

PUTTING BODIES ON THE LINE

The Landscape of
Direct Action and
Civil Disobedience for
Palestine in Britain



III CAGE INTERNATIONAL

This is an academic study and analysis of the strategies used by Palestine Action and other groups involved in direct action to disrupt the Israeli war machine. Nothing in this report should be understood as support for or as an expression or invitation of support for Palestine Action which is now a proscribed group.

That stated, the government's position in relation to Palestine Action is incorrect and the following report on the landscape of direct action should adequately evidence why Palestine Action should be de-proscribed, and that regardless of the legal status of the organisation, other forms of direct action must be deployed until all British ties to Zionism end.

CAGE INTERNATIONAL

CAGE International is an independent advocacy organisation that aspires to a just world. We challenge War on Terror inspired state oppression and empower communities to dismantle the discourses and policies of the global War on Terror.

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FOREWORD

This foreword is not made for or on behalf of any proscribed group or organisation. I provide this foreword in a personal capacity. Any mention of 'we' or commentary that may suggest membership of a proscribed organisation only applies insofar as my involvement with Palestine Action before its proscription.

On July 5th 2025, Palestine Action was proscribed by the British state as a "terrorist organisation". This designation not only sent shockwaves through Britain, it exposed the state's true loyalty to the Israeli weapons industry, over the rights and freedoms of its own citizens. It has sparked the greatest civil uprising against the use of the Terrorism Act, which CAGE courageously have campaigned on for many years. Whilst the smear of 'terrorist' has long been used against the Muslim community, the political misstep in banning Palestine Action has brought this issue to the masses.

When myself and others began Palestine Action five years ago, we steeled ourselves for repression. Yet, to be proscribed and have masses of support despite the attempt to criminalise it, could not have been predicted. The lengths the state has gone to silence and attack our movement has served to highlight the effectiveness of direct action. The Home Secretary and other government ministers may try and smear Palestine Action to justify the ban, but the real reason we were proscribed is because the movement had severely damaged the Israeli weapons industry – both physically and reputation-ally.

Palestine Action's first priority was always to cause disruption to Elbit Systems, Israel's biggest weapons firm, and associated companies. The media was never our main aim, it was a byproduct. Therefore, when actionists had entered RAF Brize Norton and sprayed two military planes, and shortly after, the Home Secretary Yvette Cooper announced she would proscribe Palestine Action, the public did not

have a full picture as to our strategy and successes. This timely report serves as a necessary record of the true intentions behind Palestine Action's direct action strategy. Through understanding that, the public are able to gain a more fuller understanding as to the effectiveness of direct action, and why a government aligned with Zionism would try to crush Palestine Action in order to protect the Israeli weapons industry.

Whilst Palestine Action did not have much support from NGO's before proscription, CAGE international served as a bedrock to our movement. Through public advocacy, advice, mobilisation for our trials and support for the prisoners and their families as they faced the brutality of the counter-terrorism regime, CAGE's support for Palestine Action never faltered. We were, and still are, fortunate to be able to lean on the experience CAGE has gained over the years of fighting the counter-terrorism laws.

This report comes at a crossroads for Palestine Action and the wider movement. On November 25-27th, my legal team will be challenging the proscription through a Judicial Review at the High Court. Obtaining this legal challenge is a victory in and of itself, as the state attempted to block it, instead demanding we went through the Proscribed Organisations Appeal Commission (POAC), a long, drawn out and secretive process for proscribed groups to apply for deproscription. As we are now able to challenge the ban through a Judicial Review, we are able to argue that the decision to ban Palestine Action was unlawful since its inception. If successful, all subsequent arrests due to the ban, of which there are over 2000, would also have been unlawful. On the other hand, if we are not, the fight both through the courts and on the streets to lift the ban will continue.

Whatever the result of the Judicial Review, this ban has awakened the general public to the true design behind the Terrorism Act – to circumvent our human rights and to crush dissent. Not only that, it has allowed for more and more people to become aware of the Israeli weapons industry and the lengths our government will go to in order to protect a foreign genocidal entity. Whilst the ban has had a huge impact on our civil

liberties, the greatest crime is the attempt to crush dissent whilst the Palestinians are experiencing a genocide.

I hope readers do not merely passively read this report, but also take inspiration and a more thorough understanding of the tactics available to the people to truly resist genocide and disrupt the production of weaponry on our doorsteps. The future of the proscription of Palestine Action may be at a crossroads, but what is certain, is the ability for ordinary people to shut down the Israeli weapons industry. Banning one group can not stop direct action.

Huda Ammori, Co-Founder of Palestine Action.

INTRODUCTION

Between 2020 and 2025, Palestine Action and associated pro-Palestinian direct action groups in Britain embarked on a sustained campaign to confront, expose, and disrupt British involvement in the oppression and destruction of the Palestinian people by the Israeli Occupation Forces. Their approach has been bold, unapologetic, and, most importantly, deliberate. Through a series of targeted actions — some theatrical, others logistical, all strategic — they have forced into public consciousness the quiet but powerful infrastructure that supports the Israeli military-industrial complex, both politically and economically, from within Britain.

This report seeks to assess the forms of direct action employed, the institutions and corporations targeted, the underlying motivations behind these interventions, and the legal and social consequences faced by those involved. It examines these actions within a critical and academic framework, without endorsing or encouraging any unlawful activity, and situates them in broader debates about resistance to systemic injustice and participation in state violence.

Since the initial actions of Palestine Action (now proscribed as a terrorist organisation), there has been a proliferation of direct action groups around the world and new groups in Britain looking to carry out similar actions that Palestine Action once did. While Palestine Action remains a banned organisation, there has also been widespread support for the group as thousands of individuals have taken part in the largest scale acts of civil disobedience in declaring their support for the banned group as part of actions organised by the actionist group Defend Our Juries. This has involved actionists sitting in solidarity with one another in prominent and public locations, displaying the sign ‘I oppose genocide – I support Palestine Action’ This display of a sign could be considered an offence under s.13 of the Terrorism Act 2000, yet the risk of arrest has not deterred these actionists – one action resulting in almost 900 arrests in a single day.

There has been a significant shift in the landscape of activism in Britain, and this report seeks to document those actions and the lessons that can be learnt as communities come together to end the genocide of the Palestinian people and the ongoing racist apartheid Zionist state.

How is Britain Implicated in the Ongoing Genocide?

Currently, Britain in both public and private spaces is not only complicit, but is directly involved in the maintenance of Zionism and its ongoing genocide of the Palestinian people. Putting aside the historical injustice carried out by the British against the Palestinians by denying their right to self-determination and enforcing their displacement, Britain plays a direct role in the maintenance of Israel’s system of racial segregation and apartheid.

In its advisory opinion issued on 19 July 2024, the International Court of Justice (‘ICJ’) concluded that Israel’s prolonged occupation of the occupied Palestinian territory (‘oPt’), including East Jerusalem, constitutes a breach of international law. The Court found that Israel’s policies and practices in these territories violate Article 3 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (‘CERD’), which prohibits racial segregation and apartheid. The ICJ identified a range of specific violations, including the establishment and expansion of Israeli settlements, the forcible eviction of Palestinians, widespread demolition of Palestinian homes, severe restrictions on freedom of movement, and the exploitation of Palestinian natural resources. These actions, according to the Court, amount to systemic discrimination against Palestinians based on race, religion, or ethnic origin.

Apartheid is a serious crime under international law. The ICJ’s advisory opinion stands as a powerful rebuke, not only to Israel, but also to all those who have continued in the long-term dispossession and racial oppression of the Palestinian people. Today, world leaders hail the legacy of Nelson Mandela’s fight against South African apartheid, while simultaneously providing political, diplomatic, financial and military support to an apartheid regime that continues to occupy Palestine. Britain plays a central role in such support.

Britain has provided significant financial and military support to Israel over the last 100 years, but the last two years of an intensified genocide of the Palestinian people has brought this relationship into sharper focus. Not only does the British government continue to flout international law by engaging with an apartheid state, but it is further complicit in the genocide by continuing to provide military support. Just some of the ways this is enacted include:

- Royal Air Force (RAF) surveillance flights over Gaza using Shadow R1 flights. They claim to be assisting with hostage recovery, but provide the Israeli Occupation with real-time data on Palestinians.
- The RAF have been carrying out hundreds of reconnaissance missions from RAF Akrotiri in Cyprus, also flying tonnes of military cargo to Israel.
- The British government has further entered into a secret contract with a US-based civilian contractor to carry out surveillance missions over Gaza on behalf of the Israeli Occupation Forces.
- Until 2025, the British government has issued over 100 arms export licences to British companies to provide military equipment to Israel – with 10 of these contracts being unlimited in value. It is estimated that since 2008, these deals have reached £574 million in totality.
- Around 15% of the Israeli F-35 jet is produced in Britain, including targeting equipment in the aircraft. The NGO al-Haq brought a case in the British courts to challenge the British government's authority to permit the sale of such arms, but this was shut down by the courts who ruled that national security grounds trumped concerns of a plausible genocide.
- Currently, Britain engages in around £7 billion worth of trade with Israel on a yearly basis.
- Israel-related companies on the London

Stock Exchange account for around \$10-11 billion combined market cap – including flagship companies.

The economic and political landscape in Britain means that through our political decisions and consumer habits, the British population becomes complicit in the ongoing genocide. Politicians act in our collective name, with claims of national security and public interest as a means by which they determine Britain's involvement with other states. Israel is given a great deal of latitude across the political spectrum, as the working assumption since the early 1900s, is that Israel has a right to exist, regardless of Palestinian rights and autonomy.

As stated above, Israel is a racially segregated apartheid state, that has been involved in the settler colonial capture of Palestinian land for over seventy years. This has been done explicitly with the involvement of the British, and thus Britain – alongside the US – operates as one of the central nodes in the maintenance of Israel's presence in the Middle East. Without the support of Britain and the US, Israel's ability to continue dispossessing Palestinians of their land would be greatly diminished, to the extent that its continued existence would be severely undermined.

For all those who reside in Britain, our connection to the support structure of Israel places us in closest proximity to that system and structure of colonial and apartheid violence. Our presence in Britain creates a demand that we act on behalf of Palestinians, because what happens here has a direct impact on the ability of the Palestinian resistance to stop further Israeli aggression.

The consequence of the above snapshot of British involvement with Israel as an apartheid state, presents a conundrum for those living here, our taxes and commercial activity inevitably contribute to Israel's continuation in manifold ways. This situation has necessitated alternative forms of action as the institutions of state and the exigencies of capitalism has prioritised trade over the saving of human life.

Why Direct Action and

Civil Disobedience?

We have reached a juncture in the genocide where we must acknowledge the system has failed across entire sectors of domestic and international society. As expected, the UN Security Council remains a politically motivated outfit, with the US in particular continuing to veto any sanction against Israel. Further, attempts of the International Criminal Court to hold key officials in Israel to account, have resulted in the US government placing the ICC itself under a sanctions regime – going further in sanctioning the UN Special Rapporteur on the Occupied Palestinian Territory, Francesca Albanese. The UN Relief and Welfare Agency (UNRWA) was similarly defunded by western states after false claims emerged that somehow Hamas operatives were involved. We have seen a live failure of the international legal order take place.

Domestically, the Starmer government went from justifying Israel's war crimes in cutting off water and food to the Gazan people, to a situation where it is proscribing protest groups and defending its sale of weapons to Israel. The situation in Britain has resulted in a circumstance where there is little to no prospect of the British state divesting from its support from the racially segregated and apartheid state of Israel.

In 'The Fire Next Time' the black civil rights thinker and author James Baldwin highlighted how legal challenges do not bring about justice in times of structural injustice. For a start, judges are a part of the system of structural violence, but even more crucially, the system of legal challenge is extremely slow, so the prospect of change is extremely limited through virtue of the law. We have seen this most clearly in the cases of the Filton 24, alleged to have damaged drones and quadcopters at an Elbit Systems factory – from 2022 we have seen an increase in judges denying defences available to defendants – effectively hamstringing them from being able to defend themselves. This has been exacerbated by the consistent denial of bail through the claim of 'terrorism' – although none of the charges are terrorism related.

The process of effecting change requires disrupting the system itself, shocking it into acting

in order to end a particular egregious policy.

There are various types of disturbance that can be committed, many of which focus on shutting down cities in acts of large-scale mobilisation. While these are important for the purposes of showing solidarity to those who are suffering, they are limited in their efficacy as they end up impacting on everyday people more than anyone else. A heightened version of this type of mass mobilisation protest can be seen through the acts of groups such as Extinction Rebellion (XR), who end up targeting the everyday lives of regular people to raise awareness about the impact of human behaviour on the Earth. Such actions may be limited in efficacy for two reasons: 1. They risk turning the population against your cause; 2. They do nothing to stop or slow down the machinery of violence at a structural level.

Harming the local population perhaps does not bring that population into a direct conversation with the morality of the movement, it may be counterproductive in turning the population away from the cause. Equally critical of the tactics of groups such as XR is Andreas Malm, considered the forerunner in contemporary direct action theory and practice. In his 'How to Blow Up a Pipeline', Malm explains how tactically XR have embedded pacificism as key tenet of their identity, and how ultimately such pacificism breaks the historical record on effecting change – there is no precedent for pure pacificism bringing about change – not without a militant wing attached. In that vein, he cites XR invocation of the suffragette movement as an exemplar, except he shows they are being ahistorical:

"Militancy was at the core of suffragette identity: 'To be militant in some form, or other, is a moral obligation'...[the] suffragettes forcing the prime minister out of his car and dousing him with pepper, hurling a stone at the fanlight above Winston Churchill's door, setting upon statues and paintings with hammers and axes, planting bombs on sites along the routes of royal visits, fighting policemen with staves, charging against hostile politicians with dogwhips, breaking the windows in prison cells. Such deeds went hand in hand with mass mobilisation. The suffragettes put up mammoth rallies, ran their own presses,

went on hunger strikes: deploying the gamut of non-violent and militant action."

What Andreas Malm details in his book, is that attacking the infrastructure of colonial violence, such as gas pipelines, is central to the activity of disrupting the ability of repressive forces to operate. He gives examples from South Africa, Chechnya, Assam, Iraq, Colombia and Kurdistan, where the piercing of pipelines resulted in the pipes being a 'flute'. Perhaps most significantly, he provides examples from Palestine in during the Great Revolt from 1936-1939 where Palestinian militants would dig through the ground, expose gas pipelines and destroy them – resulting in the British colonisers being deprived of energy and revenue.

Direct action serves to disrupt the supply lines that maintain a colonial entity, forcing it to understand that cost of their repression will be extremely high. It serves as a form of militancy that understands that all colonial structures require maintenance through the functioning of capitalism. Civil disobedience however operates in a separate space, which is not to shut down physical infrastructure, but to disrupt legal infrastructure, highlighting how the law operates to enforce systems of violence.

One of the earliest proponents of civil disobedience was the American poet and thinker Henry David Thoreau whose 'On the Duty of Civil Disobedience', written in the mid-1800s remains one of the seminal texts on the subject. Thoreau understood that laws themselves can be used by the state as a means of repression, and that as a consequence, the human body becomes the last line of resistance in making manifest the unconscionability of the system:

"I say, break the law. Let your life be a counter friction to stop the machine."

The idea of civil disobedience as friction to the machinery of state is profound, as that is ultimately the purpose of taking action. By taking action through sacrificing individual liberty, the system's use of immoral laws comes into sharper focus, especially when large numbers gather to break the law collectively. The words of Martin Luther King Jr during his detention in Birmingham,

Alabama evidence how collective action in breaking the law is necessary at times, "One has not only a legal but a moral responsibility to obey just laws. Conversely, one has a moral responsibility to disobey unjust laws."

Short of militant revolution, changing a system of injustice at times requires more direct forms of change-making. Direct action is a tool used by some to stop the material instruments of violence that allow for greater harm to occur – whether it be weapons, or stopping material that acts as a supply line for the violent actor. Civil disobedience, on the other hand, is a mechanism used by some in order to disrupt the system's legalisation of repression. Both these tactics have their place in the context of the current genocide – and they are both being used by a range of actors.

The spectrum of direct action taken by Palestine Action and other direct actionists spans occupations, property damage, symbolic acts, blockades, disruption of infrastructure, media interventions, legal protest, and civil disobedience. These actions are characterised by a consistent use of red paint, symbolising Palestinian blood, and often involve the physical shutdown of operations at sites connected to the production or facilitation of weapons used by Israeli forces.

Occupations were a cornerstone tactic. Actionists frequently scaled the roofs of factories, chained themselves to gates, entered offices, and disrupted normal operations of arms manufacturers and logistical enablers – the occupations of roofs being specifically done in order to take advantage of British employment law that does not permit the workers to be on a factory floor while a person is on the roof. Paint, hammers, flares, banners, and even vehicles were repurposed as tools of obstruction. These occupations were often prolonged and highly visible, drawing public attention to otherwise obscure industrial relationships between British companies and Israeli military entities.

Equally impactful were symbolic acts — pouring red paint over statues, landmarks, and public figures linked to Britain's historical and present-day involvement in Palestinian dispossession. Commemorative timing was often crucial. Actions

coinciding with anniversaries such as the Balfour Declaration were designed to challenge historical narratives and assert continued accountability for colonial violence.

Legal protest and civil disobedience also featured prominently. Demonstrators staged blockades outside government offices, airports, and embassies. Many of these actions led to arrests, trials, and in some cases, imprisonment. Others resulted in acquittals, with juries recognising the moral imperative behind the actions taken. Importantly, these acts were not random or chaotic — they were calculated, disciplined, and anchored in a firm belief that the systems enabling violence in Palestine must be dismantled from the inside out.

Purposes and Motivations

At the heart of these actions lies what these actionists describe as ‘a moral urgency and political clarity’. Direct action groups and their supporters believe that when genocide and war crimes are taking place, the correct response is not quiet condemnation or legal appeals — it is interruption. The objective is not merely to ‘raise awareness’ but to tangibly disrupt the machinery of war, to increase the cost of participation, and to make it logistically and politically impossible for business as usual to continue. One of the central goals is the total shutdown of Elbit Systems’ operations in Britain, preventing the production and export of drones and surveillance technology used in occupied Palestine. Elbit’s role in the genocide in Gaza cannot be understated – it has at times been referenced as the civilian arm of the Israeli Defence Force and produces 85% of their weapons. The focus of Palestine Action on Elbit was purposeful – it was to directly stop the weapons killing Palestinians.

Another crucial motivation for the larger movement is to challenge and dismantle media narratives that sanitise or obscure Israeli violence. Actionists believe the British media landscape — most notably the BBC — has contributed to a climate of misinformation and apathy. Their actions against media headquarters are therefore framed not as attacks on free speech, but as challenges to propaganda. The movement also seeks to educate the public and policymakers about the depth of

British involvement in the oppression of Palestinians. By dragging hidden participation into the light — whether through a broken window, a painted statue, or a court case — actionists aim to force reckoning and responsibility.

Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, the movement understands itself as operating within a tradition of anti-colonial resistance. Britain’s role in the historical dispossession of Palestinians — beginning with the Balfour Declaration and extending to modern-day arms exports — is understood as ongoing colonial violence. For these actionists, direct action, then, is not a break from democratic values, but their radical realisation. When law and policy enshrine injustice, justice demands direct action and civil disobedience.

What's being targeted?

Elbit Systems

The actions of Palestine Action were directed with precision at the corporate, institutional and political pillars that sustain the Israeli military machine and its oppression of Palestinians. These targets were not chosen arbitrarily; they were identified based on their documented involvement in supplying, financing, or legitimising violence against Palestinians. The most prominent target was Elbit Systems, Israel’s largest arms manufacturer. Elbit operates multiple subsidiaries and facilities across Britain, manufacturing drone engines, surveillance systems, and components for fighter jets used in Gaza. Palestine Action successfully forced the closure and sale of Elbit’s Oldham Ferranti plant in January 2022 — a landmark achievement that validated the efficacy of their tactics.

Elbit Systems is Israel’s largest weapons company, producing 85% of the killer drones and land-based military apparatus of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) - or IOF, Israel Occupation Forces, as they are now commonly known. They also produce munitions and components for all Israeli attack aircrafts.

Elbit Systems UK is not autonomous from its parent company in Israel. It tries to argue this in court to undermine the defences of actionists. However, it is a wholly-owned subsidiary, working



under the control and strategy of the parent company in Tel Aviv.

The company functions as an arm of the IOF. Elbit's CEO Bezahel Machlis boasted that the company is crucial to the ongoing genocide. The company has been thanked by Israeli military officials for being "the main operating system" to the IOF.

It markets its products as "battle-tested" on Palestinians. What this means is that when you hear reports from doctors in Gaza sharing "we've never seen burns like this before", this is because Elbit experiments with new military technologies by testing them on captive Palestinian civilians.

Often, Elbit workers go out into the field with the IOF to observe their products in use and then refine the technology according to the success of the operation. Workers of the company have said in interviews that they consider themselves to be civil soldiers.

The company also supplies the British authorities with drones to patrol the English Channel, targeting migrants seeking refuge in Britain, and the British Ministry of Defence is currently considering Elbit for a £2.5billion army training contract.



Other arms manufacturers, such as Thales, Leonardo UK, and Lockheed Martin, were similarly targeted for their roles in developing and supplying military hardware used in Israeli operations. Logistic companies such as Kuehne + Nagel were called out for transporting arms components, while financial institutions including Barclays and Allianz were confronted for investing in and insuring companies involved in weapons manufacturing. Government institutions were not exempt. The Ministry of Defence, RAF bases, and British military infrastructure were spotlighted for their roles in facilitating intelligence sharing, surveillance, and direct support to Israel's military operations. Academic institutions including the University of Cambridge, the University of Oxford, and the University of Manchester were implicated due to their financial, research, and reputational relationships with defence contractors linked to Israeli violence.

Lobbying firms and political public relations companies such as APCO Worldwide — registered lobbyists for Elbit Systems — were also held to account. Even 'charities' such as the Jewish National Fund (JNF) and think tanks like BICOM (Britain Israel Communications and Research Centre) were symbolically targeted for their historical and ongoing ideological support for Zionist expansionism and dispossession.

The primary objectives of Palestine Action and other direct-action groups include:

- 1 Shutdown Israeli arms manufacturers: A core objective is to force the closure of companies linked to Israeli arms manufacturing, particularly Elbit Systems and its subsidiaries in Britain. This was declared a major victory when Elbit sold and closed its Oldham Ferranti site in January 2022. End British involvement in war crimes: The group aims to stop the production and flow of weaponry, such as Hellfire missiles and F-35 components, that they link to the conflict in Gaza. They seek to interrupt the supply chain of fighter jets and other armaments destined for Israel.
- 2 Protest British military aid and government policy: Palestine Action targets institutions involved in British defence policy and

military aid to Israel, such as the Ministry of Defence and RAF bases, aiming to expose and halt what they view as participation in genocide.

- 3 Challenge pro-Israel media bias: They protest against media organisations like the BBC, accusing them of pro-Israel bias and manufacturing consent for alleged Israeli war crimes, stating the BBC has blood on its hands.
- 4 Expose and disrupt financial and logistical support: They target financial institutions (e.g. Barclays, Allianz) and logistics firms (e.g. Kuehne + Nagel) for their ties to Israel's defence industry, investments, or alleged role in transporting Israeli weaponry, aiming to sever these connections.
- 5 Influence academic and lobbying institutions: Objectives include demanding transparency and divestment from universities that are financially or academically linked to companies complicit in war crimes and disrupting lobbying firms for Elbit Systems to counter their political influence over British defence policy.
- 6 Commemorate and condemn historical events: Actions are sometimes timed to coincide with significant dates, such as the anniversary of the Balfour Declaration, to condemn historical links to Zionist settlement projects and Palestinian dispossession.

The diversity of targets reveals a comprehensive understanding among actionists of how military violence in Palestine is sustained: not just by weapons, but by the logistical, financial, political, academic, and cultural scaffolding that legitimises and enables it. The actions demonstrate involvement is not abstract — it is built into the everyday functioning of institutions in Britain.

Consequences and Legal Repercussions

As a result of these actions, hundreds of arrests have taken place across Britain. Actionists have

been charged with criminal damage, aggravated trespass, burglary, conspiracy, and in some limited cases, offences with the suggest of a terrorism element to be considered for sentencing. In July 2025, the British government proscribed Palestine Action as a terrorist organisation under the Terrorism Act 2000 — marking a significant escalation in the criminalisation of political dissent. Huda Ammori – the co-founder of Palestine Action – has been given permission by the President of the High Court to bring a judicial review of this arbitrary decision by the Home Secretary in November 2025, despite the best attempts of the British government to undermine the challenge – it does not want any scrutiny of its decision to ban Palestine Action.

Yet, in courtroom after courtroom, juries have refused to convict actionists of wrongdoing. Acquittals have often been secured under the legal defence of necessity — whereby damage or trespass is deemed justified for the prevention of a greater harm. In the Elbit Eight trial, for instance, the majority of charges were defeated, and only one minor conviction was recorded, without custodial sentence. In another case, actionists were acquitted after arguing that their actions were intended to prevent war crimes. This pattern highlights a growing public awareness that the legal system cannot be used to silence what many juries will regard as 'ethical resistance'. The fact that so many juries have found in favour of actionists demonstrates that ordinary people have viewed claims to the moral or political legitimacy – and even necessity – of these disruptive acts as credible.

There are cases where even the conviction of actionists has not altered how the movement's moral claims are understood by those who support or study it. Actionists imprisoned for actions at Thales UK, Elbit systems in Filton or RAF Brize Norton have become symbols of what their supporters see as principled resistance. Their charges have sparked further mobilisation and solidarity, rather than dissuading future action. The criminal justice system may attempt to punish resistance, but it cannot extinguish the conscience that animates it.

Why Actionists Claim

These Actions Are the Right Thing to Do

The argument made by actionists that these actions are justified rests not only on claims of moral clarity but also on their view that such actions are necessary in the face of institutional paralysis. Traditional channels — petitions, protests, parliamentary debates — have failed to prevent British involvement in the arming and legitimising of Israeli military operations. When all other avenues are closed, they claim that direct action becomes the only ethical response. There is also a long tradition of justifying civil disobedience against unjust systems. From the suffragettes to anti-apartheid actionists, from environmental campaigners to labour organisers, British history is replete with examples of law-breaking that later came to be recognised as morally correct. It is argued that Palestine Action, prior to its proscription, stood in this lineage, challenging a state that enables the killing of civilians with impunity.

It is worth reflecting on some of the actions taken by key civil rights figures of the past, in order to ascertain how current direct action and civil disobedience falls within longer trajectories — ones that dealt at times with similar issues and under similar conditions of repression. The actual history of these exemplary movements needs to be better understood as there is a collective amnesia of the actual role of militancy, direct action and civil disobedience that was met with extreme violence. Liberals recast that history as being something that everyone was always against. Peter Gelderloos in his 'They Will Beat the Memory Out of Us: Forcing nonviolence on forgetful movements' explains why it is so important that we don't forget the radical elements of historical movements, as such a narrative is instrumentalised by pacifists to limit the political tactics by contemporary movements. As he writes:

"And nowadays, with radical movements growing again, barely a year passes without Hollywood pumping hundreds of millions of dollars into some new movie or TV show that references Birmingham, the civil disobedience campaign of 1963 that finally forced the desegregation of the South and the passage of the Civil Rights Act. I have yet to come across any mainstream media that portray the true history: in Birmingham, the

local population gave up on nonviolence when they saw how ineffective and disempowering it was, they rioted, defeated the cops, and torched every single white business in the city's downtown. Nor do they mention how even many nonviolent campaigners—including King—practiced armed self-defense."

Praise for direct action and civil disobedience should not be limited to a post-humous celebration, but should rather be praised in the time when the action is taking place itself. It is in the now that a response is required — to save lives.

Furthermore, these actions give voice to the voiceless. While Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank are subjected to daily siege, bombardment, and apartheid, their suffering is too often sanitised or silenced in Western media and politics. Direct action provides an urgent, disruptive counter-narrative that demands attention and refuses to look away. Crucially, these interventions are not attacks on the British public — they are acts of solidarity on behalf of those whose lives are treated as disposable. They are grounded in a radical empathy and a commitment to the belief that no human being should live under occupation, or die beneath bombs made in Britain.

The actions documented between 2020 and 2025 have been characterised by some as a movement of conscience — one that recognises that participation in state violence does not merely rest in foreign capitals, but is built into the fabric of British society. Factories, banks, universities, media outlets, and government buildings are not neutral spaces — they are nodes in a global system of war.

By targeting these institutions, Palestine Action and allied groups have exposed the invisible threads that connect Britain to the suffering of Palestinians. Their actions have disrupted not only supply chains, but the comfortable illusions that allow war to be waged in our name, with our money, and in our silence. While their methods may provoke discomfort for capitalist and genocidal interests, their cause is unassailable. In an age where political participation and moral cowardice are the norm, direct action stands as a beacon of courage. It reminds us that the right thing to do is often the hardest — and that justice, when denied by the powerful, must be demanded by the people.

PALESTINE ACTION

The group launched a series of break-ins at Elbit’s Ferranti site in Oldham, near Manchester in northern England. Between 2020 and early 2022, the site was repeatedly occupied and vandalised, culminating in Elbit closing the facility in January 2022. Elbit Systems announced the sale and closure of the Oldham Ferranti site (sold to TT Electronics) – an outcome Palestine Action declared as a major victory. The very first action took place on 30 July 2020 when actionists entered the Elbit Systems UK headquarters in central London.

The list of actions below is not exhaustive; Palestine Action and other groups have been involved in a multitude of actions, but they are far too vast to capture in the limited scope of this report. Rather, the actions presented below attempt to provide a series of examples of the types of actions that took place prior to the enhanced genocide on 7 October 2023, and thereafter as well.

Pre-7th October Actions	
Event	Action
 31/07/2020  London, the genesis of the Elbit Eight²	Palestine Action launched by storming Elbit Systems’ British headquarters, throwing red paint and spray-painting slogans; further entries to the building followed in August. These early actions, plus related protests at Elbit sites and its landlord JLL, later formed much of the indictment against the initial eight actionists. Two months later, they occupied the rooftop of UAV Engines in Shenstone, a subsidiary of Elbit Systems, before they returned to shutting down the London headquarters again. A significant legal case involving eight actionists from Palestine Action. The trial, which commenced on 13 November 2023, at Snaresbrook Crown Court in London, addressed multiple direct actions carried out by the actionists at various Elbit facilities across Britain between July 2020 and January 2021. These actions included occupations, spray-painting, and blockades at several Elbit sites. The defendants, however, were not all involved in the same event, the case combined several incidents into a single trial. The defendants, known as the Elbit Eight were: Jocelyn Cooney, Nicola Deane, Caroline Brouard, Emily Arnott, Huda Ammori, Richard Barnard, Genevieve Scherer, and Robin Refualu. At the start of the trial, the Eight were offered a plea deal, if Huda Ammori and Richard Barnard were to plead guilty, the others would be acquitted. All eight defendants immediately rejected the deal, and spent the following six weeks in Snaresbrook Crown Court, pleading not guilty to all charges on the basis that Elbit and Israel are the guilty party, not Palestine Action. Sally Hobson, prosecuting for the Crown, sought to bring evidence which ranged from the absurd to the offensive. Asking a Palestinian-Iraqi woman, Ms Ammori, whether she knows “where Hamas gets their weapons from”, or insisting that Palestinians chanting the Takbir, ‘Allahu Akbar’, is an act of “taunting the IDF”, Hobson refused to enter into any meaningful discussion of the facts in the case. Precious little was said by the Prosecution about the firm

Event	Action
	at the centre of the trial, Elbit, with the Crown refusing to even agree facts which set out Elbit's business activities. Ofer Meishar, Chief Security Officer of Elbit Systems, was due to give evidence at the trial. However he failed to appear following a letter from the Israeli government, saying that he was playing 'a crucial role' in the ongoing military operation (this was the second month of the genocide), and so was not allowed to leave Israel. Meanwhile, as regards the defence of consent relevant to the justification of the Eight's actions, Phillip La Pierre, the CEO of LaSalle and a witness for the Crown, revealed the fact that the company did not investigate Elbit's activities, nor considered whether leasing property to Israel's largest weapons company, whose products have documented links to war crimes, might be in violation of the company's 'human rights policy.' In response, the Eight set out to show that the actions of those working to disrupt manufacture of Israel's weaponry are justified in doing so. In fact, they are the ones who are upholding the law, by intervening where other avenues of accountability have repeatedly failed. The first defendant to give evidence was Richard Barnard, charged with five counts of damaging property, two counts of burglary, and one count each of threatening to damage property, possessing articles with intent to damage property, and encouraging others to commit criminal damage. Richard outlined how his life experiences, and his faith, led him to feel as though he had a moral duty to shut Elbit down. Having overcome a history of addiction, he entered charity work in organisations supporting refugees and homeless people. Seeing the refugees arriving in Kent, having been displaced by war, is what Barnard referred to as the moment he became aware of the role of British-made weaponry manufactured as nearby as Elbit's Sandwich factory, in the suffering of the people with whom he worked. It was at this point that he realised – supporting these people wasn't enough, and we ought instead to end such war and oppression by dismantling the industry fuelling it. Huda Ammori was meanwhile charged with six counts of damaging property, two counts of burglary, and one count each of threatening to damage property, possessing articles with intent to damage property, and encouraging others to commit criminal damage. As a Palestinian-Iraqi born in Britain, Huda told the jury of her formative political experiences, the Iraq War and the ongoing ethnic cleansing of Gaza, making it clear that opposition to imperialism and the West's role particularly are urgent causes in which we have a duty to defy the positions of our State. After spending years working on divestment campaigns, and trying to challenge the arms trade with conventional means, Huda realised that direct action was the only feasible solution: "All other attempts fell short. Our exports to Israel are against our own license rules and against international law, but they can't be stopped by the courts.

Event	Action
	Divestment campaigns, after years of work, were taking way too long, it wasn't matching the reality of the urgency of the situation. Every day, Palestinians were being killed, imprisoned – surveilled under these drones 24/7. If the government were refusing to listen to the facts of the situation, and kept violating their own rules, then the only option seemed to be direct action – to stop the weapons going there.” Robin Refualu, charged with two counts of burglary and one count of damaging the drone factory UAV Engines, spoke extensively during his evidence about the time he had spent in Palestine, and the direct action he had been involved with there to stop home demolitions and Israeli settlements. During Robin’s cross-examination, he produced a rubber bullet manufactured by IMI Systems (a subsidiary of Elbit). This rubber bullet was shot at Robin while in Palestine. One missed him, while another hit 14-year-old Mohammed Tamimi, who was left in a coma for three days. Genevieve Scherer, 77 years old, spoke about her experience seeing colonialism first-hand growing up in Uganda. She spoke of the futility of charging people with criminal damage when the ones wreaking havoc in Gaza are Elbit Systems and those they arm. Genny told the court that this is how the law in Britain operates, protecting private property over lives, with the British courts and police system is ‘based on protecting things like property and profit – it treats property as more important than people’. Caroline Brouard spoke of the obligations imposed up on people and states to do everything in their power to prevent an ongoing genocide. When governments are failing in upholding those duties, the responsibility falls instead to the people. By taking action at UAV Engines, Shenstone, Caroline believed the actions would have an immediate effect on stopping the bombing going on at the time in Gaza: “the drones malfunction all the time, needing replacement parts, and UAV Engines has a 24hr dispatch policy – we stopped these engines getting to Israel and so stopped the drones from flying”. Jocelyn Cooney, a frontline social worker, described how she started paying attention to the Palestinian cause while working with Oxfam in Canada, having found that – despite the striking parallels between Canada’s ethnic cleansing and that happening in Palestine, the organisation encouraged discussion of the former but forbid discussion of Palestinian issues. Having learned about Elbit a few years before, Jocelyn became involved with Palestine Action as she felt the need to do something, to stop these crimes from taking place, seeing as no other options existed besides direct action. The defendant Emily Arnott, charged with one count of damaging property and one count of burglary, described in evidence her time in Palestine, a year spent in Nablus. Ms Arnott described the politicising effect of seeing apartheid

Event	Action
	operate and the complete domination exercised by Israel over the lives of Palestinians. With 8,000 Palestinians held each year without charge, and raids and strikes on refugee camps, and the constant settler violence and seizure of homes – Emily saw first-hand the role that Elbit Systems plays in maintaining the apartheid walls in arming the occupation regime with the munitions used for these attacks. Returning to Britain to work at a refugee centre, Emily got involved with Palestine Action to “stop Elbit’s operations, so that they wouldn’t be able to contribute to these war crimes” Nicola Stickells, charged with criminal damage for the action at UAV Engines, Shenstone, spoke of how the action was necessary – and that “nothing else was working” for people trying to stop the genocide in Palestine. She spoke to what we are seeing underway now, in Gaza, with blatant war crimes – thousands of civilians killed, with the Israeli military “rounding up men.. and taking them to undisclosed places, stripped, kneeling blindfolded, this genocide is occurring as we speak...” Nicola said that these images reminded her of the mass executions seen in Bosnia: these prompted an international response, seeing as none has come for Gaza, its up to people to stop these weapons. On 23 December 2023, they were acquitted of twelve charges. The jury delivered 12 not guilty verdicts across the defendants, with Richard Barnard found guilty of a single count of criminal damage whereby he received a conditional discharge – essentially no prison time, but with conditions. However, the jury was unable to reach a verdict on 23 other charges, which lead to the decision for a retrial. This will address the 23 charges on which the jury could not reach a verdict, primarily concerning criminal damage resulting from direct actions at various Elbit facilities. The six remaining actionists facing retrial include Richard Barnard, Huda Ammori, Genevieve Scherer, Jocelyn Cooney, Caroline Brouard, and Emily Arnott. Thereafter referred to as the Elbit Six, they were scheduled to face a retrial in 2027.³
 10/10/2020  London	On 10 October 2020, five actionists entered the London HQ of Elbit Systems in Kingsway and covered it in red paint. Four months later they were arrested on suspicion of criminal damage and police assault during a protest outside Elbit Systems’ headquarters. The actionists were immediately apprehended by police officers after emerging from a car and dousing the front of the building in red paint during a well-attended public demonstration. One female arrestee said: <i>“The police at the scene were very aware of the fact that protesters were filming. After using heavy force to arrest me, officers huddled around and shouted to ‘stop resisting’ despite the fact that I was not moving at all.</i> <i>“After being arrested I was held against the wall by an officer, who was then</i>

Event	Action
	<i>approached by his superior and told that it was 'ok to turn on the bodycam now'. An impartial legal observer tried to approach me but was kept away by police. It was very clear that they intended to follow through with charges at the time, or they wouldn't have resorted to such underhand tactics"</i> Another female arrestee said: <i>"Who should really be charged with criminal damage? The actionists that spilled paint? Or the war criminals that spill blood and destroy entire communities?</i> <i>To the government and your army of policy – you don't intimidate us, your hypocrisy only angers us and motivates us to continue.</i> <i>To Elbit Systems – We look forward to seeing you in court and exposing the criminal damage that you have committed.</i> <i>And to supporters of human rights and believers of justice – Join Palestine Action [these words were said at the time and not since the proscription of Palestine Action] and help shut Elbit down"</i> Another woman arrested during the protest added: <i>"Everything about it was unnecessary – I was thrown to the ground by three large policemen who then dragged me across the ground by my arms while cuffed. We were all covered in bruises when we left the police station and one of us had a head injury.</i> <i>"The fact that three of us were accused of 'assaulting police officers' but they haven't followed through on those charges shows how shallow their tactics are – they'll just think of a charge off the top of their heads and then decide in hindsight whether they can actually support it.</i> <i>"The continuous police crackdown on our actions does prove that what we're doing to eventually kick Elbit out of the UK is working in some way – if the authorities weren't worried about our group's potential they wouldn't spend so much of their precious time and funds on harassing us."</i> The five were due at Highbury magistrates court on 9 March 2021 when they not-guilty pleas to the charges against them. The charges came less than a week after Palestine Action co-founder Richard Barnard was ambushed outside his home and arrested on suspicion of blackmail. He was then taken to Fresh Wharf Custody Base in Barking and held in custody for 24 hours.

Event	Action
	Police have previously raided the homes of numerous actionists allegedly linked to Palestine Action and seized their devices. Barnard and co-founder Huda Ammori were even stopped under Schedule 7 of the Terrorism Act 2000, which enables police officers to interrogate individuals for prolonged periods of time without the standard safeguards, in November 2020. The pair were interrogated for several hours before being arrested, having refused to hand over laptop passwords. At trial on 23 November 2022, Doone Stormonth Darling (26), Flora Thomas (26), Joley Thomas (29), Anthony Bardos (56) and Jocelyn Cooney (25) all faced one count of criminal damage to 'property and clothing' valued under £5,000 and conspiracy to destroy or damage such property. They were all cleared by the jury after arguing before the court that they carried out their action against the Elbit Systems headquarters to raise awareness about the drone missiles being produced by the weapons manufacturer, used to kill children in Palestine – this was over three years prior to the war in Gaza.
 01/02/2021  Oldham, Greater Manchester	Palestine Action actionists and Extinction Rebellion North stormed and occupied the Ferranti plant, in a sixteen-hour occupation and destruction of property. They blockaded three entrances, sprayed blood-red paint, smashed windows, hanging a banner saying “SHUT ELBIT”, and removed the “Cairo House” sign, causing approximately £20,000 in damages. They claimed that they will “not accept an economy based on devastation, occupation and war.” Eight individuals were arrested following the occupation.⁴
 14/03/2021  Oldham, Greater Manchester	Five actionists from Palestine Action conducted a direct action at the Elbit Ferranti Technologies factory in Oldham, Greater Manchester. The actionists broke into and occupied the factory, chained themselves to buildings, sealed entrances to disrupt operations, and used “war crime scene” barrier tape across the front doors. Over £100,000 in damage was reported. All five actionists were arrested during the protest. Two were arrested on suspicion of criminal damage, and three were arrested on suspicion of burglary after being removed from the roof of the building. Two of the actionists were released on bail with strict conditions, bans were implemented on attending Palestine Action events and proximity to any Elbit facilities. Three remained in police custody.⁵
 19/05/2021  Leicester	Four Palestine Action actionists, dressed in red boiler suits, scaled the roof of the UAV Tactical Systems drone factory in Leicester’s Meridian Business Park (Elbit Systems’ subsidiary). They chained the gates, sprayed red paint on the walls, damaged a skylight to expose drone components, and displayed protest messages like “Shut Elbit Down” and “Free Palestine”. The actionists chained themselves to the roof, occupying the space for six days, ending on 25 May.

Event	Action
	The action was taken urgently in response to the ongoing bombardment of Gaza at the time. Whilst on the roof, the actionists spray painted messages including "Shut Elbit Down" and "Free Palestine", damaged a skylight to reveal a military drone inside and sprayed the building in blood red paint. In total, it was claimed that the knock on costs of extra security since the action amounted to £40K of losses per month, totalling £1.6million. Ten people were arrested for offences including conspiracy to commit criminal damage and aggravated trespass. Among those arrested were a 43-year-old man from London, a 20-year-old with no fixed address, a 19-year-old from Leicester, a 27-year-old from Leicester, and others on suspicion of aiding and abetting aggravated trespass. At Leicester Crown Court in 2024, two of the actionists, Joe Irving, 20, and Ferhat Ulus, 43, faced criminal damage charges. The judge directed the jury to consider the common law necessity defence and the statutory defence of protection of property under Section 5(2)(b) of the Criminal Damage Act 1971. The defendants explained how the factory, which is majority owned by the Israeli weapons firm Elbit Systems, was used to assemble drone equipment for the Israeli military and the ways in which Elbit's drone are deployed in Gaza. Between the defence and prosecution, the agreed facts of the cases included the factory's export licenses of weaponry to Israel for use by the state of Israel. They spoke through reports by drone wars and human rights watch which explained the numerous war crimes which have been conducted in Gaza using Elbit's drones, leading to deliberate massacres of the Palestinian people. The jury also heard of how hundreds from the local community supported the action, several of whom were arrested for attempting to throw water to the actionists on the roof. The defence argued that the action taken was necessary in order to save lives and prevent the greater property damage in Palestine. In her closing speech, Mira Hammad from Garden Court North Chambers told the jury that "The consequences of failing to act would mean the death of children, parents, grandparents in Palestine" and prioritising Elbit's right to property over Palestinians right to live is a "smokescreen of dehumanisation". After a jury deliberation of approximately 1 hour and 40 minutes, both defendants were acquitted of criminal damage. The jury accepted that their actions were justified under the circumstances of preventing greater harm.⁶
 23/08/2021  Oldham, Greater Manchester	Palestine Action actionists conducted a direct action at the Elbit Ferranti Technologies factory in Oldham, as part of their ongoing campaign to disrupt operations at facilities linked to Elbit Systems. Actionists occupied parts of the

Event	Action
	site, sprayed the building with blood-red paint using fire extinguishers, chained gates shut to prevent access, blocked the entrances with vehicles, essentially halting production. They also displayed banners reading “Shut Elbit Down”. Two women were arrested on suspicion of aggravated trespass, criminal damage, and obstruction. Two others remained on the roof during the event.⁷
 14/04/2022  Braunstone, Leicester	Two actionists from Palestine Action chained themselves to the gates of the UAV Tactical Systems factory (a subsidiary of Elbit Systems) in Braunstone. They used a body lock-on to physically prevent site access, effectively blockading operations for several hours. Police arrived and cordoned off the area, deploying multiple vehicles and a drone to manage the scene. Three actionists were arrested: Two who affixed themselves to the gates, and a third person was initially arrested but later released without charge. The remaining two actionists were released later in the day.⁸
 01/06/2022  Govan, Glasgow	Five Palestine Action Scotland actionists scaled the roof of the Thales UK arms factory in Govan, Linthouse Road, setting off flares and smoke bombs, unfurling banners, and disrupting operations, causing more than 1 million pounds (\$1.37m) of damage. Two individuals entered the building, and a smoke bomb was deployed in areas being evacuated by staff. The five actionists — Stuart Bretherton (25), Eva Simmons (25), Calum Lacy (23), Erica Hygate (23), and Sumaya Javaid (22), were convicted, with the bulk sentenced at Glasgow Sheriff Court on 20 August 2024. Sentences included twelve months imprisonment for Bretherton, Simmons, Lacy, and Hygate. And fourteen months imprisonment for Javaid. Two actionists, Stuart Bretherton and Calum Lacy, appealed for immediate release but were denied. Their sentences were reduced from 12 months to 10 months by the High Court of Justiciary in Edinburgh on 5 November 2024. On 18 November 2024, both actionists — Eva Simmons and likely Erica Hygate were released on electronic tag conditions after serving approximately three months.⁹
 12/11/2022  Westminster, London	In commemoration of the 105th anniversary of the Balfour Declaration, two actionists from Palestine Action entered the Members’ Lobby of the House of Commons using tourist passes. They squirted tomato ketchup – intended as symbolic “fake blood” – onto the statue of Lord Arthur Balfour. After spraying the statue and surrounding wall, they glued themselves to its plinth, unfurled a Palestinian flag, and chanted “Free Palestine”. Both actionists were arrested for criminal damage and were taken into custody. At trial, both actionists were unanimously acquitted of criminal damage by a jury.¹⁰

Post-7th October Actions

Event	Action
 14/10/2023  London	Protesters targeted the BBC's headquarters in London with red paint to protest against the broadcaster's perceived pro-Israel bias, accusing the broadcaster of having "blood on its hands" over its Israel-Gaza war coverage. The entrance at Portland Place was drenched in blood-red paint, including glass revolving doors, pavement, and stone entrance. Some glass was reportedly smashed; the group claimed the action was to "shut BBC down" for "manufacturing consent" for Israeli war crimes. Police launched investigation for criminal damage; no arrests immediately reported at the time, and authorities stated that there was no confirmed link to any protest group, despite Palestine Action's claim.¹¹
 18/10/2023  Leicester	Palestine Action actionists rammed a white van through the gates of the U-TacS drone factory in Braunstone, Leicester. U-TacS is a joint venture between Elbit Systems and French defence firm Thales. The factory produces the Watchkeeper drone, modelled on the Elbit Hermes 450 drone. The site holds export licenses for drone systems, surveillance, and related military technologies – some of which have reportedly been sold to Israel. Protesters stood on the van, set off red flares, and sprayed red paint on a security hut and staff vehicles – symbolising "blood" from ongoing violence in Gaza, and raised Palestinian flags from the vehicle roof. The action directly followed the bombing of Gaza's al-Ahli Arab Hospital (less than 12 hours before) which killed hundreds, and was the group's response to that event. Three individuals were arrested at the scene, a 22-year-old from Wembley, a 27-year-old from Manchester, and a 60-year-old from Shropshire. All were taken into custody. The 22-year-old was charged with two counts of common assault, one count of criminal damage, and four counts of damage to motor vehicles. The 27-year-old faced similar charges, plus obstruction of police. The 60-year-old was arrested on suspicion of conspiracy to commit criminal damage, and later released on bail. In December 2024, two of the actionists previously arrested at the site were tried and acquitted of criminal damage, found not guilty by a jury, following the application of the legal defence of necessity.¹²
 31/10/2023  Bristol	Four members of Palestine Action occupied the roof of UAV Engines Ltd, an Elbit Systems drone-engine factory, the action halted engine production, which also coincided with a blockade of Elbit's British HQ in Bristol via a private road blockade. Actionists described the factory as producing the engine for the Hermes 450 drone, calling it a "death factory". They also claimed that this action follows medical teams in Gaza reporting on unusually severe burns on the bodies of Palestinians killed or wounded by Israeli strikes, and linked such injuries to new weapons used by the Israeli military.¹³

Event	Action
 02/11/2023  London	Two Palestine Action actionists targeted the London offices of arms manufacturer Leonardo UK (Piccadilly), spraying its entrance with red paint and graffiti. Slogans reading “Free Gaza” and “Free Palestine” were scrawled in red alongside the word “terrorists” on the building’s wall. Protesters used red paint, thrown via fire extinguishers, to cover the building’s entrance and front. Leonardo, which supplies fighter jets and munitions to Israel, was being directly blamed by actionists for “bloodshed in Gaza.” Two protesters were arrested for racially aggravated criminal damage and hate crime.¹⁴
 20/11/2023  Leicester	Palestine Action actionists executed a new direct-action blockade at the U-TacS (UAV Tactical Systems) drone facility in Meridian Business Park, Leicester. Protesters lodged themselves at the entrance, mounting lock-on devices to a van and a secondary vehicle, effectively blocking the site entrances to disrupt operations. Palestine Action claimed that UAV Tactical Systems is a joint venture of Elbit Systems, Israel’s largest arms manufacturer, and French arms company Thales. They also claimed that this was following “the massacre of over 500 people in al-Ahli Arabi Baptist Hospital” on the 17 October of the previous month, and “the brutal attack and occupation of al-Shifa Hospital by Israeli forces.” Four individuals – three women and one man, aged 31, 23, 20, and 24 – were arrested by Leicestershire Police on suspicion of public order offences.¹⁵
 24/11/2023  Ampthill, Bedfordshire	Palestine Action “shut down” Lockheed Martin’s British weapons factory in Ampthill, Bedfordshire with a dramatic double blockade. At dawn, two campaigners chained themselves to vehicles and blocked both of the facility’s entrances, completely sealing off the site and effectively halting regular operations. They splattered the facility with red paint and draped a Palestinian flag over a police car on site. The action aimed to stop the production of Hellfire missiles and F-35 components that the group linked to 15,000 people killed in Gaza after seven weeks of bombing. The actionists stated that their aim was to interrupt the flow of fighter jets and weaponry destined for Israel. The red paint they used symbolised Palestinian bloodshed. Bedfordshire Police attended to monitor and minimise disruption but did not immediately make arrests. Lockheed’s operations were effectively halted for the day. Approximately 20 protesters, many waving Palestinian flags, joined the demonstration. No arrests were recorded.¹⁶
 17/01/2024  Milton Keynes	Actionists with Palestine Action vandalised the offices of logistics firm Kuehne + Nagel, Milton Keynes, smashing windows and spraying the building with red paint. The actionists executed a deliberate act of property damage — including the use of vivid red paint — to express outrage at Kuehne + Nagel’s alleged role in transporting Israeli weaponry via its services for Elbit Systems’ UAV operations. They claimed that Kuehne + Nagel provides transportation and logistics services for arms company Elbit Systems, which had contracts with Israel’s Ministry of Defence. No arrests were reported.

Event	Action
	In an email from the transportation company Kuehne + Nagel to Palestine Action on 02/02/2024 they confirmed that they had ended all business relations with Israel's largest weapons manufacturer, Elbit Systems, and stated it would not work with them again in the future. ¹⁷
 23/08/2021  Oldham, Greater Manchester	Palestine Action actionists conducted a direct action at the Elbit Ferranti Technologies factory in Oldham, as part of their ongoing campaign to disrupt operations at facilities linked to Elbit Systems. Actionists occupied parts of the site, sprayed the building with blood-red paint using fire extinguishers, chained gates shut to prevent access, blocked the entrances with vehicles, essentially halting production. They also displayed banners reading "Shut Elbit Down". Two women were arrested on suspicion of aggravated trespass, criminal damage, and obstruction. Two others remained on the roof during the event.
 18/01/2024  Bristol	Palestine Action, supported by the Bristol-based group 'Rise Up for Palestine,' shut down the Israeli-owned Elbit weapons Headquarters in Bristol. Dozens from the local group surrounded four actionists from Palestine Action, who locked on to each other, making the blockade of the only entrance to Elbit's HQ immovable. This action happened while Israel was mounting a campaign of genocide and ethnic cleansing, bombarding Gaza and killing over 25,000 Palestinians, injuring over 60,000 people and displacing over 1.9million captive Palestinians. The Bristol location, which was leased from Somerset Council, was Elbit's main operational facility. The Israeli weapons maker supplies 85% of Israel's drone fleet and land-based military equipment and are vital in the state terror inflicted on Palestine.
 22/01/2024  London	Palestine Action carried out a direct action at Twickenham Stadium, London, in protest of the International Armoured Vehicles conference, hosted at the venue. Red-blood paint was poured over the walls and "Free Gaza" sprayed near the entrance. Following this, around 300 Pro-Palestinian Actionists held a protest outside the conference once it had begun. The Metropolitan Police said that four people were seen escaping the scene, but no arrests were recorded. ¹⁸
 08/03/2024  Cambridge	A Palestine Action actionist sprayed blood-red paint on a portrait of Arthur Balfour and then slashed it with a sharp object at Trinity College, University of Cambridge. This was a 1914 painting by Philip Alexius de László which the university claimed was undergoing restoration, priced at more than £24,000. The Police confirmed they would take no further action. ¹⁹

Event	Action
 10/04/2024  London	Actionists from both Youth Demand and Palestine Action scaled the railings of the Ministry of Defence's Whitehall headquarters and sprayed red paint across its walls. They also displayed banners reading "YOUTH DEMAND AN END TO GENOCIDE". The groups demanded a two-way arms embargo on Israel and an end to new fossil fuel licenses in Britain. One actionist claiming that "We do not have a Ministry of Defence but a Ministry of Murder" and that Elbit Systems holds active contracts with the Ministry of Defence. The Metropolitan Police and British Transport Police arrested five individuals on suspicion of criminal damage.²⁰
 11/04/2024  Leicester	Two Palestine Action actionists drove cars into concrete bollards blocking the sole entrance to U-TacS (a joint Elbit-Thales drone factory) in Meridian Business Park, Leicester. They then used D-locks to lock themselves to the steering wheels, reinforcing the blockade. Local supporters joined, blocking the path and reportedly chanting at arriving workers. Police charged two actionists, Adam Stroud (32), and William Wyerere-Plastow (33), from Manchester, with aggravated trespass, locking on, and criminal damage.²¹
 15/05/2024  Bradford	Four actionists staged a rooftop protest for eight hours on the Shipley premises of the weapons manufacturer Teledyne Defence & Space Limited, where they caused almost £60,000 worth of damage as they sought to disrupt the supply chain of weapons components from being sent to Israel. On arrest Francesca Nadin (39) was remanded in custody for nine months due to having been on bail during another action. At their trial, Francesca, Ricky Southall (33), Serena Fenton (57), and Amareen Afzal (33) were convicted by a jury of possessing articles with intent to cause criminal damage – with three given suspended sentences and one a community order on 6 September 2025. Since the beginning of the genocide in October 2023, there has been a marked shift in the ways that judges have denied effective defences to those being accused, limiting their ability to defend themselves.
 28/05/2024  Edinburgh	Palestine Action Scotland actionists sabotaged the Leonardo UK factory at Crewe Toll in Edinburgh. They cut the internet cables, filling the wire box with expanding foam, and spray-painted messages like "Stop Arming Israel" on the exterior. Simultaneously, protestors spray-painted red paint over fighter jet model displays inside the facility-highlighting its role in manufacturing targeting systems for F-35 jets used by Israel. The protestors demanded that the firm stops supplying defence equipment to Israel.²²
 10/06/2024  Nationwide	Palestine Action actionists along with Shut the System vandalised approximately 20 Barclays bank branches across England and Scotland. The attacks included smashing windows and spraying red paint on the buildings, citing the bank's ties to Israel's defence industry. Three men, aged between 34-45 years of age, were arrested in connection with the damage at the Barclays branch in Moorgate. The same Barclays branch in Moorgate was briefly cordoned off in May 2024 after being sprayed with red paint.²³

Event	Action
 18/06/2024  Kent²⁴	Palestine Action's decommissioning of Elbit Systems' electro-optics weapons sights factory in Kent left the 'Instro Precision' site immobilised, unable to produce weapons parts for export to Israel. After tens of actionists stormed the premises – bypassing security guards and cutting through three layers of wire fence – 7 actionists made it inside the factory itself, laying waste to the weapons of war being produced inside. During their 36-hour detention, before their release under strict bail conditions, police interrogators put it to the 7 arrested that over £1,000,000 of damage was caused in their few hours inside the factory. Palestine Action agreed this was a good thing. Fewer sniper sights manufactured at Instro Precision meant fewer guns for Israel's genocide in Gaza. Destroying cables on the outside of the factory, and wrecking machinery, computer technology, and parts being produced for Instro's product line, the action sought to – and successfully – put the site out of action. In a five year period, Instro Precision was granted over 50 weapons export licenses for sale of arms for military end-use in Israel, mostly of the 'ML5' category – weapons sight and target acquisition products. Many of these are the weapons sights 'likely to be used in ground operations in Gaza' by Israeli ground troops. In 2019, an Elbit press release stated that thousands of XACT th64 and XACT th65 weapons sights had been delivered to the Israeli military, for use by "marksmen of both Infantry and Special Operation Forces". Besides products for snipers and infantry, Instro also manufactures sights and components for vehicular mounting, including the SpectroXR system fitted to Israel's 'Skylark' drones. Instro products the 'COAPS' (Commander Open Architecture Panoramic Sight), which has been integrated with Main Battle Tanks and Armoured Fighting Vehicles with "hunter-killer capabilities", in use by the Israeli military. As of October 2025, ten individuals have been charged in relation to this action in relation to criminal damage with a terrorism connection. The Instro 10 have been bailed with strict conditions on their ability to communicate with one another, unlike the Filton 24 who have been remanded in custody. The terrorism connection is significant as it is a way for the CPS to apply terrorism to a terrorism accusation without having to bring terrorism charges – or indeed evidence any act of terrorism. This connection is used at sentencing for the judge, where the CPS can ask for an enhancement of sentencing up to 14 years for their action – criminal damage actions which would usually carry a much lower sentence.
 22/06/2024  Cambridge	Actionists from Palestine Action, in collaboration with Cambridge students, targeted the University of Cambridge's Senate House — a historic building used for graduation ceremonies since the 18th century. They sprayed blood-red paint on the façade, claiming that "Cambridge's graduation hall is stained

Event	Action
	with the blood of Palestinians and now these stains have been made visible", referring to the university's investments in companies associated with Israeli military activities. The group accused the university of enabling and normalising the ongoing Palestinian genocide through its financial and academic partnerships. Furthermore, the graduations were held at alternative venues the month before, in May, due to a pro-Palestinian sit-in outside Senate House.²⁵
 24/06/2024  Kent²⁶	Palestine Action actionists vandalised the Barclays branch on Chatham High Street, Kent. The incident occurred at approximately 1:48am, with the front windows smashed and red paint sprayed over the cash machines. Police cordoned off the area, and the branch remained closed for the day. This was the second time in two weeks that this specific branch was vandalised.
 05/07/2024  Bromborough, Wirral	Palestine Action actionists drove a van through the gates of the Teledyne CML Composites site – linked to production of F-35 jet components – and sprayed the premises red to symbolise bloodshed. The action drew attention to the facility's role in supplying arms used in Gaza. Three women were arrested, a 40-year-old from Toxteth (Liverpool) on suspicion of aggravated trespass, going equipped for criminal damage, possessing an offensive weapon, and criminal damage; a 30-year-old from Hackney (London) on similar charges and dangerous driving; and a 20-year-old from Aigburth (Liverpool) for aggravated trespass and criminal damage.²⁷
 03/09/2024  London	Actionists used repurposed fire extinguishers to spray red paint across the entrance of APCO Worldwide – registered lobbyists for Elbit Systems UK. Three actionists connected themselves to a suitcase using a lock-on device and locking the front entrance with a D-lock. A banner displayed in front read "Stop lobbying for Genocide. APCO Drop Elbit". The action aimed to disrupt and condemn APCO's political influence over British defence policy. It was reported that three women were arrested on suspicion of criminal damage.²⁸
 02/10/2024  Bromborough, Wirral	Actionists from Palestine Action scaled the roof of the Teledyne CML Composites factory on Tebay Road, Bromborough, Wirral, which produce components for the F-35 jets, which have been used in Israeli airstrikes. They cut openings in the roof, allowing them to access the inside spaces. They also sprayed blood-red paint over the facility's exterior, symbolising casualties in Gaza. Reports suggest that the damage caused during this protest could have severe consequences for Teledyne CML Composites' production capacity. A senior manager at the company indicated that damage to the clean rooms, critical for the manufacture of precision parts, could lead to a halt in production for up to 12 months.²⁹

Event	Action
	Three individuals were arrested. Two were detained inside the factory, presumably the roof climbers. The third was arrested after being assisted down by Merseyside Fire & Rescue. Charges were made on suspicion of criminal
 08/10/2024  Nationwide	Actionists from Palestine Action targeted 10 British offices of insurance giant Allianz, investors and insurers of Elbit Systems. The group claimed that without insurance, Elbit couldn't operate in Britain. The incidents were reported across multiple cities, including London, Croydon, Guildford, Manchester, Birmingham, Bristol, Newcastle, Lancaster, Milton Keynes, Glasgow and Belfast. The actions involved spraying of red-blood paint, graffiti, and the smashing of windows, and the occupation of the canopy above the entrance of the Guildford headquarters. This caused Allianz to close their offices for the day. A man and two women were arrested on suspicion of aggravated trespass and criminal damage in Guildford.³⁰
 25/10/2024  London	Palestine Action actionists blockaded the London headquarters of 'APCO Worldwide', registered political lobbyists for Elbit Systems. Using modified fire extinguishers, they splattered the front of the building with blood-red paint and they chained the front doors with locks to shut the office down. They also unfurled a banner reading "Stop lobbying for genocide. APCO drop Elbit". It remains unclear if arrests were made.³¹
 22/01/2024  London	Palestine Action carried out a direct action at Twickenham Stadium, London, in protest of the International Armoured Vehicles conference, hosted at the venue. Red-blood paint was poured over the walls and "Free Gaza" sprayed near the entrance. Following this, around 300 Pro-Palestinian Actionists held a protest outside the conference once it had begun. The Metropolitan Police said that four people were seen escaping the scene, but no arrests were recorded.
 02/11/2024  Manchester	Just before midnight on 2 November 2024, two masked individuals entered the Chemistry Building at the University of Manchester (Oxford Road campus). They smashed a glass display case and removed two busts – one of Chaim Weizmann, Israel's first president and who had been a lecturer there in the early 1900s, and the other which happened to be of Harold Baily Dixon, a former professor of chemistry at the University of Manchester. The Palestine Action Group said it had "abducted" the busts to mark Balfour Declaration of 2 November, 1917, in which British Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour supported establishing a national home for Jewish people. In response to this, the local Jewish Representative Council of GM & Region community group called for the Home Secretary to fully proscribe Palestine Action. Greater Manchester Police said officers have "trawled and reviewed hundreds of hours of CCTV footage" as part of their investigation Police said a 25-year-old man was arrested on suspicion of aggravated burglary on the morning of Friday 8 November 2024.³²

Event	Action
 02/11/2024  London	Actionists from Palestine Action sprayed blood-red paint across the Jewish National Fund's British office in Hendon, London. The action, conducted symbolically on the anniversary of the Balfour Declaration, was intended to condemn the charity's historical links to Zionist settlement projects and Palestinian dispossession, with the JNF UK describing itself as "Britain's oldest Israel charity" and a longstanding supporter of "Zionist pioneers". The Metropolitan Police confirmed they treated the incident as suspected hate crime and racially aggravated criminal damage, pledging a "robust investigation". No arrests have been reported.³³
 02/11/2024  London	Palestine Action actionists sprayed red paint on the premises of BICOM, the Britain Israel Communications and Research Centre located on Hampstead High Street, London. This was timed to coincide with the anniversary of the Balfour Declaration. The Metropolitan Police similarly launched an investigation treating this as a potential hate crime. No arrests were reported.³⁴
 28/01/2025  Nationwide	Palestine Action actionists targeted the offices of a German finance firm, Allianz, which is allegedly linked to Israeli defence contractor Elbit Systems, claiming that they were "deeply complicit in the genocide in Gaza". They targeted the company's offices located in Croydon, Bristol, Newcastle and Glasgow, spraying red paint on the buildings and smashing some of their windows. No arrests were reported.³⁵
 17/02/2025  London	A second incident occurred at the BBC headquarters in Portland Place, London. Masked Palestine Action actionists smashed glass doors and hurled buckets of red paint across the BBC's main entrance, claiming that the "the BBC has blood on its hands". The lobby was drenched and windows broken in what they referred to as a protest against the BBC's "pro-Israel bias" in its Gaza coverage as well as involvement in the ongoing situation which is a matter of "life and death". The BBC declined to comment. No arrests were reported.³⁶
 28/02/2025  Oxford	Palestine Action actionists smashed glass doors and windows and sprayed blood-red paint on the Blavatnik School of Government building at the University of Oxford, in protest over the university's perceived participation in Israeli government policy and military-industrial ties. According to the university, £250,000 worth of damages was recorded due to vandalism at the School. However, the overall figure spent by the University on the clean-up of pro-Palestine protests by August 2025 is £366,874.99. No arrests were reported.³⁷
 04/03/2025  Cambridge	Actionists, described as "a group of autonomous students" collaborating with Palestine Action, splashed the Grade I-listed entrance of the Old Schools

Event	Action
	building on Trinity Lane (home to Cambridge University's central administration and oversight of the endowment fund) with red-blood paint. They sprayed slogans including "divest", "free Palestine", and "always resist", crossing out the existing signage on the gates. They demanded transparency around Cambridge's investments, and immediate divestment from companies complicit in war crimes, especially those supplying arms to Israel. One Palestine Action spokesperson stated that "as long as the university continues to profit from violence, we will continue to take action..." Cambridgeshire Police confirmed a crime had been raised for criminal damage to the building, however, no arrests were recorded.³⁸
 09/03/2025  Twickenham, London	During the England v Italy Six Nations rugby match at the Allianz sponsored Twickenham Stadium, a drone carrying a Palestinian flag was flown over the stadium in the 67th minute. This protest was organised by Palestine Action to highlight relationship between stadium sponsors Allianz and Israeli weapon manufacturer Elbit.³⁹
 10/03/2025  London	Palestine Action actionists targeted Allianz Insurance's office located on Gracechurch Street, London. Masked protesters hung up a banner reading: "Drop Elbit" and sprayed the front of the building with red-blood paint. The walkway underneath the building was cordoned off to protect the public. No arrests or charges recorded.⁰
 15/03/2025  Bristol	Palestine Action actionists targeted the Elbit Systems Britain's Aztec West facility using a modified cherry picker to ascend the site's entrance, while others remained locked inside a vehicle. They sprayed red paint across the building and from their high vantage point, whilst swinging a sledgehammer on a rope to smash the windows of the weapons site. They claimed that they were "breaking down the tools of oppression from the imperial core, to support the fight for Palestinian liberation" Four people were arrested and charged. Rosa Garland (28), London, Aleksandra Hobson (36), Halifax, Sana Kamal (19), Liverpool, were charged with conspiracy to damage property and one count of assault by beating. James Williams (34), Bristol, was charged with conspiracy to damage property. All were remanded in custody and appeared before Bristol Magistrates' Court on 17 March, but were released on bail later.⁴¹
 14/04/2025  Bristol	Palestine Action actionists targeted the Allianz office on Victoria Street, Bristol. The actionists sprayed blood-red paint on the building, displayed Palestinian flags, and blocked access to the entrance by using lock-on devices within suitcases, effectively immobilising themselves. According to reports, three individuals were arrested during this action for trespass and criminal damage. They were later released on bail, pending further investigation. No charges have been reported.

Event	Action
 20/06/2025  RAF Brize Norton, Oxfordshire	Actionists from Palestine Action infiltrated RAF Brize Norton, Britain's largest air force base in Oxfordshire, to protest British military aid to Israel. The actionists broke into the RAF base and damaged two Voyager aircraft by spraying them with blood-red paint. According to the group, RAF Brize Norton base is used for daily flights to RAF Akrotiri in Cyprus, where British planes collect intelligence to share with the Israeli government, refuel fighter jets, and transport weapons. The Guardian, The Times, Declassified UK, and others confirmed such surveillance missions which aid military operations, as well as shared intelligence with Israel. The damage caused by the actionists is estimated to cost the defence industry at least £30 million. A 29-year-old woman and two men; aged 36 and 24, were arrested on suspicion of the commission, preparation or instigation of acts of terrorism, contrary to Section 41 of the Terrorism Act 2000. A 41-year-old woman was also arrested on suspicion of assisting an offender. Twenty-two-year-old Muhammad Umer Khalid was charged with conspiracy to commit criminal damage to two planes at RAF Brize Norton. All five have been remanded in custody.⁴³ In the immediate aftermath of the RAF Brize Norton incursion in June 2025, prominent figures in politics and the press converged on the language of proscription. Newspaper coverage framed the raid — spraying paint into the engines of two Voyager tankers — as a grave security breach, and commentators quickly treated it as the decisive trigger for outlawing Palestine Action. Lord Walney, the government's adviser on political violence, appeared in broadcast interviews explicitly tying the case for a ban to the Brize Norton episode, while senior politicians echoed the call as front-page reporting amplified the message that proscription was imminent. In this phase, the Brize Norton action functioned as the paradigmatic incident through which the political-media narrative translated a protest of direct action into a putative terrorist threat. Yet even within that early framing there were counter-signals that the Brize Norton incident alone might be an unstable legal foundation. Straight reporting emphasised the spectacular character of the breach but also noted questions about operational impact, while senior legal voices suggested that vandalism at a military base, without more, was unlikely to satisfy the Terrorism Act threshold. The net effect was a discursive oscillation: media headlines crystallised the security shock, politicians stressed resolve, and critics warned that the proscription standard required something broader than a single conspicuous act. This oscillation foreshadowed the Home Office's shift from a single-incident justification to a cumulative case.

Event	Action
	When the Home Secretary formalised the decision in her written statement to Parliament on 23 June, the rationale noticeably widened from the RAF raid to a portfolio of actions, with particular emphasis on Elbit Systems in Filton, Bristol, alongside Instro Precision in Kent and Thales in Glasgow. The statement recast the justification as a pattern of “serious damage to property” affecting defence-related infrastructure, thereby relocating the centre of gravity from Brize Norton towards Filton and other sites in order to meet the statutory tests for proscription. This reframing — subsequently reiterated in official communications and scrutinised by civil society and academic commentators — marked a move from a security-shock narrative to one grounded in an accumulated record of disruptive actions, even as the legality and proportionality of conflating such protest with terrorism remains highly contested. Earlier in 2022, then Home Secretary Priti Patel was reported to have privately assured senior executives at Elbit Systems UK that she would ensure individuals involved in Palestine Action’s direct actions against the company faced harsh custodial outcomes. According to correspondence and meeting notes later publicised by investigative journalists, Patel expressed her intention to “remand and imprison” actionists engaged in what she described as “serious criminal disruption” targeting Elbit’s facilities. The remarks, delivered during a series of high-level meetings with defence industry representatives, reflected a significant politicisation of policing and judicial processes, signalling ministerial alignment with corporate interests under the guise of national security.
 01/07/2025  Bristol	Palestine Action actionists blockaded the entrance to Elbit Systems UK at Aztec West in Bristol, spraying the entrance with red paint symbolising “Palestinian bloodshed”. Two arrests were made, a 30-year-old woman and a 36-year-old man, on suspicion of criminal damage.⁴⁴
 01/07/2025  Brandon, Suffolk	Actionists occupied the roof of the Guardtech Group warehouse on Highbury Road, Brandon – Guardtech being a subcontractor for Elbit Systems. Protesters sprayed red paint and smashed windows. Palestine Action stated “This company makes and repairs clean rooms for Elbit Systems... We’re here to shut it down”. Two women, aged 23 and 21, were arrested on suspicion of criminal damage, and were later formally charged with criminal damage and scheduled to appear at Ipswich Magistrates’ Court on 3 July 2025.⁴⁵

THE FILTON 24

In August 2024, a group of six Palestine Action actionists allegedly broke into the newly built, secret site of Elbit Systems, Israel's biggest weapons producer. The site in Filton, Bristol, had been marketed as a 'research and development' site, yet the six actionists managed to bypass the high security and uncover the masses of weapons that were being developed and stored in this undercover warehouse. During their action, they dismantled and destroyed a shipment of killer quadcopter drones that Israel uses in Gaza.

Using a repurposed heavy van, actionists rammed through the perimeter fence and stormed the warehouse. Once inside the facility, the actionists exited the van and used sledgehammers, axes, and other improvised tools to damage machinery and drone equipment inside. Red paint was also widely applied to walls as a symbolic act. This caused an estimated £1 million in damage. It was during the action they found the existence of quadcopters being produced at the facility and allegedly proceeded to destroy them as well. Quadcopters have been used by the IOF in Gaza by emitting the sounds of women and children crying, only to kill those lured by the sound with a mounted machine gun. They shoot eight cube like pellets programmed to hit pulse points and wreak havoc in the body – designed to maim and kill. Police responding to the incident arresting six on the day; within a week, ten people aged 20 to 51 appeared in court charged with offences including aggravated burglary, criminal damage and violent disorder connected to the same action.

Prosecutors told the court the raid caused roughly £1 million worth of damage, with items inside the facility struck with sledgehammers. Local reports described significant wrecking of machinery and other on-site equipment after the entry. Elbit Systems UK did not comment at the time, and the case was committed on to the Old Bailey for further hearings.

The actionists were detained under the Terrorism Act, allowing the police to hold them for up to seven days without charge. The United Nations has officially declared that the original ten being

held unlawfully incommunicado by the state possibly amounts to enforced disappearance. This has been established in a letter that the UN sent to the British Government condemning the "unjustified use" of British counter terror law against the Filton24.

The Filton premises were a brand new £35m research and development (R&D) hub of Israel's biggest weapons firm – although the claim of R&D was false, as the facility was used to manufacture the weapons. Its June 2023 opening was attended by the British-Israeli Ambassador Hotevely, and Elbit's CEO Bezhalet Machlis – who has frequently boasted of the company's central role in Israel's military, during the ongoing Gaza genocide.

As well as detaining them under unprecedented powers, police launched a smear campaign against the detained actionists, alleging violence against police and security guards. The actionists were unable to respond to these claims, and unable to describe for public record the force used against them by police and private security. Palestine Action contended that these statements were designed to prejudice opinion and legal proceedings against the actionists, and to lay the groundwork for the police's unjust use of authoritarian powers.

By 13 September 2024, ten of the defendants appeared via video link at the Old Bailey, London, with another appearing in person. The charges included violent disorder, aggravated burglary, and criminal damage.

On 19 November 2024, British counter-terrorism police carried out raids across the country, resulting in eleven further arrests bringing the total number of detained to 18. The arrests were extremely violent, with the raids happening at dawn with family members put in handcuffs, including children. All eight detained were remanded in custody. In his recollections from his arrest, Kamran Ahmed described the shock of being raided:

"At the early hours of November 19th, my heart skipped and my body jumped to the sound of what I now know to be my door being booted in. It felt like less than a second between the thud and a series of boots clattering up my staircase, waking me up. It's a weird feeling when your mind slows down your perception of time. During what felt like a second, I rustled through my startled brain, dragging the idea forward that

"we're being robbed" but also managing to respond "well these robbers have some balls doing a daylight robbery!", all the while waking myself to react. But as that second passed, the start of the next one made all my thoughts disappear. I heard a bellow, "Police! Don't move!", before seeing a riot shield officer and his squad pile into my room, the frosty winter breeze closely accompanying them to greet me. With that, I withdrew back into my blanket. They shouted "Show your hands!" which I did. The riot officer responded something along the lines of

"Nothing against you mate, you're probably a nice guy", a comment that would stick with me for the remainder of the raid, and began putting cuffs on me. My heart was sinking, sinking to my Dad waking up to what was probably the same scene as mine, whimpering in protest saying "I'm not well", "Why you no knock? I'm ill". For that moment I wished that my blanket could swallow me.

Once they confirmed it was me they were after, they moved me downstairs. They refused me a coat or jumper, something to shield me somewhat from the cold that engulfed the house from doors being left open. I didn't look into my parents room on the way down as seeing my mum would've made me teary. Not that I could've seen her. What felt like 30 officers were crammed into a house, 3 of which were blocking any vision in that direction."

Bail was denied to all those detained as they were remanded in custody. The raid was made by counter-terrorist police, except, no terrorism charges were levied against the arrestees – the detentions took place in a pseudo-space of terrorism accusations – where there is no actual terrorism, but yet the public are presented with idea that somehow the action was linked to terrorism. The denial was based on two main grounds, that the actionists would carry out another action if they were freed, but also the amorphous accusation of there being a terrorism element in the absence of any actual terrorism charge. One of the number, Jordan Devlin, accurately summarised the irony of a terrorism element being added to their case: "Terrorists make bombs to destroy lives, not destroy bombs to save lives." In November 2024, one of their number, Charlotte Head, wrote to the British Attorney General Richard Hermer:

"I know that over your career you have been opposed to fascist systems and that in the course of your work, you are heavily invested in the need to uphold human rights. I share these beliefs and it is because of these values we share that I was part of the direct action at Elbit Systems. I felt, as Palestine, Lebanon and Syria had weapons manufactured for them in the country I call home, and there is no doubt that Elbit is guilty of these acts. The proudly boast about all new and improved drone systems with more advanced video and audio technology, all made in their state of the art R&D centre where they continue to develop such products of war and mass destruction.

As you know, there are precedents that are there to protect those that have broken the law to prevent loss of human life and harm to other people and their lands. However, over the recent years this defence has been routinely dismissed in our courts. I believe, not only does this undermine the tenets of our justice system, but it removes these actions from their crucial and rightful context, of saving lives and preventing catastrophic harm. What I did, I did to save human lives. This action was a continuation of my work to try and help and support others – a motivation that I believe you share and can understand.

My co-defendants and I have been unjustly held in counter-terror, denied bail and have endured over 6 months in remand, because we could not sit idly and watch a massacre continue, a massacre armed with equipment made on British soil.

I will neither beg nor plead for change in our treatment, however, I will ask you to consider whether it aligns with your beliefs and what your head and your heart, and what the law tells you is right."

In July 2025, a further six individuals were arrested for their alleged role in the Filton action – two having been arrested on their re-entry into Britain and subsequently remanded in custody. These arrests took the total number of detentions to 24. Their arrests began as a test case to see how the expansion of terrorism legislation could be used to protect Israeli military business in Britain. Most specifically, that of Elbit Systems, Israel's largest arms manufacturer.

The case of the Filton24 is the first time Britain has attempted to equate property damage with terrorism, setting a dangerous precedent, which was later used to justify proscribing Palestine Action. The arbitrary use of Counter Terrorism powers means that if the defendants are convicted, the judge, not the jury, will be able to decide if there is a connection to terrorism. This would impact their sentencing by giving them longer custodial sentences with tighter restrictions on their imprisonment and on release. Under the Labour government, the actionists have been imprisoned for over a year, and some will face up to two years in prison before trial. A paper trail of correspondence reveals the pressure that Israeli officials were putting on the British government to discourage and diminish all pro-Palestine direct action.

The state continues to attempt using the Filton24 to justify the proscription of Palestine Action – designating it as a terrorist organisation – a move which has led to mass arrests of thousands of people across Britain who have taken part in protests against the proscription.

The Filton 24 cases will take place over four sets of trials beginning in mid-November 2025, by which time they will have spent around one and half years in detention, having been remanded in custody. The group includes: Louis Adams, Kamran Ahmed, Harland Archer, Yulia Brigadirova, Finn Collins, Samuel Corner, Hannah Davidson, Jordan Devlin, Zahra Farooque, Charlotte Head, Aleksandra Herbich, Teuta Hoxha, Moiz Ibrahim, Leona Kamio, Salaam Mahmood, Sean Middlebrough, Liam Mullany, Heba Muraisi, Madeleine Norman, William Plastow, Fatema Zainab Rajwani, Zoe Rogers, Qesser Zuhrah and Ian Sanders.



GOVERNMENT LOBBYING AND JUDICIAL INTERFERENCE BY ELBIT SYSTEMS, BRITISH POLITICIANS AND THE ISRAELI STATE

Commencing shortly after the July 2020 launch of Palestine Action, a series of meetings and correspondence took place in relation to Palestine Action actionists' criminal cases – between senior police offices, government ministers, civil servants, the attorney general's office, representatives of weapons manufacturers and “representatives of the Crown Prosecution Service”.

While much of the information has been received through research and Freedom of Information Act and court disclosures have been heavily redacted, there is still evidence to suggest a potential breach of General Principle 2.1 of the Code for Crown Prosecutors which reads:

“The independence of the prosecutor is central to the criminal justice system of a democratic society. Prosecutors are independent from persons or agencies that are not part of the prosecution decision-making process. CPS prosecutors are also independent from the police and other investigators. Prosecutors must be free to carry out their professional duties without political interference and must not be affected by improper or undue pressure or influence from any source.”

The following incidents represent a series of high-level meetings that indicate interference with the judicial process at the highest levels of government – making it almost impossible for any of the actionists to receive a fair trial as their arrests and prosecution has been motivated by interference by a confluence of actors.

25/08/2020 – Raab-Farkash-Hacohen Meeting

Palestine Action launched on the 30 July 2020, with a string of actions targeting the Holborn offices of Elbit Systems UK. Only one month into the campaign, on 25 August 2020, then-Foreign

Secretary Dominic Raab met with Israel's then-Minister of Strategic Affairs Orit Farkash-Hacohen to discuss, among other things, Palestine Action.

As reported in Israeli media network Arutz Sheva, Israeli Minister Farkash-Hacohen ‘asked the British government to work to fight the ongoing delegitimization campaign targeting Israel and its activities in England:

Delegitimization against Israel has become rampant across Europe and the world, including the UK,” she said [...], “This past weekend the London offices of ELBIT Systems were attacked for the fourth time in as many weeks. We want Israeli companies to keep doing business in London. It's good for both sides.”⁴⁶

Raab replied he and the British government were committed to stopping such events, “making it clear that the UK is committed to Israel's security.”



02/03/2022 – Patel-Elbit meeting

On 2 March 2022, the register of Ministerial Meetings shows then-Home Secretary Priti Patel meeting with Elbit Systems to “discuss protests and security”. A Freedom of Information Act disclosure outlines that one of the meeting objectives was to “Reassure Martin Fausset [Elbit Systems UK CEO] that the criminal protest acts against Elbit Systems UK are taken seriously by Government.”⁴⁷

The disclosures indicate that Elbit had appealed to the Home Office for intervention in Palestine Action cases. According to the minutes of ‘Key points to raise’, the Home Office responded that:

“Palestine Action’s criminal activity is for the police to investigate and though they are operationally independent of Government meaning we cannot direct their response, my officials have been in contact with the police about PA.

The Government is working, where appropriate, to ensure that those who engage in criminal activity progress through the Criminal Justice System.”

Further disclosure shows that the following senior counter-terror officials were copied into correspondence on 4 March 2022 which reported on the meeting between Priti Patel and Martin Fausset:

- Shaun Hipgrave, the Director of the Home Office's Homeland Security Group, responsible for two strands of the government’s counter-terror strategy
- Michael Stewart, then Director of Prevent

Within the heavily redacted follow up email by the Home Secretary's office, it was stated that:

“The protests Elbit were experiencing were getting more and more severe.”

“The Home Secretary was deeply concerned about everything she heard. She suggested that: [Suggestions were redacted]”

The Information Commission Office (ICO) denied an appeal for non redacted versions of the information. However, in its reasoning which was largely based on national security, it stated that the Home Office told the commissioner:

“The meeting was held in the context of continuous criminal activity directed towards Elbit Systems Ltd and other organisations. The reason for the meeting was to connect Elbit Systems Ltd with the relevant local and national police stakeholders to share information and concerns and identify areas of improvement, as well as to explore steps the Government could take to improve police’s capabilities. The Government was careful to make clear that the police were operationally independent and any decisions were for them to take”.

05/2022 – Wilson- Israeli Embassy Meeting

Details of a meeting between Attorney General's Office Director Douglas Wilson (who is still in office) and the Israeli Embassy are also detailed within Freedom of Information disclosures. In heavily-redacted correspondence, a follow-up email sent by Wilson confirms that the following was discussed:

“As we noted, the Law officers superintend the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) and are accountable to Parliament for its actions, but the CPS makes its prosecution decisions and manages its casework independently. The Law Officers are unable to intervene on an individual case or comment on issues related to active proceedings other than in a small subsection of cases where they have a role defined in legislation. We have confirmed that the Home Office is already aware of the matter in question, but we are flagging our discussion to colleagues there to make them aware of your representations and the gravity of the situation.”

The disclosure furthermore demonstrates that the meeting covered discussion of the Police Crime, Sentencing and Courts Bill 2021, which created a number of new offences under which Palestine Action actionists have been prosecuted for actions against Elbit – particularly ‘locking-on’

offences.

Significantly, Wilson reiterates "the Attorney General's power to refer questions of law to the Court of Appeal. The Attorney has done so recently in respect of the proper scope of defences to criminal damage arising from protests".

According to the same disclosure (in correspondence dated 1st June 2022), the Israeli Embassy invited Mr Lionel Idan, Chief Crown Prosecutor at the CPS, to join a delegation in September 2022 aimed at European jurists.

In response to an article by the Guardian on the Israeli embassy interference in British court cases, "an Israeli embassy spokesperson said it respected the independence of the British judicial system" and "under no circumstances would interfere in UK legal proceedings". They added:

"As part of its ongoing work, the embassy of Israel raises awareness on severe attacks against entities related to Israel.

*"Furthermore, it is the duty of the embassies of Israel around the world, including in the UK, to care for and provide assistance to Israelis wherever they are."*⁴⁸

11/2022 – Kingsway 5 case

In November 2022, five actionists appeared in Southwark Crown Court accused of 'conspiracy to commit criminal damage' after an October 2020 action in which they threw and sprayed red paint at Elbit Systems' British headquarters in Kingsway, London. The trial, which was the first Palestine Action Crown Court case, ended in the actionists' acquittal by unanimous jury verdict.⁴⁹

A trainee barrister employed by 'My Business Counsel' attended each day of the trial, to make a note of proceedings for their employer – My Business Counsel themselves contracted by Elbit Systems. Shortly after the jury was sworn in to the trial, proceedings were halted as My Business Counsel, on behalf of Elbit, had contacted the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) to dispute their agreement to the 'agreed facts' of the case, and instructing the CPS to engage newer 'agreed facts' which do not include mention of the role of Elbit weaponry in Gaza. The defence solicitors were, apparently by accident, CC'd into this email – and

shortly afterwards the Court was emptied so that the trainee lawyer notetaker could sign a paper declaring that she may knowingly be perverting the course of justice.

After this, the CPS proceeded to disagree with already agreed facts.

19/04/2023 – Philp-AGO-Elbit Meeting

On 19 April 2023, then-Policing Minister Chris Philp met with:

- Elbit Systems
- Chief Constable Chris Noble, Staffordshire Police
- Kelby Halmes, Director and Deputy of the Attorney General's Office (who is listed in meeting minutes as attending "on behalf of the Crown Prosecution Service")
- Representative/s of National Police Coordination Centre
- Representative/s of the Home Office
- Representative/s of Thales (French weapons manufacturer, an Elbit partner)

The listed objectives of the meeting were listed as:

"Reassure Elbit Systems UK and the wider sector affected by Palestine Action that the Government cares about the harm the group are causing the private sector"

Under a 'Criminal activity and convictions' sub-heading of the 'background' of the meeting, it stated that:

"Although there have been successful prosecutions of Palestine Action members, there have been multiple instances of charges being dropped and defendants acquitted by juries and magistrates."

Under a subheading titled 'Palestine Action', the document stated:

"Palestine Action does not meet the threshold for proscription as they do not commit, participate in, prepare for promote, encourage, or otherwise be concerned with acts of terrorism."

Please note, at the time of this meeting, there had been no arrests of Palestine Action actionists under the Terrorism Act. Therefore, the mention of whether or not Palestine Action meets the threshold for proscription, suggests a discussion was had on this topic.

Under a subheading titled 'CPS' there were two listed points. One was redacted, whilst the other said:

"A Director from the Attorney General's Office will be attending to represent the CPS. The CPS declined to participate in this meeting to preserve their operational independence."

This self-contradicting point shows that a representative of the CPS was in discussion with the attendees of the meeting on the matter of Palestine Action and our court cases.

Under a subheading titled "Past lobbying", there is a list of 5 points, all of which are redacted.

On 19 April 2023, there was also a follow-up email sent from the Assistant Private Secretary of Policing Minister Chris Philp to several recipients. Only two of which are named. They are:

- Mark Williams, Home Office Head of Police Powers
- Rachel Watson, Public Safety Group, then Home Office Director of Policing

The vast majority of the follow-up email was heavily redacted, apart from two parts which say:

"Minister Philp opened the meeting emphasising that the UK government wants to make sure that UK based business can continue their lawful activity and that the UK gov respects the independence of the UK police and also the independence of the CPS."

It should be noted that in almost all of these meetings, there is some beginning reference to respecting the independence of the police and the CPS, whilst the meeting itself and the contents suggest cross-collaboration between law enforcers, the judiciary and the law makers.

In response to a Guardian article about this meeting and the one on 2 March 2022 with Priti Patel, the Home office responded by saying "We fully respect the operational independence of the police and the independent judiciary, which remains the bedrock of our policing model. These meetings took place under the previous government."

It is important to note that such meetings whilst they involved Conservative Ministers, also included senior civil servants, senior police officers — most of whom are still in office. Furthermore, the meetings which took place affect ongoing criminal cases involving Palestine Action actionists, as well as past convictions. Much of the maintenance of redacting these documents and withholding other information has also been done under the Labour government.

28/04/2023 – Home Office Ministers, Elbit's intelligence cell and Elbit Leicester protest

Palestine Action publicly announced a mass camp outside Elbit's Leicester drone factory, UAV Tactical Systems, to begin from 1 May 2023.

On the second day of the camp, there were mass arrests (over 33 by Day 2) which led to many being bailed away from the site. Some of those cases went to trial and were acquitted of breaching the 'section 14 order'. During the magistrates trial, disclosure revealed that:

On the 28th April 2023, under the words "Prep Minister briefing", at 15:15, it says "Share sit rep for Policing Minister and Home Sec - follow by calls to Ed and Ali to confirm receipt and plan for 5pm meeting".

At 17:00 there is a note which refers to the minister

briefing stating:

"17:00 Brief Policing Minister and Home Office Team - Real push to support company legitimate business. Suggest proactive work with Meta Facebook and Instagram. Pushes for remand of those arrested and supports proactive action, show of police and clear expects us to be taking action against those that commit crime. Focus not on peaceful protestors and facilitating that but on the company. Describes MET approach re the public nuisance."

This clearly contradicts Philp's statement on 19 April 2023 meeting where he said he respects the independence of the police.

This meeting is listed on the government website as one between Chris Philp, then policing minister and Leicestershire police Deputy Chief Constable for "briefing with policing leads regarding ongoing protests".⁵⁰

Furthermore, from court disclosures it was said that Elbit Systems UK "its own intelligence cell and share[s] information with the Police across the country on a two weekly basis"

Despite mass arrests and a heavy police response, no-one was ever convicted of committing a crime at the mass camp.

09/09/2024 – Attorney General's Office and Deputy Israeli Ambassador

In response to a Freedom of Information request, the British Attorney General's office disclosed several emails between AGO officials and the Israeli embassy.

An email was sent on 9 September 2024 from Nicola Smith (the Head of International Law and National Security Team), which copied in Douglas Wilson, and was addressed to Daniela Ekstein, the Deputy Israel Ambassador to Britain. Whilst the contents of the email were redacted, the subject heading was Contacts CPS/SO15. 'CPS' refers to the Crown Prosecution Service and SO15 refers to the Counter Terrorism Command. The disclosures

also show that Nicola Smith sent this email to herself on 3 October 2024 and put the subject as "2024.09.09 Nicola Smith to Israelis re CPS/SO15 contact details". Furthermore, the black rectangles used to redact the email contents appears to be in a list format.

This email was not a reply to any email from Daniela Ekstein, and follows directly on from a meeting on 28 August 2024 between Nicola Smith, Douglas Wilson, Daniela and the Counsellor of political affairs at the Israeli embassy in Britain. While the identity of counsellor of political affairs is redacted in the disclosures, this role is occupied by Yosef (Yossi) Zilberman, a diplomat at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Israel.

The email being sent after the meeting, and not in response to another email sent to Nicola Smith, suggests that ongoing cases and/or the topic of CPS/counter terrorism police contact details was discussed in the meeting on 28 August.

The fact the details was sent suggests further correspondence has occurred between the deputy Israel ambassador and the CPS/counter-terrorism police. When asked for a comment on this matter by the Guardian, a government source essentially admitted to the contact details being sent:

"It has been routine under successive governments for AGO to help embassies get in contact with the relevant authorities purely for purposes of sharing information that could be relevant to a case... Decisions to prosecute, convict and sentence are, rightly, made independently of government by the Crown Prosecution Service, juries and judges respectively."

It is also important to note that Douglas Wilson, who was copied in the email re CPS/SO15 contacts and was present at the meeting on 28 August 2024, was also involved in the Israeli embassy and UK AGO meetings/correspondence in May 2022.

DIRECT ACTION NOT AFFILIATED WITH PALESTINE ACTION

While Palestine Action, prior to its proscription, was the most significant direct action group working to end the genocide in Gaza – it was not alone in its efforts. During its main period of activity, other groups also took action against the machinery of Zionist violence in Britain, and some emerging after the proscription was put into place.

While the British government was successful in its attempt to proscribe Palestine Action, it has not been able to proscribe all forms of direct action – meaning that copy-cat groups are free to form with regard to the tactics once deployed by Palestine Action. The following examples are a narrow snapshot of the landscape of other direct actions to have taken place until the summer of 2025. .

09/10/2024 – London

Actionists from the group Youth Demand pasted a photograph of a Gazan mother and child over the protective glass covering the artwork Pablo Picasso's 1901 painting Motherhood (La Maternité) at the National Gallery in London. They also poured red paint on the floor below it. The group said they were taking the action in a bid to force ministers to implement an arms embargo on Israel. Two actionists were arrested at the scene.⁵¹

29/10/2023 – Cardiff

During a spontaneous protest, the word "liars" was spray-painted on the front of BBC Wales' office. A 69-year-old woman was charged with criminal damage. Deirdre Murphy, 69, from Swansea, has been charged with criminal damage and was to appear at Cardiff Magistrates' Court on 14 November, South Wales Police said.

Since, she was detained in the West Bank on 31 May 2025. Deirdre Murphy was volunteering with the pro-Palestinian activist group International Solidarity Movement (ISM) at the time of her arrest. She was arrested alongside 48-year-old Swedish national Susanne Björk.⁵²

07/11/2023 – Rochdale, Manchester

Adeem Ahmed (18), Amaan Tariq (18), and a 17-year-old whose identity is protected by the law, spray-painted "Free Palestine" on the Rochdale Cenotaph war memorial. All three were arrested and admitted to criminal damage at Manchester Magistrates' Court, but denied that the damage was racially aggravated. Since they pled guilty, no defendants were acquitted. Each teenager received a six-month referral order – a community based sentencing method overseen by a youth offender panel. They were also told to pay £140 in compensation, £85 court costs and a £26 victim surcharge at Manchester Magistrates Court.⁵³

15/07/2024 – Whitehall, London

Two actionists from the pro-Palestinian group Youth Demand laid flowers and a Palestinian flag at the Cenotaph war memorial in Whitehall and spray-painted the message "180,000 killed" on the pavement. They also held posters which read "stop arming Israel" and "never again for everyone". Both women were immediately arrested on suspicion of criminal damage.⁵⁴

24/07/2024 – London

Actionists from Workers for a Free Palestine organized a protest outside the Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office. Approximately 200 demonstrators participated, blocking entrances to the building to demand the British government halt arms exports to Israel and publish legal advice on potential Israeli war crimes in Gaza. Nine people were arrested for obstructing entrance.⁵⁵

08/03/2025 – London

A pro-Palestinian activist, Daniel Day (29), climbed the Elizabeth Tower – commonly known as Big Ben – in London, remaining there for 16 hours. He was holding a Palestinian flag and was barefoot, then tying a keffiyeh around the tower's

stonework. Mr Day also called for the release of the Filton 18. He was arrested and was subsequently charged by police with climbing and remaining on the tower which created “a risk or caused serious harm to the public” and also trespassing on a protected site. Prosecutors said Day's actions had led to serious disruption in the area of central London with roads closed and buses diverted, and the cancellation of parliamentary tours had cost 25,000 pounds. He pleaded not guilty at Westminster Magistrates' Court to intentionally or recklessly causing a public nuisance and to trespassing on a protected site.⁵⁶

10/04/2025 – London

Greenpeace UK activists poured 300 litres of blood-red dye into the pond outside the U.S. Embassy in London to highlight the “death and devastation caused in Gaza as a direct result of the US's continued sale of weapons to Israel”. Greenpeace UK claimed that 12 of its activists carried out the demonstration, including co-executive director Will McCallum, who was arrested along with five others. The US Embassy claimed that the protest had damaged a 1.5-million-gallon water supply on the property. However, the Metropolitan police claimed that since the pond was accessible via the public footpath, there was no breach of the site.⁵⁷

02/08/2025 – London

Greenpeace UK activists conducted a direct action at Westminster Underground Station in London. They plastered the tube station with “Wanted” posters of Keir Starmer and David Lammy, accusing the politicians of “fuelling genocide” in Gaza. The protest aimed to highlight the British government's continued arms sales to Israel amidst the ongoing genocide.⁵⁸

26/08/2025 – Wolverhampton

A non-violent direct-action group which came to surface after the proscription of the Palestine Action group. The group's actions included roof occupations, property damage, etc. Palestinian Martyrs for Justice targeted the Moog Aircraft Group in Wolverhampton, wearing T-shirts which featured the faces of dead Palestinians,

including Journalist Hossam Shabat, Professor Refaat Alareer, Surgeon Adnan al-Bursh and Raghd al-Jabri. They crashed a vehicle through the gates of the facility, lighted a red flare, and climbed onto the roof of the building. The British firm Moog is said to have sent military equipment to Hatzerim airbase, aiding pilot training for Israeli M-346 Lavi jets. Staffordshire Police confirmed that four people were arrested “on suspicion of criminal damage offences” following the incident, and that significant damage was caused to a number of sky lights and solar panels of the building. They have charged with criminal damage and remanded in custody as they await trial. Like the Filton 24, a terrorism connection has been included, meaning that at sentencing, any potential will carry a higher sentence as an enhancement.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE SINCE THE PROSCRIPTION OF PALESTINE ACTION

Since the proscription of Palestine Action, the civil rights activist group Defend our Juries has staged a series of civil disobedience actions to highlight the draconian use of terrorism legislation to shut down direct action. The events have resulted in the largest acts of civil disobedience in the history of Britain – with thousands of people opting to allow for themselves to be arrested under s.12 and s.13 of the Terrorism Act 2000.

Led by Tim Crossland, these civil disobedience actions have been carefully staged for large groups, over a thousand in September 2025, holding signs reading “I Oppose Genocide, I support Palestine Action.” The police are treating the holding of this sign as a terrorist offence, resulting in arrest.

Due to the hundreds taking part in the action, the consequence was a large policing effort as each person found with a placard was arrested – either optionally choosing to walk away with the police, or being carried away by them with their placards. The offence carries the potential for a six-month custodial sentence, except the Crown Prosecution Service has been placed in the position of making a determination of imprisoning thousands of British nationals for holding up a sign.

The actions were joined by a broad range of society, including vicars, celebrities and actionists, all who have come together to protest against the proscription of Palestine Action. The following vignettes capture some of the actions staged by Defend our Juries over the course of the last few months.

05/07/2025 – London

Twenty-nine people were arrested in Parliament square, just hours after the ban of Palestine Action came into force. Three people – two women and a man – were subsequently charged with showing support for Palestine Action following the protest in central London. Jeremy Shippam, 71, of West

Sussex, Judit Murray, 71, of Surrey, and Fiona Maclean, 53, of Hackney were due to appear at Westminster Magistrates' Court on 16 September 2025. Commander Dominic Murphy, head of the Met's Counter Terrorism Command stated that they are also sending case files to the Crown Prosecution Service for the remaining 26 people arrested on the same day, to determine if they too will face charges.⁵⁶

12/07/2025 – Nationwide

Over 70 arrests were made across Britain at various demonstrations against the proscription of Palestine Action. The Metropolitan police arrested 41 people in London, South Wales police arrested 13 people protesting outside the BBC offices in Cardiff, Greater Manchester police arrested 16 people in St Peter's Square, Manchester, and one arrest was made in Leeds.⁶⁰

19/07/2025 – Nationwide

More than 104 arrests reported across Britain. 55 people were arrested in Parliament Square for displaying placards in support of Palestine Action, and a further nine people were also arrested for supporting the group within a separate large-scale march to Whitehall on the same day by the Palestine Solidarity Coalition. Greater Manchester Police said it arrested 18 people. Avon and Somerset Police said 17 people were arrested during a protest in Bristol, while eight people were arrested near Truro Cathedral in Cornwall after protesters gathered to show support for Palestine Action.⁶¹

09/08/2025 – London

In a mass civil disobedience demonstration organised by Defend Our Juries, more than 500 arrests made in Parliament Square, London. Hundreds of protesters held placards reading “I oppose genocide. I support Palestine Action.” Most of those arrested are said to have been over the age of 60. Former Guantanamo prisoner and

Senior Director of CAGE International, Moazzam Begg, was also among those arrested. An elderly blind man using a wheelchair was also detained by police.⁶²

17/08/2025 – Norwich

Police arrested 13 people at a protest in Norfolk for showing support for Palestine Action. A group of protesters assembled outside City Hall in St Peters Street, Norwich, holding placards referencing them. Norfolk police stated that five of those arrested were taken to Wymondham police investigation centre for questioning. They claimed that the remaining eight people were spoken to by officers and provided their details for further investigation.⁶³

01/09/2025 – London

47 people, all of whom were previously arrested in London on the 19th July, 2025, were notified of charges against them, via postal charge requisition (PCRs) which were authorised by the Crown Prosecution Service. They are due to appear at Westminster Magistrates' Court in late October, according to the Metropolitan Police. As of 1st September, the total number of people charged with the offence of showing support to Palestine Action in London is 114.

02/09/2025 – London

Defend Our Juries members, along with others were arrested under s.12 of the Terrorism Act after their homes were raided and their electronic devices seized by counter-terrorism police.

According to the Crown Prosecution Service, these included:

Tim Crosland (55), from Southwark, London, the co-founder of Defend Our Juries and former government lawyer, charged with three counts of addressing a meeting with the purpose being to encourage support for a proscribed organisation, and three counts of assisting in arranging a meeting knowing the purpose was to support a proscribed organisation.

Patrick Friend (26), from Grange, Edinburgh,

charged with three counts of addressing a meeting with the purpose being to encourage support for a proscribed organisation, and three counts of assisting in arranging a meeting knowing the purpose was to support a proscribed organisation.

Gwen Harrison (48), from Kendal, Cumbria, charged with four counts of addressing a meeting with the purpose being to encourage support for a proscribed organisation, and four counts of assisting in arranging a meeting knowing the purpose was to support a proscribed organisation.

David Nixon (39), from Barnsley, South Yorkshire, charged with five counts of managing a meeting to support a proscribed organisation, one count of addressing a meeting with the purpose being to encourage support for a proscribed organisation, and four counts of assisting in arranging a meeting knowing the purpose was to support a proscribed organisation.

Dawn Manners (61), from Hackney, London, charged with three counts of managing a meeting to support a proscribed organisation, two counts of addressing a meeting with the purpose being to encourage support for a proscribed organisation, and two counts of assisting in arranging a meeting knowing the purpose was to support a proscribed organisation.

Melanie Griffith (62), from Southwark, London, charged with seven counts of addressing a meeting with the purpose being to encourage support for a proscribed organisation, and four counts of assisting in arranging a meeting knowing the purpose was to support a proscribed organisation.

Furthermore, officers executed a warrant in the Oban area, arresting and charging a 59-year-old man as part of an ongoing investigation into those involved in encouraging support for Palestine Action. He was to appear at Oban Sheriff Court on Wednesday, the following day.

The s.12 offences of supporting a proscribed terrorist organisation – in this case allegedly Palestine Action – means that those arrested

under the legislation now face a potential sentence of up to 14 years in prison. It is thought that these arrests were made in order to disrupt and create fear before the next mass act of civil disobedience that was due to take place within a week, however, the attempt at intimidation severely backfired. Instead, the civil disobedience action on 6 September 2025 became the largest act of civil disobedience Britain has ever witnessed.

05/09/2025 – London

The Crown Prosecution Service claim that they will prosecute a further 24 people for showing support for the proscribed group Palestine Action, bringing the total number of charged cases for showing support for Palestine Action since the group's proscription to 138. The prosecutions are under section 13 of the Terrorism Act 2000. This is an offence triable only in the magistrates' court and subject to a maximum sentence of six months' imprisonment.

08/09/2025 – London

The anonymous street artist Banksy created a mural on the exterior of London's Royal Courts of Justice, portraying a judge striking a protester holding a blood-stained placard with a gavel. The work was widely interpreted as a visual commentary on the arrests of demonstrators associated with, or supporting the Palestine Action group. The artwork was immediately covered up with barriers placed by guards. Two days later, on the 10th September, the mural was removed by the authorities, who claimed that it was due to the building's status as a listed historic building, which required its original character to be maintained.

06/09/2025 – London

Parliament Square, London – In a mass civil disobedience demonstration organised by Defend Our Juries, a demonstration was held in support of the banned group Palestine Action, protesting against its proscription under the Terrorism Act. More than nine-hundred counter-terrorism arrests were made, including vicars and priests, war veterans, descendants of Holocaust survivors,

retired teachers, and healthcare workers, the group claimed in a statement. These included a disabled RAF veteran using a walker, Mike Higgins, a 62-year-old blind and disabled man who was previously arrested on 9 August, an NHS midwife, a retired doctor in her 80s, two mental health nurses and 83-year-old Anglican priest Reverend Sue Parfitt.

Thirty-three others were detained for allegedly assaulting officers and other public order offences.

Similar demonstrations were also held in Belfast and Edinburgh. Police Scotland said two men, aged 67 and 82, were arrested and charged with "terror" offences while a third man, 63, was charged with a hate crime.

16/09/2025 – London

The first three people to be charged with supporting Palestine Action after its proscription pleaded not guilty. Jeremy Shippam, 72, of Yapton, West Sussex, Judit Murray, 71, of West Ewell, Surrey, and Fiona Maclean, 53, of Hackney, Northeast London, were charged with displaying an article in a public place, arousing reasonable suspicion of support of a proscribed organisation, under section 13 of the Terrorism Act 2000. They were released on unconditional bail by Chief Magistrate Paul Goldspring, with a three-day trial formally listed at Westminster Magistrates' Court on 16th March.

26/09/2025 – London

Six appear in court over Palestine Action charges: Tim Crosland, David Nixon, Dawn Manners, Gwen Harrison, Melanie Griffith, and Patrick Friend. They were charged with 50 offences for organising support for Palestine Action, where prosecutor Peter Ratliff told London's Old Bailey court the six defendants were directly involved in organising the protests. Ratliff claimed that 13 meetings had been held online since the proscription, where the defendants had encouraged and arranged "mass civil disobedience" in an attempt to make its ban unenforceable.

Throughout Friday's hearing, Nixon stood with his eyes closed, holding a small notice which read "I

oppose genocide, I support Palestine Action". The six are due to enter a plea to the charges at a hearing in January, with a four-week trial provisionally listed for June 2026.

29/09/2025 - Liverpool

Police arrested 66 people, including an 83-year-old, for supporting Palestine Action at a rally outside the Labour party conference in Liverpool. Protesters gathered outside the venue, with many holding signs that read: "I oppose genocide. I support Palestine Action." Merseyside police said on Monday that 66 people were arrested near the Wheel of Liverpool, a city landmark. According to the police, two protesters were later de-arrested, while 64 were held on suspicion of supporting a proscribed terror organisation and later bailed.

04/10/2025 - London

A protest was organised by Defend Our Juries, intended as a mass vigil and sign-holding event in solidarity with Palestine and also to oppose the British government's ban on Palestine Action. Some protesters held placards which read "I oppose genocide, I support Palestine Action". The protest took place despite calls from some government figures as well as police leaders, to cancel the demonstrations, given a recent attack at a synagogue in Manchester two days before, on the 2nd October. These included the Prime Minister, Keir Starmer who claimed that it was "not a time to stoke tension", Home Secretary Shabana Mahmood, Metropolitan Police Commissioner Sir Mark Rowley, and Greater Manchester Police Chief Sir Steven Watson, who all deemed the protests as somewhat insensitive and untimely.

The police arrested 492 people, 488 of them were detained on suspicion of supporting a proscribed organisation, while the remaining arrests were made for various criminal or public order offences. At least six additional arrests were also made for unfurling banners on Westminster Bridge related to the protest. The Metropolitan Police claimed that the youngest person arrested was 18, and the oldest 89. By the end of the day, 297 people remained in custody, while the remaining arrestees had been released on bail. Of the 492 people arrested, detainees included Elizabeth

Morley, 79, a Jewish woman and daughter of a Holocaust survivor and Muhammad Rabbani, Managing Director of CAGE International.

Many of those arrested reportedly refused to walk away from the scene and had to be carried out by police, which required multiple officers per person. Following the protest, Paula Dodds, chair of the Metropolitan Police Federation, declared that "enough is enough" and described the officers making the arrests as "physically exhausted".

Following the protest, the British government announced plans to strengthen police powers to restrict repeated protests in the same locations, citing the "cumulative impact" of demonstrations on communities. Shabana Mahmood claimed that the move was not a ban on protests but "about restrictions and conditions", while Conservative leader Kemi Badenoch backed the new powers, only questioning why it had taken so long to implement them.



CONCLUSION

This report has traced, in careful detail, a five-year passage in which direct action and civil disobedience reshaped the terrain of British involvement in Israel's violence against Palestinians. It has shown the breadth of Britain's entanglement — from export licences and intelligence sharing, to research partnerships, logistics and finance — and the movement that rose to confront that architecture with methods designed to interrupt it rather than merely protest it. At every stage the central claim has been consistent: when ordinary channels fail to restrain state-sanctioned harm, principled disruption becomes not only legitimate but necessary. The record of actions, targets, legal responses and outcomes set out here substantiates that claim, and reveals measurable impacts on the companies and institutions concerned: financial losses, operational stoppages, reputational damage, and concrete delays to the delivery of weapons and related services.

Direct action has been neither random nor gratuitous. It has been focused on the specific nodes that make war possible: manufacturers, insurers, logistics providers, financiers, universities, lobbyists, and government infrastructure. The best-known example remains Elbit Systems' Oldham Ferranti plant, repeatedly occupied and sabotaged until, in January 2022, Elbit sold and closed the site. That closure was not a rhetorical victory; it was the removal of a production facility from the British supply chain,

the fruit of sustained, targeted disruption designed to make continuation more costly than withdrawal. The same strategic logic is visible across the timeline: occupying roofs to trigger health-and-safety shutdowns; blocking gates and entrances; locking-on to vehicles; breaching perimeter fences to disable plant and equipment; and timing actions to coincide with politically salient moments that magnify public scrutiny. Each is a technique by which participants sought to convert their asserted moral urgency into concrete material interruption.

The supply-line impact of direct action

The practical effects are discernible in the ledger books as well as in the headlines. In Glasgow, the Thales factory action in June 2022 produced damage valued at over £1 million. The economic signal is unambiguous: a significant, unplanned cost attributable to the risk profile of continuing business as usual. In Bromborough, the October 2024 occupation of Teledyne CML Composites — an F-35 supplier — reportedly compromised clean rooms to the extent that production could be halted for up to twelve months. If accurate, that is not a day-long stunt; it is a medium-term production shock capable of rippling through downstream delivery schedules. In Filton, the August 2024 raid on Elbit's drone-engineering centre caused damage estimated at £1 million, again converting abstract 'pressure' into line-item losses and repair timelines that cut directly into supply line.

Disruption has not been confined to factory floors. Supply chains rely on enabling services, and where those services have been pressured, the consequences have been immediate.

After actions and exposure, Kuehne + Nagel confirmed in early February 2024 that it had ended all business with Elbit Systems. For a logistics giant to step off a sensitive account is itself a form of embargo: inventory that cannot be moved is inventory that cannot be integrated or exported. In a sector where just-in-time delivery is the norm, the loss of a large carrier forces costly re-routing or pauses. Likewise, the repeated closures and blockades of institutions such as Lockheed Martin's Amptill site (closed by a double entrance blockade in November 2023) translate into days where nothing gets in or out — days that compound when coupled with subsequent repair, insurance assessment and security upgrades.

The wider impact of direct action

Finance and insurance are the silent arteries of the arms economy. Here, too, actionists have found points of leverage. Nationwide campaigns targeting Barclays branches for their defence-linked investments have imposed clean-up costs, security spend, and the reputational friction that accompanies high-street associations with battlefield deaths. Those campaigns are intended to make continued exposure to certain equities or bonds costlier in terms of brand and risk than divestment. Allianz, as investor and insurer, has faced coordinated actions across multiple offices; one result has been day-long closures and/or evacuations — again, disruptions that cumulatively burden a firm's operations and that prompt internal reassessments of coverage and underwriting appetite for controversial clients.

Perhaps the starkest demonstration of operational vulnerability came with the June 2025 infiltration of RAF Brize Norton, during which two Voyager aircraft used for missions linked to intelligence-sharing and logistics in support of Israel were

sprayed with red paint — damage estimated by industry sources at £30 million — although the aircraft were up and running within a week. That figure is not solely cosmetic; taking aircraft off the line, inspecting, repairing, and recertifying them removes capacity from a route that connects Britain and RAF Akrotiri operations, with obvious knock-on effects for participation and scheduling. Where airframes are an enabling constraint, the removal of even one platform can slow tempo. In this instance, two platforms were affected.

A central claim of this report has been that such actions do not merely “send a message”; they slow or interrupt the flow of parts, products, and services to Israel's armed forces. The record bears that out. Roof occupations in Oldham and Leicester forced stoppages; blockades at U-TacS repeatedly closed the only entrance to a site producing Watchkeeper-related technologies; the ramming of gates and use of lock-ons immobilised factories for hours and sometimes days; sabotage of communications cabling at Leonardo in Edinburgh impeded internal operations; and day-long lockdowns at corporate headquarters (APCO, Allianz) hampered the lobbying and risk functions that shield production from political headwinds. Each is a distinct form of delay, and delays aggregate.

The reality of direct action over the last five years has been evidence that the machinery that supported the genocide from Britain was severely hampered and slowed due to the targeting of Elbit Systems and companies in its infrastructural orbit. A snapshot of examples near the end of 2024, presents some of the actual material achievements of the movement:

- 22/11/2024 – Elbit Systems UK has lost its largest-ever British arms contract, worth over £2.1bn, after the Ministry of Defence scrapped its Watchkeeper drone programme with Elbit subsidiary UAV Tactical Systems (U-TacS). The government has claimed that the move is part of their decommissioning of outdated models. Yet, the Watchkeeper drone has only been in service for six years, and the MOD asserted

in 2022 that the Watchkeeper's 'out-of-service' date was not expected to be reached until 2042. Disruptive action by Palestine Action actionists at the U-TacS site has been ongoing since May 2021, when four actionists stormed and occupied the factory – remaining on the roof for six days. In the years since, ceaseless actions and disruption at the site, have massively hamstrung the factory's operations.

- 14/11/2024 – in an email to Palestine Action on 14 November 2024, Hydrafeed announced they cut ties with Israel's biggest weapons firm, Elbit Systems, and their subsidiaries. This came after a sustained direct action campaign by Palestine Action which involved actionists abseiling inside Hydrafeed to dismantle their equipment, smashing through the front doors and spraying their premises in blood red paint. The company's connection to Elbit Systems was confirmed when Palestine Action actionists saw and destroyed Hydrafeed's machinery inside Elbit's Kent factory, Instro Precision during an action on 17 June 2024. Hydrafeed are a leading supplier of CNC machine tools, which Elbit requires in order to manufacture their weaponry.
- 01/11/2024 – after a campaign of disruptive direct action against their London premises by Palestine Action, lobby firm 'APCO Worldwide', ceased their business relationship with Israel's largest arms firm, Elbit Systems. On 3 September 2024, the first action against APCO's premises saw three actionists locked-on in front of their 40 Strand, London offices, having first drenched the site in red paint, with a banner reading "Stop lobbying for Genocide. APCO Drop Elbit". Videos of the action reached millions of people across the world on social media. According to reports, the action sparked internal chaos for APCO, with staff raising complaints of APCO's dealings with Elbit, and strong protests raised within the company's offices in the Middle East.
- 31/10/2024 – after a year-long campaign

against its premises by Palestine Action and local community groups, Barclays PLC sold all of its shareholdings in Elbit Systems Ltd (ELST). Until 2024, Barclays owned over 16,000 shares in Elbit Systems. Starting in 2023, Palestine Action's campaign saw actionists undertake 54 actions against Barclays premises nation-wide. Smashing branch windows, spraying them in blood-red paint, many of these actions put Barclays sites out of operation for weeks, actions which sought to raise the costs associated with dealing with Elbit. In a U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) filing, Barclays was shown to have owned 0 shares in Elbit Systems Ltd (ELST), down 16,345 since its filing on 15 May 2024, worth over \$3,400,000.

Equally significant is the reputational re-pricing that follows repeated disruption. When BBC headquarters is drenched in red paint to symbolise "blood on its hands," or when universities' ceremonial buildings and central administration are targeted over investments and partnerships, the purpose is not destruction for its own sake; it is to force institutions to re-evaluate their tolerance of relationships that carry growing social, legal, and security costs. Cambridge shifted graduation venues in the shadow of sustained protest; Oxford publicly tallied hundreds of thousands in clean-up costs; and multiple corporate sites have had to harden their premises with corresponding expenditure. Those are financial consequences that boards and governors notice.

The legal impact on actionists

Against this backdrop, the legal landscape has become a contest not only over culpability but over legitimacy. Actionists have faced a wide range of charges — criminal damage, aggravated trespass, burglary, conspiracy, public order offences, and, increasingly, allegations framed through counter-terrorism powers. The July 2025 proscription of Palestine Action as a terrorist organisation marked an escalation aimed at chilling and stigmatising a set of tactics that had

proven materially effective. Subsequent civil disobedience against the ban — most notably mass displays of placards stating “I oppose genocide – I support Palestine Action” — produced hundreds of arrests under section 13 of the Terrorism Act 2000 for ‘support.’ That so many of those detained were older people, including well-known campaigners, underlined how far criminalisation had moved into the terrain of conscience. The acts of civil disobedience have only sought to highlight the abolitionist stance taken by CAGE International, that terrorism laws are not fit for purpose, and have been consistently instrumentalised to suppress political dissent.

And yet, the courtroom record tells a more complicated story — one in which juries, acting as the community’s moral barometer, have repeatedly acquitted. The Elbit Eight trial yielded twelve not-guilty verdicts and only a single minor conviction; other counts were left to retrial, underscoring prosecutorial difficulty in securing unanimous condemnation of actions presented as preventing greater harm. In Leicester, jurors acquitted two defendants after the judge specifically directed them to consider the common-law defence of necessity and the statutory protection-of-property defence under section 5(2)(b) of the Criminal Damage Act 1971 — a remarkable instance of a court recognising, at least in law, that damage may be justified to avert a more serious wrong. The Balfour statue “fake blood” case produced unanimous acquittals, despite the politically charged setting of Westminster and the emotive symbolism involved. In December 2024, two actionists tried over the Leicester U-TacS action were again acquitted of criminal damage after raising necessity.

Where convictions have been secured, the sentences and subsequent developments have still contributed to politicising the process rather than delegitimising the movement. The Glasgow Thales five received custodial terms; some sentences were later reduced on appeal, and releases on electronic monitoring followed. The result was not deterrence in any meaningful sense but further mobilisation around the defendants, while the damage costs remained on the balance sheet of the manufacturer. At Filton, the imposition of serious charges — including

aggravated burglary and violent disorder — against the Filton 24 demonstrates the state’s intent to escalate; but the legal outcome is not pre-ordained, and the very breadth of those charges may again invite juries to weigh the actions in light of a genocide. The Brize Norton case, with arrests under section 41 of the Terrorism Act and a conspiracy to commit criminal damage charge, will similarly test the boundary between political dissent and “terrorism” in circumstances where the alleged conduct involved paint and not explosives.

The defences relied upon are themselves instructive. Necessity — preventing a greater harm — has not been a talisman, but when properly put to the jury it has provided a legal grammar for the moral intuition that damaging machinery connected to war crimes is not equivalent to wanton vandalism. The statutory defence under section 5(2)(b) has focused jurors on the protection of property, broadly conceived: if one can reasonably believe that action is needed to protect property — Palestinian homes, hospitals, schools — from destruction, why should that belief be categorically excluded? These are easy questions, and they are the questions juries have been asked and, in a significant number of cases, have answered in the defendants’ favour.



The purposing of civil disobedience

Civil disobedience has developed alongside, rather than in competition with, direct action. Mass, open law-breaking — sitting in public squares with placards explicitly criminalised by a recent proscription — has confronted the state with the optics of arresting pensioners for speech, and has forced prosecutors to decide whether to flood the courts with cases that risk jury-nullification dynamics repeating themselves. The actions organised by Defend Our Juries were conceptually simple and logistically profound: they multiplied the number of bodies willing to accept arrest to make visible the perceived injustice of the law itself.

Universities, media, and lobbying firms have been challenged on their roles as legitimising intermediaries. Actions at the BBC have been aimed not at silencing journalism but at contesting what actionists characterise as a manufacturing of consent for Israeli operations — thereby targeting the narrative infrastructure that normalises military violence. At Cambridge and Oxford, paint on sandstone and broken glass are less important than the disclosure they compel: an admission of how endowments are invested, which laboratories partner with which defence contractors, and what costs institutions are willing to bear to maintain those ties. The result has been disruption to ceremonies, new lines in budgets for clean-up and security, and — crucially — public conversation that would otherwise have remained cloistered.

Lobbyists such as APCO have found their doors locked and façades emblazoned with accusations; the aim is to raise the political cost of influence-peddling for companies whose products are linked to civilian deaths.

None of this is to romanticise risk or to ignore costs borne by defendants. Arrests have been numerous; prosecutions are stressful and often protracted; imprisonment is real. Yet the legal record to date shows that the courtroom is not a foregone conclusion for the state. In case after case, juries have demonstrated an appetite to examine context, to weigh proportionality, and to acquit where they judge the moral predicate persuasive. That alone exerts a disciplining force on prosecutorial ambition and on the political calculus behind the use of terrorism legislation in this arena. It also aligns the movement with a longer British tradition in which law-breaking in defence of justice — by suffragettes, by anti-apartheid campaigners, by conscientious objectors — has later been recognised as part of the nation's moral inheritance.

The centrality of focus

This report's documentation has also underscored the movement's internal discipline. Actions have been planned, timed, and executed with a clear understanding of their purpose; they have avoided targets that would turn the public against the cause, and have instead concentrated on the institutions that bind Britain to Israeli violence. Even where tactics have shocked, they have been



tethered to a strategic rationale: to convert public participation into public scrutiny; to surface hidden relationships; to deny, delay, and disrupt. That strategic coherence has, in turn, made it harder for sceptics to dismiss the campaign as unfocused or self-defeating.

Looking forward, the lessons are as stark

- 1 Direct action works when it is specific, sustained and situated at points of leverage; the closure in Oldham, the production impacts at Teledyne and Filton, and the service withdrawals by logistics providers all attest to that.
- 2 Civil disobedience can defend the moral space for that action by confronting unjust law in the open, particularly where juries are invited to exercise conscience.
- 3 The breadth of involvement means breadth of targeting: manufacturers will harden sites, but insurers can be made skittish; logistics chains can be re-routed, but reputational risk can make universities and lobbyists reconsider. Each strand reinforces the others; each has delivered demonstrable, not merely theatrical, effects.
- 4 The record demonstrates that a movement prepared to put bodies on the line can change the ledger of what is considered possible. Over these years, arms makers

and their enablers in Britain have paid — literally — for their role in a system that destroys Palestinian lives. Some have shuttered premises; others have lost suppliers; others still have seen aircraft grounded or offices closed; many have absorbed seven-figure damage costs and months-long delays.

These are not abstractions. They are the translation of ethical refusal into financial damage and slowed deliveries, achieved by people who concluded that petitioning was no longer enough. However the legal cases still pending conclude, that achievement stands. It stands as a proof of concept: that in the face of institutional paralysis and political cowardice, direct action and civil disobedience can force accountability into the everyday operations of power.

In summary, this report has documented a campaign that has exposed, disrupted and penalised Britain's material links to Israel's violence. It has recorded the legal jeopardy deliberately courted by those involved and the legal defences that have persuaded juries to acquit. It has shown how factories, banks, insurers, universities, lobby firms and even military assets have been made to reckon with the cost of participation. And it has argued, on the evidence of outcomes rather than slogans, that direct action has already achieved what it set out to do: to make it harder, slower and more expensive to arm and abet the oppression of Palestinians. That is the measure by which this movement asked to be judged. On the record assembled here, it has passed.



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