine;

• To facilitate coordination and provide support & encouragement to the various BDS campaign efforts in all locations.

The BNC’s main activities include:

• Campaigning with BDS activists locally and worldwide by preparing and disseminating BNC statements; public speaking; organizing the annual Global BDS Action Day on 30 March (Palestinian Land Day);

• Advocacy by briefing and lobbying policy makers;

• Monitoring & Rapid Response by means of BNC calls for action against projects and initiatives which amount to recognition of or cooperation with Israel’s regime of apartheid, colonialism and occupation (i.e., normalization);
• Media Outreach in Palestine and abroad, based on a professional media strategy;

• Coordination with BDS activists locally and worldwide, including preparation of regional and international organizing meetings and conferences;

• Awareness Raising & Training activists and organizations about BNC analysis, standards and BDS campaign work; through workshops, BNC information materials and the BDS campaign website (www.bdsmovement.net)

• Developing the BDS Campaign in Arab countries;

• Research and BDS Strategy Development.

The current members of the BNC are:

Council of National and Islamic Forces in Palestine
Palestinian NGO Network (PNGO)
Palestinian National Institute for NGOs
Global Palestine Right of Return Coalition
Palestinian Trade Union Coalition for BDS (PTUC-BDS)
Federation of Independent Trade Unions
General Union of Palestinian Workers
Palestinian General Federation of Trade Unions
General Union of Palestinian Women
Union of Palestinian Farmers
General Union of Palestinian Teachers
General Union of Palestinian Writers
Palestinian Federation of Unions of University Professors and Employees (PFUUPE)
Union of Professional Associations
General Union of Palestinian Peasants
Union of Public Employees in Palestine-Civil Sector
Grassroots Palestinian Anti-Apartheid Wall Campaign (Stop the Wall)
National Committee for Grassroots Resistance
Popular Struggle Coordination Committee (PSCC)
Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI)
National Committee to Commemorate the Nakba
Civic Coalition for the Defence [sic] of Palestinian Rights in Jerusalem
Coalition for Jerusalem
Union of Palestinian Charitable Organizations
Palestinian Economic Monitor
Union of Youth Activity Centers – Palestine Refugee Camps
Occupied Palestine and Syrian Golan Heights Initiative
APPENDIX I

PACBI STATEMENT REGARDING “NORMALIZATION”

Israel’s Exceptionalism: Normalizing the Abnormal

In the Palestinian and Arab struggle against Israeli colonization, occupation and apartheid, the “normalization” of Israel is a concept that has generated controversy because it is often misunderstood or because there are disagreements on its parameters. This is despite the near consensus among Palestinians and people in the Arab region on rejecting the treatment of Israel as a “normal” state with which business as usual can be conducted. Here, we discuss the definition of normalization that the great majority of Palestinian civil society, as represented in the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement, has adopted since November 2007, and elaborate on the nuances that it takes on in different contexts.

It is helpful to think of normalization as a “colonization of the mind,” whereby the oppressed subject comes to believe that the oppressor’s reality is the only “normal” reality that must be subscribed to, and that the oppression is a fact of life that must be coped with. Those who engage in normalization either ignore this oppression, or accept it as the status quo that can be lived with. In an attempt to whitewash its violations of international law and human rights, Israel attempts to re-brand [1] itself, or present itself as normal -- even “enlightened” -- through an intricate array of relations and activities encompassing hi-tech, cultural, legal, LGBT and other realms.

A key principle that underlines the term normalization is that it is entirely based on political, rather than racial, considerations and is therefore in perfect harmony with the BDS movement’s rejection of all forms of racism and racial discrimination. Countering normalization is a means to resist oppression, its mechanisms and structures. As such, it is categorically unrelated to or conditioned upon the identity of the oppressor.

We break down normalization into three categories that correspond to differences pertaining to the varied contexts of Israel’s colonial oppression and apartheid. It is important to consider these minimum definitions as the basis for solidarity and action.

1) Normalization in the context of the Occupied Palestinian Territory and the Arab world

The Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI) has defined normalization specifically in a Palestinian and Arab context “as the participation in any project, initiative or activity, in Palestine or internationally, that aims (implicitly or explicitly) to bring together Palestinians (and/or Arabs) and Israelis (people or institutions) without placing as its goal resistance to and exposure of the Israeli occupation and all forms of discrimination and oppression against the Palestinian people.” [2] This is the definition endorsed by the BDS National Committee (BNC).
For Palestinians in the occupied West Bank (including East Jerusalem) and Gaza, any project with Israelis that is not based on a resistance framework serves to normalize relations. We define this resistance framework as one that is based on recognition of the fundamental rights of the Palestinian people and on the commitment to resist, in diverse ways, all forms of oppression against Palestinians, including but not limited to, ending the occupation, establishing full and equal rights for Palestinian citizens of Israel, and promoting and advocating for the right of return for Palestinian refugees – this may aptly be called a posture of “co-resistance” [3]. Doing otherwise allows for everyday, ordinary relations to exist alongside and independent of the continuous crimes being committed by Israel against the Palestinian people. This feeds complacency and gives the false and harmful impression of normalcy in a patently abnormal situation of colonial oppression.

Projects, initiatives and activities that do not begin from a position of shared principles to resist Israel’s oppression invariably allow for an approach to dealing with Israel as if its violations can be deferred, and as if coexistence (as opposed to “co-resistance”) can precede, or lead to, the end of oppression. In the process, Palestinians, regardless of intentions, end up serving as a fig-leaf [4] for Israelis who are able to benefit from a “business-as-usual” environment, perhaps even allowing Israelis to feel their conscience is cleared for having engaged Palestinians they are usually accused of oppressing and discriminating against.

The peoples of the Arab world, with their diverse national, religious and cultural backgrounds and identities, whose future is more tangibly tied to the future of Palestinians than the larger international community, not least because of continued Israeli political, economic and military threats on their countries, and the still-prevalent and strong kinship with the Palestinians, face similar issues with regards to normalization. So long as Israel’s oppression continues, any engagement with Israelis (individuals or institutions) that is not within the resistance framework outlined above, serves to underline the normality of Israeli occupation, colonialism and apartheid in the lives of people in the Arab world. It is, therefore, imperative that people in the Arab world shun all relations with Israelis, unless based on co-resistance. This is not a call to refrain from understanding Israelis, their society and polity. It is a call to condition any such knowledge and any such contact on the principles of resistance until the time when comprehensive Palestinian and other Arab rights are met.

BDS activists may always go above and beyond our basic minimum requirements if they identify subcategories within those we have identified. In Lebanon or Egypt, for instance, boycott campaigners may go beyond the PACBI/BNC definition of normalization given their position in the Arab world, whereas those in Jordan, say, may have different considerations.
2) Normalization in the context of the Palestinian citizens of Israel

Palestinian citizens of Israel – those Palestinians who remained steadfast on their land after the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948 despite repeated efforts to expel them and subject them to military law, institutionalized discrimination, or apartheid [4] – face an entirely different set of considerations. They may be confronted with two forms of normalization. The first, which we may call coercive everyday relations, are those relations that a colonized people, and those living under apartheid, are forced to take part in if they are to survive, conduct their everyday lives and make a living within the established oppressive structures. For the Palestinian citizens of Israel, as taxpayers, such coercive everyday relations include daily employment in Israeli places of work and the use of public services and institutions such as schools, universities and hospitals. Such coercive relations are not unique to Israel and were present in other colonial and apartheid contexts such as India and South Africa, respectively. Palestinian citizens of Israel cannot be rationally asked to cut such ties, at least not yet.

The second form of normalization is that in which Palestinian citizens of Israel do not have to engage as a requirement of survival. Such normalization might include participation in international forums as representatives of Israel (such as in the Eurovision song competition) or in Israeli events directed at an international audience. The key to understanding this form of normalization is to consider that when Palestinians engage in such activities without placing them within the same resistance framework mentioned above, they contribute, even if inadvertently, to a deceptive appearance of tolerance, democracy, and normal life in Israel for an international audience who may not know better. Israelis, and the Israeli establishment, may in turn use this against international BDS proponents and those struggling against Israeli injustices by accusing them of being “holier” than Palestinians. In these instances, Palestinians promote relations with mainstream Israeli institutions beyond what constitutes the mere need for survival. The absence of vigilance in this matter has the effect of telling the Palestinian public that they can live with and accept apartheid, should engage Israelis on their own terms, and forgo any act of resistance. This is the type of normalization that many Palestinian citizens of Israel, along with PACBI, are increasingly coming to identify and confront.

3) Normalization in the International Context

In the international arena, normalization does not operate all that differently and follows the same logic. While the BDS movement targets complicit Israeli institutions, in the case of normalization there are other nuances to consider. Generally, international supporters of BDS are asked to refrain from participating in any event that morally or politically equates the oppressor and oppressed, and presents the relationship between Palestinians and Israelis as symmetrical [5]. Such an event should be boycotted because it normalizes Israel’s colonial domination over Palestinians and ignores the power structures and relations embedded in the oppression.
Dialogue

In all these contexts, “dialogue” and engagement are often presented as alternatives to boycott. Dialogue, if it occurs outside the resistance framework that we have outlined, becomes dialogue for the sake of dialogue, which is a form of normalization that hinders the struggle to end injustice. Dialogue, “healing,” and “reconciliation” processes that do not aim to end oppression, regardless of the intentions behind them, serve to privilege oppressive co-existence at the cost of co-resistance, for they presume the possibility of coexistence before the realization of justice. The example of South Africa elucidates this point perfectly, where reconciliation, dialogue and forgiveness came after the end of apartheid, not before, regardless of the legitimate questions raised regarding the still existing conditions of what some have called “economic apartheid.”

Two Examples of Normalization Efforts: OneVoice and IPCRI

While many, if not most, normalization projects are sponsored and funded by international organizations and governments, many of these projects are operated by Palestinian and Israeli partners, often with generous international funding. The political, often Israel-centered, framing of the “partnership” is one of the most problematic aspects of these joint projects and institutions. PACBI’s analysis of OneVoice [6], a joint Palestinian-Israeli youth-oriented organization with chapters in North America and extensions in Europe, exposed OneVoice as one more project that brings Palestinians and Israelis together, not to jointly struggle against Israel’s colonial and apartheid policies, but rather to provide a limited program of action under the slogan of an end to the occupation and the establishment of a Palestinian state, while cementing Israeli apartheid and ignoring the rights of Palestinian refugees, who compose the majority of the Palestinian people. PACBI concluded that, in essence, OneVoice and similar programs serve to normalize oppression and injustice. The fact that OneVoice treats the “nationalisms” and “patriotisms” of the two “sides” as if on par with one another and equally valid is a telling indicator. It is worth noting that virtually the entire political spectrum of Palestinian youth and student organizations and unions in the occupied Palestinian territory have unambiguously condemned normalization projects, such as OneVoice. [7]

A similar organization, though with a different target audience, is the Israel/Palestine Center for Research and Information (IPCRI), which describes itself as “the only joint Israeli-Palestinian public policy think-tank in the world dedicated to the resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict on the basis of ‘two states for two peoples’. IPCRI “recognizes the rights of the Jewish people and the Palestinian people to fulfill their national interests within the framework of achieving national self-determination within their own states and by establishing peaceful relations between two democratic states living side-by-side.” [8] It thus advocates an apartheid state in Israel that disenfranchises the indigenous Palestinian citizens and ignores the UN-sanctioned right of return of the Palestinian refugees.
Like OneVoice, IPCRI adopts the ubiquitous “conflict paradigm” while ignoring the domination and oppression that characterize the relationship of the Israeli state with the Palestinian people. IPCRI conveniently neglects a discussion of the roots of this “conflict,” what it is about, and which “side” is paying the price. Like OneVoice, it glosses over the historic record and the establishment of a settler-colonial regime in Palestine following the expulsion of most of the indigenous people of the land. The defining moment in the history of “the conflict” is therefore not acknowledged. The history of continued Israeli colonial expansion and the dispossession and forcible displacement of Palestinians is conveniently ignored, as well. Through IPCRI’s omissions, the organization denies the resistance framework we have outlined above and brings Palestinians and Israelis into a relation privileging co-existence over co-resistance. Palestinians are asked to adopt an Israeli vision of a peaceful resolution and not one that recognizes their comprehensive rights, as defined by the UN.

Another disturbing, but again entirely predictable, aspect of the work of IPCRI is the active involvement in its projects of Israeli personalities and personnel implicated in Israeli violations of the Palestinian people’s rights and grave breaches of international law. IPCRI’s Strategic Thinking and Analysis Team (STAT), includes, in addition to Palestinian officials, former Israeli diplomats, former Israeli army brigadier generals, Mossad personnel and senior staff of the Israeli National Security Council, many of them reasonably suspected of committing war crimes. [9]

It is no surprise, therefore, that the desire to end the “conflict,” and the desire to realize “a lasting peace,” both of which are slogans of these and similar normalization efforts, has nothing to do with obtaining justice for Palestinians. In fact, the term “justice” has no place on the agenda of most of these organizations; neither can one find clear reference to international law as the ultimate arbiter, leaving Palestinians at the mercy of the far more powerful Israeli state.

An Israeli writer’s description of the so-called Peres Center for Peace, a leading normalization and colonial institution, may also well describe the underlying agenda of IPCRI and almost all normalization organizations:

In the activity of the Peres Center for Peace there is no evident effort being made to change the political and socioeconomic status quo in the occupied territories, but just the opposite: Efforts are being made to train the Palestinian population to accept its inferiority and prepare it to survive under the arbitrary constraints imposed by Israel, to guarantee the ethnic superiority of the Jews. With patronizing colonialism, the center presents an olive grower who is discovering the advantages of cooperative marketing; a pediatrician who is receiving professional training in Israeli hospitals; and a Palestinian importer who is learning the secrets of transporting merchandise via Israeli ports, which are famous for their efficiency; and of course soccer competitions and joint orchestras of Israelis and Palestinians, which paint a false picture of coexistence. [10]
The normalization of Israel – normalizing the abnormal – is a malicious and subversive process that works to cover up injustice and colonize the most intimate parts of the oppressed: their mind. To engage in or with organizations that serve this purpose is, therefore, one of the prime targets of boycott, and an act that BDS supporters must confront together.\textsuperscript{198}

\textsuperscript{198} Statement located at: http://www.pacbi.org/etemplate.php?id=1749
APPENDIX J

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN SAFE CONSTITUTION

Students Allied for Freedom and Equality Constitution

Mission

Students Allied for Freedom and Equality is a group of student activists organized to promote social justice, human rights, liberation, equality, and self-determination for the Palestinian people as the fundamental principles for a just resolution of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

Code of conduct

SAFE will only engage in peaceful and constructive actions. SAFE rejects actions that violate the guiding principles as stated above, including those of members. Individuals or groups acting as members, representatives, or sponsors of SAFE agree to abide by the code of conduct and endorse the principles of the organization.

Guiding Principles

As an advocacy group, SAFE is committed to a core set of principles grounded in international law, human rights, and basic standards of justice. These include but are not limited to the following:

1. The end of confiscation of all Palestinian lands and the return of and/or compensation for all previously confiscated lands to their original owners.

3. An end to the Israeli system of occupation and discrimination against the Palestinians, via granting citizenship rights to all peoples under Israeli civil or military control and the reform of Israeli policies, within Israel proper, to ensure equal benefits, treatment, and rights for all citizens, regardless of race or religion.

4. The implementation of the right of return and/or reparation for all Palestinian refugees as stipulated by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the United Nations Resolution 194.

5. An end to the construction of illegal settlement and transfer of Israeli citizens into the Golan Heights, Gaza Strip, and the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, as stipulated by the Fourth Geneva Convention.

Just as SAFE condemns the racism and discrimination resulting from Israeli policies and laws, SAFE rejects any form of hatred or discrimination against any religious, racial, or ethnic group. SAFE supports oppressed and exploited peoples in their struggles for freedom and basic human and civil rights. SAFE welcomes individuals of all ethnic and religious backgrounds to join in solidarity with the struggle for justice and peace in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

**Article I. Name**

The name of the organization is Students Allied for Freedom and Equality, heretofore and henceforth to be referred to as SAFE.

**Article II. Purpose**

SAFE is established in order to educate and generate discourse within the University of Michigan - Ann Arbor campus community on the Arab-Israeli conflict in general, and on the Palestinian narrative specifically. SAFE shall also actively engage the University
administration, other student groups, and responsible community organizations in our collective attempt to contribute to the ending of the occupation of Palestine.

**Article III. Membership**

**Section 1.**

SAFE membership is open to all faculty, staff, and students at the University of Michigan - Ann Arbor. Executive board membership is restricted to currently enrolled undergraduate and graduate students.

**Section 2.**

There are two different kinds of membership available to students, staff, and faculty at the University of Michigan Ann Arbor:

*Active Membership*

- Active members attend all weekly meetings, and are expected to attend or assist with at least 80 percent of SAFE sponsored events. Attendance will be taken at all meetings and events. Less than perfect attendance at meetings is acceptable if the member notifies the secretary with a reasonable excuse in advance.

- Only active members will have access to the core TeamSAFE listserv and CTools site.

- New members will be considered active members after they have attended three consecutive meetings and until they fail to fulfill the above criteria

*General Membership*

- General members are those that do not fulfill the criteria for active membership, but are nevertheless involved in SAFE by occasionally attending meetings and events.
- General members will have access to the iheartsafe listserv only. - The Outreach chair can determine when a general member has shown enough commitment and involvement to become an active member.

Interested/Community members
- Those who do not fulfill the criteria for membership or do not attend meetings, but are still interested in the Palestinian cause
- These non-members have access to the rotating freethep listserv

Article IV. Executive Board Officers

Section 1. Co-chair
The SAFE Co-Chairs are responsible for holding other chairs accountable to their respective duties. SAFE Co-Chairs should be comfortable speaking in public, working with the Michigan Daily (and other news outlets), and have an intimate knowledge/understanding of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. They are responsible for the overall well-being of the group including, but not limited to:
- Working directly with the treasurer to manage SAFE’s account - Working with the outreach chair to engage general members and network/coalition build externally
- Keeping up constant communication with University Administration - Mediating conflict as it arises within the organization
- Maintaining a healthy balance between internal development (retreats, socials, etc.) and external visibility (through events, demonstrations, workshops, teach-ins, etc.)
- Maintaining all of SAFE’s respective listservs
- Maintaining a clear vision for SAFE, motivating members to take on positions of leadership and to remain actively engaged with events and related activities.
Section 2. Secretary/Historian

- The Historian must attend all events that SAFE hosts or sponsors. His/her responsibilities are to collect records of the event through pictures or video. At the following SAFE meeting, the group will discuss the successes and failures of the event and the historian will put together a report recapping the event for future members of SAFE. The pictures, video, report and fliers are all then uploaded to the CTools site.
- His/her responsibilities are to take minutes and attendance at SAFE meetings and to make sure action items are noted. Meeting minutes are then emailed to the TeamSAFE listserv and uploaded to the CTools site.

Section 3. Treasurer

The Treasurer performs two primary jobs:

1. Spearhead SAFE Fundraising Efforts
   - Work with Co-Chairs in developing semester budget for all events
   - Develop fundraising plan for each event
   - Grants: Coordinate which grants to apply for each event. This constitutes the largest portion of fundraising efforts
   - Selling Goods
   - Collecting Donations
   - Coordinate with fundraising team: who is doing what?

2. Bookkeeping
   - Keep up with SOAS: is all of the money that is supposed to be in our account there?
   - Transferring money to and from accounts when necessary (mostly to/from other student groups SAFE works with)
- Handling all other miscellaneous account activity
- Member reimbursements
- Other

**Section 4. Technology Chair**

The technology chair is responsible for updating the website (www.umich.edu/~umsafe) as well as the blog (umsafe.blogspot.com). Information about events should be updated with a flier as well as other educational items. The blog is primarily to upload articles that are sent via email to the group; this gives the opportunity for people who are not active members of SAFE to follow our blog as well as keep up-to-date with information about Palestine. The tech chair also should make facebook events and e-mail fliers for any events SAFE puts on.

**Section 5. Media Chair**

Media chair is responsible for coordinating all of SAFE’s activity with media on campus and in the area. This means being in close contact with various writers and staffers at the Daily, keeping them updated on our events and occasionally meeting with people at the Daily if it is necessary. Also, media chair is responsible for coordinating writing viewpoints in the Daily, working with the co-chairs and other members to keep SAFE visible on campus and in the paper. The media chair must also deal with and respond to any controversial issues or "press" affecting SAFE in order to maintain and further a positive reputation on campus. The media chair should also coordinate with other local newspapers/news distributors and organize members to write letters to the editor and viewpoint pieces several times a month for local papers, such as the Michigan Daily, Michigan Review, Michigan Independent, and Ann Arbor News.
Section 6. Education Chair

The Education Chair is responsible for educating SAFE members and keeping them up to date regarding relevant current events. This will be accomplished by: coordinating short educational presentations at the beginning of each weekly meeting, sending out links to articles, and recommending other resources. The Education Chair will assemble information which will be disseminated to the University of Michigan Ann Arbor community in the form of pamphlets, posters, bulletin boards. The Education Chair will be tasked with actively reaching out to other groups via educational presentations, the topics of which will determined at weekly meetings.

Section 7. Outreach Chair

The outreach chair collaborates with other organizations on campus, looking for energetic people who want to get involved. The Outreach Chair is responsible for welcoming new members and giving them information about SAFE and how to get more involved. He/She is also responsible for determining when general members have shown enough initiative and involvement to become active members. The Outreach Chair is responsible for attending at least 2 other organization meetings per month, formulating a list of possible ally organizations, and initially contacting other groups interested in education presentations (to be done by the Education chair). The Outreach Chair will provide pamphlets and other information to new members and "bridge the gap" between the executive board and the general membership.

Section 8. Other officer positions

Officer positions may be created as need arises after approval of an initial proposal by a majority vote of active members.
Section 9. Collective Responsibilities

All officers are responsible for keeping the organization up to date on their progress with their various goals and responsibilities. They must involve active and general members in their activities by sharing them with volunteers and explaining how to complete the tasks volunteers take on, as well as making sure those tasks are completed in time. Officers should make sure there are clear electronic instructions available on CTools on how to complete tasks related to their positions (such as filling out grants, meeting with department chairs, updating the blog, etc) so that members can learn how to contribute.

Article V. Operations

Section 1. Elections

1. Nominations: any active members may be nominated or may nominate themselves for any executive board position. Nominations will be submitted to an agreed-upon third party to be decided upon by the executive board.

2. The third party notifies the nominees of their nominations with ample time for the nominees to accept of [sic] reject the nomination(s).

3. After nominations are accepted/rejected, the third party notifies all members SAFE of who the nominees are for each position before the election meeting.

4. Election Meeting:
   - Nominees have a chance to address the members and give a short speech before voting
   - Each member present votes for one nominee for each e-board position and two nominees for co-chair. Only those present at the election meeting can vote.
- In the event that a nominee wins a plurality of votes for a position but not a majority
  OR in the event of a tie, the vote for that position is resolved via a run-off
- In the event of a tie that cannot be resolved with a run-off, the current E-Board (not the
  one being voted on) will decide the position with an internal discussion followed by a
  vote

Section 2. Meetings
Meetings occur weekly. Anyone may submit an agenda item to one of the co-chairs
prior to the meeting.

Article VI. Finances
Section 1.
SAFE will finance its activities through voluntary donations, fundraisers, University and
other funding bodies, and potentially other means that would be discussed and decided
on at meetings.

Section 2.
The treasurer shall be responsible for all finances, with the input of the executive board.

Article VII. Amendments
Section 1.
Amendments to this constitution may be proposed at weekly meetings.

Section 2.
Any member, active or general, may propose an amendment.

Section 3.
Voting on amendments shall take place no earlier than the closest scheduled meeting
following the time when the amendment was proposed.
Article VIII. Registration Renewal

Section 1.

Registration renewal should be completed by the exiting co-chairs following the conclusion of the academic school year.

Article IX. Removal of Membership

Section 1.

Officers will be considered for removal if:

- They fail to attend any executive board meetings
- They fail to comply with the mission, code of conduct, or guiding principles as stated above
- They fail to attend any weekly meetings without proper notification

Officers may also be considered for removal if there is a consensus among other executive board and active members that their presence is detrimental at SAFE meetings and/or events.

Section 2.

Officers may be voted out by a majority of the executive board.

Section 3.

Members will be considered for removal if they fail to comply with the mission or code of conduct as stated above. Members may also be considered for removal if there is a consensus among other executive board and active members that their presence is detrimental to the mission of the organization at SAFE meetings and/or events.
**Section 4.**

Organization members may be removed by a vote of the simple majority of the executive board.

**Bylaws**

1) Responsible community groups are those community groups which abide by SAFE’s code of conduct and guiding principles.

2) While anyone is welcome to participate in SAFE as active or general members, executive board membership is restricted to undergraduate and graduate students only. This is to ensure that the integrity of SAFE as a student-run organization is maintained.
APPENDIX K

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN SAFE DIVESTMENT CAMPAIGN

DIVESTMENT CAMPAIGN 2014-15

As students at the University of Michigan who are committed to the self-determination and humanity of all people, we, Students Allied for Freedom and Equality (SAFE), call for our University to stand by its history of supporting civil and social justice movements, as well as upholding this institution to the high standard of Leaders and Best. We specifically call upon the University to divest from companies that profit from the systematic violation of Palestinian human rights. In standing by our moral obligations as university students, SAFE officially announces the launch of its #UMDivest campaign for the 2014-15 school year.

Palestinian suffering is thoroughly documented by scholars, human rights activists, and world leaders. Since 1967, Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza have been living under Israeli military occupation. This occupation is recognized as illegal under international law, with Palestinians in the Occupied Territories subjected to a system of discriminatory and arbitrary laws. Segregated bus systems, restricted freedom of movement, and routine incarceration without due process are part of Palestinians’ daily reality. In clear violation of the Geneva Convention, the Israeli government also forcibly removes Palestinians from their homes and demolishes them to make way for illegal settlements in the occupied West Bank. More than 500,000 settlers currently inhabit the West Bank in over 100 illegal settlements, which are subsidized and facilitated by the Israeli government.

As part of the occupation, Palestinians in Gaza also face routine military assaults killing thousands of civilians. The most recent massacre being this past summer’s Operation Protective Edge, a 50-day long war on Gaza in which the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) killed more than 2100 Palestinians, wounded 11,000, and displaced 500,000 Gaza residents.

As our University remains invested in these companies, we as students are complicit in the perpetuation of these human rights violations. SAFE calls upon the University of Michigan student body to reflect and learn more about the current situation. We announce a year-long series of events that work to educate our campus and allow for open discussion on the #UMDivest initiative. We refuse to be unwillingly implicated in the oppression of others and believe that any prospect for justice and peace begins with an unconditional respect for human life and dignity.

In Solidarity,

Students Allied for Freedom & Equality
APPENDIX L

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN SAFE MOCK EVICTION NOTICE

Dept of Housing

EVICTION NOTICE

PERSONS: **ALL OCCUPIERS**

LOCATION: UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

EFFECTIVE: IMMEDIATELY

DORM SCHEDULED FOR DEMOLITION IN THREE DAYS.

If you do not vacate the premises by 13 DEC 6 PM, we reserve the right to demolish your premises without delay. We cannot be held responsible for property or persons remaining inside. Charges for demolition will be applied to your student account.

Eviction notices are routinely given to Palestinian families living under oppressive Israeli occupation for no reason other than their ethnic background; the goal is to make life so miserable for Arabs that they leave. Forced evictions are arbitrary, racist, humiliating, violent, and in violation of Article 53 of the Fourth Geneva Convention.

Since 1967, Israeli occupying forces have destroyed nearly 27,000 homes and other structures crucial for livelihood resulting in the internal displacement of more than 160,000 indigenous Palestinians. Excessive use of force by Israeli forces during evictions has led to Palestinians being injured and killed, and priceless family objects destroyed.

Palestinian homes are destroyed to cleanse the region of its Arab population, and create space for illegal settlements. Israel’s apartheid policies against the Palestinian people are in gross violation of internationally recognized human rights. The United States’ government, American corporations, and public universities support these policies against Palestinians through foreign aid and investments.

Source: Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions
Visit [www.icahd.org](http://www.icahd.org) for more information.

This is not a real eviction notice. #UMMockEviction
APPENDIX M

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY RESPONSE TO CUAD DEMANDS

“Maintaining Columbia’s Ties to Israel”

As members of the faculty of Columbia University, we write to express our commitment to the university’s ties with Israel. Israel is a thriving democracy. It has democratic elections, a free press, rule of law, and strong protections for the individual rights of all citizens, including Arabs as well as Jews. Israel also is the home of great universities, a vibrant culture, and an innovative high-tech sector. "Given these shared values and interests, Columbia benefits from ties with Israeli faculty, students, research, and technology.

For nearly seven decades, Israel has faced hostile neighbors. Rocket attacks, terrorism in the streets, chaos across the border, and the trauma of war are facts of life for Israelis. We wish for a peaceful and just resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, just as Israelis do. We appreciate that several Israeli Prime Ministers from across the Israeli political spectrum have endorsed a two-state solution. We recognize that Israel withdrew unilaterally from Gaza, and that Gaza has since become a base for attacks on Israeli civilians. We do not mean to suggest that we agree with every policy of the Israeli government, just as the Israeli people have a range of views about the best path to a peaceful and secure coexistence with their neighbors.

Yet it would not be just or principled to respond to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by disengaging from Israel or from companies that do business with Israel. It would be unjust to blame only one side for this conflict, and unprincipled to single out Israel for
this sanction, while maintaining ties with other nations that—unlike Israel—are undemocratic, repressive, and much less restrained in their use of force.

For all these reasons, Columbia’s ties with Israel need to be preserved. While we recognize that the University trustees are responsible for deciding whether to divest from companies that do business in Israel, we write to express our support for these investments.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁹ I have not copied and pasted all the signatories as there are over 200. They can found in their entirety at: https://www.scribd.com/doc/305428088/Faculty-letter-in-support-of-CU-s-ties-to-Israel-3-20-16#
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161


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