The Palestinian Grassroots Anti-Apartheid Wall Campaign

The Wall and its checkpoints, observation systems, and military roads is the largest infrastructure project carried out by the Occupation authorities to date, requiring a variety of landscapers and planners; suppliers of concrete, fencing and heavy machinery; and other producers of various high-tech equipment. As of 2007, 700 different subcontractors, around 60 planning offices, 53 major construction companies, 5 wire-fence companies, 11 civilian security companies, and about 34 producers of surveillance and communications were on the payroll.¹

Palestine serves as a testing ground for Israeli companies’ products; in addition to producers of weapons, other companies also benefit from the ability to test Wall-related surveillance, detection, and scanning technologies on a captive population.² This is a highly lucrative practice that has made Israel a leader in the “homeland security” field, and it is unsurprising that Israeli high-tech firms are contracted globally; Elbit on the US – Mexico border and Magal on the India – Pakistan border through Kashmir are two key examples. Companies working on the Wall are often also part of other aspects of the occupation economy. Several supply various weapons and technologies to Occupation forces, while others are heavily involved in settlement construction and/or industry.

This fact sheet provides information on the companies involved in the Wall, with the aim of assisting activists in launching BDS campaigns. We have not given details on every single company, as many are smaller Israeli firms with little international exposure. Instead, we have focused on larger Israeli companies in which there may be considerable international investment as well as international firms that play a significant role in building, equipping and/or maintaining the Wall.

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For more information about the global BDS movement, visit the website or contact: info@bdsmovement.net. For more information about the Wall and campaigns, visit Stop the Wall’s website, in particular our activist resources and fact sheets. Or contact global@stopthewall.org

www.stopthewall.org
DO-IT-YOURSELF DIVESTMENT

To date the Norwegian divestment from Elbit Systems (the progression of the campaign is discussed in more detail on the next page) has been the first divestment from a company explicitly on the grounds of its involvement with Wall. Information and appeals were sent to the Fund’s Ethical Council, which determines based on a code of ethics if companies should be excluded, ultimately leading the Fund to withdraw from Elbit. The following points, drawn from this victory as well as other important BDS victories against Lev Leviev and companies Veolia and Alstom, may be helpful in choosing a company to target for divestment.

1. **Linking with an international campaign.** It is easier to join and build on a campaign than to start a new one, and companies already the target of a campaign should be a priority.

2. **Discovering the size of the investment.** Both large and small investments have their benefits and drawbacks. While the loss of a large investment has the opportunity to make a more tangible effect on a company’s policies, divestment efforts may be more difficult. The loss of smaller investments, while not making a huge financial dent, may be easier to affect and are still effective in raising awareness about BDS and creating spaces for other campaigners.

3. **Assessing the likelihood that a given fund will divest based on its specific guidelines.** In the case of Norway, campaigners were able to utilize the Fund’s ethical guidelines, which permit the Ethical Council to investigate investments held in companies accused of “violations of fundamental humanitarian principles, serious violations of human rights, gross corruption or severe environmental damages” and recommend divestment. Similar mechanisms exist in other investment funds; if not, activists may be able to campaign for the incorporation of some sort of binding ethical guidelines.

4. **Assessing the likelihood for divestment from a particular company based on a fund’s record of divestment.** The Norwegian fund has previously divested from companies for violations. In total 25 companies are currently excluded, the majority for their involvement in the production of various types of weapons, and several more for environmental destruction or violations of labor rights. Other investment funds may have similar histories, and these can be important precedents to build on as well as to gauge the likelihood of success.

5. **Gaining support from stakeholders.** For the Norwegian Pension Fund, with the stakeholder being the Norwegian people, civil society and political parties were key in pushing for divestment. If the investments in question are held by a church, union or university, the targeted company should be engaged in activities that the stakeholders are likely to oppose and can rally against.

6. **Using legal mechanisms.** International and human rights law can be a useful tool in divestment campaigns, both with state and government investments and pension funds as well as against private companies. The Wall is being built in defiance of international and humanitarian law, and in disregard of the 2004 International Court of Justice (ICJ) decision. As such, companies in states that incorporate international law into their national legal system can be prosecuted in national courts. For example, Veolia and Alstom, two French multinationals are on trial in French courts for violations of international law through their involvement in the settlement light rail in Jerusalem.
Involvement with the Wall
Elbit systems provides “intrusion detection systems” for the Wall, in particular around Jerusalem. According to Who Profits, subsidiaries Elbit Electro-Optics (El-Op) and Elbit Security Systems supplied and incorporated LORROS surveillance cameras in the Ariel settlement section as well as around ar Ram. One product made by Elbit Systems, “Torch”, is manufactured specifically for use on the Wall.

Exporting Wall technology and military involvement
In 2006 Elbit Systems American subsidiary Kollsman Inc. won a contract to participate in the creation of the US – Mexico border wall. There is a great deal of information is available about Elbit’s involvement with the US - Mexico border project - see WW4 Report.

Elbit is also high involved with the Israeli military, supplying drones, targeting systems, and other technology. The drone market has proved to be incredibly profitable, and Elbit has exported them to militaries across the globe. Stop the Wall has published a fact sheet, which includes a list of subsidiaries, on Elbit’s involvement with the Wall and the Israeli military. A detailed article and set of links about Elbit’s UAVs can be found on Defense Industry Daily.

Norwegian divestment: A long campaign
Elbit has been the target of a successful boycott campaign launched by Palestinian civil society and Norwegian activists, resulting in the Norwegian Pension Fund’s decision to divest from Elbit Systems explicitly on the grounds of the latter’s involvement with the Wall project.

The campaign to pressure the Fund to divest from companies engaged in abuses of human rights and international law started right after the Ethical Council was established in 2004. The Council’s mandate was to ensure The Norwegian Pension Fund’s investments did not violate the ethical guidelines given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Norway.

Many political, humanitarian and religious organizations were involved with the work on divestment from Israel. Of the most active were Norwegian People’s Aid and the Council of Churches in Norway, together with the Norwegian Association of NGO’s for Palestine.

The first call for divestment came from the Council of Churches, targeting the Israeli Electric Corporation. This was later followed up by the Norwegian People’s Aid in 2007 for the company’s role in electrical cuts to Gaza as a collective punishment. The calls for divestment were rebuffed each time.

In 2008, based on the list of investments published yearly by the Fund, several companies were selected for divestment, among them Elbit Systems.
Continued pressure and requests, initially ignored, eventually got the attention of the Ethical Council. After the assault on Gaza, the Minister of Finance and leader of the Socialist Left Party Kristin Halvorsen asked for a full evaluation of companies involved in activities in the occupied territories. After this announcement the pace began to pick up.

In Palestine, Stop the Wall prepared a submission on Elbit to the Council of Ethics, focusing on its connection to the Wall, settlements and military and highlighting how the company’s actions contradicted the Fund’s stated ethical guidelines. Norwegian organizations wrote their own briefings, delivered the STW briefing to relevant officials and continued to apply pressure on the Fund. Who Profits and Adalah – NY also submitted information to Fund officials. The Council received letters of concern from Jayyus and Bil’in, the villages affected by the Wall and settlements, in addition to letters of concern from solidarity organizations globally.

In response, representatives of the Ethical Council visited Palestine to observe the situation on the ground in May 2009. With Stop the Wall, they visited affected areas across the West Bank.

In September 2009, the Finance Minister announced the decision to divest, stating, “We do not wish to fund companies that so directly contribute to violations of international humanitarian law.” The recommendation from the Ethical Council can be found on the government’s website.

**Ongoing campaigns**

Other opportunities for campaigns exist: given the Norwegian precedent, similar investment funds could be pressured to divest. Other possibilities include the US – Mexico wall project and the UK firm UAV Engines Ltd. (UEL), based near Birmingham, which produces UAV engines for Elbit’s Hermes 450 mode. *Amnesty’s report* explains the issue of UK involvement in the production of UAV engines.

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**MAGAL SECURITY SYSTEMS**

http://www.magal-ssl.com/

**Involvement with the Wall**

Magal has been involved with fencing in Gaza since 2001, when it won several contracts for $2 million and $1.4 million to carry out restoration work on sections of the electronic fence. In 2002, the company received a $1.5 million order from the Israeli Ministry of Defense (MOD) to install additional Perimeter Intrusion Detection Systems along the border.

The company is also one of the main players involved with the Wall. Also in 2002, it announced that the MOD has awarded it 80% of the bids issued at the time for the installation of intrusion detection systems along the seam line, approximately 125 kilometers; the total value was $15 million. Magal won a $4.2 contract to outfit 40 more kilometers of the Wall in 2005. Later in the year it took a similar contract for another $6.1 million. In particular, the company provides its BVS-5000 fence.
Exporting Wall technology
In Kashmir, Magal sensors and cameras were deployed in 2004 on 5.5 km of the fence along India’s Line of Control, but the company was aiming for a much bigger share of the barrier being built along the 740-km border. In the USA, Magal won a 2009 order of approximately $1 million to supply a security and protection system for a major United States international border crossing.

Ongoing campaigns
Currently, there are no campaigns directed against Magal. However, given its high profile and expansive involvement with projects across the globe, it is highly likely that official bodies and funds hold considerable investments in the company and its subsidiaries. Given that Magal’s involvement in the Wall is similar to that of Elbit, divestment campaigns have a good chance of success.

Involvement with the Wall
Through subsidiary TAMAM, Israel Aerospace Industries (IAI) provides surveillance technology for the Wall, in particular a variant of the Plug-in Optronic Payload (POP), originally designed for helicopters. The POP includes a focal plane array thermal imager, color camera and laser pointer [and] works at ranges of ‘a few miles’.

Military involvement
IAI, unlike Elbit and Magal, does not seem to have extensively exported Wall technology. Instead, the government owned company is better known for its production of fighter jets, UAVs, missiles of all stripes, naval craft, and armor for the Caterpillar D9 bulldozer.

Ongoing campaigns
Presently, there are no campaigns against IAI for its involvement in the Wall. While the company has been targeted in the context of general opposition to arms trade with Israel, it has yet to be singled out. In India, a campaign launched by the left parties against an arms deal with Israel has dealt with IAI on account of the corruption surrounding the Barak missile deal.
Involvement with the Wall
According to the Israeli MOD, Controp provides electro optical scanning radar (SPIDER) for Wall surveillance, along with Elbit and IAI.\textsuperscript{17} It is also used around the Gaza strip, including for the detection of swimmers off the coast.\textsuperscript{18}

Exporting Wall technology and military involvement
Providing for the Wall is not only profitable in and of itself, but has also served as a launching point for exports. According to a CONTROP press release, “The SPIDER was approved as “the ideal operational intruder detection system” by the Israel MOD. [...] The systems also operate in a large coastal surveillance and protection program in Southeast Asia. Last year [2008] these systems were chosen to provide protection for a number of major and strategic seaports in Western Europe [...] (and) are a major component in the protection of the important Gioia Taurro harbor in Italy.”\textsuperscript{19}

Further, CONTROP cameras are installed in Elbit UAVs. The company is also developing unmanned ground vehicles for military use with Tomcar and Elbit systems.\textsuperscript{20}

Ongoing campaigns
Currently, there are no campaigns directed against CONTROP. Give its global status and the Elbit precedent, divestment campaigns have a good chance of success.

Cement Roadstone Holdings (CRH)
Involvement with the Wall
CRH is an Irish-owned international building materials firm and owns 25\% of the shares of Mashav Initiating and Development. The latter owns Nesher Israel Cement Enterprises, which provides cement for the construction of the Apartheid Wall. In 2009, Mashav acquired Hanson Israel, the second-largest building materials company in Israel which also has a quarry in the West Bank.\textsuperscript{21}

Ongoing campaigns
In 2004 a campaign against CRH began. Activists in Ireland began to raise awareness and protest,
and Amnesty International notified CRH that the providing material for Wall construction was in contravention of the 2003 UN Norms on the Responsibilities of Transnational Corporations and Other Business Enterprises with Regard to Human Rights. Following calls from Amnesty International to clarify the company’s involvement, one of the company’s owners, admitted in 2004 that “in all probability” Nesher cement is being used in the construction of the Wall.22

In 2005, activists in Ireland called on Irish pension funds to divest from CRH, and in 2008, ASN Bank divested from CRH (as well as Veolia) on account of Wall construction. Protests against the company have been revived recently, with Irish activists launching a picket of CRH offices in July 2009.23

Pressure will continue to grow against CRH, especially considering that Mashav has recently acquired Hanson and its quarry (illegal both for its settlement location and extraction from the quarry constitutes exploitation of the resources in occupied territory). In March of 2009, Israeli human rights organization Yesh Din filed a petition with the Israeli high court demanding a halt to illegal mining activity in West Bank quarries, including Hanson Israel’s Nahal Raba quarry.24

Early activism and recent activism reports about the campaign against CRH can be found on Stop the Wall’s website. The recent acquisition by Mashav and Hanson is dealt with here and here on the Electronic Intifada. The Irish Palestine Solidarity Campaign is involved with the campaign; more information about boycott actions can found on their website.

CAPE GATE
(THROUGH YEHUDA WELDED MESH)

http://www.capegate.co.za/

Involvement with the Wall
Cape Gate Ltd. is a South African company that manufactures and delivers steel and wire products (fencing, barbed wire, construction materials, etc.). Cape Gate owns Yehuda Welded Mesh, which built the fence around the Gaza Strip and supplied fences for the Apartheid Wall around Jerusalem and in the area of the Mahola junction (Gilbo’a).25

Settlement involvement
Yehuda supplies fences for the fencing of apartheid roads, including the Cross Shomron road (no. 5), which leads to the settlement of Ariel, and the Tunnels Road, which connects the settlements of Gush Etzion and Jerusalem.26 Further, Yehuda Welded Mesh fences are also used in the industrial zone of the settlement of Barkan, and in Ariel and Karnei Shomron settlements in the West Bank, as well as in the Gush Katif settlements before the disengagement from the Gaza Strip.27

Ongoing campaigns
Currently, there are no BDS campaigns against Cape Gate, which is not the only South Africa firm with ties to the Wall and settlements. See the report Democratic South Africa’s complicity in Israel’s occupation, colonialism and apartheid.
Involvement with the Wall
Ashtrom focuses on construction and engineering works and is a supplier of materials to the MOD for the construction of checkpoints and terminals (the latter of which are located along the Wall).\(^\text{28}\)

Settlement involvement
Ashtrom is engaged in the settlement industry on various levels. Within the Ashtrom group Israbeton Concrete Industries Ltd. supplies concrete to settlement builders such as Danya Cebus, which is building homes in the settlements of Mattityahu East, Har Homa, Ma'ale Adumim.\(^\text{29}\) Subsidiary Ashdar Building Company is involved in housing projects in Oranli, Alfe Menashe, and Betar Illit.\(^\text{30}\) The company is also involved in the Light Rail project in Jerusalem, which will serve to connect settlements to the western part of the city.\(^\text{31}\)

Who Profits also notes that, “Ashtrom gp also owns Isra-Beton, which has a concrete plant in the industrial zone of Atarot in the West Bank, and Ashlad, which rents out industrial spaces in the industrial zone of Barkan in the West Bank […] The company also owns a quarry next to the settlement of Beithar Illit.”\(^\text{32}\)

Ongoing campaigns
There are no ongoing campaigns targeting Ashtrom. However, the company, through Ashtrom International, is engaged in major construction projects in the USA, Europe, Africa and South America. Further, companies in Ashtrom Group work with Lev Leviev’s companies. The latter is the target of a successful international boycott campaign, initiated by Adalah - NY.

Involvement with the Wall
Tyco Electronics is a $14.8 billion global provider of engineered electronic parts for thousands of consumer and industrial products; network solutions and systems for telecommunications and energy markets; and undersea telecommunication systems. In 1999 Raychem merged with Tyco.
Raychem, based in Switzerland, supplies electric wiring to the Wall. In particular, Raychem products were found on pieces of the Wall where it cuts off the village of Jayyus from its lands. Given that sections of the Wall are still under construction, and that other parts are destroyed during demonstrations are require repair, it is likely that Raychem is still providing material to the Wall.

Other involvement
It is unclear if the Raychem is involved with the settlements or the Israeli military.

Ongoing campaigns
There are no ongoing campaigns against Raychem, but given the evidence that the company’s products are used in the illegal Wall, such a campaign could be successful.

Who Profits has compiled this list of companies working on the Wall; see their website for more information and details.

Construction material
- Allied Holdings
- Avi Cranes
- Bobcat
- Caterpillar
- Barad Company for Landworks, Development and Roads
- E.D.I.G Construction Management
- Liebherr
- Manitou
- Phoenicia America-Israel
- Shaham Arica and Sons
- Zoko Enterprises (Zoko Shiluvim
- Mordechai Binyamin and Sons Earth Works
- Kalram Yacobwitz.

Fencing and gates
- B.G. Illanit Gates and Urban Elements
- D.N. Ko Gader
- Or Gidur

Other companies
- DefenSoft
- F.K. Generators
- IDB Group

Private security
- Ari Avtaha
- S.B. Security Systems (Shmira Ubitahon)
- Modi’in Ezrachi
- Hashmira
- Mikud Security
- Group4secuircor (G4S)
- Momentum S.O.S.
- Sheleg Lavan

Surveillance and scanners
- DataCard Group (Credentia)
- Electronic Data Systems (EDS)
- Eftal Technologistics
- Garrett Metal Detectors
- L-3 Communications
- Mer Group
- OTI On Track Innovations
Endnotes

1. http://www.securityfence.mod.gov.il/Pages/ENG/execu-
tion.htm#2 However, the text listing the companies has
since been removed.

2. For an example of “battle tested” arms, see: http://elec-
tronicintifada.net/v2/article10312.shtml


The-Government-Pension-Fund/Ethical-Guidelines-
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mandations-and-Letters-from-the-Advisory-Council-
on-Ethics/the-council-on-ethics-recommends-that-th.
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11. http://www.hstoday.us/content/view/891/92/

12. http://www.businessweek.com/magazine/content/04_08/b3871062.htm


14. http://www.securityfence.mod.gov.il/Pages/ENG/execu-
tion.htm

15. http://www.hstoday.us/content/view/891/92/

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newsportal/uncategorized/left-urges-pm-to-cancel-de-
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17. http://www.securityfence.mod.gov.il/Pages/ENG/execu-
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and http://archives.tcm.ie/businesspost/2004/02/22/
story82708183.asp


26. ibid.

27. ibid.


29. For connection to Danya Cebus, see: http://www.
ashtrom.co.il/english/comp.aspx?BoneId=343, for Danya
Cebus settlement construction, see: http://adalahny.
org/index.php/boycott-divestment-a-sanction/boycott-
against-land-developers-leviev?start=3


aspx#The%20Light%20Railroad%20in%20Jerusalem