ABOUT US

NASHIHA ALAM has a B.A. in Gender Studies from Loyola University Chicago (Class of 2016), where she was involved in SJP Loyola for four years, serving as President (2013-2014), Vice President (2014-2015) and Advisor (2015-16). She helped organize the #LoyolaDivest campaign, and as a senator, ultimately saw multiple divestment resolution wins over two years. Because of a veto by the Student Government president in 2013, the campaign was relaunched in 2014, passing again, but with an endorsement from the president. She and her SJP faced political repression from their administration, which led to a fight against SJP Loyola's suspension, won successfully. Nashiha has also been a member of the National SJP steering committee since 2013, and helped with other campus divestment campaigns in Chicago and across the country.

AGATHA PALMA is a 5th year Ph.D candidate of anthropology at UCLA, where she studies anti-Black racism and nationalism in Italy. She got involved with UCLA SJP her first year of graduate school, and went on to serve as BDS Director for the 2013-2014 and 2014-2015 school years. As BDS Director, Agatha oversaw both of UCLA's divestment campaigns and also helped to successfully defeat an anti-divestment bill. After a solid year of hard work, UCLA's Resolution to Divest from Companies Engaged in Violence Against Palestinians failed to pass in February of 2014 but won by a landslide in November of 2015. Since then, Agatha has helped to advise a number of divestment campaigns across the country, and currently serves as an advisor to SJP-UCLA's 2016-2017 board.

SJP
DIVESTMENT HANDBOOK

by nashiha alam & agatha palma

Produced with support from
US Campaign for Palestinian Rights
In partnership with
The Campus Palestine Support Team
LAUNCHING A CAMPUS BDS CAMPAIGN? WANT SUPPORT?

The National Campus BDS Support Team can offer...

DIVESTMENT & COMPANY RESEARCH: What is your school invested in? What corporations make good divestment targets? Where can you get current information on these companies? Get help with research! Email dbaum@afsc.org or visit http://www.afsc.org/investigate

PRESS OUTREACH: Want help with talking to the media? Get help with talking points and press releases, access to media lists, spokesperson trainings, and more. Email bcsmediahelp@gmail.com

LEGAL SUPPORT: Intimidated on campus? Free speech under attack? Need legal advice? Want your resolution reviewed for potential legal issues? Email info@palestinelegal.org or visit www.palestinelegal.org

COMMUNITY MOBILIZATION: Want help getting folks to attend a hearing? Looking for endorsements from the local community; U.S., Palestinian, Israeli, or other international organizations; rabbis and the Jewish community; and/or respected public figures? Email ben@jvp.org, organizer@endtheoccupation.org, and tahrer@ampailestine.org

ONLINE ACTION TECHNOLOGY: Could you benefit from sophisticated technology to set up automatic email-writing campaigns to decision-makers or customized petitions? Email organizer@endtheoccupation.org and ben@jvp.org

CAMPUS CONNECTIONS: Want to learn lessons and trade strategies with other students? Email nsjp.coordinating@gmail.com, tahrer@ampailestine.org, or ben@jvp.org

ACADEMIC DEFENSE & SPEAKER’S BUREAU: Want resources for academic boycott and academic defense organizing? Email academicdefense@usacbi.org or go to www.usacbi.org/academic-defense. Interested in having a USACBI member speak at your campus? www.usacbi.org/speakers-bureau

Printed Materials and Publications on Palestine/Israel: Want materials to distribute and use for internal education? Email tahrer@ampailestine.org or visit www.endtheoccupation.org

The Campus BDS Support Team is a joint effort of the American Friends Service Committee, Jewish Voice for Peace, National Students for Justice in Palestine, Palestine Legal, American Muslims for Palestine, US Campaign for the Academic & Cultural Boycott of Israel, and US Campaign for Palestinian Rights.
MANY THANKS TO EVERYONE THAT CONTRIBUTED AND SUPPORTED ALONG THE WAY

Leena Almasri
Anna Baltzer
Dalit Baum
Cynthia Franklin
Ben Lorber
Rahul Saksena
Rahim Kurwa
Leah Muskin-Pierret
Leila Abdelrazaq
(for the illustration on the cover)

The Campus Palestine Support Team
(American Friends Service Committee
American Muslims for Palestine,
National Students for Justice in Palestine,
Palestine Legal,
USACBI,
US Campaign for Palestinian Rights
& Jewish Voice for Peace)

And all of the students that gave input along the way

CHAPTER 1:
CAMPUS DIVESTMENT 101............................................................................4

CHAPTER 2:
PLANNING AND RESEARCHING YOUR CAMPAIGN...............................12

CHAPTER 3:
LAUNCHING THE CAMPAIGN,
AKA "GOING PUBLIC"..................................................................................27

CHAPTER 4:
DIVESTMENT DAY.........................................................................................37

CHAPTER 5:
POST VOTE.....................................................................................................42

RESOURCES....................................................................................................47
CHAPTER 1

CAMPUS DIVESTMENT 101

WHAT IS DIVESTMENT? WHAT DOES IT DO?

Divestment, or disinvestment, means stepping away from an investment in an institution, system or practice. Divestment can take many forms, but for our purposes as student organizers, it is the decision by an investor -- such as a university -- to stop investing in harmful practices or products.

Divestment has been an effective tool for various political movements. It was used to help end apartheid in South Africa as people of conscience divested from multinational corporations doing business there, and it is currently being used to demand corporate accountability to the climate crisis with divestment from companies that use fossil fuels, as well as to protest the privatization of the prison industry and the racial injustices on which it operates. In the case of Palestine solidarity activism, we are asking our universities to cease investing in companies that enable and profit from the abuse of Palestinian human rights.

We'll get into detail on some of the target companies a bit later, but let's briefly look at one example to get a sense of why we divest and how we choose which corporations from which we divest. Caterpillar Inc. sells the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) military bulldozers called Caterpillar Armored Cat D9s, which are specifically modified as military weapons, and designed for the systematic destruction of civilian property; these military combat bulldozers have been used for the destruction of entire neighbourhoods, the razing of farms, and the killing of Pal-
- Sample press release for win and for loss.
  - Template attached below.

Statements:
- Usually reactionary.
- Help provide context, background or clarification.

Op-eds:
- 600-800 words, depending on outlet. Check campus paper for examples.
- Opportunity to express your (or your group's) perspective.

Letters to the Editor (LTEs):
- 150-200 words long, depending on the outlet.
- Opportunity to respond to published coverage.
- Submit within 48 hours of a story being published.

A full list of wins is available at [http://uscpr.org/usbdsvictories](http://uscpr.org/usbdsvictories).

estinian civilians. This makes Caterpillar Inc. an accomplice in Israeli war crimes, and a central target for divestment. However, take note of why we single it out: Caterpillar knowingly and continuously sells products that violate human rights; the company knowingly profits off Palestinian oppression and has rejected all shareholder and other engagement attempts. Chances are, your own university financially supports Caterpillar and its track record of human rights abuses by way of a multi-million dollar investment in Caterpillar stock. This makes your university, and yes, even you, complicit in violence against Palestinians.

OUR TUITION, OUR RESPONSIBILITY.
WHERE IS OUR TUITION GOING?

1. Student tuition is paid into the UC Treasury.

2. UC Regents invest those funds into stocks and bonds.

3. Some of these companies profit from violations of Palestinian human rights.

4. UC students become complicit in violence and are compelled to take action.

WE CAN BREAK THIS CHAIN.

LEARN MORE about the UC divestment campaign at [www.ucdivest.org](http://www.ucdivest.org)

GET INVOLVED with your local chapter of Students for Justice in Palestine (sjp-divest.org)

SPREAD THE WORD.

An SJP-West infographic on where your tuition money goes.

So what exactly does divestment do, then? Does it put an end to this complicity? Well, yes, but there's more!
Ultimately, divestment puts economic pressure on corporations to stop doing business with Israel's oppressive regime. By removing multi-million dollar investments in corporations that conduct business with Israel, we exact an economic cost for Israeli violations of Palestinian human rights. Divestment is a process of changing the incentive structure around the occupation -- making it increasingly less profitable and attractive for Israel to continue the occupation. In the last 5 years, we've seen more and more companies decide to divest from the occupation. War crimes aren't good for any company's public image. Anti-BDS folks love to tell us that divestment doesn't work, but divestment -- and BDS in general -- has a proven track record of effectiveness.

"In South Africa, we could not have achieved our freedom and just peace without the help of people around the world, who through the use of non-violent means, such as boycotts and divestment, encouraged their governments and other corporate actors to reverse decades-long support for the Apartheid regime. Students played a leading role in that struggle, and I write this letter with a special indebtedness to your school, Berkeley, for its pioneering role in advocating equality in South Africa and promoting corporate ethical and social responsibility to end complicity in Apartheid."

Take it from Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who wrote this letter to Berkeley in support of its campaign to divest from Israel.

Divestment serves one other critical purpose: education. While only one university to date has taken the final step of implementing divestment from corporations out of concern for Palestinian rights, we know from history that divestment from South Africa took decades and the pace and breadth of our wins thus far was once unimaginable. And, as many Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) and divestment activists will tell you, Palestine awareness grows exponentially.

RESOURCES

Please visit our Digital Appendix at www.uscpr.org/digitalappendix for access to sample resolutions, press releases, op-eds, videos, photo campaigns, infographics, etc.

INVESTMENTS

Once you have the list of investments, you can use investigate.afsc.org to research their involvements.

For any information related to complicit corporations, visit whoprofits.org.

MEDIA

Example media opportunities:
- Divestment launch and campaign
- Actions and major events
- Responding to inaccurate coverage, intimidation or opposition
- Responding to positive things (intersectionality, solidarity, etc.)

Ways to respond to media opportunities:
- Press releases - announce new information, such as launch of campaign, vote.
- Types of press releases:
  1. Announcing campaign launch: unless you do not want to publicize before the vote for strategic reasons. If not, release immediately after the vote.
  2. Announcing campaign results: prepare 2 press releases ahead of the vote, one in case of a win, and one in case of a loss. Fill in the blanks once you have the results.
WHAT'S A LOSS AND WHAT'S A VICTORY?

A divestment campaign itself is the victory and a vote in favor is merely the cherry on top. All the other work we accomplish through the campaign—educating others about Palestine; building strong, progressive coalitions—make up the actual ice cream sundae. “Wins” should thus be determined by the impact that you were able to make on campus, not on the outcome of the vote. Divestment campaigns are valuable because they start a conversation about Palestine on your campus, and disrupt spaces that often exclude Palestinian and other minority voices. Your student government floors, student centers, campus quads, newspapers and libraries, and your entire university, are all places where investment in the Israeli occupation is the norm. By bringing divestment to these places, you are disrupting that norm, and challenging the idea that everything must be how it is in the status quo. You are bringing attention to the fact that the status quo is violent, and oppressive, and that we are complicit unless we act.

Across campuses as a result of divestment campaigns -- whether or not they pass or are implemented. Growing awareness means growing support for justice in Palestine. Our movement is just getting started, and the work we do now will be carried on by our successors. We thus understand any divestment campaign as a huge success. Congratulations, you made it!

As students, most of us have very little if any experience with things like assets and investment portfolios. Running a divestment campaign often feels intimidating when we are met by stern-faced university administrators or investment directors who seldom take interest in student concerns. Thankfully, in order to run a successful divestment campaign, all the financial expertise you really need is a basic understanding of which companies your school invests in and what they do with those investments. We'll get into the nitty-gritty of that a little bit later.

Before moving on, take note that divestment will not liberate Palestine; Palestinians will. Here in the U.S., the BDS campaign, including the student-led divestment movement, is fought to end American support for Israel's occupation, and to support Palestinians' own struggle for liberation. We're using our privileges as students at American universities to support the Palestinian struggle, not to lead the way.

THE ABCs OF BDS

So where did BDS come from? In July 2005, over a hundred organizations representing Palestinian civil society came together to call upon people of conscience all over the world to play a role in the Palestinian struggle for justice. This call initiated the global Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement against Israel until it complies with international law and respects Palestinian rights.

The BDS movement finds its inspiration in the campaigns organized against the apartheid regime in South Africa. South Africans and solidarity activists around the world turned the tide against the unjust South African government, asserting that it was (and is) morally unacceptable to do business as usual with an oppres-
sive regime. The movement lasted over three decades, but thanks to the hard work of grassroots activists all over the world, apartheid eventually fell. The most critical feature of BDS is that it works.

The Palestinian call urges the international community to take part in the BDS movement until Israel meets its obligations under international law by:

1) Ending its occupation and colonization of all Arab lands occupied in June 1967 and dismantling the Wall;
2) Recognizing the fundamental rights of the Arab-Palestinian citizens of Israel to full equality;
3) Respecting, protecting and promoting the rights of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes and properties as stipulated in UN Resolution 194.

BEFORE YOU BEGIN

We know you’re anxious to get started. But before you do, there are just a few things we as veteran divestment organizers want you to keep in mind.

RACE, CLASS, GENDER AND SEXUALITY IN STUDENT ORGANIZING

We highly suggest you and your fellow organizers get together to discuss these issues as a group. They’ll come up; they always do, and simply saying “check your privilege” doesn’t really cut it. Think through together what kinds of problems might arise and how you’ll handle them together. (Notice how we keep saying “together?”) Below are some things you may want to consider... together.

Race

Race is always present in grassroots organizing (because it’s always present everywhere). Be honest with each other about how these dynamics might be affecting your organizing. Are there more White students than students of color in your organization? Are the opinions of pro-divestment Jewish students valued over those of Palestinians? Are you tokenizing the struggles of Black, Native, or Latino students, instead of carefully engaging with them? We’ll get into more details on this when we discuss solidarity organizing in Chapter 2.

Most of the time, you’ll find that the vote was out of your control. Israel lobby groups may have interfered, or sketchy trips or jobs may have been offered to your student representatives. You still need to come back stronger when you relaunch.

WHEN TO CONTACT PALESTINE LEGAL

Have other students, Israel advocacy groups, or administrators intimidated you because of your Palestine solidarity activism? Has your right to speak out for Palestinian freedom come under attack? Do you have questions about your right to engage in BDS? Do you have legal questions about your divestment resolution?

If you’re facing any kind of suppression on campus, whether it’s harassment, intimidating letters from your dean, or any instance where you feel SJP is being treated unfairly or held to unreasonable standards, contact Palestine Legal. If you’re unsure, don’t hesitate to contact Palestine Legal to determine whether there are legal avenues to consider, and whether there is other support they can recommend.

Also, because divestment campaigns often raise some of these and other legal issues, Palestine Legal recommends that you contact them before launching your campaign to forecast, avoid, or prepare for possible challenges. Similarly, if you’re planning upcoming actions or events that might elicit opposition and backlash, get some tips from Palestine Legal. A Palestine Legal attorney will walk you through the possible responses, consequences or legal troubles you may face so that you can make an informed decision about how to proceed with your event, action, or campaign.

The best way to contact Palestine Legal is through their online intake form on their website.
While there's still a lot to do, we should never forget to prioritize loving and supporting each other. Divestment, as you probably know by now, is stressful and emotional - especially on the day of the vote. Take care of each other, and especially look after your fellow Palestinian students. Here are some things to do directly after the vote to help process.

Host a community circle or discussion shortly after the vote, in order to let students decompress amongst trusted community members. Let people talk about their experiences, and center Palestinians and the organizers of your campaign. This is critical for maintaining and strengthening your sense of community after the vote.

Debrief, debrief, debrief. We can't stress this enough. It's so crucial for you to have an understanding of what went well, what didn't and how you can improve as organizers. It's also important for the sake of institutional memory.

Write a press release about your loss. It's important that the broader campus community knows what a divestment loss means, and what you plan to do next.

**RE-LAUNCHING YOUR CAMPAIGN**

After you "lose" the divestment vote, it's important to keep the momentum up. If you decide to relaunch, you will need the energy of the first vote in order to keep going. Chances are, you'll even have new members who saw the impact of your divestment campaign! The second time around, you want to make sure you're ready. It's important to go through your checklist again, but this time, strengthen the areas that may have impacted the vote.

For example, if you weren't able to get any organizations to endorse the resolution, or very few. You might want to take the next couple of months to reach out to organizations to build those intentional relationships. Or maybe you had more than 40 organizations endorse the resolution, but they weren't invested in the campaign or didn't attend your hearings to support. You might want to reach out to them and ask them for tangible support. Maybe they didn't support because you didn't show much interest in their organizations' missions, and it was a one-sided relationship. You see? There's so much to consider! Only you know your strengths and weaknesses as a group.

---

**Class**

Maybe you've never had to worry much about where your next meal is coming from. But there's a good chance that some of the people you organize with do; many students receive no financial support whatsoever from their families. As a rule of thumb, don't exclude these students by scheduling too many meetings at restaurants or by requiring members to chip in financially for divestment swag or food for meetings; this should be paid for by money you raise together. And be considerate of fellow organizers' work schedules! Many are full-time students struggling to make ends meet and are still making time to organize for Palestine. Thank them for showing up when they can; don't judge them when they can't.

**Gender**

It happens before you know it, often without intention, but it happens time and time again: women and non-binary folks do the busy and behind-the-scenes work while men become the face of the campaign. Watch out for it. If you see it, reverse it. Do women or non-binary individuals (or anyone else for that matter) attend your organizing meetings without saying much of anything? Are they being given tasks without being asked for their opinions? Be certain to include them equally. Honor the talent of the women and non-binary folks in your group by encouraging them to do interviews, write op-eds, and speak at events. If you're a cisgender male, be aware of how much space you take up during meetings. Consider backing down when they haven't had their voices heard.

**DIVESTMENT IS NOT A ONE-PERSON SHOW**

We all want to be appreciated -- in fact, we could probably all work a little harder at showing more appreciation for each other (and others will remember to show it in return! It's a win-win situation). Unfortunately, egos often get in the way of organizing. If you have a leadership position in your student organization,
keep in mind that it is your responsibility to make leaders out of others. This is 
not done by delegating tasks to them, but by trusting them to make important 
decisions -- by letting go of your ego. Maybe you wanted red shirts, but everyone 
else wants black. Take votes. On everything. Don’t run every single meeting -- 
take turns with each other every week. You’ll end up with less resentment, more 
unity and solidarity, and best of all, an environment that encourages collaboration, 
creativity, and brilliance. Perhaps best of all, everyone will feel appreciated.

Remember that divestment is about Palestine, and not about you. That may 
sound obvious enough, but too commonly, a few students willingly become the 
face of divestment, volunteering to do every school paper (or local news) 
talk, or write every op-ed. Avoid this. Push others who claim they’re too shy 
to do interviews. We know you know this, but it’s a worthwhile reminder: divest-
ment is a movement that is necessarily made up of as many people as possible. 
Giving a single face to divestment underlines its strength as a widely sup-
sported, diverse and intersectional student movement.

“BUT WE’RE NOT READY TO 
DIVEST!”

Many times, students on campuses feel as though they are not “ready to 
divest,” which usually means that they feel unprepared or too small of a 
collective to launch a divestment campaign. The truth is that most 
campus groups that have now successfully passed divestment reso-
lutions started out with the same uncertainty. Many divestment cam-
aigns begin with a few dedicated or-
ganizers, only to expand to larger member-
ships and coalitions throughout the process. Divestment should never be too intim-
dating to try; it is a campaign that all students are capable of carrying out.

| Divestment case study 1: UCLA |

“When we first launched our campaign in 2013 we knew we had a 1% chance of winning. But the organizing work done between then and the eventual passage of the bill is exactly what raised the probability of winning to 100% on the day of the second vote in 2014. In other words, it’s normal for you to have a low probability of passage when you start. But it’s all about how you change those odds through your campaign.”

Rahim, SJP-UCLA

Section, so it’s necessary for us to keep our energy up after the vote. Here are 
some things you should do after the vote:

Be prepared for the possibility of a veto. Meet with your president one on 
one, and reassure them about the vote. If they are on the verge of vetoing the 
resolution, think about how they are feeling and frame your conversation around 
an understanding of that. For example, presidents of student governments that 
have passed divestment often face intense heat from outside lobby groups or 
pro-Israel students on campus. Some even have been threatened and told they 
will never get a job outside of college if they sign this resolution. If this is some-
thing your president is worried about, reassure them that this is definitely not 
the case, and that they will be celebrated by a growing community of socially 
conscious people.

Send an email to your senators letting them know that there will be backlash 
from the opposition, but that they did the right thing, and that your communi-
ties will do everything to protect and support them. Make yourselves available 
to your senators. It’s important that they feel as confident as possible in the vote 
and in the cause. There have been situations where senators move to do a re-
vote because of the intensity of the opposition they faced from outside lobby 
groups or pro-Israel students on campus.

Write a press release about your victory and what it means. Make sure you 
send your press release to Campus BDS Support if you would like feedback or 
have any questions. It’s best to send press releases to media outlets early in the 
morning, between Monday and Thursday.

IF THE VOTE DIDN’T PASS

First of all, remember that you didn’t fail! The conversation you started on 
campus is so necessary for the success of our movement. It’s normal to feel down 
or to have regrets in the event your resolution didn’t pass. Be careful though, as 
these feelings can demotivate your group and debilitate your campaign, if they 
aren’t channeled in a healthy way. It’s important to keep morale up, and to con-
tinue to support the members of your coalition.
CHAPTER 5
POST VOTE

IF THE VOTE PASSED

Celebrate your success, but keep moving. Dozens of universities have passed divestment resolutions or referendums, but we know from history that it takes many years to get universities to implement divestment (it took decades during the anti-apartheid movement). The vote is often the first day that many pro-Israel organizations start paying attention. That's when they start their agita-

Students often cite a powerful and intimidating opposition as a primary obstacle to divestment on their campuses. In fact, some of the most influential divestment resolutions and impressive wins have happened on campuses with the most intense opposition and pro-Israel student biases. Often times, intense opposition is indicative of the effectiveness of your organizing. It is important to prepare painstakingly for the opposition you may face during your campaign. We'll give you the nuts and bolts of campaign preparation in Chapter 2.

SJP Northwestern celebrating their win after a long divestment hearing.
CHAPTER 2
PLANNING AND RESEARCHING YOUR CAMPAIGN

Taking the time to plan carefully and do your research in the months before the vote will ensure your campaign is successful, no matter the senate or student body decision. You should expect this phase of organizing to last at least a few months. Take this time to build a solid divestment committee, to do your research, to make allies, to educate yourselves, and to educate others about Palestine and BDS. Below we provide 7 steps you should take before officially launching your campaign. Note that they are written in some kind of logical order: for example, you'll likely want to make sure you've got a solid committee together (step 1) before you do the work of solidarity-building (step 2), researching (step 3), or making big decisions about your campaign (step 4). Figure out these details before publicly launching your campaign.

STEP 1: ORGANIZING A DIVESTMENT COMMITTEE

Divestment is only successful with the help and solidarity of other people. Don't skip this aspect. How many reliable fellow organizers do you know you can count on? You want to start with a solid group of people -- say five, at the very minimum -- who are aware of and ready for the work that will take you from the initial stages of planning and researching all the way through to divestment. One way to do this is to create an official divestment committee that meets regularly and stays in constant contact with each other. These committees can be both individuals in administrative positions. Ask for a meeting with your dean, diversity officers, the president, and others. Let them know who you are, what your group is about, and the kinds of challenges you're facing in your campus organizing. Explain that your student group supports equality for all people, and stands against Islamophobia, anti-Semitism and all forms of discrimination. These relationships could come in handy if you find yourself the target of a smear campaign or a disciplinary action. The more people you know in your college's administration, the easier it will be to navigate potential problems.

- Plan Ahead. Know your college's rules and policies, including its policies regarding speech, demonstrations, and protesting. Research how your university has responded to similar actions in the past. Ask other student groups what their experiences have been organizing on campus. Prepare for possible backlash by talking to Palestine Legal and other allies, and have a media strategy to get your message out on your own terms.

- Document Everything. Save evidence (email, video, pictures), take screenshots and notes of all relevant information related to your activities and incidents of suppression, such as:
  - Who was involved
  - What happened, what was said
  - Where it happened
  - When it happened
  - Who you reported it to
  - Witnesses, if any
We'd wager that most people -- including anti-divestment folks, and your senators -- know that these allegations are false. So then why do these attacks often work? Well, they’re fear tactics, and they work because nobody wants to be accused of terrorism or of anti-Semitism, so we get caught up trying to explain why such allegations are wrong. And what happens to the discussion about Caterpillar destroying Palestinian homes? Or Hewlett-Packard categorizing the biological data of Palestinians for the use of the occupying power? Can you guess?

Keep the conversation on point. Don’t let any of your speakers waste their breath talking about why it’s racist to call Palestinians terrorists. Everyone knows it is. All of your senators should have heard from you earlier -- in one-on-one meetings -- what’s wrong with the allegations of terrorism and anti-Semitism. Spend the evening focused on the resolution. Ask your senators whether or not they want to remain invested in corporations that oppress and kill people. Yes, what’s at stake actually is that simple.

**ANTICIPATING BACKLASH**

Students around the country are facing obstacles and experiencing backlash from Israel advocacy groups and universities intent on censoring, shutting down, or undermining student speech activities. It’s important to understand your legal rights and responsibilities, and to be prepared for potential backlash to your activism. Check out the Palestine Legal and the Center for Constitutional Rights report, The Palestine Exception to Free Speech: A Movement Under Attack in the US, to learn about the common tactics used to suppress speech for Palestinian rights, and to read about previous cases of suppression.

Here are some quick tips to help you prepare for and navigate backlash, adapted from Palestine Legal’s Student Handbook. 

- Talk to your administrators. As you begin organizing, build relationships with SJP-based (i.e. the campaign is planned and organized primarily by your campus SJP/Palestine solidarity org) or cross-coalition (i.e. students from various student organizations plan and organize the campaign together. Cross-group coalitions require everyone to have an equal stake in shaping the campaign’s fundamental demands).

**ESTABLISHING AN SJP-LED OR CROSS-COALITION DIVESTMENT COMMITTEE**

**Snowball** Perhaps you already have a handful of fellow student activists you can rely on. Schedule an initial divestment meeting (or maybe a party?) and ask each of these student activists to invite at least two other committed students. Students need not be completely knowledgeable about Palestine -- at UCLA, some of the best organizers were people we met through friends who were “down with the cause” but pretty clueless otherwise about the inner workings of BDS. They learned very quickly, and these meetings are a great place to get educated. If you want a cross-coalition committee, reach out to other student orgs to invite them to your next meeting or party. Since you’ll likely want to keep divestment under wraps for now, the best way to do this is to go through mutual friends. Who from these orgs do you know and trust? Be aware that divestment meetings will often need to be closed to trusted members only -- always make sure that all participants can be vouched for by someone else.

**Schedule regular meetings.** Set up a regular meeting time. Meetings should be once a week, every week; as the divestment date nears, you will sometimes...
Divestment Case Study 2: Stanford

Stanford is one example of a successful cross-coalition divestment committee. As Kenneth Tea, SJP-Stanford activist, explains, “We purposefully sought to build a progressive coalition because we believed it was important to educate our campus on the systemic nature of oppression and because by doing so, we could get higher numbers of people organizing.” Stanford activists thus targeted companies like G4S, which is complicit in mass incarceration on a global scale, not just in Palestine. The Stanford Divestment Committee had representation from about 20 student orgs. They held 2-hour meetings once a week, where students took turns facilitating. They had a horizontal (non-hierarchical) leadership structure, composed of several working groups, including ones devoted to canvassing, programming, finance, lobbying, and resolution drafting.

Build trust, solidarity, friendship, reliability, and commitment. As a student leader, it is your job to make sure the environment is welcoming to other students, and that the meetings do not become all about you and your opinions. Remember that new people have good ideas too. Keep in mind that the more tasks you give out to others without taking into account their opinions, the less commitment you’ll get. Don’t dole out tasks; make decisions together.

Rotate meeting leadership. Lead the first meeting, then ask another attendee to lead the next one, and take turns every week amongst all of you. Students will only participate if they feel like they are valuable contributors. Often, they need to be helped to feel that way. Meeting leaders should be in charge of putting together the agenda (which you all can collaborate on), facilitating the meetings, choosing a note-taker, and sending out reminders when that week’s tasks need to be completed. Don’t worry if you feel like you don’t know how to lead -- divestment can be a wonderful way of making leaders out of everyone (you’ll figure it out as you go along).

to add or remove something from the resolution. Your allied senators must know how to react in each scenario. Making sure they are fully prepared falls on the shoulders of you and your crew.

- Schedule a strategizing meeting with all of your pro-divestment senators present at once. Come up with a plan together for the night of. Discuss possible strategies that anti-divestment students and senators could take, and what your responses will be. Establish a method of communication with your senators: usually they will have their laptops open during the debate, and you may all want to create a group chat together.

- Give these senators access to a Google Doc that has a list of every anti-divestment talking point imaginable and what they can say in response. Ask them to read through it ahead of time, and to also keep it open the night of the vote. Do not print these out on paper. They are NOT for public distribution.

FOR OTHER STUDENTS

Schedule a series of work parties the weeks before the vote. Invite your trusted allies from other student organizations. Make sure that every attendee can be vouched for by someone you trust. At these work parties, students who want to speak the night of divestment can work on their speeches with the help of others. Make it a point to tell everyone how important it is to focus on the positive.

STAYING ON THE OFFENSE (AND ACCENTUATING THE POSITIVE)

What do we mean by this? And why is it so important? Try and envision the day of the vote. Imagine that hundreds of students show up to speak for and against it. Now imagine that those who are speaking in favor of divestment are spending all of their time responding to the attacks made by those against it. What’s missing here? Well, the whole point of your campaign is missing -- these attacks are designed specifically to derail the conversation from what’s really at stake.

“Palestinians are terrorists.” “SJP is connected to Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood” (lol). “Supporting BDS is anti-Semitic.” “BDS seeks to destroy Israel”... You know, the usual.
Students showing up for UM Divest on the day of the divestment hearing.

TALKING POINTS

Several weeks ahead of the vote, you and the crew should get busy organizing talking points for what will inevitably be an hours-long debate. There will be many pro-divestment students or even voting senators who will want to help get the resolution passed, but won’t know what to say.

To make sure the debate stays in your favor and doesn’t get derailed, start a Google Doc you can collectively work on. Come up with 2 - 3 key messages and supporting talking points that you can reference the night of the vote.

Keep all talking points positive and refrain from getting defensive, or addressing opposition complaints. When necessary to do so, keep the response short and pivot back to one of your key messages.

FOR YOUR TRUSTED SENATORS:

Your trusted pro-divestment senators will be the most critical players the night of the vote. They must be thoroughly prepared ahead of time to respond to any anti-divestment talking points that come their way, as well as any procedural hurdles that may come the night of the vote, such as a senator proposing

Group text. Get ready for divestment taking over your social life. One of the most critical (and sometimes annoying, but mostly fun) aspects of a successful committee is regular communication. What’s the news? Who’s working on what? What do people think of this email you’re about to send? The best platforms to do this on are probably downloadable apps such as GroupMe or Whatsapp, which easily support large group text messages (the former has a meme-generator and Gifs for when you need a laugh or can’t handle the tediousness of some divestment-related work). You will likely need to be in touch every day throughout the majority of the campaign.

STEP 2: ESTABLISHING SOLIDARITY WITH FELLOW STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS

This is without question one of the most important aspects of your campaign. The more signatories and support you have, the more impactful your campaign. You should be working on establishing this solidarity well in advance of divestment; the stronger the relationships and the more support you show them, the more likely they are to come out and show their support for divestment. Below are some tips.

Go through mutual friends; who do you know from campus organizations that might be interested in social justice issues?

Send emails to every student organization you can find and ask to present at their next meeting. Make powerpoints and switch off amongst yourselves giving presentations. Talk about the Palestinian struggle, divestment, and existing efforts to build intersectional campaigns between Palestinians and other oppressed groups. This is one of the most important accomplishments of a campaign, because it builds a base of hundreds of informed and engaged individuals who are doing the persuading and arguing amongst their social networks on their own.

Do NOT try and tell students why their particular struggle is linked up with yours. You can and should open space for discussion on systemic oppression, but let them make those connections themselves.

Invite student orgs to your next meeting, or throw a party and allow every group to present about who they are and what they do.
Show true solidarity. Ideally, your SJP will have already been building relationships with other student groups long before you actually launch divestment. Still, it's never too late to start building community and show your support -- go to their events, sign their petitions, like their Facebook posts, and stay connected with them. Keep in mind that solidarity is always a two-way street. You can't ask students with their own struggles to come out and support yours if you aren't there to back them up as well. True solidarity means that your SJP members are regularly showing up for allied organizations' events, not because you want them to support your divestment campaign, but because you support their organizations' missions and all peoples' struggles for liberation.

**STEP 3: RESEARCHING UNIVERSITY INVESTMENTS**

It might be a bit intimidating when you're first stepping out to do research on your university's investments. After all, we are student organizers, not money managers or experts on investments. Below we outline the techniques that students have used to research their schools' investments.

**GLOSSARY OF KEY TERMS:**

You may run into various unfamiliar terms related to investments, divestment, and socially responsible investing. Below we provide some simplified definitions of the most common terms.

**Investment:** An asset or item that is purchased with the hope that it will generate income or become more valuable in the future. Universities hold various types of investments -- stocks, bonds, etc. -- through an endowment fund.

**Socially Responsible Investing (SRI) or Environmental, Social, Governance (ESG):** SRI/ESG is an approach that aims to balance ethical and fiduciary concerns, and seeks to achieve a trade-off between social and financial benefits. This means that the university is claiming to value ethical investing while still maintaining their income.

**Mutual Funds:** A mutual fund is a collection of stocks and/or bonds bought with the funds from many investors. A mutual fund manager buys and sells these securities together, co-mingling the monies from different investors. University en-

**CHAPTER 4**

**DIVESTMENT DAY**

The big day has finally arrived. You so got this. And remember that even if the vote doesn't pass, **YOU'VE ALREADY WON!** But here are some useful tips (that you should read before divestment day) to help you prepare for one of the most memorable days of your life thus far.

**ORGANIZE PUBLIC COMMENTS**

You will want to make sure public commenters have some guidelines in advance and know what to say to be effective. Be sure to explain to commentators how to not get derailed.

Off-campus community groups (if allowed in the night of the vote) can be useful allies in giving public testimony in student government, canvassing campus the day of the referendum vote, writing letters of support, etc. Local JVP chapters can help.

Identify and get comfortable with three key/main messages -- the central points you want students/the media to understand about the campaign. These 3 points will serve as your anchor, and you should always pivot back to them in any debate or conversation so you don't get derailed.
- Message 2, long version: We are currently invested in corporations that profit from human rights abuses including Caterpillar, which supplies bulldozers to destroy Palestinian homes and olive groves; HP, which provides service to checkpoints that are denying Palestinians basic freedom of movement and access to education; and Raytheon, a military arms company that sells missiles and cluster bombs used against Palestinian civilians.

- Message 3: Students for Justice in Palestine, along with 15 other endorsing campus organizations, call on our university to divest from these corporations so that we are no longer complicit in the suffering of others. Divestment is a time-honored social justice tactic, and allows us to use our institutional influence to enrich, rather than harm life.

Practice responding to interview questions with your SJP. Practice how to respond if a conversation is derailed, how to use tactics like bridging to pivot back to your key messages.

Stay calm and confident. Remember that you are in control of the interview, you have control over how you respond. Do not be afraid to repeat your key messages or to bridge away from questions that have nothing to do with the campaign or your key messages.

If the coverage is inaccurate, email the reporter right away and request a clarification or correction. If the reporter doesn’t respond, email their editor. You can also follow up with a letter to the editor. You usually have 24-72 hours to make these corrections.

Interview tricks and tactics:

- Flagging: Use “flags” to signal something the audience should hear/remember with phrases like “The key issue is...” or “The important thing to remember is...”

- Bridging: Use the question as a bridge to what you want to say when a question diverts you from your message.

- Multi-part questions: You choose which part/question you want to answer.

- Confusing questions: You decide what they mean.

An interviewer is “baiting” you: don’t bite. Remain calm and stay on message. You’re in control, you are the news source.

dowments are usually invested in different types of investments, including mutual funds and direct investment in stocks and bonds.

Student Government: A governing body made up of representatives, elected by students. Student Governments are tasked with representing the student body, and pass resolutions related to concerns of the students. The Student Government generally does not have decision-making power within the university’s operations, but can make a difference by passing resolutions urging the university to act.

Board of Trustees: The board of trustees or managers and your university president are ultimately responsible for the endowment and how it is invested. Generally, they in turn appoint an investment committee that determines an investment strategy for the endowment and appoints an investment officer to carry it out. The investment officer then hires fund managers who select investments, move money, and report back to the school.

Shareholder advocacy: Some institutions make direct investments in corporations and then use their voting rights as shareholders to try to influence corporate policies (like asking that those companies divest themselves from the Israeli occupation). Most of our central divestment targets have already rejected shareholder advocacy attempts and are knowingly choosing to continue to engage in harmful practices.

WHAT IS AN ENDOWMENT FUND?

An endowment fund receives donations for the university’s use. Universities use the endowment fund as anyone would use a savings account: similar to a savings account, the money in your university’s endowment fund is built up slowly through different investments. It’s important to know that the tuition you pay does not directly go into your school’s endowment fund, but into a general operating account that the school uses regularly to cover their expenses. The endowment fund and the operating account have distinct purposes, and must be treated differently. A university’s endowment is built up with donations from alumni and other donors. This pool of money can be used by the university to invest in corporations and mutual funds in order to generate returns. Most of the returns come back into the endowment fund.
Depending on how big your school is, your endowment fund will also vary in size. Universities like Harvard or Yale might have an endowment fund of several billion dollars, while your small private university may only have an endowment fund of less than 20 million dollars. The endowment fund is also often seen as a way for administrations to rank themselves with prestige.

"WHERE DO WE EVEN START?"

Ethical investments policy:

Public or private, determine whether your university has a “Socially Responsible Investments” policy, otherwise known as an SRI. University policies vary when it comes to ethical investing. Some universities have SRIs, shareholder advocacy commitments, or no ethical investing policies at all. Find out everything you can about how your university handles its investments: what are the names of its committees, who sits on them, and who makes what decisions about investment are all important details to know.

Check to see if your university has any history of divestment: did it divest from South African Apartheid? Sudan? Fossil Fuel? Tobacco? Can you ask supportive faculty members or alumni who were around for prior divestment campaigns to tell you what they remember? What were their challenges? How did they manage to pass their resolutions? Collect their stories.

Does your university subscribe to any ethical language about investment, or about its role in the world and in the community? Collect everything that you find. It could be useful for your campaign. If your university has an SRI policy, or a history of divestment from unethical companies, this is great news for you: the messaging strategy for your campaign can be centered around getting your university to act in accordance with its own SRI policy. If your university does not have an SRI policy, then your campaign can be part of an effort to push your school to adopt one! You can do this by forming a wider coalition of students with various ethical concerns, asking the university to start behaving like an ethical institution, and to use ethical considerations in its investments. See the example of Stanford’s cross-coalition based divestment campaign in this chapter for more ideas.

message can reinforce it. Focus on always pivoting back to your key messages.

Agree on your campaign’s key messages beforehand. You should have 2-3 key messages you want to hit on during every debate, media interviews or Q&A. Know these messages. They should be simple so you can explain them in a sentence or two. It may also be useful to include an action or ask in your message (in this case, the action/ask is divestment).

- Message 1: As students, we care about our university’s impact on the world. Our campus funds are invested on behalf of the entire campus community, and we have a right to demand that our funds be invested in socially responsible ways.
- Message 2, short version: We are currently invested in corporations that profit from human rights abuses including home demolitions, the use of military arms against civilians, and denial of freedom of movement and access to education.

Coverage of UC Riverside’s divestment campaign in the student newspaper
a positive relationship with your paper and allows them to hear about your campaign first-hand.

- Monitor media, monitor opposition, and determine when and how to respond.
- Understand the news cycle: you typically have 24-48 hours to respond to problematic coverage.
- Activate allies for support as needed.
- For ideas on media opportunities, see the resources section.

Talking points and messaging: Your words should be clear and accessible to everyone, regardless of their level of education or exposure to the issues. If you only have 140 characters or an interview soundbite to explain Zionism and decide to use the term, chances are the following will happen:

- Your audience will tune out your whole message.
- Some may decide to look up the term; you’ll be stuck with Google defining Zionism.
- The opposition can more easily paint your message in an inaccurate/negative light.

How can you communicate effectively? Your message should be clear, concise, consistent, and framed positively. Can you explain yourself in a sentence or two?

- Deliver your message in the form of a problem, solution and action.
- Anchor your message. Whenever you are derailed, bridge back to your main message.
- Avoid words and phrases that are not commonly understood, such as “settler colonialism,” “Zionism, Zionist, anti-Zionist,” “occupation,” “apartheid,” “settlements,” “war crimes,” “the wall.”
- Tell a story. Stories are remembered 22 times more than facts and figures alone. Use personal and compelling stories to convey your message.

A messaging “pro tip” from our media specialists: do not reinforce the opposition's language or messaging. Even engaging in myth-busting or negating their

**Investments / treasurer office**

Call up your school’s investments office and request to see records of your university’s investments. Better still, give the treasurer’s office a visit in person, be polite, and ask for help. Do not ask right away for lists of holdings. Keep in mind that most investments officers are aware that students from social justice-based organizations often target the school’s endowment fund, and are thus wary about granting such requests. Sometimes, a well-timed request from a student government representative, a faculty member or even a curious and courteous economics major can go a long way. You can be a student doing research, learning more about the university’s investments, or its history. An alum or even a donor may call the office, or have better access to the endowment annual reports and information.

**Other information sources**

If your university is public, you may find all of the answers you need online, or you may find the annual investment report in a glossy brochure for alumni. You may be able to ask the office for this report, reminding them that you are a student, and they might have to produce this report anyhow based on the locally applicable public records or FOIA procedure. You may even file that request for information formally.

For private schools, information is harder to obtain, but still, remember that the school’s endowment is a nonprofit. All nonprofits have public records. For all schools, public or private, you can go to the free online database GuideStar.org, register and search for your endowment’s name. There might be more than one! For each, pull out their latest tax records: Form 990. This form should include a wealth of information about the endowment, its size and asset allocation, the highest salaries on campus… and also the names of the biggest contractors, which must include the money managers! Yes! You have hit the jackpot!

If you’re still stuck, ask for assistance! Call fellow SJPs at other schools for help, get in touch with students and faculty who might be more knowledgeable, or contact AFSC’s research support at investigate@afsc.org.

Once you know about your university’s money managers or its mutual funds you can find everything else you need. All mutual funds are required to report
regularly to the Securities Exchange Commission (SEC). The SEC keeps a public
database called EDGAR -- search on EDGAR for the name of the fund or money
manager firm, and look for its filings. Form 13F-HR is the full list of holdings,
including the corporate names. The mutual fund might have a better, glossy “list of
holdings” or “schedule of investment” report on its website -- try that too. These
reports are only true to the moment of reporting, either annually or quarterly.
They do not necessarily reflect the current information (securities can be bought
and sold all the time) but they are a good indication.

ONCE YOU HAVE THE LIST OF HOLDINGS

This is the easiest part! You can simply copy and paste the list, or just upload
it as a file into www.afsc.org/investigate, and hit “scan.” This excellent re-search
tool outlines the complicity of corporations in the Israeli occupation, so
you won't have to do much further research. The report produced will highlight
all the companies of interest found on your list. It will also include companies
complicit in the prison industry in the U.S. You'll find out about the companies,
see if they're targeted for divestment and why, and find out whether investment
in them is direct or indirect (through a mutual fund), as well as how much money
is invested in each of them.

IF YOU CAN'T FIND THE LIST
OF HOLDINGS

If, like many students, you are unable to access your investments portfolio, you
can still organize an effective divestment campaign. Many successful
divestment campaigns had no access to investment portfolios, like Oberlin Divest and Loyola Di-
vest. If your university invests in any mutual funds, chances are it
is complicit in the Israeli occupation through these investments.

halls, and open forums are extremely effective as they give you the opportunity
to educate students about divestment, be transparent while dispelling miscon-
ceptions, and respond to questions other students have.

CANNASING ON CAMPUS

When you launch your campaign, your goal should be visibility. SJPs that have
done referendum style campaigns in the past have found canvassing to be es-
specially useful.

While canvassing, you always want to have several asks, from most demand-
ing to least demanding. The most demanding ask might be asking a student to
get involved with your campaign, and to attend an event or a meeting. If they tell
you that they are unable to do so, you can ask them to sign a petition, or vote
yes on the referendum ballot. If they are still unsure, you can ask them to visit
your website or provide them with different resources to look through.

Depending on school rules, students will have one or a few days to actually
vote on the referendum. It’s immensely important that you put 150% effort into
making sure that every prodivestment person goes and votes. This is true for
electoral politics in the wider world as well. One side often wins not because it has
the best argument, but because it has the best ground game on election
day. Be really diligent about making lists of students and student groups who
support you, and assigning people to contact them multiple times, making sure
they’ve voted. Get all your friends and allies to volunteer all day, and spread them out strategicaly around campus telling people to go vote. Don't take any vote
for granted, don't be afraid of bugging fellow students, think creatively and use
every avenue to make sure people are getting out there and voting.

STEP 5: UTILIZING THE MEDIA

Owning your messaging and media response is key. Develop a solid media
strategy a head of time so your perspective reaches the campus community.

- Launch website and social media campaigns, submit op-eds/press releases.
- Meet with your campus paper’s editorial board. It’s a good way to establish
Try this numerical system to quickly power map your student senate: '1' means the senator is a definite 'no' vote who is actively working against you; '2' means the senator will vote no but not do much else to oppose you; '3' means the senator is a probable abstention; '4' means a yes vote but little else; and '5' means the senator will vote yes, and actively campaign as your biggest, loudest ally. A good campaign strategy will make the '1' senators ineffective; turn the '2's' into '3's,' the '3's' into '4's,' and the '4's' into '5's.' You can also use it to map all allies and opponents, not just senators.

If taking the route of a referendum, you should still get your student government involved. Ask your allied senators to play a public role in support, and talk to neutral senators about divestment as well if the referendum doesn’t work, you may need to eventually try a resolution or even fight an anti-BDS resolution next semester! It’s always wise to keep your student government in the know.

STEP 4: REACHING OUT TO FELLOW STUDENTS

Once you’ve gone public, you need to actually get the message out across campus. Divestment wins are important, but what’s more important is that you are able to start a conversation on your campus about Palestine.

Gather petition signatures to help get the word out. The petition should have the same demands as your resolution or referendum, but will instead be a place for you to gather student, faculty, alumni and staff signatures. Not only is this a great tool to use on your divestment day, but it serves as a way to engage your campus community and educate fellow students.

Have casual conversations in your dorms, classes, dining halls, and student centers. You’d be surprised how much this can do to change the discourse on campus.

Print flyers, and pass them out! These can include information about divestment, the companies you want to divest from, or Palestine more generally.

Host teach-ins, informational events, direct actions, or demonstrations. For example, you can organize “Palestine Awareness Week” or a similar event on your campus shortly before the divestment vote. Student-led teach-ins, town-

Choosing your targets

Some SJP’s choose to target any and all unethical corporations that they know their university invests in. Others choose to focus on one corporation, like G4S or Caterpillar, for reasons listed above. This depends on who your allies are, as well as how you think you will best be able to create messaging around the campaign. Will a long list of over 15 corporations be too overwhelming? If so, you can always hone in on a few corporations that may be easier to target. For example, United Technologies supplies the engines for F-16s that are used in bombings on Gazans. However, instead of asking to divest from United Technologies, it may be more strategic to choose Lockheed Martin, the corporation that supplies the Israeli military with the F-16s themselves. Although both companies are complicit, it’s easier to focus messaging around the company that has a more direct link to the occupation. This doesn’t mean you need to exclude certain companies entirely from your resolution. Choose the corporations that best bring to light your school’s complicity in the occupation. You can also frame your campaign by targeting certain corporations that engage in harmful practices you want to raise awareness about. For example, if you want to link the prison industrial complex to the Israeli occupation, you might target G4S or HP in your campaign. If you want to talk about the apartheid wall, you can list Elbit Systems, or if you want to talk about home demolitions, you can spotlight Caterpillar. You can find more information about these companies at investigate.org/afsc.

STEP 4: RESOLUTION OR REFERENDUM?

Though passing divestment resolutions through student government has been the more popular route so far, both are useful strategies. Pick whichever you feel most comfortable with, whichever you think will be more impactful, or more successful.

RESOLUTION

The goal of this campaign is to get a resolution urging the university to divest passed through student government. This type of campaign is the most popular, presumably because it is easier to predict the end vote.
A resolution campaign is most successful when you have senators or student representatives who are allies of SJP, or at least have progressive track records. In resolution campaigns, student senators/representatives push forward the resolution, meet with other representatives, and serve as an integral part of the campaign.

Although senators will ultimately be casting the vote, the diverse voices of the general student body remain integral to a resolution-based campaign; many senators are likely to be influenced by the opinions voiced by their constituents during one-on-one meetings, op-eds to the school paper, and in speeches the night of the vote.

REFERENDUM

A referendum occurs usually through the student government election ballot, which allows the entire student body to cast their vote. Students who campaign for divestment using the referendum vote must be in communication with their student governments in advance, in order to ensure that they follow all regulations necessary in order to put divestment on the ballot. Be aware that getting it on the ballot can at times require months of work, such as collecting student signatures. That being said, the referendum is usually a more public campaign from the get-go. The moment you tell your student government representatives that you would like to petition for divestment, you can expect that word will spread to other students, administrators, and opposition. This is why it’s especially important to keep your strategy prepared beforehand. You should expect the opposition to interfere and pressure student government to adjust rules or regulations, or even lobbying groups to fly in students from across the country to canvass on your campus (we’re serious -- it’s happened before).

Many schools require a certain number of petition signatures in order to place any issue on a ballot. Because the end goal of the referendum-style campaign is to mobilize as many students as possible to vote yes, it requires an extensive level of dedication from student organizers and more active participation from coalition members and allied organizations. A divestment referendum usually entails flyering daily on campus and generally having a bigger campus presence (i.e. frequent direct actions, townhalls, forums, hosting events with allied organizations, etc).

Over the course of the next several weeks or months leading up to the vote, you and other pro-divestment students should schedule meetings with senators to explain divestment as clearly as possible and to respond to any questions your senators have. Students from outside SJP should be encouraged to meet with senators as well, since divestment is something that tends to unite students of many different backgrounds. Ask your friends in your campus MEChA chapter, for example, to explain to senators why divestment is so important to them. Sometimes it’s as simple as wanting investments to be ethical. Other times it’s more personal. It is very, very important that all senators have the opportunity to meet Palestinian students. Put them in touch with pro-divestment Jewish students as well, in case senators aren’t aware that many Jewish students also support divestment.

Keep close track of which senators have been met with, and how many times. You will likely want to meet with each senator more than once, but be careful not to be too demanding of their time.

Keep in mind the sensitivity of building relationships with student senators. You are essentially lobbying them for your vote, it’s part of any political process, but don’t forge cheap or false friendships just to win votes. Recognize that your senators are also students with a lot on their plates. Like anyone, they will not appreciate the feeling of being used or pushed around. Don’t be demanding.

Make sure to tell senators to expect a lot of anti-BDS pressure from administrators, outside Zionist groups, media and maybe even elected officials. Explain to them that this is normal (and not to be afraid, since it’s merely intimidation). Telling them to expect this beforehand will make sure they are less afraid when it happens.

Power map your student senate. You have probably already identified some senators who are likely to vote in favor of and against divestment. Perhaps you even have friends in the senate whose votes you can count on. Make a list, check it twice, and come back to it regularly as your meetings progress. Some senators might switch from obvious no’s to possible abstentions. Sometimes senators will promise votes to gain trust and get information. Others may seem cold during meetings and then surprise you by voting yes.
again here because it's that important. Your campaign announcement must include advertisements for upcoming events where students can learn more about the campaign and about Palestine. You will also want to include reputable links for further reading.

**STEP 2: ANNOUNCING THE CAMPAIGN IN A PRESS RELEASE OR OP-ED:**

Write a press release alerting the student body of your divestment campaign and post it to your website or social media site. Alert your student newspaper that you've launched the campaign and send them a link to the press release. The press release should include information on the current situation in Palestine, an overview of the companies your school invests in (or likely invests in, if this information is unobtainable), how those companies harm Palestinians, and why you've chosen divestment. Make sure it is written clearly and carefully, as everything you say and publish will be under close scrutiny by the opposition. You can always contact the Campus BDS Support team (email bdsmediahelp@gmail.com) and/or other SJP's if you need help writing a press release.

If your student newspaper opts not to publish a news article about your campaign, you can submit an op-ed to the student newspaper instead. This can be similar to your press release but will likely have to be shorter in length.

We will emphasize this one last time: make sure that both the press release and op-ed advertise for upcoming teach-ins or other events about divestment and/or Palestine. This is the best, most transparent way to get your fellow student body interested in, engaged with, and educated about Palestine.

**STEP 3: CONTACTING SENATORS**

Begin emailing student senators immediately after your press release/op-ed is published. You should include a link to the press release or oped in your email. Be courteous and respectful of their time, regardless of their politics or what slate they campaigned on.

**STEP 5: WRITING YOUR RESOLUTION**

It's important to understand that the resolution is the voice of the student government, which represents the student body. The resolution must be a document that the student government is comfortable with, as it technically becomes theirs. Your senators will read the text with a different set of concerns and from different perspectives, and you must be prepared to respond to those concerns and accommodate those perspectives. The basic point here is to get the maximum good language that can be passed by the maximum number of senators.

- **DO** look at as many samples of successful resolutions as you can from other schools; you can find links to these in the resources section in the back of this handbook
- **DO** make the writing process a joint-effort; hop on a Google Doc at the same time with your fellow committee members, or better yet, pull it up on a big screen and write it while you're all together.
- **DO** copy their language, even verbatim, wherever relevant
- **DO** consult afsc.org/investigate for up-to-date information on the companies
you've chosen, and who has divested from them in the past

• DO use proper grammar and careful wording

• DO have Palestine Legal review your resolution for any legal vulnerabilities

• DO NOT show your resolution to anyone outside your committee until it has been reviewed by Palestine Legal

SETTING YOUR BOUNDARIES

Once you have your resolution put together, you and your committee will need to decide together what language you will and won't budge on. Anticipate the opposition reading your bill under a microscope in search of flaws and errors; read through it critically, again and again, asking yourselves how each line will be read and responded to by the opposition.

Know your boundaries in advance so that when these questions come up especially the tough ones and the ones designed to divide and confuse you're already well prepared to respond to them. Some of these suggestions won't come up until the night of the vote, when senators are dissecting the bill together. It's much easier to decide on this stuff in advance than it is trying to frantically reach agreements with one another the night of the vote.

Here are some critical questions to keep in mind that have come up for other organizers in the past:

• Are you willing to remove language that the opposition claims “demonizes Israel?”

• Are you willing to include a clause that distances the resolution from BDS?

• Are you willing to include language about “positive investments”?

• Are you willing to remove any mention of Israel from the resolution, if the resolution still ultimately seeks divestment from your target corporations?

• While you may not want to accept any of the above, which, if any, could you tolerate if it meant your resolution would pass?

might be helpful to also ask the student government about previous referendum campaigns, and consult the organizers of those campaigns to double check that you are being held to the same standards as other student groups.

Because referendum campaigns require petitioning of the student body months in advance, you will need to launch your campaign much earlier than resolution campaigns. Referendum divestment campaigns are usually public as soon as students begin collecting petition signatures. Once you know how many petition signatures you need, you will need to prepare for your campaign in the same way that resolution campaigns are organized. The following steps apply to both resolution and referendum campaigns.

STEP 1: PLANNING TEACH-INS AND EVENTS TO EDUCATE THE STUDENT BODY:

This actually needs to be done before you launch, but we’re emphasizing it
understanding of the student government’s rules and regulations.

☐ You and your divestment group have a detailed game plan for how you will respond to opposition.

☐ You have identified a target date for divestment and have made a clear, detailed schedule of everything you need to get done before that date.

☐ You have several upcoming teach-ins and other events about Palestine and divestment scheduled shortly after you officially announce your campaign.

☐ You have a list of reputable resources ready and available for students and senators to look through should they ask for them (see the resources section at the end of this handbook).

☐ You know at least one person in student government who will want to help get the vote passed.

☐ You have developed a media plan and identified media spokespeople ahead of time. See section titled “utilizing the media” below.

HOW AND WHERE TO LAUNCH

Generally, if you’re going the route of a student government vote, it’s a good idea to first announce the campaign to the student body and to then contact your senators immediately after your announcement. Keep in mind that even if it’s your senators who will ultimately be voting on this resolution, educating the student body about Palestine is one of the most central reasons why we divest. Always try and consider them first before you reach out to your senators, who are there to represent you and your fellow students.

If you’ve chosen a referendum vote, most student governments allow students to submit referendum questions to be placed on their election ballot with a few procedural steps. You should consult a student government senator to learn the process. Usually, they will ask you to obtain a certain number of signatures in order to submit the referendum question.

If you don’t have allies in student government, and your campaign is still in the works, we recommend you don’t disclose that you’re working on a divestment campaign. Some schools have faced many difficulties from opposition who manipulate student government rules against SJPs liking, like creating arbitrary rules that make it more difficult to put divestment on the ballot. For this reason, it

STEP 6: WEBSITE, SOCIAL MEDIA, LOGO, SWAG

With your committee, decide which members will take charge of different aspects of the campaign, based upon your individual abilities and experience. Below are some possible positions:

- Website and social media director: A strong social media presence is necessary to gain traction and followers for your campaign. This committee member should thus be both tech and social media savvy; they can update the website easily, will check and respond to emails and messages quickly, and regularly update all social media accounts, including (but not limited to) Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram. The director must be in constant contact with the rest of the committee to update them on social media happenings.

- Divestment logo and swag director: The ideal job for the graphic artist on your committee. If no one has this experience, it might be ideal to reach out to either SJPs at other schools, or to student activists from other organiza-

Divestment Case Study #4: UCLA

Note the design differences between UCLA’s first and second divestment logos. The first (pictured left) was designed by students with very little graphic design experience (don’t worry, they’ve volunteered to have their logos serve as an example). The second was designed by a graphic artist. Needless to say, t-shirts sales were much better the second time around.
tions who are willing to help out. Having a professional looking, easily identifiable, and visually appealing logo will give your campaign more credibility, and will convince more people to purchase your swag (to fundraise for campaign-related expenses).

- T-shirts with clean, appealing graphics, in appealing colors and in a variety of sizes, will sell quickly (see case study #4 below)

- Op-Ed/Press Director: Not all of us are great writers. Choose someone who can write well, clearly, concisely, and quickly. This person will be in charge of deciding when op-eds should be written, about what, when press is necessary, and who will write what and give which interviews.

- Finance director: Self explanatory. Raise more than you spend.

CHAPTER 3
LAUNCHING THE CAMPAIGN,
AKA “GOING PUBLIC”

How do you know when you’re ready to launch? Here’s a checklist of some important details you won’t want to miss. If you checked off most of these, we’d say you’re ready to go:

☐ You have a solid group of at least 5 people who are willing to put in the hard work necessary to get this campaign off the ground and sustain it.
☐ You’ve reached out to at least 15 student organizations and have presented to them about Palestine and divestment.
☐ At least 10 student organizations are willing to endorse your resolution.
☐ You’ve kept in touch with those student orgs, are in good standing with them, and have shown them real solidarity and support for their cause (see step 4 of this chapter).
☐ Your resolution, or at least a solid draft of it, is written and ready to be shown to others.
☐ Note that this draft can and likely will change as you show it to fellow student organizations and senators and receive their feedback (see step 5 of this chapter).
☐ You’ve reached out to groups such as Campus BDS Support, Jewish Voice for Peace, Palestine Legal, as well as outside SJP’s to alert them of your campaign and have kept in touch with them for guidance, advice, and moral support.
☐ You know the process for submitting a senate resolution, and have a basic
tions who are willing to help out. Having a professional looking, easily identifiable, and visually appealing logo will give your campaign more credibility, and will convince more people to purchase your swag (to raise funds for campaign-related expenses).

- T-shirts with clean, appealing graphics, in appealing colors and in a variety of sizes, will sell quickly (see case study #4 below)

- Op-Ed/Press Director: Not all of us are great writers. Choose someone who can write well, clearly, concisely, and quickly. This person will be in charge of deciding when op-eds should be written, about what, when press is necessary, and who will write what and give which interviews.

- Finance director: Self explanatory. Raise more than you spend.

CHAPTER 3
LAUNCHING THE CAMPAIGN,
AKA “GOING PUBLIC”

How do you know when you’re ready to launch? Here’s a checklist of some important details you won’t want to miss. If you checked off most of these, we’d say you’re ready to go:

- You have a solid group of 5 people who are willing to put in the hard work necessary to get this campaign off the ground and sustain it.
- You’ve reached out to at least 15 student organizations and have presented them about Palestine and divestment.
- At least 10 student organizations are willing to endorse your resolution.
- You’ve kept in touch with those student orgs, are in good standing with them, and have shown them real solidarity and support for their cause (see step 4 of this chapter).
- Your resolution, or at least a solid draft of it, is written and ready to be shown to others.
- Note that this draft can and likely will change as you show it to fellow student organizations and senators and receive their feedback (see step 5 of this chapter).
- You’ve reached out to groups such as Campus BDS Support, Jewish Voice for Peace, Palestine Legal, as well as outside SJP’s to alert them of your campaign and have kept in touch with them for guidance, advice, and moral support.
- You know the process for submitting a senate resolution, and have a basic
understanding of the student government's rules and regulations.

☐ You and your divestment group have a detailed game plan for how you will respond to opposition.

☐ You have identified a target date for divestment and have made a clear, detailed schedule of everything you need to get done before that date.

☐ You have several upcoming teach-ins and other events about Palestine and divestment scheduled shortly after you officially announce your campaign.

☐ You have a list of reputable resources ready and available for students and senators to look through should they ask for them (see the resources section at the end of this handbook).

☐ You know at least one person in student government who will want to help get the vote passed.

☐ You have developed a media plan and identified media spokespeople ahead of time. See section titled “utilizing the media” below.

HOW AND WHERE TO LAUNCH

Generally, if you’re going the route of a student government vote, it’s a good idea to first announce the campaign to the student body and to then contact your senators immediately after your announcement. Keep in mind that even if it’s your senators who will ultimately be voting on this resolution, educating the student body about Palestine is one of the most central reasons why we divest. Always try and consider them first before you reach out to your senators, who are there to represent you and your fellow students.

If you’ve chosen a referendum vote, most student governments allow students to submit referendum questions to be placed on their election ballot with a few procedural steps. You should consult a student government senator to learn the process. Usually, they will ask you to obtain a certain number of signatures in order to submit the referendum question.

If you don’t have allies in student government, and your campaign is still in the works, we recommend you don’t disclose that you’re working on a divestment campaign. Some schools have faced many difficulties from opposition who manipulate student government rules against SJPs’ liking, like creating arbitrary rules that make it more difficult to put divestment on the ballot. For this reason, it

STEP 6: WEBSITE, SOCIAL MEDIA, LOGO, SWAG

With your committee, decide which members will take charge of different aspects of the campaign, based upon your individual abilities and experience. Below are some possible positions:

• Website and social media director: A strong social media presence is necessary to gain traction and followers for your campaign. This committee member should thus be both tech and social media savvy; they can update the website easily, will check and respond to emails and messages quickly, and regularly update all social media accounts, including (but not limited to) Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram. The director must be in constant contact with the rest of the committee to update them on social media happenings.

• Divestment logo and swag director: The ideal job for the graphic artist on your committee. If no one has this experience, it might be ideal to reach out to either SJPs at other schools, or to student activists from other organiza-

Divestment Case Study #4: UCLA

Note the design differences between UCLA’s first and second divestment logos. The first (pictured left) was designed by students with very little graphic design experience (don’t worry, they’ve volunteered to have their logos serve as an example). The second was designed by a graphic artist. Needless to say, t-shirts sales were much better the second time around.
you've chosen, and who has divested from them in the past

- DO use proper grammar and careful wording
- DO have Palestine Legal review your resolution for any legal vulnerabilities
- DO NOT show your resolution to anyone outside your committee until it has been reviewed by Palestine Legal

SETTING YOUR BOUNDARIES

Once you have your resolution put together, you and your committee will need to decide together what language you will and won't budge on. Anticipate the opposition reading your bill under a microscope in search of flaws and errors; read through it critically, again and again, asking yourselves how each line will be read and responded to by the opposition.

Know your boundaries in advance so that when these questions come up especially the tough ones and the ones designed to divide and confuse you’re already well prepared to respond to them. Some of these suggestions won’t come up until the night of the vote, when senators are dissecting the bill together. It’s much easier to decide on this stuff in advance than it is trying to frantically reach agreements with one another the night of the vote.

Here are some critical questions to keep in mind that have come up for other organizers in the past:

- Are you willing to remove language that the opposition claims “demonizes Israel”?
- Are you willing to include a clause that distances the resolution from BDS?
- Are you willing to include language about “positive investments”?
- Are you willing to remove any mention of Israel from the resolution, if the resolution still ultimately seeks divestment from your target corporations?
- While you may not want to accept any of the above, which, if any, could you tolerate if it meant your resolution would pass?

might be helpful to also ask the student government about previous referendum campaigns, and consult the organizers of those campaigns to double check that you are being held to the same standards as other student groups.

Because referendum campaigns require petitioning of the student body months in advance, you will need to launch your campaign much earlier than resolution campaigns. Referendum divestment campaigns are usually public as soon as students begin collecting petition signatures. Once you know how many petition signatures you need, you will need to prepare for your campaign in the same way that resolution campaigns are organized. The following steps apply to both resolution and referendum campaigns.

**STEP 1: PLANNING TEACH-INS AND EVENTS TO EDUCATE THE STUDENT BODY:**

This actually needs to be done before you launch, but we’re emphasizing it
again here because it’s that important. Your campaign announcement must include advertisements for upcoming events where students can learn more about the campaign and about Palestine. You will also want to include reputable links for further reading.

**STEP 2: ANNOUNCING THE CAMPAIGN IN A PRESS RELEASE OR OP-ED:**

Write a press release alerting the student body of your divestment campaign and post it to your website or social media site. Alert your student newspaper that you’ve launched the campaign and send them a link to the press release. The press release should include information on the current situation in Palestine, an overview of the companies your school invests in (or likely invests in, if this information is unobtainable), how those companies harm Palestinians, and why you’ve chosen divestment. Make sure it is written clearly and carefully, as everything you say and publish will be under close scrutiny by the opposition. You can always contact the Campus BDS Support team (email bdsmediahelp@gmail.com) and/or other SJP if you need help writing a press release.

If your student newspaper opts not to publish a news article about your campaign, you can submit an op-ed to the student newspaper instead. This can be similar to your press release but will likely have to be shorter in length.

We will emphasize this one last time: make sure that both the press release and op-ed advertise for upcoming teach-ins or other events about divestment and/or Palestine. This is the best, most transparent way to get your fellow student body interested in, engaged with, and educated about Palestine.

**STEP 3: CONTACTING SENATORS**

Begin emailing student senators immediately after your press release/op-ed is published. You should include a link to the press release or oped in your email. Be courteous and respectful of their time, regardless of their politics or what slate they campaigned on.

**STEP 5: WRITING YOUR RESOLUTION**

It’s important to understand that the resolution is the voice of the student government, which represents the student body. The resolution must be a document that the student government is comfortable with, as it technically becomes theirs. Your senators will read the text with a different set of concerns and from different perspectives, and you must be prepared to respond to those concerns and accommodate those perspectives. The basic point here is to get the maximum good language that can be passed by the maximum number of senators.

- **DO** look at as many samples of successful resolutions as you can from other schools; you can find links to these in the resources section in the back of this handbook
- **DO** make the writing process a joint-effort; hop on a Google Doc at the same time with your fellow committee members, or better yet, pull it up on a big screen and write it while you’re all together.
- **DO** copy their language, even verbatim, wherever relevant
- **DO** consult afsc.org/investigate for up-to-date information on the companies

*SJP UCLA working on their divestment resolution together. (2014)*
A resolution campaign is most successful when you have senators or student representatives who are allies of SJP, or at least have progressive track records. In resolution campaigns, student senators/representatives push forward the resolution, meet with other representatives, and serve as an integral part of the campaign.

Although senators will ultimately be casting the vote, the diverse voices of the general student body remain integral to a resolution-based campaign; many senators are likely to be influenced by the opinions voiced by their constituents during one-on-one meetings, in op-eds to the school paper, and in speeches the night of the vote.

REFERENDUM

A referendum occurs usually through the student government election ballot, which allows the entire student body to cast their vote. Students who campaign for divestment using the referendum vote must be in communication with their student governments in advance, in order to ensure that they follow all regulations necessary in order to put divestment on the ballot. Be aware that getting it on the ballot can at times require months of work, such as collecting student signatures. That being said, the referendum is usually a more public campaign from the get-go. The moment you tell your student government representatives that you would like to petition for divestment, you can expect that word will spread to other students, administrators, and opposition. This is why it’s especially important to keep your strategy prepared beforehand. You should expect the opposition to interfere and pressure student government to adjust rules or regulations, or even lobbying groups to fly in students from across the country to canvass on your campus (we’re serious -- it’s happened before).

Many schools require a certain number of petition signatures in order to place any issue on a ballot. Because the end goal of the referendum-style campaign is to mobilize as many students as possible to vote yes, it requires an extensive level of dedication from student organizers and more active participation from coalition members and allied organizations. A divestment referendum usually entails flyering daily on campus and generally having a bigger campus presence (i.e. frequent direct actions, townhalls, forums, hosting events with allied organizations, etc).

Over the course of the next several weeks or months leading up to the vote, you and other pro-divestment students should schedule meetings with senators to explain divestment as clearly as possible and to respond to any questions your senators have. Students from outside SJP should be encouraged to meet with senators as well, since divestment is something that tends to unite students of many different backgrounds. Ask your friends in your campus MEChA chapter, for example, to explain to senators why divestment is so important to them. Sometimes it’s as simple as wanting investments to be ethical. Other times it’s more personal. It is very, very important that all senators have the opportunity to meet Palestinian students. Put them in touch with pro-divestment Jewish students as well, in case senators aren’t aware that many Jewish students also support divestment.

Keep close track of which senators have been met with, and how many times. You will likely want to meet with each senator more than once, but be careful not to be too demanding of their time.

Keep in mind the sensitivity of building relationships with student senators. You are essentially lobbying them for your vote; it’s part of any political process, but don’t forget cheap or false friendships just to win votes. Recognize that your senators are also students and they have a lot on their plates. Like anyone, they will not appreciate the feeling of being used or pushed around. Don’t be demanding.

Make sure to tell senators to expect a lot of anti-BDS pressure from administrators, outside Zionist groups, media and maybe even elected officials. Explain to them that this is normal (and not to be afraid, since it’s merely intimidation). Telling them to expect this beforehand will make sure they are less afraid when it happens.

Power map your student senate. You have probably already identified some senators who are likely to vote in favor of and against divestment. Perhaps you even have friends in the senate whose votes you can count on. Make a list, check it twice, and come back to it regularly as your meetings progress. Some senators might switch from obvious no’s to possible abstentions. Sometimes senators will promise votes to gain trust and get information. Others may seem cold during meetings and then surprise you by voting yes.
Try this numerical system to quickly power map your student senate: ‘1’ means the senator is a definite ‘no’ vote who is actively working against you; ‘2’ means the senator will vote no but not do much else to oppose you; ‘3’ means the senator is a probable abstention; ‘4’ means a yes vote but little else; and ‘5’ means the senator will vote yes, and actively campaign as your biggest, loudest ally. A good campaign strategy will make the ‘1’ senators ineffective; turn the ‘2’s’ into ‘3’s,’ the ‘3’s’ into ‘4’s,’ and the ‘4’s’ into ‘5’s.’ You can also use it to map all allies and opponents, not just senators.

If taking the route of a referendum, you should still get your student government involved. Ask your allied senators to play a public role in support, and talk to neutral senators about divestment as well. If the referendum doesn’t work, you may need to eventually try a resolution or even fight an anti-BDS resolution next semester! It’s always wise to keep your student government in the know.

**STEP 4: REACHING OUT TO FELLOW STUDENTS**

Once you’ve gone public, you need to actually get the message out across campus. Divestment wins are important, but what’s more important is that you are able to start a conversation on your campus about Palestine.

Gather petition signatures to help get the word out. The petition should have the same demands as your resolution or referendum, but will instead be a place for you to gather student, faculty, alumni and staff signatures. Not only is this a great tool to use on your divestment day, but it serves as a way to engage your campus community and educate fellow students.

Have casual conversations in your dorms, classes, dining halls, and student centers. You’d be surprised how much this can do to change the discourse on campus.

Print flyers, and pass them out. These can include information about divestment, the companies you want to divest from, or Palestine more generally.

Host teach-ins, informational events, direct actions, or demonstrations. For example, you can organize “Palestine Awareness Week” or a similar event on your campus shortly before the divestment vote. Student-led teach-ins, town-

**Choosing your targets**

Some SJs choose to target any and all unethical corporations that they know their university invests in. Others choose to focus on one corporation, like G4S or Caterpillar, for reasons listed above. This depends on who your allies are, as well as how strong you think you will best be able to create messaging around the campaign. Will a long list of over 15 corporations be too overwhelming? If so, you can always hone in on a few corporations that may be easier to target. For example, United Technologies supplies the engines for F-16s that are used in bombings on Gazans. However, instead of asking to divest from United Technologies, it may be more strategic to choose Lockheed Martin, the corporation that supplies the Israeli military with the F-16s themselves. Although both companies are complicit, it’s easier to focus messaging around the company that has a more direct link to the occupation. This doesn’t mean you need to exclude certain companies entirely from your resolution. Choose the corporations that best bring to light your school’s complicity in the occupation. You can also frame your campaign by targeting certain corporations that engage in harmful practices you want to raise awareness about. For example, if you want to link the prison industrial complex to the Israeli occupation, you might target G4S or HP in your campaign. If you want to talk about the apartheid wall, you can list Elbit Systems, or if you want to talk about home demolitions, you can spotlight Caterpillar. You can find more information about these companies at investigate.org/afsc.

**STEP 4: RESOLUTION OR REFERENDUM?**

Though passing divestment resolutions through student government has been the more popular route so far, both are useful strategies. Pick whichever you feel most comfortable with, whichever you think will be more impactful, or more successful.

**RESOLUTION**

The goal of this campaign is to get a resolution urging the university to divest passed through student government. This type of campaign is the most popular, presumably because it is easier to predict the end vote.
regularly to the Securities Exchange Commission (SEC). The SEC keeps a public database called EDGAR -- search on EDGAR for the name of the fund or money manager firm, and look for its filings. Form 13F-HR is the full list of holdings, including the corporate names. The mutual fund might have a better, glossy “list of holdings” or “schedule of investment” report on its website -- try that too. These reports are only true to the moment of reporting, either annually or quarterly. They do not necessarily reflect the current information (securities can be bought and sold all the time) but they are a good indication.

**ONCE YOU HAVE THE LIST OF HOLDINGS**

This is the easiest part! You can simply copy and paste the list, or just upload it as a file into www.afsc.org/investigate, and hit “scan.” This excellent research tool outlines the complicity of corporations in the Israeli occupation, so you won’t have to do much further research. The report produced will highlight all the companies of interest found on your list. It will also include companies complicit in the prison industry in the U.S. You'll find out about the companies, see if they’re targeted for divestment and why, and find out whether investment in them is direct or indirect (through a mutual fund), as well as how much money is invested in each of them.

**IF YOU CAN’T FIND THE LIST OF HOLDINGS**

If, like many students, you are unable to access your investments portfolio, you can still organize an effective divestment campaign. Many successful divestment campaigns had no access to investment portfolios, like Oberlin Divest and Loyola Divest. If your university invests in any mutual funds, chances are it is complicit in the Israeli occupation through these investments.

**Divestment Case Study #3: Loyola**

Many campaigns that lacked information on their school’s investment portfolios framed their resolutions around a non-exhaustive list of corporations complicit in the occupation. For example, Loyola included the following language in their resolution in order to target any companies their school may be invested in that harmed Palestinians: “We urge the university to divest from all companies directly and knowingly complicit in ongoing human rights violations and the violations of international law as part of the Israeli occupation, such as Caterpillar, G4S, and Hewlett-Packard.”

halls, and open forums are extremely effective as they give you the opportunity to educate students about divestment, be transparent while dispelling misconceptions, and respond to questions other students have.

**CANVASSING ON CAMPUS**

When you launch your campaign, your goal should be visibility. SJPs that have done referendum style campaigns in the past have found canvassing to be especially useful.

While canvassing, you always want to have several asks, from most demanding to least demanding. The most demanding ask might be asking a student to get involved with your campaign, and to attend an event or a meeting. If they tell you that they are unable to do so, you can ask them to sign your petition, or vote yes on the referendum ballot. If they are still unsure, you can ask them to visit your website or provide them with different resources to look through.

Depending on school rules, students will have one or a few days to actually vote on the referendum. It’s immensely important that you put 150% effort into making sure that every prodivestment person goes and votes. This is true for electoral politics in the wider world as well. One side often wins not because it has the best argument, but because it has the best ground game on election day. Be really diligent about making lists of students and student groups who support you, and assigning people to contact them multiple times, making sure they’ve voted. Get all your friends and allies to volunteer all day, and spread them out strategically around campus telling people to go vote. Don’t take any vote for granted, don’t be afraid of bugging fellow students, think creatively and use every avenue to make sure people are getting out there and voting.

**STEP 5: UTILIZING THE MEDIA**

Owning your messaging and media response is key. Develop a solid media strategy at the head of time so your perspective reaches the campus community.

- Launch website and social media campaigns, submit op-eds/press releases.
- Meet with your campus paper’s editorial board. It’s a good way to establish
a positive relationship with your paper and allows them to hear about your campaign first-hand.

- Monitor media, monitor opposition, and determine when and how to respond.

- Understand the news cycle: you typically have 24-48 hours to respond to problematic coverage.

- Activate allies for support as needed.

- For ideas on media opportunities, see the resources section.

Talking points and messaging: Your words should be clear and accessible to everyone, regardless of their level of education or exposure to the issues. If you only have 140 characters or an interview soundbite to explain Zionism and decide to use the term, chances are the following will happen:

- Your audience will tune out your whole message.
- Some may decide to look up the term; you'll be stuck with Google defining Zionism.
- The opposition can more easily paint your message in an inaccurate/negative light.

How can you communicate effectively? Your message should be clear, concise, consistent, and framed positively. Can you explain yourself in a sentence or two?

- Deliver your message in the form of a problem, solution and action.
- Anchor your message. Whenever you are derailed, bridge back to your main message.
- Avoid words and phrases that are not commonly understood, such as “settler colonialism,” “Zionism, Zionist, anti-Zionist,” “occupation,” “apartheid,” “settlements,” “war crimes,” “the wall.”
- Tell a story. Stories are remembered 22 times more than facts and figures alone. Use personal and compelling stories to convey your message.

A messaging “pro tip” from our media specialists: do not reinforce the opposition’s language or messaging. Even engaging in myth-busting or negating their

**Investments / treasurer office**

Call up your school’s investments office and request to see records of your university’s investments. Better still, give the treasurer’s office a visit in person, be polite, and ask for help. Do not ask right away for lists of holdings. Keep in mind that most investments officers are aware that students from social justice-based organizations often target the school’s endowment fund, and are thus wary about granting such requests. Sometimes, a well-timed request from a student government representative, a faculty member or even a curious and courteous economics major can go a long way. You can be a student doing research, learning more about the university’s investments, or its history. An alum or even a donor may call the office, or have better access to the endowment annual reports and information.

**Other information sources**

If your university is public, you may find all of the answers you need online, or you may find the annual investment report in a glossy brochure for alumni. You may be able to ask the office for this report, reminding them that you are a student, and they might have to produce this report anyhow based on the locally applicable public records or FOIA procedure. You may even file that request for information formally.

For private schools, information is harder to obtain, but still, remember that the school’s endowment is a nonprofit. All nonprofits have public records. For all schools, public or private, you can go to the free online database GuideStar.org, register and search for your endowment’s name. There might be more than one! For each, pull out their latest tax records: Form 990. This form should include a wealth of information about the endowment, its size and asset allocation, the highest salaries on campus... and also the names of the biggest contractors, which must include the money managers! Yes! You have hit the jackpot!

If you’re still stuck, ask for assistance! Call fellow SJPs at other schools for help, get in touch with students and faculty who might be more knowledgeable, or contact AFSC’s research support at investigate@afsc.org.

Once you know about your university’s money managers or its mutual funds, you can find everything else you need. All mutual funds are required to report
Depending on how big your school is, your endowment fund will also vary in size. Universities like Harvard or Yale might have an endowment fund of several billion dollars, while your small private university may only have an endowment fund of less than 20 million dollars. The endowment fund is also often seen as a way for administrations to rank themselves with prestige.

"WHERE DO WE EVEN START?"

Ethical investments policy:

Public or private, determine whether your university has a “Socially Responsible Investments” policy, otherwise known as an SRI. University policies vary when it comes to ethical investing. Some universities have SRIs, shareholder advocacy commitments, or no ethical investing policies at all. Find out everything you can about how your university handles its investments: what are the names of its committees, who sits on them, and who makes what decisions about investment are all important details to know.

Check to see if your university has any history of divestment: did it divest from South African Apartheid? Sudan? Fossil Fuel? Tobacco? Can you ask supportive faculty members or alumni who were around for prior divestment campaigns to tell you what they remember? What were their challenges? How did they manage to pass their resolutions? Collect their stories.

Does your university subscribe to any ethical language about investment, or about its role in the world and in the community? Collect everything that you find. It could be useful for your campaign. If your university has an SRI policy, or a history of divestment from unethical companies, this is great news for you: the messaging strategy for your campaign can be centered around getting your university to act in accordance with its own SRI policy. If your university does not have an SRI policy, then your campaign can be part of an effort to push your school to adopt one! You can do this by forming a wider coalition of students with various ethical concerns, asking the university to start behaving like an ethical institution, and to use ethical considerations in its investments. See the example of Stanford’s cross-coalition based divestment campaign in this chapter for more ideas.

message can reinforce it. Focus on always pivoting back to your key messages.

Agree on your campaign’s key messages beforehand. You should have 2-3 key messages you want to hit on during every debate, media interviews or Q&A. Know these messages. They should be simple so you can explain them in a sentence or two. It may also be useful to include an action or ask in your message (in this case, the action/ask is divestment).

• Message 1: As students, we care about our university’s impact on the world. Our campus funds are invested on behalf of the entire campus community, and we have a right to demand that our funds be invested in socially responsible ways.

• Message 2, short version: We are currently invested in corporations that profit from human rights abuses including home demolitions, the use of military arms against civilians, and denial of freedom of movement and access to education.

Coverage of UC Riverside’s divestment campaign in the student newspaper
- Message 2, long version: We are currently invested in corporations that profit from human rights abuses including Caterpillar, which supplies bulldozers to destroy Palestinian homes and olive groves; HP, which provides service to checkpoints that are denying Palestinians basic freedom of movement and access to education; and Raytheon, a military arms company that sells missiles and cluster bombs used against Palestinian civilians.

- Message 3: Students for Justice in Palestine, along with 15 other endorsing campus organizations, call on our university to divest from these corporations so that we are no longer complicit in the suffering of others. Divestment is a time-honored social justice tactic, and allows us to use our institutional influence to enrich, rather than harm life.

Practice responding to interview questions with your SJP. Practice how to respond if a conversation is derailed, how to use tactics like bridging to pivot back to your key messages.

Stay calm and confident. Remember that you are in control of the interview, you have control over how you respond. Do not be afraid to repeat your key messages or to bridge away from questions that have nothing to do with the campaign or your key messages.

If the coverage is inaccurate, email the reporter right away and request a clarification or correction. If the reporter doesn't respond, email their editor. You can also follow up with a letter to the editor. You usually have 24-72 hours to make these corrections.

**Interview tricks and tactics:**

- **Flagging:** Use “flags” to signal something the audience should hear/remember with phrases like “The key issue is…” or “The important thing to remember is…”
- **Bridging:** Use the question as a bridge to what you want to say when a question diverts you from your message.
- **Multi-part questions:** You choose which part/question you want to answer.
- **Confusing questions:** You decide what they mean.
- An interviewer is “baiting” you: don’t bite. Remain calm and stay on message. You’re in control, you are the news source.

Endowments are usually invested in different types of investments, including mutual funds and direct investment in stocks and bonds.

**Student Government:** A governing body made up of representatives, elected by students. Student Governments are tasked with representing the student body, and pass resolutions related to concerns of the students. The Student Government generally does not have decision-making power within the university’s operations, but can make a difference by passing resolutions urging the university to act.

**Board of Trustees:** The board of trustees or managers and your university president are ultimately responsible for the endowment and how it is invested. Generally, they in turn appoint an investment committee that determines an investment strategy for the endowment and appoints an investment officer to carry it out. The investment officer then hires fund managers who select investments, move money, and report back to the school.

**Shareholder advocacy:** Some institutions make direct investments in corporations and then use their voting rights as shareholders to try to influence corporate policies (like asking that those companies divest themselves from the Israeli occupation). Most of our central divestment targets have already rejected shareholder advocacy attempts and are knowingly choosing to continue to engage in harmful practices.

**WHAT IS AN ENDOWMENT FUND?**

An endowment fund receives donations for the university’s use. Universities use the endowment fund as anyone would use a savings account; similar to a savings account, the money in your university’s endowment fund is built up slowly through different investments. It’s important to know that the tuition you pay does not directly go into your school’s endowment fund, but into a general operating account that the school uses regularly to cover their expenses. The endowment fund and the operating account have distinct purposes, and must be treated differently. A university’s endowment is built up with donations from alumni and other donors. This pool of money can be used by the university to invest in corporations and mutual funds in order to generate returns. Most of the returns come back into the endowment fund.
Show true solidarity. Ideally, your SJP will have already been building relationships with other student groups long before you actually launch divestment. Still, it's never too late to start building community and show your support -- go to their events, sign their petitions, like their Facebook posts, and stay connected with them. Keep in mind that solidarity is always a two-way street. You can't ask students with their own struggles to come out and support yours if you aren't there to back them up as well. True solidarity means that your SJP members are regularly showing up for allied organizations' events, not because you want them to support your divestment campaign, but because you support their organizations' missions and all peoples' struggles for liberation.

STEP 3: RESEARCHING UNIVERSITY INVESTMENTS

It might be a bit intimidating when you're first stepping out to do research on your university's investments. After all, we are student organizers, not money managers or experts on investments. Below we outline the techniques that students have used to research their schools' investments.

GLOSSARY OF KEY TERMS:

You may run into various unfamiliar terms related to investments, divestment, and socially responsible investing. Below we provide some simplified definitions of the most common terms.

**Investment**: An asset or item that is purchased with the hope that it will generate income or become more valuable in the future. Universities hold various types of investments -- stocks, bonds, etc. -- through an endowment fund.

**Socially Responsible Investing Policy (SRI) or Environmental, Social, Governance (ESG)**: SRI/ESG is an approach that aims to balance ethical and fiduciary concerns, and seeks to achieve a trade-off between social and financial benefits. This means that the university is claiming to value ethical investing while still maintaining their income.

**Mutual Funds**: A mutual fund is a collection of stocks and/or bonds bought with the funds from many investors. A mutual fund manager buys and sells these securities together, co-mingling the monies from different investors. University en-

CHAPTER 4
DIVESTMENT DAY

The big day has finally arrived. You're got this. And remember that even if the vote doesn't pass, YOU'VE ALREADY WON! But here are some useful tips (that you should read before divestment day) to help you prepare for one of the most memorable days of your life thus far.

ORGANIZE PUBLIC COMMENTS

You will want to make sure public commenters have some guidelines in advance and know what to say to be effective. Be sure to explain to commentators how to not get derailed.

Off-campus community groups (if allowed in the night of the vote) can be useful allies in giving public testimony in student government, canvassing campus the day of the referendum vote, writing letters of support, etc. Local JVP chapters can help.

Identify and get comfortable with three key/main messages -- the central points you want students/the media to understand about the campaign. These 3 points will serve as your anchor, and you should always pivot back to them in any debate or conversation so you don't get derailed.
**TALKING POINTS**

Several weeks ahead of the vote, you and the crew should get busy organizing talking points for what will inevitably be an hours-long debate. There will be many pro-divestment students or even voting senators who will want to help get the resolution passed, but won't know what to say.

To make sure the debate stays in your favor and doesn't get derailed, start a Google Doc you can collectively work on. Come up with 2-3 key messages and supporting talking points that you can reference the night of the vote.

Keep all talking points positive and refrain from getting defensive, or addressing opposition complaints. When necessary to do so, keep the response short and pivot back to one of your key messages.

**FOR YOUR TRUSTED SENATORS:**

Your trusted pro-divestment senators will be the most critical players the night of the vote. They must be thoroughly prepared ahead of time to respond to any anti-divestment talking points that come their way, as well as any procedural hurdles that may come the night of the vote, such as a senator proposing...
Divestment Case Study 2 - Stanford

Stanford is one example of a successful cross-coalition divestment committee. As Kenneth Tea, SJP Stanford activist, explains, “We purposely sought to build a progressive coalition because we believed it was important to educate our campus on the systemic nature of oppression and because by doing so, we could get larger numbers of people organizing.” Stanford activists thus targeted companies like G4S, which is complicit in mass incarceration on a global scale, not just in Palestine. The Stanford Divestment Committee had representation from about 20 student organizations. They held 2-3 hour meetings once a week, where students took turns facilitating. They had a horizontal (non-hierarchical) leadership structure, composed of several working groups, including ones devoted to canvassing, programming, finance, lobbying, and resolution drafting.

Build trust, solidarity, friendship, reliability, and commitment. As a student leader, it is your job to make sure the environment is welcoming to other students, and that the meetings do not become all about you and your opinions. Remember that new people have good ideas too. Keep in mind that the more tasks you give out to others without taking into account their opinions, the less commitment you’ll get. Don’t dole out tasks; make decisions together.

Rotate meeting leadership. Lead the first meeting, then ask another attendee to lead the next one, and take turns every week amongst all of you. Students will only participate if they feel like they are valuable contributors. Often, they need to be helped to feel that way. Meeting leaders should be in charge of putting together the agenda (which you all can collaborate on), facilitating the meetings, choosing a note-taker, and sending out reminders when that week’s tasks need to be completed. Don’t worry if you feel like you don’t know how to lead -- divestment can be a wonderful way of making leaders out of everyone (you’ll figure it out as you go along).

need to meet more than once in a given week. Send out doodle polls or take votes during your first meeting to find out when to schedule them regularly. Incentives for coming, like snacks, music to listen to while you work, and the opportunity to make friends work wonders for creating excellent working relationships as well as lasting bonds between organizers.

to add or remove something from the resolution. Your allied senators must know how to react in each scenario. Making sure they are fully prepared falls on the shoulders of you and your crew.

- Schedule a strategizing meeting with all of your pro-divestment senators present at once. Come up with a plan together for the night of. Discuss possible strategies that anti-divestment students and senators could take, and what your responses will be. Establish a method of communication with your senators: usually they will have their laptops open during the debate, and you may all want to create a group chat together.

- Give these senators access to a Google Doc that has a list of every anti-divestment talking point imaginable and what they can say in response. Ask them to read through it ahead of time, and to also keep it open the night of the vote. Do not print these out on paper. They are NOT for public distribution.

FOR OTHER STUDENTS

Schedule a series of work parties the weeks before the vote. Invite your trusted allies from other student organizations. Make sure that every attendee can be vouched for by someone you trust. At these work parties, students who want to speak the night of divestment can work on their speeches with the help of others. Make it a point to tell everyone how important it is to focus on the positive.

STAYING ON THE OFFENSE (AND ACCENTUATING THE POSITIVE)

What do we mean by this? And why is it so important? Try and envision the day of the vote. Imagine that hundreds of students show up to speak for and against it. Now imagine that those who are speaking in favor of divestment are spending all of their time responding to the attacks made by those against it. What’s missing here? Well, the whole point of your campaign is missing -- these attacks are designed specifically to derail the conversation from what’s really at stake.

“Palestinians are terrorists.” “SJP is connected to Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood” (lol). “Supporting BDS is anti-Semitic.” “BDS seeks to destroy Israel”... You know, the usual.
We'd wager that most people -- including anti-divestment folks, and your senators -- know that these allegations are false. So then why do these attacks often work? Well, they're fear tactics, and they work because nobody wants to be accused of terrorism or of anti-Semitism, so we get caught up trying to explain why such allegations are wrong. And what happens to the discussion about Caterpillar destroying Palestinian homes? Or Hewlett-Packard categorizing the biological data of Palestinians for the use of the occupying power? Can you guess?

Keep the conversation on point. Don't let any of your speakers waste their breath talking about why it's racist to call Palestinians terrorists. Everyone knows it is. All of your senators should have heard from you earlier -- in one-on-one meetings -- what's wrong with the allegations of terrorism and anti-Semitism. Spend the evening focused on the resolution. Ask your senators whether or not they want to remain invested in corporations that oppress and kill people, Yes, what's at stake actually is that simple.

**ANTICIPATING BACKLASH**

Students around the country are facing obstacles and experiencing backlash from Israel advocacy groups and universities intent on censoring, shutting down, or undermining student speech activities. It's important to understand your legal rights and responsibilities, and to be prepared for potential backlash to your activism. Check out the Palestine Legal and the Center for Constitutional Rights report, The Palestine Exception to Free Speech: A Movement Under Attack in the US, to learn about the common tactics used to suppress speech for Palestinian rights, and to read about previous cases of suppression.

Here are some quick tips to help you prepare for and navigate backlash, adapted from Palestine Legal's Student Handbook.

- Talk to your administrators. As you begin organizing, build relationships with

  SJP-based (i.e. the campaign is planned and organized primarily by your campus SJP/Palestine solidarity org) or cross-coalition (i.e. students from various student organizations plan and organize the campaign together. Cross-group coalitions require everyone to have an equal stake in shaping the campaign's fundamental demands).

**ESTABLISHING AN SJP-LED OR CROSS-COALITION DIVESTMENT COMMITTEE**

**Snowball** Perhaps you already have a handful of fellow student activists you can rely on. Schedule an initial divestment meeting (or maybe a party?) and ask each of these student activists to invite at least two other committed students. Students need not be completely knowledgeable about Palestine -- at UCLA, some of the best organizers were people we met through friends who were "down with the cause" but pretty clueless otherwise about the inner workings of BDS. They learned very quickly, and these meetings are a great place to get educated. If you want a cross-coalition committee, reach out to other student orgs to invite them to your next meeting or party. Since you'll likely want to keep divestment under wraps for now, the best way to do this is to go through mutual friends. Who from these orgs do you know and trust? Be aware that divestment meetings will often need to be closed to trusted members only -- always make sure that all participants can be vouched for by someone else.

**Schedule regular meetings.** Set up a regular meeting time. Meetings should be once a week, every week; as the divestment date nears, you will sometimes

--

Student from an allied organization of UCLA Divest participating in a photo campaign
CHAPTER 2
PLANNING AND RESEARCHING YOUR CAMPAIGN

Taking the time to plan carefully and do your research in the months before the vote will ensure your campaign is successful, no matter the senate or student body decision. You should expect this phase of organizing to last at least a few months. Take this time to build a solid divestment committee, to do your research, to make allies, to educate yourselves, and to educate others about Palestine and BDS. Below we provide 7 steps you should take before officially launching your campaign. Note that they are written in some kind of logical order: for example, you’ll likely want to make sure you’ve got a solid committee together (step 1) before you do the work of solidarity-building (step 2), researching (step 3), or making big decisions about your campaign (step 4). Figure out these details before publicly launching your campaign.

STEP 1: ORGANIZING A DIVESTMENT COMMITTEE

Divestment is only successful with the help and solidarity of other people. Don’t skip this aspect. How many reliable fellow organizers do you know you can count on? You want to start with a solid group of people -- say five, at the very minimum -- who are aware of and ready for the work that will take you from the initial stages of planning and researching all the way through to divestment. One way to do this is to create an official divestment committee that meets regularly and stays in constant contact with each other. These committees can be both
CHAPTER 5
POST VOTE

IF THE VOTE PASSED

Celebrate your success, but keep moving. Dozens of universities have passed divestment resolutions or referendums, but we know from history that it takes many years to get universities to implement divestment (it took decades during the anti-apartheid movement). The vote is often the first day that many pro-Israel organizations start paying attention. That's when they start their agita-

Students often cite a powerful and intimidating opposition as a primary obstacle to divestment on their campuses. In fact, some of the most influential divestment resolutions and impressive wins have happened on campuses with the most intense opposition and pro-Israel student biases. Often times, intense opposition is indicative of the effectiveness of your organizing. It is important to prepare painstakingly for the opposition you may face during your campaign. We'll give you the nuts and bolts of campaign preparation in Chapter 2.

SJP Northwestern celebrating their win after a long divestment hearing.
keep in mind that it is your responsibility to make leaders out of others. This is not done by delegating tasks to them, but by trusting them to make important decisions -- by letting go of your ego. Maybe you wanted red shirts, but everyone else wants black. Take votes. On everything. Don’t run every single meeting -- take turns with each other every week. You’ll end up with less resentment, more unity and solidarity, and best of all, an environment that encourages collaboration, creativity, and brilliance. Perhaps best of all, everyone will feel appreciated.

Remember that divestment is about Palestine, and not about you. That may sound obvious enough, but too commonly, a few students willingly become the face of divestment, volunteering to do every school paper (or local news) interview, or to write every op-ed. Avoid this. Push others who claim they’re too shy to do interviews. We know you know this, but it’s a worthwhile reminder: divestment is a movement that is necessarily made up of as many people as possible. Giving a single face to divestment undermines its strength as a widely supported, diverse and intersectional student movement.

"BUT WE'RE NOT READY TO DIVEST!"

Many times, students on campuses feel as though they are not “ready to divest,” which usually means that they feel unprepared or too small of a collective to launch a divestment campaign. The truth is that most campus groups that have now successfully passed divestment resolutions started out with the same uncertainty. Many divestment campaigns begin with a few dedicated organizers, only to expand to larger memberships and coalitions throughout the process. Divestment should never be too intimidating to try; it is a campaign that all students are capable of carrying out.

tion, so it’s necessary for us to keep up our energy up after the vote. Here are some things you should do after the vote:

Be prepared for the possibility of a veto. Meet with your president one on one, and reassure them about the vote. If they are on the verge of vetoing the resolution, think about how they are feeling and frame your conversation around an understanding of that. For example, presidents of student governments that have passed divestment often face intense heat from outside lobby groups or pro-Israel students on campus. Some even have been threatened and told they will never get a job outside of college if they sign this resolution. If this is something your president is worried about, reassure them that this is definitely not the case, and that they will be celebrated by a growing community of socially conscious people.

Send an email to your senators letting them know that there will be backlash from the opposition, but that they did the right thing, and that your communities will do everything to protect and support them. Make yourselves available to your senators. It’s important that they feel as confident as possible in the vote and in the cause. There have been situations where senators move to do a re-vote because of the intensity of the opposition they faced from outside lobby groups or pro-Israel students on campus.

Write a press release about your victory and what it means. Make sure you send your press release to Campus BDS Support if you would like feedback or have any questions. It’s best to send press releases to media outlets early in the morning, between Monday and Thursday.

IF THE VOTE DIDN'T PASS

First of all, remember that you didn’t fail! The conversation you started on campus is so necessary for the success of our movement. It’s normal to feel down or to have regrets in the event your resolution didn’t pass. Be careful though, as these feelings can demotivate your group and debilitate your campaign, if they aren’t channeled in a healthy way. It’s important to keep morale up, and to continue to support the members of your coalition.
While there's still a lot to do, we should never forget to prioritize loving and supporting each other. Divestment, as you probably know by now, is stressful and emotional -- especially on the day of the vote. Take care of each other, and especially look after your fellow Palestinian students. Here are some things to do directly after the vote to help process.

Host a community circle or discussion shortly after the vote, in order to let students decompress amongst trusted community members. Let people talk about their experiences, and center Palestinians and the organizers of your campaign. This is critical for maintaining and strengthening your sense of community after the vote.

Debrief, debrief, debrief. We can't stress this enough. It's so crucial for you to have an understanding of what went well, what didn't and how you can improve as organizers. It's also important for the sake of institutional memory.

Write a press release about your loss. It's important that the broader campus community knows what a divestment loss means, and what you plan to do next.

RE-LAUNCHING YOUR CAMPAIGN

After you "lose" the divestment vote, it's important to keep the momentum up. If you decide to relaunch, you will need the energy of the first vote in order to keep going. Chances are, you'll even have new members who saw the impact of your divestment campaign! The second time around, you want to make sure you're ready. It's important to go through your checklist again, but this time, strengthen the areas that may have impacted the vote.

For example, if you weren't able to get any organizations to endorse the resolution, or very few. You might want to take the next couple of months to reach out to organizations to build those intentional relationships. Or maybe you had more than 40 organizations endorse the resolution, but they weren't invested in the campaign or didn't attend your hearings to support. You might want to reach out to them and ask them for tangible support. Maybe they didn't support because you didn't show much interest in their organization's missions, and it was a one-sided relationship. You see? There's so much to consider! Only you know your strengths and weaknesses as a group.

Class

Maybe you've never had to worry much about where your next meal is coming from. But there's a good chance that some of the people you organize with do; many students receive no financial support whatsoever from their families. As a rule of thumb, don't exclude these students by scheduling too many meetings at restaurants or by requiring members to chip in financially for divestment swag or food for meetings; this should be paid for by money you raise together. And be considerate of fellow organizers' work schedules! Many are full-time students struggling to make ends meet and are still making time to organize for Palestine. Thank them for showing up when they can; don't judge them when they can't.

Gender

It happens before you know it, often without intention, but it happens time and time again: women and non-binary folks do the behind-the-scenes work while men become the face of the campaign. Watch out for it. If you see it, reverse it. Do women or non-binary individuals (or anyone else for that matter) attend your organizing meetings without saying much of anything? Are they being given tasks without being asked for their opinions? Be certain to include them equally. Honor the talent of the women and non-binary folks in your group by encouraging them to do interviews, write op-eds, and speak at events. If you're a cisgender male, be aware of how much space you take up during meetings. Consider backing down when they haven't had their voices heard.

DIVESTMENT IS NOT A ONE-PERSON SHOW

We all want to be appreciated -- in fact, we could probably all work a little harder at showing more appreciation for each other (and others will remember to show it in return! It's a win-win situation). Unfortunately, egos often get in the way of organizing. If you have a leadership position in your student organization,
sive regime. The movement lasted over three decades, but thanks to the hard work of grassroots activists all over the world, apartheid eventually fell. The most critical feature of BDS is that it works.

The Palestinian call urges the international community to take part in the BDS movement until Israel meets its obligations under international law by:

1) Ending its occupation and colonization of all Arab lands occupied in June 1967 and dismantling the Wall;

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

3) Respecting, protecting and promoting the rights of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes and properties as stipulated in UN Resolution 194.

BEFORE YOU BEGIN

We know you're anxious to get started. But before you do, there are just a few things we as veteran divestment organizers want you to keep in mind.

RACE, CLASS, GENDER AND SEXUALITY IN STUDENT ORGANIZING

We highly suggest you and your fellow organizers get together to discuss these issues as a group. They'll come up; they always do, and simply saying "check your privilege" doesn't really cut it. Think through together what kinds of problems might arise and how you'll handle them together. (Notice how we keep saying "together"?) Below are some things you may want to consider... together.

Race

Race is always present in grassroots organizing (because it's always present everywhere). Be honest with each other about how these dynamics might be affecting your organizing. Are there more White students than students of color in your organization? Are the opinions of pro-divestment Jewish students valued over those of Palestinians? Are you tokenizing the struggles of Black, Native, or Latino students, instead of carefully engaging with them? We'll get into more details on this when we discuss solidarity organizing in Chapter 2.

Most of the time, you'll find that the vote was out of your control. Israel lobby groups may have interfered, or sketchy trips or jobs may have been offered to your student representatives. You still need to come back stronger when you relaunch.

WHEN TO CONTACT PALESTINE LEGAL

Have other students, Israel advocacy groups, or administrators intimidated you because of your Palestine solidarity activism? Has your right to speak out for Palestinian freedom come under attack? Do you have questions about your right to engage in BDS? Do you have legal questions about your divestment resolution?

If you're facing any kind of suppression on campus, whether it's harassment, intimidating letters from your dean, or any instance where you feel SJP is being treated unfairly or held to unreasonable standards, contact Palestine Legal. If you're unsure, don't hesitate to contact Palestine Legal to determine whether there are legal avenues to consider, and whether there is other support they can recommend.

Also, because divestment campaigns often raise some of these and other legal issues, Palestine Legal recommends that you contact them before launching your campaign to forecast, avoid, or prepare for possible challenges. Similarly, if you're planning upcoming actions or events that might elicit opposition and backlash, get some tips from Palestine Legal. A Palestine Legal attorney will walk you through the possible responses, consequences or legal troubles you may face so that you can make an informed decision about how to proceed with your event, action, or campaign.

The best way to contact Palestine Legal is through their online intake form on their website.
WHAT'S A LOSS AND WHAT'S A VICTORY?

A divestment campaign itself is the victory and a vote in favor is merely the cherry on top. All the other work we accomplish through the campaign—educating others about Palestine; building strong, progressive coalitions—make up the actual ice cream sundae. "Wins" should thus be determined by the impact that you were able to make on campus, not on the outcome of the vote. Divestment campaigns are valuable because they start a conversation about Palestine on your campus, and disrupt spaces that often exclude Palestinian and other minority voices. Your student government floors, student centers, campus quads, newspapers and libraries, and your entire university, are all places where investment in the Israeli occupation is the norm. By bringing divestment to these places, you are disrupting that norm, and challenging the idea that everything must be how it is in the status quo. You are bringing attention to the fact that the status quo is violent, and oppressive, and that we are complicit unless we act.

across campuses as a result of divestment campaigns—whether or not they pass or are implemented. Growing awareness means growing support for justice in Palestine. Our movement is just getting started, and the work we do now will be carried on by our successors. We thus understand any divestment campaign as a huge success. Congratulations, you made it!

As students, most of us have very little if any experience with things like assets and investment portfolios. Running a divestment campaign often feels intimidating when we are met by stern-faced university administrators or investment directors who seldom take interest in student concerns. Thankfully, in order to run a successful divestment campaign, all the financial expertise you really need is a basic understanding of which companies your school invests in and what they do with those investments. We'll get into the nitty-gritty of that a little bit later.

Before moving on, take note that divestment will not liberate Palestine; Palestinians will. Here in the U.S., the BDS campaign, including the student-led divestment movement, is fought to end American support for Israel’s occupation, and to support Palestinians’ own struggle for liberation. We’re using our privileges as students at American universities to support the Palestinian struggle, not to lead the way.

THE ABCs OF BDS

So where did BDS come from? In July 2005, over a hundred organizations representing Palestinian civil society came together to call upon people of conscience all over the world to play a role in the Palestinian struggle for justice. This call initiated the global Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement against Israel until it complies with international law and respects Palestinian rights.

The BDS movement finds its inspiration in the campaigns organized against the apartheid regime in South Africa. South Africans and solidarity activists around the world turned the tide against the unjust South African government, asserting that it was (and is) morally unacceptable to do business as usual with an oppres-
Ultimately, divestment puts economic pressure on corporations to stop doing business with Israel's oppressive regime. By removing multi-million dollar investments in corporations that conduct business with Israel, we exact an economic cost for Israeli violations of Palestinian human rights. Divestment is a process of changing the incentive structure around the occupation -- making it increasingly less profitable and attractive for Israel to continue the occupation. In the last 5 years, we've seen more and more companies decide to divest from the occupation. War crimes aren't good for any company's public image. Anti-BDS folks love to tell us that divestment doesn't work, but divestment -- and BDS in general -- has a proven track record of effectiveness.

"In South Africa, we could not have achieved our freedom and just peace without the help of people around the world, who through the use of non-violent means, such as boycotts and divestment, encouraged their governments and other corporate actors to reverse decades-long support for the Apartheid regime. Students played a leading role in that struggle, and I write this letter with a special indebtedness to your school, Berkeley, for its pioneering role in advocating equality in South Africa and promoting corporate ethical and social responsibility to end complicity in Apartheid."

Take it from Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who wrote this letter to Berkeley in support of its campaign to divest from Israel.

Divestment serves one other critical purpose: education. While only one university to date has taken the final step of implementing divestment from corporations out of concern for Palestinian rights, we know from history that divestment from South Africa took decades and the pace and breadth of our wins thus far was once unimaginable. And, as many Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) and divestment activists will tell you, Palestine awareness grows exponentially

RESOURCES

Please visit our Digital Appendix at www.uscpr.org/digitalappendix for access to sample resolutions, press releases, op-eds, videos, photo campaigns, infographics, etc.

INVESTMENTS

Once you have the list of investments, you can use investigate.afsc.org to research their involvements.

For any information related to complicit corporations, visit whoprofits.org

MEDIA

Example media opportunities:
- Divestment launch and campaign
- Actions and major events
- Responding to inaccurate coverage, intimidation or opposition
- Responding to positive things (intersectionality, solidarity, etc.)

Ways to respond to media opportunities:
- Press releases - announce new information, such as launch of campaign, vote.
- Types of press releases:
  1. Announcing campaign launch: unless you do not want to publicize before the vote for strategic reasons. If not, release immediately after the vote.  
  2. Announcing campaign results: prepare 2 press releases ahead of the vote, one in case of a win, and one in case of a loss. Fill in the blanks once you have the results.
- Sample press release for win and for loss.
- Template attached below.

Statements:
- Usually reactionary.
- Help provide context, background or clarification.

Op-eds:
- 600-800 words, depending on outlet. Check campus paper for examples.
- Opportunity to express your (or your group’s) perspective.

Letters to the Editor (LTEs):
- 150-200 words long, depending on the outlet.
- Opportunity to respond to published coverage.
- Submit within 48 hours of a story being published.

A full list of wins is available at http://uscpr.org/usbdsvictories.

estinian civilians. This makes Caterpillar Inc. an accomplice in Israeli war crimes, and a central target for divestment. However, take note of why we single it out: Caterpillar knowingly and continuously sells products that violate human rights; the company knowingly profits off Palestinian oppression and has rejected all shareholder and other engagement attempts. Chances are, your own university financially supports Caterpillar and its track record of human rights abuses by way of a multi-million dollar investment in Caterpillar stock. This makes your university, and yes, even you, complicit in violence against Palestinians.

**OUR TUITION, OUR RESPONSIBILITY.**
*WHERE IS OUR TUITION GOING?*

1. Student tuition is paid into the UC Treasury.
2. UC Regents invest those funds into stocks and bonds.
3. Some of these companies profit from violations of Palestinian human rights.
4. UC students become complicit in violence and are compelled to take action.

**WE CAN BREAK THIS CHAIN.**

LEARN MORE about the UC divestment campaign at http://www.ucdivest.org
GET INVOLVED with your local chapter of Students for Justice in Palestine (sfjpwest.org)
SPREAD THE WORD. Get a friend! Help grow the campus movement for Palestinian rights and ethical UC investments.

An SJP-West infographic on where your tuition money goes.

So what exactly does divestment do, then? Does it put an end to this complicity? Well, yes, but there’s more!
CHAPTER 1

CAMPUS DIVESTMENT 101

WHAT IS DIVESTMENT? WHAT DOES IT DO?

Divestment, or disinvestment, means stepping away from an investment in an institution, system or practice. Divestment can take many forms, but for our purposes as student organizers, it is the decision by an investor — such as a university — to stop investing in harmful practices or products.

Divestment has been an effective tool for various political movements. It was used to help end apartheid in South Africa as people of conscience divested from multinational corporations doing business there, and it is currently being used to demand corporate accountability to the climate crisis with divestment from companies that use fossil fuels, as well as to protest the privatization of the prison industry and the racial injustices on which it operates. In the case of Palestine solidarity activism, we are asking our universities to cease investing in companies that enable and profit from the abuse of Palestinian human rights.

We’ll get into detail on some of the target companies a bit later, but let’s briefly look at one example to get a sense of why we divest and how we choose which corporations from which we divest. Caterpillar Inc. sells the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) military bulldozers called Caterpillar Armored Cat D9s, which are specifically modified as military weapons, and designed for the systematic destruction of civilian property; these military combat bulldozers have been used for the destruction of entire neighbourhoods, the razing of farms, and the killing of Pal-
MANY THANKS TO EVERYONE THAT CONTRIBUTED AND SUPPORTED ALONG THE WAY

Leena Almasri
Anna Baltzer
Dalit Baum
Cynthia Franklin
Ben Lorber
Rahul Saksena
Rahim Kurwa
Leah Muskin-Pierret
Leila Abdelrazaq
(for the illustration on the cover)

The Campus Palestine Support Team
(American Friends Service Committee
American Muslims for Palestine,
National Students for Justice in Palestine,
Palestine Legal,
USACBI,
US Campaign for Palestinian Rights
& Jewish Voice for Peace)

And all of the students that gave input along the way

CHAPTER 1:
CAMPUS DIVESTMENT 101.........................................................4

CHAPTER 2:
PLANNING AND RESEARCHING YOUR CAMPAIGN.....................12

CHAPTER 3:
LAUNCHING THE CAMPAIGN, AKA “GOING PUBLIC”..................27

CHAPTER 4:
DIVESTMENT DAY..............................................................37

CHAPTER 5:
POST VOTE..................................................................42

RESOURCES..................................................................47
LAUNCHING A CAMPUS BDS CAMPAIGN? WANT SUPPORT?

The National Campus BDS Support Team can offer...

**DIVESTMENT & COMPANY RESEARCH:** What is your school invested in? What corporations make good divestment targets? Where can you get current information on these companies? Get help with research! Email dbaum@afsc.org or visit http://www.afsc.org/investigate

**PRESS OUTREACH:** Want help with talking to the media? Get help with talking points and press releases, access to media lists, spokesperson trainings, and more. Email bcdsmediashelp@gmail.com

**LEGAL SUPPORT:** Intimidated on campus? Free speech under attack? Need legal advice? Want your resolution reviewed for potential legal issues? Email info@palestinelegal.org or visit www.palestinelegal.org

**COMMUNITY MOBILIZATION:** Want help getting folks to attend a hearing? Looking for endorsements from the local community; U.S., Palestinian, Israeli, or other international organizations; rabbis and the Jewish community; and/or respected public figures? Email ben@jvp.org, organizer@endtheoccupation.org, and taher@ampaulestine.org

**ONLINE ACTION TECHNOLOGY:** Could you benefit from sophisticated technology to set up automatic email-writing campaigns to decision-makers or customized petitions? Email organizer@endtheoccupation.org and ben@jvp.org

**CAMPUS CONNECTIONS:** Want to learn lessons and trade strategies with other students? Email nsjp.coordinating@gmail.com, taher@ampaulestine.org, or ben@jvp.org

**ACADEMIC DEFENSE & SPEAKER’S BUREAU:** Want resources for academic boycott and academic defense organizing? Email学术防守@usacbi.org or go to www.usacbi.org/academic-defense. Interested in having a USACBI member speak at your campus? www.usacbi.org/speakers-bureau

Printed Materials and Publications on Palestine/Israel: Want materials to distribute and use for internal education? Email taher@ampaulestine.org or visit www.endtheoccupation.org

*The Campus BDS Support Team is a joint effort of the American Friends Service Committee, Jewish Voice for Peace, National Students for Justice in Palestine, Palestine Legal, American Muslims for Palestine, US Campaign for the Academic & Cultural Boycott of Israel, and US Campaign for Palestinian Rights.*
NASHIHA ALAM has a B.A. in Gender Studies from Loyola University Chicago (Class of 2016), where she was involved in SJP Loyola for four years, serving as President (2013-2014), Vice President (2014-2015) and Advisor (2015-16). She helped organize the #LoyolaDivest campaign, and as a senator, ultimately saw multiple divestment resolution wins over two years. Because of a veto by the Student Government president in 2013, the campaign was relaunched in 2014, passing again, but with an endorsement from the president. She and her SJP faced political repression from their administration, which led to a fight against SJP Loyola’s suspension, won successfully. Nashiha has also been a member of the National SJP steering committee since 2013, and helped with other campus divestment campaigns in Chicago and across the country.

AGATHA PALMA is a 5th year Ph.D. candidate of anthropology at UCLA, where she studies anti-Black racism and nationalism in Italy. She got involved with UCLA SJP her first year of graduate school, and went on to serve as BDS Director for the 2013-2014 and 2014-2015 school years. As BDS Director, Agatha oversaw both of UCLA’s divestment campaigns and also helped to successfully defeat an anti-divestment bill. After a solid year of hard work, UCLA’s Resolution to Divest from Companies Engaged in Violence Against Palestinians failed to pass in February of 2014 but won by a landslide in November of 2015. Since then, Agatha has helped to advise a number of divestment campaigns across the country, and currently serves as an advisor to SJP-UCLA’s 2016-2017 board.