

DARTMOUTH

Office of the President

May 20, 2025

Dear Advisory Committee on Investor Responsibility Members,

Thank you for your thoughtful analysis of the proposal's contents against the previously established criteria. After careful review, I accept your recommendation not to advance this proposal and, per our policy, will not forward it to the Board of Trustees.

As noted in your report, "the Dartmouth community [has] been deeply affected by events in Gaza and Israel and Dartmouth students, faculty, staff, and alumni have vigorously debated related issues in and out of classrooms and both on and off campus."

The outcome of this process in no way changes the fact that Dartmouth is committed to cultivating a community that is open to and respectful of differences in opinion—and that greets those interactions as moments to learn and grow.

Best,
Sian Beilock
President

Advisory Committee on Investor Responsibility
Response to Divestment Proposal submitted by Dartmouth Divest for Palestine

May 12, 2025

Introduction

The Advisory Committee on Investor Responsibility (hereinafter, “ACIR”) is composed of students, faculty, staff, and alumni, all of whom are drawn from the Dartmouth College community. The committee’s “Charge and Responsibilities” (hereinafter, its “Charge”) is grounded in the Dartmouth Board of Trustees’ Statement on Investment and Social Responsibility (hereinafter, the “SISR”). ACIR’s Charge is twofold: (1) “provide direction on proxy voting related to environmental, social and governance-related (‘ESG’) matters for directly held equity securities” and (2) “conduct an initial review of broader socially-driven investment matters in accordance with the SISR.”¹

On February 18, 2025, ACIR received a proposal from Dartmouth Divest for Palestine (hereinafter, the “Proposal”). This organization describes itself as a “coalition of students, alumni, faculty, staff and community members,” and its membership is not disclosed on the Proposal.² In accordance with the second element of its Charge, upon its receipt of the Proposal ACIR was required to (1) determine whether the Proposal is complete as defined later in this report and, if the Proposal were found to be complete, (2) conduct a further analysis of the Proposal’s evidence and arguments. This two-step process reflects the high bar for divestment established by the Board of Trustees.

ACIR understands and appreciates that many in the Dartmouth community have been deeply affected by events in Gaza and Israel. These events have divided campuses and communities globally, and Dartmouth students, faculty, staff, and alumni have vigorously debated related issues in and out of classrooms and both on and off campus. ACIR recognizes and respects the efforts made by Dartmouth Divest for Palestine to prepare the Proposal and appreciates the organization’s engagement in the committee’s review process.

In what follows, the report presents its findings in the form of a motion adopted by ACIR on May 12, 2025. It then provides additional details on ACIR’s membership, its Charge, and the process ACIR used to evaluate the Proposal. Finally, the report provides a rationale for its findings.

Findings

The Proposal requests that Dartmouth College divest from companies that, the Proposal asserts, “directly support Israel’s ongoing occupation of Palestine, its war crimes, its genocidal assault on Gaza, and its apartheid policies.”³ The Proposal lists six companies that the authors of the Proposal believe currently meet these conditions.

¹[Advisory Committee on Investor Responsibility](#)

²See p. 6 of the Proposal in Appendix A.

³Ibid.

These companies are as follows (listed alphabetically): BAE Systems, Boeing, L3 Harris Technologies, Lockheed Martin, Northrop Grumman, and RTX Corp.

By a vote of nine to zero, the Advisory Committee on Investor Responsibility (ACIR) at Dartmouth College finds that the divestment proposal submitted by Dartmouth Divest for Palestine and dated February 18, 2025, does not meet criteria, laid out in the Dartmouth Board of Trustees' Statement on Investment and Social Responsibility and in ACIR's charge, that must be satisfied for the proposal to undergo further review. ACIR recommends not to advance the proposal.

The Advisory Committee on Investor Responsibility

Dartmouth's Board of Trustees ultimately has sole responsibility for the College's investment matters. As described in the SISR, initially adopted by the Board on September 22, 2013, and amended on March 20, 2017,⁴ this responsibility includes assessing the extent to which Dartmouth's investments are consistent with the institution's values and mission.

The SISR provides for the creation of ACIR, whose members are appointed annually by the President and represent stakeholders across the Dartmouth community. "ACIR includes, but is not limited to, students, faculty, staff, and alumni."⁵ ACIR's membership, which consists of nine voting members and one *ex officio* member, is as follows (members listed alphabetically):

1. Leslie Butler, Professor of History
2. Sarah Harebo, Vice President for Equal Opportunity, Accessibility and Title IX
3. Michael C. Herron, William Clinton Story Remsen 1943 Professor of Quantitative Social Science
4. Josh Keniston, Senior Vice President for Operations (Chair)
5. Jonathan Lewellen, Carl E. and Catherine M. Heidt Professor of Finance, Tuck School of Business
6. Jason Luo, Dartmouth Class of 2025
7. Jordan H. O'Regan, Director, Legal and Compliance Services, Investment Office, *ex officio* (Executive administrator)
8. Dune Thorne, Alumna, Class of 1998
9. Ricardo Torres-Garzon, Tuck School of Business Class of 2026
10. Sophie Xu, Dartmouth Class of 2027

In an extraordinary circumstance when ACIR is asked to evaluate a divestment proposal, the committee's Charge states that the committee shall review proposals for divestment "if and only if the ACIR determines in writing that each proposal meets the following requirements:

⁴<https://trustees.dartmouth.edu/governance/governing-documents-policies/statement-investment-and-social-responsibility-issues>

⁵*Ibid.*

- i. The proposal must describe in writing, with appropriate documentation, how the criteria for the extraordinary action of divestment outlined in the SISR are met.
- ii. The proposal must describe in writing, with appropriate documentation, concrete and detailed evidence of how the Dartmouth community, including students, faculty, staff, and alumni, has come to consensus to support the proposal.”⁶

The divestment criteria in the SISR (point i, above) are fourfold. In conjunction with a distinct community consensus criterion (point ii, above), there are a total of five criteria that a divestment proposal must satisfy for ACIR to conduct a review of the proposal’s evidence and arguments. For the purposes of this report, a divestment proposal is said to be *complete* if and only if it satisfies these five criteria.

The process used by ACIR to evaluate the Proposal

Before meeting to deliberate as to whether the criteria in the SISR and in ACIR’s Charge were satisfied by the Proposal, ACIR members responded to a series of questions prepared by the Office of General Counsel (hereinafter, “OGC”) designed to identify perceived or actual conflicts of interest. The committee’s members discussed the responses to these questions and determined that no conflicts were present that required recusal. Upon completion of a full draft of this report, ACIR requested that OGC review the procedures it followed in drafting the report to ensure compliance with procedures specified in the SISR and in ACIR’s Charge.

ACIR met ten times to discuss the Proposal. During its meetings, ACIR spent time clarifying the five criteria associated with completeness and assessing whether the Proposal satisfies them.

As described in the Findings section above, ACIR finds that the Proposal is not complete. Had ACIR found otherwise, it would have engaged in a process of additional research and deliberation on the evidence and arguments contained in the Proposal and would have prepared a report for the President along with a recommendation. According to ACIR’s Charge, the President shall refer ACIR’s recommendations on a divestment proposal to the Board of Trustees if the President determines that action is warranted.⁷

Assessing whether the Proposal meets the five criteria for completeness

This section of the report describes how ACIR understands the five criteria that must be met for a divestment proposal to be considered complete, and it explains ACIR’s rationale regarding the extent to which the Proposal meets them.

⁶https://www.dartmouth.edu/investments/environmental_social_governance/advisory_committee.php

⁷“Recommendations from ACIR [on its evaluation of divestment proposals]... shall be referred to the Board of Trustees if the President determines that action is warranted.” See note 1.

Criterion 1: “A company's actions or inactions are clearly inconsistent with Dartmouth's history, its values, or mission.”⁸

To address Criterion 1, the Proposal should contain the following elements: (1) a discussion of the aspects of Dartmouth’s history, values, and/or mission implicated by the Proposal’s divestment request and (2) rebuttals to counterarguments that company actions are consistent with Dartmouth’s history, values and/or mission.

The Proposal provides a review of how Israeli government actions might be viewed, in the authors’ assessment, as inconsistent with Dartmouth’s values and mission and how the context of the Proposal is comparable to contexts surrounding previous divestment cases. The Proposal also argues that the six companies it identifies support the Israeli government by supplying missiles, bombs, vehicles, aircraft, and munitions. The Proposal does not engage sufficiently with counterarguments asserting that Israeli government actions are consistent with Dartmouth’s history, values, and/or its mission.

ACIR finds that the Proposal makes a reasonable effort to provide information that could satisfy Criterion 1. However, given the lack of engagement with counterarguments, ACIR finds that the Proposal only partially meets this criterion.

Criterion 2. “All practicable shareholder rights have been exhausted in seeking to modify the company's behavior, or it has been determined that pursuing such rights would likely be futile; and, the company has been afforded the maximum reasonable opportunity to alter its behavior and failed to do so in a manner that materially reduces such injury.”⁹

For the Proposal to satisfy Criterion 2 regarding a given company, it should include (1) documented evidence of sustained efforts to modify the company’s behavior such as letters to company management, media campaigns, or attempted engagement with major shareholders; (2) a detailed accounting of shareholder proposals related to the issues in the proposal that have been voted on by shareholders in recent years; and (3) a discussion of how the company’s board responded to such proposals. Much of this information is publicly available on company websites or through filings at the United States Securities and Exchange Commission. Demonstrating that efforts to change a company’s behavior are likely futile requires evidence that letters, media campaigns, and similar approaches have not been successful in changing a company’s behavior or an analysis of the political or business conditions that together render efforts to change a company’s behavior futile.

The Proposal argues that the six companies identified in it are “so dependent on the manufacture and sales of weapons and other machinery of war that pursuing shareholder activism as a means of modifying their practices has historically been resoundingly unsuccessful,”¹⁰ and it offers two examples of unsuccessful public

⁸<https://trustees.dartmouth.edu/governance/governing-documents-policies/statement-investment-and-social-responsibility-issues>

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ See p. 30 of the Proposal in Appendix A.

demonstrations to support this claim. One of these is related to Lockheed Martin and the other, to L3 Harris Technologies. The Proposal also notes that shareholder resolutions asking Lockheed Martin and RTX to provide human rights impact assessments of their operations, including those related to Palestinians, have failed by wide margins, suggesting that most of the firms' shareholders do not support a call to modify these companies' behaviors.

The points raised in the Proposal are consistent with the authors' position that "seeking to modify the company's behavior ... would likely be futile." However, the evidence in the Proposal is anecdotal and not sufficient to satisfy Criterion 2.

Criterion 3. "Divestment will make a material impact on correcting the company's injurious behavior."¹¹

ACIR considers the following factors when evaluating whether the Proposal satisfies Criterion 3: (1) whether the Proposal demonstrates an understanding of Dartmouth's investment exposure to companies in question and how the divestiture would result in material impact; (2) whether the Proposal discusses if Dartmouth is in a position to influence other investors through divestment; (3) whether the Proposal references reputable and rigorous sources to support claims of material impact; and (4) whether the Proposal includes rebuttals to anticipated counterarguments, e.g., present and future adverse impacts from divestment, the roles of companies' products in conflicts beyond Israel/Palestine, and alternative methods to achieve material impact.

Only one citation is provided in the Criterion 3 section of the Proposal, and no counterarguments are addressed. Among other things, the Proposal does not include a discussion of the resulting reduction of diversification in Dartmouth's investment pool or limitation of access to investment managers that could occur in the event of divestment.

ACIR finds that the Proposal does not sufficiently address Criterion 3.

Criterion 4. "Divestment will not compromise Dartmouth's ability to address the target issue through its academic work and other channels."¹²

ACIR understands Criterion 4 to require evidence in the Proposal that divestment (1) would not hinder Dartmouth's mission to provide a forum in which community members can engage in open dialogue regarding the underlying political, economic, and social issues at hand and (2) would not limit Dartmouth's ability to engage in research and teaching on these issues.

The Proposal does not sufficiently engage the matter of whether its suggested divestment would facilitate additional dialogue on campus on key underlying political, economic, and social issues or would degrade opportunities for dialogue.

¹¹<https://trustees.dartmouth.edu/governance/governing-documents-policies/statement-investment-and-social-responsibility-issues>

¹²Ibid.

Regarding the matter of research and teaching, ACIR expects the Proposal to have (1) conducted an analysis of current work being done at Dartmouth relating to the underlying political, economic, and social issues that the authors of the Proposal believe motivate the need for divestment and (2) examined how Dartmouth's research and teaching mission would be affected by divestment. Instead, the Proposal simply asserts that "academic research will not be negatively impacted ... since Dartmouth's endowment can be reinvested elsewhere."¹³ The Proposal did not, but should have, addressed how funding, both federal and philanthropic, might be impacted by divestment. Loss of funding sources for research and teaching on the political, economic, and social issues at hand and loss of funding sources for research and teaching in general could negatively impact the Dartmouth community, and a nuanced understanding of this possibility and potential consequences is part of Criterion 4.

ACIR finds that the Proposal does not sufficiently address Criterion 4.

Criterion 5. "The proposal must describe in writing, with appropriate documentation, concrete and detailed evidence of how the Dartmouth community, including students, faculty, staff, and alumni, has come to consensus to support the proposal."¹⁴

Criterion 5 is derived from ACIR's Charge, and it incorporates two key elements: (1) a characterization of community and (2) a characterization of when a proposal for divestment has sufficient support to state that it embodies a consensus position.

Community. ACIR believes that Criterion 5 should be understood as applying to four sub-communities that together constitute the Dartmouth community. Accordingly, the criterion requires a consensus among students about divestment, a consensus among faculty about divestment, a consensus among staff about divestment, and a consensus among alumni about divestment.

Consensus. The precise definition of consensus is not provided in Criterion 5. With respect to a given proposal for divestment, at a minimal level ACIR interprets a consensus requirement as mandating more than a majority support for the proposal among a set of individuals but not necessarily unanimous support. That said, the requirement for consensus in Criterion 5 transcends the question of whether a given divestment proposal has majority support in the Dartmouth community. An argument that a divestment proposal reflects a consensus position in the community must engage with the ideas held by community members who are opposed to the proposal, even if those ideas are held by a small minority.

The Proposal includes no compelling evidence on the level of support for divestment among students, among faculty, among staff, and among alumni. Moreover, the Proposal is silent on the matter of how divestment can be treated as a consensus

¹³See p. 33 of the Proposal in Appendix A.

¹⁴https://www.dartmouth.edu/investments/environmental_social_governance/advisory_committee.php

position in the face of what is almost certainly deep opposition to it among some members of the Dartmouth community.

The Proposal lists organizations that the Proposal's authors assert support divestment. However, the Proposal does not include evidence that (1) the listed organizations are part of the Dartmouth community (defined as student, faculty, staff, and alumni); (2) the listed organizations have mutually exclusive memberships; and (3) the listed organizations are representative of organizations that are part of the Dartmouth community. Moreover, the Proposal does not contain any information on each organization's total membership or how each organization decided to make an endorsement of the Proposal.

ACIR finds that the Proposal does not sufficiently address Criterion 5.

Summary. The Proposal does not satisfy the five criteria that must be met for a divestment proposal to be considered complete. ACIR therefore finds that the Proposal is incomplete.

Appendix A

Proposal for Divestment from Dartmouth Divest for Palestine (the “Proposal”)

Received via email on February 18, 2025

DARTMOUTH DIVEST FOR PALESTINE



PROPOSAL FOR DARTMOUTH COLLEGE'S DIVESTMENT
FROM COMPANIES COMPLICIT IN ISRAEL'S VIOLATIONS OF
INTERNATIONAL LAW, APARTHEID POLICIES, WAR CRIMES,
GENOCIDE, AND ONGOING OCCUPATION OF PALESTINE

DARTMOUTH DIVEST FOR PALESTINE
FEBRUARY 2025

ORGANIZATIONAL ENDORSEMENTS

This is a list of organizations who have responded 'Yes' to endorse the "PROPOSAL FOR DARTMOUTH COLLEGE TO DIVEST FROM COMPANIES COMPLICIT IN ISRAEL'S VIOLATIONS OF, INTERNATIONAL LAW, INCLUDING APARTHEID POLICIES, WAR CRIMES, GENOCIDE, AND ITS ONGOING OCCUPATION OF PALESTINE" put forth by Dartmouth Divest for Palestine as of 02/18/2025:

- Access Dartmouth
- Arab Student Association
- Building A Local Economy, Inc (BALE)
- Central Americans United Student Association (CAUSA)
- CoFIRED
- Dartmouth Afro-American Society
- Dartmouth Alumni for Palestine
- Dartmouth Asian American Studies Collective
- Dartmouth College AAUP Chapter
- Dartmouth Prison Justice Initiative (DPJI)
- Displaced Theater Company
- Divest Dartmouth
- Faculty and Staff for Justice in Palestine, Dartmouth
- Fossil Free Dartmouth Steering Committee
- FUERZA Farmworkers' Fund
- GOLD-UE Collective Action Team
- House of Lewan
- Jewish Voice for Peace VT/NH
- NAACP
- Native Americans at Dartmouth (NAD)
- Palestine Solidarity Coalition of Dartmouth Students
- Phoenix Senior Society
- Spare Rib

- Student Worker Collective at Dartmouth (SWCD)
- Sunrise Movement at Dartmouth
- The Dartmouth Radical
- Upper Valley for Palestine
- Upper Valley Students for Justice in Palestine
- Vermont Coalition for Palestinian Liberation

To view a continuously updated list of endorsements, visit tinyurl.com/dd4p-endorsements or scan this QR Code:



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- a. Lockheed Martin
- b. Northrop Grumman
- c. RTX Corporations
- d. L3 Harris Technologies
- e. BAE Systems
- f. Boeing

9. CONCLUSION

1. INTRODUCTION

Dartmouth Divest for Palestine, a coalition of Dartmouth students, alumni, faculty, staff, and community members, submits this divestment proposal to the Dartmouth Advisory Committee on Investor Responsibility (ACIR) for their review. Our coalition is animated by a shared concern: that Dartmouth's investments in companies that directly support Israel's ongoing occupation of Palestine, its war crimes, its genocidal assault on Gaza, and its apartheid policies violate Dartmouth's history and educational mission.

In January 2021, the Israeli human rights organization B'Tselem published a position paper entitled "This is Apartheid," concluding that "in the entire area between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River, the Israeli regime implements laws, practices and state violence designed to cement the supremacy of one group—Jews—over another—Palestinians"; Amnesty International and other international human rights organizations came to the same conclusion in similar reports issued in 2021 and early 2022.¹ Since Israel's most recent assault on Gaza began in October 2023, these organizations, as well as a United Nations special committee, have documented Israel's continued violation of international law and commission of war crimes in Gaza, concluding that Israel is engaged in ethnic cleansing and genocide of Palestinians.²

We call on Dartmouth College to divest immediately from companies that are directly involved in these actions, and to refrain from reinvesting in them until such time as Israel is no longer enforcing apartheid policies, committing war crimes and genocide, and otherwise violating international law through its occupation of Palestine.

Our coalition understands that it is Dartmouth's fiduciary responsibility to manage its endowment so that the College may fulfill its mission in perpetuity, ensuring the education of future generations of Dartmouth students and the teaching and research of future

¹ "A regime of Jewish supremacy from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea: This is apartheid," B'Tselem, January 12, 2021, https://www.btselem.org/publications/fulltext/202101_this_is_apartheid; "A Threshold Crossed: A Threshold Crossed: Israeli Authorities and the Crimes of Apartheid and Persecution," Human Rights Watch, April 27, 2021, <https://www.hrw.org/report/2021/04/27/threshold-crossed/israeli-authorities-and-crimes-apartheid-and-persecution>; "Israel's apartheid against Palestinians: Cruel system of domination and crime against humanity," Amnesty International, February 1, 2022, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/mde15/5141/2022/en/>.

² "You Feel Like You Are Subhuman": Israel's Genocide Against Palestinians in Gaza," Amnesty International, December 5, 2024, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/mde15/8668/2024/en/>; "The world must stop the ethnic cleansing of northern Gaza," B'Tselem, October 22, 2024, https://www.btselem.org/press_releases/20241022_the_world_must_stop_the_ethnic_cleansing_of_northern_gaza; "Extermination and Acts of Genocide: Israel Deliberately Depriving Palestinians in Gaza of Water," Human Rights Watch, December 19, 2024 <https://www.hrw.org/report/2024/12/19/extermination-and-acts-genocide/israel-deliberately-depriving-palestinians-gaza>; "Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Palestinian People and Other Arabs of the Occupied Territories," United Nations, September 20, 2024, <https://documents.un.org/doc/undoc/gen/n24/271/19/pdf/n2427119.pdf>.

generations of Dartmouth faculty, as well as supporting the work of current students, faculty, staff, and community members. We believe that Dartmouth's investment decisions must be compatible with its core mission "to prepare students for a lifetime of learning and of responsible leadership through a faculty dedicated to teaching and the creation of knowledge," as well as its commitment to intergenerational equity.³ It is only by divesting from companies directly involved in Israel's violations of international law that Dartmouth can uphold its mission to educate responsible future leaders, as well as its fiduciary responsibility to current and future generations of Dartmouth students, faculty, staff, alumni, and community members.

This proposal outlines our argument for divestment from companies complicit in Israel's violations of international law, including its apartheid policies, war crimes, and occupation of Palestine, in accordance with the criteria laid out by ACIR and the Dartmouth Board of Trustees.

- In section 2, we detail the history of divestment campaigns at Dartmouth, demonstrating the historical precedents for our current call for divestment.
- In section 3, we elaborate on how divestment from companies complicit in apartheid, war crimes, and violations of international law positively enacts Dartmouth's values and is consistent with its history and mission. We also show how Dartmouth's continued investment in companies complicit in Israeli apartheid, occupation, and genocide violate the College's stated values and mission.
- In section 4, we explain that many companies that support Israeli violations of international law and apartheid policies, by nature of their specific business practices, cannot modify their behavior to become viable investments for the College. We also outline how others, given the widespread knowledge of Israel's practices among the international community, have already had ample opportunity to change their behavior and have failed to do so.
- In section 5, we detail the material impact of divestment from companies complicit in Israel's violations of international law.
- In section 6, we show how divestment is consistent with the academic mission of the College.
- In section 7, we explain how our divestment campaign fulfills the ACIR criterion for consensus among the Dartmouth community.

³ "Dartmouth's Mission Statement," <https://www.dartmouth.edu/jameswright/archive/mission/index.html>.

- In section 8, we recommend the adoption of a divestment and non-reinvestment policy statement and describe guidelines for company behavior that would trigger divestment or prevent (re)investment by the College.

Finally, we provide a preliminary list of corporations that are complicit in Israeli apartheid, occupation, war crimes, and other violations of international law from which the College should divest today.

2. HISTORY OF DIVESTMENT AT DARTMOUTH

In 1972, the Dartmouth Board of Trustees asserted that the “maximization of return—the primary investment goal—should not be the sole criterion for the management of Dartmouth’s capital resources. Investment policies should also reflect the broad societal goals for which the institution as a whole stands.”⁴ In this section, we highlight Dartmouth’s past five divestment campaigns, during which Dartmouth community members encouraged the College to uphold the vision of the Trustees and realign its investments with the broader social responsibility and values of the institution. Following these campaigns, the College divested from South African apartheid in 1989, the James Bay Hydro-Quebec dam project in 1993, genocide in Sudan in 2005, the tobacco industry in 2012, and the fossil fuel industry in 2021. These precedents demonstrate that divestment is not only possible, but an important tool in helping Dartmouth to fulfill its educational mission and stated commitment to social responsibility. These cases establish the moral and institutional framework that necessitates that Dartmouth divest from companies that are complicit in Israeli apartheid, war crimes, genocide, and the ongoing occupation of Palestine.

In the case of South Africa, students, alumni, and faculty engaged in a sustained divestment campaign for over a decade. This campaign included sit-ins, marches, alternative commencements, public debates, and the creation of multiple shanties on the Dartmouth campus. To give an overview, six years after the Trustees formed the Advisory Committee on Investor Responsibility (ACIR), in 1978 the Trustees endorsed the “Sullivan Principles” upholding equal rights and non-segregated workplaces for US companies doing business in South Africa. The endorsement affirmed a commitment to racial equality by the College and companies to which it has ties. In 1983 and 1985, the Trustees affirmed College-wide concern over apartheid and prohibited the College from making any investments in South African firms, multinational corporations with principal activities in South Africa, and

“Maximization of return—the primary investment goal—should not be the sole criterion for the management of Dartmouth’s capital resources. Investment policies should also reflect the broad societal goals for which the institution as a whole stands.”

-Dartmouth Board of Trustees, 1972

⁴ Robert E. Field, “Review of Dartmouth College’s Policy in Response to Circumstances in South Africa,” September 22, 1987, DA 328/5380, Rauner Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH.

Dartmouth's Divestment Timeline

1975

1978

Trustees endorse the "Sullivan Principles"

1985 - 1986

Student shanties on the Green are built and attacked

1989

Trustees announce decision to divest from US companies with business in SA

1993

Dartmouth divests \$6.8 million from Hydro-Quebec's James Bay Dam

2000s

Darfur Action Group pressures college to divest from the Darfur genocide in W. Sudan

2005

Dartmouth announces it would no longer invest in 6 companies operating in Sudan

2012

Trustees vote to divest from the tobacco industry and prevent future investment

2017 - 2021

Dartmouth announces it would not make new fossil fuel investments and its intentions to divest holdings

2024

financial institutions making loans to the South African government.⁵ The College also affirmed the exploration of educational initiatives that would benefit future leaders of South Africa. Despite the College's adherence to the Sullivan Principles, the measures to mitigate the racial inequalities built into South African-based firms were not sufficient. While attempts to put positive pressure on the apartheid government through investments failed to ameliorate a worsening situation in South Africa, racial turmoil related to anti-racism and anti-apartheid movements divided the campus community.

In November 1985, students from the Dartmouth Community for Divestment created three shanties, two of which were on the Dartmouth Green, and demanded immediate divestment. On the first national Martin Luther King Day in 1986, twelve Dartmouth students, ten of whom were writers from *The Dartmouth Review*, attacked the structures with sledgehammers while students were sleeping inside, which sparked an occupation of Parkhurst Hall and a faculty-led Moratorium for dialogue and listening. In the wake of these events, students, faculty, and administrators organized a community forum on apartheid and divestment.

In 1986, the Trustees began to shift their position, recognizing that American corporate presence was sustaining the South African government and could not be harnessed to eliminate apartheid.⁶ The change of positions coincided with Reverend Leon Sullivan's call for a total economic boycott, as well as

⁵ Field, "Review of Dartmouth College's Policy."

⁶ Memorandum, "Board of Trustees Statement on South African Investments," September 5, 1986, Dartmouth S. Africa Policy 1984-1986, George Bourozikas papers, Ms-1436, Rauner Library Archives and Manuscripts, Hanover, NH.



Students gather around the Dartmouth Community for Divestment's shanty town on the Dartmouth Green (Winter 1986, Credit: Carla Freccero)

the intensification of racial tensions on campus. To quell racial tensions on campus and in anticipation of the fall of South Africa's apartheid regime, in 1989, the Trustees finally announced their decision to divest from U.S. companies doing business in South Africa, recognizing that investments had "great symbolic meaning to many within and outside the college," and that continued investment in South African apartheid was impeding the College from fulfilling its educational mission.⁷ In sum, the Trustees recognized that divestment was a necessary response not only to the increasingly repressive regime of racial apartheid in South Africa, but also to struggles for racial equality on campus.

Similar to the case of South Africa, in the early 2000s, during the Darfur genocide in western Sudan, the Darfur Action Group pressed the administration for divestment.⁸ In 2005, Dartmouth announced that it would no longer invest in six companies operating in Sudan, citing "direct complicity" in the genocide.⁹

In 1993, in response to a student petition, Dartmouth divested its \$6.8 million holdings in Hydro-Quebec.¹⁰ Hydro-Quebec's James Bay dam would have displaced around 10,000

⁷ Quoted in Associated Press, "Dartmouth Divestment Announced," The New York Times, November 15, 1989, Education, accessed September 2, 2024, <https://www.nytimes.com/1989/11/15/us/education-dartmouth-divestment-announced.html>.

⁸ Michael Belinsky, "...What Were We Fighting For?," The Dartmouth, February 27, 2008, <https://www.thedartmouth.com/article/2008/02/what-were-we-fighting-for>.

⁹ Edel Galgon, "Galgon: The Truth Behind Dartmouth's Divestment Process," The Dartmouth, May 3, 2024, <https://www.thedartmouth.com/article/2024/05/galgon-the-truth-behind-dartmouths-divestment-process>.

¹⁰ Lillie Ng, "College strives for ethical investment of endowment," The Dartmouth, February 20, 1997, <https://www>.

people, mostly Indigenous Cree people, and flooded 9,000 square miles of land.¹¹ The decision to divest from Hydro-Quebec was an affirmation of Indigenous sovereignty.

In 2012, the Trustees voted to divest from the tobacco industry and prevent future investment in tobacco companies. In this case, the Trustees justified their decision on the basis that tobacco use is harmful to health and goes against the values of a college with a medical school.¹²

Most recently, in 2017, after a decade of campaigns, rallies, and petitions by Divest Dartmouth, Dartmouth's Investment Office announced they would no longer make new investments in private fossil fuel extraction, exploration, and production funds.¹³ In 2021, Dartmouth announced its intention to divest its direct holdings in fossil fuel corporations (though there has been little subsequent oversight to ensure that the College continues to uphold this promise). President Hanlon claimed that the primary reason for divesting was financial, citing global market shifts that rendered clean energy funds just as profitable as fossil fuel funds.¹⁴ Dartmouth became the fifth Ivy League institution to divest from fossil fuels, joining Brown University, Columbia University, Cornell University, and Harvard University. However, the College only divested its direct holdings and was not held accountable for indirect holdings, which comprise the majority of the endowment.

As ACIR has previously made clear, the College must not profit from, nor materially aid and abet, any company or institution complicit in genocide or apartheid, or any actions that contravene the College's educational mission. In 2018, ACIR listed 21 companies prohibited for their involvement in the genocide in Sudan and 74 companies prohibited due to their involvement in the tobacco industry.¹⁵ As in the cases of South African apartheid and the genocide in Sudan, Israel's violations of international law call for urgent action from Dartmouth: immediate divestment from companies complicit in those violations.

[thedartmouth.com/article/1997/02/college-strives-for-ethical-investment-of-endowment](https://www.thedartmouth.com/article/1997/02/college-strives-for-ethical-investment-of-endowment). See also "Dartmouth to Divest Hydro-Quebec Bonds," UPI, December 18, 1992, <https://www.upi.com/Archives/1992/12/18/Dartmouth-to-divest-Hydro-Quebec-bonds/4451724654800/>.

¹¹ Carter Brace, "Activism at the College, a history in many parts," February 12, 2016, The Dartmouth, <https://www.thedartmouth.com/article/2016/02/activism-at-the-college-a-history-in-many-parts>.

¹² Morgan Curtis, "Curtis: Dare a Deed for the Old Mother," June 28, 2019, The Dartmouth, <https://www.thedartmouth.com/article/2019/06/curtis-dare-a-deed-for-the-old-mother>.

¹³ "Dartmouth Taking Comprehensive Steps to Address Climate Crisis," Dartmouth Office of Communications, October 8, 2021, <https://home.dartmouth.edu/news/2021/10/dartmouth-taking-comprehensive-steps-address-climate-crisis>.

¹⁴ Taylor Haber, "College formally announces plan to divest from fossil fuels," The Dartmouth, October 8, 2021, <https://www.thedartmouth.com/article/2021/10/college-announces-divestment-plans>.

¹⁵ Dartmouth College Advisory Committee on Investor Responsibility (ACIR), "Executive Summary Prepared for the Dartmouth Community, Fiscal 2018," Dartmouth College, 2018, https://www.dartmouth.edu/investments/docs/2018_acir_annual_report.pdf

3. CRITERION I: UNIVERSITY VALUES, HISTORY, AND MISSION

The Dartmouth Trustees' Statement on Investment and Social Responsibility Issues (SISR) emphasizes that the College will consider divesting from a company if “a company’s actions or inactions are clearly inconsistent with Dartmouth’s history, its values, or mission.”¹⁶

Dartmouth’s mission and values are as follows:

- Mission: Dartmouth educates the most promising students and prepares them for a lifetime of learning and of responsible leadership through a faculty dedicated to teaching and the creation of knowledge.
- Values:
 - Dartmouth expects academic excellence and encourages independence of thought within a culture of collaboration.
 - Dartmouth faculty are passionate about teaching our students and are at the forefront of their scholarly or creative work.
 - Dartmouth embraces diversity with the knowledge that it significantly enhances the quality of a Dartmouth education.
 - Dartmouth recruits and admits outstanding students from all backgrounds, regardless of their financial means.
 - Dartmouth fosters lasting bonds among faculty, staff, and students, which encourage a culture of integrity, self-reliance, and collegiality and instill a sense of responsibility for each other and for the broader world.
 - Dartmouth supports the vigorous and open debate of ideas within a community marked by mutual respect.¹⁷

The first half of this section demonstrates how Dartmouth’s histories of divestment are some of the most striking examples of when the Dartmouth community has exemplified the College’s mission and values.¹⁸ The movements pushing for divestment from South

¹⁶ Dartmouth Board of Trustees, “Statement on Investment and Social Responsibility Issues,” Dartmouth College, amended March 20, 2017, <https://trustees.dartmouth.edu/governance/governing-documents-policies/statement-investment-and-social-responsibility-issues>.

¹⁷ “Liberal Arts at the Core,” Dartmouth College, accessed October 10, 2024, <https://home.dartmouth.edu/about>.

¹⁸ South African apartheid in 1989, the James Bay Hydro-Quebec dam project in 1993, genocide in Sudan in 2005, the tobacco industry in 2012, and the fossil fuel industry in 2021. See Galgon, “The Truth Behind Dartmouth’s Divestment Process.” See also Katie Zhang ‘16 and Kasidet Trerayapiwat ‘16, “Report to the President on the Considerations Involved in Divesting the Dartmouth College Endowment from Directly Held Fossil-Fuel Related Assets,” (Dartmouth

African apartheid and from fossil fuel companies showed what it means to be responsible for each other and the world, to embrace diversity, and to collaborate among faculty, staff, and students with academic excellence, collegiality, and mutual respect. The current Dartmouth Divest for Palestine coalition, which represents a broad array of students, alumni, staff, faculty, and community members, similarly models how Dartmouth can fulfill its responsibility to its community and to the greater world.

The second half of this section makes the converse argument: it shows how the College's investments in companies that support Israeli apartheid, genocide, war crimes, and other violations of international law are inconsistent with several core College values and with its educational mission.

3.1. Divestment demonstrates a responsibility to the broader world

The Dartmouth social movements to divest from South African apartheid and from fossil fuel companies saw divestment as a way to exercise their global leadership and responsibility to the broader world. These divestment campaigns afforded Dartmouth community members the opportunity to put these global commitments into action. Divesting from corporations that support the Israeli occupation of Palestine will do the same for Dartmouth community members now.

In the movement at Dartmouth to divest from South African apartheid, the students and young alumni who wrote the June 1978 report "Dartmouth and Southern Africa Investments: The Case for Divestiture" for the Committee on Investor Responsibility argued that Dartmouth needed to divest as part of its responsibilities to the world, beginning the report with descriptions of racial segregation and anti-black discrimination in South Africa and then making the case for specific action.¹⁹ Students wrote

"As an institution and as individuals, we want all our actions to drive meaningful change and to inspire others to act."

-President Phil Hanlon, 2021

ACIR Divestment Report, April 2016), 7, https://dartmouthalumniclimateaction.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/divestment_report_final.pdf.

¹⁹ Written by students and alumni ('75, '77s, '78s, '79, '81s, '82s); See Upper Valley Committee for a Free Southern Africa, "Dartmouth and Southern Africa Investments: The Case for Divestiture," June 2, 1978, The Case for Divestiture Advisory Committee on Inv, 1008, Box: 7876, Vice President and Treasurer of Dartmouth College records, DA-2, Rauner Library Archives and Manuscripts, Hanover, NH; Upper Valley Committee for a Free Southern Africa, "Dartmouth and Southern African Investments: The Case for Divestiture," January 1979, Advisory Committee on Investor Responsibility: correspondence and memoranda 1979, 1979, 26363, Box: 5376, Folder: 3, Dartmouth College,

green armbands to commencement in 1983 and white armbands in 1986 to symbolize their solidarity with the global movement against South African apartheid; alternative commencement materials in 1987 and 1988 similarly communicated Dartmouth students' commitment to divestment as part of their sense of responsibility to one another and the broader world.²⁰

The students' campaign to persuade Dartmouth to divest from fossil fuel companies also demonstrated their sense of global leadership and responsibility. The 2014 petition from Divest Dartmouth communicated students' understanding of responsible leadership, stating, "As Dartmouth students, we're encouraged to become responsible leaders: we thus feel obligated to do everything in our power to slow rapid climate change. We believe that our learning institution should have the same concerns, and that no entity concerned with our futures should profit from putting them in jeopardy."²¹ The petition also expressed students' commitments to the broader global community, proclaiming, "We stand with the global fossil fuel divestment movement."²²

When Dartmouth announced in 2021 that it would reduce all fossil fuel holdings to zero, President Hanlon echoed these students, connecting the decision to divest with Dartmouth's commitment to developing leaders capable of addressing global challenges. In the announcement, he stated both that "the development of future leaders ready to tackle the world's most urgent problems is how Dartmouth can truly make a difference," and, "As an institution and as individuals, we want all our actions to drive meaningful change and

Advisory Committee on Investor Responsibility records, DA-328, Rauner Library Archives and Manuscripts, Hanover, NH.

²⁰ Memorandum by Eddie Amoakuh et al., "Commencement Exercises, Dartmouth College: June 12, 1983," June 12, 1983, Alternative Commencement and Commencement Protest, 1986, 1987, 1988, 26765, George Bourozikas papers, Ms-1436, Rauner Library Archives and Manuscripts, Hanover, NH; Memorandum, "Commencement, an Explanation of Protest," June 1986, Alternative Commencement and Commencement Protest, 1986, 1987, 1988, 26765, George Bourozikas papers, Ms-1436, Rauner Library Archives and Manuscripts, Hanover, NH; Memorandum, "Alternative Commencement Statement of Purpose," June 1987, Alternative Commencement and Commencement Protest, 1986, 1987, 1988, 26765, George Bourozikas papers, Ms-1436, Rauner Library Archives and Manuscripts, Hanover, NH; Carla Freccero, "Speech, Alt. Commencement '88," June 1988, Alternative Commencement and Commencement Protest, 1986, 1987, 1988, 26765, George Bourozikas papers, Ms-1436, Rauner Library Archives and Manuscripts, Hanover, NH.

²¹ Amalia Siegel, "Dartmouth College: Go Fossil Free!," (Petition, gofossilfree.org, 2014), <https://web.archive.org/web/20210908141606/https://campaigns.gofossilfree.org/petitions/dartmouth-college>.

²² Siegel, "Dartmouth College: Go Fossil Free!." The April 2016 report to President Hanlon prepared by Katie Zhang '16 and Kasidet Trerayapiwat '16 and advised by Professor Mark Borsuk echoes this commitment to global responsibility; it outlines four objectives of fossil fuel divestment, including to "satisfy ethical responsibility," "minimize financial impact," "maximize academic opportunity," and "realize symbolic importance." Within the category of academic opportunity, the report draws out in particular an "understanding of relationship to the broader world." See Zhang '16 and Trerayapiwat '16, "Report to the President on the Considerations Involved in Divesting the Dartmouth College Endowment from Directly Held Fossil-Fuel Related Assets."

to inspire others to act.”²³ In doing so, he affirmed students’ previous calls for fossil fuel divestment as expressions of their understanding of their roles of and capacity for leadership regarding global issues.

Students, faculty, staff, and alumni are now acting with a comparably clear and urgent sense of global leadership and responsibility. Nations and organizations around the globe, from international human rights organizations to the United Nations, have sounded the alarm about Israel’s violations of international law in occupied Palestine and its genocidal acts in Gaza.²⁴ A UN Special Committee Report from September 2024 notes in particular that “the policies and practices of Israel [since October 2023] are consistent with the characteristics of genocide”:

The targeting of Palestinians as a group; the life-threatening conditions imposed on Palestinians in Gaza through warfare and restrictions on humanitarian aid—resulting in physical destruction, increased miscarriages and stillbirths—and the killing of and serious bodily or mental harm caused to Palestinians in Gaza and the occupied West Bank, including East Jerusalem, are violations under international law. Civilians have been indiscriminately and disproportionately killed en masse in Gaza, while in the occupied West Bank, including East Jerusalem, Israeli colonial settlers, military and security personnel have continued to violate human rights and humanitarian law with impunity.²⁵

These acts of violence by Israel, the Committee goes on to report, **“gravely weaken the international rules-based system,” threatening “obligations established under international law to limit the barbarity of war and protect human rights.”**²⁶ Thus, in response to these violations, the UN recommends that “investors implement policies requiring heightened human rights due diligence in conflict-affected areas and ensure that their investments in Israel do not prolong the occupation of Palestinian land.”²⁷ To act as a global leader, Dartmouth should follow this clarion call from the international community,

²³ “Dartmouth Taking Comprehensive Steps to Address Climate Crisis,” Dartmouth College Office of Communications, October 8, 2021, <https://home.dartmouth.edu/news/2021/10/dartmouth-taking-comprehensive-steps-address-climate-crisis>.

²⁴ “‘You Feel Like You Are Subhuman,’” Amnesty International; “The world must stop the ethnic cleansing of northern Gaza” B’Tselem; “Extermination and Acts of Genocide,” Human Rights Watch; Alex Leff, “Colombia will break relations with Israel over Gaza,” NPR, May 1, 2024, <https://www.npr.org/2024/05/01/1248544353/colombia-break-relations-israel>; “Cuba Joins South Africa’s Genocide Case against Israel at the ICJ,” Middle East Monitor, January 14, 2025, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20250114-cuba-joins-south-africas-genocide-case-against-israel-at-icj/>.

²⁵ United Nations, “Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Palestinian People,” 25.

²⁶ United Nations, “Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Palestinian People,” 26.

²⁷ United Nations, “Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Palestinian People,” 27.

and lead the way in helping to uphold the international rules-based order. The College should divest from companies that are directly involved in Israel's well-documented violations of international law, in the forms of apartheid, genocide, and occupation (see 3.4 and 3.5 below).

3.2. Divestment centers diversity and belonging

The students, faculty, staff, and alumni who collaborated toward divestment from South African apartheid understood that embracing diversity at Dartmouth meant pushing for change on and off campus—from increasing the percentage of minoritized faculty and students, to challenging a campus culture of racial and sexual harassment, to questioning the College's financial stakes in oppression in South Africa and elsewhere.²⁸ As a result, collaborations across campus groups created a richly coalitional movement for divestment.²⁹ Students articulated the connection between their struggles for women's and gay liberation, racial equality, and divestment from apartheid in their 1986 "Explanation of Protest," a document which explained the meaning of the white armbands they wore at the 1986 commencement. This symbolic protest connected five concerns: South African apartheid, US involvement in Central America, nuclear weapons, the 1974 Navajo Hopi Relocation Act, and the realities on campus for women, including sexual violence.³⁰ There was always a

²⁸ In accordance with President McLaughlin's remarks to the faculty in October 1985, we understand Dartmouth's institutional understanding of diversity to mean Dartmouth's commitment to foster a student body of diverse gender and sexual orientations, as well as "commitments to diversity of race, to diversity of economic circumstance among our students, and to diversity of academic programs." At the time of his statement, according to McLaughlin, Dartmouth had the highest percentage of Black students in its undergraduate population among the Ivy League, a larger number of Native American students than peer institutions, and women as 20% (and "minorities" as 7%) of faculty of arts and sciences appointments in the past four years. This stated institutional commitment to diversity reflected other developments on campus and among alumni beginning in 1972: the advent of coeducation, the beginning of the Native American Studies Program, and the establishment of the Black Alumni of Dartmouth Association (BADA). See David McLaughlin, "From President David T. McLaughlin's remarks to the General Faculty," October 21, 1985, Administrative Letters, 1985–1986, 26765, George Bourozikas papers, Ms-1436, Rauner Library Archives and Manuscripts, Hanover, NH; "Coeducation," excerpted from the Dartmouth Alumni Magazine, Dartmouth College, accessed October 10, 2024, <https://home.dartmouth.edu/about/coeducation>; Chidi Anyadike '13, "40 Years of Native American Studies at Dartmouth," Dartmouth College, April 2, 2013, <https://home.dartmouth.edu/news/2013/04/40-years-native-american-studies-dartmouth>; Courtney Hall, "BADA 50th Anniversary Celebration 'A Triumph,'" Dartmouth Alumni and Families, Dartmouth College, June 8, 2023; See also Freccero, "Speech, Alt."

²⁹ In an oral history interview, an alum from the class of 1987 highlighted the overlap between the Dartmouth Community for Divestment (DCD), the African American Society (Afro-Am), Gay Students Association (GSA), the International Students Group, and the Women's Issues League (WIL), noting for example that the Afro-Am was sympathetic to the GSA because GSA students were involved in DCD. As their commitments connected, "some serious bridge building among various groups" occurred. Bonnevie explained, for example, that WIL organized Take Back the Night and tried to change the "Men of Dartmouth" song (now "Alma Mater"). See Kelly M. Bonnevie, "Oral History Interview with Kelly M. Bonnevie," by Sara D. Harris, SpeakOut: Documenting the History of the LGBTQIA+ Community at Dartmouth College, Dartmouth Libraries, last modified May 14, 2018, accessed September 2, 2024, <https://exhibits.library.dartmouth.edu/s/SpeakOut/item/186>.

³⁰ The document also explained the decision at commencement to chant "can this song" during the singing of the alma mater, followed by singing an excerpt from "We All...Every One of Us" by Sweet Honey in the Rock. See Memorandum,

clear link between students' push for diversity and belonging on campus, and their push for divestment from South African apartheid. Thus in the case of the South Africa divestment campaign, Dartmouth's promising students "of all backgrounds" came together to challenge the College to be more inclusive, just, and responsible as an institution, demanding that the College act on its stated understanding that diversity "significantly enhances the quality of a Dartmouth education."³¹

Today, Dartmouth students, faculty, alumni, staff, and community members from all backgrounds are coming together again to connect calls for change on Dartmouth's campus to the way the College invests its funds on a global scale.

Individuals and groups advocating for intersectional feminism, climate justice, organized labor, undocumented students, Native American students, and Asian American studies on campus have all demanded that Dartmouth uphold its stated commitment to diversity and the belonging of its diverse community members by divesting from Israel's well-documented and ongoing practices of occupation, apartheid, and genocide.

Dartmouth College is a diverse and international community of scholars and students. The school brings to Hanover, New Hampshire, the most promising and outstanding individuals from a wide range of backgrounds, including Palestinian. **For Palestinian, Muslim, and Arab scholars and students to be welcome on campus, the university that employs and teaches them cannot be financially invested in the dehumanization of their communities and destruction of their homes.** By continuing to invest in and benefit financially from Israel's violations of international law, Dartmouth College directly undermines its purported embrace of diversity, equity, and belonging.

3.3. Divestment enacts cross-community collaboration

The movement to divest from companies complicit in Israel's violations of international law in Palestine follows in the footsteps of previous divestment campaigns at Dartmouth in enacting cross-community collaboration. In the movements to divest both from South African apartheid and from fossil fuels, faculty, staff, students, and alumni collaborated with academic excellence, collegiality, and mutual respect. These collaborations, whose tradition this present divestment movement continues, demonstrated the best of Dartmouth: faculty passionate about teaching; students, staff, alumni, and community members engaged in rigorous research, discussion, and leadership; all coming together in a community of lifelong bonds. In the 1980s, faculty modeled "vigorous and open debate of ideas within

"Commencement, an Explanation."

³¹ "Liberal Arts at the Core," Dartmouth College, <https://home.dartmouth.edu/about>.

a community marked by mutual respect”³² when they debated each other publicly and in their written material advocating for or against divestment from apartheid South Africa.³³ Faculty demonstrated that they were “dedicated to teaching and the creation of knowledge” and “passionate about teaching our students” from their position “at the forefront of their scholarly or creative work”³⁴ when they supported students as people, as learners, and as leaders, and advocated for divestment themselves, anchoring their case in their academic expertise.³⁵

In a “culture of collaboration” and “a culture of integrity, self-reliance, and collegiality,” past movements have fostered those “lasting bonds among faculty, staff, and students” that are distinctively characteristic of Dartmouth.³⁶ This legacy continues into the present, with faculty, staff, and alumni collectively advocating for the students who briefly set up a Gaza solidarity encampment on the Green on May 1, 2024, after a labor rally and anti-genocide demonstration, calling for Dartmouth to divest from companies complicit in Israel’s genocide in Gaza. Peacefully protesting students were violently arrested alongside faculty, staff, and other Upper Valley community members.³⁷ The day following the arrests, over one

³² “Liberal Arts at the Core,” Dartmouth College, <https://home.dartmouth.edu/about>.

³³ Hall to Advisory Committee on Investor Responsibility, “Debate on Divestment.”

³⁴ “Liberal Arts at the Core,” Dartmouth College, <https://home.dartmouth.edu/about>.

³⁵ President’s Council on Diversity to The Dartmouth Community, “Recommendations and Open Forum,” May 1, 1986, Dartmouth S. Africa Policy 1984-1986, George Bourozikas papers, Ms-1436, Rauner Library Archives and Manuscripts, Hanover, NH; Memorandum by Faculty of Arts and Sciences, “Recommendations on South African Divestment Voted By the Faculty of Arts and Sciences of Dartmouth College on May 20, 1985,” May 20, 1985, Dartmouth S. Africa Policy 1984-1986, George Bourozikas papers, Ms-1436, Rauner Library Archives and Manuscripts, Hanover, NH; Walter Burke to Dartmouth Community, February 3, 1986, Dartmouth S. Africa Policy 1984-1986, George Bourozikas papers, Ms-1436, Rauner Library Archives and Manuscripts, Hanover, NH; Hall to Advisory Committee on Investor Responsibility, “Debate on Divestment;” Richard Joseph to Executive Committee, February 26, 1984, Dartmouth S. Africa Policy 1984-1986, George Bourozikas papers, Ms-1436, Rauner Library Archives and Manuscripts, Hanover, NH.

³⁶ The 1983 commencement statement about wearing green armbands was signed by eight alums from the class of 1983, six professors, a reverend, and a rabbi. The statement also notes that Professor Leo Spitzer had even recently resigned from Chair of ACIR over the Trustees’ refusal to implement their policy of selective divestment. Meanwhile, a February 1986 Anti-Apartheid concert featured music faculty, with proceeds donated to DCD. Memorandum by Amoakuh et al., “Commencement Exercises;” “Anti-Apartheid Concert Flyer,” February 28, 1986, Anti-Apartheid Concert, 1986-02-28, 26765, George Bourozikas papers, Ms-1436, Rauner Library Archives and Manuscripts, Hanover, NH. Most recently, in the movement to divest from fossil fuels, the 2014 petition signatures came from people with a range of campus affiliations, with the 2017 “Our Green Future” report by faculty, staff, and students, and the 2016 report written by ’16s and advised by a professor. See Siegel, “Dartmouth College: Go Fossil Free!;” Dartmouth College Sustainability Task Force, “Our Green Future,” (report, 2016), <https://president.dartmouth.edu/sites/president.prod/files/president/wysiwyg/ourgreenfuture.pdf>; Zhang ’16 and Trerayapiwat ’16, “Report to the President on the Considerations Involved in Divesting the Dartmouth College Endowment from Directly Held Fossil-Fuel Related Assets.”

³⁷ “Police arrest history professor at Dartmouth College,” The Washington Post, May 2, 2024, https://www.washingtonpost.com/video/national/police-arrest-history-professor-at-dartmouth-college/2024/05/02/d03a4111-27dc-434a-9c03-86237359e75b_video.html; Valley News, “Police break up pro-Palestinian protest at Dartmouth College, 90 arrested,” VT Digger, May 2, 2024, <https://vtdigger.org/2024/05/02/police-break-up-pro-palestinian-protest-at-dartmouth-college-dozens-arrested/>; Valley News, “Dartmouth administration faces fierce criticism over protest arrests,”

hundred faculty and staff gathered on the Green to support those arrested and condemn the College's use of force against peaceful protesters.³⁸ In the months following those violent arrests, faculty, staff, students, and alumni continued to protest against Dartmouth's financial complicity in the deaths in Gaza by creating the Brave Space on the Baker Lawn. For almost six weeks, individuals from across the Dartmouth and the wider Upper Valley community—including faculty, staff, undergraduate students, graduate students, prospective students, and community members—organized and attended teach-ins, study sessions, music performances, classes, guest lectures, art builds, and community wellness events at the Brave Space, attesting to the continued cross-community collaboration around the urgent question of divestment.

These coalitional efforts have been aided by ongoing academic programming by Dartmouth faculty and staff. Following the May 1, 2024 arrests, History Department faculty held two teach-ins on the history of Dartmouth campus and transnational student protests. The Program in Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies is currently hosting a well-attended series called "Gaza is Burning," inviting renowned scholars, journalists, and authors to discuss topics including the history of Israeli occupation and the "Palestine exception" in US academia. The movement for divestment from Israeli violations of international law extends, too, to the College's professional schools, as when faculty at the Geisel School of Medicine invited OB-GYN Alice Rothchild to lecture on "The maternal-child health impact of the war on Gaza."

Some of the strongest bonds between faculty, staff, students, and alumni in Dartmouth's history have been forged in the movements past and present for divestment. We hope the Board of Trustees will respect and learn from these examples of collaborative learning and community building, and take seriously the call for divestment from companies complicit in Israeli violations of international law, including war crimes and genocide.

3.4. Investment in Israeli apartheid and occupation violates the College's duty of responsible leadership, mutual respect, and responsibility for the broader world

The stated mission of the College is to "instill a sense of responsibility for each other and for the broader world," foster "a community marked by mutual respect," and "prepare [students] for a lifetime of ... responsible leadership." Dartmouth's support of Israel's apartheid regime

VT Digger, May 8, 2024, <https://vtdigger.org/2024/05/08/dartmouth-administration-faces-fierce-criticism-over-protest-arrests/>.

³⁸ Kelsey Wang and Arizbeth Rojas, "Faculty gather on Green in response to protester arrests, petition for emergency faculty meeting," The Dartmouth, May 2, 2024, <https://www.thedartmouth.com/article/2024/05/faculty-gather-on-green-in-response-to-protester-arrests-petition-for-emergency-faculty-meeting>.

through its investments in companies that provide it material support violates these core values.

Israel's crimes against the Palestinian people extend back to the 1948 "al-Nakba," or "catastrophe," when Zionist settlers declared Israel's independence and violently expelled 750,000 Palestinians from their homeland. Over the subsequent 77 years, Israel has subjected these displaced Palestinians to "a brutally sophisticated structure of oppression," encompassing but not limited to "variants of apartheid" and occupation.³⁹

Transnational and Israeli human rights organizations, including Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, and B'Tselem, have recognized Israel's practices of apartheid, which encompass the treatment of Palestinians as second-class citizens in Israel, as well as the discrimination and violent repression of Palestinians living under occupation in the West Bank, Gaza, and East Jerusalem.⁴⁰ Article 2 of the 1973 Apartheid Convention defines the crime of apartheid as covering "inhuman acts committed for the purpose of establishing and maintaining domination by one racial group of persons over any other racial group of persons and systematically oppressing them."⁴¹ Israel has established a system of apartheid over Palestinians with the clear intent to maintain Jewish Israeli domination over Palestinians. The Israeli apartheid regime includes: a) dividing Palestinians into areas with different rights, "all of which are inferior compared to the rights afforded to Jewish citizens" in each of those areas; b) restricting Palestinians' everyday freedom of movement between those areas, as well as their ability to immigrate or relocate between these areas; c) systematically confiscating Palestinian land and properties in order to construct Jewish-only communities and settlements; and d) denying "Palestinians' right to political participation."⁴²

³⁹ Rabea Eghbariah, "Toward Nakba as a Legal Concept," Columbia Law Review, May 2024, <https://columbialawreview.org/content/toward-nakba-as-a-legal-concept/>.

⁴⁰ See "A Threshold Crossed: Israeli Authorities and the Crimes of Apartheid and Persecution," Human Rights Watch, April 27, 2021, <https://www.hrw.org/report/2021/04/27/threshold-crossed/israeli-authorities-and-crimes-apartheid-and-persecution>; Phyllis Bennis, "Human Rights Groups Agree: Israel Is Practicing Apartheid," Institute for Policy Studies, February 10, 2022, <https://ips-dc.org/human-rights-groups-agree-israel-is-practicing-apartheid/>; "Israel's Apartheid against Palestinians," Amnesty International, February 1, 2022, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/campaigns/2022/02/israels-system-of-apartheid/>; "A Threshold Crossed: Israeli Authorities and the Crimes of Apartheid and Persecution," Human Rights Watch, April 27, 2021, <https://www.hrw.org/report/2021/04/27/threshold-crossed/israeli-authorities-and-crimes-apartheid-and-persecution>; "Apartheid," B'Tselem, January 12, 2021, <https://www.btselem.org/apartheid>; "The Occupation of the West Bank and the Crime of Apartheid: Legal Opinion," Yesh Din, September 7, 2020, <https://www.yesh-din.org/en/the-occupation-of-the-west-bank-and-the-crime-of-apartheid-legal-opinion/>.

⁴¹ John Dugard, Introductory Note, Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, U.N. Audiovisual Library of International Law, November 30, 1973, <https://legal.un.org/avl/ha/cspca/cspca.html>. As Dugard outlines, apartheid, initially applied to South Africa's system of racial segregation, is now recognized as a crime against humanity under the 1973 Apartheid Convention and the 1998 Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC).

⁴² "A regime of Jewish supremacy from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea: This is apartheid," B'Tselem, January 12, 2021, https://www.btselem.org/publications/fulltext/202101_this_is_apartheid.

Since 2004, the International Court of Justice has considered the West Bank and East Jerusalem occupied territories.⁴³ In 2024, the ICJ ruled that Israeli settlement policies in the occupied Palestinian territories violate international law. These illegal policies include Israel's prohibition of Palestinians from organizing or encouraging transfers of its own population into occupied territory;⁴⁴ Israel's expropriation of Palestinian property for the development of Israeli settlements;⁴⁵ Israel's restrictions on Palestinians' access to water and use of natural resources;⁴⁶ Israel's forcible evictions of Palestinians, destruction of their homes, and restrictions on their residences and movements;⁴⁷ and Israeli settlers' and security forces' violence against Palestinians.⁴⁸ Israeli settler and military violence has included the massacre of peacefully protesting Palestinians⁴⁹ and the commission of gender-based violence against Palestinian women and girls with excessive use of force, including physical, psychological, and verbal abuse and sexual harassment.⁵⁰

In the Gaza Strip, Israeli occupation has taken a related form. In 2005, Israel withdrew all settlements and settlers from the Gaza Strip, maintaining control of Palestinians in Gaza instead through a complete blockade instituted in 2007. Through this blockade, Israel has maintained complete control over Gaza's airspace, sea waters, land crossings, electricity, water, and telecommunications, creating what activists, scholars, and human rights organizations have called an "open-air prison."⁵¹ The blockade has restricted the flow of essential goods to residents of Gaza; for example, Palestinians in Gaza are not able to rebuild after Israeli bombings because Israel prevents construction materials from entering the Strip. The blockade has also restricted Palestinians' freedom of movement, heavily limiting the number

⁴³ According to the ICJ, "under customary international law...territory is considered occupied when it is actually placed under the authority of the hostile army, and the occupation extends only to the territory where such authority has been established and can be recognized." quoted in "Legal Consequences arising from the Policies and Practices of Israel in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem," International Court of Justice (ICJ) Advisory Opinion, 19 July 2024, 28-29, <https://www.icj-cij.org/case/186>.

⁴⁴ 2024 ICJ Advisory Opinion at ¶ 115–119.

⁴⁵ 2024 ICJ Advisory Opinion at ¶ 120–123.

⁴⁶ 2024 ICJ Advisory Opinion at ¶ 124–133.

⁴⁷ 2024 ICJ Advisory Opinion at ¶ 134–147 (noting in ¶ 147 that "the nature of Israel's acts, including the fact that Israel frequently confiscates land following the demolition of Palestinian property for reallocation to Israeli settlements, indicates that its measures are not temporary in character and therefore cannot be considered as permissible evacuations").

⁴⁸ 2024 ICJ Advisory Opinion at ¶ 148–149, 53–54.

⁴⁹ 2024 ICJ Advisory Opinion at ¶ 152.

⁵⁰ 2024 ICJ Advisory Opinion at ¶ 153.

⁵¹ "Gaza: Israel's 'Open-Air Prison' at 15: Israel, Egypt Movement Restrictions Wreak Havoc on Palestinian Lives," Human Rights Watch, 14 June 2022, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/06/14/gaza-israels-open-air-prison-15>; Noam Chomsky, "Noam Chomsky on Gaza, the World's Largest Open-Air Prison," In These Times, 7 November 2012, <https://inthesetimes.com/article/gaza-the-worlds-largest-open-air-prison>; Angela Davis, *Freedom is a Constant Struggle: Ferguson, Palestine, and the Foundations of a Movement*, (Haymarket Books, 2016).

of people that can enter or exit Gaza through Israeli-controlled checkpoints—even civilians seeking medical treatment.⁵² The blockade has also exerted enormous economic hardship on the population of Gaza, where children comprise nearly half the population; these children and their families are denied access to basic resources including water, sewage, electric, medical and civilian infrastructure.⁵³ International organizations have repeatedly held that the blockade of Gaza violates the Geneva Convention’s prohibition against collective punishment.⁵⁴

Dartmouth currently supports these forms of Israeli state violence and racist discrimination through its investments, particularly its investments in weapons manufacturers that materially enable the Israeli apartheid regime and occupation of Palestine. Maintaining these investments clearly violates the College’s stated commitments to responsible leadership, mutual respect, and social responsibility.

⁵² United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), “The Gaza Strip | The humanitarian impact of 15 years of blockade,” The UNICEF Foundation, <https://www.unicef.org/mena/documents/gaza-strip-humanitarian-impact-15-years-blockade-june-2022>.

⁵³ OCHA, “Gaza Strip | 15 years of blockade.”; “Gaza_15 Years of Blockade,” United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), accessed October 10, 2024, <https://www.unrwa.org/gaza15-years-blockade>.

⁵⁴ “Israel must lift illegal and inhumane blockade on Gaza as power plant runs out of fuel,” Amnesty International, October 12, 2023, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2023/10/israel-opt-israel-must-lift-illegal-and-inhumane-blockade-on-gaza-as-power-plant-runs-out-of-fuel/>.

3.5. Investment in Israeli war crimes and genocide violates the College's duty of responsible leadership, mutual respect, and responsibility for the broader world

The stated mission of the College is to “instill a sense of responsibility for each other and for the broader world,” foster “a community marked by mutual respect,” and “prepare [students] for a lifetime of ... responsible leadership.” Dartmouth's investments in companies that provide material support to Israel's ongoing commission of war crimes and genocide in Gaza violate these core values.

Since the beginning of Israel's most recent assault on Gaza in October 2023, Israel has committed a myriad of war crimes. These crimes have included:

- Internal displacement and forcible transfer of at least 1.9 million Palestinians.⁵⁵
- Indiscriminate attacks on Palestinian homes.⁵⁶
- The weaponization of starvation: Israel has weaponized famine against Gaza's children, with 90% lacking nutrition for growth and many at risk of starvation.⁵⁷
- The systematic targeting of schools, refugee camps, humanitarian safe zones, places of worship, hospitals, and humanitarian aid workers.⁵⁸ One notable example is the Rafah Tent Massacre. On May 26, 2024, Israel bombed Palestinian refugees in the Kuwaiti Peace Camp, a designated humanitarian zone in Tal al-Sultan, Rafah City, using the

⁵⁵ “Gaza: Forced and protracted displacement of Palestinians would constitute a serious breach of international law and an atrocity crime,” Norwegian Refugee Council, December 26, 2023, <https://www.nrc.no/news/2023/december/gaza-displacement/>.

⁵⁶ “Gaza: Israeli Strike Killing 106 Civilians an Apparent War Crime,” Human Rights Watch, April 4, 2024, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2024/04/04/gaza-israeli-strike-killing-106-civilians-apparent-war-crime>.

⁵⁷ “Siege and Starvation: How Israel Obstructs Aid to Gaza,” Refugee International, March 7, 2024, <https://www.refugeesinternational.org/reports-briefs/siege-and-starvation-how-israel-obstructs-aid-to-gaza/>; “Nine Out of 10 Children in Gaza Lack Food for Growth: UNICEF,” Al Jazeera, June 6, 2024, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/6/6/nine-out-of-10-children-in-gaza-lack-food-for-growth-unicef>.

⁵⁸ “Gaza war: ‘Direct hits’ on more than 200 schools since Israeli bombing began,” UN News, March 27, 2024, <https://news.un.org/en/story/2024/03/1148031>; “Israeli air attacks kill 30 in Gaza's Jabalia refugee camp: Civil defence,” Al Jazeera, October 22, 2023, <https://www.aljazeera.com/amp/news/2023/10/22/israeli-air-attacks-kill-30-in-gazas-jabalia-refugee-camp-civil-defence>; “Death toll in Israeli attack on displaced Palestinians in Rafah rises to 45,” Al Jazeera, May 27, 2024, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/5/27/dozens-killed-in-israeli-strike-on-rafah-following-hamas-rocket-attacks>; “Israel/OPT: ‘Nowhere safe in Gaza’: Unlawful Israeli strikes illustrate callous disregard for Palestinian lives,” Human Rights Watch, November 20, 2023, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2023/11/israel-opt-nowhere-safe-in-gaza-unlawful-israeli-strikes-illustrate-callous-disregard-for-palestinian-lives/>; Reha Kansara and Ahmed Nour, “Israel-Gaza war: Counting the destruction of religious sites,” BBC, January 29, 2024, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-67983018>; “Gaza: Israelis Attacking Known Aid Worker Locations,” Human Rights Watch, May 14, 2024, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2024/05/14/gaza-israelis-attacking-known-aid-worker-locations>; “Gaza: ‘Systematic dismantling of healthcare must end’ says WHO,” UN News, April 6, 2024, <https://news.un.org/en/story/2024/04/1148316>.

US-made Boeing GBU-39. This attack on Rafah lit the large refugee encampment on fire, and resulted in approximately 45 civilian deaths.⁵⁹

- The use of white phosphorus on densely populated areas of Palestinian civilians and refugees.⁶⁰
- The use of sexual and gender-based violence by Israeli security and military forces, including their deliberate targeting, execution, disappearance, and torture of Palestinian women, and the decimation of Palestinian women's reproductive rights, bodily autonomy, and dignity, in violation of "the special protection to women and children required by international humanitarian and human rights law."⁶¹
- The deliberate targeting, execution, disappearance, torture, maiming, and starvation of Palestinian children, in violation of "the special protection for women and children required by international humanitarian and human rights law."⁶²
- The torture and rape of Palestinian prisoners: US reporters have revealed that Palestinian prisoners in Sde Teiman prison have been, according to CNN, "restrained and blindfolded, forced to sit and sometimes stand throughout the night beneath flood lights; wounded Palestinians were strapped down onto beds, forced to wear diapers, and fed through straws; soldiers beat detainees motivated by revenge for the October 7 attacks; and prisoners' limbs were amputated due to untreated wounds from restraints, and such operations took place without anesthesia."⁶³ Prisoners were gang raped by Israeli soldiers.⁶⁴

Israel's recent bombardment of Gaza was the most intense bombing campaign in modern history, concentrated into one of Earth's most densely populated areas.⁶⁵ In the first month

⁵⁹ Anushka Patil, "Israeli Airstrike in Rafah Kills Dozens in Tent Camp, Gazan Officials Say," The New York Times, May 26, 2024, sec. World, <https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/05/26/world/israel-gaza-war-hamas-rafah?smid=url-share#israeli-airstrike-kills-dozens-in-a-rafah-tent-camp-gazan-authorities-say-israel-says-it-targeted-a-hamas-compound>.

⁶⁰ "Israel: White Phosphorus Used in Gaza, Lebanon," Human Rights Watch, October 12, 2023, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2023/10/12/israel-white-phosphorus-used-gaza-lebanon>.

⁶¹ United Nations, "Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Palestinian People," 18–20.

⁶² United Nations, "Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices," 18–20.

⁶³ Jonah Valdez, "Video of Sexual Abuse at Israeli Prison Is Just Latest Evidence Sde Teiman Is a Torture Site," The Intercept, August 9, 2024, <https://theintercept.com/2024/08/09/israel-prison-sde-teiman-palestinian-abuse-torture/>; Tamara Qiblawi et al., "Strapped down, blindfolded, held in diapers: Israeli whistleblowers detail abuse of Palestinians in shadowy detention center," CNN, May 11, 2024, <https://www.cnn.com/2024/05/10/middleeast/israel-sde-teiman-detention-whistleblowers-intl-cmd/>.

⁶⁴ Valdez, "Evidence Sde Teiman Is Torture Site."

⁶⁵ Dalton Bennett, Sarah Cahlan, Meg Kelly, Joyce Sohyun Lee, and Szu Yu Chen, "Israel's War on Gaza Is on a Record Pace of Destruction, Leaving Neighborhoods Unrecognizable," The Washington Post, October 9, 2023.

alone, 2 nuclear bombs worth of explosives were dropped on Gaza.⁶⁶ Within 6 months, Israel had dropped on or fired into Gaza over 300,000 bombs and munitions, weighing 75,000 tons.⁶⁷ The bombardments and associated military action, along with the associated destruction of infrastructure, economic devastation, and disease, have resulted in the death of at least 169,000 Palestinians, or 7.9% of the total population in the Gaza Strip, as of July 2024.⁶⁸ Among those killed are tens of thousands of children, with many tens of thousands more missing, orphaned, and maimed.⁶⁹

The extent of Israel's military violence and war crimes against Palestinians since October 2023 has led scholars of genocide and many international organizations to conclude that Israel is committing genocide.⁷⁰ The Genocide Convention, to which Israel is a party, entered into force on January 12, 1951, as a United Nations treaty; it establishes genocide as a crime under international law. It defines genocide as any of five acts committed with the intent to destroy in whole or in part a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group by a) killing; b) causing serious bodily or mental harm; c) deliberately inflicting conditions designed to cause the group's physical destruction; d) imposing measures to prevent births, and e) forcibly transferring children to a group that is not its own.⁷¹ In January 2024, the ICJ found that there was a real and imminent risk that Israel was committing genocide against the Palestinian people.⁷² In September 2024, the United Nations Special Committee issued a report finding that "the policies and practices of Israel [since October 2023] are consistent

⁶⁶ "Israel Hit Gaza Strip with the Equivalent of Two Nuclear Bombs," Euro-Med Monitor, October 9, 2023, <https://euromedmonitor.org/en/article/5908/Israel-hit-Gaza-Strip-with-the-equivalent-of-two-nuclear-bombs>.

⁶⁷ National Security Memo 20 Task Force, Report on National Security Memorandum 20, April 18, 2024, <https://www.justsecurity.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/04/NSM20-TF-Report--Final.pdf>; "Photos: 200 Days of Israel's War on Gaza," Al Jazeera, April 23, 2024, <https://www.aljazeera.com/gallery/2024/4/23/photos-200-days-of-israels-war-on-gaza>.

⁶⁸ Rasha Khatib et al., "Counting the dead in Gaza: difficult but essential," The Lancet, Volume 404, Issue 10449, 237–238, [https://www.thelancet.com/journals/lancet/article/PIIS0140-6736\(24\)01169-3/fulltext](https://www.thelancet.com/journals/lancet/article/PIIS0140-6736(24)01169-3/fulltext).

⁶⁹ "Over 20,000 Children Estimated to Be Lost in Gaza," Save the Children, October 10, 2023, <https://www.savethechildren.org.uk/news/media-centre/press-releases/over-20000-children-estimated-to-be-lost-in-gaza>.

⁷⁰ Yair Meyer, "A Textbook Case of Genocide," Jewish Currents, October 10, 2023, <https://jewishcurrents.org/a-textbook-case-of-genocide>; Ruth Lloyd, "Is Israel Committing Genocide in Gaza?" Boston University, January 9, 2024, <https://www.bu.edu/articles/2024/is-israel-committing-genocide-in-gaza/>; Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, "Gaza: UN Experts Call on International Community to Prevent Genocide Against Palestinians," United Nations, November 22, 2023, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2023/11/gaza-un-experts-call-international-community-prevent-genocide-against>.

⁷¹ See Article 2, International Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, Dec. 9, 1948, 78 U.N.T.S. 277 ("Genocide Convention"), https://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtidg_no=IV-1&chapter=4&clang=en.

⁷² Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in the Gaza Strip (South Africa v. Israel). Order on Application by South Africa for Provisional Measures of 26 January, 2024 ICJ Rep 1 at p.13 ¶ 74 ("Provisional Measures").

with the characteristics of genocide.”⁷³ In December 2024, Amnesty International issued a nearly 300-page report documenting Israel’s genocide:

Through its research findings and legal analysis, Amnesty International has found sufficient basis to conclude that Israel committed, during the nine-month period under review, prohibited acts under Articles II (a), (b) and (c) of the Genocide Convention, namely killing, causing serious bodily or mental harm and deliberately inflicting on Palestinians in Gaza conditions of life calculated to bring about their physical destruction in whole or in part. The organization has also found sufficient basis to conclude that these acts were committed with the specific intent to destroy Palestinians in Gaza, as such, who form a substantial part of the Palestinian population. According to Amnesty International, the evidence it has gathered provides a sufficient basis to conclude that Israel, through its policies, actions and omissions against Palestinians in Gaza following 7 October 2023, committed and is committing genocide.⁷⁴

In line with its previous decision to divest from companies complicit in genocidal activities in Sudan, Dartmouth has a moral and a fiduciary responsibility to divest from companies aiding and abetting Israeli war crimes and genocide. Maintaining such investments not only prevents Dartmouth from fulfilling its “responsibility for the broader world,” but also actively destroys any sense of Dartmouth as a mutually respectful community. Divestment from companies complicit in Israel’s genocidal acts in Palestine is the only way for Dartmouth to uphold its own stated values.

3.6. Investment in Israeli scholasticide violates the College’s duty to foster free inquiry and a lifetime of learning

Dartmouth’s educational mission, which includes an emphasis on preserving free inquiry and instilling learning as a lifelong activity, obliges it to divest from companies complicit in scholasticide. **The UN defines scholasticide as the “systemic obliteration of education through the arrest, detention or killing of teachers, students and staff, and the destruction of educational infrastructure.”**⁷⁵

⁷³ United Nations, “Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Palestinian People,” 25.

⁷⁴ “Israel/Occupied Palestinian Territory: ‘You Feel Like You Are Subhuman’: Israel’s Genocide Against Palestinians in Gaza,” Amnesty International, December 5, 2024, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/mde15/8668/2024/en/>. See also “Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide,” United Nations, December 9, 1948, https://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=IV-1&chapter=4&clang=en.

⁷⁵ “UN experts deeply concerned over ‘scholasticide’ in Gaza,” United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, April 18, 2024, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2024/04/un-experts-deeply-concerned-over-scholasticide-gaza>; see also “Scholasticide Definition,” Scholars Against War, <https://scholarsagainstawar.org/toolkit/>.

This term describes Israel's practices in Gaza since October 2023, where it has systematically destroyed Palestinian universities and schools, assassinated Palestinian scholars, and eradicated Palestinian centers for knowledge production and the preservation of history.⁷⁶ Within the first 100 days of its 2023 assault on the Gaza Strip, Israel demolished or bombed all 12 universities in Gaza.⁷⁷ As of April 2024, Israel has destroyed more than 80% of all schools in Gaza, killing over 360 professors, school teachers, and librarians.⁷⁸ Israeli bombs have also decimated over 200 archeological sites, and 22 national archives, thereby erasing centuries of cultural heritage and obliterating contemporary educational systems.⁷⁹ At least 625,000 students in Gaza have no access to education.⁸⁰

Numerous organizations have raised the alarm in response to Israel's ongoing practice of scholasticide as state policy. Six months into the current offensive, UN experts noted with concern the apparent intentional, systematic effort to destroy Palestinian educational infrastructure. Scholars across North America also wrote an open letter, now signed by over 2,700 academics, condemning Israel's scholasticide, affirming the obligation of all academics across the international community to stand against the "deliberate destruction of academic life."⁸¹ At its January 2025 annual conference, the American Historical Association, the oldest learned society in the US, passed a resolution by a margin of 428 to 88 votes condemning the Israeli violence in Gaza that violates "the right of all peoples to freely teach and learn about the past."⁸²

⁷⁶ "Scholasticide Definition," Scholars Against War.

⁷⁷ "Israel kills dozens of academics, destroys every university in the Gaza Strip," Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Monitor, January 20, 2024, <https://euromedmonitor.org/en/article/6108/Israel-kills-dozens-of-academics,-destroys-every-university-in-the-Gaza-Strip>.

⁷⁸ "UN experts deeply concerned over 'scholasticide' in Gaza," United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, April 18, 2024, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2024/04/un-experts-deeply-concerned-over-scholasticide-gaza>; "Israeli Damage to Archives, Libraries, and Museums in Gaza, October 2023–January 2024: A Preliminary Report from Librarians and Archivists with Palestine," Librarians and Archivists with Palestine, February 1, 2024, <https://librarianswithpalestine.org/gaza-report-2024/>.

⁷⁹ Chloe Veltman, "More than 100 Gaza heritage sites have been damaged or destroyed by Israeli attacks," NPR, December 3, 2023, <https://www.npr.org/2023/12/03/1216200754/gaza-heritage-sites-destroyed-israel>; Mahmoud Hawari, "Israel Destroys Palestinian Cultural Heritage Sites in Gaza," February 28, 2024, <https://www.palestine-studies.org/en/node/1655264>.

⁸⁰ "UN experts deeply concerned over 'scholasticide' in Gaza," United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, April 18, 2024, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2024/04/un-experts-deeply-concerned-over-scholasticide-gaza>.

⁸¹ "OPEN LETTER FROM NORTH AMERICAN ACADEMICS CONDEMNING SCHOLASTICIDE IN GAZA," accessed October 15, 2024, <https://docs.google.com/forms/d/e/1FAIpQLSc7K7qybzbbeiBAG7sYTxbp1VOyYBrYPaxRf8jvHuBa0kQHlg/viewform>.

⁸² Ryan Quinn, "Historians Condemn 'Scholasticide' in Gaza at Conference," Inside Higher Ed, January 05, 2025, <https://www.insidehighered.com/news/faculty-issues/academic-freedom/2025/01/05/aha-convention-attendees-oppose-scholasticide-gaza>; American Historical Association, "Resolution for Consideration at the January 2025 Business Meeting," Perspectives On History, November 25, 2024, <https://www.historians.org/perspectives-article/resolution-for-consideration-at-the-january-2025-business-meeting/>.

Dartmouth's continued investment in companies complicit in Israeli scholasticide in Palestine makes it a participant in this destruction of academic life, violating the College's stated commitments to knowledge production and a "lifetime of learning." The Board of Trustees also insists that Dartmouth's investments should "preserve intergenerational equity for the institution,"⁸³ helping future Dartmouth students and faculty as well as current ones. **The College's investments in companies that enable Israel's ongoing scholasticide in Palestine violate this principle of intergenerational equity by preventing future generations from benefiting from the knowledge of Palestinian scholars or scholarly institutions.**

⁸³ "Board Statement on Investment and Social Responsibility (SISR)," Investment Office of Dartmouth College, January 5, 2024, https://www.dartmouth.edu/investments/environmental_social_governance/board_statement_sisr.php.

4. CRITERION II: INABILITY TO MODIFY COMPANY BEHAVIOR

Criterion 2: All practicable shareholder rights have been exhausted in seeking to modify the company's behavior, or it has been determined that pursuing such rights would likely be futile; and, the company has been afforded the maximum reasonable opportunity to alter its behavior and failed to do so in a manner that materially reduces such injury.

Many companies that support Israeli violations of international law and apartheid policies, by nature of their specific business practices, cannot modify their behavior to become viable investments for the College; others, given the widespread knowledge of Israel's practices among the international community, have already had ample opportunity to change their behavior and have failed to do so.

The companies that this proposal specifies in section 8.2 as targets for divestment (Lockheed Martin, Northrop Grumman, RTX Corporation, L3 Harris Technologies, BAE Systems, and Boeing) are so dependent on the manufacture and sale of weapons and other machinery of war that pursuing shareholder activism as a means of modifying their practices has historically been resoundingly unsuccessful. L3 Harris Technologies, for example, has experienced multiple peaceful protests including demonstrations by Bay Area healthcare workers, and die-ins outside its headquarters in Northampton.⁸⁴ The company has continued to accept multi-billion dollar contracts with organizations that supply and commit civilian bombings, illegal surveillance, and tracking. Demonstrators have similarly blocked Lockheed Martin facilities in the US,⁸⁵ Canada,⁸⁶ and the UK;⁸⁷ Lockheed Martin has failed to respond to these actions. Efforts by shareholders to change these companies' practices have been just as ineffective as those by external protesters. Recent shareholder resolutions attempting to

⁸⁴ Nik Altenberg, "Bay Area Health Care Workers Protest Arms Sales to Israel," KQED, January 24, 2024, <https://www.kqed.org/news/11973562/bay-area-health-care-workers-protest-arms-sales-to-israel>; Samuel Gelina, "Protesters target L3Harris in Northampton over nuclear weapons," Daily Hampshire Gazette, September 18, 2024, <https://www.gazettenet.com/Protest-at-L3Harris-57060984>.

⁸⁵ Tori Gaines and Dan McMenamin, "Protesters block Sunnyvale Lockheed Martin facility over Israel conflict in Gaza," Fox KTVU, April 4, 2024, <https://www.ktvu.com/news/protesters-block-sunnyvale-lockheed-martin-facility-over-israel-conflict-in-gaza>.

⁸⁶ Michael John Lo, "Protests march to Lockheed Martin offices in Esquimalt over Canadian arms exports to Israel," Times Colonist, November 16, 2024, <https://www.timescolonist.com/local-news/protests-march-to-lockheed-martin-offices-in-esquimalt-over-canadian-arms-exports-to-israel-9821065>.

⁸⁷ Danny Fullbrook, "Lockheed Martin: Palestine protesters install blockade," BBC, November 24, 2023, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-beds-bucks-herts-67519517>.

require RTX and Lockheed Martin to provide a human rights impact assessment of their operations, including those on Palestinians, failed by margins of upwards of 90%.⁸⁸

It is our position that Dartmouth does not need to invest in weapons manufacturers in order to fulfill its educational mission. In fact, the undeniable purpose of weapons—the destruction of life and the conditions that underpin it—is fundamentally irreconcilable with the work of the College, and no amount of advocacy by shareholders can alter the nature of weapons manufacturers.

Likewise, Dartmouth's investments in other kinds of companies directly complicit in well-documented violations of international law like apartheid, occupation, and genocide are inconsistent with Dartmouth's educational mission. Such companies have shown a clear and consistent willingness to flout the consensus of the global community in order to profit from Israeli violations of established international law. The preponderance of evidence of, and international consensus about, the criminal nature of Israel's actions in Palestine should be sufficient impetus for a company to change its behavior. Additional advocacy from shareholders cannot be expected to have a significant impact.

Dartmouth's recent history of divestment from oil companies operating in Sudan,⁸⁹ the tobacco industry,⁹⁰ and fossil fuels shows that it understands this divestment logic. In November 2005, Dartmouth announced it would not invest in oil companies operating in Sudan because of their potential complicity in genocide.⁹¹ In 2012, Dartmouth's Board of Trustees voted to divest from the tobacco industry and prevent future investment in tobacco companies because tobacco use is harmful to health and goes against the values of a college with a medical school.⁹² Finally, the fossil fuel divestment movement successfully demanded an end to Dartmouth's financial ties with the fossil fuel industry because the nature of its business is inherently deleterious to humankind and the environment.⁹³ Our present proposal similarly advocates for divestment from companies whose core enterprises and/or history of condoning Israel's violations of international law can be neither practicably modified through exercising shareholder rights nor reconciled with the mission of the College.

⁸⁸ David Hood, "Campus Israel-Gaza Protests Invigorate Company Disclosure Bids," Bloomberg Law, May 3, 2024, <https://news.bloomberglaw.com/esg/campus-israel-gaza-protests-invigorate-company-disclosure-bids>.

⁸⁹ Galgon "The Truth Behind Dartmouth's Divestment Process."

⁹⁰ Curtis, "Dare a Deed for the Old Mother."

⁹¹ Galgon, "The Truth Behind Dartmouth's Divestment Process." See also Chloe Lutts, "Dartmouth creates Darfur 'watch list,'" The Brown Daily Herald, November 30, 2005, <https://www.browndailyherald.com/article/2005/12/dartmouth-creates-darfur-watch-list>.

⁹² Curtis, "Dare a Deed."

⁹³ Morgan Curtis, "Morgan Curtis, a 2014 Dartmouth graduate who has been campaigning for the college to divest itself of fossil fuel stocks for six years, waged an impromptu protest at an alumni reunion weekend event on Saturday..." (Facebook image, June 20, 2019), <https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=10157271807611870&set=a.198024976869>.

5. CRITERION III: MATERIAL IMPACT

Criterion 3: Divestment will make a material impact on correcting the company's injurious behavior.

Divestment can make a material impact on these companies; the depreciation of stock prices driven by the sale of stock can potentially decrease profits. This financial loss may decrease these companies' ability to manufacture arms, weaponry, and surveillance technologies. Such decreased profits, compounded by negative press, may pressure companies to sever ties with nations, such as Israel, that are committing war crimes and genocide.

Divestment, however, has both financial and social impact. Divestment by an institution such as Dartmouth creates precedent for other academic institutions to divest. While one university's investment profile, even one as large as Dartmouth's, may initially only have a marginal financial impact on each company, collective divestment by universities and public entities can have profound cumulative effects. **The ability of university divestment to spark social change is well documented. In the case of South African apartheid, colleges set the precedent for divestment, which then grew into massive waves of divestment, boycotts, and economic sanctions.**⁹⁴ In divesting from companies complicit in Israel's genocide in Gaza, Dartmouth would join with other colleges and universities that have already begun to divest and potentially inspire other peer institutions to follow suit.

⁹⁴ "Apartheid Divestment Campaigns," Tufts University Prison Divestment, Tufts University, accessed October 10, 2024, <https://sites.tufts.edu/prisondivestment/apartheid-divestment-campaigns/>.

6. CRITERION IV: PRESERVING THE ACADEMIC MISSION

Funding for academic research will not be negatively impacted by divesting from weapons manufacturers and other companies that are materially complicit in Israeli genocide, war crimes, and the occupation of Palestine, especially since Dartmouth's endowment can be reinvested elsewhere. Dartmouth's financial investments currently compromise its role as a producer of knowledge and a premier educational institution; by directly profiting from genocide, apartheid, and war crimes, Dartmouth risks compromising the integrity of its faculty's research and the academic freedom of its faculty. Divesting from the aforementioned companies will enhance Dartmouth's ability to study Palestine and Israel with transparency and honesty and for those findings to be published without fear of repercussions.

7. CRITERION V: CONSENSUS ON UNIVERSITY RESPONSE

ACIR's criteria for divestment state that proposals must demonstrate how the Dartmouth community, including students, faculty, staff, and alumni, have come to a consensus to support the proposal. It is our position, however, that given its subjective and arbitrary nature, the criterion for consensus must not be used to thwart good faith attempts to align the College's endowment with its stated values.

ACIR's current requirement for consensus does not have any historical precedent. In the case of fossil fuel divestment, the two central efforts demonstrating broad agreement on the issue did not prompt the College to divest its fossil fuel holdings. In 2014, activists delivered a petition with over 1,200 signatures from a wide range of Dartmouth community members to the administration, yet the College did not divest.⁹⁵ In 2015, Alumni for Dartmouth Divestment delivered a letter signed by 79 graduates of the College to College leadership, yet the College did not divest.⁹⁶ Dartmouth finally divested its direct holdings in fossil fuels in 2021, years after these two efforts, at which time the petition and letter demonstrating some sense of community opinion were both outdated. No further effort was made by the College to establish any sort of consensus before adopting the decision to divest.

Other divestment cases offer no further clarification on the presumed role of consensus. Multiple petitions totalling 2,300 signatures spurred divestment from Hydro-Quebec in 1992.⁹⁷ A 2005 petition bearing 300 signatures prompted the ACIR to produce a no-hold list in the same year for companies implicated in genocide in Sudan.⁹⁸ And, in 2012, the Board of Trustees voted to divest from companies that produced tobacco and tobacco products. Though the issue had been raised thrice in the 1990s, there was no timely campaign or demonstration of consensus to accompany the 2012 decision.⁹⁹

⁹⁵ Curtis, "Morgan Curtis, a 2014 Dartmouth graduate," Facebook Post.

⁹⁶ Kelsey Flower, "Alumni push College for divestment," The Dartmouth, Hanover, NH, April 9, 2015, accessed December 29, 2024, <https://www.thedartmouth.com/article/2015/04/alumni-push-college-for-divestment>; Alumni for Dartmouth Divestment, "Alumni for Dartmouth Divestment: An open Letter of support for fossil fuel divestment," Fossil Free USA, last modified April 3, 2015, accessed December 29, 2024, <https://gofossilfree.org/usa/alumni-for-dartmouth-divestment-an-open-letter-of-support-for-fossil-fuel-divestment/>.

⁹⁷ "Dartmouth to divest Hydro-Quebec bonds," United Press International, December 18, 1992, <https://www.upi.com/Archives/1992/12/18/Dartmouth-to-divest-Hydro-Quebec-bonds/4451724654800/>.

⁹⁸ Zhang '16 and Trerayapiwat '16, "Report to the President on the Considerations Involved in Divesting the Dartmouth College Endowment from Directly Held Fossil-Fuel Related Assets."

⁹⁹ Zhang '16 and Trerayapiwat '16.

Across all these examples, we see the principle of consensus applied at best unevenly and in most cases not at all.

There seems to be no magic number of community members that constitutes consensus: 300 might suffice in one case, while four times that amount might fall short in another. Clearly, consensus is a subjective, ill-defined requirement at best.

This history also suggests that consensus on divestment may be difficult to achieve when political struggles are still being contested. In the case of divestment from apartheid South Africa, the Dartmouth faculty voted for total divestiture in 1986,¹⁰⁰ and in 1988, they “voted unanimously to register ‘dismay and displeasure’ that the Board of Trustees had not yet decided to divest even though they were asked to do so by the faculty [almost] three years earlier.”¹⁰¹ However, on the student side, only 46% of students in 1986 supported total divestment.¹⁰² Nevertheless, in 1989, Dartmouth did eventually divest from apartheid South Africa. A statement from the Trustees to the College explained that they recognized that “these investments have great symbolic meaning to many within and outside the college, and that disputes over such investments undermine Dartmouth’s ability to achieve some of its educational goals.”¹⁰³

Collectively, past campus divestment movements have asked: “What political, moral, and material role does Dartmouth’s endowment play globally?” Recently the College has attempted to stifle the Dartmouth community from asking such questions: President Beilock claims, for example, that “the endowment is not a political tool.”¹⁰⁴ However, if the College chooses to profit from investments in the fossil fuel industry, in companies doing business in South Africa, or in companies complicit in Israeli apartheid and genocide, it is taking a political position, as all investments are tacit endorsements of companies’ functions and directions. In making this observation, we follow in the footsteps of past Dartmouth Trustees, who once insightfully stated that Dartmouth’s “investment policies should also reflect the broad societal goals for which the institution as a whole stands.”¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰ David T. McLaughlin to Thomas B. Roos, March 7, 1986, Dartmouth S. Africa Policy 1984-1986, George Bourozikas papers, Ms-1436, Rauner Library Archives and Manuscripts, Hanover, NH.

¹⁰¹ Timothy, Burger, “Should Dartmouth Divest?,” Dartmouth Alumni Magazine, November, 1988, <https://archive.dartmouthalumnimagazine.com/article/1988/11/1/should-dartmouth-divest>.

¹⁰² Aaron, Lisman, “College Reflects on 1986 Shanties,” The Dartmouth, March 5, 1996, <https://www.thedartmouth.com/article/1996/03/college-reflects-on-1986-shanties>.

¹⁰³ Elizabeth Greene, “Dartmouth Trustees to Divest Portfolio of South Africa-Related Holdings,” The Chronicle of Higher Education, 1989-11, Vol.36 (13), p.A35.

¹⁰⁴ Sian Leah Beilock, “Campus protest,” Dartmouth College, May 2, 2024, <https://home.dartmouth.edu/news/2024/05/campus-protest>.

¹⁰⁵ Memorandum, “Board of Trustees.”

Currently, a broad coalition of Dartmouth students, alumni, faculty, staff, and community members believe it is imperative to divest from companies that facilitate Israeli apartheid, genocide, and war crimes, as these investments imperil the College's stated values and its ability to achieve its educational mission. This position is more and more widely held. Given the egregiousness of Israel's violations of international law, war crimes, human rights abuses, and genocidal violence against Palestinians, many academic institutions have recently decided to divest from companies complicit in these actions, recognizing that divestment is an important material and symbolic statement against genocide and other violations of international law. These institutions include Union Theological Seminary, California State University Sacramento, Trinity College Dublin, the University of Barcelona, and San Francisco State University.¹⁰⁶ Dartmouth has the opportunity to join these institutions in bringing its investments in line with its stated mission and values. By divesting from companies complicit in Israeli genocide and apartheid, Dartmouth can fulfill its ethical and moral responsibility as an institution of higher learning to uphold human rights and international law.

¹⁰⁶ "Union Theological Seminary Board of Trustees Endorses Divestment and Other Strategies for Companies Protesting From War in Palestine/Israel," Union Theological Seminary, <https://utsnyc.edu/union-theological-seminary-board-of-trustees-endorses-divestment-and-other-strategies-for-companies-protesting-from-war-in-palestine-israel/>; "Sacramento State becomes CA's 1st university to divest from companies doing business with Israel," ABC7 News, May 9, 2024, <https://abc7news.com/post/sacramento-state-becomes-cas-1st-university-to-align-with-pro-palestinian-protesters-demands/14788870/>; Rory Carroll, "Trinity College Dublin agrees to divest from Israeli firms after student protest," The Guardian, May 8, 2024, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/article/2024/may/08/trinity-college-dublin-agrees-to-divest-from-israeli-firms-after-student-protest>; "The University Senate approves the motion in support of Palestine to be submitted to the University's governing team and the Governing Council," Universitat de Barcelona, May 8, 2024, <https://web.ub.edu/en/web/actualitat/w/claustre-universitari-aprova-mocio-suport-palestina>; Azad Essa, "San Francisco State University divests from weapons companies aiding Israel's war on Gaza," Middle East Eye 29, August, 2024 <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/san-francisco-state-university-divest-weapons-companies-aiding-israel>.

8. DIVESTMENT PROPOSAL

We have now demonstrated how continued investment in companies that are complicit in Israel's violations of international law is inconsistent with Dartmouth's history, values, and mission; we have shown how this proposal fulfills the Dartmouth Board of Trustees and ACIR's other considerations for divestment. Thus we recommend that Dartmouth adopt the following divestment and investment policy:

Dartmouth will divest its endowment from companies that are involved in Israel's violations of international law, including its apartheid practices, illegal occupations, and acts of genocide. Going forward, Dartmouth will refuse to invest in any companies that are involved in Israel's violations of international law, including its apartheid practices, illegal occupations, and acts of genocide.

This divestment and investment policy would apply to all of Dartmouth's direct and indirect investments, including public and private equities. Below we outline the criteria that would enable Dartmouth to evaluate all current and future investments in order to uphold this policy. We also provide a partial list of Dartmouth's current holdings that violate this divestment policy from which the College should divest now.

8.1. Criteria for Divestment

These criteria have been adapted from other respected community and university coalitions working for divestment from Israeli apartheid and genocide.¹⁰⁷ Should Dartmouth adopt the divestment/investment principle stated above, if companies engage in the following activities, Dartmouth should subsequently either divest from them, or refuse to invest in them:

- a) **Settlement Building and Maintenance:** Activities related to Israeli settlement construction, expansion, or maintenance. This includes building or financing new settlement housing or other infrastructure; providing current settlement infrastructure with utilities such as communication services, transportation services, waste management services, energy services (including solar), etc.; conducting business in settlements (factories and retail stores, for instance); or providing or operating surveillance technology and equipment.

¹⁰⁷ These criteria have been adapted primarily from our colleagues at Princeton; see Princeton Israeli Apartheid Divest, [“Disclose, Divest, Dissociate: Proposal for Princeton University’s Divestment and Disassociation from Israel’s Violations of International Law and Human Rights,”](#) June 2024, pp. 33–34. See also American Friends Service Committee, “Investigate: What are You Invested In?” <https://investigate.afsc.org/divest>; “Database Pursuant to Human Rights Council Resolution 31/36,” United Nations Human Rights Council, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/hr-bodies/hrc/regular-sessions/session31/database-hrc3136>.

- b) **Environmental Exploitation and Ecocide:** Owning or financing extractive industries or engaging in environmental extraction, including drilling or mining. Polluting Palestinian land or groundwater (through landfills, sewage plants, dumping waste in Palestinian villages, etc.).
- c) **Surveillance and Obstruction of Palestinians' Free Movement:** Designing, building, operating, maintaining, or financing Gaza and West Bank walls and checkpoints. Providing surveillance equipment for walls and checkpoints.
- d) **Weapons and Military Equipment:** Designing, manufacturing, or distributing weapons, military equipment, and technology that are used in the illegal collective punishment, murder, maiming, torture, and starvation of Palestinian civilians, refugees, humanitarian aid workers, and journalists; and/or in the destruction of Palestinian infrastructure, including homes, schools, universities, hospitals, churches, mosques, heritage sites, farms, greenhouses, and olive groves.
- e) **Discrimination:** Practicing discrimination or racist bias against Palestinian citizens of Israel or Palestinians living under illegal occupation (for example, when a company refuses to provide its services, or provides inferior services, to Palestinians because of their race, religion, or national origin; or when a company enacts discriminatory hiring or firing practices; unequal pay/salary rates; or provides unsafe working conditions for Palestinians). Participating in the restriction of Palestinians' rights and ability to inhabit land, including through evictions and demolitions, or their freedom of movement; or ability to work. Contributing to restrictions on Palestinians' access to water, electricity, or other utilities. Contributing in any way to the criminalization, policing, and incarceration of Palestinians who lack rights to due process or fair trials.

In order to discover if a company is involved in these activities, Dartmouth should look to the following respected sources: 1) American Friends Service Committee; 2) the Who Profits Research Center; and 3) UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (UN OHCHR).¹⁰⁸ Below we detail six companies that fit these divestment criteria, from which Dartmouth should divest immediately.

¹⁰⁸ American Friends Service Committee, "Investigate: What are You Invested In?" <https://investigate.afsc.org/divest>; "Database Pursuant to Human Rights Council Resolution 31/36," United Nations Human Rights Council, www.ohchr.org/en/hr-bodies/hrc/regular-sessions/session31/database-hrc3136; "Who Profits Database of Complicit Companies," Who Profits Research Center, <https://www.whoprofits.org/companies/all>. We follow our colleagues at Princeton in making this recommendation; see PIAD, "Disclose, Divest, Dissociate," 34–35 for more information on these resources.

8.2. Current Holdings that Meet Divestment Criteria

Dartmouth currently invests through fixed income funds in the following six companies, which are directly complicit in the ongoing genocide in Palestine. Should the College adopt the principle of divestment offered in this proposal, Dartmouth should divest immediately from and not reinvest in:

- a) Lockheed Martin
- b) Northrop Grumman
- c) RTX Corporation
- d) L3 Harris Technologies
- e) BAE Systems
- f) Boeing

8.2.a. Lockheed Martin

One of the largest global military contractors,¹⁰⁹ Lockheed Martin is a key supplier of Israeli weaponry, including fighter jets, attack helicopters, and missiles, through the US government's Foreign Military Financing program.¹¹⁰ These weapons have been used extensively against Palestinian civilians, resulting in numerous casualties and widespread damage to civilian infrastructure, such as homes, hospitals, schools, and utilities.¹¹¹ Lockheed Martin was a close second for the most guided bombs and munitions delivered to Israel of any US company from 2021 to 2023.¹¹²

Military Aircraft

Lockheed Martin also directly provides the Israeli Air Force with F-16 and F-35 aircraft, along with related components and services.¹¹³ Between 2004 and 2009, Lockheed Martin

¹⁰⁹ Alexandra Marksteiner et al., "The SIPRI Top 100 Arms-Producing and Military Services Companies, 2020," Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, December 2021, https://www.sipri.org/sites/default/files/2021-12/fs_2112_top_100_2020.pdf#page=3

¹¹⁰ Josh Ruebner, Salih Booker, and Zaha Hassan, "Bringing Assistance to Israel in Line with Rights and US Laws," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, May 12, 2021, <https://carnegieendowment.org/2021/05/12/bringing-assistance-to-israel-in-line-with-rights-and-US-laws-pub-84503>.

¹¹¹ "The Gaza Strip | IMEU Policy Backgrounder | IMEU," Institute for Middle East Understanding, April 7, 2022, <https://imeu.org/article/the-gaza-strip-imeu-policy-backgrounder>.

¹¹² Teo Popescu, "Off the Charts: Boeing was top U.S. manufacturer of missiles and munitions delivered to Israel from 2021-2023," KUOW, May 13, 2024, <https://www.kuow.org/stories/graphic-boeing-was-top-us-manufacturer-of-missiles-and-munitions-delivered-to-Israel>.

¹¹³ Between 2004 and 2009, Lockheed Martin supplied Israel with at least 102 F-16s and between 2016 and 2021, with at least 50 F-35s. See Emilie Ekeberg and Charlotte Aagaard, "Multi-Ton Bombs and Massive Damage: How Israel Uses

supplied Israel with at least 102 F-16s and between 2016 and 2021, with at least 50 F-35s.¹¹⁴ In addition to the fighter jets themselves, the company provides maintenance and support services, such as the \$8.1 million contract awarded in 2022 for engineering, data, and training related to Israel's F-35 program.¹¹⁵ The F-16 has been a key fighter jet for the Israeli Air Force since the 1970s,¹¹⁶ used in various military assaults on Gaza, including bombing residential areas and media offices during the 2021 offensive.¹¹⁷ The F-35, the most advanced warplane used by Israel, has been involved in airstrikes since 2018. **During the 2021 assault, Israel deployed 80 fighter jets, including F-35s, for extensive airstrikes across Gaza.**¹¹⁸

Missiles

Lockheed Martin's Longbow Hellfire¹¹⁹ missiles are also frequently used by the Israeli Air Force in attacks on Gaza.¹²⁰ The use of these missiles against civilians has been documented in multiple cases, including during the 2014 assault, where they were used to kill and injure civilians in incidents identified as war crimes by the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights.¹²¹ The use of these missiles led to a temporary halt in their transfer to Israel by the US government in 2014, though transfers resumed a month later.¹²²

Danish-Armoured Fighter Jets in Gaza – Danwatch,” Danwatch, March 26, 2024, <https://danwatch.dk/en/multi-ton-bombs-and-massive-damage-how-israel-uses-danish-armoured-fighter-jets-in-gaza/>; “SIPRI Arms Transfers Database,” Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, March 11, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.55163/safc1241>.

¹¹⁴ “SIPRI Arms Transfers Database,” Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, March 11, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.55163/safc1241>.

¹¹⁵ “Contracts for September 6, 2022,” US Department of Defense, 2024, <https://www.defense.gov/News/Contracts/Contract/Article/3150041/>.

¹¹⁶ “Lockheed Martin in Israel,” Lockheed Martin, n.d., <https://www.lockheedmartin.com/en-il/index.html>.

¹¹⁷ Sebastien Roblin, “Israel’s Bombardment of Gaza: Methods, Weapons and Impact,” Forbes, May 26, 2021, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/sebastienroblin/2021/05/26/israels-bombardment-of-gaza-methods-weapons-and-impact/?sh=8f315f12f442>.

¹¹⁸ Ayush Jain, “Israeli ‘Adir’ a Heavily Modified Variant of F-35 Stealth Jet Proved Its Mettle against Hamas,” The EurAsian Times, May 23, 2021, <https://eurasianimes.com/israeli-adir-a-heavily-modified-variant-of-f-35-stealth-jet-proved-its-mettle-against-hamas/>.

¹¹⁹ Humeyra Pamuk and Mike Stone, “US Has Sent Israel Thousands of 2,000-Pound Bombs since Oct. 7,” Reuters, June 29, 2024, <https://www.reuters.com/world/us-has-sent-israel-thousands-2000-pound-bombs-since-oct-7-2024-06-28/>.

¹²⁰ LMC supplied Israel with at least 1,445 Hellfire missiles between 1990 and 2006. See “SIPRI Arms Transfers Database,” Stockholm International Peace Research Institute.

¹²¹ Human Rights Council, “Report of the Detailed Findings of the Independent Commission of Inquiry Established pursuant to Human Rights Council Resolution S-21/1,” Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, June 23, 2015.

¹²² TOI Staff, “US Resumes Supply of Hellfire Missiles to Israel,” The Times of Israel, September 28, 2014, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/us-resumes-supply-of-hellfire-missiles-to-israel/>.

In addition to Hellfire missiles, Lockheed Martin manufactures sensors and radar technologies for Boeing Apache helicopters, enhancing their targeting capabilities.¹²³ The company also provides the Israeli military with the M-270 Multiple Launch Rocket System (MLRS), which was used to fire cluster munitions during the 2006 Lebanon War, resulting in significant civilian casualties and damage, actions described by Human Rights Watch as indiscriminate and in violation of international law.¹²⁴

By supplying Israel with military aircraft and missiles, Lockheed Martin is directly complicit in the ongoing genocide in Palestine; continued investment in this company is inconsistent with Dartmouth's history, values, and mission.

8.2.b. Northrop Grumman

Northrop Grumman Defense Systems is a US defense corporation that manufactures and sells weapons both to the US military and to US-allied militaries around the world. In 2022, Northrop Grumman had the third largest arms revenue stream in the world, making up 88% of their company's total revenue.¹²⁵

For decades, and now in the current offensive against Gaza, Northrop Grumman has supplied Israel with missile guidance systems, missile ships, and components of combat aircraft, all of which have been used to perpetrate war crimes against the Palestinian people.¹²⁶ Furthermore, the corporation plans to increase its export of weapons and munitions over the next decade,¹²⁷ including 50,000 tank cartridges sold to Israel as part of the 20 billion dollar arms deal approved by the US government on August 13, 2024.¹²⁸

Military Aircraft

Northrop Grumman is integral to developing and manufacturing components for Lockheed Martin's F-35 warplane and has an agreement with Israel's largest military contractor, Elbit

¹²³ "Boeing Co," Investigate, American Friends Service Committee, November 17, 2022, <https://investigate.info/company/boeing>.

¹²⁴ "Flooding South Lebanon: Israel's Use of Cluster Munitions in Lebanon in July and August 2006," Human Rights Watch, February 16, 2008, <https://www.hrw.org/report/2008/02/16/flooding-south-lebanon/israels-use-cluster-munitions-lebanon-july-and-august-2006>.

¹²⁵ "The SIPRI Top 100 arms-producing and military services companies in the world, 2022," Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 2023, <https://www.sipri.org/visualizations/2023/sipri-top-100-arms-producing-and-military-services-companies-world-2022>.

¹²⁶ "Northrop Grumman Corp," Investigate, The American Friends Service Committee, November 14, 2022, <https://investigate.afsc.org/company/northrop-grumman>.

¹²⁷ "Inside Northrop's plan to dramatically increase defense exports over the next decade," Breaking Defense, November 14, 2023, <https://breakingdefense.com/2023/11/inside-northrops-plan-to-dramatically-increase-defense-exports-over-next-decade/>.

¹²⁸ "State clears potential \$20B in weapon sales to Israel, including new F-15s," Breaking Defense, August 13, 2024, <https://breakingdefense.com/2024/08/state-clears-potential-20b-in-weapon-sales-to-israel-including-new-f-15s/>.

Systems, to provide components for the Israeli Air Force's F-35 aircraft.¹²⁹ The company also manufactures the ALQ-131 warfare system and the AN/APG-68(V)9 fire-control radar for Lockheed Martin's F-16, which is Israel's main combat aircraft.¹³⁰

Missiles

In conjunction with Lockheed Martin, Northrop Grumman manufactures the AN/APG-78 Longbow fire-control radar system, which is designed specifically for Apache attack helicopters for use with AGM-114L Longbow Hellfire laser-guided missiles.¹³¹

Apache helicopters equipped with Longbow radar systems and Hellfire missiles have been used extensively in Israel's major assaults on Gaza, including in a 50-day attack on Gaza in 2014 that the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights identified as "a direct attack against civilian objects or civilians, a war crime under international criminal law."¹³²

Combat Vehicles

The tank cartridges Northrop Grumman provides to Israel include 120mm tank cartridges, such as the M1147 High Explosive Multi-Purpose with Tracer and M830A1 High Explosive Multi-Purpose Anti-Tank with Tracer.¹³³ The latter is notable for being used to target a Red Crescent ambulance that was trying to reach a six-year-old child, Hind Rajab, killed with her family by Israeli forces. The ambulance was destroyed, killing the aid workers inside it.¹³⁴

Northrop Grumman is directly complicit in the ongoing genocide in Palestine; continued investment in this company is inconsistent with Dartmouth's history, values, and mission.

8.2.c. RTX Corporation

Formerly known as Raytheon Technologies Corporation, RTX Corporation is the world's second-largest aerospace and defense conglomerate. Headquartered in Arlington, Virginia, RTX is organized into three divisions: Raytheon, Collins Aerospace, and Pratt & Whitney.

¹²⁹ Northrop Grumman Corporation, "Northrop Grumman's F-35 Supplier in Israel Delivers First Advanced Composite Component From Foreign Military Sales Country," PR Newswire, June 10, 2013, <https://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/northrop-grummans-f-35-supplier-in-israel-delivers-first-advanced-composite-component-from-foreign-military-sales-country-210807171.html>.

¹³⁰ "Northrop Grumman Corp," Investigate.

¹³¹ Northrop Grumman Corp, "AN/APG-78 Longbow Fire Control Radar," <https://www.northropgrumman.com/what-we-do/an-apg-78-longbow-fire-control-radar>.

¹³² "Northrop Grumman Corp," Investigate.

¹³³ United States Defense Security Cooperation Agency, "Israel – 120mm Tank Cartridges," United States Department of Defense, August 13, 2024, <https://www.dscamilitary.com/sites/default/files/mas/Press%20Release%20-%20Israel%2024-10%20CN.pdf>.

¹³⁴ Meg Kelly et al., "Palestinian paramedics said Israel gave them safe passage to save a 6-year-old girl in Gaza. They were all killed," The Washington Post, April 16, 2024, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/interactive/2024/hind-rajab-israel-gaza-killing-timeline/>.

RTX contracts with the US Department of Defense amount to at least \$20 billion annually.¹³⁵ **In 2022, RTX earned 96% of its \$64.4 billion in revenue through defense contracts.¹³⁶ Its projected revenue for 2024 is around \$79 billion.¹³⁷**

Between its three subsidiaries, RTX provides Israel with: parts for military aircraft, including engines, radar, and associated maintenance; guided missiles; “bunker buster” bomb guidance systems; drones; interceptor ballistics; and electronic systems used in airborne, naval, and ground military warfare.¹³⁸ RTX also manufactures border surveillance and control technology used to maintain the apartheid system of the occupied Palestinian territories. Like many other military companies, RTX’s supply of weapons to Israel is accelerating.¹³⁹

Military Aircraft

The Israeli Air Force (IAF)’s fleet of more than 300 combat-capable jets has launched bombs and missiles that have killed tens of thousands of civilians.¹⁴⁰ For more than 50 years, RTX subsidiary Pratt & Whitney’s F100 engine has powered F-15 and F-16 planes manufactured by other major defense firms, namely Lockheed Martin and Boeing; the engine is now one of more than 120 capabilities, including navigational systems and precision weapons, that RTX provides for these aircraft.¹⁴¹

Pratt & Whitney also manufactures engines for at least eight other aircraft flown by the IAF, including the Eitan and the Shoval, two Israel Aerospace Industries flagship drones deployed in surveillance and airstrikes.¹⁴² Drone strikes have been implicated in possible war crimes in

¹³⁵ “Federal Awards,” (report, [usaspending.gov](https://www.usaspending.gov/search/?hash=ba14e43be8b9341f2bfd205e392ce0d7)), accessed January 20, 2024, <https://www.usaspending.gov/search/?hash=ba14e43be8b9341f2bfd205e392ce0d7>

¹³⁶ “RTX Corp,” Investigate, The American Friends Service Committee, October 29, 2022, <https://investigate.info/company/rtx>.

¹³⁷ “RTX Reports 2023 Results and Announces 2024 Outlook,” RTX Corporation, January 23, 2024, <https://www.rtx.com/news/news-center/2024/01/23/rtx-reports-2023-results-and-announces-2024-outlook>.

¹³⁸ “We Are RTX,” RTX Corporation, accessed October 15, 2024, <https://www.rtx.com/who-we-are/we-are-rtx>.

¹³⁹ Secretary of Defense Lloyd J. Austin III, “Remarks by Secretary of Defense Lloyd J. Austin III at a Joint Press Conference in Israel (As Prepared),” Speech, United States Department of Defense, October 13, 2023, <https://www.defense.gov/News/Speeches/Speech/Article/3556833/remarks-by-secretary-of-defense-lloyd-j-austin-iii-at-a-joint-press-conference/>; Eli Clifton, “‘ Hamas has created additional demand’: Wall Street eyes big profits from war,” The Guardian and Responsible Statecraft, October 30, 2023, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/oct/30/wall-street-morgan-stanley-td-bank-ukraine-israel-hamas-war>.

¹⁴⁰ This fleet includes 196 F-16s, 83 F-15s, and 30 F-35s. Hanna Duggal, Mohammed Hussein, and Shakeeb Asrar, “Israel’s attacks on Gaza: The weapons and scale of destruction,” Al Jazeera, November 9, 2023, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/longform/2023/11/9/israel-attacks-on-gaza-weapons-and-scale-of-destruction>.

¹⁴¹ “Flying with confidence: Why pilots love the F-15 and F-16,” RTX Corporation, July 16, 2024, <https://www.rtx.com/news/2024/07/16/flying-with-confidence>.

¹⁴² “LETTER: A look at MUN’s investments in Israel,” Saltwire, July 19, 2024, <https://www.saltwire.com/atlantic-canada/opinion/letter-a-look-at-muns-investments-in-israel-100980733/>.

numerous Israeli offensives.¹⁴³ Pratt & Whitney not only produces these aircraft for and sells them to the IAF, but it has also actively committed to keeping them operational. In 2015, Pratt & Whitney signed a contract with the Israel Ministry of Defense agreeing to provide daily maintenance and “100% propulsion readiness” support for the entire Israeli fleet of F-15s and F-16s through 2030.¹⁴⁴

In 2018, Israel also became the first country to launch airstrikes using the F-35, a stealth war plane touted by RTX as the 21st century “workhorse” of military fighter jets.¹⁴⁵ F-35s are manufactured by Lockheed Martin in partnership with Pratt & Whitney, who supplies the F135 engine, under the “F-35 Joint Strike Fighter Program,”¹⁴⁶ while RTX subsidiary Collins Aerospace Systems works in partnership with Elbit Systems Limited, an Israel-based military technology firm, to develop the plane’s display systems.¹⁴⁷ In June 2024, the Israel Ministry of Defense signed a \$3 billion deal commissioning 25 F-35 stealth fighter jets starting in 2028. Once complete, this contract, which is financed by the US Department of Defense, will augment IAF’s fleet to 75 aircraft.¹⁴⁸

Missiles

RTX manufactures air-to-ground missiles, such as the AGM-65 Maverick, which are used by the IDF and IAF in Gaza.¹⁴⁹ Israel has used air-to-ground missiles and bombs repeatedly in its attacks on densely populated areas in Palestine, including the 2008–2009, 2014, and 2023–2025 offenses.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴³ “Precisely Wrong: Gaza Civilians Killed by Israeli Drone-Launched Missiles,” Human Rights Watch, June 30, 2009, <https://www.hrw.org/report/2009/06/30/precisely-wrong/gaza-civilians-killed-israeli-drone-launched-missiles>.

¹⁴⁴ “Pratt & Whitney, Israeli Ministry of Defense Sign Historic 15 Year F100 Engine Sustainment Contract,” Pratt & Whitney, Raytheon Corporation, December 2, 2015, <https://www.prattwhitney.com/newsroom/news/2015/12/02/pratt-whitney-israeli-ministry-of-defense-sign-historic-15-year-f100-engine-su>.

¹⁴⁵ Yaniv Kubovich, “Israel Launched World’s First Air Strike Using F-35 Stealth Fighters, Air Force Chief Says,” Haaretz Newspaper, May 24, 2018, <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/security-aviation/2018-05-24/ty-article/with-iran-in-syria-israel-launched-worlds-first-air-strike-using-f-35-stealth-fighters/0000017f-f02c-d223-a97f-fdfdaf790000>.

¹⁴⁶ Harry McNeil, “Lockheed Martin & RTX secure contracts for F-35 programme,” Naval Technology, Verdict Media Limited, August 22, 2023, <https://www.naval-technology.com/news/lockheed-martin-raytheon-secure-contracts-for-f-35-programme/>.

¹⁴⁷ “Collins Elbit Vision Systems celebrates delivery of 1,000th F-35 Helmet Mounted Display System,” Collins Aerospace, Raytheon Corporation, February 27, 2019, <https://www.collinsaerospace.com/news/news/2019/02/collins-elbit-vision-systems-celebrates-delivery-1000-f35-hmds/>.

¹⁴⁸ “Israel Says Signs \$3B Deal With US for 25 F-35 Fighter Jets,” The Defense Post, June 5, 2024, <https://thedefensepost.com/2024/06/05/israel-deal-us-jets>.

¹⁴⁹ “RTX Corp,” Investigate.

¹⁵⁰ “Raytheon,” The Mapping Project, accessed October 15, 2024, <https://mapliberation.org/plain/entities/Raytheon.html>.

Since 2017, RTX has partnered with Israel's state-owned weapons manufacturer, Rafael, to develop interceptor ballistics for Israel's "Iron Dome" Weapon System,¹⁵¹ including a \$150M direct weapons contract to supply Tamir missiles.¹⁵² The Iron Dome intercepts the vast majority of rockets launched by militants from the occupied Palestinian territories.

While often cast as a purely defensive system, the Iron Dome contributes to a massively asymmetric balance of power in which Israel can pursue indiscriminate offensives against Palestine while minimizing any potential for retaliation, thereby prolonging and emboldening conflict and reducing political incentives for diplomacy.¹⁵³

Bombs

RTX manufactures the "Paveway" laser-guidance system for bombs, used to transform 500- to 5,000-pound "dumb" bombs into guided "bunker busters."¹⁵⁴ Israel has an extensive arsenal of Paveway weapons, provided over decades by the US.¹⁵⁵ In 2015, The US sold 2,200 Paveway kits with associated bombs as part of a 1.8 billion dollar arms transfer,¹⁵⁶ 50 of which were 5,000-pound bombs.¹⁵⁷ Paveway bombs have been directly implicated in civilian deaths in Gaza. Amnesty International identified Paveway components in the bomb debris in the 2009 Israeli offensive.¹⁵⁸ Israeli media cited the use of some of the largest Paveway bombs in Gaza in the 2022 offensive.¹⁵⁹ The exact number of Paveway kits used to kill civilians in the current Gaza atrocities is not known.

¹⁵¹ "Iron Dome System and SkyHunter Missile," Raytheon, accessed January 20, 2024, <https://www.rtx.com/raytheon/what-we-do/integrated-air-and-missile-defense/ironhome>

¹⁵² "US firm Raytheon wins \$149m Iron Dome contract," The Times of Israel, October 6, 2014, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/us-firm-raytheon-wins-149m-iron-dome-contract/>.

¹⁵³ Yagil Levy, "Israel's Iron Dome defense system protects Israeli lives. It also perpetuates the Israel-Gaza conflict," The Washington Post, May 14, 2021, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2021/05/14/israels-iron-dome-defense-system-protects-israeli-lives-it-also-perpetuates-israel-gaza-conflict/>; Dylan Saba, "Iron Dome Is Not a Defensive System," Jewish Currents, May 25, 2023, <https://jewishcurrents.org/iron-dome-is-not-a-defensive-system>.

¹⁵⁴ American Friends Service Committee, "RTX Corp," 29 October 22. Investigate: What Are You Invested In? <https://investigate.afsc.org/company/rtx> Accessed 22 January 2025.

¹⁵⁵ Julian Borger, "Obama administration 'supplied bunker-busting bombs to Israel'," The Guardian, September 27, 2011, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/julian-borger-global-security-blog/2011/sep/27/iran-nuclear-weapons?newsfeed=true>.

¹⁵⁶ John Ismay, "A Brief History of the 2,000-Pound Bombs Central to US-Israeli Tensions," The New York Times, May 11, 2024, <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/11/us/israel-gaza-bombs.html>.

¹⁵⁷ "Israel – Joint Direct Attack Munition Tail Kits and Munitions," United States Defense Security Cooperation Agency, May 19, 2015, <https://www.dsca.mil/press-media/major-arms-sales/israel-joint-direct-attack-munition-tail-kits-and-munitions>.

¹⁵⁸ "Fuelling Conflict: Foreign Arms Supplies to Israel/Gaza," Amnesty International, February 2009, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/mde150122009en.pdf>.

¹⁵⁹ Emanuel Fabian, "Gaza airstrike significantly sets back Hamas rocket production, says IDF," The Times of Israel, July 17, 2022, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/gaza-airstrike-significantly-sets-back-hamas-rocket-production-says-idf/>.

Naval Blockade

RTX's Phalanx weapon system, a "rapid-fire, computer-controlled, radar-guided gun," is installed on Israel's 4.5- and 5-class Sa'ar missile ships, which the Israeli Navy uses to enforce the illegal blockade¹⁶⁰ of the Gaza strip.¹⁶¹ In 2010, Israel used a 5-class Sa'ar missile ship to attack an unarmed Turkish aid ship sent to deliver supplies to Gaza, an act designated by the ICC as a likely war crime.¹⁶² Since October 2023, German-made Sa'ar 6-class corvettes have been used at least twice to launch ground strikes in Gaza and to intercept drones.¹⁶³ These events signal the Israeli Navy's current capabilities and preview the potential actions of its larger fleet of Sa'ar 4.5- and 5-class corvettes.¹⁶⁴ RTX's Phalanx weapon system is key to the viability of Israel's naval campaign against the people of Gaza.

By supplying military aircraft, missiles, bombs, and naval technology, RTX Corporation is directly complicit in the ongoing genocide in Palestine. Continued investment in this company is inconsistent with Dartmouth's history, values, and mission.

8.2.d. L3 Harris Technologies

L3 Harris Technologies is the world's ninth-largest weapons manufacturer and the United States' sixth-largest defense manufacturer.¹⁶⁵ It draws billions in revenue from integrated mission systems (\$6.6B), space and airborne systems (\$6.4B), and communications systems (\$4.2B). L3 Harris Technologies supplies warplanes, missiles, and other technology to Israel, which are used to continue the illegal blockade of Gaza and perpetrate genocide against Palestinians.¹⁶⁶

Military Aircraft

L3 Harris sells Israel bomb release equipment and component parts for Lockheed Martin F-16 and F-35 warplanes, which are used by the IAF. L3 Harris also supplies the F-35

¹⁶⁰ OCHA, "Gaza Strip | 15 years of blockade."

¹⁶¹ "Phalanx Weapon System," Raytheon Corporation, accessed October 15, 2024, <https://www.rtx.com/raytheon/what-we-do/sea/phalanx-close-in-weapon-system>.

¹⁶² "Statement of ICC Prosecutor, Fatou Bensouda, on the Situation on registered vessels of the Union of the Comoros et al.," International Criminal Court, November 30, 2017, <https://www.icc-cpi.int/news/statement-icc-prosecutor-fatou-bensouda-situation-registered-vessels-union-comoros-et-al>.

¹⁶³ Richard Thomas, "Israeli Navy's Sa'ar 6 corvettes used to strike Gaza ground targets," Naval Technology, Verdict Media Limited, October 16, 2023, <https://www.naval-technology.com/news/israeli-navys-saar-6-corvettes-used-to-strike-gaza-ground-targets>.

¹⁶⁴ Eric Tegler, "What Can Israel's Navy Bring To The Fight In Gaza Or Lebanon?," Forbes, October 26, 2023, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/erictegler/2023/10/26/what-can-israels-navy-bring-to-the-fight-in-gaza-or-lebanon/>.

¹⁶⁵ "Top 100 Defense Companies for 2024," Defense News, <https://people.defensenews.com/top-100/>.

¹⁶⁶ L3Harris, "Company Overview," February 2023, https://www.l3harris.com/sites/default/files/2023-03/L3Harris_Overview_February2023.pdf.

Lockheed Martin production line in the US.¹⁶⁷ These warplanes are responsible for dropping bombs on Gaza that have killed tens of thousands of civilians.¹⁶⁸

Bombs

L3 Harris produces components for Boeing's Joint Direct Attack Munitions (JDAM) guided bombs.¹⁶⁹ JDAM-guided bombs are widely used by Israel against civilian targets and have been directly implicated in multiple mass-civilian casualty events meeting war crimes criteria.¹⁷⁰

Surveillance

L3 Harris provides the surveillance technology required for maintaining the apartheid regime in Israel and Palestine, including One SafeView body scanner machines, which Israel uses in multiple military checkpoints in the West Bank and the Gaza strip.¹⁷¹ These checkpoints restrict Palestinians' freedom of movement, their ability to work for employment, and their ability to access medical care and to see family.¹⁷²

L3 Harris was recently in talks to purchase Pegasus spyware from the Israeli cyber-arms NSO group which indicates the scope of activities in which L3 Harris is involved.¹⁷³ Pegasus is a sophisticated cyber-surveillance program used to surveil journalists, lawyers, political dissidents, and human rights activists in Palestine and around the world, and also has been linked to murders including that of Washington Post journalist Jamal Khashoggi.

In 2023, L3 Harris announced a partnership with Israel Aerospace Industries' Elta Group to integrate Israeli EL/W-2085 multiband radar systems into "early warning" spy aircraft.¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁷ United Kingdom Department for Business & Trade, "Open General Export Licence: Exports in Support of Joint Strike Fighter (F-35 Lightning II)," October 24, 2024, <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/66d5ab41c52d5fb4c82ddd0d/Open-General-Export-Licence-Exports-in-Support-of-Joint-Strike-Fighter- F-35-Lightning-II.pdf>.

¹⁶⁸ "Multi-ton bombs and massive damage: How Israel uses Danish-armoured fighter jets in Gaza," Danwatch, March 26, 2024, <https://danwatch.dk/en/multi-ton-bombs-and-massive-damage-how-israel-uses-danish-armoured-fighter-jets-in-gaza/#:~:text=A%20review%20of%20open%20military,causing%20massive%20destruction%20in%20Gaza>.

¹⁶⁹ "L3Harris Technologies Inc," Investigate, The American Friends Service Committee, September 15, 2024, <https://investigate.afsc.org/company/l3harris-technologies>.

¹⁷⁰ Evan Hill et al., "Gaza's Deadly Night: How Israeli Airstrikes Killed 44 People," New York Times, June 24, 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/video/world/middleeast/100000007787471/israel-airstrikes-gaza.html?searchResultPosition=1>.

¹⁷¹ "L3Harris Technologies Inc," Investigate.

¹⁷² OCHA, "Movement and Access in the West Bank," August 25, 2023, <https://www.ochaopt.org/2023-movement>.

¹⁷³ Isiah Holmes, "Contractor's plans to acquire Israeli spyware firm scuttled," Wisconsin Examiner, July 12, 2022, <https://wisconsinexaminer.com/briefs/l3-harris-scuttles-plans-to-acquire-spyware-firm-nso-group>.

¹⁷⁴ "L3Harris and ELTA Systems Expanding Partnership for Airborne Early Warning and Control Solutions," L3Harris, July 11, 2023, <https://www.l3harris.com/newsroom/editorial/2023/07/l3harris-and-elta-systems-expanding-partnership-airborne-early-warning>.

This potentially lucrative partnership for L3 Harris¹⁷⁵ is based on Elta weaponry tested on and used against Palestinian civilians, such as the AI-enhanced spy aircraft used to autonomously identify and bomb targets without human oversight.¹⁷⁶

Naval Blockade

L3 Harris manufactures management systems for the Israeli navy and warships, which are used to maintain the naval blockade on the Gaza strip.¹⁷⁷ These warships also participated in the Israeli attack on the unarmed Free Gaza Flotilla in 2010, which resulted in the killing of ten humanitarian activists.¹⁷⁸ The International Criminal Court concluded that war crimes were likely committed during the attack.¹⁷⁹

By providing military aircraft, bombs, surveillance, and naval technologies to Israel, L3 Harris is directly complicit in the ongoing genocide in Palestine. Continued investment in this company is inconsistent with Dartmouth's history, values, and mission.

8.2.e. BAE Systems

BAE Systems was the seventh-largest military contractor in the world as of 2022, when its annual revenue was estimated at \$25.7 billion.¹⁸⁰ The company's product line supports computing systems, nuclear submarines, fighter jets, tanks, ships, guns, and ammunition.¹⁸¹ BAE supplies Israel with various weapons and weapons-support systems, including software, components for combat aircraft, munitions, missile launching kits, and armored vehicles.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁵ Steve Trimble, "L3Harris Eyes Taiwan For Airborne Early Warning Sale," Aviation Week Network, October 18, 2023, https://aviationweek.com/defense/aircraft-propulsion/l3harris-eyes-taiwan-airborne-early-warning-sale?check_logged_in=1.

¹⁷⁶ Eric Tegler, "Embroided In War, Israel's Single AI-Enabled Oron Intel Aircraft Has A Heavy Burden," Forbes, October 10, 2023, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/erictegler/2023/10/09/embroided-in-war-israels-single-ai-enabled-oron-intel-aircraft-has-a-heavy-burden/>.

¹⁷⁷ "L3Harris Technologies Inc," Investigate.

¹⁷⁸ "Timeline: Main events in the Gaza flotilla affair," Reuters, June 1, 2010, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-israel-flotilla-timeline/timeline-main-events-in-the-gaza-flotilla-affair-idUSTRE65044N20100601/>.

¹⁷⁹ "Statement of ICC Prosecutor, Fatou Bensouda, on the Situation on registered vessels of the Union of the Comoros et al.," International Criminal Court.

¹⁸⁰ "Bae Systems PLC," Investigate, American Friends Service Committee, November 17, 2022, <https://investigate.afsc.org/company/bae-systems>.

¹⁸¹ Betsy Reed, "Arms maker BAE Systems makes record profit amid Ukraine and Israel-Gaza wars," The Guardian, February 21, 2024, <https://www.theguardian.com/business/2024/feb/21/bae-systems-profit-ukraine-israel-gaza-wars-ftse-100>.

¹⁸² Campaign Against Arm Trade (CAAT), "UK export licences applied for by BAE Systems for military goods to Israel between 2008 and 2021," accessed October 15, 2024, <https://caat.org.uk/data/exports-uk/rating?region=Israel&company=BAE+Systems>; "Bae Systems PLC."

In early 2024, BAE noted an expected rise in sales by 10–12% since the start of Israel’s most recent offensive in Gaza.¹⁸³

Military Aircraft

BAE Systems has cooperated with multiple companies, led by Lockheed Martin, to develop and build stealth combat fighter jets.¹⁸⁴ BAE produces and performs durability testing on several components of the F-35 stealth combat aircraft, including the rear fuselage and parts of the flight controls.¹⁸⁵ In total, it provides 15% of the components in the F-35, making it an essential supplier for continuing Israeli attacks.¹⁸⁶ BAE also supplies required components for F-15 and F-16 fighter jets.¹⁸⁷ All three types of aircraft are used by Israel in its ongoing offensive in Gaza.¹⁸⁸ The use of the F-35 in Gaza to violate international humanitarian law, by killing civilians and destroying civilian architecture, prompted the Netherlands to stop exporting the jets to Israel.¹⁸⁹

BAE Systems also works with Lockheed Martin and Israeli-government-owned arms manufacturer Rafael to produce the Protector drone, an unmanned vehicle that maintains the naval blockade of Gaza, also deemed unlawful by international humanitarian law.¹⁹⁰

Gun Systems and Munitions

In 2015, BAE collaborated closely with the Israeli military to develop the Rokar Silver Bullet, a precision guidance kit used to transform large-caliber projectiles into highly accurate munitions. BAE has supplied Israeli weapon manufacturer IMI Systems with its Silver Bullet for integration into M401 155mm cannon artillery.¹⁹¹ Israel’s practice of routinely firing this

¹⁸³ Reed, “Arms maker BAE Systems makes record profit.”

¹⁸⁴ Sam Perlo-Freeman and Kirsten Bayes, “Gaza and UK Arms Sales to Israel – Fact Sheet v.2.0,” CAAT, December 20, 2023, <https://caat.org.uk/publications/gaza-uk-arms-sales-israel/>.

¹⁸⁵ “Who’s arming Israel? Mapping UK sites linked to Israeli state terror,” Corporate Watch, January 4, 2024, <https://corporatewatch.org/whos-arming-israel-mapping-uk-sites-linked-to-israeli-state-terror/>.

¹⁸⁶ Flaminia Luck and PA Media, “Israel-Gaza: Union members block arms factory in protest over conflict,” BBC, November 10, 2023, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-kent-67378052>.

¹⁸⁷ “Who is arming Israel? UK Exports to Israel,” Action on Armed Violence (AOAV), April 12, 2024, <https://aoav.org.uk/2024/who-is-arming-israel-uk-exports-to-israel/>.

¹⁸⁸ Lauren Frias, “The 3 US-Made Fighter Jets Israel is Using in Its Air War over Gaza,” Business Insider, January 6, 2024, <https://www.businessinsider.com/us-fighter-jets-israel-air-war-gaza-2024-1?op=1>.

¹⁸⁹ George Wright, “Dutch court orders halt to F-35 jet parts exports to Israel,” BBC, February 12, 2024, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-68272233>.

¹⁹⁰ OCHA, “The Gaza Strip: The Humanitarian Impact of the Blockade,” November 2016, https://www.ochaopt.org/sites/default/files/ocha_opt_gaza_blockade_factsheet_14nov2016_mak.pdf.

¹⁹¹ “BAE Systems PLC,” Investigate.

type of heavy artillery into residential areas of Gaza City has been called by Human Rights Watch “indiscriminate attacks in violation of the laws of war.”¹⁹²

BAE Systems is directly complicit in the ongoing genocide in Palestine; continued investment in this company is inconsistent with Dartmouth’s history, values, and mission.

8.2.f. Boeing

The Boeing Company was ranked as the third largest military company in the world in 2022, with 56% of its annual \$35 billion in revenue deriving from weapons sales.¹⁹³ Boeing is one of the leading US suppliers of weapons to Israel. These include an extensive range of aircraft, like the F-15 (one of the main fighter jets used by the IAF), attack helicopters such as the V-22 Osprey and AH-64 Apache and Chinook, and refueling and transport aircraft such as the KC-46 Pegasus.¹⁹⁴ Boeing is also the top supplier of bombs and guided munitions to Israel, including the “GBU-39” and “GBU-21” Small Diameter Bombs (SDBs) and the Joint Direct Attack Munition (JDAM) guidance “kit.”¹⁹⁵ Missiles produced by Boeing for Israel include the air-to-ground Hellfire missile (co-produced with Lockheed Martin)¹⁹⁶ and the anti-ship Harpoon missile systems.

Like most other US weapons manufacturers, Boeing’s provision of weapons to Israel has only accelerated since October 2023.¹⁹⁷ Between October 2023 and June 2024, the US provided Israel with at least 3,000 additional Hellfire missiles and 2,600 air-dropped small-diameter bombs “consistent with what Israel would need to replenish supplies used” during this time.¹⁹⁸ In August 2024, the US approved a potential \$18 billion sale of Boeing F-15 fighter jets to Israel.¹⁹⁹ Because the vast majority of US arms transfers to Israel since 2023 have been

¹⁹² “Israel: Stop Shelling Crowded Gaza City: Effect of 155mm Artillery Indiscriminate in Populated Areas,” Human Rights Watch, January 16, 2009, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2009/01/16/israel-stop-shelling-crowded-gaza-city>.

¹⁹³ “Boeing Co.,” Investigate.

¹⁹⁴ “Boeing Co.”

¹⁹⁵ Teo Popesco, “Off the Charts: Boeing was top US manufacturer of missiles and munitions delivered to Israel from 2021-2023,” KUOW, May 13, 2024, <https://www.kuow.org/stories/graphic-boeing-was-top-us-manufacturer-of-missiles-and-munitions-delivered-to-Israel>.

¹⁹⁶ “Fuelling conflict: Foreign arms supplies to Israel/Gaza,” Amnesty International, May 23, 2009, https://www.es.amnesty.org/uploads/tx_useraitypdb/Fuelling_conflict_Israel_Gaza_08.pdf.

¹⁹⁷ Anthony Capaccio, “Boeing Sped 1000 Smart Bombs to Israel After Hamas Attacks,” Bloomberg, October 10, 2023, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2023-10-10/boeing-sped-1-000-smart-bombs-to-israel-after-the-hamas-attacks>.

¹⁹⁸ Humeyra Pamuk and Mike Stone, “Exclusive: US has sent Israel thousands of 2,000-pound bombs since Oct. 7,” Reuters, June 29, 2024, <https://www.reuters.com/world/us-has-sent-israel-thousands-2000-pound-bombs-since-oct-7-2024-06-28/>.

¹⁹⁹ “Israel – F-15IA and F-15I+ Aircraft,” Defense Security Cooperation Agency, August 13, 2024, <https://www.dsca.mil/press-media/major-arms-sales/israel-f-15ia-and-f-15i-aircraft>.

kept secret, it is likely that these numbers vastly underrepresent the actual scale of Boeing's involvement in the ongoing genocide in Gaza.²⁰⁰

Military Aircraft

The majority of civilians killed in Gaza from 2023 to 2024 and in prior hostilities have been due to aerial bombardment.²⁰¹ As one of the primary suppliers of military aircraft to Israel, Boeing aircraft have presumably dropped many thousands of bombs in Gaza, killing tens of thousands of civilians. For example, the F-15 and F-16 are the primary planes that drop the MK-84, the 2,000 pound massive ordnance US-made bomb used in civilian bombings such as that of the al-Mawasi "safe zone" on September 10, 2024, which killed at least 19 people.²⁰² The Apache helicopter was part of the attack on the June 8, 2024 Nuseirat refugee camp, which killed nearly 300 Palestinians.²⁰³

Missiles

Boeing Harpoon missiles are mounted on naval ships that enforce the illegal blockade around Gaza. Fishermen in Gaza have reported being fired at by the Israeli Navy on an almost daily basis.²⁰⁴ A UN Commission on Human Rights investigation has extensively documented the use of Hellfire missiles against civilian targets in the 2014 Israeli offensive, causing at least 51 civilian deaths (including 30 children).²⁰⁵ Since then, Hellfire missiles have been documented in multiple mass-civilian casualty events qualifying as likely war crimes, including the June 8, 2024 Nuseirat refugee camp attack, which killed nearly 300 Palestinians, and the July 14, 2024 airstrike on the UNRWA Abu Oraiban school, which killed 22 people.²⁰⁶

Bombs

The Israeli military frequently justifies the use of both SDB bombs and JDAM guidance systems by characterizing them as more precise munitions than larger or more "dumb" bombs. Yet their use has over and over been documented in mass civilian casualty events,

²⁰⁰ John Hudson, "US floods arms into Israel despite mounting alarm over war's conduct," Washington Post, March 6, 2024, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/2024/03/06/us-weapons-israel-gaza/>.

²⁰¹ Philip Webber, "Gaza: one of the most intense bombardments in history?," Scientists for Global Responsibility, accessed October 7, 2024, <https://www.sgr.org.uk/resources/gaza-one-most-intense-bombardments-history>.

²⁰² "What bombs did Israel use against the al-Mawasi 'safe zone' in Gaza?," Al Jazeera, September 12, 2024, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/9/12/what-bombs-did-israel-use-against-the-al-mawasi-safe-zone-in-gaza>.

²⁰³ Stephen Semler, "Gaza breakdown: 20 times Israel used US arms in likely war crimes," Responsible Statecraft, August 25, 2024, <https://responsibletatecraft.org/us-weapons-gaza/>.

²⁰⁴ "Gaza fishermen: Restricted livelihoods," United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), July 19, 2016, <https://www.unrwa.org/newsroom/features/gaza-fishermen-restricted-livelihoods>.

²⁰⁵ "Report of the detailed findings of the independent commission of inquiry established pursuant to Human Rights Council resolution S-21/1," Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights, Human Rights Council, United Nations, 23 June 2015, <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/800768?ln=en&v=pdf>

²⁰⁶ Semler, "Gaza breakdown."

leading human rights organizations to conclude civilians are being deliberately targeted.²⁰⁷ Indeed, as reported by the New York Times in June 2024, “the GBU-39 is increasingly the weapon of choice for the Israeli military” against Gaza.²⁰⁸

A UN Commission on Human Rights investigation extensively documented the use of JDAM guided bombs against civilian targets in the 2014 Israeli offensive, causing at least 165 civilian deaths (including 85 children).²⁰⁹ SDBs and JDAM-guided large ordinance US bombs were also the primary munitions used in the May 2021 Israeli offensive in Gaza, which killed at least 254 (including 66 children).²¹⁰ In 2021, JDAM-guided bombs also caused the Al-Wehda Street massacre, a likely war crime in which 44 civilians were killed with no military targets, including 12 children enrolled in a Norwegian Refugee Council trauma care program.²¹¹

During the ongoing 2023–2025 Israeli military campaign in Gaza, Boeing GBU-39 bombs have been identified as direct munitions used in the following mass-casualty civilian bombing campaigns, each meeting criteria for war crimes in UN or NGO investigations:

- January 9, 2024: Boeing GBU-39 bombs used in an attack on a residential building in Rafah which killed at least 18 civilians, including 10 children, with no associated military targets.²¹²
- May 13, 2024: Boeing GBU-39 bombs strike a family home and school in Nuseirat, Gaza “being used as a shelter for displaced civilians,” killing up to 30 people.²¹³
- May 21, 2024: Boeing GBU-39 bombs destroy a school in Jabalia refugee camp.²¹⁴

²⁰⁷ “Boeing Co,” Investigate.

²⁰⁸ Lara Jakes, “A Small American Bomb Killing Palestinians by the Dozen in Gaza,” The New York Times, June 8, 2024, <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/08/world/middleeast/us-israel-bomb-gbu39-gaza.html>.

²⁰⁹ “Report of the detailed findings of the independent commission of inquiry established pursuant to Human Rights Council resolution S-21/1,” Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights.

²¹⁰ Sebastien Roblin, “Israel’s Bombardment Of Gaza: Methods, Weapons And Impact,” Forbes, May 27, 2021, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/sebastienroblin/2021/05/26/israels-bombardment-of-gaza-methods-weapons-and-impact/?sh=2b74e4bc2f44>.

²¹¹ “Gaza: Apparent War Crimes During May Fighting,” Human Rights Watch, July 27, 2021, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2021/07/27/gaza-apparent-war-crimes-during-may-fighting#>; “Eleven children receiving NRC trauma care killed in their homes by Israeli air strikes,” Norwegian Refugee Council, May 18, 2021, <https://www.nrc.no/news/2021/may/11-children-killed/>.

²¹² “USA: Israel has used US-made arms in Gaza in violation of international law - new report,” Press release, Amnesty International, April 30, 2024, <https://www.amnesty.org.uk/press-releases/usa-israel-has-used-us-made-arms-gaza-violation-international-law-new-report>.

²¹³ “Israel strikes on a home and a school building kill dozens of people, as fighting rages across Gaza,” The New York Times, last updated December 24, 2024, <https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/05/14/world/israel-gaza-war-hamas-rafah?smid=url-share#israel-and-hamas-do-battle-in-gazas-north-and-south>.

²¹⁴ Jakes, “A Small American Bomb Killing.”

- May 26, 2024: Boeing GBU-39 bombs hit a camp of displaced refugees in the “Rafah tent massacre,” setting it on fire and killing dozens and wounding hundreds of civilians.²¹⁵
- July 9, 2024: Boeing GBU-39 bombs are used in an attack on the Al-Awda school in Khan Younis, which killed at least 29 people, including many children.²¹⁶
- July 14, 2024: Boeing GBU-39 bombs used in an airstrike on the UNRWA Abu Oraiban school, which killed 22 people.²¹⁷
- August 10, 2024: Boeing GBU-39 bombs dropped on the Al-Tabaen school and mosque in Gaza City, killing at least 93 civilians²¹⁸ in an attack described by an Al Jazeera investigation as “deliberately timed to cause maximum casualties” and with no evidence of military targets.²¹⁹

Boeing JDAMs are directly implicated in the following multiple mass-casualty events in 2023–2024, all meeting war crime criteria in UN or NGO investigations:

- October 9, 2023: JDAM-guided US bombs destroyed a busy market in Jabalia refugee camp, killing at least 69 people, without evidence of any military targets.²²⁰
- October 10 and 22, 2023: JDAM-guided US bombs struck civilian homes in Deir al-Balah, killing 43 civilians (including 19 children).²²¹

²¹⁵ “Israel/OPT: Israeli attacks targeting Hamas and other armed group fighters that killed scores of displaced civilians in Rafah should be investigated as war crimes,” Amnesty International, August 27, 2024, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2024/08/israel-opt-israeli-attacks-targeting-hamas-and-other-armed-group-fighters-that-killed-scores-of-displaced-civilians-in-rafah-should-be-investigated-as-war-crimes/>.

²¹⁶ Gianluca Mezzofiore, Avery Schmitz, and Allegra Goodwin, “US-made munitions used in deadly Israeli strike on school complex near Khan Younis, CNN analysis finds,” CNN World, July 10, 2024, <https://www.cnn.com/2024/07/10/middleeast/israel-us-munitions-school-strike-khan-younis-intl-latam/index.html>; Nidal Al-Mughrabi and Ramadan Abed, “More than two dozen Gazans killed in Israeli strike,” Reuters, July 10, 2024, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/israeli-forces-step-up-military-pressure-gaza-amid-new-ceasefire-bid-2024-07-09/>.

²¹⁷ Semler, “Gaza breakdown.”

²¹⁸ Irene Nasser, Abeer Salman, Ibrahim Dahman, Mohammed Tawfeeq, Lex Harvey, and Allegra Goodwin, “Israeli strike on mosque and school in Gaza kills scores, sparking international outrage,” CNN World, August 11, 2024, <https://www.cnn.com/2024/08/10/middleeast/israeli-school-strike-gaza-intl-hnk/index.html>.

²¹⁹ “Exclusive: Al-Tabin attack ‘deliberately timed to cause maximum casualties’,” Al Jazeera, August 13, 2024, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/8/13/exclusive-al-tabin-attack-deliberately-timed-to-cause-maximum-casualties>; Maram Humaid, “‘Just civilians’: Families of Gaza school strike victims refute Hamas links,” Al Jazeera, August 13, 2024, <https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2024/8/13/just-civilians-families-of-gaza-school-strike-victims-refute-hamas-links>.

²²⁰ “Thematic Report: Indiscriminate and disproportionate attacks during the conflict in Gaza (October – December 2023),” Report, United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, June 19, 2024, <https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/documents/countries/opt/20240619-ohchr-thematic-report-indiscrim-disprop-attacks-gaza-oct-dec2023.pdf#page=7>.

²²¹ “Amnesty International USA Submission to NSM-20: Unlawful Use of US-Made Munitions and Violations of International Law by Israel Since January 2023,” Report, Amnesty International, April 2024, <https://www.amnestyusa>.

- October 31, 2023: JDAM-guided US bombs were used in the “Jabalia refugee camp massacre,” which killed hundreds of civilians.²²²
- July 13, 2024: JDAM-guided US bombs were used on the al-Mawasi refugee camp in southern Gaza, without prior warning, killing at least 90 Palestinians, the vast majority of whom were civilians.²²³

Despite Boeing’s consistent implication in Israeli war crimes, Israel and Boeing agreed to an additional \$5.2 billion deal in November 2024.²²⁴ Dartmouth’s continued investment in Boeing, a company directly supplying numerous war crimes, is inconsistent with the College’s value of instilling “a sense of responsibility for each other and for the broader world.”

Like Lockheed Martin, Northrop Grumman, RTX Corporation, L3 Harris Technologies, and BAE Systems, Boeing is directly complicit in the ongoing illegal occupation, apartheid, and genocide in Palestine. Continued investment in any of these companies is inconsistent with Dartmouth’s history, values, and mission.

[org/wp-content/uploads/2024/04/4.29.2024-NSM-20-AIUSA-submission-re-Israel.pdf](https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2023/12/israel-opt-us-made-munitions-killed-43-civilians-in-two-documented-israeli-air-strikes-in-gaza-new-investigation/); “Israel/OPT: US-made munitions killed 43 civilians in two documented Israeli air strikes in Gaza – new investigation,” Amnesty International, December 5, 2023, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2023/12/israel-opt-us-made-munitions-killed-43-civilians-in-two-documented-israeli-air-strikes-in-gaza-new-investigation/>.

²²² Emma Graham-Harrison, Manisha Ganguly, and Elena Morresi, “Cratered ground and destroyed lives: piecing together the Jabalia camp airstrike,” The Guardian, November 1, 2023, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/nov/01/jabalia-camp-airstrike-gaza>; UN Human Rights (@UNHumanRights), “Given the high number of civilian casualties & the scale of destruction following Israeli airstrikes...” Twitter, November 1, 2023, <https://x.com/UNHumanRights/status/1719783887633527153?lang=en>.

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²²⁴ Reuters, “Israel signs \$5.2 billion deal to acquire 25 F-15 fighter jets from Boeing,” Reuters, November 7, 2024, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/israel-signs-deal-acquire-25-f-15-fighter-jets-boeing-co-2024-11-07/>.

9. CONCLUSION

Dartmouth College is a preeminent institution of higher education. It is committed to teaching the global leaders of tomorrow and producing research that contributes to both our collective understanding of the world and our ability to change it for the better.

Financially supporting and benefitting from investments in companies that are complicit in violations of international law is fundamentally incompatible with this educational mission.

In this proposal, we have demonstrated how investments in companies that enable Israel's illegal occupation, apartheid, and genocide in Palestine violate Dartmouth's history, values, and obligations to its students, faculty, staff, and alumni. Dartmouth cannot foster mutual respect or responsibility for the broader world when it tacitly supports the dehumanization and destruction of the people of Palestine. Dartmouth cannot uphold the ideal of lifelong learning when it financially benefits from companies that enable scholasticide in Palestine. And Dartmouth cannot be a global leader when its investments facilitate war crimes that have been resoundingly condemned by the international community.

Dartmouth College has a proud history of heeding the calls of its students, faculty, staff, and alumni to divest from entities whose actions undermine its work as an institution dedicated to lifelong learning and responsible global leadership. As students, faculty, staff, alumni, and community members of Dartmouth, we urge ACIR and the Board of Trustees to continue this tradition and affirm the College's mission and values by divesting from companies that enable Israel's illegal occupation, apartheid, and genocide in Palestine.