



ISRAELI POLICIES TOWARD INTERNATIONAL BOYCOTT MOVEMENT (BDS) 2009-2019

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Abstract: *This study sought to understand the nature of the "Israeli" policies toward the international boycott movement (BDS), - Recognising the laws that Israel has taken to undermine and weaken the international boycott movement (BDS). The researchers relied on the descriptive analytical approach in interpreting the Israeli policies in confronting the international boycott movement (BDS); it also relied on the decision-making approach to understand and explain the nature of Israeli Policies Toward the International Boycott Movement (BDS). The researchers arrived at several results; the most important of which is, The Occupation tried to prosecute and distort the movement. Still, it continues to maintain its presence, impact, and expansion. The study recommends maintaining the international boycott movement (BDS) away from political polarisation and formulating a media discourse that refutes the "Israeli" accusations while paying attention to social media sites and opening up new work areas and spheres of influence. The study also sees the importance of establishing a legal framework to face.*

Keywords: *International boycott movement (BDS), boycott activists, government, Knesset, legal.*


Introduction

The International Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement is a campaign that aims to put economic and political pressure on Israel to end its Occupation of Palestinian territories, grant equal rights to Palestinian citizens of Israel, and recognise the right of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes. The movement was launched in 2005 by Palestinian civil society organisations and is inspired by the South African anti-apartheid movement. The BDS movement formed a kind of pressure on the Israeli government's foreign affairs on several levels: political, economic, cultural, legal, and sport level. It also highlighted the Israeli Occupation's aggressions against the Palestinian people. It pushed a broad population to launch a comprehensive campaign to boycott Israel and adopt the movement's view, threatening the Occupation's leaders, who saw it as a strategic danger against their entity.

According to Amnesty International (2021), the BDS movement "is a peaceful and legitimate means of advocating for Palestinian rights" and "does not call for or promote discrimination or hostility against individuals or groups on the grounds of their religion, race or nationality." Amnesty International further states that "at its core, the BDS movement seeks to uphold the rights of the Palestinian people and encourage respect for international law."

The Israeli government opposes the BDS movement and views it as economic warfare and delegitimisation against Israel. The Israeli government argues that the BDS movement seeks to isolate and demonise Israel rather than promote peace and coexistence between Israelis and Palestinians. Israeli officials have also criticised the movement for allegedly targeting Jewish businesses and individuals and using anti-Semitic rhetoric. The Israeli government has taken several steps to counter the BDS movement, including passing legislation that allows it to deny entry to foreigners who publicly support BDS and establishing a task force to monitor and combat the movement's activities. The government has also launched a public diplomacy campaign to promote Israel's image and defend its policies, particularly about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Israeli officials have called governments and businesses worldwide to reject the BDS movement and its calls for boycotts and sanctions against Israel. They argue that such actions would harm Israeli businesses, workers, and the prospects for peace and coexistence in the region. Therefore, the Ministry



of Foreign Affairs of the "Israeli" Occupation was leading the front to fight against the BDS movement since it launched in 2005, then due to the incapability of the ministry to prevent or even slow the movement. The file to confront the movement was transferred to the Ministry of Strategic Affairs in June 2013 (Musleh, 2018, p. 5).

Accordingly, the study problem comes from the actions and the enacting laws that have been started by the "Israeli government" to counter the international boycott movement (BDS), which began with the boycott law / the law to prevent harm to the State of "Israel" by a boycott on July 11, 2011; intending to punish institutions and individuals involved in the boycott of "Israel," the Israeli occupation government seeks to expand the laws against the movement, including giving individuals its "citizens" the right to request compensation from any party or party as a result of the boycott damages. First, this paper's main objectives are to identify the policies taken by "Israel" to undermine and weaken the impact of the international boycott movement (BDS). Second, to Trace the "Israeli" tools in the fight against the international boycott movement (BDS).

Literature review

A- Arabic Studies:

1. Study (Mosleh, Moaz, 2018): Zionist policies to combat the boycott movement and ways to dismantle it.

This study dealt with the international boycott movement (BDS) by tracing the boycott movement in the history of the Palestinian struggle against Zionism in its political, economic, and social dimensions. (BDS) explores the nature of the struggle in South Africa, drawing on the strengths and weaknesses of the BDS movement in South Africa. The researcher used the historical method to review the history of the Palestinian boycott campaigns and activities. The study concluded that the international boycott movement (BDS) is making significant efforts to curb Zionist penetration in European and American societies.

The study recommended placing the international boycott movement (BDS) within the context of the Palestinian struggle and finding a comprehensive practical framework to move towards creating new strategic alliances, developing the language of discourse, and giving it greater importance for its role in the success of mobilising energies behind a comprehensive liberation movement.

2. Study (Iyad Al-Qatrawy, 2017): The Arab boycott of "Israel" in light of the political settlement process (1993-2015 AD), a study of dimensions and results. (Master Thesis).

This study dealt with the issue of the Arab boycott in all its forms and types, whether political, economic, academic, and other to "Israel," and reviewed the history of the boycott since its inception, the role of the League of Arab States and peoples in it, the role of the boycott after the settlement process "Oslo," and the challenges and obstacles that faced the boycott and ways to activate it. The researcher used the historical method to review the history of the Arab boycott since its inception, the role of the Arab League and its peoples, and the role of the boycott after the Palestinian "Israeli" settlement process. The study concluded that reforming the political system and Arab and Palestinian political life is the way out of the impasse in the Arab and Islamic region. Achieving it will enable the Arabs to isolate "Israel" internationally. The study recommended activating the decisions of the Arab League, reopening and activating the work of boycott offices in all Arab countries and working to obligate all Arab countries to those decisions.

B. Foreign Studies:

1. Study (Journal of Palestine Studies, 2014): "Academic Boycott of Israel: The American Studies Association Endorsement and Backlash."

The Support and Violent Responses of the American Studies Association. The study examined the role of the American Studies Association in leading the academic boycott of universities and



educational institutes, as it is the pioneer in leading academic boycott campaigns. The analytical method used in this study is to clarify the role of academic institutions in serving the "Israeli" Occupation and Israel's employment of educational institutions in marketing its racist projects. The study concluded that all official "Israeli" academic institutions have a role in serving the "Israeli" Occupation and are working to implement its racist schemes. The study recommends organising an entire network of institutions and associations concerned with the academic boycott of "Israel" to affect its image negatively and change the "Israeli" educational curriculum in its universities regarding racism against the Palestinians.

2. Study (Grassroots Palestinian Anti-Apartheid Wall Campaign, 2007): "Towards a Global Movement: A Framework for Today's Anti-Apartheid Activism."

The study evaluated the current situation of the BDS boycott movements related to solidarity with the Palestinian cause and the effects of these campaigns on the reason. The analytical method used in this study is to develop a framework for highlighting the central issues related to the strategy of the BDS movement. The study concluded that developing cohesion and coordination across initiatives, campaigns, and local activities worldwide is critical to making solidarity with the Palestinian cause effective. It recommended working on establishing more robust global networks and alliances with Palestine at the grassroots and civil society levels, relying on the boycott call, and preparing a particular framework for the movement's strategies to accommodate global activity in solidarity with Palestine to play an essential role in advancing the Palestinian cause.

Third / Hebrew Studies "Translated"

1. Study (Amit Efrati 2017 ,): Who is afraid of what? BDS Do the economic and academic boycott attempts constitute a strategic threat to the State of Israel?

The study dealt with the organisational structure of the international boycott movement (BDS), its arenas in the United States of America and Europe, and the mechanisms for obtaining funding from individuals, institutions, and governments. The researcher used the analytical method to determine the extent of the impact of the boycott movement on "Israel."

The study concluded that the "Israeli" position towards the international boycott movement (BDS) as a "strategic threat" negatively affected the psyche of the "Israeli" public due to the fear of the growing opposition to "Israel" and its policies around the world. The study recommended that the "Israeli government" does not undermine the international boycott movement (BDS), organise the "Israeli" parties that are working to combat it, and develop diplomatic relations with countries around the world on an ongoing basis to respond to the boycott campaigns.

2. Study (Einav Yogev, 2017): Israel's relations with non-governmental organisations, National Security Research Institute at Tel Aviv University.

The study dealt with reading the nature of the tension in the relationship "Between Israel" and international human rights organisations against the background of "Israeli" violations of human rights in the occupied Palestinian territories and its suppression of the activists of the international boycott movement (BDS). The researcher used the comparative method to study the nature of the difference between the international boycott movement (BDS). The study concluded that the core reason for the difference is Israel's view of the international boycott movement (BDS) as an ideology to delegitimise it and Amnesty International's view that the movement's activists are human rights activists. The study recommended "Israel" to differentiate between organisations that seek to "advance the Palestinian narrative and ignore or deny the "Israeli" narrative, and between organisations that seek to struggle for human rights in all countries, equal rights and fight discrimination, and cooperate with the latter type of organisations.



Commenting on previous studies:

1. Some previous studies have confirmed that a boycott is a form of civil resistance that must be preserved; To put pressure on Israel.
2. Previous studies linked the boycott movement with the Greater Palestine Intifada through the historical roots of the emergence of the international boycott movement (BDS).
3. There is a lack of Palestinian and Arab studies on the international boycott movement (BDS).
4. Some previous studies dealt with the international boycott movement (BDS) to approach it with the South African boycott movement.
5. Given the importance of the international boycott movement (BDS) as a form of resistance to the "Israeli" Occupation, the role of the international boycott movement (BDS) in gaining widespread and international sympathy for the Palestinian cause, and its role in delegitimising the "Israeli" Occupation, I believe that A study of the "Israeli" policies towards the international boycott movement (BDS) between 2009 - 2019 AD, to emphasise the importance of the movement and the necessity of employing it in the conflict with the "Israeli" Occupation as a form of the Palestinian struggle in resisting the Occupation.
6. The study will address the developments of "Israeli" policies towards the international boycott movement.
7. The study will focus on tracing the "Israeli" laws against the BDS movement and its activists, which previous studies lacked in this way.

Study Method

1. Text analysis method:

The study will mainly rely on the textual analysis methodology to track the developments in the statements issued by Israeli political figures towards the international boycott movement (BDS) to understand how they deal with it and the work of "Israel" to confront it internally and externally.

2. Analytical Descriptive Approach:

The study will depend on the descriptive-analytical approach, as the researchers will study the "Israeli" strategy in the face of the international boycott movement (BDS); To reach the interpretation of "Israeli" policies in the front of the campaign.

3. Decision-making Approach:


This decision-making approach will be used to study the mechanisms and centres of decision-making in "Israel," with the aim of understanding and to interpret the nature of "Israeli" policies toward the international boycott movement (BDS) and knowing the goals that Israel seeks in confronting the movement.

The results

First: Shaping the Israeli strategy in the face of the international boycott movement (BDS)

The Israeli government has made great efforts in formulating judicial policies, enacting laws to confront them, and using these laws to prosecute boycott activists inside and outside Israel. However, the "Israeli government" did not reveal its strategy to engage the international boycott movement (BDS), which, according to Uzi Arad (President of the National Security Council 2009-2011), approved after holding an expanded meeting of decision makers in Israel in 2009. During the meeting, a presentation was made. A strategic analysis of the BDS movement (Who are the main actors? What are their sources of power? What is their strategy? What should Israel do in return?) (Yedioth Ahronoth, 2016).

In light of the heated debate and accusations between several "Israeli" ministers regarding responsibility for boycotting "Israel" on the one hand, the "Israeli government" held a reduced



ministerial meeting on February 9, 2014; To discuss how to confront the boycott of "Israel," this meeting was postponed as a result of disputes that erupted between former Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and former Economy Minister Naftali Bennett for partisan reasons away from the boycott (Muhareb, 2014, p. 13). He participated in this government meeting alongside the Israeli Prime Minister. Former Netanyahu, Foreign Minister Avigdor Lieberman, Strategic Affairs Minister Yuval Steinitz, Naftali Bennett, and the heads of the Shin Bet security service Yoram Cohen, Mossad, Tamir Pardo, and the Intelligence Service (Bernstein & Kahane, 2014).

Accordingly, Minister Steinitz presented during the meeting his plan to confront the international boycott movement (BDS), in which he demanded adopting an offensive and violent policy against it, especially against the organisations affiliated with it. The plan was approved according to the procedures and mechanisms that were discussed, namely (Ravid, 2014):

1. Intensifying Israeli political contacts with leaders of countries worldwide, especially European Union countries, and officials in various international and regional institutions, Urges them to rescind any form of boycott and opposition to "Israel."
2. Launching a broad media and propaganda campaign against the boycott at the international level to reach the elites and influencers and target public opinion in these countries.
3. Activating the Zionist lobby in the United States (AIPAC) in the face of boycotting "Israel."
4. Urging the Jews in different parts of the world, especially in Europe and the United States, to engage through their institutions in facing the boycott of "Israel."
5. Launching an intense media campaign against the international boycott movement (BDS) to discredit it.
6. Work on filing complaints and legal claims against the bodies and organisations affiliated with the international boycott movement (BDS).
7. Initiating the systematic collection of information on the international boycott movement (BDS) by the General Intelligence and Mossad and following up on the activities of its leaders internationally; to facilitate the process of confronting them.

This plan proceeds from the premise that the boycott of "Israel" is an increasingly widespread phenomenon and carries serious future risks if it is not addressed. Accordingly, the plan calls for adopting an offensive, public and violent Israeli strategy against the international boycott movement (BDS). The plan's implementation includes campaigns and propaganda, media, and legal activities against institutions calling for a boycott of Israel in Europe and America.

Therefore, the international boycott movement (BDS) was present on the agenda of the (Herzliya Conference) in May 2016 AD (the future of "Israel" and the challenges it faces). In a special session on the challenges of the international boycott movement (BDS) and its dangers to "Israel," he reviewed Minister Gilad Erdan, for the first time, presented the Israeli government's strategy to confront the movement, which aims to besiege it in the media, popularly and electronically, and tarnish its image and undermine its efforts, through four integrated steps (Herzliya Conference, 2016)

1. Intelligence work: collecting information about groups and movements active in the field of boycotts, the identity of the activists and their intentions, and the scheduled activities and activities before their implementation so that Israel can act and act against these activities.
2. Deterrence: The Israeli message of deterrence threatens those involved in the boycott movement's activities, and it will have a heavy price to be paid by its owner, whether it is an ordinary individual or an association and an organisation, as it will have to bear the consequences of involvement, including causing serious harm to it and pursuing its accounts—banking, and its economic resources and restricting them.
3. Moving from defence to attack: Incorporating international boycott movements and their activists into defending themselves instead of attacking "Israel" by focusing on its sources of funding and searching for a link or relationship between its funders and "terrorist



organisations" so that these Associations and movements to defend themselves, and to highlight and provide information on their sources of funding, and if they are found to be violating the laws in their country, the courts and the judiciary are referred to the arms of the courts to confiscate their funds or freeze their assets.

4. Moving to propaganda and media guidance: Improving the image of "Israel" in front of the international community and various forums, directing student delegations, businessmen, and supporters of "Israel" to the various conferences and arenas where the "boycott war" is taking place, such as universities, and highlighting the positive aspects of "Israel" He described the boycott movement as a cover for "anti-Semitism" and rejected the right of "Israel" to exist.

Israel's strategy in confronting the international boycott movement (BDS) is based on a gradual approach, starting with collecting intelligence information on the movement's activists and focusing on knowing the activities before they are implemented to deter them and threaten their interests, which is known as a direct attack on the movement's activists instead of defending. Israel then mobilised public opinion and increased pressure against the movement by linking it to "anti-Semitism," using antonyms in the language.

The Israeli State Comptroller, Yosef Shapira, criticised the strategy adopted to confront the international boycott movement (BDS), which is based on moving from a strategy of dialogue and an attempt to influence various organisations and movements to a strategy of surveillance and offensive propaganda (Lees, 2017).

Israel was unsatisfied with its propaganda and image-making campaigns to confront the international boycott movement (BDS). However, it began launching direct attacks on the movement and its activists in various arenas of its work (Musleh, 2018, p. 52), in its war against the movement by accusing it of "anti-Semitism" and double morality or accusing it of allying with "Islamic extremism," or what it called "Islamic anti-Semitism" at other times.

Israel has also worked to boycott all the parties it boycotts; Benjamin Netanyahu instructed the ambassador of "Israel" in France not to respond to the request of the general manager of the "Orange" company to meet with him (Hebrew Channel 10, 2016).

Second: Israeli judicial and legal policies to confront the international boycott movement (BDS):

The "Israeli government" realised the importance of the legal aspect in its war against the international boycott movement (BDS); It took the initiative to appoint a specialised legal advisor to deal with the boycott work after forming a committee to follow up on the boycott affiliated with the Ministry of Strategic Affairs, to enact laws at the internal Israeli level, or at the international level in the arenas in which the boycott of Israel is taking place, whether through the United Nations, or the European Union in the context of criminalising "anti-Semitism." It was also agreed upon at the meeting of the World Jewish Congress in 2015, which was attended by some heads of European parliaments.

In addition, the "Israeli government" worked to activate the activities of the International Law Department of the Military Public Prosecution in the "Israeli Army"; to educate the field commanders of the army about international law through intensive courses so that this law is circumvented during the attacks carried out by the military against the Palestinians so that they are not accused of violating international law or committing war crimes, and thus depriving the global boycott movement (BDS) of legal and informational material It can be employed in the interest of boycotting "Israel" (Bader, 2018, p. 132).

It also opened a dialogue with international humanitarian and civil society organisations to convince them that "Israel" is committed to international law or softening its reports (Matias, 2014, p. 5).

To confront the international boycott movement (BDS) and its activists, "Israel" has adopted two complementary policies:

First policy/ The Internal Legal Policy:

Since the return of the "Israeli" right and its assumption of the presidency of the "Israeli government" in 2009, the government has begun enacting racist laws against the international boycott movement (BDS), launching campaigns of repression against the movement's activists. Escalating intelligence work in pursuit of them, and the following is a presentation of racist laws towards the international boycott movement (BDS):

1. Boycott Law

The "Israeli Knesset" -Parliament- approved the second and third readings on July 11, 2011 AD, the "boycott law" (the law to prevent harm to the State of "Israel" through boycotts), which allows the possibility of introducing anyone who calls for a boycott of "Israel" or settlements in the territories Occupied to Trial (Azoulay & Glickman, 2011).

The law criminalises any call to boycott the State of "Israel" or its citizens or institutions, or areas under its control (and the intention is to boycott "Israeli" settlements in the West Bank); according to the text of the law, boycotting "Israel" means any decision not to establish economic relations or cultural or academic with another person or institution, nothing but their association with "Israel," one of its institutions, or an area under its control (the settlements in the West Bank), may cause (i.e., call for a boycott) economic, academic or cultural harm.

In addition, the law authorises the Minister of Finance, with the approval of the Minister of Justice and the support of the Law and Constitution Committee in the Knesset, to prevent the participation of any entity (persons or institutions) that publishes a call to boycott Israel, or that has accepted and adhered to this call, from participating in government tenders. The law authorises the Minister of Finance not to grant any institution that publishes a call to boycott "Israel" tax exemptions or direct or indirect government funding (Shehadeh, 2012, p. 279).

The law also enables the court to determine the obligation, impose and pay compensation to every person or organisation calling for a boycott, even if no harm has been proven because of this call. The law enables the "Israeli government" to cancel tax cuts granted to commercial companies or cancel judicial rights and privileges And for associations and academic, cultural, and scientific institutions that receive funding from the government in case they call for a boycott of "Israel" (Adalah, 2011, p. 11).

The law was supported by 47 and 38 members opposed by the Knesset. Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu was absent from the voting session on the law, as were several ministers, led by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and War. Peace," Physicians for Human Rights, the People's Committee Against Torture, and Adalah will file an appeal against the law to the "Israeli" Supreme Court due to the violation of freedom of expression and the suppression of controversy. General on the Occupation (Shalhat, 2012, p. 121); This prompted the legal advisor to the Knesset, attorney Eyal Yanon, to defend the law and that it can be defended before the Supreme Court (Azoulay & Glickman, 2011).

It is noted that the text of the law is broad and vague, facilitating the criminalisation of any call for boycott, and that "Israel" is apprehensive about these calls and the possibility of expanding the activities and demands of the international boycott movement (BDS) in the Palestinian territories, "Israel," and at the international level.

The Kadima party also announced that this law causes great harm to "Israel" and that Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's evasion of voting on it does not absolve him of responsibility for this damage. Netanyahu crossed all red lines with this law. Ze'ev Elkin, head of the Likud and coalition blocs in the Knesset and the Minister of Absorption and Immigration, who initiated the enactment of

this law, said that its goal is to protect the citizens of "Israel" from any sanctions imposed on them (Forms, 2011).

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu launched a sharp attack in a special session held by the Knesset General Assembly devoted to discussing the issue of "the failure of the Netanyahu government in the political, economic and social fields."

Against the members of the Knesset from the opposition who voted against the law, stressing that members of the Kadima Bloc were the first to initiate this law in its original form and more than worked to expedite its passage, but they retracted their support due to the intense pressure exerted on them. He added that he was the one who ratified the adoption of this law despite his absence from the voting session and that it would not have been approved in the Knesset without this approval, stressing that the primary goal of it is to protect Israel from the international boycott movement (BDS) imposed on them, to as well as providing protection for "the settlements in the West Bank" (Frisco, 2011).

However, Tzipi Livni considered: that Benjamin Netanyahu is pushing "Israel" towards the abyss and that the law to prevent boycott will cause severe damage to "Israel" because it will fuel a campaign to boycott all of "Israel" and not just the settlements (Frisco, 2011), the law has created widespread controversy between the political parties towards it, which is reflected in their positions on the international boycott movement (BDS) and how to deal with it.

The European Union expressed its rejection of this law in a statement issued by former European Union Foreign Minister Catherine Ashton, in which she considered that the "boycott law" constitutes a ban on the right to express an opinion and the freedom of action of civil organisations that adopt political positions different from those of the government, and criticised the British ambassador in "Israel" Matthew Gold, The Law, stressing that it seriously harms freedom of expression (Ben Horen, 2011).

The American philosopher Michael Festl also joined the law's opponents, stressing that the boycott law helps new activists join the international boycott movement (BDS), as the law is so bad and harmful that even official Jewish organisations defending "Israel" such as the League Against Defamation. The American Jewish Committee warned that it would harm Israel and their efforts to combat the boycott against it. It would be difficult for them to present Israel to the American public as a democratic and pluralistic country (Dahan, 2017).

Although the law was approved in the second and third readings, the "Israeli right" always seeks to keep pace with the development of regulations to pursue boycott activists and put pressure on them by introducing some amendments to it and submitting it to a vote, which is what happened; On November 6, 2017, the Constitution and Law Committee of the "Israeli Knesset" approved the first reading vote on the "Amended Boycott Law," which allows for the imposition of fines on those who demand a boycott of "Israel" or settlements, without proof of damage, and enable The law allows the courts to impose a fine of 100,000 shekels - 28 thousand dollars - as compensation, without any evidence of damage, and it may reach five hundred thousand shekels - 140 thousand dollars - if it is proven that the procedure was carried out systematically (Al-Araj, 2018, p. 4).

According to senior officials in the Israeli Ministry of Justice, four organisations active in the international boycott movement (BDS) have been blocklisted for this law, declaring the motives and reasons for placing them on the blacklist; They are (Landau, 2018):

- A. The Organization (Who Profits from the Occupation) campaigns for a boycott of "Israeli" and foreign banks and security guard companies.
- B. The BDS organisation, a group of Israelis and activists in the international boycott movement (BDS), openly and explicitly works for an academic, cultural, and economic boycott of Israel and pressure artists to cancel their concerts in Israel.



- C. Amnesty International posted posts on its Facebook page calling on all countries to boycott settlement products and place an arms embargo on "Israel," claiming that it is a war criminal and settlements are a war crime.
- D. The Women's Peace Coalition intersects with Who Profits from the Occupation in its activities.

2. Law of Associations (Transparency):

The "Israeli Knesset" approved in its third reading on July 1, 2016, the "Transparency Law," and 57 members supported the law, and 48 members of the "Knesset" opposed it (Adalah, 2016), which was proposed by the Israeli Minister of Justice, Ayelet Shaked, and according to the text of the law; All associations that receive most of their funding from foreign countries or organisations are obligated to mention this in all their reports and official documents, and the necessity of presenting a special "identification card" on the chest of any member of these associations when he is in the "Knesset" so that this card includes the "name of the association" and the name of the person on his behalf.

Opponents of the law have asserted that it aims mainly to harm left-wing associations active in defence of human rights, especially in the occupied territories (Shalhat, Chapter Two, 2016, pp. 84-85) . . The "Ministerial Committee for Legislation Affairs," headed by Minister Ayelet Shaked herself, approved the draft law on December 27, 2015 (Lis, 2015).


From the beginning, Minister Ayelet Shaked defended the law by saying it does not target "leftist associations and organisations, and does not speak of political views or right and left! However, she later showed her racism towards organisations active in the field of boycott and human rights" that the bill targets mainly a group A wide range of different human rights and leftist associations and organisations that are active inside Israel in defence of human rights, especially the Palestinian human being" (Shalhat, Chapter Two, 2016, p. 85); Racism, as well as everyone who supports the international boycott movement (BDS).

Tensions between Israel and the European Union increased after the Knesset adopted the law, given that these associations received financial donations from the European Union. Israel" during his visit to the Knesset to prevent the final approval of the law, but his efforts were crowned with failure, despite European warnings. Although this law attempts to restrict the activity of human rights associations, it also carries a message to the European Union in the wake of the decision to label settlement products (Hess, 2016).

Under the law, the Knesset issued a decision banning Arab representatives from the (Joint List) Youssef Jabarin from travelling to the United States of America and Hanin Zoabi from travelling to Ireland, claiming that these trips are funded by the international boycott movement (BDS) organisations and that the two representatives received financial support of boycott organizations (Abu Amer, 2018).

3. The law prohibiting the granting of entry visas to foreign citizens who have called for a boycott of "Israel":

On March 7, 2017, the Knesset ratified the second and third readings of the bill "banning the granting of entry visas to foreign citizens who called for a boycott of Israel." Forty-six members supported the law, and 28 members of the Knesset opposed it (Ha'aretz, 2017). According to the text of the law, it is prohibited to grant an entry visa or a residence permit in Israel to foreign citizens who support a boycott of Israel or call for a political, economic, cultural, or academic boycott of Israel or the settlements.



The Minister of Interior was also granted the authority not to allow the entry of a person prevented under this law. According to the law, access to "Israel" will be prohibited in two cases: (If the targeted citizen publicly calls for the imposition of a boycott on "Israel" or if he represents an organisation that calls for the boycott) (Wafa, 2017).

It is noticeable that there is a similarity between this law and the law of preventing harm to the State of "Israel" by the boycott in 2011, which is known as the boycott of "Israel" or the citizens of "Israel" or its institutions, or the boycott of areas under its control.

On January 17, 2017, the representative of the "Kuluna Party" Roi Folkman, considered the law as "mainly directed at organisations that work against" Israel, i.e., the international boycott movement (BDS), and that "the law as a whole change the view taken from the status quo today, which grants in which visas are automatically... to a situation where entry is automatically denied unless the Minister of the Interior decides to allow it" (Ha'aretz, 2017).

The law's opponents also criticised the mere discussion of the law in the Knesset and considered it to be playing with fire and would negatively affect Israel's relations with many countries. It is tantamount to entering a highway that will lead to the transformation of the "state" into a ghetto in which isolated citizens live, satisfied with their fate and with their government that is leading them to the abyss (Bar'el, 2018).

A study published by the National Security Research Institute at Tel Aviv University on the law banning entry of boycott activists into "Israel" considered that the direct impact of the law is limited; in addition, the law would prevent activists from trying to go to "Israel," especially since Activists within the framework of the international boycott movement (BDS) do not need to be in Israel (Radochsky, 2017). They do not need to visit Palestine to perform their solidarity work with the Palestinian people. A place where they are located to sever the existing collusive relations between institutions and companies in those places and the racist "Israeli" settler regime (Barghouti, 2021).

As with previous laws, Israel was surprised by angry reactions from the Jewish community in the United States, many of whose members are considered to be opposed to "Israeli" policies, and as supporters of the international boycott movement (BDS), and more than a hundred American researchers signed a petition threatening not to come. To "Israel" (Al Jazeera Net, 2017).

Moreover, the Institute for National Security Research at Tel Aviv University issued an evaluation study of the law, concluding that it is useless for four reasons. The first is that the law shows "Israel" in the international community as if it is hostile to anyone who disagrees with it on its settlement projects; This harms the image that "Israel" is trying to paint for itself around the world as a democratic country. The second: is that the effort made by pro-Israel circles in its war against the international boycott movement (BDS) may seem more feasible than this law. In contrast, the law may provide counterproductive results by serving Israel's enemies in their anti-Israel propaganda. The third: The law is based on the premise of "boycott boycotts," which contrasts the trends of the pro-Israel camp around the world, which conducts discussions against boycotts, and thus this law weakens the "Israeli" position. Fourth: The law limits the choices of Israel's friends around the world because it obliges them to make two choices; Either with or against "Israel," which would not give them the freedom to defend "Israel" in the way they see fit (Rodashtsky, 2018).

In June 2018, the Israeli authorities prevented the Swedish activist and traveller Benjamin Ladraa from entering Palestine after a walking journey from Sweden Palestine. He travelled more than 4800 km to spread awareness about the Palestinian cause and the reality of settlement and Occupation. "The Israeli" (Al-Araj, 2018); On the orders of the Israeli Minister of Internal Security, the Israeli authorities at Lod Airport prevented, in July 2017, Ariel Gold, an American-Jewish activist known for her activity calling for a boycott of Israel in the United States of America, from entering Israel. The Israeli Office of the Minister of Interior claimed that Gold promotes videos calling for a boycott of "Israel" through her work for the American organisation Code Pink (Alon, 2018).



In October 2018, the Israeli authorities prevented an American citizen of Palestinian origin, Lara Al-Qassem, from entering Israel and detained and interrogated her upon her arrival at Ben Gurion Airport; On the grounds of her participation in the activities of the international boycott movement (BDS), and the presence of pictures of her in one of the movement's activities, despite having obtained a "study" visa to enter Israel for a year (Watad, 2018).

4. Jail Law for Boycott Activists:

On November 26, 2017, members of the Knesset from the Likud and Kulanu blocs submitted a bill calling for imposing a prison sentence of at least seven years on activists of the international boycott movement (BDS) and organisations that boycott Israel. Alternatively, boycotting its products, and among the provisions of the law is the call for the use of a provision in the penal code against activists regarding harming (the interests of "Israel" and the relations between "Israel" and a state, organisation or institution) (Arab 48, 2017).

According to the project (which was not approved), causing damage to "Israel"'s relations with foreign countries and institutions will lead to a prison sentence of up to seven years. As for the damages resulting from committing another violation, the penalty may reach imprisonment for up to ten years. The penalty for causing harm by committing a serious offence may get life imprisonment (Arab 48, 2017).

On October 24, 2018, the Knesset discussed the draft law without making any amendments or approving any reading. According to the bill's sponsors, it "allows criticism of Israel." However, it is not possible to harm the freedom of expression, and if it is from It helps in the boycott, who economically hurts the State of "Israel" or harms it in another way, such as an economic boycott, will be held accountable for that," considering that the call for a boycott is a thuggish act that must be held responsible by law (i24NEWS, 2018).

However, the bill was held up due to the announcement by former Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu on December 24, 2018, to dissolve the Knesset and call for early elections on April 9, 2019, which were extreme right-wing outcomes, and it was announced again on May 27, 2019, about holding early elections on September 17, 2019; This will lead to the continued enactment of laws and legislation against the international boycott movement (BDS).

Despite the legality of the international boycott movement (BDS) and its legitimacy according to international law, it strips the global legal status of the regulations issued by "Israel" intending to confront the movement. It undermines the movement of its activists, which strongly motivates the campaign to continue its struggle until achieving its goals, ending the "Israeli" Occupation and overthrowing the apartheid settlement system.

On the other hand, the international law expert Hanna Issa considered (that the Israeli Knesset's adoption of anti-boycott laws perpetuates the policy of Occupation, and the anti-boycott laws clearly highlight the aggressive nature of the "Israeli government" and its disregard for international law, and that the legal nature of these two laws is unconstitutional, and completely contradicts the provisions of And the rules of international law that oblige the Occupation to respect and implement the Hague Conventions of 1907 and the Fourth Geneva of 1949 (Ma'an News Agency, 2011).

The second policy/ External Legal Prosecution

Israel has decided to strengthen what it calls the "legal war" against the international boycott movement (BDS) by going to friendly and allied parliaments, especially in the United States, Canada, and Australia, to impose legislation criminalising boycotts, as funding is withheld from any organisation or institution that supports The BDS movement, or cooperates with it, and is blocklisted (Nofal, 2018, p. 111). On the other hand, the Zionist lobby in America established the "Legal War



Project," whose mission is to pursue and prosecute BDS activists and raise cases through a network Legal with 350 lawyers worldwide (Musleh, 2018, p. 61).

In this context, the Israeli Ministry of Strategic Affairs allocated September 2017 450,000 shekels (\$130,000) to hold a symposium that included lawyers and representatives of Israeli and foreign organisations in early 2018; to establish a "Network of Legal Experts" to help combat the delegitimisation movements of "Israel" and the international boycott movement (BDS) by monitoring and sharing information about the global legal activity on this issue, in addition to recruiting the Ministry of Strategic Affairs for the "Israeli" Bar Association, which it knew As a "strategic and important element in the fight against the international boycott movement (BDS)," in addition to the "International Legal Forum," an "Israeli" organisation that fights boycotts in 20 countries in the world, and communicates with a network of more than 1,000 lawyers around the world) (Paz, 2017).

Accordingly, Minister of Justice Ayelet Shaked issued a directive to the international department of the ministry to prepare judicial procedures against the international boycott movement (BDS) (Journal of Palestinian Studies, 2015, p. 192), in an attempt to exploit local laws to combat the movement, by submitting draft laws in those countries, to Considering that the movement's work is based on hatred of "Israel" and "anti-Semitism" according to the "Israeli" allegations (Abu Amer, 2018), An Israeli reading of the global boycott movement, 2018), and initiating lawsuits (in countries permitted by law) against the calling organisations to the boycott, because her call violates the laws of incitement to hatred and racism (Bader, 2018, p. 132).

Moreover, the Palestinian activist Majed Abu Salama(1), who is "legally" persecuted by "Israel" in Germany, considers that the legal persecution of him and his other colleagues is an entry point to influence German diplomacy and any other country on whose territory this prosecution is taking place, as well as an entrance to widespread influence on complicit governments. With "Israel" and believes that these prosecutions are an entry point for legal action to strengthen the boycott of "Israel" at the international level and within the legal framework (Abu Salama, 2021).

In addition, the Israeli activist in the international boycott movement (BDS) Roni Barkan sees the legal prosecutions of activists as an opportunity to enhance efforts to expose the "Israeli" Occupation and its racist policy at the famous and official levels and to support the legality and legality of the boycott of "Israel" as an apartheid regime. He denied the accusation of "anti-Semitism" against the movement and its activists (Barkan, 2021).

Accordingly, "Haaretz" revealed secret documents and conversations with senior "Israeli" officials that showed that the "Israeli government" had hired the international lawyers' office "Sidley Austin" (one of the most significant lawyers' offices in the United States of America)(2); To carry out prosecutions against BDS activists, at the cost of two million shekels (\$567,000) (Levinson, 2017).

For this purpose, the Ministry of Strategic Affairs allocated a budget of three million shekels (800,000 dollars) to form an "international lawyers' network" and fund legal organisations around the world to fight the international boycott movement (BDS) based on the powers granted to it by the cabinet (Arab 48, 2018), Moreover, the District Court in occupied Jerusalem decided to give complete immunity to European lawyers who assisted the "Israeli government" in its campaign against the international boycott movement (BDS) (Arab48, 2018).

In addition, "Israel" claims that the movements supporting it in the United States succeeded in passing laws in twenty American states, including New York, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Illinois, and

(1) Prosecuted by Israel as a result of boycotting him and BDS activists Roni Barkan and Stavet Sinai for the speech of Israeli Knesset member Elisa Love in June 2017, at a symposium at Humboldt University, during which she tried to beautify Israel's image. and attacking the international boycott movement (BDS).

(2) It is one of the largest lawyers' offices in the United States and employs 1900 lawyers. The office carries out very sensitive work for "Israel" from a political point of view, at the international level..



Tennessee, prohibiting the boycott of "Israel" (Shiloh, 2015), and marketing "Israel" on At the local and international level, the US administration is making efforts almost equivalent to its efforts in its war against the global boycott movement (BDS (Musleh, 2018, p. 59) , and the penalties against it in the United States of America reach fifty thousand dollars and imprisonment for five years (Gross, 2017), and sometimes a fine of 250 thousand dollars to one million dollars and a prison term of ten to twenty years (Musleh, 2018, p. 61).

The Israeli efforts contributed to the adoption by the Bundestag (German Parliament) in May 2019 of a bill deeming the international boycott movement (BDS) an "anti-Semitic" movement. Denying Israel's right to exist in any form, Germany should strongly condemn the boycott movement, and called on the German government not to fund or support any institution that denies (Israel's right to exist and defend itself) (Deutsche Welle TV (DW), 2019), which prompted Benjamin Netanyahu to express his happiness with this decision, and his hope that it will lead to tangible steps, and he invited other countries to adopt similar legislation (Netanyahu, 2019), while the international boycott movement (BDS) described the decision as unfortunate, considering the boycott movement " "Israel" "anti-Semitic" is tantamount to adopting the misleading "Israeli" narrative of the identification between Jews in general and the "Israeli" Occupation, and called on the German Parliament to reverse the decision immediately, because such a decision represents support for the aggressor and immunizes him from any prosecution or sanctions against What are the crimes he committed against the people of Palestine? Clay (Naim, 2021).


Third/ BDS ban lists and blocklists:

Strategic Affairs Minister Gilad Erdan proposed during the Herzliya Conference in 2016 that "civilian" organisations should be in the first line in fighting the boycott while the "Israeli government" is coordinating efforts in secret, and adopting this tactic may be in Israel's interest (Herzliya Conference, 2016), but the "Israeli government" did not act according to this tactic. During a meeting held between Minister of Strategic Affairs Gilad Erdan and Minister of Interior Aryeh Deri, a joint team was formed to pursue foreign activists in the international boycott movement (BDS), prevent them from entering " Israel," and expel the activists who managed to reach it, through "Ben Gurion" airport, or through the "Allenby Bridge" under cover of tourism (Andraos, 2016).

The phenomenon of political tourism is not new, as it is a project established in 2002 by the "World Churches Conference" with an annual budget of 1.5 million dollars to bring volunteers to "Israel" to "experience life under occupation and change the international community's intervention in the conflict... for three months; To document his crimes against the Palestinian people at the checkpoints and points of contact, and after returning to their countries, they campaign against "Israel"; This prompted the "Israeli government" to establish a joint ministerial team to expose this type of political tourism (Rauvni, 2016).

As a result, the Israeli Population and Immigration Authority approved, in July 2017, restrictive measures against BDS activists, including 28 articles, according to which foreign activists are prevented from entering Israel, among which is that a person is active in the BDS movement. or that he has called for a public boycott of "Israel" at any stage of his life (Arabs48, 2017); Accordingly, the "Israeli government" sent travel ban lists to airline companies around the world, to prevent BDS activists from boarding planes bound for "Israel" to avoid their arrest or deportation if they reach Israeli airports (Winstanley, 2017).

Not only that, but the German airline Lufthansa responded in July 2017 to the decision of the "Israeli" authorities by banning the travel of five activists from organisations supporting the international boycott movement (BDS), a "Jewish Voice for Peace" and "Muslim Americans from Yes Palestine," and the "Peace Fund" of the Presbyterian Church in America, via its planes to "Tel Aviv," without obtaining a special permit from the Israeli embassy in Washington, because the Israeli



authorities did not allow them to enter "Israel" (Arab 48, "Israel"). Distributes "blocklists" of BDS localised to foreign airlines (Arab 48, 2017).

Furthermore, based on the powers of the team prosecuting the activists of the international boycott movement (BDS) joint, the Israeli Minister of Interior prevented seven European parliamentarians from entering Israel based on the law that prevents the granting of entry visas to those who call for a boycott of "Israel", "Israel" escalates its campaigns against the boycott movement amid indications of its widening and increasing frequency (Al-Araj, 2018). The Israeli Minister of Interior also prevented the mayor of the French city of Gonvilliers, Patris Clark, from entering the Palestinian territories when he arrived at the Karama border crossing with Jordan, accompanied by his wife, for his support of the international boycott movement (BDS) (Landau K. , 2017).

Meanwhile, "Israel" revealed that it operates an operations room to monitor the work of the activists of the international boycott movement (BDS) based in the occupied city of Jerusalem. ; to pursue everyone who is trying to harm "Israel", The government of "Israel" escalates its campaign and forms an operations room to monitor the work of the Arab of the international boycott campaign (Al-Araj, 2016), and trying to obstruct their activities, and prevent them from entering "Israel," while the operations room provides the ability to send pictures and files about the movement and the actions it holds. The workers request detailed information about the number of participants, their names, their place of residence, the type of activity, if cameras are used to film, and to which organisation or institution they belong (Arabs 48, 2016).

To complement the restrictive measures against the international boycott movement (BDS) activists, the Israeli Ministry of Strategic Affairs, in cooperation with the Israeli Ministry of Interior, published in January 2018 a blocklist of 20 organisations, including an American Jewish organisation, "Jewish Voice for Peace." She said she was part of the boycott movement. BDS constantly and openly works to "delegitimise" Israel (The Institute for Palestine Studies, 2018) .

In compliance with the blocklist issued by the Ministry of Strategic Affairs, the Israeli authorities lifted their restrictions to prevent the entry of BDS activists into Israel by adding a new clause to the Ministry of Interior to prevent them from entering under the name "boycott activist," so that this description appears before His name is on the computers of the Ministry of the Interior; Which automatically means preventing it from entering through the ports (Jabbour, 2019).

Accordingly, the Israeli authorities cancelled the work permit of Omar Shakir, director of the Human Rights Watch office in Israel/Palestine. They ordered him to leave Israel within 14 days, in early May 2018, due to his support for the international boycott movement (BDS). "This is not about Omar Shakir, but about silencing Human Rights Watch and stopping criticism of Israel's human rights record (Al-Araj, 2018), said Ian Levin, deputy director of programs at Human Rights Watch. Omar Shakir's deportation on May 1, 2019 (Palestinian Press Agency (Safa), 2019).

Based on the "Israeli" procedures, Adalah classified "the blocklists established by the Ministry of Strategic Affairs, which correspond to the blocklists published by the "apartheid" government in South Africa." (Adalah, 2018).

It also targeted "Israel" in the ban lists drawn up by anyone who expects to have an influential role in the international boycott movement (BDS), whether he is an individual, an institution, or an organisation, according to rules that define the tasks of the relevant ministries' work in confronting the movement.

The Israeli measures may succeed in suppressing some activists or passing some laws against boycotting "Israel" in questioning the ability and future of the international boycott movement (BDS); However, the messages of the boycott movement have convinced a large number of student councils, universities, trade unions, artists, and economic institutions worldwide of the usefulness of a boycott (Jaraba, 2015, p. 9). Indeed, Haaretz newspaper believes that boycott laws will increase the number



of boycott activists. It would enhance its presence and even go so far as to describe it as the most stupid of laws (Landau K. , 2018).

Results

1. Israel has developed a strategy in the face of the international boycott movement (BDS) based on distorting its image through intelligence work and gathering information on the movement's activists to deter them by trying to link them with "terrorist" organisations and accusing the campaign of "anti-Semitism."
2. "Israel" was interested in enhancing its image before the international community in the face of the global boycott movement (BDS) by claiming that "Israel" is advanced and open after the impact of the boycott movement shook its image.
3. "Israel" used legal tools in its war against the international boycott movement (BDS) and worked to issue a set of laws to prosecute the movement's activists. However, these laws had a counterproductive effect on Israel.
4. The system's racism has been proven in Israel, and the legitimacy of its boycott has been reinforced at the level of elites and the masses. These laws have also failed to criminalise the movement or delegitimise it.
5. Arab normalisation with "Israel" is one of the most dangerous "Israeli" tools against the international boycott movement (BDS), as it contributes to breaking Israel's isolation globally and undermines the boycott's successes. It is noted that official normalisation has increased with the growing boycott and the escalation of the war against it, to the point of His transformation into participation - intentionally or unintentionally - in the "Israeli" fight against it.

Recommendations:

1. Keeping the international boycott movement (BDS) away from the internal Palestinian political polarisation to maintain the momentum of aligning and engaging in this movement at the international level and keeping it as one of the main tools of struggle against the Occupation and its racist policy.
2. Supporting the international boycott movement (BDS) by setting up a legal framework for "legal procedures," media and field supporters of it in the face of "Israeli" measures, to chart the future path for it through:
 - Expose "Israeli" plans against the international boycott movement (BDS).
 - Coordination of efforts between home and abroad to implement this plan.
 - Monitoring the budgets, material, and human resources necessary to confront the "Israeli" campaigns.
3. Interest in educating Palestinian students studying abroad about the concepts and objectives of the international boycott movement (BDS), continuous communication with the Arab student community, especially in the United States and European countries, and asking them to engage in the movement's activities.
4. Coordinating efforts between local and regional institutions to activate their role in boycotting "Israel."
5. The need to develop a unified strategic vision to support the boycott movement confronting "Israel" and preventing it from practising its repressive policies towards boycott activists.
6. The League of Arab States adopts a strategy that prioritises a return to support the boycott movement and develops a plan for diplomatic action that strengthens the movement's activists in the face of "Israeli" policies.


Conclusion

The Israeli government has worked to expand the laws against the international boycott movement (BDS), including giving individuals the right to seek compensation from any party as a result of the boycott, punishing anyone who does not agree to the occupation policy, and on anyone who believes in the boycott and its role in ending the "Israeli" Occupation and exposing its racist

policies, and each boycott is considered a boycott of "Israel" without differentiating between West Bank settlements and others. With the support of the Knesset, it is expected that the Israeli government will continue to crack down on organisations and people supporting the international boycott movement (BDS), the latest of which was the draft prison law for BDS activists in October 2018. Israel has set a series of laws in its war against boycotts, and fighting the movement through laws, legislation, and silencing will reinforce Israel's racism.

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