

THE COMPLICITY FILES

ENDING COMPLICITY: THE CASE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM

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BADIL Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights is an independent, non-profit human rights organization working to defend and promote the rights of Palestinian refugees and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). Our vision, mission, programs and relationships are defined by our Palestinian identity and the principles of international humanitarian and human rights law. We seek to advance the individual and collective rights of the Palestinian people on this basis.

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I. INTRODUCTION

With the continuation of grave violations of international law across Palestine, states are playing a central role in enabling the Israeli regime, facilitating the commission of international crimes, and maintaining an unlawful situation through multiple, interlocking forms of support. In response, BADIL Resource Center presents ***The Complicity Files*** building on its July 2025 publication *Colonial States' Complicity in Gaza: Arming and Shielding Genocide*.¹ BADIL's original paper focuses on complicity in genocide and sets out the relevant legal framework. The Complicity Files adopts a broader analytical approach, examining the concrete ways in which states contribute to and sustain the Israeli regime and its unlawful practices - including but not limited to genocide. Rather than limiting the analysis to a single legal qualification or to specific international crimes, each paper in the series focuses on a single state, and is intended as a practical tool for activists, civil society and the solidarity movement more broadly to challenge complicit and colonial structures. This file, titled, Enabling Israeli Crimes: ***The Case of the United Kingdom***, specifically examines the United Kingdom's (UK's) actions that enable ongoing Israeli crimes committed against the Palestinian people.

Each paper provides concise, state-specific analyses that document patterns of support and facilitation and is structured into two main parts. The first part summarizes the legal and normative framework of complicity established in BADIL's original paper, and examines the UK's conduct across five principal forms: military assistance, political and diplomatic backing, economic support, obstruction of humanitarian and multilateral systems, and media, propaganda, and the promotion of disinformation. The second part provides an overview of

1 BADIL Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights (BADIL). *Colonial States' Complicity in Gaza: Arming and Shielding Genocide*. Working Paper No. 32: BADIL, 2026. https://badil.org/cached_uploads/view/2025/07/29/wp32-complicity-eng-1753786452.pdf.

the existing and ongoing solidarity actions and maps the UK's strategic pressure points to end complicity. On this basis, BADIL proposes targeted strategies for civil society, international non-governmental organizations (INGOs), and other actors to promote accountability and disrupt enabling mechanisms.

The UK's complicity in Israeli crimes does not merely reside in the affordances of impunity and the exchange of capital but rather, enabling **Israeli crimes is woven into the very fabric and structure of the British state**. From the 1917 Balfour Declaration and the British Mandate, to today's military and diplomatic collaboration, British support for the Israeli regime has always been an integral pillar of its foreign policy and remains essential. This support has manifested as complicity in an array of crimes, including genocide, apartheid, colonization and forced displacement, as well as the denial of the Palestinian people's rights to self-determination and return.² When reviewing these actions as a whole, evidence points to the UK's role as more than just an enabler of Israeli crimes, suggesting they could be considered as co-perpetration. However, determining the level of the UK's complicity is not the aim of this paper. Rather, its aim is to provide strategic guidance on how to end the UK's complicity and likely co-perpetration.

As such, the UK's complicity is significant and multi-faceted, with this paper providing an overview rather than an exhaustive list of the UK's role across the five primary forms of complicity identified above. Through material support, including arms transfers, intelligence sharing, military training programs, shared airbases and economic engagement, the UK (both the state and registered private corporations) directly sustains Israeli industries and military, even profiting from crimes committed against the Palestinian people. The UK continues

2 UNGA, 194 (III). Palestine – Progress Report of the United Nations Mediator, A/RES/194 (III), 11 December 1948, available at: <https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/IP%20ARES%20194.pdf> [accessed October 2026].

to promote disinformation legitimizing Israeli crimes and provide diplomatic shielding to the Israeli regime in international fora, delegitimizing accountability initiatives and platforming unverified claims against humanitarian initiatives, most notably through defunding and attempting to delegitimize UNRWA. Finally, the UK has viciously targeted the Palestine solidarity movement, demonstrating its commitment to Israeli “security” over and above the rights of its own citizens. The UK’s ongoing involvement makes its role central to any serious examination of contemporary complicity which must serve as the foundation for levying accountability, conducting strategic action, and imposing reparative measures owed to the Palestinian people.

II. UK COMPLICITY

A. Legal Framework for Complicity

Under international law, complicity arises when a state knowingly provides assistance, encouragement, or facilitation that contributes to the wrongful conduct of another actor. Complicity is distinguished from mere inaction, as responsibility is grounded in a positive contribution to such conduct.³ In this paper, this framework is used not as a purely legal test, but as a guiding lens to identify and describe the concrete ways in which states enable, support, and sustain the Israeli regime and its crimes. The conduct of the UK can therefore be examined within this framework, with attention to patterns of military, political, economic, and humanitarian support, as well as the promotion of disinformation to legitimize Israeli crimes.

Drawing on international public and customary law, International Humanitarian Law (IHL) and International Human Rights Law (IHRL) as reference points, this paper clarifies states' obligations to not contribute to unlawful situations nor sustain them. These bodies of law establish both negative duties (not to aid or assist unlawful conduct) and positive duties (to take steps to prevent and address such conduct). For this paper, they serve to frame what constitutes state complicity, rather than to litigate individual violations.

Complicity is understood here as a form of secondary responsibility arising from positive acts of support that enable, sustain, or normalize an unlawful situation. Military, political, economic, and humanitarian support, as well as the spread of disinformation, constitute the primary channels through which a state is embedded in the maintenance of

3 BADIL. *Colonial States' Complicity in Gaza: Arming and Shielding Genocide*. Working Paper No. 32: BADIL, 2026. https://badil.org/cached_uploads/view/2025/07/29/wp32-complicity-eng-1753786452.pdf.

the Israeli regime and its violations. The timing, scale, and nature of such support shapes how deeply that state is implicated in complicity over time. In addition, when states obstruct or paralyze accountability mechanisms, they reinforce impunity and entrench the very structures they claim to regulate. This framework, therefore, provides the basis for analyzing the actions of the UK in relation to Israeli crimes, directly linking documented forms of its support to internationally recognized violations.

B. The Obligation to Sanction the Israeli Regime

While international law does not establish an explicit rule requiring an individual state to impose sanctions on another state, the absence of a Security Council mandate does not preclude unilateral sanctions, nor does the collective enforcement framework displace states' independent and regional obligations under treaty and customary international law. These obligations arise from instruments including the Genocide Convention and Geneva Conventions, as well as the prohibitions of racial discrimination, apartheid, colonization and denial of the right to self-determination, and require states to take measures, including sanctions, to prevent, not assist in, and bring an end to serious violations. Article 41 of Articles on the Responsibility of States for Internationally Wrongful Acts (ARSIWA) further requires third states not to recognize or assist situations arising from serious breaches of peremptory norms and to cooperate to bring them to an end.⁴ Unilateral sanctions are well established in state practice, including sanctions imposed against apartheid South Africa and Serbia outside the Security Council. Their legitimacy depends on their conformity with international law and the pursuit of a lawful objective: the 1986 US Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, for

⁴ ILC, *Draft Articles on Responsibility of States for Internationally Wrongful Acts, with commentaries*, Yearbook of the International Law Commission, vol. II, Part Two (2001), 113, article 41, available at: https://legal.un.org/ilc/texts/instruments/english/commentaries/9_6_2001.pdf.

example, imposed extensive sanctions on South Africa with the stated objective of ending apartheid. Given the Israeli regime's longstanding and continuing commission of serious violations of international law, including colonization, apartheid and forced displacement and transfer, states must therefore use available lawful measures, including comprehensive sanctions, to fulfil their obligation to bring these breaches to an end. Relatedly therefore, **sanctions must remain the principal advocacy demand of all actions undertaken by the Palestine solidarity movement, including direct actions, strategic litigation, electoral strategies and other tactics, to hold the Israeli regime to account.**

To date, the UK has failed to impose meaningful sanctions on the Israeli regime. In June 2026, the UK sanctioned individual Israeli ministers,⁵ colonizers⁶ and an arbitrary selection of 'settler entities'.⁷ These performative measures failed to obstruct escalating colonizer attacks across the West Bank, operating as symbolic gestures camouflaging the role of the Israeli regime as the primary perpetrator of continued colonial expansion and ethnic cleansing in Palestine.⁸ In September 2026, the Foreign Secretary, Ed Miliband, announced a new sanctions package targeting colonies including "companies and individuals who provide services such as construction, infrastructure, financing or real

5 Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office. "UK and partners unite to sanction ministers inciting West Bank violence," press release, [GOV.UK](https://www.gov.uk/government/news/uk-and-partners-unite-to-sanction-ministers-inciting-west-bank-violence), June 10, 2025, <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/uk-and-partners-unite-to-sanction-ministers-inciting-west-bank-violence>.

6 Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office. "UK sanctions hit West Bank violence network," press release, [GOV.UK](https://www.gov.uk/government/news/uk-sanctions-hit-west-bank-violence-network), May 20, 2025, <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/uk-sanctions-hit-west-bank-violence-network>.

7 Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office. "UK and allies sanction networks enabling settler violence in the West Bank," press release, [GOV.UK](https://www.gov.uk/government/news/uk-and-allies-sanction-networks-enabling-settler-violence-in-the-west-bank#:~:text=The%20UK%20will%20impose%20sanctions,co%2Dordinated%20sanctions%20last%20week), June 9, 2026, <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/uk-and-allies-sanction-networks-enabling-settler-violence-in-the-west-bank#:~:text=The%20UK%20will%20impose%20sanctions,co%2Dordinated%20sanctions%20last%20week>.

8 BADIL. "Colonizer Attacks: An Arm of Israeli Colonization," press release, July 30, 2026, <https://badil.org/press-releases/16953.html>.

estate for settlement expansion.”⁹ Once again, the proposed sanctions fall well short of the UK’s legal and moral obligations and obscure and provide impunity to the primary violator – the Israeli regime. These limited measures also serve to diffuse ongoing solidarity action and preserve the UK’s image in the face of international scrutiny.

In addition, the UK’s recognition of the State of Palestine in September 2025¹⁰ and the creation of a collaborative £3 million peacebuilding fund with Canada and Australia¹¹ – largely rejected by Palestinian civil society and limited by contingency on the imposition of a two-state “solution” – are performative actions that ultimately avoid substantial accountability and normalize Israeli colonization. These efforts indicate the UK’s commitment to reconstructing Gaza in a way that favors the colonial geopolitical interests of regional and international powers, including the UK’s continuing defense interests, rather than adhering to a meaningful rights-based decolonial reparations framework that prioritizes the aspirations and self-determination of the Palestinian people.¹²

9 Ed Miliband, Secretary of State of Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Affairs. “*Israel and Palestine*” UK Parliament, Commons Hansard, September 8 2026, vol 790, col. 882 <https://hansard.parliament.uk/commons/2026-09-08/debates/B9E48476-ADE4-4D56-8EA8-F76BBFF188E8/IsraelAndPalestine#contribution-51ACC221-BFE5-4038-B57F-08CA5E67A0CB>.

10 Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office. “UK formally recognises Palestinian State,” press release, [GOV.UK](https://www.gov.uk/government/news/uk-formally-recognises-palestinian-state), September 21, 2025, <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/uk-formally-recognises-palestinian-state>.

11 Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office. “UK, Australia and Canada launch peacebuilding fund for Israel and Palestine,” press release, [GOV.UK](https://www.gov.uk/government/news/uk-australia-and-canada-launch-peacebuilding-fund-for-israel-and-palestine), June 11, 2026, <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/uk-australia-and-canada-launch-peacebuilding-fund-for-israel-and-palestine>.

12 BADIL. “Rights-Based Reconstruction: Decolonization and Reparations,” position paper, (BADIL, Bethlehem, 2025), https://badil.org/cached_uploads/view/2025/07/07/pp-reconstruction-vs-reparations-eng-1751895094.pdf.

C. Forms of Ongoing Complicity in Israeli Crimes

1. Military Aid and Other Security Forms of Support

Military collaboration is a key factor motivating British support for Israeli crimes, with the UK providing critical components for the Israeli regime's military machine. More tellingly, the UK's imports of arms, ammunition and related parts from the Israeli regime have increased by over 10,000%, from £55,000 to almost £5.9 million, between 2023 and 2025.¹³ Evidently, the UK has a vested interest in keeping the Israeli regime onside by supporting Israeli crimes due to the opportunity to profit from military sales and the importance of Israeli-made weapons, battle-tested on Palestinians, to the UK's defense.¹⁴

The UK's most critical and controversial export to the Israeli regime is components for the F-35 fighter jet, which has been widely used to bomb Gaza, Lebanon, Yemen and Iran,¹⁵ with over \$6.7 billion (16.2%) of all F-35 subcontracts awarded to UK-based suppliers, and at least 15% of every F-35 being made in the UK.¹⁶ The government also maintains a close relationship with a number of Israeli weapons manufacturers. This includes Elbit Systems, the Israeli regime's largest weapons manufacturer, with whom the UK spent £355 million on

13 Akhil Ranjan, "UK Imports of Israeli military goods jumped more than 10,000% during Gaza war," *Action on Armed Violence (AOAV)*, June 18, 2026. <https://aoav.org.uk/2026/uk-imports-of-israeli-military-goods-jumped-more-than-10000-during-gaza-war/>.

14 Antony Loewenstein. *The Palestinian Laboratory* (London: Verso Books, 2023).

15 Campaign Against Arms Trade (CAAT), "Lockheed Martin CEO confirms data from Israel's Use of F-35 Jets Worth Billions to the Company," press release, February 24, 2026. <https://caat.org.uk/news/lockheed-martin-ceo-confirms-data-from-israels-use-of-f-35-jets-worth-billions-to-the-company/>.

16 Kelsey Gallagher. "Global Production of the F-35I Joint Strike Fighter," *Ploughshares*, January 2025. <https://ploughshares.ca/global-production-of-the-israeli-f-35i-joint-strike-fighter/>.

contracts between 2012 and 2025.¹⁷ Additionally, between 2019 and 2023, the UK spent £125 million on contracts with Rafael, a “state-owned” weapons manufacturer and former research laboratory for the Israeli forces, established in 1948.¹⁸

The UK’s military relationship with the Israeli regime extends beyond weapons trade, to include long-standing collaborative training programs. This is an Anglo-Israeli collusion that runs all the way back to World War II, where British troops were instrumental in training the *Haganah*, a paramilitary group central to committing the 1947-1949 *Nakba*, and eventually forming the Israeli forces.¹⁹ Since the start of the genocide in 2023, this relationship has continued, with several Israeli soldiers training at London’s Royal College of Defence Studies (RCDS), which has also welcomed senior staff from the “Israel National Defense College.”²⁰ Additionally, Member of Parliament (MP) Al Carns revealed that British personnel have received military training at Israeli colleges since October 2023.²¹

A third critical element of UK military complicity comes from the permissive use of Royal Air Force (RAF) bases, particularly Cyprus RAF Akrotiri, to provide the Israeli regime with weapons from the UK,

17 BADIL. *Colonial States’ Complicity in Gaza: Arming and Shielding Genocide*. Working Paper No. 32: BADIL, 2026. https://badil.org/cached_uploads/view/2025/07/29/wp32-complicity-eng-1753786452.pdf.

18 *Ibid*.

19 Lina Alsaafin, “Did British Mandate pave way for Israeli occupation?” *Al Jazeera*, October 27, 2017, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/10/27/did-british-mandate-pave-way-for-israeli-occupation>.

20 John McEvoy, “British Military Trained in Israel amid Gaza Genocide” *Declassified UK*, November 26, 2025, <https://www.declassifieduk.org/british-military-trained-in-israel-amid-gaza-genocide/>.

21 UK Parliament, House of Commons, “*Israel: Armed Forces*,” Written Question by Zarah Sultana, answered by AL Carns, November 18, 2025, UIN 92229, <https://questions-statements.parliament.uk/written-questions/detail/2025-11-18/92229>.

US and Germany on an ongoing basis.²² Additionally, these airbases have facilitated RAF flights over Gaza, enabling intelligence exchange between UK and Israeli forces.²³ The UK government has refused to disclose information about the flights, including whether intelligence has been used for targeting purposes.

Indeed, despite reviewing compliance with international law, the Labour government suspended only 8.6% of arms licenses with the Israeli regime in September 2024, leaving 91.4% of licenses intact, most of which were Open General Export Licenses (OGEL) for the F-35 program. In the three months following, the Labour government approved more military export licenses than the previous government had in four years, totaling at least 34 new military export licenses primarily with critical spare parts to sustain the Israeli regime's F-35 fleet.²⁴ Between July 2024 and March 2026, the estimated total value of single export licenses was £148 million, and of component transfers relating to the F-35 program, was £162 million.²⁵ The UK has sent at least 8,630 separate munitions directly to the Israeli regime since the purported suspension of direct arms trading.²⁶ Additionally, shipments of aircraft parts have remained unchanged, undermining claims that F-35 parts would no longer be sent in direct shipments to the Israeli

22 British Palestine Committee (BPC). *Party to Genocide: Labour's First Year in Government* (London: BPC, September 29, 2025), 6, <https://britpalcommittee.co.uk/palestine-policy-review-labour-first-year>.

23 AOAV. *The UK Royal Air Force's surveillance flights over the Occupied Palestinian Territory examined* (London: AOAV, March 27, 2025) <https://aoav.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2025/04/The-UK-Royal-Air-Forces-surveillance-flights-over-the-Occupied-Palestinian-Territory-examined.pdf>.

24 British Palestine Committee (BPC). *Party to Genocide: Labour's First Year in Government* (London: BPC, September 29, 2025), 6, <https://britpalcommittee.co.uk/palestine-policy-review-labour-first-year>.

25 The Gaza Tribunal. *The Gaza Tribunal: An Inquiry into Britain's Role in Israeli war crimes in Gaza* (London: The Gaza Tribunal, 2026), https://actionnetwork.org/user_files/user_files/000/139/185/original/the-gaza-tribunal-report.pdf.

26 Palestinian Youth Movement (PYM) *et al.* "Exposing UK Arms Exports to Israel," May 7, 2025. <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/664aed65d320123f2b3ab647/t/681b13a2197d634a11d746c0/1746604963269/REPORT-ExposingUKArmsExportsToIsrael-05072025.pdf>.

regime.²⁷ This evidence directly contradicts the UK's claim in relation to suspending its military trade with the Israeli regime.

2. Political and Diplomatic Support

The UK has also provided the Israeli regime with extensive political and diplomatic support through continuing “business as usual” relationships with Israeli ministers, including those publicly accused of war crimes and genocidal incitement at the International Criminal Court (ICC) and International Court of Justice (ICJ). Additionally, its voting record at the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) and General Assembly (UNGA) has consistently supported resolutions which undermine the Palestinian people's inalienable rights.

Despite widespread international consensus, the UK government has persisted with genocide denial, treating its obligations under international law as voluntary recommendations requiring consideration as part of the State's broader political interests.²⁸ For example, in September 2025 former Foreign Secretary of State David Lammy confirmed that the UK does not believe that the Israeli regime is acting with genocidal intent and that it does not regard the ICJ Provisional Measures, which explicitly state a “real and imminent risk” of genocide, as sufficient to trigger Britain's duty to prevent genocide under the 1948 Genocide Convention.²⁹ This position is being staunchly held by new Labour leader, Andy Burnham, despite

27 Though shipment data does not differentiate between military and non-military aircraft parts, it is suspected that shipments have remained entirely unchanged following the suspension, where Britain is known to have shipped military aircraft parts to the Israeli regime before the ban. See: *Ibid*.

28 Amnesty International, “UK government must not engage in genocide denial,” press release, September 9, 2025. <https://www.amnesty.org.uk/latest/uk-government-must-not-engage-genocide-denial/>.

29 David Lammy, *Letter from Secretary of State for Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Affairs to Chair of the International Development Committee*, September 1, 2025. <https://committees.parliament.uk/publications/49215/documents/262248/default/>.

80 members of the House of Commons and House of Lords calling for the recognition of genocide in Gaza.³⁰

On 10 September 2025, former Prime Minister Keir Starmer welcomed President Isaac Herzog at Downing Street³¹ despite the ICJ citing Herzog's genocidal statements such as: "It's an entire nation out there that is responsible. It's not true this rhetoric about civilians not aware not involved. It's absolutely not true. . . . and we will fight until we break their backbone."³² Britain has continuously provided Israeli force delegations with "Special Mission Immunity" to travel to the UK, affording diplomatic protection from prosecution for war crimes.³³

Moreover, the UK has not simply demonstrated its unwillingness to alter its relationship with the Israeli regime and investigate accusations of international crimes, but has actively reduced efforts to hold the Israeli regime to account. This was evidenced in the government's decision to close the Foreign Office's IHL cell, which tracked Israeli breaches of international law, and to defund the world's largest database for open-source monitoring of Israeli violations in early 2026.³⁴

The UK's voting record at the UN has also indicated its support for the Israeli regime's crimes, disregard for Palestinian lives, and repudiation

30 Amer Sultan, "Burnham rejects MPs' call to recognise Gaza genocide," *The New Arab*, July 26, 2026. <https://www.newarab.com/news/burnham-rejects-mps-call-recognise-gaza-genocide>.

31 Sky News, *Keir Starmer meets Israeli President Issac Herzog at Downing Street*, 2025, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_1PS37SPx9Q. [accessed October 2026]

32 *Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in the Gaza Strip* (South Africa v. Israel), Request for the Indication of Provisional Measures, 29 December 2023, International Court of Justice General List No. 192. <https://www.icj-cij.org/sites/default/files/case-related/192/192-20231228-app-01-00-en.pdf>.

33 John McEvoy, "Israeli Army Chief Given Special Immunity to Visit Britain," *Declassified UK*, December 12, 2024, <https://www.declassifieduk.org/israeli-army-chief-given-special-immunity-to-visit-britain/>.

34 Patrick Wintour & Sinéad Campbell, "Foreign Office unit tracking Israel's potential breaches of international law closes due to cuts," *The Guardian*, April 23, 2026, sec. UK politics, <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2026/apr/23/foreign-office-unit-israel-potential-breaches-international-law-closed>.

of obligations under international law. In the early days of the genocide, the UK repeatedly abstained from resolutions at the UNGA and UNSC calling for a humanitarian truce or pause in Gaza.³⁵ It also abstained from voting to adopt Resolution ES-10/24³⁶ implementing the Advisory Opinion of the ICJ, which instructed the partial dismantling of the Israeli occupation in the West Bank.

Since the Balfour Declaration, the UK has continuously and adamantly affirmed its support for a two-state solution, reaffirming that support by statements within international fora, and supporting both the New York Declaration of September 2025³⁷ and Trump's 20-point plan/UNSC Resolution 2803³⁸ of November 2025. All variations of the two-state "solution" serve to deny the Palestinian people the full measure of exercising their right of self-determination.³⁹

3. Economic Support

The UK also boasts a flourishing economic relationship with the Israeli regime, with the total trade in goods and services between them reaching £5.9 billion (£3.5 billion in exports; £2.4 billion in imports) from July

35 UNSC, Security Council Resolution 2712, S/RES/2712, 15 November 2023, available at: <https://unscr.com/en/resolutions/2712/>; UNGA, "Protection of civilians and upholding legal and humanitarian obligations," A/ES-10/L.25, 26 October 2023, available at: <https://docs.un.org/en/A/ES-10/L.25>.

36 UNGA, "Advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice on the legal consequences arising from Israel's policies and practices in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem, and from the illegality of Israel's continued presence in the Occupied Palestinian Territory," A/RES/ES-10/24, 19 September 2024, available at: <https://docs.un.org/A/RES/ES-10/24>.

37 UNGA, "Endorsement of the New York Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of the Question of Palestine and the Implementation of the Two-State Solution," A/80/L.1/Rev.1, 10 September 2025, available at: <https://bit.ly/4jbWv97>

38 UNSC, Security Council Resolution 2803, S/RES/2803, 17 November 2025, available at: <https://docs.un.org/en/s/res/2803%282025%29>.

39 BADIL. *Palestinian Self-Determination: Land, People, and Practicality*. Working Paper No. 28: BADIL, 2021. https://badil.org/cached_uploads/view/2021/11/15/wp-28-self-determination-1636973309.pdf.

2025-June 2026.⁴⁰ The 2030 Roadmap for UK-Israeli relations remains intact, outlining government plans to deepen trade relations with the Israeli regime, including in sectors such as defense and security, cybertechnology, and science and innovation.⁴¹ Though former Foreign Secretary, David Lammy, mentioned the agreement would come under review, no tangible moves to suspend it have been made.⁴²

Other key trade relations include the university sector, where universities across the UK currently invest over £456 million in companies complicit in the Israeli regime's genocide,⁴³ including collaborations as part of Horizon Europe research projects.⁴⁴ In July 2026, 35 UK universities, many of whom have been key actors suppressing campus solidarity movements and investing in Israeli weapons manufacturers, signed a new Defense Universities Alliance (DUA),⁴⁵ strengthening defense research with companies like BAE Systems, who provide vital components for the F-35 fighter jet.⁴⁶

40 Department of Business and Trade, "Trade and Investments Fact Sheet: Israel," July 31, 2026, <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/6a01f6072a6137e93226b9bc/israel-trade-and-investment-factsheet-2026-05-14.pdf>.

41 Foreign, Commonwealth & Development Office. 2030 Roadmap for UK-Israel Bilateral Relations (policy paper, March 21, 2023), [GOV.UK, https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/2030-roadmap-for-uk-israel-bilateral-relations/2030-roadmap-for-uk-israel-bilateral-relations](https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/2030-roadmap-for-uk-israel-bilateral-relations/2030-roadmap-for-uk-israel-bilateral-relations).

42 Thomas Brown, "UK-Israel Trade: Contribution to the Economy," UK Parliament, House of Lords Library Hansard, December 19, 2025, <https://lordslibrary.parliament.uk/uk-israel-trade-contribution-to-the-economy/>.

43 PSC, "University Complicity Database," accessed September 22, 2026, <https://palestinecampaign.org/university-complicity-database/>.

44 [Academiccomplicity.eu](https://academiccomplicity.eu), "Mapping Academic Collaborations with Israel with European Commission Funding," accessed September 22, 2026, <https://academiccomplicity.eu/horizon/UK?view=list>.

45 Ministry of Defence. "Boost for skills and research as 35 universities across the UK partner in new defence alliance," press release, [GOV.UK](https://www.gov.uk/government/news/boost-for-skills-and-research-as-35-universities-across-the-uk-partner-in-new-defence-alliance), July 13, 2026. <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/boost-for-skills-and-research-as-35-universities-across-the-uk-partner-in-new-defence-alliance>.

46 Joe Sandler Clarke, "Universities That Targeted Pro-Gaza Students Deepen Links to Arms Trade," *Novara Media*, July 16, 2026, <https://novaramedia.com/2026/07/16/universities-that-targeted-pro-gaza-students-deepen-links-to-arms-trade/>.

On 20 May 2025, the Labour government announced measures to suspend free trade negotiations with the Israeli regime based on its atrocities in Gaza.⁴⁷ One week later, the UK's trade envoy posted that he was visiting the Israeli regime to "promote trade with the UK" suggesting the trade suspension was at most lip service to the UK's obligations under international law.⁴⁸ Indeed, the UK has not only continued dealings with the Israeli regime but has actively facilitated the ongoing confiscation of land in the West Bank, hosting the "Great Israeli Real Estate Event" run by "My Home in Israel," on 14 June 2026, which promoted the sale of stolen land in the Etzion colonial bloc (West Bank).⁴⁹

4. Obstruction of Humanitarian Support and Multilateral Systems

In January 2024, the UK was one of several complicit states to suspend funding to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) following the Israeli regime's baseless accusations that members of staff were involved in the resistance operations of October 2023.⁵⁰ These claims were made public on the same day as the ICJ's Provisional Measures indicating an imminent risk of genocide with UK media outlets frequently favoring promoting disinformation about UNRWA over and above reporting on this significant international legal development.

47 Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office. "Israel and the Occupied Territories: Foreign Secretary statement, 20th May 2025," oral statement, May 20, 2025. <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/israel-and-the-occupied-palestinian-territories-foreign-secretary-statement-20-may-2025>.

48 Ian Austin, (@LordIanAustin), "Greetings from Israel! I'm here to meet businesses," X May 27, 2025, <https://x.com/LordIanAustin/status/1927230607907508604>.

49 Muslim Council of Britain (MCB), "MCB Urges Government to Take Action on Great Israeli Real Estate Event 2026," MCB, June 10, 2026, <https://mcb.org.uk/mcb-urges-government-to-take-action-on-great-israeli-real-estate-event-2026/>.

50 Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office. "Allegations about UNRWA staff and 7 October attacks: FCDO statement," press release, January 27, 2024. <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/statement-on-allegations-about-unrwa-staff-and-7-october-attacks>.

Prior to the UK's funding suspension, the government had already been steadily decreasing funding levels to UNRWA, indicating blatant disregard for Palestinian rights codified in the Agency's mandate. Though the UK did eventually restore funding, providing £34 million (2024-2025), this was significantly below already declining funding levels in previous years, with a portion of funding specially designated to reforming UNRWA in line with the Colonna review assessing the Agency's neutrality.⁵¹ Notably, the Israeli regime has been seeking to dismantle UNRWA for years, where the Agency's mandate and continued existence re-enforces the right of return of Palestinians to lands from which they were expelled during the Nakba.⁵²

The UK has also failed to comply with international obligations in light of decisions of the ICJ including Provisional Measures indicating a serious risk of genocide,⁵³ and the Advisory Opinion⁵⁴ and UNGA Resolution ES-10/24⁵⁵ ordering the partial dismantling of the "Israeli occupation" by September 2025. Whilst the Advisory Opinion is limited and decontextualized in its approach to holding the Israeli

51 UK Parliament, House of Commons Library, "UNRWA and UK aid to the West Bank and Gaza Strip 2023 to 2026," Research Briefing CBP-9900, February 13, 2026, <https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CBP-9900/CBP-9900.pdf>.

52 BADIL. "Engineered Collapse: The United Nations' Strategic Assessment of UNRWA and Palestinian Refugee Rights," position paper (BADIL, Bethlehem, 2025), https://badil.org/cached_uploads/view/2025/08/04/pp-engineeredcollapseofunrwa-1754313775.pdf.

53 *Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in the Gaza Strip* (South Africa v. Israel), Order of 26 January 2024, International Court of Justice General List No. 192. <https://www.icj-cij.org/sites/default/files/case-related/192/192-20240126-ord-01-00-en.pdf>.

54 *Legal Consequences Arising from the Policies and Practices of Israel in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, Including East Jerusalem*, Advisory Opinion of 19 July 2024, International Court of Justice General List No. 186, <https://www.icj-cij.org/sites/default/files/case-related/186/186-20240719-jud-01-00-en.pdf>.

55 UNGA, "Advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice on the legal consequences arising from Israel's policies and practices in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem, and from the illegality of Israel's continued presence in the Occupied Palestinian Territory," A/RES/ES-10/24, 19 September 2024, available at: <https://docs.un.org/A/RES/ES-10/24>.

colonial-apartheid regime to account,⁵⁶ the UK's failure to adhere to even these limited terms demonstrates total disregard for Palestinian rights and the integrity of the international multilateral system at large. Additionally, the UK has attempted to obstruct the ICC by threatening to withdraw funding following the issuance of arrest warrants for Benjamin Netanyahu and Yoav Gallant.⁵⁷ These actions further cement UK complicity in Israeli crimes.

5. Media, Zionist Propaganda, and Promoting Disinformation

Alongside providing material and political support to the Israeli regime, the British state and legacy media have deployed Zionist-Israeli disinformation and propaganda⁵⁸ to legitimize the Israeli genocide and justify the failure to impose sanctions or other accountability measures. The British Broadcasting Company (BBC) is not formally part of the government and is legally required to maintain editorial independence. Nevertheless, as a public corporation established by Royal Charter and operating within a state-created regulatory and funding framework, it occupies a central position within Britain's public information infrastructure.⁵⁹

In collaboration with the government, the BBC has consistently

56 BADIL. "The Gaps and Failures of the ICJ's 2024 Advisory Opinion on Palestine," position paper (BADIL, Bethlehem, 2024) <https://badil.org/press-releases/15513.html>.

57 Dania Akkad, "Cameron met top government lawyer while dodging ICC Prosecutor," *Declassified UK*, January 28, 2026, <https://www.declassifieduk.org/cameron-met-top-government-lawyer-while-dodging-icc-prosecutor/>.

58 The Israeli regime uses the Hebrew term, 'hasbara' to describe their regime-backed advocacy and communication strategy, which aims to enhance their global image and justify Israeli policies, including widespread international crimes, against Palestinians. Though marketed as a legitimate media strategy, this term must be understood as synonymous with the Israeli regime's war propaganda machine, indicating that disinformation and propaganda is an institutionally entrenched part of Zionist strategy.

59 Department for Culture, Media and Sport. "BBC Charter," policy paper, updated December 16 2025, <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/bbc-charter-and-framework-agreement/bbc-charter>.

employed double standards in its reporting of the genocide, privileging Israeli disinformation and lives, whilst erasing Palestinian suffering and relevant legal frameworks.⁶⁰ For example, in the first year of genocide, there were approximately 34 times more Palestinian casualties than Israeli casualties yet the BBC gave Israeli deaths 33 times more coverage per fatality.⁶¹ Similarly, the BBC used emotive terms such as “murder” 220 times for Israeli fatalities compared with only once for Palestinians, amplified Israeli perspectives 2,340 times compared with just 217 Palestinian perspectives, and repeatedly delegitimized Palestinian casualties through the qualifier “ Hamas-run health ministry” in 1,155 articles.⁶² The BBC’s Executive Committee has repeatedly met with Israeli community organizations,⁶³ with its Director of News Content, Richard Burgess, privately meeting with former Israeli Chief of Staff, Aviv Kohavi just one month after the genocide began.⁶⁴ In contrast, the BBC has only met with Palestinian community organizations a handful of times and has frequently challenged and dismissed Palestinian perspectives.⁶⁵

As such, British legacy media has played a significant role in normalizing narratives that obscure the scale and nature of the Israeli genocide, marginalize Palestinian perspectives and legal claims, and thereby provide political cover for the UK’s refusal to impose sanctions or other

60 Centre for Media Monitoring (CfMM), *BBC on Gaza-Israel: One Story, Double Standards* (London: CfMM, June 2025), <https://cfmm.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2025/06/CfMM-report-2023-24-ePDF-Edited.pdf>.

61 *Ibid*, 9.

62 *Ibid*, 45.

63 Dania Akkad, “Strong pro-Israel bias among BBC bosses, new data indicates,” *Declassified UK*, April 16, 2026, <https://www.declassifieduk.org/strong-pro-israel-bias-among-bbc-bosses-new-data-indicates/>.

64 Alex Morris & John McEvoy, “BBC and Guardian editors held private meetings with Israeli general,” *Declassified UK*, February 27, 2025, <https://www.declassifieduk.org/bbc-guardian-editors-private-meetings-with-israeli-general-kohavi/>.

65 Centre for Media Monitoring (CfMM), *BBC on Gaza-Israel: One Story, Double Standards* (London: CfMM, June 2025), <https://cfmm.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2025/06/CfMM-report-2023-24-ePDF-Edited.pdf>.

accountability measures. Media complicity is therefore not merely a question of inaccurate or biased reporting: by shaping what is treated as credible, contestable or politically possible, it helps legitimize, normalize and reproduce the State's position.

III. PRESSURE POINTS AND ACTION PLAN

A. Overview of the Solidarity Movement: Mapping State Pressure Points

The Palestine solidarity movement is the largest and most enduring protest movement in the UK's recent history.⁶⁶ Over the course of the genocide, the movement has developed significantly, evolving from actions calling for the protection of Palestinian rights and an end to Israeli genocide into a more diverse coalition linking the Palestine struggle to movements against inequality, racism, anti-immigration and ecological injustice. This evolution has accelerated following the unprecedented proscription of Palestine Action and associated acts of repression, which have highlighted how the UK government is instrumentalizing the Palestine struggle in order to justify wider limitations on civil and political rights, sustaining UK complicity, strengthening structures of racial capitalism, and maintaining associated economic profits. **Yet, the Palestine solidarity movement remains steadfast in calling for comprehensive sanctions and an end to genocide, apartheid and colonization in Palestine.** Direct action, union activities, strategic litigation, and electoral pressure have all targeted pressure points influencing private and public actors in the UK to divest from the Israeli regime and reduce military, economic and political relationships with its counterparts.

The increasing relevance of Palestine to UK electoral politics was made evident in May 2026, when the UK held local elections during which over 2,300 council⁶⁷ and Senedd⁶⁸ candidates explicitly “Pledged for

66 Lizzie Dearden, “How Gaza sparked the biggest UK protest movement in recent history—and a headache for the police,” The Guardian, October 5, 2024, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2024/oct/05/how-gaza-sparked-the-biggest-uk-prnotest-movement-in-recent-history-and-a-headache-for-the-police>

67 Councilors are the elected members of local government authorities representing a specific local area in England, Scotland and the North of Ireland.

68 The Senedd is the democratically elected devolved legislature for the Welsh government.

Palestine” as part of the Vote Palestine campaign, promising to uphold ethical procurement policies and divest local councils from complicit pension funds, amongst other things.⁶⁹ Of the candidates elected, over 600 (12%) councilors and 26 (40%) Senedd candidates had taken the pledge.⁷⁰ In the same local elections, Labour lost 54% of its 2024 voters. Of those voters who switched:

- 74% say their opinion of Labour would improve if the next leader were to take a strong position on Palestine, such as imposing sanctions on the Israeli regime;
- 82% say they support stronger action to prevent the genocide such as full sanctions;
- 80% support a full ban on arms sales to the Israeli regime;
- And, 90% say the government needs to consider environmental damage as part of decision making relating to Gaza.⁷¹

By continuing to put pressure on candidates to create policies that align with Palestinian rights or risk losing elections, the public can directly shape what sits in the realms of acceptability in British politics. Such pressure must call on candidates to realign their campaign policies with the protection of fundamental human rights as a tangible reality, not just a spoken promise, and move away from the current zeitgeist, which considers genocide, colonization and apartheid as aligned with British values.

69 Palestine Solidarity Campaign (PSC), “Candidate Pledge for Palestine,” [accessed October 2026], 2026, <https://palestinecampaign.org/council-candidate-pledge-for-palestine/>.

70 Dan Iley-Williamson, “Labour’s Gaza Reckoning,” *Tribune Magazine*, May 15, 2026, <https://tribunemag.co.uk/2026/05/labours-gaza-reckoning>.

71 PSC, “Polling reveals Palestine a major factor in progressive voters ditching Labour,” PSC, June 8, 2026, <https://palestinecampaign.org/polling-reveals-palestine-a-major-factor-in-progressive-voters-ditching-labour/>.

1. Direct Action and “Anti-Terrorism” Tactics

Beyond institutional politics, direct action has been an effective strategy adopted by civil society in the UK against the Israeli regime. Through various groups, civil society members have targeted public and private entities complicit in sustaining Israeli economic and military infrastructure, disrupting the status quo, and inflicting a material cost on businesses supporting Israeli crimes. For example, Palestine Action, now a proscribed organization, has focused on targeting businesses belonging to, investing in, or associated with Elbit Systems, the Israeli regime’s largest weapons manufacturer. Through continued disruptions, primarily property damage, activists have pressured banks, including HSBC⁷² and Barclays⁷³ to sell all shares in Elbit Systems. Additionally, direct actions led Elbit Systems to abandon its London headquarters in 2022,⁷⁴ and to shut down branches in Oldham,⁷⁵ Tamworth,⁷⁶ and Aztec West.⁷⁷

In response to these actions, which aim to deconstruct UK complicity in Israeli crimes and force the government to uphold their legal

72 The Canary, “HSBC dumps all of its shares in Elbit Systems after direct action,” *The Canary*, May 8, 2026, <https://www.thecanary.co/uk/news/2026/05/08/hsbc-elbit-direct-action/>.

73 Business and Human Rights Centre (BHRC), “Israel/OPT: Barclays offloads all shares in Israeli arms company Elbit Systems following direct action from Palestine Action,” *BHRC*, October 31, 2024, <https://www.business-humanrights.org/en/latest-news/iopt-barclays-offloads-all-shares-in-israeli-arms-company-elbit-systems-after-pressure-from-palestine-action/>.

74 Palestine Action, “Israeli weapons maker shuts London HQ following sustained protest,” *Mondoweiss*, June 20, 2022, <https://mondoweiss.net/2022/06/israeli-weapons-maker-shuts-london-hq-following-sustained-protest/>.

75 PSC, “PSC response to Elbit factory closure,” *PSC*, January 11, 2022, <https://palestinecampaign.org/psc-response-to-elbit-factory-closure/>.

76 Burak Bir, “Israeli arms company Elbit ‘forced to sell’ Tamworth factory in UK,” *Anadolu Ajansı*, March 28, 2024, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/europe/israeli-arms-company-elbit-forced-to-sell-tamworth-factory-in-uk/3177877>.

77 Haroon Siddique & Jamie Grierson, “Israeli arms manufacturer closes UK facility targeted by Palestine Action,” *The Guardian*, September 6, 2025, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2025/sep/06/israeli-arms-manufacturer-elbit-systems-closes-uk-facility-targeted-by-palestine-action>.

obligations, the UK government has mobilized legislation and legal action aiming to dismantle Palestine solidarity and protect UK complicity. The State has been clear in prioritizing Zionism and the Israeli weapons industry over and above the rights of its own citizens, going to unprecedented lengths to securitize pro-Palestine protest activity and smear Palestine solidarity. This crackdown can be defined by two key allegations – antisemitism and support for terrorism – which aim to depoliticize and delegitimize the anti-imperialist liberation politics at the heart of the Palestine cause.⁷⁸

Allegations of antisemitism are primarily derived from the UK’s adoption of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) definition of antisemitism in 2016,⁷⁹ which explicitly includes criticism of “the State of Israel,” recognition of its widely documented racist policies,⁸⁰ and denial of its right to exist, as antisemitic hate speech. This obfuscation curtails legitimate resistance to Israeli crimes in the UK, creating a chilling environment for expressions of solidarity and weaponizing antisemitic claims. The second key allegation used to delegitimize Palestinian solidarity in the UK are accusations of “terrorism/extremism,” used to dehumanize and demonize Palestinians and the solidarity movement. Terrorism allegations are based on the Terrorism Act 2000,⁸¹ which includes an overly broad definition of terrorism and amendments that manipulate security discourses to curtail the public’s fundamental rights, evident in the proscription

78 European Legal Support Centre (ELSC), *On All Fronts: The Multi-Sited Repression of Palestine Solidarity in Britain*, (Amsterdam, ELSC, March 2026), <https://elsc.support/wp-content/uploads/2026/03/On-All-Fronts-The-Multi-Sited-Repression-of-Palestine-Solidarity-in-Britain.pdf>.

79 Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office, “A definition of antisemitism,” authored article, March 30, 2016, <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/a-definition-of-antisemitism>.

80 BADIL, *The Israeli Apartheid Spatial Regime: Fragmentation and Enclavement of Palestine*, Working paper no. 33: BADIL, 2026, <https://badil.org/press-releases/16721.html>.

81 *Terrorism Act 2000*. c. 11 [Legislation.gov.uk](https://www.legislation.gov.uk), <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2000/11/contents>.

of Palestine Action.⁸² Additionally, these security discourses aim to justify increasing state surveillance, through security programs such as PREVENT⁸³ and the deployment of live facial recognition technologies at protests, which occurred for the first time in May 2026.⁸⁴

The severity of this repression speaks to an undeniable reality: that the Palestine solidarity movement has exposed and continues to threaten to expose the UK's sponsorship and participation in the Israeli regime's crimes, rooted in broader structures of colonial-capitalist relations and imperial interests. Rather than uphold its obligations under international law and sever its diplomatic, economic and military support to the Israeli regime, the UK ignores the demands from civil society and further entrenches its complicity.

On 5 July 2025, the UK government voted by 385 votes to proscribe Palestine Action as a “terrorist organisation,”⁸⁵ with only 26 MPs voting against the legislation demonstrating cross-party consensus.⁸⁶ Since then, over 3,500 individuals have been arrested for engaging in peaceful protest in support of the group, with pending cases in the justice system

82 Liberty, “Counter-terror,” accessed September 22, 2026, <https://www.libertyhumanrights.org.uk/fundamental/counter-terror/>.

83 PREVENT is one of four elements of CONTEST, the UK's counterterrorism strategy. PREVENT places the obligation on public bodies, including hospitals, schools, nurseries and social services to monitor, identify and report individuals they deem at risk of committing extremist acts, defining extremism as “vocal or active opposition to British values”. Lacking transparency, effective oversight or recourse for individuals referred, PREVENT has been widely criticized as incompatible with the UK's human rights obligations, particularly in relation to deployment in nurseries and primary schools. According to Amnesty International, one in three referrals to PREVENT are for children under the age of 15, with Muslims and other ethnic minorities being disproportionately targeted.

84 AFP, AP & Reuters, “Tens of thousands march in London in far-right and pro-Palestine protests,” *Al Jazeera*, May 16, 2026, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2026/5/16/tens-of-thousands-march-in-london-in-far-right-and-pro-palestine-protests>

85 United Kingdom. Home Office. *Explanatory Memorandum to the Terrorism Act 2000 (Proscribed Organisations) (Amendment) Order 2025*, SI 2025/803, 3-4, https://www.legislation.gov.uk/uksi/2025/803/pdfs/uksem_20250803_en_001.pdf.

86 UK Parliament, House of Commons. “Division 252: Terrorism Act 2000 (Proscribed Organisations) (Amendment) Order 2025,” July 2, 2025, <https://votes.parliament.uk/votes/commons/division/2078>.

as a result of ongoing legal challenges to the government's proscription.⁸⁷ On 13 February 2026 the High Court found that former Home Secretary, Yvette Cooper, acted unlawfully by proscribing the group under the Terrorism Act 2000, contravening her own policies and breaching the rights of freedom of expression, assembly and association.⁸⁸ Despite this, the Court of Appeal upheld the proscription on 15 June 2026.⁸⁹ The ongoing legal challenge will appear before the Supreme Court in the final quarter of 2026.

The government has also weaponized terrorism legislation against particular individuals participating in direct actions, with four of the Filton 25⁹⁰ activists convicted as 'terrorists' in June 2026.⁹¹ The four were collectively sentenced to 26 years in prison despite being convicted of no terror offences and cleared of charges of violent disorder and aggravated burglary.⁹² In all the cases, the defendants were prohibited from explaining the motivations behind their actions and from using words such as "genocide." In addition, the jury was not informed of the possibility that if convicted, defendants could retrospectively be charged

87 Haroon Siddique, "Supreme court says Palestine Action co-founder can challenge ban on group," *The Guardian*, July 30, 2026, <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2026/jul/30/supreme-court-says-palestine-action-co-founder-can-challenge-ban-on-group>.

88 *R (Ammori) v Secretary of State for the Home Department* [2026] EWHC 292 (Admin), <https://www.judiciary.uk/wp-content/uploads/2026/02/R-Ammori-v-SSHD-OPEN-judgment-final.pdf>.

89 *Ammori v. Secretary of State for the Home Department* [2026] EWCA Civ. 271, <https://www.judiciary.uk/wp-content/uploads/2026/06/Final-open-judgment-Ammori-v-SSHD.pdf>.

90 The Filton 25 refers to a group of activists who have been arrested and held on remand (some have received trial) for several months following alleged damage to weapons in an Elbit Systems manufacturing factory in Filton, Bristol. Several of these activists have reported prison conditions and treatment that contravenes UK obligations under international and domestic law, in addition to the unprecedented remand period without trial or bail.

91 *R v. Head & Others*, Crown Court at Woolwich, Case No. T2024 0175/T2024 7092 (June 15, 2026) <https://www.judiciary.uk/wp-content/uploads/2026/06/Ruling-on-terrorism-connection.pdf>; and *R v. Head & Others*, Crown Court at Woolwich, Case No. T2024 0175/T2024 7092 (June 12, 2026) (Sentencing Remarks of Mr Justice Johnson), <https://www.judiciary.uk/wp-content/uploads/2026/06/R-v-Charlotte-Head-and-others-sentencing-remarks.pdf>.

92 Convictions included four cases of criminal damage and one case of grievous bodily harm without intent.

with a terrorist connection, and were actively prevented from being informed that they could acquit defendants according to conscience.⁹³ The conviction was widely understood as a vehicle to justify the upholding of the Palestine Action ban by courts in the following days. Subsequently, this finding was used to explore imposing a retrospective “terrorist connection” on other activists found guilty of criminal damage (the Barclays 5), though the connection was dismissed in June 2026.⁹⁴

As well as legal prosecution, the UK government has introduced a cumulative impact amendment to the Crime and Policing Bill, aiming to curtail repeated protests in particular areas that cause “cumulative disruption.”⁹⁵ Debates surrounding the amendment falsely conflate Palestine solidarity with antisemitism, in line with the problematic IHRA definition, directly and disproportionately silencing dissent.⁹⁶ Though the amendment had not passed at the time, on 1 April 2026 Director of the Palestine Solidarity Campaign (PSC), Ben Jamal and Vice-Chair of Stop The War, Chris Nineham, were charged with breaching police-imposed restrictions on a Palestine march, with “cumulative impact” on Jewish Londoners considered an important factor.⁹⁷ This is despite the march route being approved by the police in advance, with restrictions being placed at the last minute following lobbying from pro-Israeli groups.⁹⁸

93 Harriet Williamson, “Nine Arrested While Holding Jury Equity Signs Outside Filton 24 Trial,” *Novara Media*, April 24, 2026, <https://novaramedia.com/2026/04/24/nine-arrested-while-holding-jury-equity-signs-outside-filton24-trial/>.

94 Raphael Boyd, “Palestine Action ‘Barclay’s five’ will not be sentenced as terrorists,” *The Guardian*, August 21, 2026, <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2026/aug/21/palestine-action-barclays-five-will-not-be-sentenced-as-terrorists>.

95 Crime and Policing Act 2026, c.20, pt. 10, <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2026/20>.

96 Lord Leigh of Hurley, HL Debate, January 13, 2026, vol 851, col 1694, <https://hansard.parliament.uk/lords/2026-01-13/debates/5738FD9A-337D-4B91-A9AD-53A1579819C1/CrimeAndPolicingBill>.

97 Aamna Mohdin, “Prominent UK pro-Palestine activists guilty of breaching protest conditions,” *The Guardian*, April 1, 2026, sec. Middle East, <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2026/apr/01/prominent-uk-pro-palestine-activists-guilty-of-breaching-protest-conditions>.

98 Areeb Ullah, “Palestine protest organisers found guilty of breaching police restrictions,” *Middle East Eye*, April 1, 2026, <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/palestinian-solidarity-leaders-found-guilty-breaching-protest-restrictions>

In December 2025, London's Metropolitan Police and Greater Manchester Police announced that they would arrest protestors holding placards with phrases such as "Globalise the Intifada" (meaning uprising in Arabic).⁹⁹ This followed remarks by former Prime Minister Keir Starmer following an unrelated attack in Golder's Green (London) falsely conflating the word "Intifada" with a call for terrorism against Jews.¹⁰⁰ Such language functions to prime the public to accept discriminatory targeting of Palestinians and Palestine solidarity, manipulating anti-discrimination legislation in favor of the Zionist agenda.

In light of widespread repression, which reveals not only Britain's sponsorship and participation in the Israeli regime's genocide, apartheid and colonization, but the broader colonial status quo upon which the UK's hegemonic power relies, it is critical that the solidarity movement continues to pressure the government to impose comprehensive sanctions and end its complicity in Israeli crimes. Activists imprisoned on remand without trial have engaged in direct actions in order to pressure the government from inside prison walls. Most notably, on 14 January 2026, Prisoners for Palestine, a UK collective representing all those detained under charges relating to Palestinian liberation, announced the end of a 73-day hunger strike carried out by eight British citizens wrongfully imprisoned without trial for undertaking direct actions as members of Palestine Action. The end of the hunger strike was announced after the UK abandoned a £2 billion contract with Elbit Systems to establish a decade-long military training collaboration for 60,000 British troops annually.¹⁰¹ These activists explicitly took inspiration from Palestinian

99 Penry Buckley, "'Globalise the Intifada' chants have led to arrests in the UK. Could the Australian constitution stop that happening here?" *The Guardian*, January 16, 2024, sec. Australia, <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2026/jan/17/nsw-state-laws-ban-intifada-protest-slogans-similar-uk-explained>.

100 Prime Minister's Office, 10 Downing Street, "PM remarks from Downing Street on Golder's Green attack: 30 April 2026," speech, April 30, 2026, <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/pm-remarks-from-downing-street-on-golders-green-attack-30-april-2026>.

101 Shatha Abd El Latif, "How a 73-Day Hunger Strike Laid Bare the UK's Repression of Palestine Solidarity," *Institute for Palestine Studies*, February 26, 2026, <https://www.palestine-studies.org/en/node/1658615>.

detainees held indefinitely in Israeli prisons. Additionally, following the proscription of Palestine Action, the movement has exploded, with thousands supporting marches for de-proscription despite risking arrest, and the movement spreading far beyond Britain's borders, with direct actions in places including Ireland, Germany, Spain, the Netherlands, Canada and the United States of America.¹⁰²

2. Industrial Action

Since the 1980s, the UK government has transformed industrial relations by restricting secondary action, introducing compulsory strike ballots, limiting trade union immunities, increasing notice periods for industrial action, and narrowing the legal space for collective mobilization. These reforms were designed not only to regulate industrial disputes but to weaken the political capacity of organized labor as a collective force. Despite these imposed restrictions, collective action through trade and workers unions has been an effective method through which to conduct direct actions which disrupt the supply chain supporting the Israeli regime. In the UK, the Universities College Union (UCU) has played an instrumental role in lobbying against collaborations with Israeli academic institutions and research projects and has successfully pressured the Universities Superannuation Scheme (USS), the UK's largest private pension fund, to drop £80 million worth of Israeli assets.¹⁰³ This action has followed a broader trend in European pension funds of divestment due to flagrant Israeli violations of international law.¹⁰⁴ Other examples of divestment as a result of worker's motions include

102 Palestine Action, "Palestine Action Carry Out Another Night of Co-ordinated Actions Against Elbit Systems Weapons Transporter DSV," *Palestine Action*, <https://global.palestineaction.org/press/dsv-2/> and "Palestine Action Targets Florida Home of Elbit Systems Boss," *Palestine Action*, <https://global.palestineaction.org/press/palestine-action-target-florida-home-of-elbit-systems-boss/>.

103 Josephine Combo & Harriet Agnew, "UK's biggest private pension fund dumps £80mn of Israeli assets," *The Financial Times*, August 8, 2024, <https://www.ft.com/content/db6956be-3da3-46b7-84d6-3b8740a88fc6?syn-25a6b1a6=1>.

104 *Ibid.*

UK supermarket chain Co-op, whose governing board voted to cease the sale of all goods sourced from the Israeli regime following pressure from Co-op workers on the grounds of “internationally recognised” rights abuses and violations of international law.¹⁰⁵

Significantly, on 16 September 2026, the Trade Union Congress (TUC), representing 5.3 million workers, voted unanimously in favor of a motion actively supporting the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement.¹⁰⁶ Adopted during the Congress’ annual conference, this motion demands that the TUC take action to end the Israeli genocide in Gaza and colonizer attacks in the West Bank through campaigning to cease all military cooperation with the Israeli regime, supporting wider trade-union-led campaigns in solidarity with Palestine, and campaigning for the imposition of sanctions.¹⁰⁷ The motion represents a significant opportunity to amplify pressure on the UK government through supporting and participating in industrial action and other trade-union-led campaigns in order to demand that the government goes beyond performative measures and implements comprehensive sanctions against the Israeli regime.

3. Strategic Litigation

Activists and members of civil society have also been resilient in challenging the repression of solidarity activism in UK domestic courts, creating a growing body of case law which can act as a legal toolkit against censorship, disciplinary action, and other forms of repression. On 4 August 2026, the Employment Appeal Tribunal judged that sociology professor David Miller was unfairly dismissed

¹⁰⁵ Co-op Group, “Co-op Announces Changes to its Sourcing Policy to Support Peace and Co-operation,” news release, June 24, 2025, <https://www.co-operative.coop/media/news-releases/co-op-announces-changes-to-its-sourcing-policy-to-support-peace-and-co>.

¹⁰⁶ TUC, “C18 Palestine,” TUC Congress Motions, September 16, 2026, <https://congress.tuc.org.uk/c18-palestine/#sthash.kivuSVqa.dpbs>.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

from his position at the University of Bristol for “gross misconduct” in relation to expressions of anti-Zionist views.¹⁰⁸ Having successfully argued before the Employment Tribunal that his beliefs were protected characteristics pursuant to the Equality Act 2010,¹⁰⁹ the University appealed the decision on account of lobbying from pro-Israeli groups. The appeal judgement implicitly affirms that under British law, anti-Zionism is not equivalent to antisemitism, setting a precedent that can be used to legally challenge the conflation of anti-Zionist beliefs with antisemitism. Within and beyond the employment context, this judgment may be used to challenge the weaponization of the IHRA definition against Palestine solidarity, including challenging disciplinary actions that come as a consequence of the false and harmful analogies contained in the definition (e.g. arrests, employment termination, censorship).

To this end, in *Husain v SRA*, the High Court scrutinized the use of the IHRA working definition of antisemitism following disciplinary proceedings by the Solicitors Regulation Authority.¹¹⁰ The Court confirmed that the IHRA definition is non-legally binding and that its examples, including several concerning criticisms of the Israeli regime and anti-Zionist expression, are illustrative rather than automatically determinative. Whether speech constitutes antisemitism must instead be assessed according to its language, content and context on a case-by-case basis. Crucially, the Court affirmed that criticism of the Israeli regime constitutes political speech protected under Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights and is therefore entitled to the highest level of protection afforded to political expression.¹¹¹ These

108 *University of Bristol v. Dr. David Miller*, [2026] EAT 84, https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/6a71b3b8331a9965a2cd46a9/University_of_Bristol_v_Dr_David_Miller_2026_EAT_84.pdf.

109 *Dr David Miller v. University of Bristol*, Bristol Employment Tribunal, Case No. 1400780/2022 (February 5, 2024), <https://www.judiciary.uk/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/Miller-judgment-1400780.2022-JDT.pdf>.

110 *Husain v SRA* [2025] EWHC 1170 (Admin) <https://www.bailii.org/ew/cases/EWHC/Admin/2025/1170.html>.

111 *Ibid*, paras 100-110.

judgments provide the solidarity movement and legal practitioners with important tools to challenge the conflation of anti-Zionism with antisemitism and to defend political expression and action in support of Palestine.

On 15 October 2024, Dana Abu Qamr successfully argued that the cancellation of her visa following comments made in relation to Palestinian resistance were disproportionate and amounted to unlawful interference with her right to free speech, failing to demonstrate why her presence in the UK was “not conducive to the public good.”¹¹² With Britain’s increasingly hostile immigration environment, this case is particularly useful for challenging repressive actions taken against migrants and refugees, as well as other racially motivated litigation which seeks to discredit racialized bodies in the UK, especially those who support Palestine. Another example is the success of Usama Ghanem, a student whose suspension from King’s College London was recently lifted, demonstrating the power of the solidarity movement to reverse politically motivated punishment directed against it.¹¹³

Further possibilities lie with regulatory bodies, for example, in March 2025, the International Centre of Justice for Palestinians (ICJP) submitted a formal complaint to the Charity Commission detailing evidence that Jewish National Fund (JNF) charitable funds were used to fund programs directly linked to Israeli forces.¹¹⁴ In June 2026, ICJP submitted an additional request to investigate Edgware United Synagogue

112 *Abu Qamar v Secretary of State for the Home Department*, First-tier Tribunal (Immigration and Asylum Chamber), Case No: HU/64191/2023 (October 15, 2024), <https://www.blackstonechambers.com/news/abu-qamar-v-secretary-of-state-for-the-home-department/>.

113 Anealla Safdar, “Pro-Palestine student suspended by King’s College London returns to campus,” *Al Jazeera*, September 11, 2026, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2026/9/11/pro-palestine-student-suspended-by-kings-college-london-returns-to-campus>.

114 ICJP, “ICJP submits formal complaint to Charity Commission regarding handling of multi-million JNF Complaint,” *ICJP*, March 30, 2026, <https://www.icjpalestine.com/2026/03/30/icjp-submits-formal-complaint-to-charity-commission-regarding-handling-of-multi-million-jnf-complaint/>.

for hosting the “Great Israeli Real Estate” event earlier that month.¹¹⁵ That, combined with the Palestinian Youth Movement’s sustained and cross-sector mobilisation against the event, contributed to mounting pressure on the institution, culminating in the Charity Commission issuing “regulatory advice” to the synagogue. While this represented a limited form of regulatory intervention, it also demonstrated the impact of sustained grassroots mobilisation in forcing scrutiny of institutions facilitating the event.¹¹⁶ The Charity Commission opened investigations into the charitable wing of UK Lawyers for “Israel” in July 2025¹¹⁷ and eight other charities working in Israeli colonies in August 2026,¹¹⁸ representing one of the most significant regulatory steps taken against charitable institutions working with the Israeli regime to date.

Other potential legal avenues include the activation of universal jurisdiction, which has been used to arrest Israeli soldiers in Belgium¹¹⁹ and members of colonizer organizations in France, citing complicity in genocide.¹²⁰ Universal jurisdiction is a legal obligation, rooted in

115 ICJP, “ICJP submits formal complaint and requests investigation into Edgware United Synagogue to Charity Commission,” *ICJP*, 15 June 2026, <https://www.icjpalestine.com/2026/06/15/icjp-submits-formal-complaint-and-requests-investigation-into-edgware-united-synagogue-to-charity-commission/>.

116 Imran Mulla, “Exclusive: UK Charity Commission criticises synagogue for hosting Great Israeli Real Estate Event,” *Middle East Eye*, August 13, 2026, <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/charity-commission-issues-regulatory-advice-synagogue-which-hosted-great-israeli-real-estate>.

117 Areeb Ullah, “Charity watchdog investigating UK Lawyers for Israel’s charitable trust,” *Middle East Eye*, July 25, 2025, <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/charity-commission-launches-investigation-uk-lawyers-israels-charitable-trust-0>.

118 The Charity Commission, “Charity regulator opens inquiry into charities working in illegal Israeli settlements,” press release, *GOV.UK*, August 5, 2026, <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/charity-regulator-opens-inquiry-into-charities-working-in-illegal-israeli-settlements#:~:text=The%20Charity%20Commission%20has%20launched,illegal%20Israeli%20settlements%20in%20Palestine>.

119 Dr Binoy Kampmark, “Caught in Belgium: Universal Jurisdiction and the IDF,” *Middle East Monitor* (MEMO), July 25, 2025, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20250725-caught-in-belgium-universal-jurisdiction-and-the-idf/>.

120 Al-Haq, “French Court issues Summons for Complicity in Genocide against Director of ‘Israel Is Forever’ – a Landmark Development in the Fight Against Impunity,” *Al-Haq*, February 2, 2026, <https://www.alhaq.org/advocacy/27285.html>.

customary international law, referring to the authority of any national court to prosecute individuals accused of serious international crimes regardless of where the crime was committed, the nationality of the perpetrator, or any other connection to the prosecuting state. Universal jurisdiction provides an opportunity to hold complicit and participating actors to account, yet the UK has repeatedly colluded with the Israeli regime to erode universal jurisdiction. For example, the UK requires the consent of the Director of Public Prosecutions, a state prosecutorial authority, before private prosecutors can obtain arrest warrants for certain offences. The Government openly linked the reform to cases involving Israeli officials, particularly Tzipi Livni, following sustained Zionist-Israeli pressure.¹²¹ This system of impunity has been reinforced through special-mission and diplomatic immunity for Israeli officials, while the UK continues to refuse accountability for British nationals serving in the Israeli forces. The UK's failure to hold British nationals serving in the Israeli forces accountable for international crimes demonstrates both their willingness to provide immunity to serving nationals by overriding prohibitions on participation in foreign wars,¹²² and the UK's refusal to activate available mechanisms of accountability such as universal jurisdiction. Nevertheless, civil society has continued to mobilize in pursuit of Israeli war criminals, submitting complaints to national law enforcement agencies and initiating private prosecutions in national courts, representing an attempt to subvert the UK government's efforts to avoid their obligations under IHL and universal jurisdiction principles.¹²³

121 Louis Hayes, "The politics of immunity: UK–Israel legal coordination and the erosion of universal jurisdiction," *AOAV*, March 25, 2026, <https://aoav.org.uk/2026/the-politics-of-immunity-uk-israel-legal-coordination-and-the-erosion-of-universal-jurisdiction/>.

122 Foreign Enlistment Act 1870, 33 & 34 Vict. c. 90, s. 4, <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Vict/33-34/90>.

123 ICJP, "Global 195: International Legal Coalition Launched to Pursue Israeli War Crimes Suspects across the World," *ICJP*, March 18, 2025, <https://www.icjpalestine.com/2025/03/18/global-195-launched/>.

B. Action Plan

On the basis of the above, BADIL proposes the following action plan, tailored to the specific complicity, laws and context of the UK as described in this paper. However, BADIL recognizes that the situation is evolving rapidly, particularly as the UK continues to suppress Palestine solidarity. In order to streamline the action plan, the focus is on strategic demands and goals, and potential actions. It should be noted that no single tactic belongs to a single demand or goal. The strength of the solidarity movement lies precisely in its ability to bring different movements, constituencies and forms of struggle together around shared principled strategic objectives as described below.

Demand 1: End all UK military complicity with the Israeli regime and impose a full arms embargo.

This includes:

- Ending all military and dual use contracts and subcontracts and associated private corporations including Open General Export Licenses.
- Rejecting new licenses for military or dual use contracts.
- Ending all military and law enforcement training exchanges.

Building pressure and support through:

1. Collective industrial action including strikes, refusal to handle weapons, parts and other materials destined for the Israeli regime; and workplace campaigns, consumer boycotts, walk-outs, sit-ins, and opposition to corporate investments.
2. Translating the momentum of the TUC BDS motion into sustained pressure capable of compelling the UK state to impose comprehensive explicit sanctions on the Israeli regime in its entirety, rather than performative, limited or targeted measures

that leave its wider military, political and economic structures intact.

3. Obstructing the work of Israeli weapons manufacturers, investors and other organizations providing material or financial support to the Israeli regime.
4. Electoral pressure for an arms embargo, including constituent letter writing, direct calls and protests.
5. Legal action challenging military complicity including the provision of documentary evidence to new and existing cases and the provision of financial support to legal teams.

Demand 2: End economic and diplomatic complicity.

This includes:

- Severing diplomatic relations with the Israeli regime including the 2030 roadmap for UK-Israel bilateral relations.
- Ending the trade of all goods and services between the UK and the Israeli regime and associated agreements.
- Pressuring private corporations to divest from Israeli private and public institutions.
- Ending special mission and diplomatic immunities for Israeli personnel visiting the UK.
- Blocking charitable status for all organizations that fund, resource or otherwise support the Israeli military, colony expansion, or other Israeli crimes and institutions.

Build pressure and support through:

1. Obstructing the work of corporations providing material or financial support to the Israeli regime.

2. Reinvigorating the student movement through academic boycotts, encampments, sit-ins, walk-outs to end academic complicity, including bilateral or multilateral research projects, academic partnerships and student exchanges.
3. Electoral pressure for a trade embargo including constituent letter writing, direct calls and protests.
4. Electoral pressure on local government officials to pass local procurement bans divesting from Israeli public and private institutions.
5. Legal action challenging economic complicity including the provision of documentary evidence to new and existing cases and the provision of financial support to legal teams.
6. Utilizing the growing case law toolkit to challenge and reject the conflation of antisemitism with anti-Zionism.

Demand 3: End Israeli impunity by enabling national and international accountability mechanisms.

This includes:

- Releasing of evidence including RAF surveillance footage to international courts for use in ongoing legal investigations into war crimes, crimes against humanity, genocide and other serious breaches of international law.
- Cooperating in all aspects with international courts including the ICJ and ICC to bring the Israeli regime and specific individuals to account.
- Public recognition of Israeli crimes and the role of the UK government in enabling them to occur.
- Removing all barriers to universal jurisdiction cases and cooperation with organizations and individuals pursuing legal

action through universal jurisdiction mechanisms.

- Reinstating government programs tracking Israeli breaches of IHL and IHRL and restoring funding to government open-source databases monitoring Israeli violations.
- Ending media complicity in genocidal incitement, and the amplification and legitimization of Israeli propaganda and disinformation, challenging genocide denial, and ensuring equal scrutiny and meaningful representation of Palestinian voices and legal claims.
- Rejecting and protesting the proscription of Palestine Action, terrorism legislation and the detention and arrests of solidarity activists, through legislation, policy and practice.

Build pressure and support through:

1. Documenting and submitting evidence to new and ongoing legal investigations and accountability archives.
2. Submitting complaints to regulatory bodies such as the Charity Commission and Solicitors Regulation Authority (SRA).
3. Reverse disciplinary actions against employees, students and other members of civil society
4. Build coordinated media-monitoring and rapid-response campaigns, using social media and independent platforms to document, expose and publicly challenge media bias in real time.
5. Continue people power, including coordinated public campaigns, demonstrations, social-media pressure and collective engagement with media institutions and their leadership, to make media accountability a sustained public demand.

Demand 4: Stop the dismantling of UNRWA.

This includes:

- Restore and increase government funding to UNRWA, including regular and larger pledges by redirecting public funding from the multilateral ‘peacebuilding fund’ with Canada and Australia towards UNRWA.
- Publicly rejecting Israeli laws prohibiting the presence and operation of UNRWA.
- Taking measures to hold the Israeli regime accountable for its violations as a UN member state such as its expulsion from the United Nations under the UN Charter and freezing/banning Zionist-Israeli organizations from operation within UK jurisdiction.
- Rejecting efforts to replace UNRWA with political or military-led structures such as the Board of Peace and International Stabilization Force.
- Advancing a reparative, rights-based and decolonial approach to Gaza’s reconstruction centered on Palestinian self-determination and return.

Build pressure and support through:

1. Making UNRWA a constituency issue, lobby MPs and Parliamentary candidates to publicly commit to sustained and unconditional funding to UNRWA.
2. Promoting discourse combating widespread disinformation relating to the “ceasefire”, existing colonial reconstruction mechanisms and the demonization of UNRWA. Instead, discourse should focus on the humanitarian and legal necessity of UNRWA and the illegality of the colonial Board of Peace.

Demand 5: Uphold the Palestinian people's inalienable rights to self-determination and return and provide reparations.

This includes:

- Rejecting existing internationally imposed colonial solutions which deny the Palestinian people the full measure of the right to self-determination as a national people and violate their inalienable rights to self-determination and return (such as the 1917 Balfour Declaration, the Oslo Accords, the New York Declaration, UN Resolution 2803, the Board of Peace, and more).
- Recognize and insist upon the full realization of the Palestinian people's inalienable right to self-determination, indivisible from the right to return to their original homes, including supporting relevant Palestinian-led initiatives and Resolution 194.
- Publicly recognizing the necessity of reparations and insisting upon Israeli reparations to Palestinians, thereafter initiating processes to investigate and demand reparations for the UK's complicity (and active participation) in crimes against the Palestinian people.

Build pressure and support through:

1. Electoral pressure insisting that Members of Parliament, councilors and other representatives publicly support Palestinians' inalienable rights, without confining it to the two-state solution.
2. Actively support and platform Palestinian-led campaigns, movements and organizing that centers Palestinian rights and rejects imposed colonial solutions, including the normalization of Palestinian-Israeli relationships, cooperation and dialogue.
3. Partnering with principled Palestinian organizations, and providing financial support and/or support to their fundraising efforts.

IV. CONCLUSION

This file sets out five main forms of British complicity in Israeli crimes, including genocide, apartheid, colonization, and forced displacement. Whilst the UK provides material support to the Israeli regime in the forms of military exchange and investment as well as a thriving economic relationship, it simultaneously shields the Israeli regime from accountability through refusal to activate: (a) international mechanisms, such as the ICJ and ICC, and (b) domestic accountability mechanisms, most notably, comprehensive sanctions against the entire Israeli regime. Additionally, by platforming unverified claims against UNRWA, and by conditioning and reducing its funding, the UK has contributed to the dismantling of the Agency that is not only a lifeline for millions of Palestinians, but an embodiment of their rights. Finally, the UK has viciously targeted the Palestine solidarity movement, arresting thousands of activists, proscribing civil disobedience as terrorism, and deploying media disinformation which legitimizes Israeli crimes and dehumanizes the Palestinian people and their supporters.

In this hostile environment, where institutional accountability is obstructed by the financial and political entanglement of the British establishment, our response must be to build organized power from below. Palestine solidarity is intersectional in name and in form, and cannot be isolated from the struggles of migrants and refugees, anti-colonial feminist and queer movements, trade unions, environmental and climate justice activists, and those defending civil liberties against an increasingly authoritarian state.

The primary demand driving Palestine solidarity must be comprehensive sanctions against the Israeli regime for its crimes across historic Palestine. Sanctions are necessary to make clear that Israeli colonial domination and apartheid are not merely condemned rhetorically, but carry material and political consequences. They must cut off the lifeblood that sustains

the Israeli colonial-apartheid regime by severing the military, economic, diplomatic and institutional relationships that enable and sustain its structures of domination. Divestment is an essential component of this broader strategy that must be expanded and supported: where councils, MPs, institutions, trade unions and corporations can sever investments and procurement relationships that sustain the Israeli apartheid and colonial structure.

The British state understands the power of collective mobilization to produce change. The scale of resources and repression deployed against Palestine solidarity is itself evidence of the threat that organized movements pose to the status quo. Across the Isles, movements have repeatedly demonstrated the power of coordinated collective action, writing histories that are not simply legacies to commemorate, but provide a political inheritance from which we must build. By coordinating across movements, sectors and borders, and by combining diverse tactics around targeted strategic demands, the Palestine solidarity movement can organize collectively with transnational decolonial struggles to impose political and material costs on complicity, disrupt the infrastructures that sustain colonial oppression and domination, and make continued UK complicity impossible.

The task is not simply to express solidarity, but to organize it into power that provides no leeway the UK's complicity nor for derogation from Palestinian liberation.

“By coordinating across movements, sectors and borders, and by combining diverse tactics around targeted strategic demands, the Palestine solidarity movement can organize collectively with transnational decolonial struggles to impose political and material costs on complicity, disrupt the infrastructures that sustain colonial oppression and domination, and make continued UK complicity impossible.”

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