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Israeli government scores own goal with new ethical code for academia.

Haim Bresheeth.

May 2017, five decades after the occupation of the whole of Palestine by the IDF and its many war crimes, the man who wrote the ethical code for the army, which gives the Kasher certificate for such crimes, Prof. Asa Kasher of Tel Aviv university, has published his new [ethical code for Israeli academia](#). As opposed to becoming a major tool against BDS, which is what the extreme-right minister, Naftali Bennett of the Jewish Home Party hoped to get, it became clear that this was a major miscalculation, backfiring in the face of Bennett and Kasher, not to mention PM Netanyahu. It is interesting to chart this development and what it means for the future BDS as the leading tactic of the pro-Palestine campaign.

Over the last couple of years, as the most extreme of Israeli governments ever continues to legislate against the few legal instruments still available to Palestinians in Israel to represent and defend themselves, it became clear that a small and dwindling group of Israeli academics are still prepared to fly in the face of Israeli Apartheid, offering academic resistance to the worst aspects of the illegal occupation, settlement building and war crimes in Gaza and elsewhere. Though this group of courageous academics is small and has no real following in Israel itself, it is sending a crucial signal to both Palestinians under Israeli control, and to international supporters of Palestinian human and political rights. That a small group of well known academics continue to defy the system, and makes common cause with organisations such as Breaking the Silence is an

infuriating, festering wound to the government and the right wing public in Israel. It also is a reminder, for us, that most Israeli academics – over 99% - continue their mindless and disturbing support of the occupation and the regime, whether by voicing their views, or more commonly, by staying silent.

That such small groups continue to voice their opposition to the regime is flying in the face of the sweeping agreement in Israel's public arena with this government and its crimes – the mosquito-like action seems to be the only voice against the continued occupation, yet cannot be overlooked – the government judges it to undermine its anti-BDS campaign abroad – a campaign far from successful, despite the great amounts of money invested in countering it; a report in February this year by ADL-Reut found that '[BDS is surging, while successful efforts to combat it remain elusive](#)', and suggested "intensifying the efforts and act 'uncompromisingly' in both 'Covert and public ways' against these critics." (1).

Over the last year, a number of Israeli extremist organisations (though this classification is now more and more meaningless, as most Israeli institutions are now in this category) have been monitoring the few academics prepared to speak out, and acting against them in a number of avenues, most obviously through the Knesset Education Committee; as all Israel's academic institutions are financed by the government, making faculty members employees of the state, it is easy to attack those supporting BDS as not only traitors, but also as working against their employers and institutions, giving the Committee powerful means of silencing and punishing them.

In December 2016, Education minister Bennett has asked Prof. Kasher to add a powerful tool of silencing such academics, or anyone who supports them, by drafting an 'ethical code' for academia, similar to the 'ethical code' he wrote for the IDF. After all, if it is possible to make mass murder 'ethical', it should be easy to make silencing a few academics an 'ethical duty'. In 2014, Kasher has defended in public such mass murders which took place during the Gaza incursion by the IDF as [defendable and 'ethical'](#). The new ethical code was awaited with some trepidation by Israel's academics, who have never questioned either the occupation, its many iniquities, or the denial of rights, including the right to education, for the Palestinians under the heel of the occupation army, not to mention the right to academic freedom in Palestinian universities. No Israeli

academic staff association or union has ever passed resolutions, or taken any action against such basic infringements of human rights conducted daily in Palestine. Despite this, Israeli academics were justifiably nervous – they understood that such a code could make their own work impossible or even illegal.

The publication of the 'ethical code' was celebrated by Bennett as a major achievement in the battle against BDS, just as the existing avenues of action appear to be faltering. Little did he, or his colleagues in the right-wing government, expect the firestorm which has blown in their faces after the publication of this flawed and racist document. They seem to be gathering their strength for a return attack, realising how badly they misjudged the reaction of the docile academics in Israel to this extreme, McCarthyist document. Instead of uniting this rather collaborationist community against the few courageous 'traitors', they have achieved the exact opposite – Israeli academic has united against the new 'ethical code', making its imposition rather impractical, if not altogether impossible.

Immediately following the publication, while some 'radical' staff organisations such as [Academia for Equality](#) were still mulling over their reaction, the main bodies representing the university heads were already voicing their total rejection of the document, in no uncertain terms. The main staff associations followed this rejection with their own, and some of the learned associations of various disciplines were not far behind. In various staff polls, almost every single academic interviewed rejected the code as dangerous, sloppy and politicising, such as in the Hebrew-language report on Haoketz, a radical website: "[Will you, and how will you apply the Ethical code?](#)" Most of the academics reacting to the code, pointed out that it will make their teaching and research impossible! Prof. Lev Grinberg, a sociologist in Ben Gurion University, has put it aptly: "Sociology specialises in unmaking the social power and control mechanisms, and the options of resisting those. The discipline also dictates an ethics of social commitment (this is our 'research data') and requires a modicum of civic responsibility for what happens in society. The acceptance of an ethical code of the Thought Police and political commissars will be, from that perspective, a betrayal of both sociology as a discipline, as well as the society to which I feel committed" (2). This was exactly the spirit in which most academics

who spoke described their reaction. Before long, this was joined by the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) supporting Israeli academics' rejection of the code, calling "upon Israel's government "to reject this proposal by Minister of Education Naftali Bennett in no uncertain terms" (3). It is only to be regretted that the British staff unions found it impossible to act similarly.

How are we to understand this serious error committed by the Bennett clique in government, and the sharp reaction with which it was 'welcomed'? Had this 'ethical code' radicalised Israeli academics into supporting rights for Palestinians? Is this the beginning of general radicalisation of Israeli academia?

I am rather doubtful that the meaning of the reactions to the code represent anything beyond Israeli academics defending their own sandbox, unfortunately. They have correctly identified the extreme and sloppy nature of the code, which, were it to be adopted by the universities, would make their daily life impossible, and lead to hundreds if not thousands of meaningless cases of action against lecturers who were just carrying out their duties, and lead to endless clashes with the institutions, making teaching rather meaningless. It is their own rights as academics that Israel's universities and lecturers are protecting, rather than those of their Palestinian colleagues, unfortunately.

However, we would be wrong to dismiss the event as mere professional and disciplinary defence action; the very act of rejecting this extreme government's attempt at silencing criticism, holds some important oppositional and radicalising potential for academics in Israel. It may be the first time that most of them make a connection between criticising the occupation and their own daily practice in the lecture theatres – the first time they understand the political value of higher education, and the need to defend human rights for all.

While many such academics have in the recent past been disturbed by the racism and extremism of the government, they remained silent to protect themselves, believing they are immune from its meddling incursions; now they know this immunity does not exist – all levels of society are likely to be attacked by the regime, which tries to achieve 100% docility and acceptance of its agenda, using fascist mechanisms to guarantee complete compliance by all social strata. This totalitarian attempt has now failed, and cracks are showing in the Zionist edifice. It may not be the

beginning of the end, but it may well be the end of the beginning. The overt, brutal attempt has not only failed to be welcomed – it has reminded many thousands of intellectuals that they have a voice.

Now, let us hope they use this rediscovered voice.

1. See "ADL-Reut Report Finds BDS Is Surging While Successful Efforts To Combat It 'Remain Elusive'", on <https://www.pressreader.com/usa/forward/20170224/281659664798075>, accessed June 14, 2017.
2. "Will you, and how will you apply the Ethical code?" in Haokets, June 10, 2017 <http://www.haokets.org/2017/06/10/האם-האקדמי-האתי-לקוד-תצייתו-וכיצי>, accessed on June 20, 2017.
3. Ofir, Jonathan, "New Israeli 'ethics code' for academia seeks to combat BDS", June 21, 2017, on Mondoweiss, <http://mondoweiss.net/2017/06/israeli-ethics-academia/>, accessed on June 21, 2017.

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Step forward for the academic boycott at the Annual Conference of the British Society for Middle Eastern Studies, 5-7 July 2017

John Chalcraft.

The BDS movement took a step forward last week among Middle East-focused academics at the Annual Conference of the British Society for Middle Eastern Studies (BRISMES), convened in Edinburgh 5-7 July 2017.

A small group of BRISMES members had secured the Society's commitment to organizing discussions and providing platforms for the debate of BDS at the AGM of 24 June 2015.

Last week saw the first fruit of this commitment, when BRISMES made space in the programme for a roundtable on BDS, at the urging of a number of members and potential members.

The discussion was chaired by Ewan Stein (Edinburgh). On the panel were Ashjan Ajour (Goldsmiths), John Chalcraft (LSE), Nicola Pratt (Warwick) and Teodora Todorova (Warwick). The panellists offered brief presentations (5-10 minutes) about their own motivations in joining the BDS movement and a 90 minute discussion ensued. Prominent themes were the ways in which occupation, apartheid and settler colonialism restrict Palestinian academic freedom,

and the importance of transnational solidarity with Palestinian academics, and students.

Attendance was good. Around 50 students and academics came, a strong showing in a conference where approximately 400 delegates were present and given that 11 panels were running during the same time-slot. The discussion was engaged, courteous and constructive. There was an absence of polemic, grandstanding, or divisiveness. There were no raised voices or attempts to silence any speakers. Supportive advice was offered to those who worried about damage to their career stemming from public allegiance to BDS.

Particularly striking, and a further indication of how far opinion has moved on this issue, is that the question which engaged the assembled company was not so much ‘is BDS a good thing?’, but rather, ‘how do we get on and do this effectively?’ There was a remarkable degree of unanimity around this question, with a number of attendees having had direct experience in BDS-organizing. Indeed, a number of speakers from the floor, far from expressing reservations about going too-far too-quickly, expressed a wish to see faster and more effective progress.

This roundtable discussion was important. It is the first time that BRISMES and the BDS movement were associated together in a major, semi-public event. It underlines the fact that BRISMES formally supports a constructive discussion of the movement, and does not treat the very idea as illegal or beyond the pale of respectable discussion. It will send a message to BRISMES about the importance of engaging, rather than alienating, a predominantly young and diverse generation of progressive academics. The roundtable also worked to raise awareness about the BDS movement among a wider range of Middle East focused academics and students, and provided a safe space within which ideas could be exchanged, concerns addressed, and solidarities formed. It has also worked to demonstrate that there is a real grassroots support for BDS among the Middle East Studies community in Britain. The roundtable has given the BDS group within British Middle East Studies new ideas and means to go forward, in coordination with BRICUP, and colleagues at MESA and in USACBI.

If Palestinian research and education suffers from occupation and apartheid, which it does, and if Palestinian academics and students struggle to travel to international conferences because of Israeli restrictions on their basic freedoms, which

they do, then it behooves us as academics to refuse this apartheid logic. We cannot remain silent when in our panels and conferences, there are empty chairs which, absent Israeli restrictions and repression, would be occupied by Palestinian academics and students. We can take effective action by responding to the call from Palestinian academics themselves – by refusing business-as-usual with Israeli academic institutions, which are complicit in these forms of apartheid, and by joining the BDS movement.

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Prominent Legal Experts Confirm Israel’s Record of Torture Makes EU-Funding of the “LAW TRAIN” project Illegal

Press release from the European Coordination of Committees and Associations for Palestine (of which BRICUP is a member.)

June 26th 2017 – To coincide with the International Day Against Torture, twenty-five prominent legal experts released a document demonstrating that the European Union-funded project *LAW TRAIN* breaches EU regulations and international law concerning human rights violations, and therefore must be stopped.

LAW TRAIN brings together the Israeli Police, the Israeli Ministry for Public Security (IMPS) and European police forces, universities and private companies with the aim of “harmonizing and sharing interrogation techniques between the countries”. The EU is funding this project with over 5 million euros, as part of its Horizon2020 programme for research and innovation.

In their expert opinion, the legal scholars argue that the EU cannot fund the Israeli Ministry for Public Security, which oversees the Israeli police as well the Israeli Prison Service and the secret service, without violating its own regulations. They document how the IMPS is responsible for or complicit in torture, other crimes against humanity and war crimes, and therefore guilty of grave professional misconduct as defined by the European Union’s Financial Regulations.

Professor Michel Waelbroeck, author of this legal analysis, said:

‘The use of torture by Israeli interrogators has been extensively documented in the international and Israeli press and confirmed by international investigators and by Israeli interrogators

themselves. In June 2016, the UN Committee against Torture denounced Israel's use of torture and its illegal, abusive techniques during interrogations by its police and prison staff. The European Union's participation in the LAWTRAIN project, and its allocation of funds to the Israel Ministry of Public Security through this project, therefore violates the EU's own norms'.

Signatories of this legal analysis include Professor Richard Falk (former UN Special Rapporteur on Palestinian Human Rights), Professor John Dugard (former Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Human Rights in the Occupied Palestinian Territory), Professor Laurens Jan Brinkhorst (former member of the Dutch Government and former Director General at the European Commission), among others.

Tom Moerenhout from the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies in Geneva, who endorses the legal analysis, said:

'The EU should immediately stop the participation and allocation of funds to the Israel Ministry of Public Security through the LAW TRAIN project and set up criteria to ensure no repeat of such funding happens. Not only should the EU Commission work in line with the EU's stated commitment to combat torture, it has to respect international law and EU norms in all its activities'.

LAW TRAIN and other EU funded projects with the Israeli military and security sector show that the ethics and legal checks of the EU Commission are insufficient and need urgent review and more democratic overview. In August last years, the Portuguese Ministry of Justice shut down its participation in the project due to pressure from Portuguese civil society and members of parliament .

Palestinian and European civil society and human rights organisations, including the World Organization against Torture and members of the European Parliament have also raised critical questions regarding the LAW TRAIN project and implications of the participation of the Israeli military, police and homeland security sector in EU funding programs.

To read the full legal opinion and see the full list of signatories, see <http://www.eccpalestine.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/Horizon-2020-LAW-TRAIN-OPINION1.pdf>

A Palestinian Heart and A Global Brain

Saida Affouneh, [An Najah National University](#) .

Where are you from?

I am from Palestine.

Sorry, did you say Pakistan?

No. Palestine.

Where does it exist?

Do you know where Jesus was born?

Yes. So, you're from Israel.

I replied angrily, No! I am from Palestine which has been occupied by Israel in 1948

I have had almost the same conversation above several times during my stay in the UK between 2004 and 2007. I was in the UK for four years to get a research degree in emergency education, in order to develop a new model for education under occupation.

Due to the difficulties I faced during my first degree study – the closing the university for four years upon an Israeli army order and the danger I used to face every time I try to go to the campus- my graduation was delayed by 7 years. I decided to do my PhD in a different topic; my BA and Masters degrees were in Mathematics, but I chose a different path for my PHD. I got a degree in emergency education, so I can try to prevent other Palestinians from having the same bad experience. Despite all the challenges that I faced, this experience has benefited me to be more determined to finish my studies and to introduce the life of Palestinian children to the world. So, I have conducted more than ten lectures around the UK in several universities and institutions since the western media rarely focus on the Palestinian perspectives.

Living in the UK has given me the chance to meet different people from different backgrounds and experiences, which has widen up my eyes to the international perspectives of my national case and helped me to understand the two important factors that are essential to the Palestinian case. The first factor is improving the education system in Palestine in order to offer a better opportunity for life and success for children by providing them with advanced skills and knowledge on how to be good citizens locally and globally. The second factor is changing the pessimistic way we see ourselves in; we face oppression and injustice in our everyday life. However, we should start

introducing our case to the international community using their language by understanding their perspectives.

After living in the UK for a few years and finishing my degree, I was enthusiastic to go back to Palestine, with a local heart and a global brain, I was determined to make a change and hopefully make a difference in the way people think and feel about Palestine and the conflict. Living in a multicultural community in Huddersfield University has encouraged me to work with other international and Palestinian colleagues to bring up the two factors I've mentioned above to the community. My first step was, studying the experiences of other countries which had improved their societies through educational reform such as, Malaysia, Singapore, Finland, Japan and etc. Then I started to develop a reform report concentrating on children needs and teachers' respect. Moreover, I worked with other colleagues from An Najah National University (ANU), to develop our first Massive Open Online course (MOOC) titled "Discover Palestine". The aim of this course is to offer an opportunity for interested international community members to learn more about Palestine and Palestinians. The course is offered in English language.

Throughout my experience in working with international communities in projects, training courses and study visits, I have observed that the awareness toward the Palestinian case has increased, and there is a focus on improving the education sector, either by offering financial support or developing the quality of education. In addition, the technology revolution, especially the social media, had affected positively on our case. Social media has become the platform for Palestinian to talk about their case to the international world and to offer more information about the country in different aspects and interests. Facebook has increased the opportunity for Palestinian to share their knowledge, experience and life, whether by posting pictures and videos or writing news. This gives the international community a vivid image of Palestine and they can repost our lives on their blogs or personal profiles.

At the end, the Palestinian conflict isn't only about who owns the land, it's the dream of all children to be able to have a normal life with all their rights kept. They deserve a respectful life where they can play, dream and succeed. I believe that we can reach this goal by having a better education, better communication and good friends like you. The more we share, the more we travel,

the more we can understand each other, and together make the right change.

With your support, children can survive.

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An update on the cultural boycott campaign from Artists for Palestine UK.

Farhana Sheikh , for Artists for Palestine UK.

Artists for Palestine UK, founded after Israel's war on Gaza in 2014, has since gone from strength to strength, reflecting the deep support for Palestine among artists and cultural workers. Its activities stretch across the arts, from a film-based event this November to mark the Balfour anniversary, to a campaign in 2016 against the involvement of military-linked Israeli corporate in the arts scene.

The factors that have enabled APUK's growth have also set limits to Israel's attempts to establish a lasting, normalised cultural presence. It has become much more difficult for Israel to promote tours in the UK by performers backed by the repressive state. Once, theatre and dance companies were regular visitors to Britain. Now the sightings are much rarer.

Performances in Israel by starry figures from the global music business are another matter, however. Israeli promoters have paid a lot to bands like Radiohead and individuals like Baaba Maal to appear in places whose resonance these musicians seem deaf to. Radiohead are set to perform at Hayarkon Park in Tel Aviv, constructed on the ruins of the Palestinian village of Jarisha. Baaba Maal turned up last year at the 'Tower of David', a renamed Ottoman building which has become the symbol of Israel's intention to remake multi-national Jerusalem as a Jewish city.

APUK has played an important role in mobilising opposition to these musical endorsements of repression. The protests and open letters it has organised have been widely covered in the European and American media. They have helped change the climate of debate, so that even if Radiohead - or Fatboy Slim, or The Chemical Brothers - refuse to engage with critics and fly off to Tel Aviv, the controversy that surrounds such actions becomes stronger than ever. An awareness has grown that 'culture' and 'creativity' are

sometimes the guise worn by power and oppression.

Alongside these headline campaigns, APUK has illuminated everyday cultural struggles in Israel/Palestine, including the ever more instrumental use of culture by the Israeli state. Theatre companies are incentivised to perform in the occupied territories; film funding is increasingly tied to political orthodoxy. In the Artswatch section of its website (<https://artistsforpalestine.org.uk/>), APUK has tracked these developments, as step by step a series of individual decisions has hardened into a new system in which culture and occupation are tightly bound together.

In parallel with its exposure of this kind of cultural politics, APUK has documented its corollary: the attempts of the Israeli state to fragment and repress the culture of Palestinians. Notable here, in recent months, has been the criminalisation of social media activity. Alongside several other organisations, APUK has recorded the lengthy judicial ordeal of Dareen Tatour, prosecuted for the poetry she had written on Facebook.

The attentiveness of social media and solidarity organisations has made Tatour's prosecution highly visible. However, repression does not operate only through show trials, but through small acts – a micropolitics of travel restrictions, house searches and publishing restrictions which aims to wear down the Palestinian capacity for cultural resistance. Making use of reports on social media, solidarity websites and the Israeli press, APUK has highlighted episodes in this low-level war of attrition. Israel's culture minister, Miri Regev, talks of 'silencing the Palestinian narrative'. APUK has shown how that silencing works, and at the same time it has helped establish the question of Palestine as something important to the debates and to the practice of artists in Britain.

APUK can be contacted at artistsforpalestine@gmail.com. The Artists Pledge for Palestine, which has attracted more than 1,220 signatures, can be viewed, and signed at <https://artistsforpalestine.org.uk/a-pledge/>

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News of two Palestinian academics held in administrative detention

Dr. Ahmad Qatamesh- a call for action from Amnesty International

Richard Seaford

Dr. Ahmad Qatamesh, 67, was placed under administrative detention by the Israel government on May 17th of this year. The widespread use by Israel of administrative detention without charge or trial has recently been reaffirmed as contrary to international human rights law by United Nations Special Rapporteur Michael Lynk. Dr. Qatamesh has been designated a Prisoner of Conscience by Amnesty International, who stated that "To Amnesty International's knowledge, he has never been involved with PFLP-affiliated armed groups or advocated violence ... the reasons for Ahmad Qatamesh's arrest and continued administrative detention are his peaceful expression, in his writing and teaching, of non-violent political views . . .'. He has been an effective writer and spokesman, analysing various proposals for alternative governance systems between Palestinians and Israelis, and often appearing on local television and radio shows. His most recent detention is generally believed to be related to his speaking out on behalf of the Palestinian prisoners on hunger strike (now ended). There are reasons for concern for Dr. Qatamesh's health, which had been damaged during his previous imprisonment.

We request you to respond to the call for action on his behalf by Amnesty International

<https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/mde15/6485/2017/en/>

Professor Essam al-Ashqar ordered to two more months in administrative detention.

Samidoun, the Palestinian Prisoner Solidarity Network

News has also come from Samidoun of the continuing detention of Professor Essam Al-Ashqar, a physics professor at An-Najah University in Nablus. Professor Al-Ashqar has been imprisoned without charge or trial under administrative detention since 24th November 2016. He was seized by occupation forces in a pre-dawn raid on his home and shortly thereafter ordered to administrative detention for four months. The order was then renewed for another

four months; now it has been renewed once again for two months, despite his dangerous health condition. See

<http://samidoun.net/2017/07/palestinian-professor-essam-al-ashqar-ordered-to-two-more-months-in-administrative-detention/> for more details.

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Reflections on 34 Years of Field Research in the Israeli Occupied Territories

Glenn Bowman, Professor of Socio-Historical Anthropology at the University of Kent

This essay is part of a series from Anthropologists for Boycott of Israeli Academic Institutions (Anthroboycott) commemorating the 50th anniversary of the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

<https://anthroboycott.wordpress.com/2017/06/05/reflections-on-34-years-of-field-research-in-the-israeli-occupied-territories/>

I write with a visceral sense of loss, aware that producing this piece in support of BDS (Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions) sets the seal on a future ban on my entry into Israel and the (still very much) Occupied Territories.

I've signed various petitions (most visibly the Commitment by UK Scholars to the Rights of Palestinians, Guardian 27 October 2015), advised the Task Force on the AAA (America Anthropological Association) Engagement on Israel-Palestine, and written to the Israeli Science Foundation in response to a request for refereeing of a research grant application to decline on the grounds that *'I am...engaged in the institutional boycott of entities supporting the occupation of the West Bank (and the ISF certainly does that through its 'scientific' and other funding) and for that reason cannot provide you with a review. I'm willing to do all I can to assist individual academics in their research and its dissemination but as a scholar very familiar with the consequences of settler and state projects in the occupied territories I cannot ethically assist in the maintenance of that machinery'* (3 Feb 2016).

These actions, as well as publishing the current essay, put me in clear violation of the new Israeli law blocking foreign supporters of BDS from entering into the country (a law proposed by the pro-settlement Jewish Home Party and backed on 7 March 2017 at the Knesset by 46 of the 74

parliamentarians voting). My engagement means that nearly thirty-five years of field research in Jerusalem and the West Bank will cease, as will my face to face contacts with close friends (both Palestinian and Israeli) in a land I have grown to love. Risking entry, on the off-chance that I might "slip the net" at Ben Gurion Airport, is—while attractive to a still adventurous anthropologist—highly unethical and puts friends and colleagues in danger. The law calls for pre-expulsion interrogation of any suspect foreign national during which they will "be asked to name their Palestinian contacts or give over their Facebook account details, allowing Israeli officials to search their friend lists, communications, comments and event history" (Lizzie Dearden, "Israel Parliament Approves Travel Ban for Foreign Supporters of BDS Movement," The Independent, 7 March 2017).

Why am I willing to call a halt to three and a half decades of rewarding field research on topics as diverse as Christian pilgrimage, Muslim-Christian-Jewish sharing of holy sites, tourism and tour guiding, sectarian as well as national mobilisation, and practices of walling and encystation while simultaneously exiling myself from close friends, stimulating colleagues, and a landscape that—though in many ways increasingly defiled—I continue to find beautiful and engaging? One element of an answer to that question has precisely to do with the changes I've witnessed—both physically and socially—over that 35 years.

When I first lived in Jerusalem's Old City between 1983 and 1985 it was possible to drive north to the Syria-Golan Heights border, south to the Gulf of Aqaba, and southwest to Rafah on the Gaza-Egypt border. These were trips I was able to make with Palestinian friends encountering no more than the very occasional identity check. We would pass, on hilltops overlooking the roads, small clusters of trailers housing settlers, but they seemed infrequent and, to the untutored eye, relatively inconsequential. Since Oslo, and the institution of a fierce regime of permanent and "flying" checkpoints, as well as the ever-expanding extent of the separation wall, movement for anyone is fiercely impeded whilst for Palestinians it is near impossible, even within the so-called Areas A and B. Ten years ago in Beit Sahour, a small town neighbouring Bethlehem where I have worked since 1990 on the knitting of traditional practices and Christian-Muslim political solidarities, a key informant (Christian and not political) told me that his sons considered a trip to Beit Jala (3.5 miles distance

by road) to be a major expedition. Because of the wall and checkpoints they had never been to Jerusalem (6.4 miles) and they—and he—feared trying to go south to Hebron (26 miles) because of the danger of arrest or settler attack. Since then things have only worsened.

In 1990 Jabal Abu Ghneim was a pine covered mountain between Beit Sahour and Jerusalem, but a year later its 457 acres were expropriated from the Greek Orthodox Church and residents of Beit Sahour and nearby Um Taba to build Har Homa, a settlement with a population, as of 2013, of 25,000 secular and orthodox Jews (Beit Sahour's population in that year was 14,381). In 2003 the Israeli wall was extended well into Palestinian territory to "protect" Har Homa, cutting off Sahouris from their olive groves and enclosing behind guarded gates a housing project the Greek Orthodox community had funded and built for poor families. 17% of Beit Sahour's land has now been expropriated by the illegal—and wall enforced—expansion of Jerusalem's boundaries. In August 2011 plans for a further 903 new settlement units on 75 acres of expropriated land behind the wall were passed, with building commencing in mid-2014; new plans for Har Homa West (1600 units on 110 acres of the confiscated land below Mar Elyas Monastery) await operationalisation.

Beit Sahour's situation is far from exceptional. The massive expansion to the south and west of Bethlehem of the settlements of the Gush Etzion bloc (11 settlements east of the Green Line – the "border" marking the ceasefire of the 1967 war – covering 69.8 square kilometres and housing 60,000 settlers) forces local Palestinian populations into smaller and smaller spaces. In territories close to, but east of, the Green Line, villages such as Wadi Foquin, Battir, Al Walaja, Husan, and Nahhalin are encircled by extensions of the wall impeding the movement of goods and persons from and into the rest of the West Bank and leaving residents (increasingly elderly) subject to attacks by the occupants of the nearby settlements who want to take their lands. In Husan alone, settlers, often supported by soldiers, have burned and uprooted many hundreds of olive trees over the past three years.

Checkpoints, closures, walling and more egregious assaults serve to break the back of the Palestinian economy and, in so doing, to force emigration on those with the resources to leave and rage on those who can only helplessly watch their lands, their families and their lives stripped away from them. Members of the Palestinian

diaspora who returned to Beit Sahour after Oslo to invest their savings in building lives in their homeland left quickly after it became evident that Oslo was a ploy to structurally segregate populations and destroy the resources that might allow a Palestinian state. I remember the Old City of Jerusalem from my early days of fieldwork as a bustling community hard to move through not only because of crowds of locals, tourists and Israelis but also because shopkeepers were always anxious to talk. However, during my most recent visits I have found the city sullen and angry, dominated by armed soldiers and settlers lording over Palestinians cut off from their livelihoods both by the forced separation of East Jerusalem from its local economic catchment areas and by the diminished flow of tourists that is nonetheless channelled away from Palestinian shops by fear and guides. The hopeless violence of the "intifada of knives" (the current anarchic phenomenon of individual, often teenage, Palestinians armed only with kitchen knives attacking groups of soldiers) is an inevitable product of this situation, and it is tragic and unjust that the Israeli state uses the rage it induces among Palestinians as an excuse for furthering its structural violence against them.

Israel as a state and its universities as ideological state apparatuses are deeply implicated in a process of what can only be designated, despite a gradualness which seems nonetheless inexorable, as ethnic cleansing. Israel's universities and research centres are very much a necessary part of the deracination I have described above as well as of the dehumanisation that mobilises it. The exclusion of '67 Palestinians (those brought under Israeli rule as a result of the 1967 war) from Israeli higher education, and the stifling of Palestinian universities, reveal Israel's educational institutions as active parts of a policy of racially based population separation and Palestinian immiseration. The implication of the universities, and Israeli research institutions, in the development of the occupation's hardware (weaponry, surveillance apparatus, walling technologies) and software (demographic strategies, socio-psychological tactics, urban and rural planning, etc.) reveal the Israeli state's weaponisation of knowledge. I will not enter into discussion of "good" vs. "bad" Israeli anthropologists despite knowing that both exist within Israeli academia; the boycott is not of individuals but of institutions. Our call for the American Anthropological Association formally to boycott relations with the Israeli knowledge/power machine is a call to sunder ties with a system working to destroy a people and a

culture. The fact that the Israeli state has passed the above-mentioned law against supporting BDS indicates that the state recognises, and fears, the power of boycott. That response should impel all of us concerned with human rights to commit to this hopefully short-term tactic.

Notices.

Speakers: BRICUP is always willing to help provide speakers for meetings. All such requests and any comments or suggestions concerning this Newsletter are welcome.

Email them to: newsletter@bricup.org.uk

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