

1 The Board of Directors recommends this resolution be sent to a Committee of the
2 General Synod.

3
4 **A CALL FOR THE UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST TO TAKE ACTIONS**
5 **TOWARD A JUST PEACE IN THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN CONFLICT**
6

7 **Submitted by Central Atlantic Conference, Central Pacific Conference, and the**
8 **New York Conference**
9 **A Resolution of Witness**
10

11 **SUMMARY**
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13 This resolution proposes a fourfold strategy by the United Church of Christ to help end
14 the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The strategy seeks to combine: (1) educational
15 empowerment (study of *Kairos Palestine 2009 – ‘A Moment of Truth’: A Word of Faith,*
16 *Hope, and Love from the Heart of Palestinian Suffering*); (2) economic leverage
17 (divestment from companies that profit from the Israeli occupation of Palestinian
18 territories and boycott of products produced in such territories by Israeli companies); (3)
19 political pressure (petition to Congress to ensure that aid to Israel violates neither the U.S.
20 Foreign Assistance Act nor the U.S. Arms Export Control Act); and (4) interreligious
21 dialogue (conversation among the three Abrahamic faiths aimed at reaching religious
22 reconciliation and achieving political resolution).
23

24 **BIBLICAL, THEOLOGICAL, AND HISTORICAL GROUNDING**
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26 This resolution is grounded in the Biblical prophetic call to do justice and the decisive
27 embodiment of that call in Jesus Christ. It springs from the Affirmation of the 15th
28 General Synod that the United Church of Christ is a Just Peace Church. That affirmation
29 commits the United Church of Christ to enacting “solidarity with the poor, seeking to be
30 present in places of oppression, poverty, and violence, and standing with the oppressed in
31 the struggle to resist and change . . . evil.” It thereby commits the United Church of
32 Christ to be both “a community of resistance, standing against social structures
33 comfortable with violence and injustice,” and “a community of political and social
34 engagement, in regular dialogue with the political order.”
35

36 In addition, the United Church of Christ has historically stressed the importance of living
37 out a Covenantal theology, whereby diverse autonomous organizations covenant to
38 collaborate for the common good. Through such Covenantal relationships, the United
39 Church of Christ partners globally with those most impacted by the continuing conflict
40 between the Palestinians and Israel. The current list of thirteen Global Ministries Middle
41 Eastern partners includes regional groups as well as Israeli and Palestinian groups,
42 notably Kairos Palestine.
43

44 Informed by that Just Peace commitment and Covenantal theology, this resolution seeks
45 to respond to the theological declaration of our Christian partners in the Middle East that
46 we are at a Kairos moment – a special opportunity provided by the “Still Speaking God”

47 for us individually as Christians and collectively as a church both to listen to the
48 Palestinian people courageously voice faith, hope, and love in the midst of their suffering
49 and to respond with action.

50
51 Such listening and response is thoroughly in keeping with various historical (and
52 historic!) United Church of Christ resolutions and actions concerning the Israeli-
53 Palestinian conflict:

54
55 The United Church of Christ has affirmed the right of Israelis and Palestinians
56 to live peacefully within internationally recognized borders.

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58
59 The United Church of Christ has identified Israel's occupation of Palestinian
60 land and the human rights abuses it has committed there to be a major source
61 of conflict and has called for an end to settlement activity.

62
63 The United Church of Christ has a long history of effectively supporting
64 boycotts against products produced under unjust conditions (lettuce, grapes,
65 infant formula, etc.) and policies that produce such conditions (apartheid).

66
67 The United Church of Christ has had, since the passage of the 2005 resolution
68 on economic leverage, a strong history of corporate engagement with
69 companies that profit from the Occupation.

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71 **MUTUAL ACCOUNTABILITY**

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73 The desired outcome is a just peace in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The hope is that
74 individuals, churches, and church entities will learn of the present plight of the
75 Palestinians, will study the history of the conflict, will examine their own consciences,
76 and will engage in individual and institutional actions to pressure the government of
77 Israel to end the Occupation as a step toward a just peace. At the same time, the call is to
78 address members of our own government and ask them to ensure that U.S. aid to Israel
79 complies with applicable U.S. laws.

80
81 Those stakeholders most directly affected are the Palestinians. The originators of the
82 resolution, the United Church of Christ Palestine/Israel Network, have consulted with
83 United Church of Christ's Global Ministries partner, Kairos Palestine, and with the
84 movement that represents a wide coalition of the largest Palestinian organizations, trade
85 unions, networks, and NGOs. Both enthusiastically support the resolution, as do
86 Palestinian groups within the United States. Many groups in other Christian
87 denominations and in the Jewish community also support this resolution.

88
89 The originators have also approached the two major United Church of Christ financial
90 entities addressed by the divestment call – United Church Funds and the Pension Boards
91 – United Church of Christ, Inc.

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93 The United Church of Christ Palestine/Israel Network has consulted with staff from
94 United Church Funds and has been in dialogue with them over the past six months. In
95 addition, a member of the United Church of Christ Palestine/Israel Network Steering
96 Committee has been welcomed to the meetings of the Ecumenical Action Group, which
97 has been working on corporate engagement with some of the companies named in the
98 resolution for the past nine years. None of the American companies named has
99 responded to shareholder pressure to disengage from its support of the Occupation. Two
100 of the international companies have taken steps to or made announcements that they
101 would remove their operations from the occupied territories, but they have not yet fully
102 done so. United Church of Christ Palestine/Israel Network is committed to continued
103 dialogue about the best way to make investment/divestment decisions and welcomes a
104 mechanism for establishing standards by which to make such decisions in the future.
105

106 United Church of Christ Palestine/Israel Network has also attempted to dialogue with the
107 Pension Boards – United Church of Christ, Inc. on the divestment issue. Thus far, its staff
108 has not been willing to engage in dialogue on the topic. Its executive has stated on the
109 basis of legal opinion that its fiduciary responsibilities do not allow it to make
110 investment/divestment decisions in response to Synod votes. Nevertheless, it has
111 responded to the 2005 Synod “Economic Leverage” resolution by investing in the Siraj
112 Fund, which supports nineteen Palestinian companies. Although this is indeed a positive
113 step in support of the Palestinian economy, it does not acknowledge Israel’s complete
114 control over that economy and all its resources as documented by the World Bank.
115 Therefore, it cannot be viewed as an effective step toward ending the Occupation.
116

117 Finally, this resolution recognizes that members of the Jewish community with whom we
118 have had long standing interfaith relationships are also stakeholders. It commends those
119 relationships and calls for them to continue and expand.
120

121 **ACTION STEPS**

- 122
- 123 Studying the *Kairos Palestine* document individually and in church groups
- 124
- 125 Encouraging travel to the region with Global Ministries and other alternative
- 126 travel groups
- 127
- 128 Sponsoring local educational conferences
- 129
- 130 Self-examining investment portfolios by individuals, churches, conferences,
- 131 and national United Church of Christ entities to discern whether and how
- 132 divestment may be effectuated
- 133
- 134 Working side by side with allied organizations in local communities to initiate
- 135 and support boycott actions
- 136
- 137 Writing letters and petitions, as well as making visits, to members of Congress
- 138 in cooperation with Justice and Witness Ministries or other peace groups

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Initiating or continuing interfaith dialogues at all levels

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Evaluation Plan

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The resolution asks the General Minister and President to provide the whole church an annual assessment on the implementation of the resolution. United Church of Christ Palestine/Israel Network will offer a report on actions in the wider church that may be of assistance in developing that assessment.

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INSTITUTIONAL CAPACITY

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The Officers of the Church, in consultation with appropriate ministries or other entities within the United Church of Christ, will determine the implementing body for each of the four components addressed in the resolution (elucidated above in the section entitled Summary), with the funding to be made in accordance with the overall mandates of the affected agencies (primarily the United Church Board, Global Ministries, and Justice and Witness Ministries) and the funds available to these agencies, keeping in mind that many of the actions will be taken by individuals and congregations of the United Church of Christ.

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In addition, Global Ministries, the joint witness of the United Church of Christ and Disciples of Christ for international peace, reconciliation, and justice, will be invaluable in implementing the resolution as it works to nurture existing partnerships in the region. Its efforts will be enhanced by the June 2015 launch of its eighteen-month Middle East Initiative.

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Moreover, the United Church of Christ Palestine/Israel Network, supported by its own budget, will continue to broaden its work of educating local churches and conferences.

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Taking all the aforementioned into account, it is clear that the United Church of Christ is currently well-equipped to implement easily this resolution.

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PROBABILITY OF INFLUENCING SOCIAL CHANGE

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With the adoption of this resolution, the Thirtieth General Synod of the United Church of Christ will secure its rightful place alongside other denominations and peace-seeking groups in the United States and around the world that are taking a public stand against the occupation of Palestinian territories by the Israeli government while promoting the human rights of the Palestinians and opposing the use of violence by either party.

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184 The unresolved Israeli-Palestinian conflict is of world-wide concern and has the potential
185 to influence many other issues, including the safety of U.S. citizens here and abroad. The
186 United Church of Christ has not addressed this conflict via resolution since 2005; yet,
187 political realities have changed drastically in the interim. Israel's occupation of
188 Palestinian territories has become increasingly entrenched; settlements have grown
189 exponentially; four massive attacks have been carried out on Gaza; and several attempts
190 at the "peace process" have failed to resolve the conflict. Frustration with the lack of
191 progress has contributed to escalating violence from both sides.

192
193 Meanwhile, Palestinian Christians have issued their *Kairos Palestine 2009 – "A Moment*
194 *of Truth"* document, and Palestinian civil society has endorsed a movement calling for
195 boycott, divestment, and sanctions. That movement is now world-wide and has achieved
196 some notable successes, particularly in Europe but also in the U.S., including the loss of
197 \$26 million in contracts by Veolia, the divestment from Israeli banks by European banks
198 and pension funds, and the loss of revenue by SodaStream. Recently, Kuwait announced
199 the termination of contracts with companies complicit in the Occupation and Sweden
200 recognized the State of Palestine. In addition, most of the mainline Protestant
201 denominations in the U.S. have been considering resolutions that call for some form of
202 boycott and/or divestment. Indeed, local Presbyteries, Episcopal Dioceses, and Methodist
203 Conferences have voted to boycott or divest. Most notably, the Presbyterian General
204 Assembly voted in 2014 to divest from three companies.

205
206 By approving this resolution with its clear, unequivocal call for specific actions toward
207 ending the occupation of Palestinian territories, the United Church of Christ can offer a
208 sign of hope to the Palestinians and add its weight to a world-wide movement toward a
209 just peace in the region.

210
211 United Church of Christ Palestine/Israel Network has been presenting workshops and
212 study sessions on this issue in local churches, associations, and conferences since its
213 inception in January 2012 and will continue to do so. The consideration of this resolution
214 in five United Church of Christ conferences and its acceptance as a study document in
215 two more conferences have led to an enormous amount of discussion and education in
216 those conferences. Without a resolution with specific action components, such
217 engagement would not have occurred. The consideration of the resolution by the Synod
218 opens this conversation to the wider United Church of Christ.

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222 **TEXT OF THE MOTION**

223
224 The psalmist celebrates, "How good it is when brothers and sisters dwell together in
225 unity." (Psalm 133) Yet today the Middle East is torn by disunity between Semitic
226 brothers and sisters separated by "dividing walls of hostility." (Ephesians 2:14) We hear
227 the call of the prophet Micah, "And what does the Lord require of you but to do justice,
228 and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with your God?" (Micah 6:8) - and we are

229 reminded that we must conduct ourselves with kindness and humility even as we seek to
230 counteract injustice anywhere and to stand in solidarity with its victims everywhere.

231
232 As disciples of Jesus, we hear and seek to heed his call to be peacemakers: responding to
233 violence with non-violence and extending love to all. In the words of the *Kairos*
234 *Palestine* document, “True Christian theology is a theology of love and solidarity with
235 the oppressed, a call to justice and equality among peoples.” (*Kairos Palestine 2009 – “A*
236 *Moment of Truth”*)ⁱ

237
238 THEREFORE, in the spirit of the witness of the psalmist and ancient prophets and of the
239 ministry of Jesus the Christ, we offer this resolution.

240
241 WHEREAS, in 1985 the 15th General Synod of the United Church of Christ committed
242 itself to be a Just Peace Church,ⁱⁱ

243
244 WHEREAS, historically the United Church of Christ has affirmed Israel’s right to exist
245 within secure and internationally recognized boundaries (GS 16[1987]ⁱⁱⁱ and GS
246 18[1991]^{iv}) and asserted the rights of Palestinians to enjoy sovereignty in an independent,
247 contiguous, and viable state of their own, within secure and recognized boundaries (GS
248 16 [1987], GS 17[1989],^v and GS 18[1991];

249
250 WHEREAS, past General Synods have identified the Israeli occupation of Palestinian
251 land and its human rights abuses committed therein to be a major source of conflict and
252 have called for the end of the construction and expansion of settlements (GS 18 [1991]
253 and GS 21[1997]^{vi});

254
255 WHEREAS, the various expressions of the United Church of Christ have a long history
256 of effectively using boycotts against products and policies (lettuce, grapes, infant
257 formula, apartheid, etc.) to address injustices;

258
259 WHEREAS, the United Church of Christ is deeply committed to interfaith relationships
260 and General Synods have confessed to the sin of anti-Semitism and proclaimed its
261 renunciation (GS 23 [2001])^{vii} and have denounced actions against Islam or Muslims
262 based on ignorance or fear (GS 28 [2011]);^{viii}

263
264 WHEREAS, the United Church of Christ has historically stressed the importance of
265 living out a Covenantal theology, whereby diverse autonomous organizations covenant to
266 collaborate for the common good, and that through such Covenantal relationships the
267 United Church of Christ has partnered globally with those most impacted by the
268 continuing conflict between Palestinians and Israel;

269
270 WHEREAS, as demonstrated through ongoing dialogue and partnerships, the United
271 Church of Christ values and nurtures its relationships with Jewish groups in the U.S. and
272 Israel who seek justice, equality, and freedom for both peoples, including groups with
273 differing perspectives on the conflict;

274

275 WHEREAS, Palestinians in the West Bank have lived since 1967 under Israeli military
276 occupation that subjects them to many human rights abuses, including: loss of their land
277 for the purpose of building Israeli settlements; limited access to their land and to each
278 other on account of the route of the Separation Wall on occupied Palestinian territories;
279 systematic displacement into small, non-contiguous geographic enclaves separated by
280 barriers and checkpoints; gross inequality in the amount of water allocated to them;
281 severe and arbitrary travel restrictions; limited access to holy sites; segregated roads;
282 demolition of their homes; destruction of their crops by settlers and the Israeli army; and
283 arbitrary arrest, even of children;^{ix}

284
285 WHEREAS, the Israeli government has once again subjected Palestinians in Gaza to
286 military attacks using deadly force beyond that necessary for Israel’s acknowledged need
287 for self-defense and thereby beyond that measure of proportionate response permitted by
288 historically Christian just war theory,^x has destroyed Gaza’s infrastructure and economy,
289 and has imposed: severe limits on personal entry and on the entry of products essential to
290 Gazans’ well-being; fishing limits in violation of international law and the Oslo accords;
291 and strict control of electronic communications, as well as of air and sea space;^{xi}

292
293 WHEREAS, Israel has annexed Palestinian East Jerusalem and separated it from the
294 West Bank and Gaza and continues to appropriate Palestinian properties there for Jewish
295 settlements and to deny building permits to Palestinians, as well as to revoke the
296 residency rights of many of its Palestinian citizens there;^{xii}

297
298 WHEREAS, Israel refuses to end, but rather has sought to solidify, its occupation of
299 territory conquered in the 1967 War, leading to numerous illegal actions and human
300 rights abuses by the Israeli government and military in defiance of United Nations
301 resolutions,^{xiii} and refuses to respect the 4th Geneva Convention as called for by the
302 International Court of Justice in its opinion concerning the Separation Wall in the
303 occupied Palestinian territories;^{xiv}

304
305 WHEREAS, our Palestinian Christian partners, seeking an alternative to violence born of
306 hopelessness and despair, have authored *Kairos Palestine 2009 - ‘A Moment of Truth’: A*
307 *Word of Faith, Hope, and Love from the Heart of Palestinian Suffering* as a call and
308 summons to their global partners to engage in non-violent measures that will pressure
309 Israel to end the Occupation;^{xv}

310
311 WHEREAS, the resolution “Concerning the Use of Economic Leverage in Promoting
312 Peace in the Middle East,” passed by the General Synod in 2005, calls upon “the
313 Covenanted Ministries, Pension Boards, United Church Foundation, local churches and
314 members to use economic leverage, including, but not limited to: advocating the
315 reallocation of US foreign aid so that the militarization of the Middle East is constrained;
316 making positive contributions to groups and partners committed to the non-violent
317 resolution of the conflict; challenging the practices of corporations that gain from the
318 continuation of the conflict; and divesting from those companies that refuse to change
319 their practice of gain from the perpetuation of violence, including the Occupation”;^{xvi}

320

321 WHEREAS, despite years of corporate engagement and the submission of shareholder
322 resolutions from United Church Funds^{xvii} and other religious and secular groups, few
323 companies have withdrawn any of their operations that support the Occupation;

324

325 WHEREAS, many agencies, institutions, universities, and Christian denominations
326 around the world are severing financial ties to companies or institutions that help sustain
327 the Israeli occupation and now, notably, have been joined by various Jewish groups in the
328 U.S., such as Jewish Voice for Peace^{xviii} and American Jews for a Just Peace-Boston,^{xix} as
329 well as Israeli groups, such as the Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions^{xx} and
330 Coalition of Women for Peace,^{xxi} that support using boycott and divestment strategies;
331 and

332

333 WHEREAS, the United Church of Christ's efforts to end the Occupation through
334 economic leverage and advocacy for the protection of human rights of all Palestinians
335 and Israelis are not aimed at isolating Israel or any other party but reflect the belief that
336 engagement and communication among all affected by the current tragic situation in the
337 Middle East are in the deepest interests of both Palestinians and Israelis;

338

339 THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the Thirtieth General Synod of the United
340 Church of Christ:

341

342 CALLS upon United Church of Christ churches and church members to study the *Kairos*
343 *Palestine* document and take heed of its call for non-violent measures pressuring Israel to
344 end the Occupation, in solidarity with the Palestinian people;^{xxii}

345

346 CALLS upon the United Church of Christ Board, the Pension Boards - United Church of
347 Christ, Inc., United Church Funds, conferences, local churches, members, and other
348 related United Church of Christ entities to divest any holdings in the following
349 companies that have been found to profit from the occupation of the Palestinian
350 territories by the state of Israel: Caterpillar Inc., Motorola Solutions, Hewlett-Packard
351 Development Company LP or its successors, G4S, and Veolia Environnement plus its
352 subsidiaries;

353

354 CALLS upon the United Church of Christ Board to establish an advisory group
355 composed of representatives from the stakeholders in this issue, with the specific
356 assignment of developing and publishing standards by which faith-driven investment,
357 divestment, and re-investment decisions can be made in the future;

358

359 CALLS upon all national entities of the church to boycott goods identified as produced in
360 or using the facilities of illegal settlements located in the occupied Palestinian territories,
361 including, but not limited to, Ahava skin care products,^{xxiii} SodaStream products,^{xxiv} and
362 Hadiklaim dates;^{xxv} and upon church members to join boycotts of such goods in their
363 local communities;

364

365 CALLS upon the United Church of Christ Officers of the Church and church members to
366 persist in the request to Congress, previously made by a number of religious leaders, to

367 ensure that U.S. aid to Israel violates neither the U.S. Foreign Assistance Act, which
368 prohibits assistance to any country that engages in a consistent pattern of human rights
369 violations, nor the U.S. Arms Export Control Act, which limits the use of U.S. weapons
370 to “internal security” or “legitimate self-defense”;^{xxvi}

371
372 COMMENDS United Church of Christ leadership for continuing to dialogue with major
373 Jewish organizations and call for United Church of Christ-wide participation in a rigorous
374 dialogue among the three Abrahamic faiths at all levels - in particular between local
375 congregations – in order to identify ways in which groups of congregations of different
376 faiths can work in concert to promote sacred reconciliation among all people who are
377 affected by the conflict in the Middle East and to influence public policies in ways that
378 will promote peace and social justice for Palestinians and Israelis and end violence in all
379 its forms;

380
381 CALLS upon the United Church of Christ Board to monitor the implementation of this
382 resolution by all United Church of Christ national entities and to ensure that those who
383 manage the United Church Board’s own invested funds and who provide United Church
384 Board employee health and pension benefits are in compliance with the resolution; and
385

386 ASKS the General Minister and President to provide an annual report to the whole church
387 on the implementation of this resolution, including a summary of interfaith dialogue at
388 various levels, along with examples of interfaith, congregation-to-congregation peace
389 efforts.

390

391 **FUNDING**

392

393 The funding for the implementation of the Resolution will be made in accordance with
394 the overall mandates of the affected agencies and the funds available.

395

396 **IMPLEMENTATION**

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398 The Officers of the Church, in consultation with appropriate ministries or other entities
399 within the United Church of Christ, will determine the implementing body.

ⁱ <http://www.kairopalestine.ps/sites/default/Documents/English.pdf>.

ⁱⁱ “General Synod pronouncement and proposal for action on the United Church of Christ as a ‘Just Peace Church,’” [//www.ucc.org/beliefs/theology/general-synod-pronouncement.html](http://www.ucc.org/beliefs/theology/general-synod-pronouncement.html).

ⁱⁱⁱ “The Israeli Palestinian Conflict,” <http://globalministries.org/mee/resolutions/ucc-resolutions-related-to-israelpalestine/1987-ip-resolution.html>.

^{iv} “Consequences of the Persian Gulf War for a Just Peace Church,” <http://globalministries.org/mee/resolutions/ucc-resolutions-related-to-israelpalestine/1991-gulf-war-resolution.html>.

^v “The Middle East,” <http://globalministries.org/mee/resolutions/ucc-resolutions-related-to-israelpalestine/1989-mid-east-resolution.html>.

^{vi} “Palestine/Israel,” <http://globalministries.org/mee/resolutions/ucc-resolutions-related-to-israelpalestine/1997-palestine-israel-resol.html>.

^{vii} Minutes of the Twenty-third General Synod, “*Resolution: Anti-Semitism*,” pp. 11-12, <http://www.ucc.org/assets/pdfs/synod/g23.pdf>.

^{viii} <http://uccfiles.com/synod/resolutions/Resolution-On-Actions-of-Hostility-Against-Islam.pdf> (2011).

^{ix} Annual Report, B’Tselem, “*Human Rights in the Occupied Territories 2011*,” http://www.btselem.org/annual_report_2011 and UN Human Rights Council Session 12, “Human Rights in Palestine and Other Occupied Arab Territories,” <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hrcouncil/docs/12session/A-HRC-12-48.pdf>.

^x As John Hickox has observed, “The most recent episode of Israel’s bi-annual atrocities in Gaza has faded from the news. How can that be? An estimated 2106 citizens of Gaza were killed! Israel admits that ‘as many as 72% were civilians.’ That means that 1516 non-Hamas men, women, children and babies were killed by rockets and bombs launched from American-made Apache helicopters and F-16 jets.” <http://cpcjusticeandwitness.com/2014/09/23/where-did-it-all-begin/> Given that Israel is reported to have lost just sixty-seven of its soldiers and only six of its civilians in the recent conflict, there can be little doubt that its response did not meet the just war principle of proportionate use of force. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-29503439>.

^{xi} <http://www.pchrgaza.org/portal/en/>.

^{xii} “Background on East Jerusalem,” B’Tselem, www.btselem.org/jerusalem.

^{xiii} <http://www.haaretz.com/print-edition/news/study-israel-leads-in-ignoring-security-council-resolutions-1.31971> and <http://www.ifamericansknew.org/stat/un.html>.

^{xiv} Advisory Opinion, International Court of Justice, 9 July 2004, “*Legal Consequences of the Construction of a Wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory*,” <http://www.icj-cij.org/docket/index.php?pr=71&code=mwp&p1=3&p2=4&p3=6>.

^{xv} <http://www.kairopalestine.ps/sites/default/Documents/English.pdf>.

^{xvi} <http://globalministries.org/mee/resolutions/ucc-resolutions-related-to-israelpalestine/2005-economic-leverage.html>.

^{xvii} United Church Funds, “*UCF Mideast Engagements*,” <http://ucfunds.org/social-responsibility/corporate-engagement/economic-leverage/promoting-peace/united-church-funds-engagements/>.

^{xviii} www.jvp.org.

^{xix} www.ajpboston.org.

^{xx} <http://icahdusa.org/an-open-letter-from-jeff-halper/>.

^{xxi} <http://www.coalitionofwomen.org/>.

^{xxii} <http://www.kairopalestine.ps/sites/default/Documents/English.pdf>.

^{xxiii} <http://www.codepink4peace.org/section.php?id=415>.

^{xxiv} <http://sodastreamboycott.org>.

^{xxv} <http://whoprofits.org/company/hadiklaim-israel-date-growers-cooperative>.

^{xxvi} Letter from religious leaders asking Congress to condition Israel military aid on human rights compliance, dated October 2012,
<http://globalministries.org/news/mee/pdfs/Military-aid-to-Israel-Oct-1-Final.pdf>.