



## Israel's #GazaGenocide: Testing a new hegemonic world order, endangering most of humanity

### BDS Movement's Strategy Guide: Solidarity Messaging, Advocacy & Actions Priorities

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#### **(1) The current moment's most important features (for organizing):**

1.1. In full military, financial, political, and diplomatic partnership with the US and other Western colonial powers, the far-right Israeli government is continuing its genocide against the 2.3 million Palestinians in the occupied and besieged Gaza Strip. Israel's perpetration of the world's first **live-streamed genocide** provides the hegemonic West an opportunity to **test a new doctrine of unaccountable, unmasked, and extreme violence against those who challenge Western powers and their interests**. This would replace the already unjust and oppressive world order that has existed since WWII, formally ruled by international law, with a **"might makes right" era**.

1.2. **If Israel evades accountability for this genocide with its** Western-enabled "[mad dog](#)" doctrine, the already-thin credibility of international law will be irreversibly undermined. **This poses a [serious threat to weaker nations and communities](#)** worldwide that in seeking liberation and justice dare to defy and resist systems of Western domination, oppression, and subjugation. Israel's 75-year-old regime of settler colonialism and apartheid is a role model for this new order.

1.3. Israel's **#GazaGenocide has polarized the world more than any other time since the end of the Cold War**. Judging by UN voting patterns, public opinion polls, and mass protests, the absolute majority of humanity (particularly in the Global South) stands against the violently oppressive, exploitative, and

increasingly authoritarian Western establishments (investment banks, mega-corporations, governments and institutions), and seek true equality, justice and self-determination.

Supposedly “international” organizations, like the Olympics Committee, FIFA, etc., have become more subservient than ever to Western hegemonic powers, while the International Criminal Court (ICC), the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), among others, have been exposed as tools for punishing those deemed “enemies” of the West. Moreover, in **every institution and association in the West**, the establishment has **violently repressed, racialized, demonized, and even attempted to criminalize dissent, yet many have resiliently defended their rights**. Expressions of solidarity with Palestine are being suppressed, critical thought is being racially policed and repressed under the pretense of “safety” and “civility,” and the mask of liberal democracy is being torn in the process.

1.4. The collective **efforts of the global solidarity movement**, though inspiring, have **yet to reach the critical mass of pressure required to compel the US-Israel axis to stop the genocide**. Meaningful solidarity has been expressed in mass demonstrations from Jakarta to Washington, Cape Town to London, and Rabat to Baghdad; trade unions in Belgium, Italy, Greece, Turkey and elsewhere have opposed the handling of weapon shipments to Israel; hundreds of creative civil disobedience actions (sit-ins, peaceful occupations, walk-outs, strikes, etc.) worldwide; grassroots BDS campaigns and calls for military embargo have grown; strong declarations by racial, Indigenous, climate, gender and social justice movements standing in solidarity with Palestinian liberation; high-profile statements by prominent artists, writers, academics, international experts in genocide, as well as by progressive Jewish groups, human rights and civil rights organizations; and a million local, grassroots solidarity actions and creative initiatives worldwide.

1.5. Since the **US administration remains the epicenter of the Western-Israeli genocidal pact**, extensive domestic and international pressure is needed to impose on it a ceasefire as the urgent first step to stop the genocide. **Domestic pressure** includes electoral pressure and the peaceful disruption of business-as-usual in institutions, corporations, and policymaking circles. **International pressure** includes further isolating the US at the UN, widening the divisions between it and its European allies, increasing boycott and divestment pressures on complicit US (and European) corporations and banks, and challenging the US-dominated old and new “world order.”

The **theory of change** that the BDS movement shares with all strategic justice movements worldwide is critical: we need to build sufficient **people power to make policymakers change policies**. International law and universal human rights are necessary but insufficient tools; human agency and people power are what is always needed to use those tools to affect policy change.

Based on the above, we need to escalate global mobilizations to stop the ongoing genocide adapting our strategy to most effectively respond to the current developments.

## **(2) WHAT are the most urgent Palestinian objectives now (to reflect in our messaging)?**

2.1. Imposing on the US-Israel axis an **immediate ceasefire, lifting the deadly siege** to allow essential goods and services into Gaza unimpeded, and providing UN protection for Palestinians everywhere.

2.2. **Defeating the US-Israeli plans for forced transfer** of Palestinians within Gaza and out of Gaza.

2.3. Imposing targeted and lawful sanctions on Israel, most importantly a **comprehensive military-security embargo**, but also expulsion/suspension from international forums (UNGA, FIFA, International Olympic Committee, etc.), as was done to apartheid South Africa. Colombia just [declared](#) it wouldn't buy weapons from countries complicit with Israel's genocide, [Bolivia was the first to cut diplomatic ties](#), while some states have recalled ambassadors. The [Organization of Islamic Cooperation, the Arab League](#), South Africa, among others have called for an embargo, as have several European ministers, but other than Colombia, no state has yet adopted this embargo as policy.

2.4. Getting the **ICC to urgently issue arrest warrants for Israeli leaders** involved in genocide, in order to help stop it, or replace its [genocide-enabling Prosecutor, Karim Khan](#), by a jurist able to ethically and professionally pursue universal justice and swiftly investigate all Israeli war crimes and crimes against humanity, including apartheid and genocide.

2.5. **Holding political, military and other leaders** of states that have enabled or even failed to stop Israel's #GazaGenocide legally accountable through, among others, [strategic lawsuits](#) in domestic courts or third states' courts (under universal jurisdiction).

The last three demands may not be attainable in the short term, but we need to popularize and mainstream them for the "day after." Wherever possible, we should push for all these demands and build broad coalitions to pursue them.

## **(3) HOW do we most effectively advocate for and organize to achieve these demands?**

Given the extremely urgent need to stop the genocide, the BDS movement recommends the following forms of advocacy and mobilization:

### **3.1. Challenging/disrupting business-as-usual in states, institutions and spaces**

*[Context sensitivity, ethical responsibility towards participating activists, cost-benefit assessment, and planning the direct action as part of an overall strategy with clear objectives are always needed]*

Whenever feasible, organize peaceful disruptions, sit-ins, occupations, etc. of parliamentary buildings, policymakers' offices, as well as the corporate enablers of genocide and apartheid (arms manufacturers, investment firms), and institutions (media, universities, cultural spaces, etc.).

### **3.2. Escalating boycott and divestment campaigns against strategic complicit targets**

- Organize with trade unions to escalate [Block the Boat](#) peaceful action to [disrupt arms shipments to Israel](#) and similarly effective solidarity measures.
- Escalate [strategic boycotts of companies](#) complicit in Israeli apartheid, including banks, as well as campaigns targeting companies that have proven to be complicit in the ongoing genocide.
- Convince large, intersectional coalitions and other justice movements to adopt or escalate relevant, context-sensitive BDS campaigns (corporate, academic, cultural, sports, etc.), with a special focus on our call for a comprehensive military embargo
- Convince businesses, cultural and academic organizations, etc. to declare themselves Apartheid Free Zones (AFZ).
- Since Israel's live-streamed genocide threatens to be globalized and used against many nations and communities, organize strategic and intersectional campaigns to pressure investment/pension funds and institutions (city councils, universities, churches, cultural institutions, etc.) to adopt procurement guidelines that exclude companies implicated in grave human rights violations *anywhere*, including companies involved in Israel's genocide, apartheid, military occupation and settlements.
- Organize campaigns to pressure investment/pension funds and institutions (city councils, universities, churches, cultural institutions, etc.), when applicable, to divest from all companies complicit in Israeli apartheid and military occupation.

### **3.3. Pressuring governments to adopt lawful, targeted sanctions on Israel**

Build broad coalitions to organize grassroots and civil society campaigns – including strategic, peaceful direct-action – to pressure (or were possible including) parliamentary parties or other influential actors to push governments to adopt meaningful sanctions, especially a [comprehensive military embargo on Israel](#). This includes pushing transit states to stop allowing the transport of weapons through their ports and airports. In non-friendly states (most of the West, India, Japan, South Korea, etc.), these campaigns may consider tactically adopting the [Amnesty International call for a military embargo on “both sides.”](#)

### **3.4. Pressuring governments to advocate for expelling/suspending or sanctioning Israel in international forums**

Organize broad coalitions to pressure parliamentary parties and governments to support the **expulsion/suspension or sanctioning of Israel in international forums**. This should include support for a special tribunal to [investigate Israel's nuclear weapons and military nuclear facilities](#), paving the way to ultimately removing and dismantling them. The IAEA has failed to even condemn Israel's latest admission of having nuclear weapons and considering using them against Palestinians.

### **3.5. Pressuring ICC member states to get the ICC to act immediately and/or fire its genocide-enabling prosecutor**

This is particularly relevant in the Global South, through policy mobilization in parliaments and media advocacy, to push the ICC to urgently act or replace its genocide enabling prosecutor, Karim Khan. If there is no response from the ICC, Global South states should consider withdrawing from the ICC.

**(4) Continue to shift the mainstream narrative, especially in the hegemonic West, using factually accurate, well-referenced, ethically-consistent, and accessible language to:**

- a. Mainstream in all statements, protests, and other actions the charge of genocide, focusing on Palestinians most affected by it, by highlighting Israeli genocidal actions and dehumanizing incitement against Palestinians across historic Palestine.
- b. Make sure every statement issued or position taken contextualizes the current crisis in Israel's 75 years of settler-colonialism and apartheid, 16-year siege, etc., explaining in accessible language that oppression is the initial violence, the root cause of violence, and that complicity in oppression sustains violence.
- c. Effectively contribute to exposing the most dominant, dehumanizing, racist Israeli propaganda claims and the complicity of Western corporate media in enabling the genocide. This includes referring to the new credible evidence that Israeli forces have used indiscriminate and disproportionate force in the Israeli settlements around Gaza that killed not just Palestinian fighters but some of the Israeli civilians they held hostage.
- d. Expose the massive and draconian repression by the far-right Israeli government and state apparatus, emboldened by a growing fascist wave that has overtaken the Jewish-Israeli public, of any perceived or real dissenting views. Also expose Israel's brutalization of fragmentation and closure of Palestinian cities, villages and refugee camps, and its support for its fascist armed settlers to terrorize, willfully kill, abuse, torture and ethnically cleanse Palestinians in the West Bank and to a lesser extent Palestinians in the 48 region (citizens of present-day Israel).

**(5) The BDS movement's principled positions on violence, armed resistance, and Palestine as a "litmus test" for human rights**

We must remind everyone, including elected officials and the [mainstream media](#), of the context and the consistent positions of the BDS movement:

**On Violence:**

In his [Pedagogy of the Oppressed](#), Paulo Freire writes that "With the establishment of a relationship of oppression, violence has already begun." In any situation of oppression, such as Israel's 75-years regime of settler-colonialism and apartheid, violence is *initiated* by the very presence of oppression. The reaction of the oppressed -- whether violent or not, whether morally defensible or not -- is always just that, a [reaction to the initial violence of the oppressor](#).

**On Armed Resistance:**

"In harmony with international law, the nonviolent BDS movement recognizes the right of the Indigenous Palestinian people to resist Israel's decades-old regime of settler-colonialism, apartheid

and military occupation “by all available means, including armed resistance,” as mandated by numerous UN General Assembly resolutions, including [UNGA Res. 37/43](#)) and [UNGA Res. 45/130](#), with strict adherence to the principle of prohibition against targeting non-combatants.”

The use of force against non-combatants is prohibited, whether from the oppressor or the oppressed side—despite the massive power imbalance and, crucially, the just as massive moral asymmetry between the colonizer and the colonized.

***Palestine as “the litmus test for human rights”:***

As South African jurist and former ICJ judge **John Dugard** once prophetically [said](#) years ago:

“Failure of the West to take Palestine seriously will have serious consequences for the Human Rights Council in particular and human rights in general. The Human Rights Council will become a disaster; and the ROW will obstruct action on issues such as Darfur. The West cannot expect the [rest of the world (ROW)] to take issues it regards as important seriously if it persists in its present attitude to the OPT. For the ROW the issue of Palestine has become the litmus test for human rights. If the West fails to show concern for human rights in the OPT the ROW will conclude that human rights is a tool employed by the West against regimes it dislikes and not an objective and universal instrument for the measurement of the treatment of people throughout the world.”

Cherry-picking when and how international law should be applied to serve the interests of the powers that be is what has undermined its credibility and authority in much of the Global South. **Only its consistent application, particularly to deter and hold to account powerful aggressors, occupiers, and regimes of oppression, not just the victims of all those forms of injustice, can contribute to building a more just, free and peaceful world that upholds equal rights and dignity for all, irrespective of identity.**

**(6) Useful resources (even if we may not agree with all points made in every resource):**

- [CCR: Palestinians Sue Biden for Failure to Prevent Genocide, Seek Emergency Order to Stop Military and Diplomatic Support for Israeli Genocide in Gaza.](#)
- [Final Statement of the Joint Summit of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation and the Arab League calling for military embargo on Israel and holding it responsible for the crisis.](#)
- [International law expert Prof. Ralph Wilde refutes Israel's “self-defense” claim in justifying its aggression in Gaza.](#)
- [Palestinian civil society issues policy brief on imposing a comprehensive military embargo on Israel, including by transit states.](#)
- [Palestinian civil society issues policy brief on countering Israel's revealed nuclear threat.](#)
- [Amnesty International calls for immediate ceasefire, military embargo, dismantling apartheid.](#)
- [Over 5,000 Black activists, artists, scholars, students and over 200 organizations signed Black Solidarity with Gaza #CeasefireNow statement.](#)
- [Palestinian and international human rights and civil society organizations call for a comprehensive military embargo on Israel.](#)
- [Belgian trade unions refuse to handle weapon shipments to Israel.](#)
- [Trade unions in Italy, Greece, Turkey and Australia endorse refusal to handle weapon shipments to Israel.](#)
- [Belgian Deputy PM calls for sanctions on Israel, including a military embargo, ICC war crimes investigation, suspending EU-Israel Association Agreement, and banning settlement goods.](#)
- [Spanish minister condemns Israel's genocide, calling for cutting diplomatic ties with Israel and imposing sanctions on it.](#)
- [UNGA Res. calling for immediate, sustained humanitarian truce \(passed 121:14\).](#)
- [UN experts call for “prevention of genocide”.](#)
- [Amnesty International calls for immediate ceasefire, military embargo and dismantling apartheid.](#)

- [Oxfam: Israel using starvation as weapon of war being used against Gaza civilians](#)
- [Palestinian HR orgs. call on ICRC to fulfill its responsibilities to protect Palestinian prisoners.](#)
- [International Scholars' statement warning of genocide](#)
- [Center for Constitutional Rights \(US\) Legal Briefing Paper on Israel's unfolding genocide in Gaza](#)
- [Palestinian human rights organizations call to protect Gaza from genocide](#)
- [Israeli scholar of the Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Raz Segal, on Israel's "textbook case of genocide" in Gaza](#)
- [The Global Network on the Question of Palestine statement on genocide](#)
- [South African government calls on Israel to cease its genocidal campaign against the Palestinians](#)
- [Financial Times reveals: West has "lost the battle in the Global South" over hypocrisy on Palestine](#)
- [ICJP warning of intention to prosecute UK government for complicity in Israeli war crimes in Gaza](#)
- [Palestinian trade unions' call for a military embargo on Israel](#)
- [Palestinian and UK legal groups seek halt to UK weapons to Israel](#)
- [Spanish leftist coalition Sumar calls on EU countries to impose military embargo on Israel](#)
- [Jewish Voice for Peace full-page ad in the NYT calling for ceasefire, cutting US military funding to Israel, and "Never Again for Anyone"](#)

#### Earlier statements/articles:

- [BDS movement](#)
- [Palestinian human rights organizations](#)
- [Progressive International](#)
- [Jewish Voice for Peace](#) (US)
- [Independent Jewish Voices](#) (Canada)
- [IMEU](#) (US) (IMEU also produced an [excellent video](#) to show the context in Gaza)
- [AFSC](#)
- [If Not Now](#) (US)
- [Palestine Solidarity Campaign](#) (UK)
- [Ireland Palestine Solidarity Campaign](#) (Ireland)
- [Irish Congress of Trade Unions statement](#)
- [MK Ofer Kassif](#) (Israeli Knesset)