



جامعة الإسكندرية
ALEXANDRIA
UNIVERSITY
كلية الدراسات الاقتصادية والعلوم السياسية
Faculty of Economic Studies & Political Science
معرفة واتساع

المجلة العلمية
لكلية الدراسات الاقتصادية والعلوم السياسية

<https://esalexu.journals.ekb.eg>

دورية علمية محكمة

المجلد العاشر (العدد العشرين، يوليو 2025)

The Pro-Palestine Movements at the U.S. Universities: An Analytical Perspective⁽¹⁾

الحركات المؤيدة لفلسطين في الجامعات الأمريكية: منظور تحليلي

أمانى عبد اللطيف عثمان

مدرس العلوم السياسية

الجامعة المصرية الروسية

amany.alateef@gmail.com

⁽¹⁾ تم تقديم البحث في 2024/10/7، وتم قبوله للنشر في 2025/5/6.

Abstract

Abstract: This paper analyzes the dynamics of Pro-Palestine movements at U.S. universities, which emerged following the events of October 7, 2023, and intensified in April and May 2024. It focuses on how these movements spread, driven by the support to marginalized critical mass in Palestine, and examines their connection to the injustices and undemocratic structures resulting from the capitalist world economy. The paper utilized Immanuel Wallerstein's world-systems analysis, with a focus on anti-systemic movements. The analysis considers the roots and purposes of these movements in light of the current state of the capitalist world economy. The findings suggest that the Pro-Palestine movements at U.S. universities exemplify the enduring relevance of anti-systemic movements in addressing global inequalities and advocating for a more just and equitable world. Their impact extends beyond the immediate context, contributing to a broader dialogue on the role of activism in shaping the future of the world system and social justice.

Keywords: World-systems Analysis؛ Group theory؛ Pro-Palestine Movement؛ Anti-systemic Movements؛ U.S. universities

المخلص

يحلل هذا البحث تفاعلات الحركات المؤيدة لفلسطين في الجامعات الأمريكية، والتي نشأت في أعقاب أحداث السابع من أكتوبر 2024، وانتشرت بصورة أكبر في أبريل ومايو 2024. ويركز على كيفية انتشار هذه الحركات، مدفوعة بدعم المهمشين في فلسطين، ويحلل ارتباط هذه الحركات بعدم المساواة والهيكل غير الديمقراطي الناجمة عن هيكل الاقتصاد العالمي الرأسمالي. يستخدم البحث تحليل النظم العالمية لإيمانويل وولرستين، بالتركيز على الحركات ضد النظام. ويتناول التحليل جذور وأهداف الحركات المؤيدة لفلسطين في الجامعات الأمريكية من حيث الجذور والأهداف، وفي إطار الوضع الحالي للاقتصاد العالمي الرأسمالي. وتشير النتائج إلى أن هذه الحركات جزء من الحركات ضد النظام التي تتحدى الهياكل القائمة للسلطة وتدعو إلى عالم أكثر ديمقراطية وعدالة. وتشير النتائج إلى أن الحركات المؤيدة لفلسطين في الجامعات الأمريكية تجسد أهمية الحركات ضد النظام في معالجة عدم المساواة والدعوة إلى عالم أكثر عدالة وإنصاف. كما يمتد تأثير هذه الحركات لما هو أشمل من السياق المباشر للحدث، ليساهم في بناء حوار حول دور الفاعلية في تشكيل مستقبل النظام العالمي والعدالة الاجتماعية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: تحليل النظم العالمية؛ نظرية الجماعة؛ الحركات المؤيدة لفلسطين؛ الحركات ضد النظام؛ الجامعات الأمريكية

Introduction

The Arab-Israeli conflict, characterized by its complexity and multifaceted nature, has deep historical roots in the region. Over the past two decades, Palestine, particularly the Gaza Strip, has been a focal point of direct confrontation. On October 7, 2023, Hamas launched a devastating attack on Israel, resulting in 1,200 deaths and over 250 hostages. This incident deemed the deadliest in Israeli history (BBC, 2024), sparked extensive military operations against Gaza. The repercussions extend beyond immediate violence, reshaping regional and international dynamics and sparking global protests, particularly in U.S. universities. These movements highlighted a stark contradiction between the U.S. government's strong support for Israel and widespread student solidarity with Palestinians.

1-Conceptual Framework

1.1- Research Question

The United States government issued a statement condemning the events of October 7, 2023, while simultaneously affirming Israel's right to self-defense against terrorist entities. Notably, this declaration overlooked the dire humanitarian situation of the Palestinian population in Gaza, which has been exacerbated by widespread destruction, significant loss of life, and acute food shortages. In response, a series of protests and encampments took place at approximately 130 universities, including prestigious U.S. universities (Cabral & Faguy, 2024), supporting the Palestinian people, demanding an end to the war, divestment from Israel, and cessation of academic cooperation. Consequently, this paper addresses the main research question: How can we explain the significant contradiction between the U.S. government's stance and widespread student support for Palestinians?

To address this, the paper integrates group theory into its analysis of pro-Palestine movements within the world-system framework. The paper will be divided into three sections:

1. Theoretical Foundation: an overview of group theory and world-systems analysis, focusing on anti-systemic movements.

2. Historical Context: the development of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, examining the conflict from a political economy perspective grounded in the concept of *longue durée*.
3. Pro-Palestine Movement Analysis: the pro-Palestine movement in U.S. universities from the perspective of anti-systemic movement and group theory.

1.2- Literature review

The literature review will be divided into two major trends. The first trend encompasses studies on anti-systemic movements. A study titled "The Arab Spring: An Anti-Systemic Movement" analyzed the Egyptian revolution as an anti-systemic movement during the reign of the Muslim Brotherhood and the future of the revolution (Demir, n.d.). Another study, "The Egyptian Revolution of 25th January 2011 as an Anti-Systemic Movement", illustrated how Egypt's position in the world economy affected its political economy orientation and led to the marginalization of critical masses, who launched the revolution (Osman, 2022). A study titled "Occupy as a World Anti-Systemic Movement" analyzed the movement in light of the financial crisis and its consequences. It also investigated the movement's structure and demands in relation to the capitalist world economy and the debt crisis (Macpherson & Smith, 2013). Another study, "Anti-Systemic Movements in the Attention Economy: Engaging the Cultural Political Economy Approach", focused on the political economy of new technology from a world-system analytical perspective (Bhandari, 2023). Finally, "Revisiting Anti-Systemic Movements in the Global South: Struggles against Exclusion and Exploitation", focused on the struggle against exploitation in the Global South, clarifying that the mobilization for these movements extends beyond economic goals to call for democracy and expanded citizenship (Jung, 2023). These studies analyze anti-systemic movements in different contexts, their relation to the world economy, demands, structure, and the impacts of new technologies.

The second trend of studies focuses on the Palestinian case, encompassing a wide range of studies. Some studies concentrate on diplomacy and peace, such as "Network Diplomacy and the Future of the Israel-Palestine Conflict", which addressed the conflict's roots and regional context, analyzing the reasons behind traditional diplomacy's failure to achieve peace (Morozov, 2022). Another study, "The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: An Analysis in the Context of International Law", discussed the protracted conflict within the international law framework,

examining historical, geopolitical, and legal instruments (Tanwar & Poply, 2023). Other studies focus on the conflict's political and economic aspects, such as "Economic Aspects of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict: The Collapse of the Oslo Accord", which addressed the Oslo Accord's failure due to the conflict's political and economic dynamics, emphasizing Palestine's economic losses (Miaari & Cali, 2020). A final study, "The Gaza Strip: The Political Economy of De-development", discussed Gaza's de-development, resulting from Israeli efforts to render the strip socially and economically dependent on Israel, ultimately impacting Palestinian national rights (Roy, 2016). This trend provided the researcher with a comprehensive background on the conflict's roots and context, encompassing the political economy perspective.

The researcher utilized this information to relate the conflict's political economic dimension to the capitalist world economy and the role of hegemonic power. This paper aims to analyze pro-Palestine movements from the perspective of anti-systemic movements, a rarely used framework for analyzing these movements, particularly in the context of recent events.

1.3- Theoretical Foundation

1.3.1- World-systems Analysis

The world-systems analysis, developed by Immanuel Wallerstein in the 1970s, aimed to address the challenges posed by the events of 1968, a year marked by worldwide political and social upheaval. These events protested existing power structures, highlighting the negative aspects of American dominance and demonstrating the failure of traditional anti-systemic movements to create a more just and democratic world. The challenges underscored the absence of an organized field of knowledge focusing on marginalized groups. During this period, world-systems analysis emerged as a method to examine social facts (Wallerstein, 2013, pp. 2-4). Wallerstein developed this analysis to investigate inequality and development, and it has also been used as a theory of globalization. In this context, two main points should be considered:

- Wallerstein described his contribution as an analysis, rather than a theory, emphasizing its role as an analytical framework or methodology (Robinson, 2011, p. 732).
- Wallerstein distinguished his framework from that of his colleagues by using a hyphen and the plural form (systems). He justified this by stating that "My world-system is not a system 'in the world' or 'of the world.' It

is a system 'that is a world.' Over time, there have been a number of world-systems, not just one, and the global capitalist economy is just one of these systems among others." (Frank, 2000, pp. 222-223).

Wallerstein defined world-systems as: "A social system, one that has boundaries, structures, member groups, rules of legitimation, and coherence. Its life is made up of the conflicting forces which hold it together by tension and tear it apart as each group seeks eternally to remold it to its advantage" (Wallerstein, 1974, p.347).

The current world system operates as a capitalist economy, relying mainly on the division of labor. This division of labor refers to the forces and relations of production within the global economy, resulting in the existence of two interdependent regions: the core and the periphery (Wallerstein, 1974, p. 374). The structural conditions present in the world economy create a hierarchical power dynamic between the core and the periphery, which is fundamental to the system. Core states facilitate capital accumulation and impose unequal exchanges on the peripheries, thereby continuously transferring surplus from the peripheries to the core (Chirot & Hall, 1982, p. 85).

Within this hierarchical division of states, the hegemonic state leads the core states. According to Wallerstein, this dominance is the basis of stability in the system. The dominant power sets the rules of the game in the world system, thereby dominating the global economy and being followed by others (Wallerstein, 2004, pp. 57-58).

Finally, relationships in the world economy are based on two contradictory forces: universalism, driven by competition and efficiency to enhance capital accumulation, and racism and discrimination, based on exclusion and used as tools to place groups in lower ranks to serve the system (Wallerstein, 2004, pp. 38-41).

The concept of "anti-systemic movements" is one of the main analytical tools introduced by Wallerstein. It refers to organized movements by individuals who aspire to create a more democratic and equal world. These movements constitute a resistance against the modern world system, often manifesting as sudden uprisings (Robinson, 2011, p. 732).

After 1945, anti-systemic movements gained momentum and succeeded in their initial goal of seizing power in various parts of the world. This shift in the political landscape was marked by the rise of communist parties, democratic socialist parties, national liberation movements, and populist movements.

However, these movements faltered in their subsequent goal of transforming the world. Once in power, they frequently adjusted or completely altered their original visions. Despite economic growth during this period, the gap between the core and the peripheries continued to widen (Wallerstein, 2004, pp. 70-73).

The revolution of 1968 occurred, due to the failure of the traditional anti-system movements to fulfill their promises. The strength of these movements in 1968 was crystallized in their goal to support the marginalized against the challenges of American dominance and to express the problems faced by states after independence (el-Ojeili, 2014, p. 82). This revolution presented a set of challenges to traditional anti-system movements, which were unable to recover as inequalities and exploitation continued (Wallerstein, 2014, p. 164).

Subsequently, the impact of neoliberalism contributed to a new era for anti-system movements. The victory achieved by the Washington Consensus faced successive shocks from the mid-1990s onwards. The world witnessed the birth of the Zapatista movement on the same day the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was signed. This movement did not aim to seize state power, but rather to structure and restructure local ways of life. The Zapatista movement supported all movements advocating democracy and equality, rejected exceptions, and promoted inclusiveness and mutual tolerance among global left movements. Similarly, the Seattle movement in 1999 refuted the claim that opposition to neoliberalism stemmed solely from the Global South, successfully disrupting the World Trade Organization (WTO) meeting without reaching an agreement. Meanwhile, the left began to organize itself through the "World Social Forum" in Porto Alegre in January 2001. The forum believes that another world is possible, countering the capitalist belief that there is no alternative (Wallerstein, 2014, pp. 168-170).

The world witnessed another counter-shift against anti-systemic movements in September 2001, following the attack on the World Trade Center. This event was used to affirm the unilateral will and military superiority of the U.S., leading to the reversal of the achievements of anti-systemic movements by dissolving ideological barriers (Wallerstein, 2004, p. 87). Nevertheless, the world saw sporadic waves of anti-systemic movements, such as the first wave of the Arab Spring in 2011 and 2012, its second wave in 2019, the Occupy Movement in 2011, and the Black Lives Matter movement in 2020. These movements are likely to continue, especially in light of the current global economic crisis caused

by the prolonged consequences of climate change, geopolitical tensions, financial stress, economic dependency, and trade fragmentation (Gill & Kose, 2024).

In light of the above-mentioned sequences, this paper aims to analyze the Pro-Palestine movement at U.S. universities as one of the anti-systemic movements within the framework of the capitalist world economy and its consequences. For this purpose, the paper illustrates the strengths and weaknesses of Wallerstein's analysis as follows: anti-systemic movements offer a valuable analytical framework for comprehending the emergence of diverse movements globally, situating their underlying causes within the structural context of the capitalist world economy. On the other hand, the researcher believes that the main weakness of Wallerstein's analysis lies in the loose definition of anti-systemic movements, as Wallerstein defined them according to their causes. This approach disregards the variation of these movements in terms of their organization, duration, strength, timing, and expansion. This paper addresses this weakness by applying defined criteria for anti-systemic movements, as illustrated in the third part of the paper.

1.3.2. The Group Theory

The group theory in political science examines how organized groups interact, compete, and influence political outcomes. This concept is rooted in Arthur F. Bentley's work, "The Process of Government: A Study of Social Pressures", which emphasized the importance of observable human actions and group dynamics in shaping political systems. Bentley viewed politics as a group affair, where each group competes for power. According to Bentley "a group means a certain portion of the men of society, taken, however, not as a physical mass cut off from other masses of men, but as a mass activity, which does not preclude the men who participate in it from participating likewise in many other group activities" (Bentley, 1908, p.211).

According to James A. Bill and Robert L. Hardgrave, Jr. group is defined as "aggregates of individuals who interact in varying degrees in pursuance of a common interest". Group studies focus on "collectivities of individuals who interact in pursuance of common political goals basic attention is centered upon the collectivity not the individual since the former is assumed to have more influence than the latter in shaping the political processes". The main unit of analysis is the group (Bill and Hardgrave, Jr., 1973, p.119).

According to Gabriel Almond and his collaborators, interest articulation structures can be classified into four types, based on their organizational characteristics and interest articulation patterns, as follows:

1. Associational Groups: These groups are highly organized, effectively expressing and channeling their members' interests to decision-makers through formalized structures and processes.
2. Institutional Groups: Characterized by formal organization and official recognition, these groups pursue multiple goals and perform various sociopolitical functions, often wielding significant influence within their respective domains.
3. Non-Associational Groups: In contrast, these groups exhibit a low level of organizational complexity, informally pursuing their interests without a stable, continuous structure.
4. Anomic Groups: Lacking a permanent organizational framework, anomic groups are marked by spontaneous and eruptive interest aggregation, frequently manifesting as mob activity or other forms of unstructured collective action (Almond, 1966, pp.75-78).

Group theory is considered a modern theory that challenges traditional perspectives focused on institutional and legal aspects. It highlights important concepts like power and conflict. However, the theory has been criticized for its shortcomings in research techniques and researchability, including difficulties in constructing theoretical formulations, moving beyond conceptual frameworks, developing testable generalizations, and achieving precise measurements and observations (Bill and Hardgrave, Jr., 1973, pp. 134-137).

This paper combines Wallerstein's world-systems analysis with group theory to understand Pro-Palestine movements in U.S. universities. By merging these perspectives, the paper provides insight into the dynamics of Pro-Palestine activism, emphasizing collective action, resource mobilization, identity formation, and contestation of dominant power structures.

2. The Palestinian-Israeli Conflict: A Political Economy Perspective

This research paper examines the political and economic dimensions of the conflict from a *longue durée* perspective, highlighting how economic transformations in Palestine are closely tied to Israel's existence as a capitalist state. This relationship is characterized by Israel's extraction of surplus value

from Palestine, supported by hegemonic and other core states within the capitalist world economy.

The following section is divided into two parts. The first part explores the context surrounding Israel's establishment, focusing on how it extracted value from Palestine by exploiting its resources. Particular attention is given to Israel's relationship with Britain, the hegemonic power at the time, which played a pivotal role in Israel's establishment. The second component of this part concentrates exclusively on the phenomenon of de-development in the Gaza Strip. This section provides an in-depth examination of the factors contributing to the economic and societal decline of the strip, with a particular emphasis on the structural and policy-related determinants underlying this process.

2.1- The Roots of the Conflict

The Jewish National Fund (JNF) was founded in 1901, marking a pivotal moment in the Zionist movement's pursuit of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. As the operational arm of the Zionist movement, the JNF played a vital role in acquiring and developing land in Palestine, laying the groundwork for the eventual establishment of a Jewish state. The JNF's primary objective was to purchase land in Palestine, which would be held in trust for the Jewish people. This land would then be leased to Jewish settlers, providing them with a foothold in the region. The JNF's efforts were instrumental in establishing Jewish colonies under British rule, and later, after the Nakba, in establishing Jewish settlements in Palestine. By the end of 1947, the fund owned 933,000 dunams out of 1.734 million dunams owned by Jews in Palestine (Ajnet, 2021). The philosophy of the fund was that lands should become "the inalienable property of world Jewry" (Tuten, 2002, p.123).

The establishment of the fund coincided with the second wave of Jewish immigration (1903-1914). During this period, socialist ideology was employed to establish kibbutzim⁽²⁾ (collective/communal villages) (CJPME, 2013). This wave introduced the slogan "occupation of work," which advocated for Jewish control over all aspects of labor. To achieve this, youth were physically and psychologically prepared for labor that required significant physical effort. Additionally, the slogan aimed to create workplaces for Jewish immigrants (Madar: Palestinian Center for Israeli Studies, n.d.). The Labor Parties, including

⁽²⁾ Kibbutz means gathering in Hebrew, the first kibbutz "Degania" was established in 1909 supported by the Jewish National Fund.

the Hapoel Hatzair party and the Poale Zion party, established at the beginning of the 20th century, played a crucial role in materializing this slogan (Ajnet, 2014).

The kibbutz subsequently played a vital economic role by generating job opportunities for new immigrants. Politically, they were instrumental in preparing for the 1948 war and the declaration of Israel's establishment as a state. Moreover, the kibbutz defended the Israeli state, manufactured weapons, and trained soldiers (Ajnet, 2024). The underlying logic of the kibbutz was to counter the challenges of competing with Arab labor, who were cheaper and more experienced, through collective organization and resource pooling (Labadi, 2024). Ultimately, this led to the distortion of the elements of capital, labor, and land in favor of the Jewish colonial state. Despite employing socialist rhetoric, these ideals were manipulated to achieve capitalist objectives, including land expropriation, resource exploitation, and the replacement of Arab labor.

Globally, the British government, as a hegemonic power at the time, issued the Balfour Declaration in 1917, expressing its support for the establishment of a national home for Jews in Palestine. The League of Nations subsequently recognized the British Mandate in Palestine in 1922, incorporating the Balfour Declaration (University of Central Arkansas, n.d.). British support facilitated a significant influx of Jewish immigrants, increasing their numbers from 50,000 before the British Mandate to 650,000 in 1948. British policies also included decrees restricting land transfer, which benefited Jewish populations, leading to an increase in Jewish land ownership from 2% to 8% between 1918 and 1948. This came at a great cost to the Palestinian population. The displacement of hundreds of Palestinians resulted in higher unemployment rates, exacerbating existing economic tensions. Moreover, the British authorities actively suppressed Palestinian resistance movements, further marginalizing the Palestinian resistance movements (Ajnet, 2023b).

In 1948, the United Nations proposed the termination of the British Mandate and the partition of Palestine into two separate states, one for Arabs and one for Jews, with Jerusalem to be placed under international administration (United Nations, n.d.). The proposed division allocated 56% of the land to Jews, who comprised only 33% of the population. In 1948, Israel's declaration of independence sparked the Arab-Israeli War, resulting in Israel's occupation of 78% of Palestine, with Egypt and Jordan controlling the remaining territory. The war had devastating consequences for Palestinians, including the expulsion of

approximately 75% of the population between 1947 and 1950, massacres, destruction of more than 400 cities and towns, and confiscation of approximately 4,244,776 acres of Palestinian land (Institute for Middle East Understanding, 2023). This led to a significant transfer of surplus from Palestine to Israel, perpetuating a cycle of economic disempowerment for Palestinians and empowerment for Israelis (Munayyer, 2019).

In 1966, Israel's economic crisis was a culmination of declining economic fortunes, which had been anticipated by government records as early as 1964. In response, the government implemented austerity measures, reducing expenditures and postponing projects. Nevertheless, the economic crisis intensified by mid-1966, characterized by rising unemployment (exceeding 10%), increasing social inequalities, declining production, and growing protests. The economic downturn had far-reaching consequences, including a decline in immigration rates. By April 1967, the number of citizens leaving Israel surpassed the number of arrivals, while the influx of immigrants, including skilled labor, plummeted to unprecedented levels. Furthermore, compensation payments from West Germany, a vital source of revenue, ceased. One plausible interpretation of the 1967 War is that it was, in part, a strategic attempt by the Israeli government to divert attention away from the internal economic crisis (Ajnet, 2023a). The war, which occurred in June 1967, resulted in Israel's occupation of the Sinai Peninsula, the Golan Heights, Gaza Strip, West Bank, and parts of Jerusalem.

In the aftermath of the war, Israel's economy experienced a significant surge, with a 14% growth rate in 1968. The country's land area tripled, and it acquired control of the oil fields in occupied Sinai. The occupied territories also became integrated into Israel's economy, with a substantial number of consumers in these areas being absorbed into the Israeli market. Additionally, the war outcome led to increased investments and donations, as well as enhanced industrial cooperation between the United States and Israel, laying the groundwork for the development of a military-industrial base and boosting Israeli military equipment sales (Ajnet, 2023a).

2.2-The Gaza Strip

The Gaza Strip, occupied by Israel in June 1967, witnessed the establishment of its first Israeli settlement in 1970. By 2005, the number of settlements had grown to 21, housing approximately 9,000 settlers on Palestinian land (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2024).

The Israeli military's unilateral withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and evacuation of its settlements in August-September 2005 marked a significant turning point (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2024). This withdrawal was part of a broader plan announced by Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon during the Fourth Herzliya Conference on December 18, 2003. The plan's primary objectives were "enhancing Israel's security by reducing terrorism and boosting Israel's economy by improving the quality of life" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Israel, 2005). Notably, Israel retained control over the Gaza Strip's perimeter, airspace, coast, and demilitarization.

The disengagement plan has been interpreted as a strategic redeployment aimed at tightening Israel's control over the Gaza Strip and enhancing its self-protection capabilities, particularly in the face of high costs resulting from Palestinian resistance during the second Palestinian intifada. This perspective underscores the complexities of Israel's settlement policy and its implications for the Gaza Strip's political and economic landscape.

Since 2006, following Hamas' takeover of Gaza, Israel has enforced a blockade that intensified by mid-2007 and remained in place until 2023. This period witnessed four major military attacks in 2008/9, 2012, 2014, and 2021, causing devastating effects on Gaza's economy (Euro-Med Human Rights Monitor, 2023).

The blockade led to aid dependency, food insecurity, and significant restrictions on the fishing zone, border crossings, and movement of people and goods. The blockade also prohibited the importation of construction materials deemed "dual use," hindering reconstruction efforts and deteriorating basic services (United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, 2015, p.1). Furthermore, Israel's blockade banned exports and imports, restricted medical supplies and medicines, and limited fuel imports (Euro-Med Human Rights Monitor, 2023). Moreover, Israel serves as a fiscal intermediary for the Palestinian Authority (PA), collecting tax revenue on behalf of the PA, including funds generated in Gaza, and subsequently transferring these funds to the PA. Notably, only approximately 30% of these funds are allocated towards Gaza's expenditures (Scheer, Rose, & Ayyub, 2023). Furthermore, Israel has been known to utilize the confiscation or reduction of these fund transfers as a means of exerting pressure on the PA.

The Gaza Strip has faced catastrophic consequences due to the ongoing blockade. Between 2006 and 2023, Gaza's population experienced a 65% growth,

while its share in Palestine's GDP drastically declined by 55%. Furthermore, GDP per capita plummeted from \$1,994 to \$929, and the unemployment rate skyrocketed from 35% to 79%. Poverty levels also surged, increasing from 39% to 96% (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, 2024). The devastating impact of military attacks on Gaza's infrastructure cannot be overstated. In May 2021, hundreds of economic facilities were destroyed, resulting in estimated losses of \$400 million. In stark contrast, Israel's population grew by 26.4% (World Bank, 2023), with GDP per capita increasing from \$25,634 in 2007 to \$54,931 in 2022 (Macrotrends, 2024). Unemployment rates in Israel also decreased significantly, from 10.7% to 3.6% in 2022 (Statista, 2024).

Prior to 2007, Israel had already imposed a degree of isolation on Gaza; however, the blockade implemented in 2007 was markedly more extensive and severe in its impact, earning Gaza the designation of "an open-air prison" (Munayyer, 2019). The Euro-Med Human Rights Monitor condemned the blockade, stating it "Israel has maintained its collective punishment policy against nearly 2.38 million Gazans in a way that clearly exposes Israel's intention to inflict great material and moral damages on them... Israel also carried out repeated military attacks—including four major attacks, the last of which was in May 2021—against Gaza, causing the almost complete disruption of the economy and production, the destruction of large parts of the infrastructure and economic facilities, and the death and injury of thousands of unarmed civilians. The blockade caused the multiplication of the humanitarian crisis indicators in Gaza" (Euro-Med Human Rights Monitor, 2023).

In May 2023, a series of clashes erupted when Israel launched airstrikes targeting three Jihad members, prompting a counterattack. The ensuing violence resulted in the deaths of 33 Palestinians, including at least 10 civilians, with 190 injured, over 50 homes destroyed, and approximately 950 Palestinians displaced (Beaumont, 2023).

The events of October 7, 2023, marked a significant escalation in the conflict. Hamas, in coordination with other militant groups, launched a surprise attack against Israel, called "Operation Al-Aqsa Flood," which was the first attack on Israeli soil since 1948. This operation resulted in the deaths of approximately 1,200 Israelis and the capture of around 250 hostages (Frankel, 2024). After 15 months, Hamas and Israeli agreed to ceasefire went into effect on 19th January 2024. The conflict has yielded catastrophic consequences, resulting in a reported

46,600 Palestinian fatalities, with over half of these casualties' comprising women and children (Farge & Al-Mughrabi, 2025). Furthermore, a report by the Watson Institute for International and Public Policy Affairs, dated September 30, 2014, reveals staggering indirect mortality rates in Gaza, with 62,413 deaths attributed to starvation and an additional 5,000 deaths resulting from inadequate access to medical care for chronic diseases (Stamatopoulou-Robbins & Savell, 2024). These alarming statistics underscore the profound humanitarian toll exacted by the conflict.

3- The Pro-Palestine Movement at U.S. Universities

This section examines the Pro-Palestine movement through the lens of anti-systemic movement theory and group theory, with a specific focus on the movement's manifestation at U.S. universities. The Pro-Palestine movement is a global phenomenon, but this analysis concentrates on the U.S. university context due to the significance and intensity of student activism in the United States. Furthermore, the U.S. plays a crucial role in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, being the largest exporter of weapons to Israel and providing diplomatic support. This stance directly contradicts the movement's demands, rendering the U.S. university context a critical site for analysis. Additionally, the U.S. government's response to these movements has been criticized for undermining the country's long-standing democratic traditions.

According to Wallerstein (1979), anti-systemic movements are defined by their goals and propagation. Building on this framework, this research integrates additional characteristics of anti-systemic movements, drawing on group theory principles, as follows:

3.1-The Role of New Technology

The advent of new technology has significantly enhanced the capabilities of groups, facilitating communication among individuals who were previously unknown to one another. This technology offers a high level of privacy and confidentiality, supports anonymity, and creates virtual spaces for debate and discussion. Furthermore, it provides an alternative source of information that is difficult for governments to control (Al-Rawi, 2012, pp. 99-100). The barriers of time and space are also transcended, contributing to the emergence of "smart mobs" (Rheingold, 2008, p. 234).

One of the key strengths of the pro-Palestine movement was its effective utilization of technology as a critical resource to overcome structural disadvantages. By leveraging technology, the movement was able to counter the shortcomings of resource mobilization, which is widely regarded as a crucial determinant of collective action success. The role of new technology in this context was multifaceted, and its impact is examined in further detail below.

3.1.1-Spreading Awareness

The proliferation of social media has enabled young content creators in Gaza to assume the role of citizen journalists, documenting their experiences under war and garnering significant attention globally. Notable examples include Moataz Azaiza, Bisan Owda, and Plestia Al-Aqad, who have exerted substantial influence through their online presence (TRT World, 2023). Azaiza, in particular, has been instrumental in raising awareness about the situation in Gaza, calling for international intervention to halt the war. His efforts have been recognized, ranking him among the 100 most influential people in 2024 (Serhan, 2024). Azaiza's online following has grown exponentially, from 25,000 to over 17.6 million, in a matter of months (Azaiza, n.d.). The collective efforts of citizen journalists have transformed individual initiatives into a broader solidarity movement, driving support for the Palestinian cause.

Despite facing censorship and repression on platforms like Instagram, Palestinian creators have managed to circumvent these obstacles and promote their cause. Meta, the parent company of Facebook and Instagram, acknowledged restricting pro-Palestine content in October, citing technical issues (Abbruzzese, Ingram, & Salam, 2023). Furthermore, the "Eye on Palestine" pages on Instagram, Facebook, and Threads were temporarily suspended, with Meta citing security concerns (Ingram, 2023). This dynamic illustrates group theory's assertion that dominant power structures often seek to suppress dissenting groups to maintain control.

In contrast, TikTok has emerged as a primary source of information, with a study analyzing content on the platform over four months since October 7, 2023, revealing that pro-Palestine content outnumbered pro-Israel content in the United States (Moulton, 2024). TikTok, a Chinese-owned app, has faced allegations of promoting pro-Palestine content. The platform has denied these claims, arguing that it merely reflects the growing solidarity with Palestine among American youth (Business & Human Rights Resource Centre, 2023). The allegations have

sparked a controversy, with the US passing a law to ban TikTok unless it is sold by its parent company, ByteDance (McMahon, 2024). This development has raised questions about the link between the ban and the growing pro-Palestine sentiment.

3.1.2- Protests Facilitation

The strategic utilization of new technology by students in the U.S. played a pivotal role in facilitating protests and mobilizing the pro-Palestine movement. Protesters leveraged social media platforms to disseminate manuals on occupying buildings and other rally tactics, as well as to provide real-time updates on police deployment (Sentner, Anuta, & Swan, 2024). This enabled protesters to exert significant influence over a relatively short period.

The use of social media also facilitated the organization and unification of protest chants, which was crucial for the pro-Palestine movement to counter accusations of anti-Semitism. The movement's uniqueness laid in its ability to establish boundaries and maintain a unified front (Smith, 2024). One notable example of this is the chant "globalize the intifada," which was intended to express peaceful resistance against Israel but was misinterpreted by anti-Palestine movements as a call for violence against Jews (Florido, 2024).

Consequently, technology played a vital role in facilitating movement interactions and dynamics, uniting subgroups within the movement around overarching goals and emphasizing the importance of internal coordination.

3.2-Dynamics and Spread of the Movements

The escalation of pro-Palestine protests in the United States began on April 17, 2024, when students at Columbia University established a Gaza solidarity encampment. Simultaneously, the university president was summoned to Congress to address allegations of anti-Semitism. The following day, the police, at the behest of the university president, raided the campus, arresting over 100 protesters. This incident sparked a nationwide wave of university and college protests, with intensified demonstrations and further arrests occurring on April 22. Meanwhile, President Biden publicly condemned anti-Semitism and criticized those who failed to understand the Palestinian situation (Associated Press, 2024).

As protests spread across campuses, the situation became increasingly complex, with a new level of escalation emerging between law enforcement and university administrations on one hand, and protesters on the other. The police

introduced new measures, continuing to make arrests, sometimes utilizing aggressive tactics, as exemplified by the events at the University of Texas. Furthermore, the Columbia University administration issued a request for protesters to vacate the campus, threatened to dismantle the encampment under allegations of anti-Semitism, and ultimately warned of student suspensions (Associated Press, 2024).

Between October 7, 2023, and May 30, 2024, pro-Palestine protests occurred at over 500 colleges and universities in the United States, including 130 encampments. Despite the largely peaceful nature of these protests, law enforcement arrested more than 3,600 participants. Notably, while the events at Columbia University garnered significant media attention, the longest encampment took place at Stanford University, lasting over 150 days (Ulfelder, 2024).

The pro-Palestine movement on university campuses in the United States has been characterized by diverse demands, but common themes have emerged. These include advocating for a ceasefire, liberation of Palestine, and cessation of academic cooperation with Israel. Additionally, students have called for universities to disclose investments in Israel and weapon manufacturers, and to divest from entities profiting from the ongoing war. Some universities have also emphasized the protection of freedom and rights for protesters and people in custody (Egan & Maruf, 2024).

According to one expert, the proliferation of the movement can be attributed to a confluence of factors. As noted by the expert, "This swell of protest is the result of a number of factors, including growing pro-Palestine sentiment among younger people, the mounting civilian toll in Gaza from Israel's military response, and more people being drawn into activism through issues like reproductive rights, Black Lives Matter, and concerns about democracy" (Serino, 2024).

To revitalize the protest movement following the summer break, the National Students for Justice in Palestine organized unofficial online educational sessions, focusing on the history of Palestine and strategic organizational methodologies (Salam, 2024).

3.3-The Role of the U.S. as a Hegemonic Geopolitical Actor

According to Wallerstein, major geopolitical actors often struggle to articulate a clear vision for advancing their interests amidst turmoil. Instead, they

employ various tools, such as containment, co-optation, and repression, to navigate resistance and promote their interests. This dynamic is exemplified by the U.S. response to the pro-Palestine movement (Wallerstein, 2011, pp.2-4).

The U.S. has utilized a multifaceted approach, combining repression, containment, and co-optation, both domestically and internationally. On the international level, the U.S. has repressed the movement through unconditional support for Israel, while containing resistance in Palestine. This stance is rooted in the U.S.'s longstanding relationship with Israel, which began with its recognition of Israel on May 14, 1948 (Office of the Historian: U.S. Department of State, n.d.). The U.S. further solidified its support for Israel by recognizing Jerusalem as its capital in 2017.

The U.S. Department of State has emphasized the significance of the U.S.-Israel bilateral relationship, stating that "Israel is a great partner to the United States, and Israel has no greater friend than the United States" (U.S. Department of State, 2021). Moreover, the U.S. has played an active role in facilitating normalization agreements between Israel and Arab states, integrating political and economic dimensions.

Since World War II, Israel has been the largest recipient of U.S. foreign assistance, receiving \$158 billion in bilateral assistance and missile defense funding as of 2023 (Sharp, 2023, p. 2). Additionally, the U.S. has provided Israel with significant military aid, including at least \$12.5 billion in legislation enacted since Israel's war with Hamas, as well as resupplying defense equipment during the ongoing conflict (Masters & Merrow, 2024).

The primary objective of U.S. military assistance to Israel is to maintain Israeli military supremacy over its neighbors. Long-term cooperation has led to the development of a robust Israeli defense sector, heavily reliant on U.S. assistance and equipment. Despite Israel's growing defense industry, it remains dependent on U.S. military financing, which accounts for 16% of its defense budget (Hammer, 2023).

An independent, non-partisan, and non-profit research group reported that the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) has significantly influenced U.S. assistance to Israel after October 7, 2023. AIPAC has also supported the election campaigns of pro-Israel candidates through donations. For example, AIPAC contributed to the campaign of House candidate Kay Granger, who later introduced the Israel Security Supplemental Appropriations Act. According to the research group, "A total of \$13 million in political contributions

were made to members of the 118th Congress through AIPAC PAC during the 2022 election cycle, as well as over \$8 million in 2023 so far” (Schumer, 2023).

Moreover, many AIPAC members hold positions in key decision-making circles. AIPAC also actively lobbies on defense, budgeting, and foreign policy issues, including bills sanctioning Hamas and other militant groups. For instance, Senator Jacky Rosen, who received contributions from AIPAC, wrote a letter to the U.S. president (signed by other senators who also received contributions from AIPAC) urging the administration to provide Israel with Iron Dome missiles, which was approved two weeks later (Senate Members' Letter, 2023; Schumer, 2023).

There is increasing criticism of the U.S. administration's military support to Israel amid the rising number of civilian deaths in Palestine. Allegations range from Palestinian displacement and ethnic cleansing to human rights violations (Al-Minshawi, 2023).

On the domestic front, the pro-Palestine movement at U.S. universities has been met with a combination of repression, containment, and co-optation. Despite the predominantly peaceful nature of the protests, police responses have been marked by violence. Notable incidents include the deployment of a sniper on the roof of Indiana University, the use of rubber bullets and tear gas at Emory University, and the employment of beanbag fires by an officer at UCLA. The arrests carried out by law enforcement primarily targeted students, staff, professors, and alumni, with some protesters reported injuries associated with police violence during arrests. The tactics employed by the police contravene the best practices established following the death of George Floyd in 2020, which galvanized the Black Lives Matter movement (The Marshall Project, 2024).

External factors have also played a significant role in shaping police responses to the protests. According to a report by The Washington Post, police actions on at least one campus were influenced by external pressure. Furthermore, it was revealed that a group of businessmen exerted pressure on New York's Mayor to deploy police to disperse the protests. This highlights the complex interplay of forces that shape the state's response to the pro-Palestine movement (Natanson & Felton, 2024).

In response to the pro-Palestine protests, universities have employed diverse strategies to manage the situation. Some institutions, such as the University of California, Berkeley, have allowed protests to continue as long as they remain peaceful. In contrast, other universities, including Northwestern

University, Brown University, and Rutgers University, have negotiated distinct agreements with protesters. Meanwhile, Portland State University has suspended its financial ties with Boeing, citing the company's connections to Israel, thereby acquiescing to students' demands (Thompson & Camhi, 2024).

To prevent a resurgence of protests after the summer break, universities have implemented additional measures. For instance, Columbia University has installed fences around the quad and introduced a new system imposing restrictions on disruptions to academic or campus operations. Furthermore, the university is considering the appointment of peace officers with the authority to arrest students. Similarly, Pennsylvania University has introduced new policies restricting camping and overnight protests during the summer. Comparable restrictive policies have been implemented by other universities, including Illinois and Louisville, while Case Western Reserve and Michigan University require a seven-day prior notice for any protests. The University of California is contemplating a new policy banning encampments, which would represent a significant shift in its approach (Speri, 2024).

The American Association of University Professors (AAUP) has condemned the administrative measures against peaceful protests, arguing that they violate the rights to assemble and protest, while threatening freedom of expression, speech, and academic freedom. In a statement released on August 14, 2024, the AAUP described these measures as an alert to those who care about higher education and democracy. The association culminated its statement with a poignant remark, asserting that “The recent proliferation of these new restrictive policies seems to be an attempt to appease politicians who are calling for university administrators to use a heavy hand against faculty and student protesters. We must reiterate, as we said in our November 2023 statement *Polarizing Times Demand Robust Academic Freedom*, ‘By acceding to external political pressures and demands for political censorship instead of encouraging the utmost freedom of discussion, college and university administrations abandon their own responsibility for protecting the academic community’s central mission of education, research, and service to the broader society and to the public good.’ Administrators who claim that ‘expressive activity’ policies protect academic freedom and student learning, even as they severely restrict its exercise, risk destroying the very freedoms of speech and expression they claim to protect” (American Association of University Professors, 2024).

3.4- Cross-Cutting Analysis of Groups and Their Interactions in the Pro-Palestine Movement

The pro-Palestine movement in the United States has evolved into a multifaceted phenomenon, encompassing a diverse array of actors and alliances. A comprehensive analysis of the diverse actors involved in the pro-Palestine movement highlights the roles of key groups and their interactions, which collectively shaped the movement's trajectory.

Student groups played a pivotal role. The National Students for Justice in Palestine (NSJP) was instrumental in mobilizing campus-based activism, advocating for Palestinian liberation, and promoting a platform centered on freedom, solidarity, equality, and historical justice (NationalSJP, n.d.). The Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) galvanized protests, encampments, and divestment campaigns across American universities.

The pro-Palestine movement also benefited from collaborations with other groups, such as the U.S. Campaign for Palestinian Rights, the Faculty for Justice in Palestine (FJP) Network, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), and Young Democratic Socialists of America (YDSA) (McDonald, 2024). Furthermore, Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP) has been a vocal advocate for Palestinian rights, demanding university divestment from apartheid and genocide (Jewish Voice for Peace, n.d.).

Universities served as crucial sites for the movement, with varying institutional responses to activism. While some universities suppressed pro-Palestinian activities, others took progressive steps in response to activism. Faculty members played an influential role in the movement, often advocating for academic freedom and critiquing university complicity in U.S.-Israel relations.

Professors and researchers participated in protests and criticized restrictions by universities, underscoring the connection between academic freedom and broader questions of political justice. The pro-Palestine movement strategically aligned itself with other social justice initiatives, including Black Lives Matter, Minority Rights Group, and Friends of the Earth International (Tempest Magazine, 2024. Minority Rights Group, 2023 and Friends of the Earth International 2023).

These alliances amplified the movement's message, enabling it to attract solidarity from diverse activist networks and integrate its demands into broader social justice discourses. This coalition-building underscores the interconnected

nature of contemporary activism and the role of interconnectedness in shaping political movements.

Pro-Israel groups, including Hillel International and StandWithUs, launched a counteroffensive against the pro-Palestine movement by pushing Israeli security narratives, lobbying universities to crack down on pro-Palestine activities, and hosting events that offered alternative perspectives on the conflict¹. These efforts were designed to sway public opinion and maintain institutional support for Israel, aligning with the advocacy goals of AIPAC.

Conclusion

The Pro-Palestine movements at U.S. universities, which emerged following the events of October 7, 2023, represented a significant form of anti-systemic movement within the framework of the current world economy. These movements highlighted the growing discontent with existing power structures, the belief in a more democratic and just world, and the increasing solidarity with marginalized groups, particularly the Palestinian people. It is worth mentioning that these movements were related to events that did not represent the direct involvement of the U.S., as the costs and consequences of this war did not directly affect the U.S. in terms of economic or human cost. Additionally, many of the universities that witnessed Pro-Palestine movements, such as Columbia, Harvard, Stanford, and Northwestern University, have been main sources for elite recruitment.

Despite the U.S. government's strong support for Israel, the widespread protests and encampments at universities reflect a significant divergence between official policies and the sentiments of the student movements. This contradiction underscores the complex dynamics of world system structures and the power of anti-systemic movements. The contradiction arises from the U.S. government's strategic interests and geopolitical alliances, which contrast sharply with the humanitarian concerns of pro-Palestine movements at the universities.

From the perspective of group theory, these movements can be understood as a collective response to shared grievances and a pursuit of common interests. Group theory emphasizes the role of organized groups in shaping political outcomes, highlighting how these student movements have mobilized resources, formed collective identities, and articulated their demands effectively. The use of new technology has been instrumental in overcoming structural disadvantages,

facilitating communication, and spreading awareness, thereby enhancing the movement's capacity to challenge dominant power structures.

In conclusion, The Pro-Palestine movements at U.S. universities exemplify the enduring relevance of anti-systemic movements in addressing global inequalities and advocating for a more just and equitable world. Their impact extends beyond the immediate context, contributing to a broader dialogue on the role of activism in shaping the future of the world system and social justice

Reference

1. Abbruzzese, J., Ingram, D., & Salam, Y. (2023, November 3). "On Instagram, Palestinian journalists and digital creators documenting Gaza strikes see surge in followers". NBC News. Available at: <https://www.nbcnews.com/tech/social-media/instagram-palestinian-journalists-digital-creators-document-gaza-strik-rcna123067>, accessed: 6 October, 2024.
2. Ajnet, (2023a, June 5), "A Kiss of Life: Was the 1967 War an Israeli Adventure to Save Its Economy?". Available at: <https://shorturl.at/C3n33>, accessed: 18 July 2024.
3. Ajnet, 2014, December 14, "Labor Party". Available at: <https://shorturl.at/uupZ2>, accessed: 1 July 2024.
4. Ajnet, 2021, February 15, "Founded by Zionism 120 years ago, the Jewish National Fund allocates \$1.2 billion for settlements", available at: <https://shorturl.at/GhhZ0>, accessed: 15 June 2024.
5. Ajnet, 2024, May 16, "Israel's Kibbutzim: Settlement communities where residents train in agriculture and weaponry". Available at: <https://shorturl.at/DDIB9>, accessed: 1 July 2024.
6. Ajnet, (2023b, November 2), "From the Balfour Declaration to the Declaration of Israel: The British Mandate in Palestine". Available at: <https://shorturl.at/6r2db>, accessed: 8 July 2024.
7. Almond, Gabriel A. (1966). "Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach". Boston: Little, Brown.
8. Al-Rawi, B. J.(2012), "The Role of Social Media in Change: A Theoretical Approach," *Al-Bahith Al-I'lami*,(18), pp. 94-112.
9. American Association of University Professors. (2024)."AAUP condemns wave of administrative policies intended to crack down on peaceful campus protes"t. Available at: <https://www.aaup.org/news/aaup-condemns-wave-administrative-policies-intended-crack-down-peaceful-campus-protest>, accessed: 29 September, 2024.
10. Associated Press. (2024, May 6). "Timeline of the nationwide protest movement that began at Columbia University". AP News. Available at: <https://apnews.com/article/israel-palestinian-campus-protests-timeline-f7cd3abe635f8afa4532b7bed9212b56>, accessed: 26 September, 2024.
11. Azaiza, M. [@motaz_azaiza]. (n.d.). *Instagram profile*. Instagram. Available at: https://www.instagram.com/motaz_azaiza/?hl=en, accessed: 6 October, 2024.
12. BBC News. (2024, April 5). "What is Hamas and why is it fighting with Israel in Gaza", available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-67039975>, accessed: 5 October 2024.
13. Beaumont, P. (2023, May 14). "Ceasefire in Gaza puts an end to five days of fighting that left dozens dead". The Guardian. Available at:

- <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/may/14/ceasefire-in-gaza-puts-an-end-to-five-days-of-fighting-that-left-dozens-dead>, accessed: 8 August 2024.
14. **Bentley, A. F. (1908).** *"The Process of Government: A Study of Social Pressures"*, **Chicago: University of Chicago Press**
 15. Bhandari, A. (2023). *"Anti-Systemic Movements in the Attention Economy: Engaging the Cultural Political Economy Approach"*. *Journal of World-Systems Research*, 29(1), 90-124.
 16. **Bill, J. A., & Hardgrave, R. L., Jr. (1973).** *"Comparative Politics: The Quest for Theory"*, Reprint: **Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company**
 17. Business & Human Rights Resource Centre. (2023). *"USA: TikTok responds to the increasing pressure over its supposed pro-Palestine bias affecting young Americans, cites youths' pro-Palestine sentiment"*. Available at: <https://www.business-humanrights.org/en/latest-news/usa-tiktok-responds-to-the-increasing-pressure-over-its-supposed-pro-palestine-bias-affecting-young-americans-cites-youths-pro-palestine-sentiment/>, accessed: 6 October, 2024.
 18. Cabral, S., & Faguy, A. (2024, May 3). *"What do pro-Palestinian student protesters at US universities want?"* BBC, available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-68908885>, accessed: 5 October 2024.
 19. Canadians for Justice and Peace in the Middle East. (2013, November). Jewish immigration to historical Palestine. *CJPME Factsheet Series No. 181*. Available at: https://www.cjpme.org/fs_181, accessed: 15 June 2024.
 20. Chirot, D., & Hall, T. D. (1982). "World-system theory". *Annual Review of Sociology*, 8, 81-106.
 21. Demir, E. (n.d.). *"The Arab spring: an anti-systemic movement? The case of Egypt"*, available at: www.academia.edu/3847097/The_Arab_Spring_an_Anti_systemic_Movement_The_Case_Of_Egypt, accessed 17 November 2024.
 22. Egan, M., & Maruf, R., (2024, April 26). *"What pro-Palestinian protesters want"*. CNN. Available at: <https://edition.cnn.com/2024/04/26/investing/what-pro-palestinian-protesters-want/index.html>, accessed: 29 September, 2024.
 23. el-Ojeili, C. (2014). "Reflections on Wallerstein: The modern world-system, four decades on". *Critical Sociology*, 41(4-5), 679-700.
 24. Encyclopedia Britannica. (2024, August 20). *"Israel's disengagement from Gaza"*. Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/event/Israels-disengagement-from-Gaza>, accessed: 10 July 2024.
 25. Euro-Med Human Rights Monitor. (2023, January 25). *"A generation under blockade: Consequences of Israel's 17-year blockade of the Gaza Strip"*. Available at: <https://euromedmonitor.org/en/article/5541/A-generation-under-blockade:-Consequences-of-Israel%E2%80%99s-17-year-blockade-of-the-Gaza-Strip>, accessed: 10 August 2024.
 26. Farge, E., & Al-Mughrabi, N., (2025, January 15). *"How many Palestinians has Israel's Gaza offensive killed?"*, Reuters. Available at: <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/how-many-palestinians-has-israels-gaza-offensive-killed-2025-01-15/>, accessed 26 January 2025
 27. Florido, A. (2024, June 4). *"Chants of 'intifada' ring out from pro-Palestinian protests. But what's it mean?"*. NPR. Available at: <https://www.npr.org/2024/06/04/nx-s1-4958278/intifada-chants-pro-palestinian-protests-israel>, accessed: 21 September, 2024.
 28. Frank, A. G. (2000). "Immanuel and me with-out hyphen". *Journal of World-Systems Research*, 6 (2), 216-231.
 29. Frankel, J. (2024, August 15). *"With Gaza's death toll over 40,000, here's the conflict by numbers"*. AP News. Available at: <https://apnews.com/article/israel-hamas-gaza-war-palestinians-statistics-40000-7ebec13101f6d08fe10cedbf5e172dde>, accessed: 30 August 2024.

30. **Friends of the Earth International.** (2023, December 8). "Palestine is a cause of human rights and climate justice". Available at: <https://www.foei.org/palestine-is-a-cause-of-human-rights-and-climate-justice/>, accessed:
31. Gill, I., & Kose, M. A. (2024, January 17). "5 major risks confronting the global economy in 2024". Available at: Brookings. <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/5-risks-global-economy-2024/>, accessed: 15 August 2024.
32. Hammer, M. (2023, November 3). "What to know about U.S. military support for Israel's Gaza offensive". TIME. Available at: <https://time.com/6331133/israel-gaza-biden-military-support/>, accessed: 29 September, 2024.
33. https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/files/cow/imce/papers/2023/2024/Costs%20of%20War_Human%20Toll%20Since%20Oct%20.pdf, accessed 26 January 2025.
34. <https://www.opb.org/article/2024/04/26/portland-state-university-pauses-boeing-connections>, accessed: 24 January 2025.
35. Ingram, D. (2023, October 27). "Meta says it locked pro-Palestinian accounts after signs of security compromise". NBC News. Available at: <https://www.nbcnews.com/tech/social-media/meta-says-locked-palestinian-accounts-signs-security-compromise-rcna122231>, accessed: 6 October, 2024.
36. Institute for Middle East Understanding. (2023, April 5). "Quick facts: The Palestinian Nakba. Available at: <https://imeu.org/article/quick-facts-the-palestinian-nakba>, accessed: 8 July 2024.
37. **Jewish Voice for Peace.** (n.d.). *The Truth About Campuses*. Available at: <https://www.jewishvoiceforpeace.org/resource/the-truth-about-campuses/>, accessed: 24 January 2025.
38. Jung, C. (2023). "Revisiting Anti-Systemic Movements in the Global South: Struggles Against Exclusion and Exploitation". Third World Quarterly, 44(10), 2227-2245.
39. Labadi, T. (2024, January 13). "How Israel dominates the Palestinian economy". Jacobin. Available at: <https://jacobin.com/2024/01/israel-palestine-settler-colonialism-labor-economy>, accessed: 1 July 2024.
40. Macpherson, R. and Smith, D.A. (2013), "Occupy as a world anti-systemic movement", Peace Review, Vol. 25 No. 3, pp. 367-375.
41. Macrotrends. (2024). *Israel GDP 1960-2024*. <https://www.macrotrends.net/global-metrics/countries/ISR/israel/gdp-gross-domestic-product>, accessed: 6 October 2024.
42. **Madar: Palestinian Center for Israeli Studies.** (n.d.) "Occupation of work". Available at: <https://shorturl.at/F4BzY>, accessed: 1 June 2024.
43. Masters, J., & Merrow, W. (2024, May 31). "U.S. aid to Israel in four charts". Council on Foreign Relations. Available at: <https://www.cfr.org/article/us-aid-israel-four-charts>, accessed: 29 September, 2024.
44. McDonald, P., (2024, September 26). "Students for Justice in Palestine plans 'Week of Rage' on anniversary of Oct. 7 attacks". Available at: <https://www.campusreform.org/article/students-justice-palestine-plans-week-rage-anniversary-oct-7-attacks/26433>, accessed: 24 January 2025.
45. McMahon, L. (2024, September 16). "US TikTok ban: When and why could the app be outlawed?". BBC News. Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/technology-53476117>, accessed: 6 October, 2024.
46. Miaari, S. H., & Cali, M. (2020). *Economic Aspects of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict: The Collapse of the Oslo Accord*. Defence and Peace Economics, 31(8), 887-891.
47. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Israel. (2005, April). "Israel's disengagement plan: Renewing the peace process". Available at: <https://www.gov.il/en/pages/israel-s-disengagement-plan-renewing-the-peace-process-apr-2005>, accessed: 10 August 2024.

48. **Minority Rights Group.** (2023, October 25). "Israel must end indefensible assault on Gaza". Available at: <https://minorityrights.org/israel-must-end-indefensible-assault-on-gaza/>, accessed: 24 January 2025.
49. Mohamed Al-Minshawi (2023, November 3), "14 billion dollars to Israel... Is Washington involved in ethnic cleansing in Gaza", Ajnet, Available at: <https://shorturl.at/IzSNy>, accessed: 25 September, 2024.
50. Morozov, V. M. (2022). *Network Diplomacy and the Future of the Israel–Palestine Conflict*. In V. M. Morozov (Ed.), *Network Diplomacy: Contributing to Peace in the 21st Century*, Springer Nature Singapore, pp. 139-148.
51. Moulton, C. (2024, May 10). "Pro-Palestinian TikToks outnumber pro-Israeli posts: Study". Northeastern Global News. Available at: <https://news.northeastern.edu/2024/05/10/israel-hamas-tiktok-research/>, accessed: 6 September, 2024.
52. Munayyer, Y. (2019, June 20). What actually ails the Palestinian economy? *Arab Center Washington DC*. Available at: from <https://arabcenterdc.org/resource/what-actually-ails-the-palestinian-economy/>, accessed: 8 July 2024.
53. Natanson, H., & Felton, E. (2024, May 16). "Business leaders chat group, Eric Adams, and Columbia protesters". The Washington Post. Available at: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/2024/05/16/business-leaders-chat-group-eric-adams-columbia-protesters/>, accessed: 23 September, 2024.
54. **National Students for Justice in Palestine.** (n.d.). *About Universities*. Available at: <https://www.nationalsjp.org/aboutUniversities>, accessed: 24 January 2025.
55. Office of the Historian, U.S. Department of State. (n.d.). *Israel*. Available at: <https://history.state.gov/countries/israel>, accessed: 20 June 2024.
56. Osman, A.A.(2021)," The Egyptian revolution of January 25, 2011 as an anti-systemic movement", *Journal of Humanities and Applied Social Sciences*, Vol. 4 No. 4, 2022 pp. 338-356.
57. Reuters. (2024, May 3). "What is behind the pro-Palestinian protests at US universities?". Available at: <https://www.reuters.com/world/us/what-is-behind-pro-palestinian-protests-us-universities-2024-05-03/>, accessed: 6 October 20224.
58. Rheingold, H. (2008). Mobile media and political collective action. In J. E. Katz (Ed.), *"Handbook of mobile communication studies"*. Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
59. Robinson, W. I. (2011). "Globalization and the sociology of Immanuel Wallerstein: A critical appraisal". *International Sociology*, 26(6), 723-745.
60. Roy, S. (2016). *"The Gaza Strip: The Political Economy of De-development"*, (3rd ed.). Institute for Palestine Studies.
61. Salam, E., (2024, August 16). "Summer school' activists plan pro-Palestinian protests at US colleges in fall". The Guardian. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/article/2024/aug/16/student-activists-protests-us-colleges-fall>, accessed: 29 September, 2024.
62. Scheer, S., Rose, E., & Ayyub, R. (2023, November 2). "Palestinian tax transfer row shows strains in Israel's ruling coalition". Reuters. Available at: <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/palestinian-tax-transfer-row-shows-strains-israels-ruling-coalition-2023-11-02/>, accessed: 10 July 2024.
63. Schumer, M. (2023, November 30). "Pro-Israel lobby presses for US military support in war with Hamas". Open Secrets. Available at: <https://www.opensecrets.org/news/2023/11/pro-israel-lobby-presses-for-us-military-support-in-war-with-hamas/>, accessed: 28 September, 2024.
64. Senate Members' Letter. (2023, October 12). "Letter to President Biden on transferring defense articles to Israel". Available at: <https://www.rosen.senate.gov/wp->

- [content/uploads/2023/10/Letter-to-President-Biden-on-Transferring-Defense-Articles-to-Israel-FINAL.pdf](#), accessed: 29 September, 2024.
65. Sentner, I., Anuta, J., & Swan, B.W., (2024, August 19). *Pro-"Palestinian demonstrations at the DNC: Campus protests and encrypted messaging"*. Politico. Available at: <https://www.politico.com/news/2024/08/19/pro-palestinian-demonstrations-dnc-campus-protests-00174523>, accessed: 1 October, 2024.
 66. Serhan, Y. (2024, April 17). *"Motaz Azaiza is on the 2024 TIME100 list"*. TIME. <https://time.com/6964147/motaz-azaiza/>, accessed: 30 September 2024.
 67. Serino, K. (2024, January 16). *Tens of thousands have joined pro-Palestinian protests across the United States. Experts say they are growing*. PBS NewsHour. Available at: <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/politics/tens-of-thousands-have-joined-pro-palestinian-protests-across-the-united-states-experts-say-they-are-growing>, accessed: 29 September, 2024.
 68. Sharp, J. M. (2023, March 1). *"U.S. foreign aid to Israel"* (CRS Report No. RL33222). Congressional Research Service. Available at: <https://sgp.fas.org/crs/mideast/RL33222.pdf>, accessed: 20 June 2024.
 69. Smith, J. H. (2024, April 30). *"How has social media changed protest movements? A sociologist weighs in"*. Connecticut Public Radio. Available at: <https://www.ctpublic.org/news/2024-04-30/social-media-protest-college-campus-pro-palestinian-effective>, accessed: 1 September, 2024.
 70. Speri, A., (2024, August 17). *"A police state": US universities impose rules to avoid repeat of Gaza protests"*. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/article/2024/aug/17/campus-protest-rules>, accessed: 21 September, 2024.
 71. Stamatopoulou-Robbins, S., & Savell, S. (2024). *"The human toll: Indirect deaths from war in Gaza and the West Bank, October 7, 2023 - October 7, 2024"*. Costs of War Project", Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs, Brown University". Available at:
 72. Statista. (2024). *"Unemployment rate in Israel 2023"*. Available at: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/375244/unemployment-rate-in-israel/>, accessed: 6 October 2024.
 73. Tanwar, P., & Poply, J. (2023). *"The Israeli–Palestinian Conflict: An Analysis in the Context of International Law"* Available at: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=4762788>, accessed 17 November 2024.
 74. **Tempest Magazine. (April 2024). "Black Lives Matter and Palestine". Available at:** https://www.tempestmag.org/v01_2020/2024/04/black-lives-matter-and-palestine/, accessed: 24 January 2025.
 75. The Marshall Project. (2024, May 18). *"Police, Israel, Palestine, and campus protests"*. Available at: <https://www.themarshallproject.org/2024/05/18/police-israel-palestine-campus-protests>, accessed: 27 September, 2024.
 76. Thompson, J., & Camhi, T. (2024, April 26). *"Portland State University pauses connections to Boeing"*. OPB". Available at:
 77. TRT World. (2023). *"How Israel's war on Gaza turned young creators into journalists [Video]"*. Available at: <https://www.trtworld.com/video/digital/how-israels-war-on-gaza-turned-young-creators-into-journalists-15727390>, accessed: 30 August 2024.
 78. Tuten, E. E. (2002). *"Courting private capital: The Jewish National Fund's joint land purchase scheme in Mandatory Palestine, 1938-47"*. *Middle Eastern Studies*, 38(3), 123-144.
 79. U.S. Department of State. (2021). *"U.S. relations with Israel"*. Available at: <https://www.state.gov/u-s-relations-with-israel/>, accessed: 20 June 2024.
 80. Ulfelder, J., Crowd Counting Consortium. (2024). *"An empirical overview of recent pro-Palestine protests at U.S. schools"*. Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation.

- Available at: <https://ash.harvard.edu/articles/crowd-counting-blog-an-empirical-overview-of-recent-pro-palestine-protests-at-u-s-schools/>, accessed: 29 September, 2024.
81. United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. (2024, January). *"Preliminary assessment of the economic impact of the destruction in Gaza and prospects for economic recovery"*. Available at: <https://unctad.org/publication/preliminary-assessment-economic-impact-destruction-gaza-and-prospects-economic-recovery>, accessed: 28 August 2024.
 82. United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. (2015, July). *The Gaza Strip: "The humanitarian impact of the blockade"*. Available at: https://unispal.un.org/pdfs/OCHA_BLOCKADE.pdf, accessed: 18 August 2024.
 83. United Nations. (n.d.). "History of the question of Palestine" available at: <https://www.un.org/unispal/history/>, accessed: 6 October 6, 2024.
 84. University of Central Arkansas. (n.d.). " British Palestine (1917-1948)". Available at: <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/home/research-projects/dadm-project/middle-eastnorth-africapersian-gulf-region/british-palestine-1917-1948/>, accessed: 1 July 2024.
 85. Wallerstein, I. (1974), "The Modern World-System, Vol. I: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century", Academic Press, New York, NY/London.
 86. Wallerstein, I. (2004). *"World-systems analysis: An introduction"* (1st ed.). Durham and London: Duke University Press.
 87. Wallerstein, I. (2011), "The contradictions of the Arab spring". Available at: www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2011/11/20111111101711539134.html accessed: 20 June 2024.
 88. Wallerstein, I. (2013). *"World-systems analysis"*. Sociopedia.isa., available at: <https://sociopedia.isaportal.org/resources/resource/world-systems-analysis/download/>, accessed: 5 August 2024.
 89. Wallerstein, I. (2014). "Antisystemic movements, yesterday and today". *Journal of World-Systems Research*, 20(2), 158-172
 90. World Bank. (2023). *Population, total: Israel*. Available at: https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL?end=2023&locations=IL&most_recent_year_desc=true&start=2007, accessed: 2 October 2024.