



July 29, 2015

The Role of the Palestinians in the BDS Campaign



A BDS campaign notice posted on the website of the BNC, the Palestinian BDS National Committee in Ramallah, which claims to lead the global BDS campaign (BNC website Bdsmovement.net, September 4, 2014).

Introduction: Main Findings

1. This study examines **the role of Palestinian activists and networks in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip in the global BDS campaign being waged against Israel**. The campaign, which originated with the first Durban Conference (2001), is being waged by anti-Israeli activists and networks around the globe, especially in the West. It is mainly waged by far left and extremist Islamic fringe groups.
2. **The objective of the campaign** is to label Israel as an "apartheid" country and promote an international boycott of its institutions, leaders, economy and culture, and of Israel's supporters. Its final goal is to cause Israel to collapse, as the apartheid regime in South Africa collapsed. The campaign's organizers oppose any recognition of the State of Israel or negotiations with it, **reject the two-state solution**, emphasize the so-called "right of return" of the millions of Palestinian refugees to the territory of

the State of Israel and **seek to realize the vision of one state ruled by Palestinians.**

3. **Palestinian activists and networks in Ramallah joined the BDS campaign in 2005**, four years after the Durban conference. **In November 2007 Palestinian activists established the BNC, the Palestinian BDS National Committee.** The BNC is currently composed of 27 Palestinian NGOs, some of them with a foothold in Palestinian civil society, and some minor or virtual and without substance.

4. **The BNC is an active partner in the anti-Israeli BDS campaign. Its hard core is a small group of Palestinian activists with no significant clout in internal Palestinian politics, but well-connected to the Western activists and networks leading the global BDS campaign. Two prominent members of the BNC** are anti-Israeli activists who were educated in the West and studied at leading universities in the United States and Great Britain. The leading Palestinian figure is **Omar Barghouti**, a silver-tongued anti-Israeli Palestinian propagandist who calls himself a "human rights activist." Over the years he has become a key figure in the BDS campaign in the West, especially the United States and Britain. **Michael Deas**, who studied at the London School of Economics, works alongside him. Today he is **the BNC's representative in Europe and operates in Britain**, the center of the campaign to delegitimize Israel, and is also active in Western European countries and EU institutions.

5. **The BNC pretends to lead the global BDS campaign, claiming it has massive Palestinian support. The conclusion of the ITIC's study is that neither is correct, and that the BNC's self-aggrandizement is part of its propaganda efforts to inflate its importance and image beyond what they are in fact.** Thus, in reality the Palestinian BNC does not lead the global BDS campaign, which **is a basically decentralized collection of interconnected networks without a well-defined hierarchy.** In the **internal Palestinian arena**, the BNC **does not have a genuine foothold in either Palestinian politics or society**, neither in the Palestinian Authority (PA)-administered territories nor in the Gaza Strip. The conclusion of the study is that the BNC's main importance, from BDS perspective, is in allegedly presenting the authentic "Palestinian face" of the campaign. That is important in the eyes of the anti-Israeli activists and networks around the globe that pretend to promote "the rights of the Palestinians."

6. **The PA and Fatah are not part of the BDS campaign**, but regard it as an **effective tool for exerting pressure on Israel**. They wage an extensive anti-Israeli political campaign giving moral support to the global BDS campaign:

1) In the past **strong differences of opinion surfaced between Mahmoud Abbas**, the PA chairman, **and Omar Barghouti**, the prominent Palestinian BDS figure. The campaign waged by the PA and Fatah includes Israeli goods imported into Judea and Samaria, the boycott of goods manufactured in Judea and Samaria, and encourages states and companies to label products originating in Judea and Samaria.

2) At the same time **the PA enables the BNC to operate from Ramallah, and on occasion uses the BDS campaign to support its own political, propaganda and legal campaign against Israel**. The attempt to have Israel suspended from FIFA may indicate **a drift in the PA's policies towards adopting BDS tactics** (BDS campaign activists said they were disappointed by "FIFA's betrayal" [of the PA] but claimed they were certain the effort to isolate Israel around the globe would continue).

7. BNC and BDS activists around the globe often **boast of the campaign's many successes**. An examination of the campaign so far indicates **a significant discrepancy between its actual results and the formidable image** its activists try to create for it:

1) In **practical terms**, despite localized successes, so far the BDS campaign, especially in the West, has not isolated Israel or significantly damaged its institutions, economy or culture. The campaign has also not enlisted countries and governments friendly to Israel or influential mainstream figures who believe in the two-state solution.

2) In terms of its **image and public relations**, most of the BDS campaign is still the field of action of extremist, anti-Zionist fringe networks and figures. However, during the past year, in a number of instances the campaign managed to enter mainstream public discourse and the leading Western media (for example, the argument conducted on the pages of the New York Times¹). Moreover, **during the past year the BDS campaign was given prominence by the Israeli media**

¹ For further information see the March 26, 2014 bulletin, ["The Anti-Israeli BDS campaign: an argument in the New York Times following an article by Omar Barghouti, a Palestinian activist, one of the leading personalities of the BDS campaign. The argument exposes the BDS' genuine objectives, as well as the limitations of its real influence."](#)

and political leadership. BDS activists were encouraged by the exaggerated Israeli media coverage, often quoting articles representing the campaign as "an existential threat" or "a strategic threat" to Israel. They leverage them to "prove" that the campaign is successful and effective (BDS activists recently quoted statements by Israeli President Reuven Rivlin and Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu regarding the BDS' threat).



The BNC leverages Israeli media for its propaganda. The front page of the popular Israeli daily newspaper Yedioth Aharonot, whose main headline reads, "The boycott of Israel will get worse" (Bdsmovement.net, January 13, 2015).

8. In ITIC assessment, the BDS campaign's future effectiveness will depend **primarily on the future of Israeli-Palestinian dialogue and negotiations**. The easing of tensions between Israel and the Palestinians can allow the contradictions between the PA and Fatah on the one hand, and the BDS campaign on the other to surface, and cause the campaign to fade and remain the province of extremist fringes. On the other hand, the growing tensions between the Israelis and Palestinians, and the continuation of the political and legal campaign the PA is waging against Israel, are liable to blur the distinctions between the PA and the BDS campaign, and **to lead the PA to adopt BDS tactics** (that is, other initiatives for boycotting Israel in international institutions, such as FIFA). In ITIC assessment **the PA's adoption of BDS tactics is liable to make the anti-Israeli campaign more effective**.

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Section One: The BDS Campaign and Its Roots

10. BDS is short for **Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions**. BDS is a global anti-Israeli campaign calling for the boycott of the State of Israel. It is an integral part of the delegitimization campaign being waged against Israel, primarily in the West. The objective of the BDS campaign is to label Israel an "apartheid state" and promote an international boycott of the country and its institutions, leaders, economy and culture, as well as of Israel's supporters. Its ultimate goal is to eventually cause Israel to wither and collapse, like the apartheid regime in South Africa. The campaign is waged by anti-Israeli activists and networks around the globe, mainly (but not exclusively) by extremist far-left and Islamic fringe groups.

11. The efforts of Israel's enemies to undermine and subvert its legitimacy in the international arena are not new and have accompanied the state since its founding. **The current delegitimization campaign, which the BDS campaign is an integral part, originated with the first Durban Conference, in South Africa.** Officially called the World Conference against Racism, it was held in Durban, from August 31 to September 8, 2001. During the conference a forum of NGOs met to protest racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and intolerance. In its final declaration the forum called **"upon the international community to impose a policy of complete and total isolation of Israel as an apartheid state...which means the imposition of mandatory and comprehensive sanctions and embargoes, the full cessation of all links...between all states and Israel"**² (ITIC emphasis).

12. Since the Durban Conference activists and NGOs around the globe, led by extremist, fringe far-left and Islamic networks, have endeavored **to label Israel an "apartheid state" and have it boycotted politically, economically and culturally.** Most of the activists and networks participating in BDS **regard the campaign as a means to cause Israel to collapse, even if that is not elaborated.** In several instances they have been joined by individuals who see the campaign as **a way to pressure Israel** into making fundamental changes in its policies towards the Palestinians. They collaborate with BDS even though they do not reject the two-state concept, and they oppose (or are unaware of) the campaign's hidden goals. In ITIC assessment, those individuals do not currently have much influence, but **they are an important target audience for BDS activists.** That is because it is in their interest to

² <http://www.i-p-o.org/racism-ngo-decl.htm> (Section 425)

include such individuals in the campaign, making it more effective, **changing it from a fringe political and civil issue to a central one.**

13. Like other networks participating in the campaign to delegitimize Israel, **the BDS campaign has adopted the terminology of human rights discourse and international jurisprudence.** Thus it camouflages itself as a human rights organization working to promote "freedom, justice and equality" and to restore the "Palestinians' rights." **Its slogans hide the BDS's genuine political objective, which is to destroy the State of Israel by isolating and boycotting it until it withers and collapses. BDS uses human rights slogans to influence Western public opinion, mainly targeting mainstream organizations and figures opposing the destruction of Israel and supporting the concept of two states for two peoples.** The BDS campaign's target audiences in the West are mainly **students and academic professionals, human rights organizations, trade unions, minority groups and even Jews.**

14. As opposed to the BDS campaign's vague official language, the statements of many of its senior activists repeatedly show **that they reject the fundamental legitimacy and existence of the State of Israel and regard the BDS campaign as a tool for undermining Israel as a democratic Jewish state.** For example, **the campaign strongly promotes the so-called "right of return" of the 1948 Palestinian refugees to the territory of the State of Israel and defines Israel as "a racist, colonialist state," established through the sin of the so-called "ethnic cleansing" of the Palestinians.** They promote the campaign by equating the boycott of South Africa with the boycott of Israel, and make the false analogy between the apartheid regime in South Africa and the democratic State of Israel. **In their opinion, promoting a strategy of ostracism and boycotts will, in the end, lead to the collapse of the State of Israel, as it led to the collapse of the apartheid regime in South Africa.**

15. **The BDS campaign often boasts of its successes, but so far it has failed to significantly enlist countries and prominent mainstream figures.** The campaign has not done much economic or cultural damage to the State of Israel. **Most of its influence has been political and to a certain extent has affected Israel's image.** That is because delegitimizing Israel and labeling it an "apartheid state," which in the past was confined to far-left and Islamic fringe groups, has seeped into Western public and political discourse. It has also occasionally been given a platform by leading Western media, such as The New York Times and Le Monde. In addition,

BDS's so-called "successes" have been widely reported by the Israeli media. The Israeli political leadership has responded to the campaign in harsh terms. The exaggerated responses in Israel have been exploited by BDS propaganda to "prove" the campaign's successes and show it is far more effective than it is in reality.³

Section Two: The BNC – Palestinian Umbrella Network Collaborating with the Global BDS Campaign

The Circumstances of the BNC's Establishment and its Participants

16. Inspired by the first Durban Conference, in 2004 a group of Palestinian academics and intellectuals organized in **Ramallah**, and in 2005 they **joined the global campaign to boycott Israel**. Initially the group was called the **Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI)**. It was headed by a then-unknown Palestinian activist named **Omar Barghouti**, who did not belong to the traditional political leadership or one of the Palestinian organizations. **In the intervening decade he has intensively promoted the BDS campaign around the globe, and has become a kind of "celebrity" among anti-Israeli activists and networks**. Omar Barghouti and other BDS activists claim the Palestinian call for BDS on **July 9, 2005, was the real starting point of the campaign**; they recently celebrated the campaign's tenth anniversary.

17. In **November 2007 the BNC, the BDS National Committee**, was established in Ramallah. According to its website, it currently includes **27 Palestinian NGOs**. **Some of them have a foothold in Palestinian civil society, and some, in ITIC assessment, are minor or virtual and without substance**. Prominent among them

³ For example, **Roger Waters**, who was a member of Pink Floyd, became a BDS supporter. Interviewed by Gideon Levy, a journalist working for the Israeli daily newspaper Haaretz, he discussed the Israeli prime minister's speech at the AIPAC Conference. Waters said [ITIC translation] that "[Netanyahu] said the word 'BDS' no less than seventeen times. Last year no one mentioned BDS at all anywhere. That is a tremendous change." **Abraham Foxman**, National Director of the Anti-Defamation League, was interviewed by the popular daily Israeli newspaper Yedioth Aharonot (July 24, 2015) on the occasion of his retirement. He said the following [ITIC translation and emphasis throughout]: "I was in college in the sixties, and believe me, it was no picnic to be pro-Israel. Fifty years later we have problems with the same schools. But this is what drives me nuts: there are 4,000 universities in the United States, and the mess is in 25 or 30 of them. **I don't understand why we are blowing all this up into an existential crisis. Why give them a victory when they aren't even winning?** No university participates in the boycott...You know how many Israeli ministers there are dealing with the BDS? What for? It's not an issue to go to war over. **We are turning the movement into something much bigger than it really is**. Obviously, it is important to remain aware. But we have to deal with it with a scalpel, not a tank. Unfortunately, I am in the minority here. What I mean is, I would be happy if we were a little less smart."

are trade unions (teachers, writers, farmers, etc.), or dealing with BDS, the so-called "right of return" and various other social issues. PACBI, from which the BNC sprang, became one of its participating organizations but its activities are minor and go virtually unnoticed. The following is the list of organizations listed on the BNC website (Bdsmovement.net, July 1, 2015):

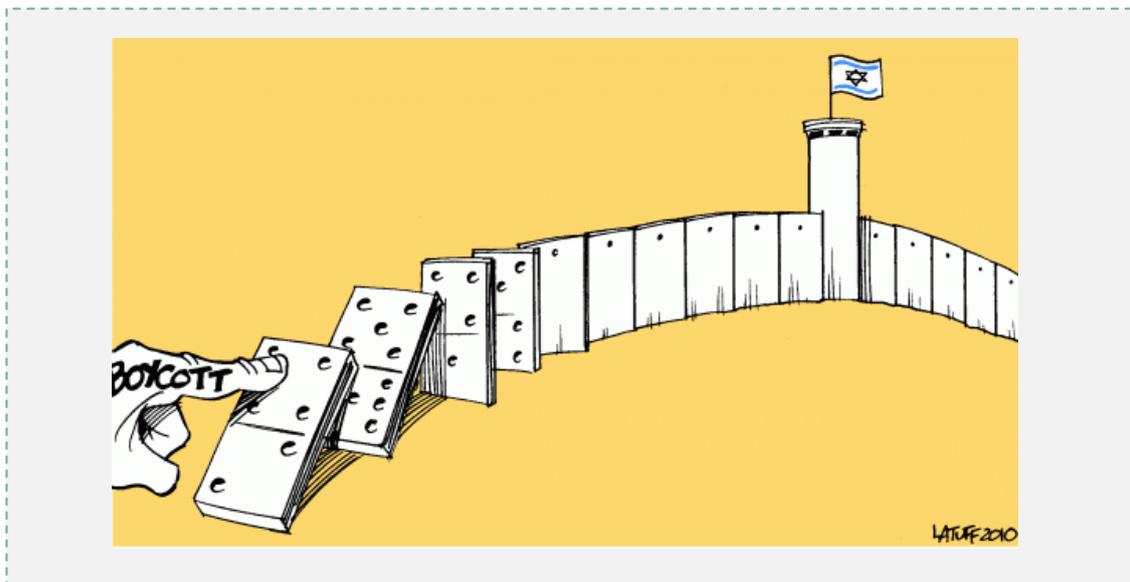
The current members of the BNC are:

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 (PFUPE)
 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 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

The BNC's Objectives and Its Role in the BDS Campaign

18. **The BNC's objectives**, as advertised on its website, are the following: to spread and strengthen the so-called "culture of boycott" as the central civil opposition to "the Israeli occupation, colonialism and apartheid;" to formulate strategies and programs to promote BDS; to serve as the "Palestinian reference point" for the BDS campaign in the Middle East and around the globe; to serve as the "national reference point" for the campaign against normalization of relations with Israel within the territory of "Palestine" and to coordinate, encourage and provide support for the various BDS campaigns around the globe. The BNC's **media and propaganda objective** is participation in the battle for hearts and minds being waged against Israel with its supporters all over the world. One way to accomplish that is to train activists and

convince organizations to participate in BDS activities, spread its media materials and manage the BDS website (Bdsmovement.net).



The BDS campaign hopes to cause Israel's destruction through the domino effect (BNC Arabic website, January 21, 2014).

19. Omar Barghouti and the BNC website **customarily boast of the national Palestinian nature and Palestinian roots of the BDS campaign**. They represent the establishment of PACBI in 2004 and the Palestinian call for the BDS campaign in 2005 as the most important milestones in the campaign's history. While they recognize the contribution of the first Durban Conference to the campaign, they minimize its importance. In their efforts to give the BDS campaign a national Palestinian character **they claim the international BDS movement is directed by the BNC**.⁴ The BNC's website is called the BDS movement (Bdsmovement.net). The site represents the BNC as the body that coordinates and directs the global BDS movement.

20. In ITIC assessment, such representations are **biased, false and misleading**. **The Palestinian BNC does not really direct the global BDS campaign** and Palestinian BDS activists from Judea and Samaria do not play important roles in it. The BDS campaign, like the entire campaign to delegitimize Israel, is basically a **decentralized collection of interconnected networks without a well-defined hierarchy**, in which local anti-Israeli activists and networks play central roles.

⁴ On July 2, 2015, Omar Barghouti, the most prominent BDS activist, told Le Monde that the BNC headed the global BDS movement. He claimed it included the trade unions, NGOs, and large organizations and networks representing all the Palestinian workers, farmers, students and youths.

21. **However, a handful of Palestinian BNC activists are fully integrated into the global campaign and are very active in promoting it in Western countries.** Their activities are focused in Britain, which has always been a center for the campaign to delegitimize Israel, and on several other countries in Western Europe.⁵ **Omar Barghouti is far more popular abroad than among the Palestinians. He is particularly popular among far-left activists mainly in the United States and Britain, where he has become as a kind of Palestinian BDS celebrity.**

22. **What, then, is the importance of the BNC and the Palestinian activists and networks participating in the global BDS campaign?** In ITIC assessment, **the BNC does not lead the global BDS campaign and does not coordinate** between the various countries, but **rather is one of the many networks** operating within the campaign. Its main importance is in allegedly providing the "authentic Palestinian face" of the global BDS campaign. That is an important aspect for the Western BDS activists, because it provides them with the legitimacy to promote the alleged "Palestinian rights."

The Importance of the BNC in the Internal Palestinian Arena

23. **Omar Barghouti's claim that the BDS campaign has massive support within the internal Palestinian arena is substantially an exaggeration.** While the BNC is supported by civil NGOs and organizations in Judea and Samaria, it has **no real social or political influence among the Palestinians.**

24. In reality, **the PA and Fatah** lead the boycott of Israeli-manufactured goods in Judea and Samaria (See below). **In the Gaza Strip, BNC activity and the BDS campaign are barely in evidence. Hamas does not participate in the boycott of Israeli goods, allowing them to be freely and openly delivered to the Gaza Strip through the border crossings, as it is greatly dependent on Israel.** As a result, that issue, like many others, has become a bone of contention between Fatah and Hamas. On February 28, 2015, Fatah spokesman **Ahmed Assaf** stated that while Fatah kept Israeli goods out of the markets in the West Bank, Hamas allowed them to enter the Gaza Strip (Wafa News Agency, February 28, 2015).

⁵ On July 2, 2015, Omar Barghouti told Le Monde that "in comparison [to France], Britain is a paradise for BDS! That is because of the greater awareness of the [British] audience to the Palestinian cause and Israel's colonial system of oppression."

25. On the other hand, Hamas maintains links with networks around the globe participating in the campaign to delegitimize Israel in areas not part of the BDS campaign (See below). They include activists and networks promoting the so-called "right of return," the most prominent of which is the British-based Palestinian Return Centre (headed by a former Hamas operative). Hamas also has ties to activists and networks specializing in organizing flotillas and convoys to the Gaza Strip (Hamas regards the flotilla campaign as serving its goals of lifting the "siege" of the Gaza Strip and achieving political recognition). Hamas is also connected to organizations **specializing in lawfare**. Ideologically, **Hamas stresses the importance of the path of terrorism and violence ("resistance") as the main strategy to "liberate" Palestine, and does not place its hopes in the BDS campaign.**⁶

The BNC's Website, Facebook Page and Twitter Account



The BNC Arabic website (Bdsmovement.net, July 2, 2015). Upper right: "Handala," Naji Al-Ali's⁷ cartoon figure of a Palestinian refugee child which became a symbol of the Palestinian demand for the "right of return," adopted by the BDS campaign.

⁶ A point made by **Fayiz Abu Shamala**, a **Hamas-affiliated** Palestinian commentator from the Gaza Strip. In an exceptional op-ed piece called "The boycott [or Israel] will not liberate our country." He claimed that boycotting Israel would not make it withdraw from Jerusalem or the West Bank, or lead to the "liberation of Palestine." He said it was a mistake to rely on others and relieve the Palestinians of the task of undertaking the mission [themselves]. He asked [the PA] why they fled from confrontation with Israel and trusted others (Felesteen, June 7, 2015)

⁷ **Naji Salim Hussein al-Ali** was a Palestinian cartoonist assassinated in London in 1987. He was famous for his creation of "Handala," a Palestinian refugee child who is only seen from the back. Handala became an icon and was adopted by the BDS campaign to mark the so-called "right of return" of the Palestinian refugees Israel.

26. The BNC in Ramallah operates a **website in Arabic and English** dedicated to the BDS campaign. It also has a **Facebook page and Twitter account in Arabic and English**. No specific information is available on the website regarding BNC activists, how they operate or where their funding comes from. On the BNC's Arabic page there is propaganda about the BDS campaign, news of its activities and information about the various aspects of the campaign (boycotts of goods, academic boycott, the campaign to encourage divestment, etc.).

BDS Notices on the BNC Website and Facebook Page



Left: Buying Israeli goods finances the Israeli security forces (BNC website, January 19, 2015).
Right: Notice advocating the boycott of Israeli-made Ahava beauty products (BNC website, July 8, 2015).



Left: Call to boycott the Israeli company's SodaStream products. Right: Call to boycott G4S, a British security company (BNC website, July 8, 2015).



Calls to boycott Israel on the BNC's Arabic Facebook page. Left: The Arabic reads, "the global Palestinian movement leading the national conference [i.e., the BNC] is the broadest federation within Palestinian society." Right: In the inner circle next to the slogans of "equality and freedom" is "return," BDS's stated aims (Facebook page of the BDS in Arabic).

The Electronic Intifada, an Internet Platform for BNC Activists and the BDS Campaign



The homepage of the Electric Intifada

27. The Electric Intifada is a **vicious anti-Israel English-language website which supports the BDS campaign and serves as a platform for its activists and ideology**. Its webmaster is **Ali Abunimah**, an American citizen of Palestinian origin. The site went online in 2001 and is based in Chicago.

28. **Ali Hasan Abunimah** was born in Washington, DC, in 1971 to Palestinian parents. He spent his childhood in Britain and Belgium. His mother came from the village of Lifta (near Jerusalem) and became a refugee in 1948. His father is from the village of Batir (west of Bethlehem) and in the past was a Jordanian diplomat at the UN. Abunimah has degrees from **Princeton and the University of Chicago**. He was active in social causes as a student. He published a book called *One Country* and in 2009 wrote an article entitled "Israeli Jews and the one-state solution," **which rejected the two-state solution**. He supports the foundation of one "democratic" Palestinian Islamic (i.e., on the ruins of the State of Israel) which will "directly address the legitimate concerns of ordinary Israeli Jews." He opposes Zionism, which he says has "grim long-term prospects."

29. **The Electric Intifada provides a platform for the BDS campaign, especially for its two most prominent Palestinian advocates, Omar Barghouti and Michael Deas** (See below). The site posts their articles, which are laced with hate speech against Israel. For example, an article by Barghouti claimed that in 1948 Israel carried out "ethnic cleansing," Israel follows a policy of "colonialist settlement," Israel's

security fence is an "apartheid wall," Israel has imposed a "hermetic siege" on the Gaza Strip that is supported by Egypt, and the United States supports the "crimes" Israel carries out (first posted on October 15, 2012, and still on the site in July 2015).

Funding for BNC Activities

30. The BNC conducts a variety of activities in Ramallah and Western countries that **need regular sources of funding** (the salaries of a small staff of activists, the BNC website, expenses of the BNC representative in Britain (including his trips to Europe), Omar Barghouti's frequent trips abroad, publishing books, advertising, etc.). **The BNC is not financially transparent and it does not publicly reveal its sources of funding.** Apparently most of its money is donated by BDS activists and networks around the globe, especially the West.

31. In the second half of 2014, after Operation Protective Edge, **the BNC set up a fundraising website** (bnc.believe.in). The website vilified Israel at length, boasted of the economic damage the BDS campaign was inflicting on Israel, and then appealed to contributors to "Please support BDS today by making a donation that will help us to make 2015 the year that the boycott movement reaches new heights. It will be a real contribution to the Palestinian struggle for freedom, justice and equality..." **According to the appeal, it was the first time the BNC was holding a fundraising campaign.** It was the result of both Operation Protective Edge and the global influence of the BDS campaign. Its **main achievements**, according to the website, were damage done to Israel's exports, making it difficult for large international corporations to invest in Israel, the withdrawal of funds by large pension funds and turning Israel into a "pariah state." However, there was still a great deal to be done and donors had to help the BDS campaign become more effective.

A link for donors (bnc.believe.in)

32. The BNC asks for recommended amounts of donations for **a variety of goals**: help in disseminating propaganda material (propaganda material, stickers, etc.) to help make the campaign more effective (\$25); developing the BNC's website and adding languages (\$100); funding "studies" of the "corporate criminals" supporting Israel (\$250). The donor can also choose the amount. The ITIC does not have information about the amount of money the BNC has collected so far and the website does not make the data available.

The BNC's fund-raising campaign (bnc.believe.in)

Palestinian Networks Not Participating in the BNC but Integrated into the Campaign to Delegitimize Israel

33. The BNC is one of the networks participating in the global BDS campaign, which is part of the comprehensive campaign to delegitimize the State of Israel. **The campaign to delegitimize Israel is composed of many activists and networks, some of them Palestinian and some of them in other, mostly Western, countries. They specialize in fields such as lawfare, organizing flotillas and convoys to the Gaza Strip, organizing fly-ins to Israel; and promoting the so-called "right of return" of the Palestinian refugees.**

34. In Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip **there are Palestinian networks** that participate in the campaign to delegitimize Israel **but are not included in the BNC**. Important among them are the Palestinian networks waging lawfare against Israel, which have close connections with anti-Israeli activists and bodies around the globe. Three of the most prominent Palestinian organizations are **Al-Haq**, headed by **Shawan Jabarin** and operating in Ramallah; the **Palestinian Center for Human Rights (PCHR)**, headed by **Raji Sourani** and operating in the Gaza Strip; and **Al-Mezan Center for Human Rights**, headed by **Issam Yunis** and operating in the Gaza Strip.

Section Three: Profiles of the Main Palestinian BNC Activists

Omar Barghouti



Omar Barghouti (Masarat Center for Policy Research and Strategic Studies, February 5, 2015)

35. **Omar Barghouti is a silver-tongued, anti-Israeli Palestinian propagandist** and the most prominent among the Palestinian activists participating in the global BDS campaign. When interviewed by the media **he represents himself as a Palestinian human rights activist and the cofounder of the BDS movement** (he calls the campaign a "movement" to inflate its importance and significance).

36. Omar Barghouti was born in Qatar in 1964, grew up in Egypt and **lived in the United States for 11 years**. He studied at **Columbia University**. After his studies he moved to Ramallah. He is also a choreographer and accompanied the Ramallah-based Al-Funoun Palestinian Dance Ensemble when it appeared in the United States. Today, **according to an Israeli daily Yedioth Aharonot investigative report, he is married to an Israeli Arab woman from Acre named Safa Tamish**, who has an MA from NYU. **They live in the northern Israeli city of Acre.**⁸

37. **Barghouti's political activity is based in Ramallah, where he has been conducting intensive activity to promote the BDS campaign for more than a decade. Most of his activities are carried out in Western countries, mainly in**

⁸ From the investigative report of Guy Lieberman which appeared in the Yedioth Aharonot Saturday supplement on July 5, 2015. Even if Barghouti does live in Acre, which has not been verified, he carries out most of his BDS activities in Ramallah.

academic institutions. In recent years he has become a sought-after guest by the Western and Arab media, sometimes including influential media. **He customarily chooses sympathetic interviewers and Internet platforms that disseminate his anti-Israeli propaganda.** By using such tactics he does to expose himself to inconvenient or difficult questions that could force him to reveal the campaign's true objectives. In the past he appeared before Israeli Arabs and was interviewed by their media, but **he has always been careful not to expose himself to the non-Arab Israeli public and does not give interviews to the Israeli media.**⁹

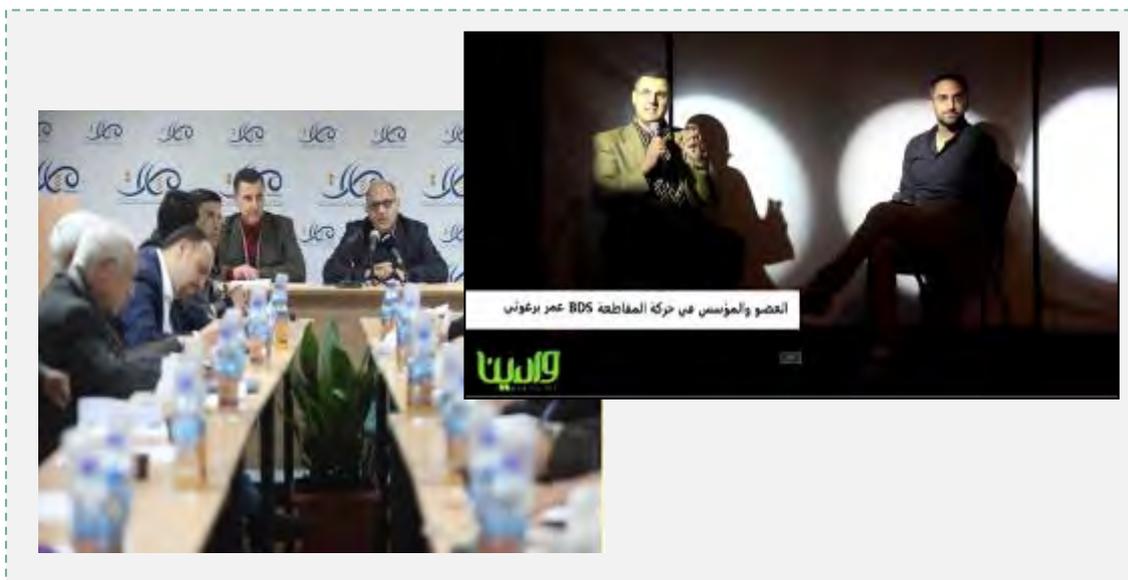
38. **Omar** Barghouti belongs to the Barghouti clan, originally from the village of Bayt Rima (and others) in the Ramallah region. He is distantly related to **senior Fatah terrorist Marwan Barghouti** (who is currently serving five consecutive life sentences for murder during the second intifada) and **Mustafa Barghouti** (a senior leftist Palestinian activist intensively involved in the campaign to boycott Israeli products and in the so-called "popular resistance" in Judea and Samaria). Omar Barghouti's brother, **Dr. Nasr Barghouti**, lives in San Diego, California.

39. Barghouti has two degrees in electrical engineering from Columbia University. His English is fluent and he is an impressive speaker. He is deeply involved in the American academic scene and is very knowledgeable about events in the American human rights and civil organizations. **His intensive activity to boycott Israel includes campaigns for cultural and academic boycotts,**¹⁰ **but that did not deter him from studying for and receiving an MA in philosophy from Tel Aviv University.** His Master's thesis advisor was Professor Marcelo Daskal,¹¹ professor of philosophy at Tel Aviv University, who was Dean of the Faculty of Humanities from 1995 to 2000 (Wikipedia). Omar Barghouti wrote and participated in the writing of a book and articles about BDS and what he calls "Israeli apartheid."

⁹ An Israeli journalist named Nirit Ben-Ari, who works for the Israeli daily newspaper Haaretz, recently asked to interview Barghouti. He said he would be happy to be interviewed by a Jewish-Israeli reporter for the first time, but not an Israel newspaper [Haaretz]. She asked why he preferred Le Monde and he said, "I have no particular problem with Israeli journalists per se, but rather with the Israeli media. I have always refused to be interviewed by the Israeli media because they are trapped by the dominant discourse of the Zionist establishment. The [Israeli] media are used as propaganda tools, [although] clearly there are good, professional journalists" (Le Monde, July 2, 2015). As can be seen by reading the interview in Le Monde, Nirit Ben-Ari did not ask Barghouti difficult or annoying questions, even when they were called for, probably because of ideological identification with him.

¹⁰ Interviewed by BDS-affiliated The Electronic Intifada on May 31, 2009, he called for an academic and cultural boycott of Israel. He also called for a boycott of Israel's academic institutions, which, he claimed, were full partners in Israel's military-security establishment and supported the so-called "Israeli occupation."

¹¹ Article by Guy Lieberman.



Left: Omar Barghouti participates with political figures in a workshop held at the Masarat Center for Policy Research and Strategic Studies in Al-Bireh (Masarat Center, February 5, 2014). Right: Omar Barghouti participates at a meeting for "apartheid week" in the northern Israeli village of A'rara (YouTube, March 15, 2015).

40. **Omar Barghouti is a well-known, key figure among the Palestinian activists participating in the global BDS campaign.** In 2004 he headed a group of academics and intellectuals in Ramallah who joined the BDS campaign in 2005 and founded the **Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI)**. In 2007 Omar Barghouti was the moving spirit behind **the founding of the BNC**, an umbrella network established in Ramallah, which has pretensions to lead the BDS campaign. He often visits Western and Arab countries, especially the United States, to promote BDS activity against Israel. **He makes extensive use of the Internet and the media in general to spread vicious anti-Israeli hate propaganda cloaked as activity to promote equality and human rights.**

41. At the beginning of 2011 his book about the BDS campaign, ***Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions: The Global Struggle for Palestinian Rights***, was issued in the United States. It was published by Haymarket Books and sales began in April 2001. To promote the book and spread the BDS idea Barghouti visited a number of European countries (primarily Britain) and the United States, where he visited several of the leading universities.



An event to promote the sales of Barghouti's book, held in a bookstore in London (Inminds.com). He exploited the opportunity to accuse Israel of "war crimes," and called for it to be treated as a war criminal.

Omar Barghouti's Worldview

42. Omar Barghouti is in favor of a single "democratic" Palestinian state to replace the State of Israel and rejects the existence of Jewish nation-state. He strongly opposes the two-state concept also rejects a bi-national state in all the territory of "Palestine." According to his concept the "right of return" should be implemented by the return of the millions of Palestinian refugees who fled in 1948 and of their descendants. He regards the implementation of the "right of return" and granting the returning Palestinians political rights as the core of the "solution" to the "Palestinian problem" and achieving "Palestinian rights." According to Barghouti, after the millions of Palestinians "return" to the territory of the State of Israel they will found a single, secular, democratic state which will put an end to the existence of the Jewish national homeland and the Jews will "live in Palestine" as a minority.

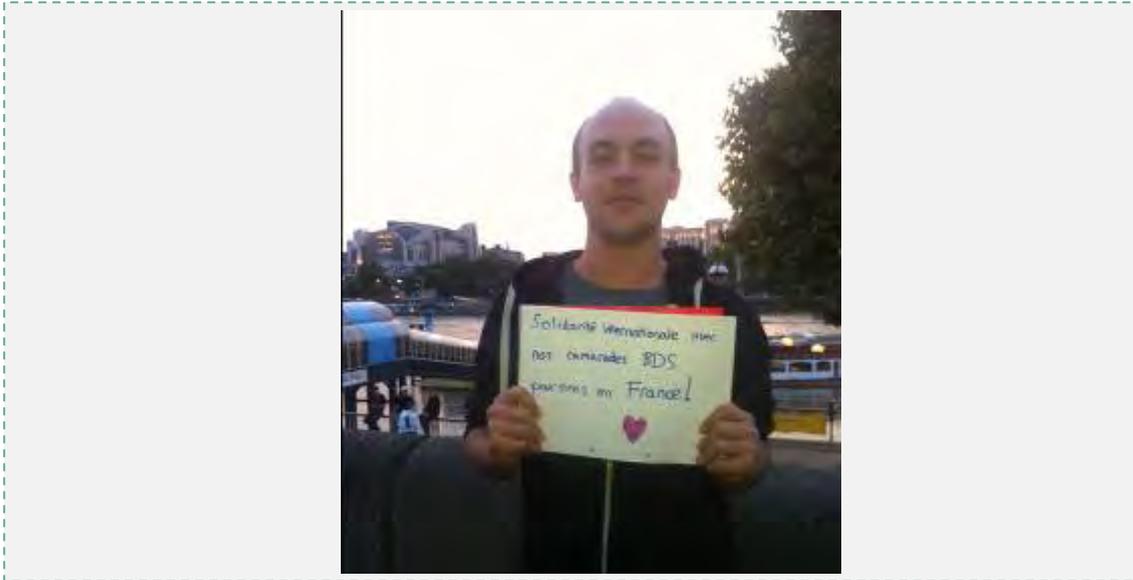
43. As part of the campaign to delegitimize Israel, into which the BDS campaign is integrated, Barghouti often labels Israel as an "apartheid state," accusing it of the "ethnic cleansing" of the Palestinian population. Speaking before Western audiences he extensively uses slogans acceptable to the Western worldview, such as "democracy," "justice" and "restoring the rights of the Palestinians." On the other hand, out of tactical considerations he blurs the BDS campaign's true objectives, which are the destruction of the State of Israel as a Jewish state and the founding of a Palestinian state on its ruins, to which millions of Palestinian refugees will return.

44. A recent example of Omar Barghouti's use of **human rights slogans and vague rhetoric indirectly implying the destruction of the State of Israel** was in his interview with Le Monde (July 2, 2015). He represented himself as a Palestinian human rights activist and the BDS as a non-violent human rights movement opposed to all forms of discrimination and racism. Politically, he claimed BDS was not limited to the withdrawal of Israel from the territories of 1967, but included the return of the Palestinians refugees who were expelled in 1948 and 1967.

45. Barghouti did not make it clear that the significance of the return of millions of descendants of the Palestinian refugees **would mean changing the character of the State of Israel from the national homeland of the Jewish people to a Palestinian state dominating a Jewish minority**. The interviewer was careful not to ask him **inconvenient or questions that would expose what was hiding behind his rhetoric**. The vagueness of statements made by Barghouti and others in the BDS campaign has been harshly criticized even by Jewish figures who strongly object to Israel's policies, but are not ready to join a campaign seeking to destroy it.

46. **During the Le Monde interview Barghouti explained that there was nothing wrong with the Jews turning into a minority in the Palestinian state after the return of the Palestinian refugees.** He claimed that in a democratic state where the Jews were a tiny minority, as they were in the United States and Western Europe, they were thriving and successful. He claimed that the Israeli fear of the Jews turning into a minority in "historical Palestine" was illogical. He claimed it was an "irrational fear" because it "transfers what is clearly European history of anti-Semitic racism followed by slaughters into a completely different Arab context, **where slaughter and pogroms against Jews never existed.**" [Note: Barghouti does not hesitate to falsify and distort history to promote his own anti-Israeli propaganda. He conveniently forgot the slaughter of the Jews in countries such as Iraq, Libya, Yemen and Morocco.] He also did not mention that currently religious and sectarian minorities under Muslim rule in the Middle East are slaughtered, expelled and discriminated against.

Michael Deas



Michael Deas' Facebook picture (June 26, 2013)

47. **Michael Deas' title is European Coordinator for the BNC.** He is also its coordinator (in Britain) for the European Coordination of Committees and Associations for Palestine (ECCP), the umbrella network for BDS supporters in Europe. The ECCP claims to operate in 22 countries and to have hundreds of members. Deas apparently lives in London. The BNC chose London as its base of operations because **of the central role played by Britain** (called "paradise" by Omar Barghouti in his interview with Le Monde) **in the campaign to delegitimize Israel, to which BDS belongs.**

48. **Michael Deas provides very little personal information** in media interviews or in his blog and Twitter account. He studied environmental policy at the London School of Economics beginning in 2006. During his studies he was involved in pro-Palestinian activities and identified with the left.



MICHAEL DEAS

Michael Deas is the coordinator in Europe with the Palestinian Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions National Committee (BNC), the Palestinian civil society coalition that acts as the Palestinian reference of the movement for [boycotts, divestment and sanctions \(BDS\)](#) against Israel until it complies with international law.

You can get regular BDS updates from the BNC by following [@BDSmovement](#). Michael Tweets from [@michaeldeas](#)

General information about Michael Deas (from his blog).

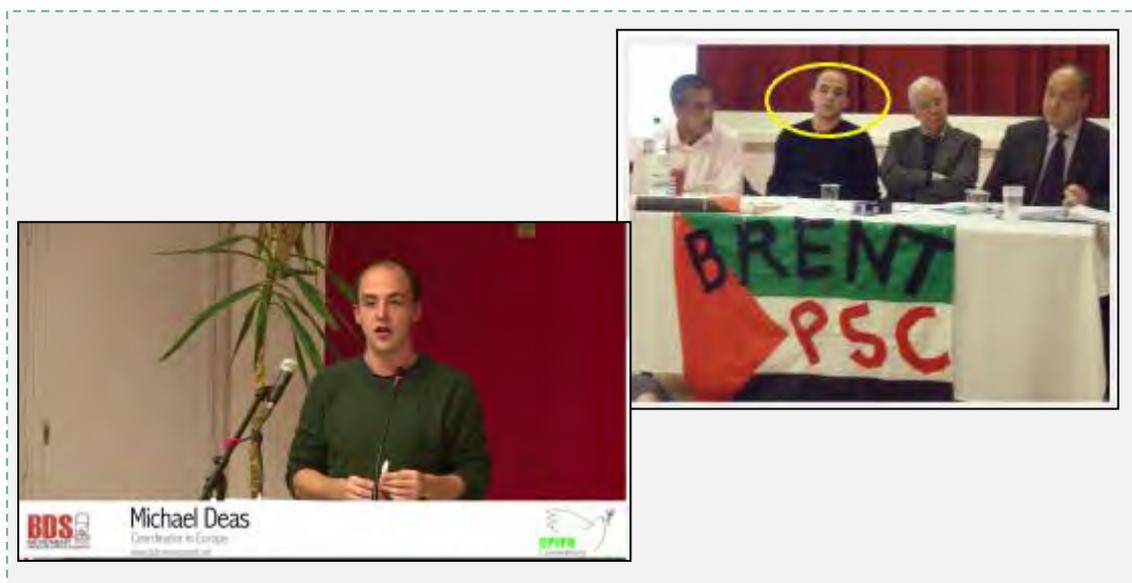
49. Michael Deas writes well and often publishes articles about BDS. He frequently speaks at BDS conferences, expressing himself fluently. He uses The Electric Intifada blog and his Twitter account to write about various boycott campaigns in Europe (such as the campaign in Ireland to boycott fruit imported from Israel and the campaign against a factory in Britain he claimed was allegedly connected to Elbit Systems, an Israel-based international defense electronics company). Most of his articles and speeches advocating various boycotts appear on websites affiliated with the BDS campaign, and they mostly preach to the choir. On occasion his name is mentioned in the British press (for instance by The Guardian).



The campaign in Ireland to boycott fruit from Israel. The picture is from Michael Deas' blog (August 15, 2014).

50. During the first half of 2015 **Michael Deas** was involved in a demonstration held by **British BDS** activists at a factory in Shenstone, north of Birmingham,

which allegedly manufactured UAV motors for Elbit Systems. The demonstration was exploited to condemn all British security connections with Israel ("UK: Stop arming Israel!"). On July 6, 2015, in preparation for the first anniversary of Operation Protective Edge, BDS activists launched a campaign to block access to a factory (Facebook page of Block the Factory, July 9, 2015). **Michael Deas reported on the campaign extensively in his blog and Twitter account**, and directed his readers to a Facebook page begun for the campaign. **Michael Deas probably has ties to the campaign organizers, but the nature of those ties is unclear to the ITIC.**



Left: Michael Deas at a BDS conference in Luxembourg (YouTube, June 23, 2014). Right: Michael Deas at a BDS conference in London to boycott the Israeli Veola water-trading company (RichardMillet'sBlog, November 23, 2011).

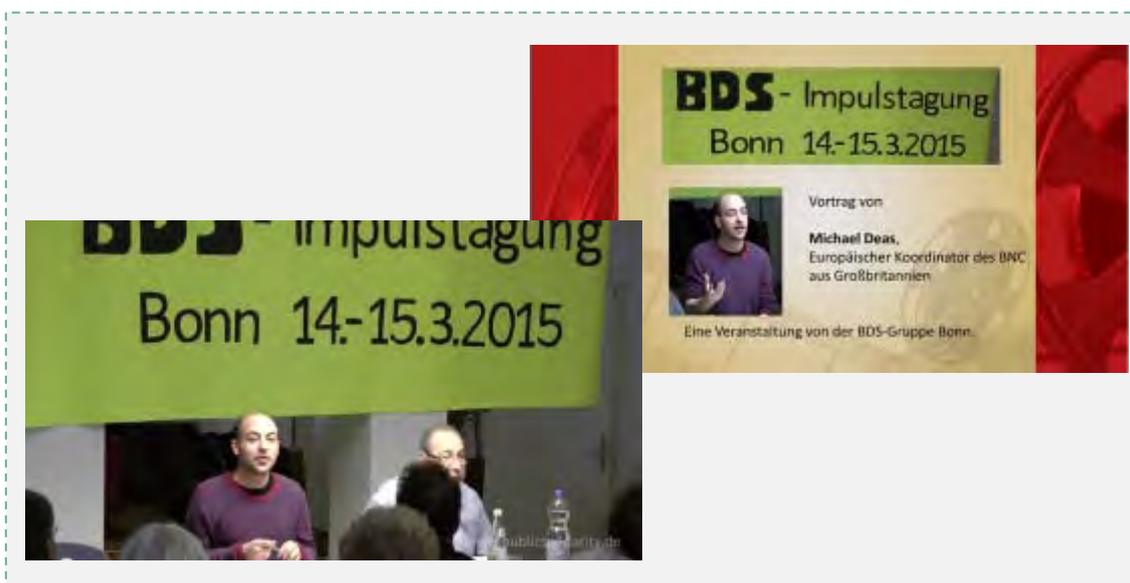


British BDS activists block the entrance to the factory north of Birmingham (Facebook page of Block the Factory, July 7, 2015).

Michael Deas' Activities in Europe

51. Michael Deas is well connected to BDS activists and networks in Europe.

He often leaves Britain for short periods to visit European countries and EU institutions. In November 2013 he appeared before the European Parliament and discussed the issue of European businesses dealing with the Jewish communities in Judea and Samaria. He claimed business deals had to be prevented with violators of international law and human rights, and presented ECCP recommendations (ECCP website, November 29, 2013). As BNC's European coordinator, he often appears at local meetings of BDS supporters to make suggestions to participants and take ideas from them. According to the media, **he has close ties with anti-Israeli networks in Germany participating in the BDS campaign.**



Michael Deas at a BDS conference in Bonn (YouTube, March 20, 2015).

52. **Michael Deas is an active partner in the BDS campaign, and provides operational tactics for European BDS activists.** For example, on October 22, 2011 he participated in a workshop held by **Der Deutsche Koordinationskreis Palästina Israel (KoPI)**, (a network of approximately 30 groups whose stated objective is to inform the German public and government of the need for Palestinian self-determination¹²). Michael Deas explained several BDS tactics to his audience. He claimed BDS campaigns had to integrate local civil society activists, **be flexible in the local context**, use clear terminology and make its demands understood to the

¹² The BDS does not seek Palestinian self-determination but rather the destruction of the State of Israel and the establishment of a Palestinian state on the ruins. BDS activists attempt to link themselves to networks critical of Israel but not necessarily seeking its destruction. To that end BDS activists camouflage and blur their genuine goals.

public ("think globally and behave like locals"). The campaigns also had to be planned thoroughly (he gave as examples the campaigns against Dexis, Agrexco and Veolia, which he claimed had been successful because they had been thoroughly planned).



Michael Deas at a KoPI workshop on the BDS campaign held in Germany on October 22, 2011 (YouTube, October 27, 2011).

53. At the KoPI workshop Michael Deas gave a number of examples of the BDS campaign's tactical and verbal flexibility. In **Holland**, for instance the campaign is not called "BDS Holland" but rather "Together for Palestine." That is because "boycott" sounds rude in Dutch and would make it difficult to introduce BDS into Holland's mainstream. In the **United States**, where there is a clear pro-Israeli bias, Michael Deas believes in focusing on the issue of American military aid for Israel because "it is a campaign slogan people in America are willing to accept." In **Ireland**, on the other hand, "there is no problem in standing in front of a supermarket and shouting 'Boycott apartheid Israel!' " and getting very positive reactions.

54. **Michael Deas has emphasized that it is very important to be flexible in defining the campaign's objectives.** He claims that if in certain countries it is impossible to reach an agreement to boycott all Israeli-produced goods, then agreement should be reached about companies importing products from the communities in Judea and Samaria (although the BDS campaign deals with boycotting the State of Israel and its economy, not products from Judea and Samaria). He said that **using formulas and making demands that are more effective tactically and strategically does not contradict basic [BDS] ideology. Quite the opposite, he claims, they express a genuine determination to achieve solid results.**

Mahmoud Nawajah



Mahmoud Nawajah, from his Facebook page (October 11, 2014)

55. Mahmoud Nawajah is in his late twenties. His family is from Sussiya in Hebron. He has an MA in political science and international relations from the Palestinian Al-Quds University. For more than a year his title has been **"the general coordinator of the BDS National Committee, BNC."** He began as general coordinator in May 2014, after **having been applied for the position through an official tender** offered by an umbrella organization of civil Palestinian networks and the campaign to boycott Israel.

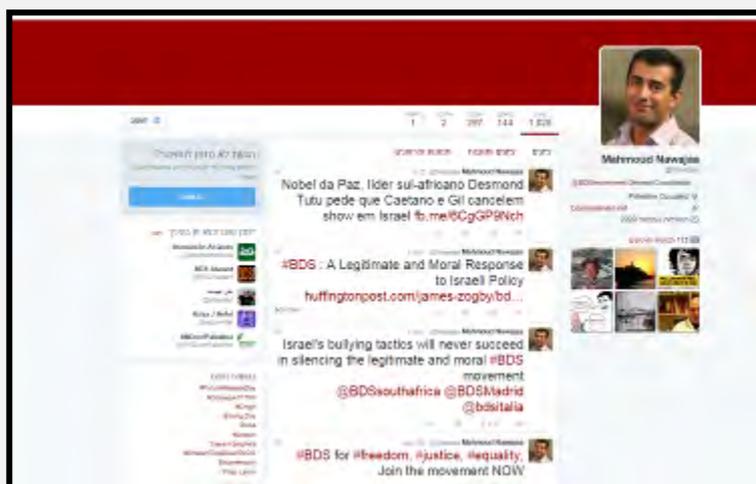
56. Mahmoud Nawajah's role, as described by the tender, is **to direct the BNC and coordinate between its members and organizations to extend the boycott of Israel in the international arena and the Arab world.** The job includes the proper management of the BNC; monitoring its activities; aiding the promotion of the campaigns to boycott Israel; representing the BNC on television; managing the website and social media of the campaigns to boycott Israeli; organizing workshops and conferences; and liaising with foreign delegations and consuls, ambassadors and senior Palestinian figures. The job also includes **liaising with BDS activists abroad and coordinating their activities as part of the campaign to boycott Israel.**



The first page of the tender for the role of BNC general coordinator (Job.ps website, May 13, 2014)

57. **Most of Mahmoud Nawajah's activities to promote the boycott of Israel are focused in Ramallah** (although he occasionally goes abroad), as opposed to Omar Barghouti. From his infrequent media appearances it can be concluded that he has little experience with television interviews and is not a practiced public speaker. For example:

- 1) Interviewed by a Saudi Arabian newspaper, he called for the condemnation of Israel and its delegitimization, which, he claimed, would bring about **the end of the Israeli "apartheid regime"** (Dunia al-Watan, June 7, 2015).
- 2) In April 2015 **he used his Facebook page to attack the United States as a "war criminal" and "aggressor."** He also attacked American President **Obama**, whom he called "the biggest arms dealer in the world since the Second World War" (Facebook page of Mahmoud Nawajah, April 27, 2015).
- 3) He called on all the trade unions in the world to boycott Israel (Al-Quds Al-Arabi, May 21, 2015).
- 4) **He called on Egypt and Jordan to stop negotiations for a gas deal with Israel**, which would only strengthen the Israeli economy (PACBI, March 4, 2015).
- 5) **He congratulated and praised the government of Brazil after it decided to cancel a large arms deal with Israel's Elbit Systems** (Al-Sawasnah, December 9, 2014).



Twitter account of Mahmoud Nawajah



Mahmoud Nawajah's Facebook page defames the president of the United States (April 27, 2015).

58. At the beginning of June 2015 Nawajah about the achievements of the BDS campaign boasted to the Palestinian daily newspaper Al-Ayyam. He claimed Israel and its leaders could not stop the movement and that it had scored many achievements during the past year. He claimed the escalation of the boycott was "the natural consequence of Israel's racist apartheid policies against the Palestinians" (Al-Ayyam, June 4, 2015).

Zeid al-Shuaibi



Zeid al-Shuaibi (Alislah.ma, April 5, 2014)

59. Zeid al-Shuaibi is in his twenties. He spent the first half of his life in Saudi Arabia, and from there moved to his family in Ramallah, where he currently lives. He studied at Bir Zeit University and was involved in political activities but did not belong to any party or organization (Warincontext.org, January 4, 2012).

60. He was the **general coordinator of the BNC until Mahmoud Nawajah was appointed to the post in May 2014**. Today he is the **BNC spokesman**. He began as a young BDS activist and was then put in charge of BDS foreign relations in Palestine and the Arab countries, and is currently the BNC spokesman (BDS website).

61. On April 12, 2014, **Zeid al-Shuaibi was detained by the PA police** during a demonstration in Ramallah protesting the appearance of an Indian dance troupe after it had appeared in Tel Aviv (Human Rights website in Arabic, May 19, 2014). In the wake of his arrest Omar Barghouti accused the PA of fighting the campaign to boycott Israel (Ar.jamnews.ir, April 23, 2014). On November 30, 2013, **Zeid al-Shuaibi was detained for a number of hours by the IDF** during a Palestinian demonstration near Beit El against the Praver Plan for resolving the Israeli Bedouin land dispute in the Negev (Watan, December 1, 2013).



Zeid al-Shuaibi demonstrates against a meeting of Israelis and Palestinians in Al-Bireh (YouTube, January 9, 2014).

Section Four: Comparison of PA and BDS Worldviews

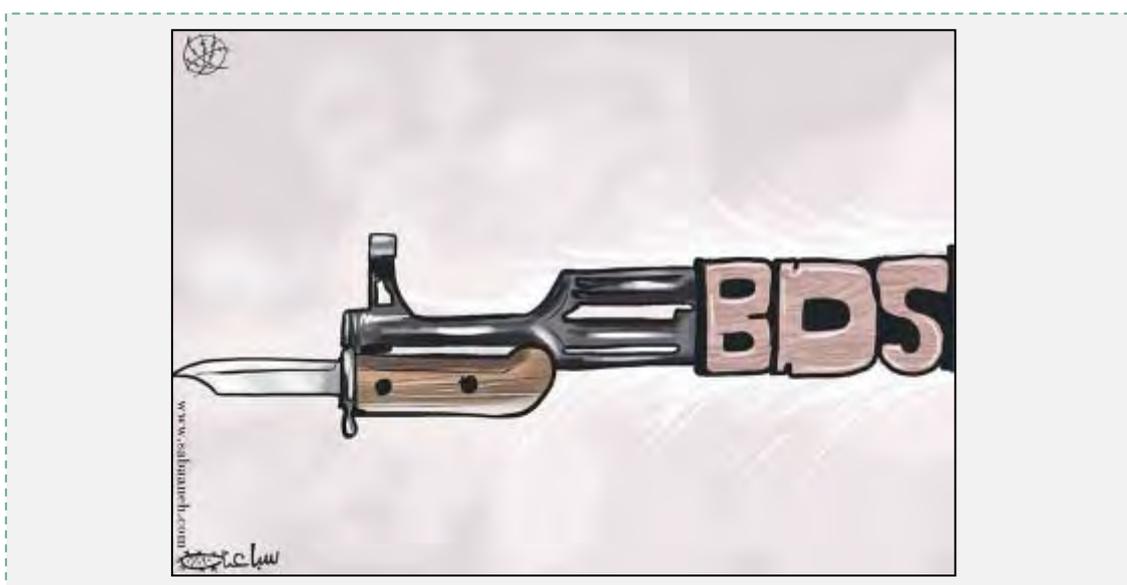
The Difference between the PA and BDS Positions

62. There are fundamental differences between the PA and the BDS campaign:

- 1) **Politically, the PA publicly accepts the two-state solution (on its own terms)** and does not advocate a total boycott to collapse of the State of Israel, which is at the root of the BDS campaign.
- 2) **Therefore, the PA does not boycott Israel totally**, regarding the boycott as another component of its overall strategy to exert pressure on Israel and force it to accept the PA's terms in the political negotiations.
- 3) **In practical terms, the PA is aware of its great dependence on Israel's economy** and the difficulty Palestinian goods have in competing with those made in Israel. It is also aware that the businesses operating in Judea and Samaria employ Palestinian workers (considerations that do not affect the BDS campaign). **Thus the PA has to carefully weigh the influence of the boycott of Israel on the Palestinian population.**¹³

¹³ **Bassam Eid**, a well-known Palestinian human rights activist, had the following to say about the BDS campaign (Interviewed by Ynet, June 10, 2015): "I'm opposed to the boycott because

63. **Thus the PA and Fatah are not part of the BDS campaign and do not participate in its global activities.** The PA-Fatah boycott of Israel usually focuses on merchants in Judea and Samaria. **For that reason there have been strong differences of opinion between Mahmoud Abbas and Omar Barghouti.** (Mahmoud Abbas once said, "We don't ask anyone to boycott Israel itself. We have ties to Israel. We have mutual recognition.") **At the same time, the PA views the BDS campaign as one effective tool of several for exerting pressure on Israel.** The PA allows the BNC to operate in Ramallah and sometimes even explicitly supports it, using for its own political, propaganda and legal campaign against Israel. The attempt to suspend Israel from FIFA was exceptional, **but might indicate that the PA is beginning to adopt BDS tactics.**



BDS as a weapon. A cartoon published in *Al-Hayat Al-Jadeeda*, the official Palestinian organ (June 15, 2015).

An Ideological Common Denominator

64. Despite their fundamental contradictions, **PA and the BDS campaign positions have an ideological common denominator. Neither of them recognizes the**

it only ends up harming the Palestinians themselves. Take, for example, the SodaStream plant in Mishor Adumim that is now moving some of its operations to Beersheba. I've met with Palestinians who worked at the factory and were fired because of the move. They told me they were earning an average of 5,000 NIS [a little more than \$1300] a month there, and that today they are being offered salaries of just 1,400 NIS [about \$700] in the PA". "People there are deep in debt because they have taken on long-term commitments based on the understanding that their work at the plant would continue; but reality has slapped them in the face **because of the pressure created by BDS movement.** Today, they are running between the courts and bailiff offices and is anyone taking any notice of them? **Do you think the boycott movement cares about them at all?"**

existence of the State of Israel as a Jewish national homeland. Both **strongly support the so-called "right of return" of the Palestinian refugees**, although the BDS campaign tends to emphasize the "right" more than the PA, because it regards it as a reliable way of destroying the State of Israel. Both the PA and Fatah adhere to the "right of return" and it is a permanent fixture in the PA educational system ("the return to Haifa and Jaffa," not just to the 1967 lines). However, they do not regard it as an obstacle to political negotiations that would lead to an agreement with Israel.



Brainwashing the youth with the vision of the "right of return." Walaa al-Bassat, who presents a children's TV program, tells her young viewers that all the Palestinian cities occupied in 1948 will return, when the time comes, to the Palestinians (Palestinian TV, March 6, 2015).

65. In practical terms, the common denominator is not broad enough to keep the **PA and BDS from taking different paths**. The PA recognizes the existence of the Israeli state while opposing the existence of the Jewish national state and might also be willing to compromise on the number of Palestinian refugees permitted to return to Israeli territory (even if it persists in its fundamental refusal to waive the "right of return"). The BDS campaign, on the other hand, rejects the concept of two states as a matter of principle, and therefore also **strongly objects to any possible concession regarding the "right of return," rejecting any sign of concession or a pragmatic approach resulting from the two-state solution.**

Mahmoud Abbas' Visit to South Africa: Exposure of the Fundamental Differences between the PA and BDS

66. The fundamental difference between the positions of the PA and the BDS campaign was revealed during **Mahmoud Abbas' visit to South Africa for the funeral of Nelson Mandela** (December 2013). He held a press conference where he called for **a boycott of the products of the Jewish communities in Judea and Samaria** because, he said, "the settlements are our territories." However, he added, **"We don't ask anyone to boycott Israel itself. We have ties to Israel. We have mutual recognition"** (The Star, South Africa, December 11, 2013).

67. **Mahmoud Abbas' remarks infuriated Omar Barghouti, whose worldview, and that of the campaign, is completely different.** In response Barghouti attacked Mahmoud Abbas, claiming he had contradicted the Palestinian national consensus, which since 2005 had strongly supported BDS against Israel. His attack on Mahmoud Abbas was posted to The Electric Intifada, which provides him with a convenient forum:

"There is no Palestinian political party, trade union, NGO [nongovernmental organization] network or mass organization that does not strongly support BDS. Any Palestinian official who lacks a democratic mandate and any real public support, therefore, **cannot claim to speak on behalf of the Palestinian people when comes to deciding our strategies of resistance to Israel's regime of occupation, colonization and apartheid.**"

"Any Palestinian official who today explicitly speaks against boycotting Israel—particularly in a country like South Africa, where the ruling party, leading trade unions, churches and other civil society groups have warmly endorsed BDS — **only shows how aloof he is from his own people's aspirations for freedom, justice and equality, and how oblivious he is to our struggle for their inalienable rights.**"

The Boycott of Israeli Products in Judea and Samaria

68. **The Palestinian Authority and Fatah wage a campaign to boycott products imported from Israel into Judea and Samaria and those manufactured in the Israeli communities.** The PA represents the campaign as a way to hurt **the Israeli**

communities and support the sale of Palestinian-made products. However, so far the campaign has not been a resounding economic success.



Cartoon from Al-Hayat Al-Jadeeda, the PA's official newspaper, claiming that Israeli-manufactured products are "weapons" the IDF uses against the Palestinians. The Arabic reads, "An Israeli product" (March 5, 2015).

69. **PA institutions** also boycott Israeli products. **The Palestinian customs authority** enforces the boycott and its confiscation of Israeli goods is widely publicized. The Palestinian customs authority also spreads false allegations that Israeli goods contain carcinogens. **The Palestinian council for consumer protection in the ministry of the economy** is also part of the campaign to boycott "products from the settlements."



Left: Employees of the Palestinian customs authority in Jerusalem destroy grapes grown in the Jewish communities (Facebook page of the Palestinian customs authority, June 28, 2015). Right: The Palestinian customs authority in Tulkarm displays toys allegedly bought by Palestinian merchants from nearby Jewish communities (Shuf website, July 6, 2015).



Left: A notice from the Facebook page of the Palestinian customs authority to prevent the marketing and distribution of goods manufactured in the settlements. The Arabic reads, "The products of the settlements...[are] dangerous. (Facebook page of the Palestinian customs authority, May 14, 2015). Right: A notice from the Facebook page of the Palestinian customs authority calling on Palestinians not to buy goods manufactured in the settlements because they contain carcinogens (Facebook page of the customs authority, July 12, 2015).

70. Politically PA encourages the European countries to label products manufactured in the Jewish settlements to make them difficult to market. Mahmoud Abbas recently called on the entire world to adopt the policy of Europe and to label products from the settlements. He said, "I call on the world to take steps similar to those taken by the EU regarding the labeling of products manufactured in the settlements so that it will be possible to recognize the danger arising from purchasing and using those products, which are illegal according to

international law..." (Mahmoud Abbas in an interview with the Egyptian weekly political magazine Ruz al-Yusuf, June 17, 2015). At a summit meeting of the African Union he also called for the labeling of products from the Jewish settlements (Palestineconomy.ps, June 15, 2015).

71. The issue of product labeling was recently endorsed by the European Council on Foreign Relations (ECFR), a think-tank which frequently informs EU policy. **It called on the EU to extend the practice to labeling Israeli banks operating in the Jewish settlements**, including the granting of loans and mortgages (For further information see the July 22, 2015, Reuters and Haaretz, "Think tank tells EU: Target Israeli banks dealing with settlements.)

72. **Omar Barghouti**, the most prominent BDS campaign figure, rushed to respond to the ECFR recommendation. **He called on the Palestinians to exert pressure on the European public to encourage their countries to speed up the "steps to punish" Israel.** He claimed that the Israeli banks were genuinely worried by the ECFR report, but said the EU decision would not be implemented as long as there was no great public pressure (Voice of Palestine Radio, July 23, 2015). So far **the PA has not responded to the report.**

Fatah

73. **In Judea and Samaria, Fatah activists lead the campaign to boycott Israeli products.** The most prominent figure is **Mahmoud al-'Aloul**, a member of Fatah's Central Committee and the head of a network called the "supreme national committee for the struggle against steps taken by Israel." On February 9, 2015, he told a press conference that the council had decided to keep the products of six Israeli companies out of Judea and Samaria: Tnuva [dairy products], Strauss [dairy products], Elite [chocolate], Osem [pasta and baked goods], Prigat [frozen juice concentrate] and Jafora [soft drinks]. The committee gave Palestinian merchants a two-week grace period to get rid of their products (Quds.net, February 9, 2015).

74. Asked why those six companies had been chosen, **Mahmoud al-'Aloul** said that they controlled a large sector of the market and that their products could be replaced by Palestinian-manufactured goods. He added that there would be future lists of Israeli companies whose products were to be boycotted (Palestinian TV, February 21, 2015).

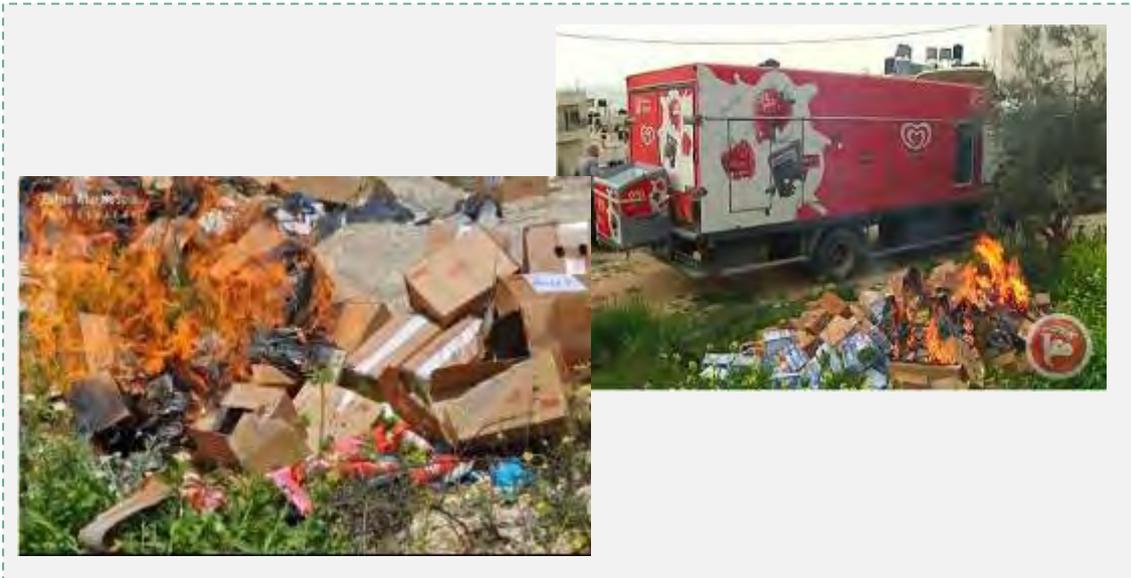


Mahmoud al-'Aloul announces the boycott of six Israeli companies (Quds.net, February 9, 2015)

75. After the announcement activists and Palestinians took the law into their own hands to implement the boycott: on March 2, 2015, dozens of ordinary Palestinians and activists hijacked a truck of Tnuva products. They emptied its contents onto the ground in the Menara Square in the middle of Ramallah (Al-Watan al-Youm, March 2, 2015). On March 11, 2015, Fatah activists stopped a truck carrying Strauss ice cream, emptied it and torched its contents (Ma'an News Agency, March 11, 2015). Nevertheless, such steps do not seem to have an economic effect because of the deep Palestinian dependence Israeli-made goods.



Tnuva products on the ground in Ramallah (Facebook page of QudsN, March 2, 2015).



Fatah operatives in Ramallah burn Strauss ice cream (Ma'an News Agency, March 11, 2015).

76. Calls have recently been heard from Fatah's middle-level activists to **extend the boycott campaign using BDS tactics:**

1) **Sabri Saidam**¹⁴, deputy secretary of Fatah's Revolutionary Council, called for the campaign to be broadened and for **all the Palestinians diplomatic legations to promote it. He claimed the campaign had to include all Israeli products and not just those manufactured in the settlements.** He claimed the boycott should be made an integral part of the strategy to "resist the occupation," which should also include persecuting Israeli "war criminals" in international courts (Interview with Palestinian TV, May 11, 2015).

2) **Jamal Nazzal**, Fatah spokesman in Europe, called on all the student councils in British universities to vote in favor of the boycott of Israel, following the **19 councils that were already supporting it.** He also called on all the universities in Europe to join the boycott of Israel and end all collaboration with it (Ma'an News Agency, June 3, 2015).

The Attempt to Suspend Israel from FIFA: the PA's Possible Adoption of BDS Tactics

77. The PA has not yet adopted a BDS-like policy of a comprehensive boycott of Israel. Nevertheless, it may have begun drifting in that direction, as seen by the campaign led by **Jibril Rajoub to suspend Israel from FIFA** (the International Football Federation). **Jibril Rajoub** is a member of Fatah's Central Committee, a rival

¹⁴ Recently appointed to the post of minister of education and higher education as part of the reassigning of portfolios in Rami Hamdallah's government.

of Mahmoud Abbas and head of the Palestinian football association. His campaign against Israel was also motivated by his personal ambitions and the internal Palestinian competition for the position of leader in the post-Abbas period.

78. **However, the campaign to suspend Israel was not only the fruit of his ambition but was also waged with the involvement of the PA leadership.** On May 20, 2015, FIFA Chairman Joseph Blatter visited the PA and met with both **PA chairman Mahmoud Abbas** and **Prime Minister Rami Hamdallah**. Mahmoud Abbas alleged that Israel undermined Palestinian sports and attempted to keep them from developing (Al-Araby Al-Jadeed, May 20, 2015). However, the Palestinian campaign focused on an attempt to have Israel suspended by FIFA and not on solving the problems of Palestinians sports allegedly caused by Israel (Meeting with Blatter on May 19, 2015, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu expressed willingness to solve the problems and make it easier for Palestinian athletes to travel from place to place).



Palestinian national consensus government Prime Minister Rami Hamdallah (second from left) and FIFA Chairman Joseph Blatter (second from right) meet in Ramallah. Jibril Rajoub is at the far left (Wafa News Agency, May 20, 2015).



Jibril Rajoub holds up a red penalty card (symbolizing Israel's suspension from FIFA) during his speech at the FIFA congress in Zurich (Wafa News Agency, May 29, 2015).

79. **On May 29, 2015, the Palestinians proposed that Israel be suspended from FIFA.** However, at the last minute **they were forced to withdraw the proposal**, the result of pressures and the balance of power within FIFA. Instead, the Palestinians passed (with a large majority) a resolution to form a committee to examine their allegations against Israel. Jibril Rajoub, who was severely criticized for withdrawing the original proposal, claimed the request to suspend Israel had not been withdrawn but rather postponed to a later date.

80. **The BNC and BDS supporters were disappointed by the withdrawal of the Palestinian proposal.** Abu Ali Naama, an avid BDS campaign supporter based in the United States, posted an article to The Electronic Intifada entitled "**The Palestinians are disappointed but [remain] determined after the FIFA betrayal.**" He wrote that while the FIFA effort had failed for the time being, the campaign to isolate Israel would continue. BNC spokesman **Zeid al-Shuaibi** was forced to express himself more moderately, since he is based in Ramallah, not Chicago. He said the BNC was disappointed because the FIFA congress and the PA had not conducted themselves in accordance with their obligations and stated principles.¹⁵

¹⁵ In the wake of the article an argument broke out among the talkbackers about the importance of the appeal to FIFA given by Dr. Marcelo Svirsky, a Jew who is a member of the faculty of an Australian university and supports BDS. He said that the **very fact that FIFA had discussed the issue was an achievement for BDS because it was the first time an international body had formally placed Israel on trial in view of the entire world.** He claimed it showed the BDS's great political relevance (The Electronic Intifada, May 30, 2015).

81. The BDS campaign seeks to isolate Israel and expel it from international institutions. It is unclear if the FIFA affair is evidence of the PA's intention to attempt to have Israel expelled from other international institutions. **If such attempts are made, it will mean the PA has adopted BDS campaign tactics and blurred the ideological distinctions between it and BDS. That could make the BDS campaign more effective and dangerous from the Israeli point of view.**

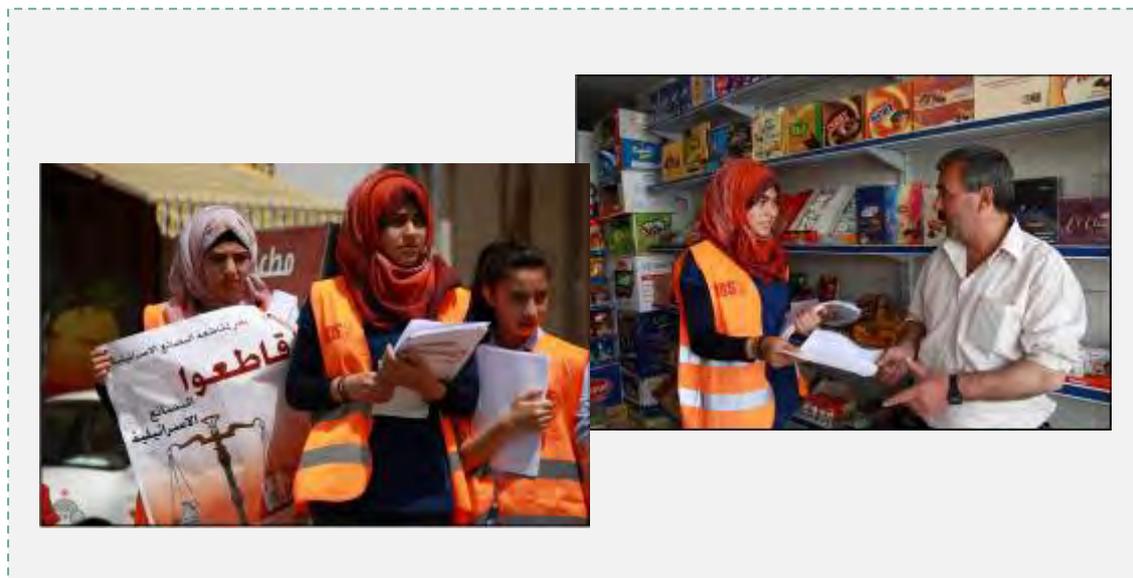
The Role of the Palestinian Left: Mustafa Barghouti and the Palestinian National Incentive Movement

82. The campaign to boycott Israeli products in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip is also dealt with by a prominent leftist activist named **Mustafa Barghouti**, who heads the **Palestinian National Incentive Movement, known as Al-Mubadara** (he is also a member of the PLO's Executive Committee). Mustafa Barghouti and his followers do not participate in the global BDS campaign and **are not affiliated with the BNC**, but their rhetoric regarding Israel and the campaign is **far more extremist than the PA's**.

83. **Mustafa Barghouti called on the leftist parties in the EU to intensify pressure on Israel by ending cooperation with it.** He claimed that negotiating with Israel was "throwing sand in people's eyes," because there was no point in negotiating with a government that refused to recognize the existence of a Palestinian state and did not stop the illegal construction in Israel. He claimed that before negotiations were renewed with Israel sanctions first had to be imposed on it (Al-Quds, May 12, 2015).



Left: An Al-Mubadara campaign notice calling for the boycott of Israeli goods. Right: Al-Mubadara campaign activists post stickers in Bir Zeit calling for the boycott of Israeli products (Facebook page of Al-Mubadara, June 21, 2015).



Activists of Mustafa Barghouti's Palestinian National Incentive Movement in Hebron, promote the campaign to boycott Israeli goods (Wafa News Agency, June 7, 2015).