

**A Guide To
Complicity
And Protest**

**NO PARTIES
NO PRESS
NO ARTWASHING**

**BOYCOTT
THE
GENOCIDE
PAVILION**

Boycott the Genocide Pavilion. No Artwashing.

As arts workers, we refuse the presence of a genocidal apartheid state on the cultural world stage of the 61st Venice Biennale. To provide space for the Israeli pavilion at the Arsenale is to accept genocide, to normalise the ongoing decimation of an entire population, to deny human rights, to create a precedent for justifying totalitarianism.

A genocidal state

In July 2024, the International Court of Justice affirmed that Israel is plausibly committing genocide against Palestinians in Gaza. More than two years after this ruling, and notwithstanding a de jure ceasefire, which Israel has violated almost 1,000 times, killing over 750 Palestinians, Israel's decades-long assault on Gaza and the West Bank continues. This includes relentless attacks on civilians, the severe restriction of humanitarian aid, and the horrific rape and torture of Palestinian prisoners held in occupation jails. All the while, Israel's leaders proclaim they are above international law and boldly advertise their genocidal intent.

Israel's occupation of Palestine, including the West Bank, East Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip—deemed illegal under UN Resolution 242 of November 1967—constitutes, together with its treatment of Palestinians inside 1948 borders, a cruel system of apartheid and a crime against humanity. The law recently passed by the Israeli parliament introduces the death penalty for Palestinians accused of terrorist attacks, a measure that would allow executions within a fast-tracked process and without entitlement to pardon. Palestinians under occupation are tried in military courts, and over 99% are found guilty.

Colonial expansionism

The widening war being waged by the US and Israel did not appear overnight. It grows from years of the West's normalisation of Israel's genocide in Gaza and its 78-year occupation of Palestine. Since 28 February 2026, the brutal imperial aggression unleashed on Iran and Lebanon by US-Israeli forces has killed over 4,000 people across the two countries. This comes after the Trump-led Board of Peace was set up to claim authority over Gaza's future while sidelining Palestinian self-determination; a grotesque farce endorsed by the UN Security Council.

Israel's occupation of Palestine functions as a laboratory for authoritarian imperialist power everywhere. Israel uses Palestine as a testing ground to develop and export technologies, tactics, and ideologies of control. These technologies and tactics are then deployed elsewhere as colonial violence and imperial domination are normalised through military and economic warfare—from Sudan and Venezuela to Cuba, Iran and Afghanistan.

Artwashing genocide

For decades, the Venice Biennale has handed Israel an international stage to culturewash its occupation of Palestine. In 2024, the outrage against the inclusion of this genocidal state in the Biennale was so strong that the Israeli pavilion was forced to close. As we reach an appalling anniversary—over two and a half years of open genocide against Palestine and 78 years after the Nakba—the Israeli state once again seeks the legitimisation of the Biennale to masquerade as a creator while acting as a destroyer of life and culture.

We demand the boycott of the Israeli pavilion. We demand the Biennale shut it down. We demand a permanent and real ceasefire, an end to the genocide against Palestinians in Gaza, and an end to the apartheid and occupation of Palestine.

About the Genocide Pavilion

Artist Belu-Simion Fainaru is representing the genocidal state of Israel this year. His exhibition, *The Rose of Nothingness*, is staged in the Biennale's Arsenale. Fainaru, a Romanian artist who emigrated to Israel in 1973, lives in a neighbourhood built on the ruins of destroyed Palestinian Haifa. The artist, who also exhibited at the Romanian Pavilion in 2019, has said he is "happy to represent Israel in these complex times" and that themes of "repair and healing" matter deeply to him.

Following ANGA's 2024 campaign, which successfully shut down the Genocide Pavilion, Israel's national pavilion in the Giardini remains closed. They did not participate in the 2025 International Architecture Exhibition. This year,

the Biennale has shown its support by accommodating the genocidal state and specially allocating them a space in the Arsenale.

Biennale management claims it lacks the authority to exclude Israel. Yet the City of Venice owns the Arsenale and the Biennale directly manages it. The Biennale is under no obligation to provide any country space at the Arsenale and could have required Israel to rent a venue in the city during the closure of its pavilion, as many other countries do. Instead, the Biennale is deliberately choosing to host Israel in the Arsenale.

ANGA rejects this attempt to launder Israel's crimes on the Biennale's international cultural stage. There can be no place for repair, healing, or cultural dialogue until the state of Israel is brought to justice for its crimes. Israel must face repercussions and accountability for its genocide of Palestinians and violations of international law across the entire region.

ANGA reiterates its call for the Biennale to exclude Israel from the 61st International Art Exhibition. Following the principles of the Palestinian Academic Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI), we do not call for the exclusion of any individual artist. Instead, we demand the exclusion of the Israeli state and its representatives as it continues its assault in Gaza.

Palestine Solidarity in Venice

Gaza – No Words – See the Exhibit
9 May – 22 November

Palestine has never had a national pavilion because Italy does not recognise it as a sovereign state. Palestine Museum US presents an exhibition of Palestinian tatreez at this edition of the Biennale. Tatreez is an embroidery practice added to UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage list and is a symbol of Palestinian cultural memory and resistance. The show, titled *Gaza – No Words – See the Exhibit*, has been announced as an official collateral event. The exhibition hosts the last chapter of the Gaza Genocide Tapestry, a continuation of the award-winning Palestine History Tapestry, and chronicles the events of over two years of genocide in Gaza.

At Palazzo Mora, Strada Nova, Cannaregio 3659, 30121 Venice. Opening hours: 10:00 am–6:00 pm (closed on Tuesdays).

Taring Padi: People's Liberation
Collective Banners 2023–2026
3 May – 31 July

People's Liberation is an exhibition of a series of large-scale banners that were created for political education, propaganda, and mobilisation by the Indonesian collective in collaboration with progressive organisations, collectives, and individuals across four continents. Following the dismantling of the *People's Justice* banner at Documenta 15 in 2022, under allegations of

antisemitism, Taring Padi reclaimed the condemned banner and transformed it into a platform to educate and mobilise. The exhibition is produced by the Collective of Art Workers Taring Padi, S.a.L.E. Docks, and the Institute of Radical Imagination. S.a.L.E. Docks is an activist art space in Venice, founded through an occupation in 2007, and is an active participant in ANGA. The Institute of Radical Imagination is a transnational collective of art workers from Southern Europe, Indonesia, and Palestine.

At S.a.L.E. Docks, Dorsoduro 265, 30123 Venice. Opening hours: Thursday to Sunday, 11:30 am–2:00 pm. Additionally, Taring Padi's presence in Venice includes the creation of a new large-scale mural on the exterior walls of Laboratorio Occupato Morion, a key space for the city's social movements.

Mosaab Abusal: Geography of the Body – Archive of Survival
3 May – 31 July

A body that resists. A body that remembers. A body that bears witness. The exhibition presents recent works by Gazan artist Mosaab Abusal, born out of the urgency and devastation of the Gaza Strip. Created after forced displacement and the loss of his studio, Abusal's charcoal drawings present the Palestinian body as a living archive: not just flesh, but memory, evidence, territory. While Gaza is erased, the body remains as the ultimate witness to the truth.

At S.a.L.E. Docks, Dorsoduro 265, 30123 Venice. Opening hours: Thursday to Sunday, 11:30 am–2:00 pm.

Gabrielle Goliath: Elegy
5 May – 31 July

Gabrielle Goliath was due to present her ongoing project *Elegy* at the South African pavilion this year. This new iteration of *Elegy* addresses the Ovaherero and Nama genocide in Namibia in the early part of the 20th century, as well as the death of Heba Abu Nada, a Palestinian poet who was killed in an Israeli airstrike in Gaza in October 2023.

In January, South Africa's culture minister Gayton McKenzie—a staunch supporter of Israel—cancelled the project as “highly divisive in nature.” Gayton attempted to censor the section of the work addressing Abu Nada; Goliath's refusal led to the cancellation of the pavilion.

Elegy will instead be staged at the Biennale as an independent exhibition. Goliath describes it as “a gathering space, a sacred chamber in which to sound a reparative work of loving and longing. In grieving these lives—Heba Abunada, Ipeleng Christine Moholane, and two Nama women ancestors—we hold a note, and in the face of cancellation, threat and incommensurable losses, dare to think and dream the world differently.”

At Chiesa di Sant'Antonin, Salizada S. Antonin, Castello 3477, 30122 Venice. Opening hours: Tuesday to Saturday, 10:00am–6:00pm.

Information about the genocide

The following are the official figures as of April 2026:

Human toll and casualties

The following figures are likely a significant under-count of total fatalities, especially when including indirect deaths (hunger, disease, lack of care). Missing persons and collapsed infrastructure make full accounting difficult.

- Reported deaths exceed 72,000, with some estimates above 75,000
- Public health estimates suggest the true toll could be over 180,000
- ~10,000 people missing, many likely buried under rubble
- 750+ killed and nearly 2,000 injured since the ceasefire
- 1,200+ patients died while waiting for medical evacuation
- 250+ journalists killed — making Gaza the deadliest place for journalists in modern history

Injuries and medical crisis

Gaza's healthcare system is in partial collapse, with long-term disability and untreated injuries compounding the humanitarian crisis.

- Tens of thousands suffer severe injuries
- 3,000–4,000 amputations reported
- 18,500+ people await medical evacuation (4,000 children)
- Only ~50% of hospitals partially functional
- Less than 50% of primary healthcare centres operational

Infrastructure & Environmental Destruction

The destruction of Gaza is not only widespread but systemic, affecting basic survival systems and making recovery a long-term challenge measured in years or decades.

- 200,000 tonnes of explosives dropped (exceeding Hiroshima-scale force)
- 61 million tons of debris; cleanup expected to take 7+ years
- 80%+ of buildings damaged or destroyed
- Water, sanitation, and electricity systems largely destroyed or degraded

Displacement and living conditions

Conditions point toward a sustained humanitarian emergency, with mass displacement and hunger affecting nearly the entire population. Humanitarian aid repeatedly obstructed.

- ~90% of Gaza's population has been forcibly displaced, many of them multiple times.
- 1.9 million people face acute food insecurity
- ~100,000 people experiencing catastrophic hunger

Education and cultural loss

Beyond immediate survival, Gaza's long-term societal foundations—education and cultural identity—have been heavily disrupted.

- Majority of schools and all universities damaged or destroyed
- 200+ cultural and heritage sites destroyed
- Archives and museums systematically destroyed

Detention and legal issues

Legal and detention practices raise significant human rights concerns, particularly regarding due process and treatment in custody.

- 10,000+ Palestinians held in Israeli prisons, many without charge
- Children detained and prosecuted in military courts
- Deaths in Israeli custody have been reported alongside widespread allegations of torture and abuse.
- A new Israeli law makes the death penalty the default for Palestinians in military courts. The law applies capital punishment only to Palestinians.

West Bank situation

Violence and displacement are not confined to Gaza, indicating a broader regional escalation in the West Bank. 1,300+ Palestinians killed since October 2023, with record levels of settler violence displacing entire communities.

A history of Biennale protest

The Venice Biennale is often presented as a timeless celebration of art. But historically, it has also been a contested political space—one where artists, workers, and movements have intervened, refused participation, and forced institutional change.

1968: A TURNING POINT

In 1968, the Biennale was occupied and disrupted by students, artists, and cultural workers aligned with global protest movements.

They opposed:

- elitism and nationalism
- the competitive prize system
- the Biennale's complicity with capitalism and imperial power

As a result, prizes were abolished, and the Biennale entered a long phase of politicization.

THE 1970s: ART AS A POLITICAL ACT

In the 1970s, participation in the Biennale was increasingly understood as a political choice, not a neutral opportunity.

- 1970: the US Pavilion was boycotted by American artists horrified by the state's participation in the brutal wars in Vietnam and Cambodia. 24 artists withdrew their works.
- 1974: the Biennale responded to the US-backed military coup led by General Augusto Pinochet by naming that year's exhibition Freedom for Chile and declaring itself antifascist. It was a highly politicised event. It opened with a packed conference titled 'Testimonianza contro il fascismo (Bearing Witness against Fascism)' with Hortensia Allende, the president's widow, in attendance and hosted an exhibition of political posters from 1970 to 1973.
- 1976: three collectives in the Biennale staged an action in solidarity with those under siege at the Tel Al-Za'tar refugee camp housing over 50,000 Palestinian and Lebanese refugees in north-eastern Beirut, which resulted in the massacre of at least 1,500 residents. The Collectif de peintres des pays arabes, L'Arcicoda, and the Collectif de peintres antifascistes organised a large-scale public painting and solidarity actions in Piazza Ferretto in Mestre, collaborating with Italian workers' unions and the Brigade internationale des peintres antifascistes. The "liberated" exhibition was a site of:
 - anti-imperialist and anti-fascist solidarity
 - Marxist and Third Worldist critique
 - debates on culture, power, and state violence

Absence, refusal, and boycott became meaningful gestures.

SOUTH AFRICA & THE APARTHEID BOYCOTT

From 1950 to 1968, due to widespread global condemnation and calls for boycott, apartheid South Africa was discouraged from exhibiting and sidelined when the Biennale allocated spaces. An official ban was put in place in 1968 based on UN resolution 2396 to suspend "exchanges with the racist regime." South Africa was not readmitted to the Biennale until its apartheid rule was abolished in 1993.

This followed sustained international pressure from:

- the UN
- anti-apartheid movements
- artists' and cultural workers' networks

The cultural boycott was understood as a refusal to legitimise apartheid through art.

MIGRANT WORKERS' RIGHTS & ISRAEL'S OCCUPATION

In 2015, protesters occupied the Peggy Guggenheim Collection to highlight human rights violations against migrant workers during construction of the Guggenheim Abu Dhabi. During the opening, Biennale participants Gulf Labor Coalition in collaboration with GULF (Gulf Ultra Luxury Faction), and Italian organisations S.a.L.E. Docks in Venice and Macao from Milan, protested for workers' rights outside the Collection and forced its temporary closure. In August 2015, Gulf Labor and GULF sprayed a Handala in the Arsenale and occupied the Israeli Pavilion to highlight parallels between the struggles of Palestinian and migrant workers. These actions highlighted:

- solidarity with migrant workers
- the plight of Palestinian workers under Israeli occupation
- the predatory nature of neoliberal museum franchises

PALESTINE & ART NOT GENOCIDE ALLIANCE

In 2024, ANGA launched its campaign to exclude Israel from the Biennale, garnering over 24,000 signatures within a few weeks. The alliance of artists, art workers and visitors represents one of the largest ever cultural campaigns for the boycott of Israel. The Biennale's refusal to exclude the Genocide Pavilion resulted in a call for a complete boycott of the pavilion which led to the closure of the pavilion, with direct actions in the Giardini and around the city during the opening week. The campaign represented:

- widespread Palestine solidarity among the art community
- mass refusal of artwashing genocide on the international cultural stage
- collective power to shut it down

The Venice Biennale: complicit in genocide

The Biennale has been silent about Israel's atrocities against Palestinians, despite Israel's assault on Gaza constituting one of the most intense bombardments in history. By the end of October 2023, Israel had already fired tonnes of explosives on Gaza with a force comparable to the nuclear bomb dropped on Hiroshima in 1945.

Pietrangelo Buttafuoco was nominated as the new president of the Venice Biennale in November 2023. He was the former leader of the youth wing of the neo-fascist Italian Social Movement (Movimento Sociale Italiano or MSI) party, before working as a journalist for rightwing magazines and *Il Secolo d'Italia*.

On 5 March 2026 Buttafuoco said, "I open to everyone, I close to no one. Russia, Iran, Israel will be there." His statement presents 'inclusion' as a principle, but the Biennale's own record shows that this principle has not been applied consistently. In March 2022, following Russia's invasion of Ukraine, the Biennale stated it would "not accept the presence at any of its events of official delegations, institutions or persons tied in any capacity to the Russian government."

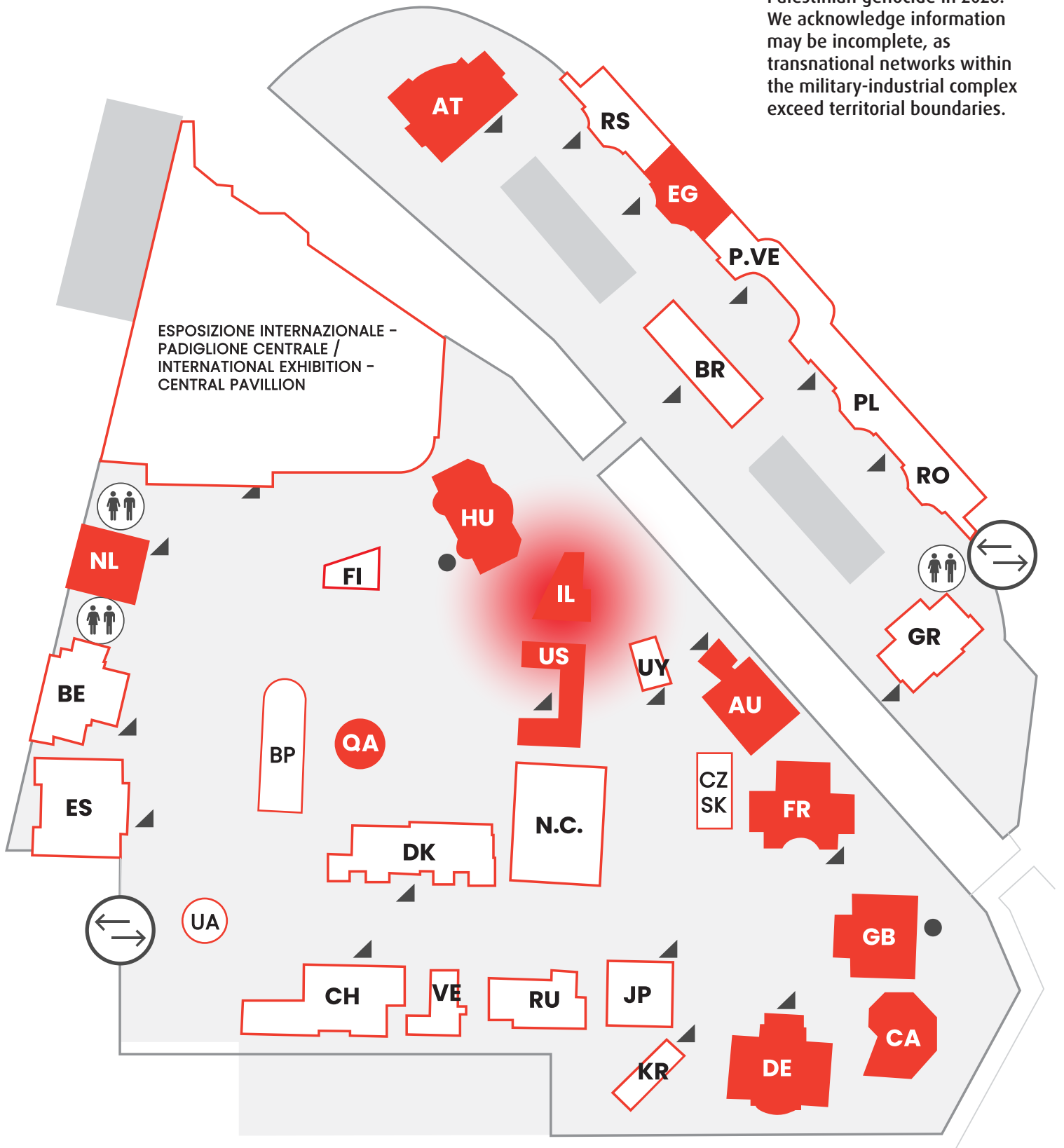
Yet in 2024, when over 24,000 people came together to call for the exclusion of Israel, the Biennale argued it could not decide which countries participate, saying states may "autonomously request" participation. On 4 March 2026, it repeated that national participations arise from "spontaneous initiatives" and that it rejects "any form of exclusion." But its own procedures say something different: La Biennale is the promoter and organiser of the exhibition. Participation in the Biennale must be confirmed by the institution, exhibition projects are submitted for verification, and press materials require the Biennale's approval. The question is not whether the Biennale lacks the mechanisms of power; it is about the Biennale's selective use of power.

The Biennale continues to deny its power of inclusion and exclusion while making inconsistent institutional choices that normalise the ongoing genocide against Palestinians, making the institution complicit in the erosion of accountability and international law.

For over two years, the Biennale has continued to contribute to a climate of impunity and artwashing. It is entangled in international mechanisms that have eroded international law and enabled the expansion of Israel's imperial ambitions.

A guide to complicity: Giardini

Note: This guide identifies the principal supporters of the Palestinian genocide in 2026. We acknowledge information may be incomplete, as transnational networks within the military-industrial complex exceed territorial boundaries.



AU Australia is a partner in the global F-35 Joint Strike Fighter programme, supplying components used in aircraft operated by Israel. This places Australia within the transnational supply chain that supports Israeli airpower. In 2025, the Australian government signed a deal worth approximately \$20m to acquire the Iron Fist active protection system from Israeli arms manufacturer Elbit Systems, deepening defence ties between the two countries. The agreement was criticised by human rights and international law experts, who warned that such procurement strengthens military links at a time of ongoing violence in Gaza. Australia's role illustrates how participation in global defence industries embeds states within the material infrastructure that sustains war.

AT Austria has provided Israel with consistent political support. On 9 October 2023, the government suspended its aid to Palestinians for two months, and in January 2024 it froze its funding to UNRWA. These decisions reflect a broader alignment with Israeli positions at a moment of escalating violence, contributing to the withdrawal of humanitarian support while reinforcing diplomatic backing.

CA Canada: was identified by Reuters as one of the countries that halted arms shipments to Israel in 2024 over concern that they could be used in ways that violated international humanitarian law. But this does not erase its prior role in exporting military goods to Israel, nor the wider political alignment that allowed those transfers to continue for years. Canada illustrates how states can acknowledge legal risk without confronting the full extent of their own complicity.

FR France has maintained military and strategic ties with Israel while presenting itself as a defender of international law. Investigative reporting documented that by the end of October 2023 France had authorised the delivery of at least 100,000 cartridges for machine guns to Israel, ammunition that could be used against civilians in Gaza. Over the past decade, France has exported more than €200m in military equipment to Israel. At the same time, thousands of French nationals are reported to have served in the Israeli military. France's position illustrates a familiar pattern: official diplomatic concern paired with continued material and political support.

DE Germany is Israel's second-largest supplier of arms after the United States. The German government has issued export licences worth more than €485 million from 7 October 2023 to 12 May 2025, with weapons from Germany accounting for around 30% of Israel's military imports.

In March 2026, it was reported that Volkswagen is in discussions with Israeli weapons company Rafael Advanced Defence Systems to produce components for Israel's Iron Dome system. This signals a major pivot for the company, returning VW to its Nazi origins, founded in 1937, when it produced military vehicles for WWII using forced labour from concentration camps. VW has also been accused of buying conflict gold from Sudan, the illicit trade of which is fuelling the ongoing war and genocide there.

This material support is underpinned by the doctrine of *Staatsräson*, through which Germany frames the security of Israel as a core state responsibility. This position has translated into consistent diplomatic backing and efforts to limit stronger EU responses to Israel's actions.

Domestically, this alignment has been accompanied by increasing censorship and political pressure within the cultural field. Germany's role combines military supply, political doctrine and cultural regulation, illustrating how state policy extends across multiple domains in sustaining its support for Israel.

EG Egypt occupies a key position in the structure of the Gaza blockade. It controls the Rafah crossing, the only land border between Gaza and the outside world not directly controlled by Israel. Yet access through this crossing has been repeatedly restricted, limiting the movement of people, medical evacuations and humanitarian aid. Since the tightening of border controls after 2013, Egypt has cooperated with Israel in enforcing the isolation of Gaza, including the destruction of cross-border tunnels and the maintenance of strict security controls.

Meanwhile, Egypt presents itself as a mediator in ceasefire negotiations, positioning itself as an indispensable diplomatic actor. This dual role as both gatekeeper and intermediary places Egypt at the centre of the system that contains Gaza while managing its crises without resolving them.

GB Great Britain has licensed hundreds of millions of pounds in arms to Israel since 2015 and continues to play a critical role through the supply of components for the F-35 combat aircraft, heavily used in the bombardment of Gaza. Even after the UK government announced a partial suspension of some licences in 2024, it continued to allow F-35 components to reach Israel through third countries such as the US. Court documents show that UK legal advisers could not confidently conclude that Israel was complying with international humanitarian law, yet arms transfers continued.

This ongoing support builds on Britain's longstanding relationship to the region, rooted in its history as a colonial power. In recent years, protest actions by Palestine Action targeting arms

manufacturers, have been met with increasing legal repression, reflecting growing efforts to shield these supply chains from public scrutiny. Since 2023, there has been increasing censorship of pro-Palestinian speech and direct actions, including major efforts to intervene in the judicial system in favour of Israeli interests and Zionist lobby groups that fund members of the current Labour government.

Britain's role is not peripheral: it is embedded in the military, logistical and political infrastructure that makes ongoing violence possible.

HU Hungary has been one of Israel's most reliable political allies within the European union. Under Viktor Orbán, the Hungarian government has repeatedly blocked or weakened EU statements critical of Israel, opposing stronger language on ceasefires and accountability. Because EU foreign policy decisions require unanimity, Hungary's position has played a decisive role in preventing coordinated European action. This form of support is not military but political: by shielding Israel from diplomatic pressure, Hungary contributes directly to the conditions of impunity in which ongoing violence takes place. Its role demonstrates how complicity operates not only through weapons and infrastructure, but through the obstruction of international response.

IL Israel's permanent pavilion in the Giardini, built in 1952, was closed in 2024 following widespread protest and pressure from artists and cultural workers, and remains closed. While the pavilion is supposedly under renovation, the Biennale has accommodated Israel's participation in the Arsenale, one of the exhibition's central spaces—a gesture that constitutes an explicit institutional endorsement at a time of escalating violence.

IT Italy continues to provide material support to Israel through ongoing military and energy transfers. At least 416 military-related shipments and more than 224 kilotons of fuel originating in Italy have been sent to Israel. This stands in contrast to public statements by officials, including Foreign Minister Antonio Tajani and Prime Minister Giorgia Meloni, who have claimed that restrictions were placed on arms exports. Available reports instead point to a network involving Italian companies, transport operators, and strategic infrastructure—including ports, airports, and fuel terminals—through which these transfers have taken place.

Italy's role extends beyond manufacturing to include the logistical systems that enable the movement of military supplies. This positions the country as an integrated link in the supply chain, sustaining Israel's operations.

On 13 April 2026, the Italy-Israel Memorandum of Understanding on military and defence cooperation was renewed, despite ongoing controversy and legal challenges.

NL The Netherlands plays a key role in the military supply chain linking Europe to Israel through its involvement in the F-35 fighter jet programme. Dutch exports of F-35 components became the subject of a major legal challenge, and in February 2024 a court in The Hague ordered the government to halt these exports, recognising a clear risk that the parts could be used in violations of international humanitarian law in Gaza. Despite this ruling, concerns have persisted about indirect supply routes through third countries, highlighting how military supply chains continue to function even when legal responsibility has been formally acknowledged. The Dutch case makes visible the material infrastructure behind the war: not only weapons, but the transnational systems that enable them.

QA Qatar is in the process of establishing a permanent national pavilion in the Giardini, reflecting its growing investment in the Biennale as a geopolitical and cultural platform. In recent years, Qatar has positioned itself as a key diplomatic mediator in Israel's war on Gaza, hosting negotiations and maintaining channels with Palestinian political actors while providing financial and humanitarian support to Gaza.

Meanwhile, Qatar hosts Al Udeid Air Base, the largest US military base in the region, embedding it within the US-led security infrastructure that underpins Israel's military power. This dual role reflects a form of mediated complicity, in which diplomatic engagement and humanitarian support coexist with participation in the geopolitical framework that enables ongoing violence, occupation and apartheid.

US The United States remains Israel's principal military backer. Reuters reported in May 2024 that the US was by far Israel's largest arms supplier, providing the overwhelming majority of its imported weapons. Since October 2023, Washington has continued authorising and delivering large-scale arms packages, including precision-guided munitions, while maintaining long-standing military aid worth billions of dollars annually.

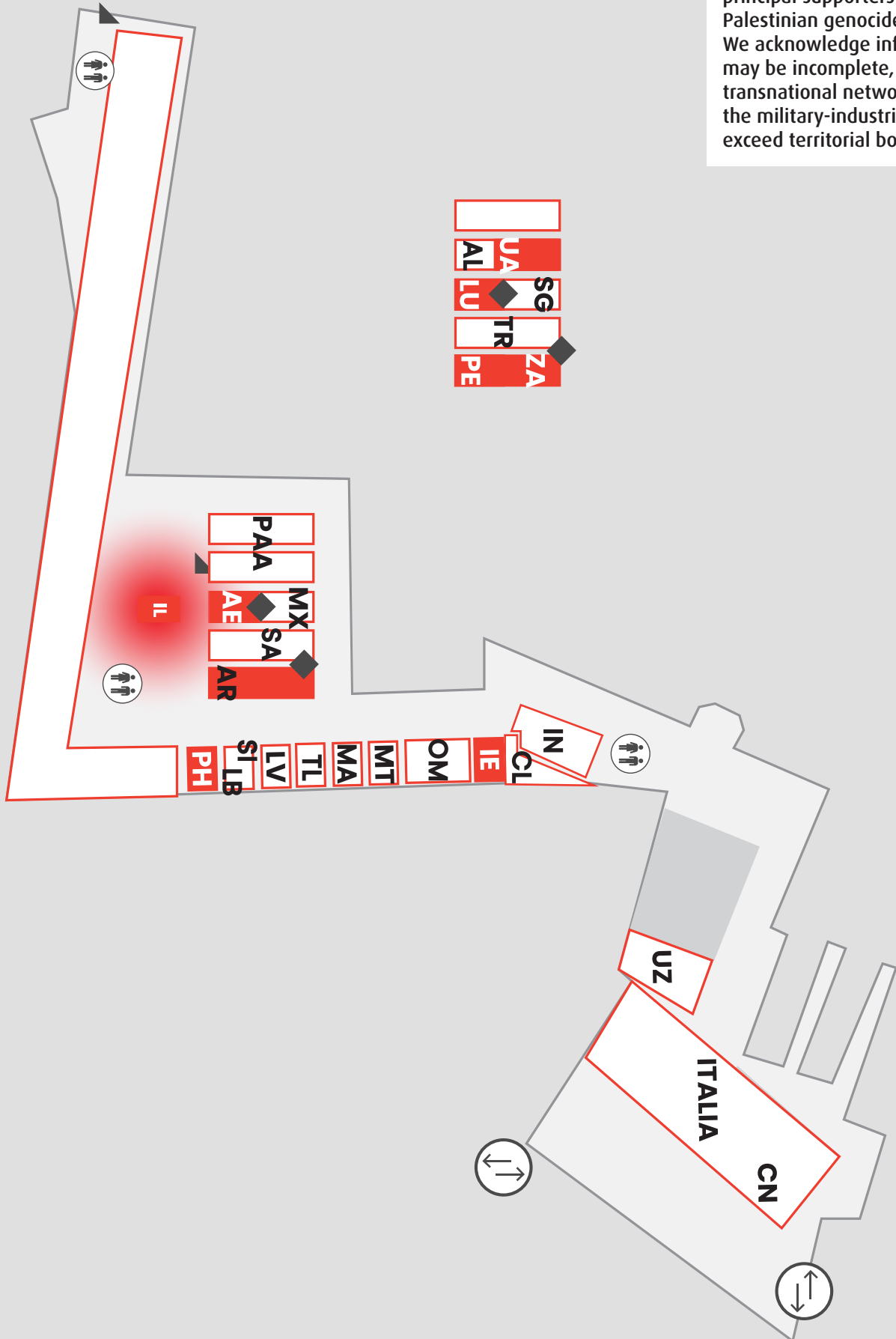
In 2026, the US actively joined Israel in committing war crimes in the region with its illegal attack on Iran. On the first day of the war, the US attacked the Shajareh Tayyebbeh primary school in Minab with a 'double-tap' missile strike that killed at least 168 people, including 110 school children.

The US has escalated its repression of pro-Palestinian protest and speech since 2023, conducting widespread censorship, university crackdowns, police brutality, and surveillance. Highly resourced and network Zionist groups and their allies have consistently targeted and harrassed activists and public figures speaking out about the Gaza genocide, creating an environment of extreme fear and intimidation.

At the same time, the US has used its diplomatic power to block or dilute international accountability measures, including repeated vetoes at the United Nations Security Council. The US is therefore not merely an ally of Israel but the central state infrastructure enabling the continuation of genocide in Gaza.

A guide to complicity: Arsenale

Note: This guide identifies the principal supporters of the Palestinian genocide in 2026. We acknowledge information may be incomplete, as transnational networks within the military-industrial complex exceed territorial boundaries.



AR Argentina has become one of Israel's most explicit political allies in Latin America under the government of Javier Milei. Since taking office in 2023, Milei has made strong public support for Israel a central element of his foreign policy, including multiple official visits and symbolic gestures of alignment. He has also announced plans to relocate Argentina's embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, following the precedent set by the United States, a move widely understood as a recognition of Israeli claims over the city. At the same time, the Argentine government has sought to deepen diplomatic and economic ties with Israel. Argentina's position reflects a form of ideological and diplomatic support that reinforces Israel's international standing at a moment of escalating violence.

IL Israel is responsible for the ongoing genocide in Gaza, carrying out one of the most intense bombardment campaigns in recent history and systematically targeting civilian infrastructure, including homes, hospitals, schools and refugee camps. At the same time, Israel maintains a system of apartheid and continues its illegal occupation of Palestinian territory, expanding settlement activity in the West Bank and East Jerusalem while extending military operations across the region. These actions are sustained through extensive international military, financial and diplomatic support. Israel's presence at the Venice Biennale contributes to the normalisation of genocidal violence and illegal occupation.

IE Ireland, despite its claims to military neutrality, has authorised and ignored the transportation of munitions from the US to Israel via its airspace. Investigative journalists found that six US planes carrying over 56 tonnes of weaponry passed through Irish airspace en route to Israel between October 2023 and early 2024, with dozens more flights since.

Ireland further facilitates Israel's genocide by allowing US military and contracted aircraft to use Shannon Airport, a key refuelling hub, and granted clearance to a US military plane transporting F-35 jet parts to an Israeli airbase. The state has also prosecuted three people (including Ireland's 2024 Biennale representative) for protesting the US military use of Shannon in March 2024.

While Ireland recognised the State of Palestine in 2024, it continues to delay legislation banning trade with Israeli settlements. It has also approved the issuance of Israeli state bonds in the EU, facilitating the raising of funds. Ireland's position shows how claims of neutrality coexist with the logistical and financial systems that enable ongoing violence.

LU Luxembourg recognised the State of Palestine in September 2025. In the same month the Commission de Surveillance du Secteur Financier (CSSF) became the official issuer of bonds for the State of Israel in the EU, supporting the entity to raise funds for its genocide against Palestinians. In 2023, the Luxembourg-based NATO military service centre awarded a contract to Israel's largest weapons manufacturer Elbit Systems.

PE Peru has strengthened its military ties with Israel through a strategic partnership with Israeli defence company Elbit Systems. In 2025, Elbit was selected as a key partner in Peru's artillery modernisation programme, including a contract worth around \$60m with provisions for co-production, technology transfer and long-term collaboration. This embeds Peru within global defence networks that sustain Israeli military capabilities, extending beyond procurement to local production and integration into national infrastructure.

PH The Philippines has maintained close diplomatic and military ties with Israel for decades. It was the only Asian country to vote in favour of the establishment of Israel in 1947, a position that continues to shape its alignment today. As a longstanding US ally, the Philippines is embedded in a broader geopolitical framework that links it to US-Israel military and security interests. In recent years, it has imported Israeli weapons, surveillance systems and defence technology, deepening its reliance on Israeli military infrastructure. This relationship, combining historical support, military procurement and strategic alignment, places the Philippines within a network of states that sustain Israel's global position while presenting limited political opposition.

PT Portugal plays a strategic logistical role within the US-led military infrastructure that supports Israel. In 2026, the Portuguese government authorised the United States to use the Lajes Air Base in the Azores for operations linked to the US-Israel campaign against Iran, with dozens of military landings and overflights approved. The base functions as a key transatlantic hub, enabling refuelling, transit and staging of military aircraft moving between the United States and the Middle East.

Investigations have also documented the passage of US fighter jets destined for Israel through Portuguese territory. Portugal's position illustrates how military infrastructure and NATO alliances sustain ongoing operations: not through direct combat, but by providing the logistical conditions that make them possible.

SA Saudi Arabia has publicly maintained support for Palestinian statehood while engaging in ongoing US-brokered discussions over the normalisation of relations with Israel. Although no formal agreement has been finalised, these negotiations are tied to broader security and defence arrangements to further integrate Saudi Arabia into a US-led regional framework aligned with Israel.

While direct military cooperation remains limited, this alignment reflects a convergence of strategic interests, particularly around regional security and the containment of Iran. Extensive evidence shows Riyadh and Tel Aviv working in tandem on military and intelligence matters. In 2017, Saudi purchased the NSO Group's notorious Pegasus spyware, an Israeli cyber weapon, to target activists and dissidents. Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman controls the Public Investment Fund, which is a major stakeholder in US arms manufacturers. It holds a \$714 million stake in Boeing, and invested in other aerospace and technology firms deeply intertwined with US military support for Israel. In 2022, MBS sent \$2 billion to Trump's son-in-law Jared Kushner's new equity fund, money explicitly earmarked to invest in Israeli tech firms.

Saudi Arabia's position contributes to a geopolitical order that increasingly accommodates Israel despite the ongoing genocide in Gaza.

ZA South Africa has been one of the most prominent state actors opposing Israel's actions in Gaza, including leading the genocide case against Israel at the International Court of Justice. Yet contradictions within its cultural policy have become evident. Earlier this year, artist Gabrielle Goliath's project for the South African Pavilion was withdrawn following intervention by the Minister of Sports, Arts and Culture, who described the work as "divisive". The project, *Elegy*, addressed the mass killing of Palestinians in Gaza and commemorated poet Heba Abu Nada.

This episode highlights how national pavilions operate as political instruments, subject to state control. Even in contexts where governments take strong positions internationally, cultural platforms may still be shaped by censorship, restriction and competing political agendas.

AE The United Arab Emirates has deepened its military and technological ties with Israel following the normalisation agreements of 2020. In December 2025, it was reported that the UAE spent \$2.3bn in a deal with Israel's Elbit Systems for a new electronic defence system for civil and military aircraft. Emirati state-owned defence conglomerate Edge also agreed to invest \$10m to acquire a 30 percent stake in Israel's Thirdeye Systems, a developer of AI-based electro-optical systems for drone detection.

At the same time, the UAE has been providing military, financial and political backing to the Rapid Support Forces (RSF) militia in its genocidal campaign against the Masalit community in Darfur since April 2023, while importing large quantities of Sudanese gold and reportedly facilitating illicit financial flows linked to RSF networks. The conflict has resulted in an estimated 150,000 deaths, over 11 million people displaced, and widespread hunger and famine. The UAE's position illustrates how military partnerships, financial networks and resource extraction intersect across conflicts, linking the genocide in Gaza to wider systems of regional violence and impunity.

UA Ukraine has aligned itself diplomatically with Israel since October 2023, repeatedly affirming Israel's right to self-defence while limiting criticism of its actions in Gaza. This position reflects Ukraine's broader geopolitical alignment with the United States and European allies, whose military and political support it depends on.

Meanwhile, Ukraine continues to frame its own war as a struggle against occupation and for territorial sovereignty. This dual position highlights a broader contradiction: a state invoking international law and civilian protection in its own context while supporting their violation elsewhere.



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