



2023 was a catastrophic year in the history of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Before the outbreak of the war on 7 October, the year was dominated by the radical right-wing policies and legislation of the new Israeli government, the most extreme coalition in Israel's history. The government is openly hostile to Palestinians, and unabashedly promotes policies explicitly designed to entrench systemic racial control and to further institutionalize its two-tiered, segregated system of governance.

Before 7 October, a central component of the government's platform was the overhaul of the Israeli judiciary by stripping powers from the Supreme Court. While hundreds of thousands of Jewish-Israeli citizens protested for months over the judicial overhaul, the Knesset enacted a raft of laws that violate the basic rights of Palestinian citizens of Israel (PCI), including the "Ben-Gvir Law" granting sweeping powers to a blatantly racist Minister of National Security over the police, and introduced land planning policies for "Judaization" throughout Israel and in the occupied West Bank. The Israeli military and settlers committed some of the most extreme violence that we have witnessed in decades against Palestinians in the West Bank, including military raids in the Jenin Refugee Camp and in Nablus, and brutal attacks by settlers in the Palestinian villages of Huwara and Turmus Ayya.



A Palestinian minor, citizen of Israel, is arrested during an anti-war protest on 19 October 2023. Image by **Muhammad Khalilia**

On 7 October, Israel launched a full-scale, ruthless retaliatory attack against the Palestinian people in Gaza, after an unprecedented, brutal, and illegal attack by Hamas militants that claimed the lives of 1,200 people in Israel and the taking of almost 250 Israeli hostages into Gaza. The 56-year-old Israeli military occupation; the killing of tens of thousands of Palestinians; the 17-year blockade on Gaza; Israel's settler-colonial policies in the West Bank; the failure of the peace process; and the denial of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, amid inaction by the international community, provide context to these events.

Israel immediately imposed a 'total siege' on Gaza, cutting it off completely from water, food, electricity and fuel, creating a devastating man-made humanitarian crisis. Israel later ordered a series of mass evacuations of Palestinians from the north and center to the south of Gaza, resulting in the forced displacement of an estimated 85% of the population. Israel's massive airstrikes against civilian homes, hospitals, churches, mosques and schools, coupled with clear statements by Israeli officials, indicate the intent to commit war crimes and ethnic cleansing, and constitute a genocide in the making. The tens of thousands of dead and wounded, mainly women and children, as well as the displaced, join the large numbers of Palestinian victims of earlier Israeli military offensives in Gaza.

Since 7 October, PCI have faced a draconian crackdown on their fundamental freedoms of free expression and assembly, with state bodies, Israeli institutions, and far-right groups all targeting PCI who dare to express dissent against the Israeli military's massive bombardment and destruction of Gaza.

The War On Gaza

"We are imposing a complete siege on [Gaza]. No electricity, no food, no water, no fuel – everything is closed."

Israel's Defense Minister Yoav Gallant

Following the Hamas attacks, Israel's Defense Minister Yoav Gallant stated, "We are imposing a complete siege on [Gaza]. No electricity, no food, no water, no fuel – everything is closed." Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu declared on 9 October 2023 that Israel "will exact a price that will be remembered by them [Hamas] and Israel's other enemies for decades to come." While Israel eventually let limited humanitarian supplies into Gaza, its military continued to strike infrastructure, including water, power generation and sewerage systems, and to bomb medical facilities and personnel, creating a massive humanitarian crisis.

According to UN estimates, the vast majority of Gaza's population has been internally displaced, and hundreds of thousands of people are sheltering in severely overcrowded and vulnerable conditions, many on the streets. On 13 October 2023, Adalah and Physicians for Human Rights-Israel (PHR-I), sent an urgent letter to Israeli authorities demanding an immediate halt to Israel's plan for the forcible transfer and ethnic cleansing of Palestinians in the Gaza Strip, which is a blatant violation of international humanitarian law. The letter was sent following media reports and on-the-ground testimonies indicating that Israel notified the UN and residents of the north, comprising around 1.1 million individuals, that they must evacuate the area within 24 hours. Since early October 2023, Adalah has also engaged in intensive international advocacy, urging the international community to intervene to protect the lives of civilians in Gaza, most of whom are Palestinian refugees. We repeatedly called for an immediate ceasefire, the provision of unhindered humanitarian aid, and accountability.



No Accountability: Nabaheen Case

At the very start of the war, on 8 October 2023, Israeli warplanes fired at the house of the Al-Nabaheen family, east of the Al-Bureij refugee camp in Gaza. The strike killed 24-year-old Attiya Fathi Al-Nabaheen, along with 12 members of his family, including 10 children.

Adalah and Al Mezan Center for Human Rights have pursued a lengthy legal battle for years on Attiya's behalf, seeking civil remedies from the Israeli courts for a shooting by the Israeli military in 2014 that left him paralyzed from the neck down at the age of 15. Attiya's life and tragic killing serve as a testament to the prolonged brutality and grave human rights violations perpetrated by Israel against the Palestinian people in Gaza. He lived his life entirely under Israeli occupation and largely under Israeli blockade.

In February 2023, the Israeli Supreme Court rejected Adalah and Al Mezan's petition for a rehearing, and upheld the denial of Attiya's compensation claim using Amendment No. 8 to Israel's Civil Wrongs Law that grants Israel sweeping immunity from civil liability for the killing and injuring of Palestinians in Gaza. The deliberate targeting of the Al-Nabaheen family, civilians who were actively seeking justice in the Israeli legal system, without any prior warning, constitutes a war crime.



"Since the war began, I have not been able to reach any member of the Nabaheen family ... I wake each day worried about how many more people will be added to the death toll as the specter of genocide hangs over Gaza. Nothing could have prepared me for the moment I learned that Mr. Nabaheen had been killed. Something in me died that day. His story unveils a systemic design that devalues Palestinian lives: The 16-year Israeli blockade on the Gaza Strip has always been lethal, even when so-called calm is restored, and Palestinian civilians always pay the steepest price. Mr. Nabaheen's life and death are reminders that the only status quo we should accept is one where the siege is lifted and the occupation has ended. A status quo of freedom."



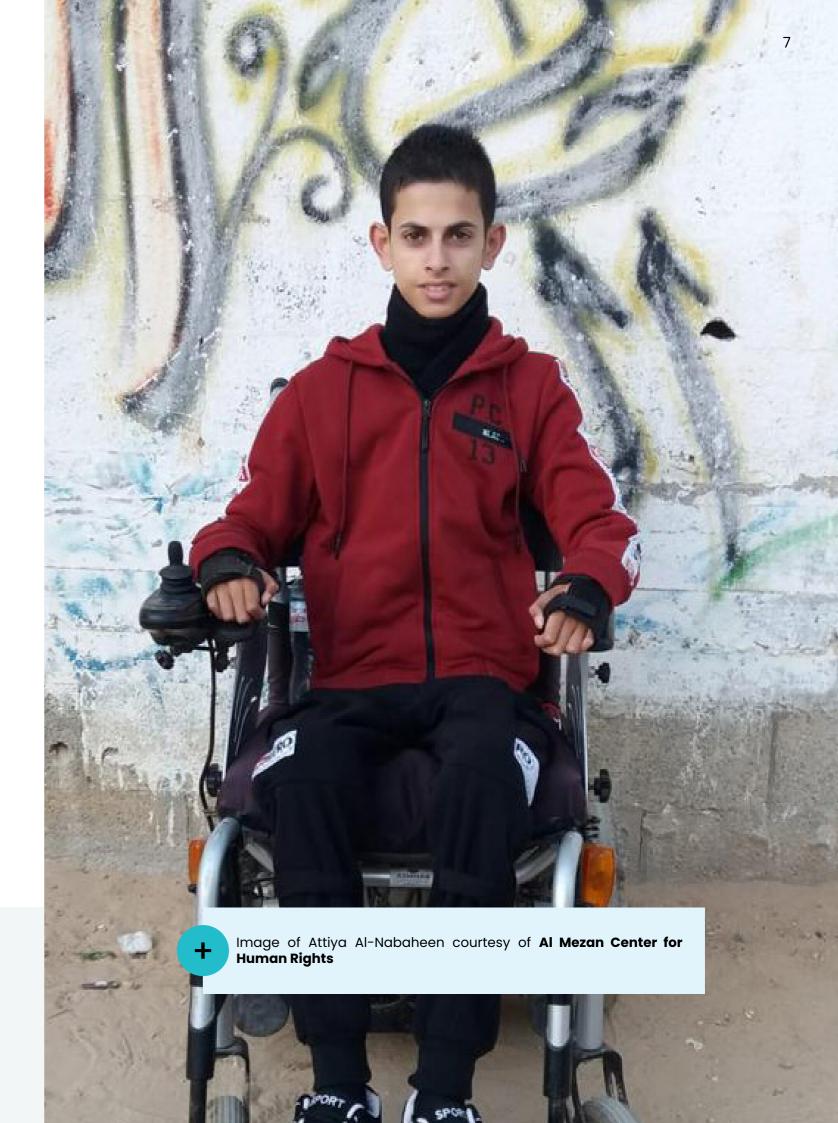
Rabea Eghbariah, An Unarmed Teen Was Shot During a Cease-Fire. Israel Was Never Held to Account, The New York Times, 3 November 2023



REPORT: Adalah and Al Mezan, Analysis of Israeli Supreme Court Decision: The Case of Attiya Fathi al-Nabaheen, July 2023



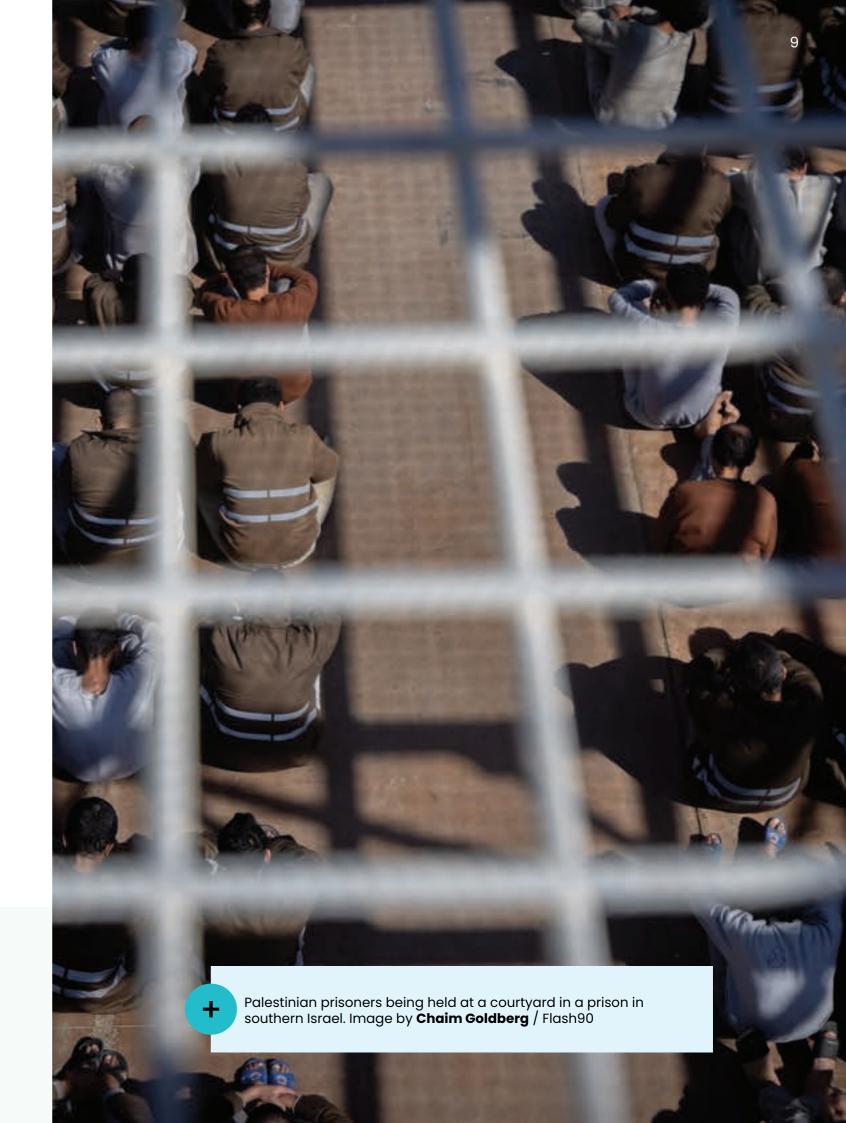
INSTAGRAM REEL: Adalah Attorney Rabea Eghbariah speaks about the case of Attiya Al-Nabaheen, October 2023



Torture and Inhumane Treatment of Palestinian Prisoners and Detainees

Following Hamas's attacks in Israel, Israeli Minister of National Security Itamar Ben-Gvir declared a state of emergency in Israeli prison facilities. The Israel Prison Service (IPS) then imposed additional punitive, collective restrictions on Palestinian prisoners, grievously harming the health and wellbeing of around 7000 Palestinian designated as "security prisoners" by the IPS, and around 4,000 workers from Gaza detained incommunicado after the attack. The IPS put entire prisons wings on lockdown, disconnected them from electricity and water supplies, and limited medical care for the acutely and chronically sick. The IPS held the prisoners in their cells for 24 hours a day, with cells designed for five people holding up to 11, creating unlivable conditions. Prisoners were also subjected to severe beatings and humiliation by prison guards. Adalah, Physicians for Human Rights Israel (PHR-I), the Association for Civil Rights in Israel (ACRI), and HaMoked sent a letter to the Israeli authorities, on 13 October, demanding an immediate reversal of an IPS decision to disconnect the electricity supply to these prisoners. One week later, Adalah, HaMoked, PHR-I, and the Public Committee against Torture in Israel (PCATI) called on the international community to urge the Israeli authorities to cancel all punitive measures against Palestinian prisoners, a call the groups reiterated on 7 December, together with 19 testimonies of torture and inhumane treatment by prisoners.

On 24 October 2023, the Israeli authorities published emergency regulations permitting the authorities to deny access to lawyers for Palestinian detainees suspected of "security offenses" for up to 30 days without court approval, and up to 90 days with the approval of a judge. On 29 October, Adalah sent an urgent letter to the Israeli authorities demanding the cancellation of the regulations, arguing that they violate the detainees' fundamental right to counsel.





STATEMENT: Adalah, HaMoked, PHR-I and PCATI's joint call to the international community, 7 December 2023

Gaza Workers Held Incommunicado

On the eve of the war, about 18,500 Palestinian residents of Gaza held work permits issued by the Israeli authorities (data from Gisha). Once the hostilities began, and following damage to the Erez Crossing, workers from Gaza found they were unable to return home, and many made their way to the West Bank. On 10 October, the Israel army revoked all work permits it had previously issued to Gaza residents, turning them into 'illegal aliens'. The Israeli military placed thousands of workers in detention facilities, denying their basic rights, including the right to counsel, and held them incommunicado. On 22 October 2023, six human rights organizations, including Adalah, filed a petition for habeas corpus to the Israeli Supreme Court demanding the disclosure of the names and locations of the workers and their release to the West Bank until they are able to return to Gaza.

On 2 November, the Israeli cabinet decided to "return the workers that had been in Israel on the day the war began to Gaza". The next day, media coverage showed Palestinian workers entering Gaza on foot. According to the media, workers were released back to Gaza without money or their cell phones, which had been confiscated during detention.

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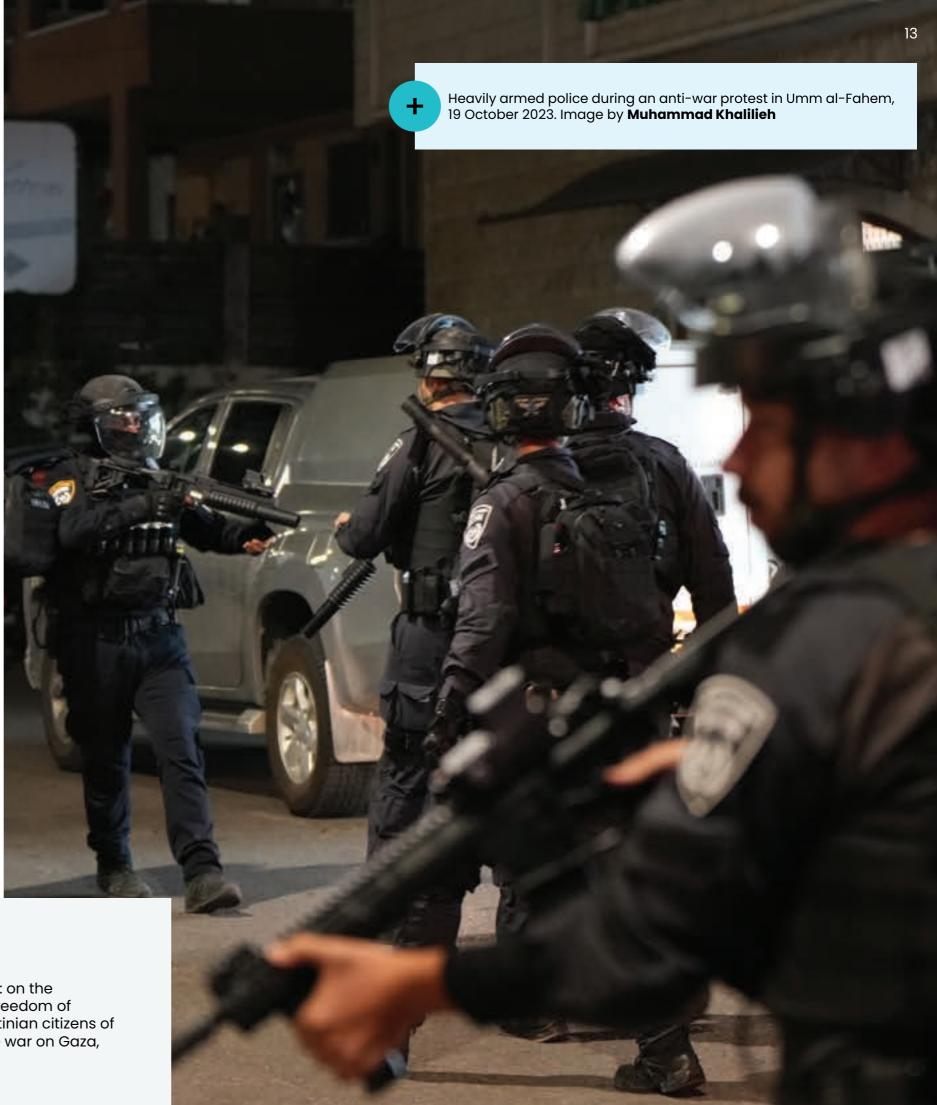
Testimony given by one of the unlawfully held Gaza workers exposes the dire conditions in the detention centers. The man was detained in Israel on October 8 and held for three days in a cage-like structure, exposed to the elements, with no food, water, medication or a mattress and without access to a toilet. He was later transferred to an "extremely dense 300 square meter encampment", which he described as a "livestock pen", where he was held with hundreds of other workers from Gaza. The same detainee testified that when he asked for a meeting with the Red Cross, soldiers responded with a brutal beating and curses.



The Impact of the War on Gaza on Palestinian Citizens of Israel

Since 7 October 2023, widespread, coordinated efforts by government offices, Israeli institutions, and far-right groups have targeted Palestinian citizens of Israel (PCI) and others who dare to express dissent against the military's retaliatory attacks on Gaza or sympathy with the besieged people of Gaza. Punitive measures include the expulsion, suspension or other disciplinary action against PCI students from Israeli academic institutions, the firing of PCI workers from hospitals, high-tech and private companies, mass arrests and detentions for social media posts, a police ban on PCI solidarity protests, the suppression of speech by PCI lawyers by the Israel Bar Association, and incitement against Palestinian political party leaders and even suspensions of Members of Knesset from the Israeli parliament. Together, these measures constitute a draconian crackdown on the fundamental freedoms of PCI and political persecution against them as a group.

The Israeli authorities have accused hundreds of individuals and criminally indicted dozens for "supporting terrorist organizations" or engaging in "incitement to terrorism" for planning protests and expressing their opinions on social media. The posts, interactions, and other speech largely fall within the scope of freedom of expression: the speech includes opposition to the targeting of civilians in Gaza, expressions of sympathy for the Palestinian people in Gaza, opposition to collective punishment and war crimes, citations from the Qu'ran, and even the dissemination of news. Adalah's legal team monitored and tracked cases of investigations, arrests and indictments filed against PCI for speech-related offenses, and provided direct legal representation to detainees and legal consultation to private lawyers handling these cases.





REPORT: Crackdown on Freedom of Speech of Palestinian Citizens of Israel, October/November 2023



A young Palestinian woman student is shoved into a police car by heavily-armed officers following her arrest. Image distributed by the Israeli Police

Expulsion/Suspension of Palestinian Students from Israeli Universities

Since 7 October 2023, Israeli universities and colleges have launched dozens of disciplinary proceedings against PCI students, suspending and expelling them, solely for social media posts. The institutions allege that the posts violate their disciplinary regulations by "supporting terrorism" or "sympathizing with terror organizations", and many published official statements declaring "zero tolerance" for "supporting terrorism". Minister of Education Yoav Kish publicly backed these disciplinary actions in a letter to academic institutions in which he stated that the schools must "immediately suspend any student or employee who supports the barbaric terrorist acts currently experienced in the State of Israel", and that, "in cases where there is indeed incitement, [you must] order a permanent expulsion."

As of the end of December 2023, Adalah has monitored 120 cases and directly represented 92 Palestinian students enrolled in 34 Israeli universities and colleges in disciplinary procedures against them. Of these cases, 34 resulted in acquittals, cancellation, or exoneration. 14 cases resulted in suspensions, 12 in expulsions, and 10 in "educational punishments" including reprimands, mandatory apologies, and participation in educational courses. In many of these cases, students merely expressed solidarity with the Palestinian people in Gaza, posted posts that are completely arbitrary and irrelevant to the war or Hamas, provided context to the attack by Palestinian militants on 7 October, or quoted verses from the Qur'an, all actions protected by the freedoms of expression and religion.



DATA REPORT: Adalah's data report on the persecution of Palestinian students



Palestinians suspended by Israeli universities, Times Higher Education, 31 October 2023



Is the right to free speech being curbed in Israel amid the war with Hamas?, CBS News, 16 November 2023



Israeli university suspends eight students claiming they supported Hamas on social media posts, Ha'aretz, 1 January 2024

Arrests and Detentions for Expression

Since 7 October 2023, the Israeli authorities have accused dozens of PCI of "incitement to terrorism" and/or "identifying with terror organizations", as defined in Israel's 2016 Counter Terrorism Law, for social media posts they made opposing the targeting of innocent civilians, expressing sympathy for the Palestinian people in Gaza, and even for merely communicating news about Gaza.

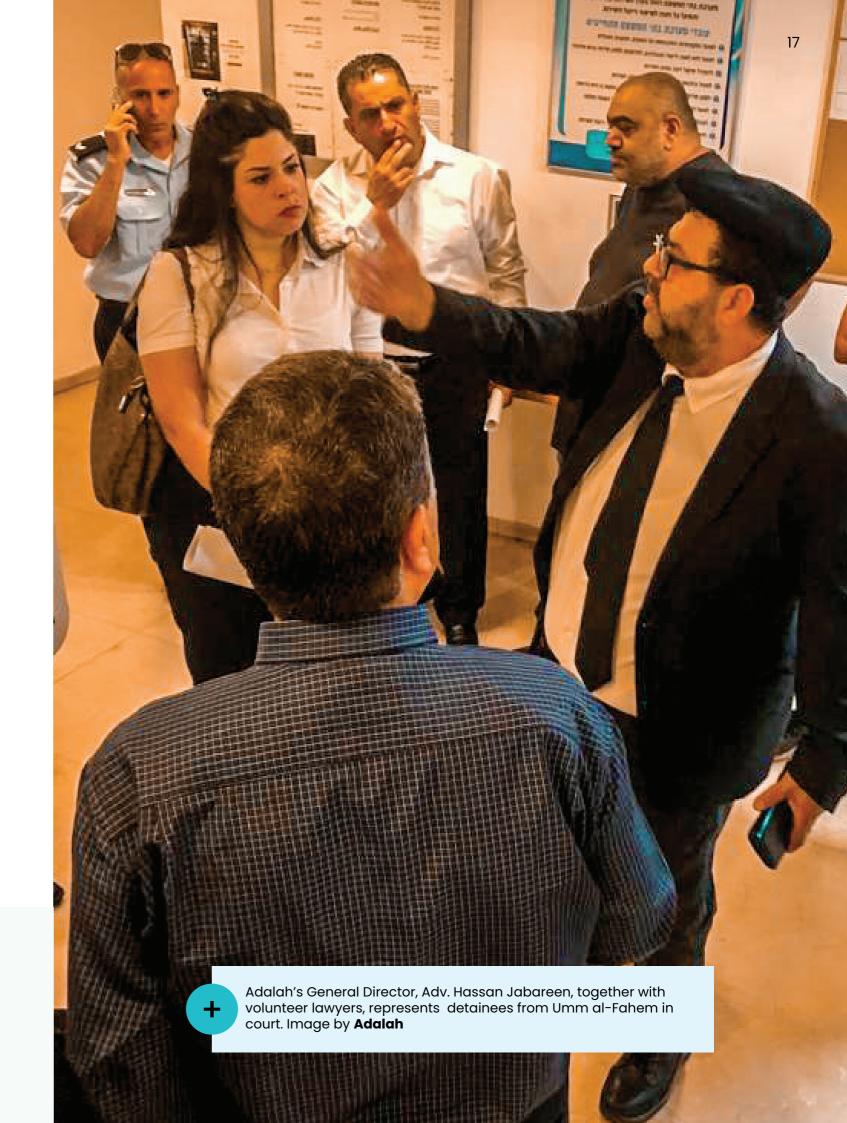
In response, Adalah formed a special legal team to follow up and monitor investigations, arrests and indictments against PCI. In some cases, Adalah provided legal consultations before investigations and legal representation in court during the detention period. It coordinated and provided legal consultation to a group of around 30 external lawyers, providing them with relevant recent court decisions and other legal materials, and held two capacity-building sessions for over 20 lawyers representing detainees. Adalah's legal team cooperated closely with the emergency committee of the High Follow-up Committee for Arab Citizens of Israel, and with popular committees and coordinators around the country.

Between 7 October and the end of November 2023, Adalah monitored 269 cases involving interrogations, "warning talks", arrests and other legal measures initiated by the state authorities against PCI. Around two-thirds (66%) of the detainees are male, and one-third (34%) are female. 48% were detained on the basis of social media posts and 12% for participating in demonstrations. According to official data published by the State Attorney's Office on 26 November, 86 indictments have been filed (other media sources refer to 130 indictments).

Adalah succeeded to secure the release of 12 detained protestors, and to cancel or shorten orders banishing six others from their hometowns. In addition, five people arrested for social media posts were released from detention, one to house arrest. Following Adalah's representation, the house arrest order issued to another detainee, post-indictment, was canceled, leaving her only facing restrictions on using electronic devices.



REPORT: Adalah's Report on Interrogations, Arrests and Indictments of Palestinian citizens of Israel from 7 October 2023 to 13 November 2023.





Adalah represents Bayan Khateeb, a PCI woman and student at the Technion-Israel Institute of Technology in Haifa, after she was arrested for allegedly "sympathizing with a terrorist organization" and "conduct liable to cause public disorder" in relation to an Instagram post that she made on 8 October. The post includes a photograph of a dish of shakshuka – a Middle Eastern egg and tomato-based stew – that she had cooked that was accompanied by the words, "Soon we will eat the shakshuka of victory", and a Palestinian flag emoji. According to Bayan, she posted her words to mark her success in making this dish, due to her known lack of prowess as a cook among her friends.

A number of Jewish Israeli students claimed that her post expressed support for the Hamas attack and filed a complaint to the university's disciplinary body. She was subsequently arrested by police and detained for the night in prison. Adalah represented Bayan in court against a police request to extend her detention to a week; she was held for one additional day. Adalah appealed to the District Court, where the judge released her to house arrest for five days and barred her from using social media. Adalah is also representing her on appeal for her suspension from the Technion. The case is one example of many cases in which PCI activists and students found themselves arrested and/or suspended from Israeli universities based on statements unrelated to the war, and which stem from racism, prejudice or bias. The case received widespread international news coverage.



"You feel all this anger in your stomach. [Mine was] a post about shakshuka. In what world would you bring me here to a place like Hasharon Prison? What do you mean by this? I woke up in the morning and said, am I really here?". "It seems so unfair that I am accused because I am an Arab. I don't have any freedom of speech. I did not support and I would never support any act of terrorism. And still I am suspected and accused."



Bayan Khateeb, Quotation from Haaretz and the BBC



Masha Gessen, Inside the Israeli Crackdown on Speech, The New Yorker, 8 November 2023



Fritz Schaap, Wie eine junge Frau für ein Frühstücksvideo schikaniert wird, Der Spiegel , 16 November 2023



Loveday Morris, Israel's free speech crackdown: 'War inside of a war', The Washington Post, 12 November 2023



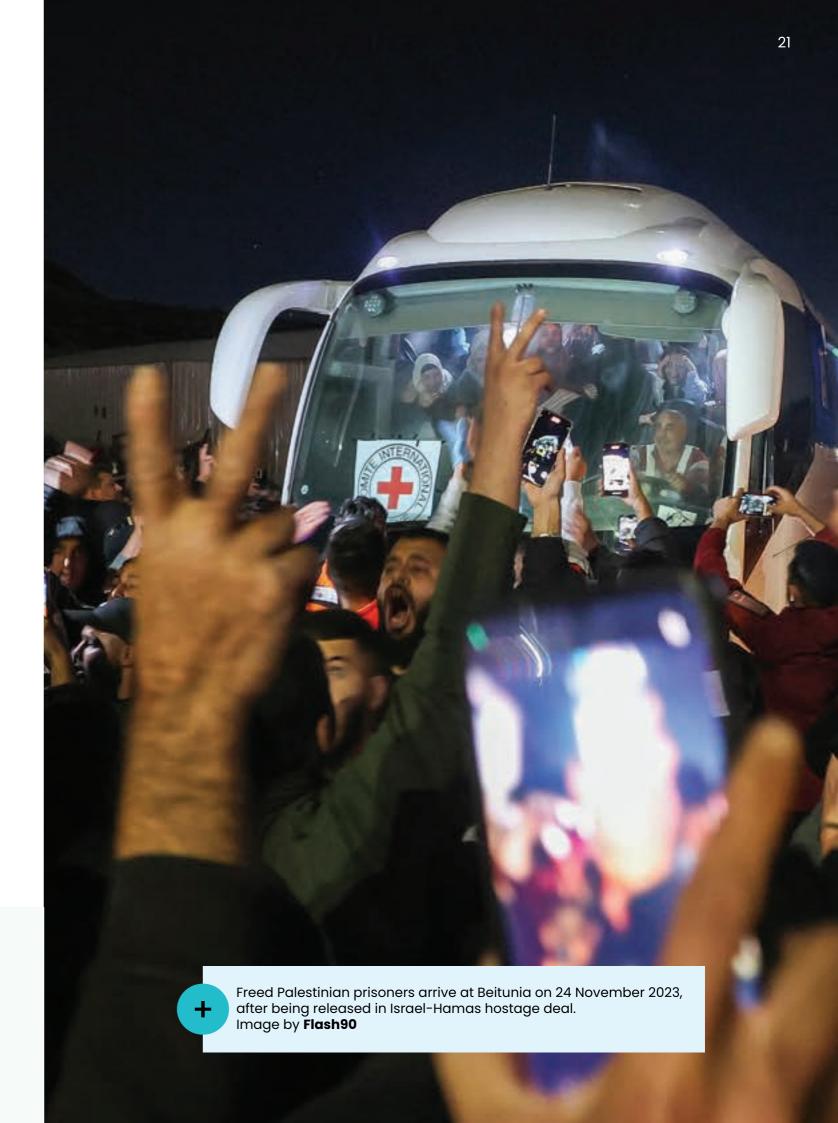
Célia Mebroukine, Les Palestiniens d'Israël sous la menace: « Nétanyahou nous a aussi déclaré la guerre », Mediapart, 13 November 2023

Palestinian Women Citizens of Israel Forced into Captives Swap

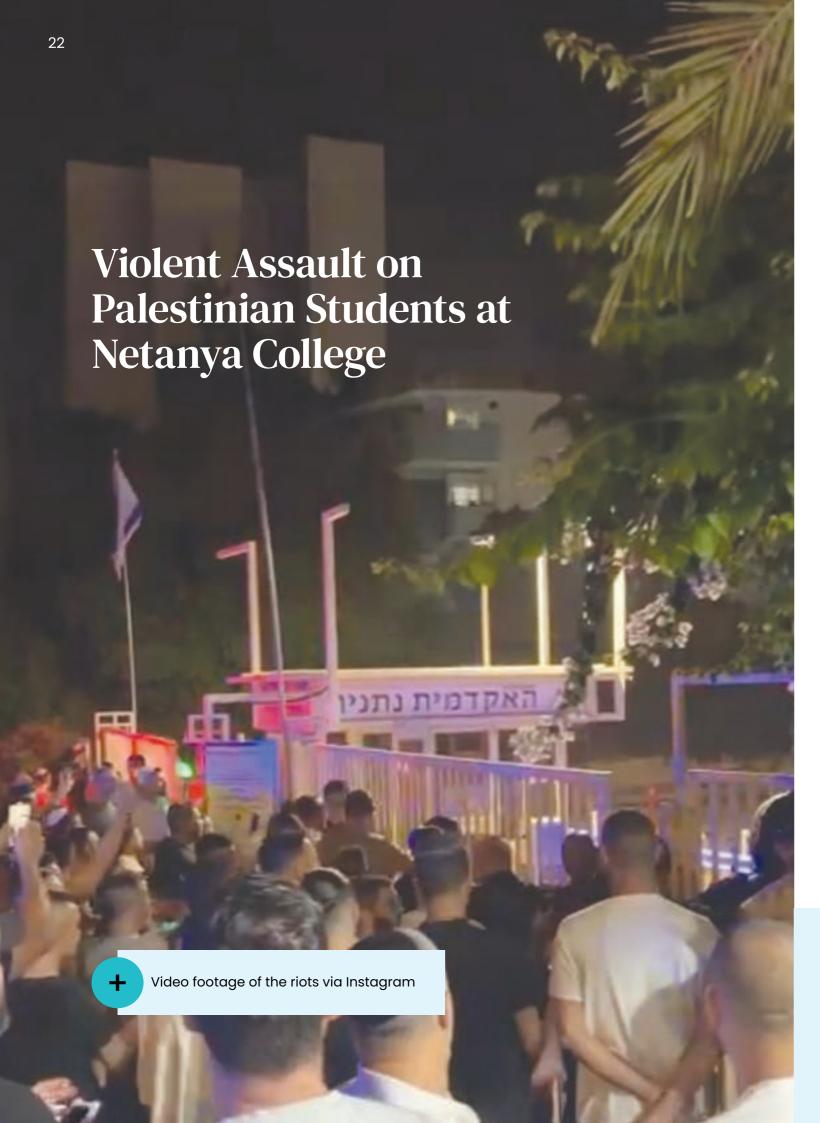
On 28 November 2023, the Israeli government decided to expand the list of Palestinian prisoners eligible for release under the Hamas-Israel captives exchange agreement to include an additional 50 Palestinian women, the majority of whom were detained after 7 October, and who had not been convicted of any crime. Of these women, 16 are PCI who were detained as a part of an unprecedented wave of arrests aimed at cracking down on dissent, solely on the basis of their social media posts that the state alleges to constitute incitement and/or support for terrorism. None of them has been convicted of any crime, and, in some cases, indictments had not even been filed against them. Almost all of them explicitly requested not to be released as part of the deal.

However, in early December, the PCI women detainees were released as part of the exchange, while Israeli prosecutors notified the courts that their criminal charges would remain pending. Shortly after the government's decision was announced, the Technion (Israel Institute of Technology) publicly declared that a student whose name appears on the list and who was released would not be permitted to resume her studies at the institution. This move proves how the government's decision may have severe, unwarranted ramifications for these young women's futures, and that their mere inclusion in the prisoner exchange deal serves to mark them as enemies of the state.

Among the detainees is a 21-year-old-student represented by Adalah, who was indicted on 13 November on the basis of social media posts, under Article 24 of Israel's 2016 Counter-Terrorism Law. Despite her objection to being included in the deal, communicated to the relevant authorities by Adalah, her name was included in the list and she was released. Adalah sent a letter on 28 November to Israel's Attorney General (AG) and State Attorney reiterating her opposition and requesting clarification over the legal implications of the release and is continuing to follow up with the case.







On 28 October 2023, hundreds of Jewish Israeli civilians stormed the campus of Netanya Academic College in central Israel and gathered outside the dormitories. The rioting crowd called for the expulsion of Palestinian students, citizens of Israel, and chanted racist slogans, including "Death to Arabs", "Your mother is a whore", "may your village burn", and other derogatory slogans. While they claimed that the students had disrupted synagogue prayer services, statements made in advance of the incident by the managers of the dormitories, by local politicians including the mayor of Netanya, as well as the content of chats on messaging apps by groups of residents of Netanya and of people associated with the college, clearly demonstrate that the removal of the Arab students from the dormitories was premeditated and planned. Some of these statements indicate the intention to move Jewish Israeli citizens evacuated from towns and villages in the north of Israel into their dormitory rooms. These violent acts were documented in video footage clearly indicating that some rioters were armed with weapons and attempting to forcibly enter the building where the students were sheltering. The violent event concluded three hours later, with police escorting the students out of the dormitories, while the extremists continued to attack the vehicles they had fled in. None of the Jewish-Israeli rioters was arrested or interrogated.

In response, Adalah sent a letter on behalf of the Union of Arab Students' Movements to Israel's Attorney General, State Attorney and Police Commissioner demanding a criminal investigation into incitement, violence, and premeditated assault against the students. Adalah presented evidence that the assault was premeditated, and that the rioters intended to harm the Palestinian students. The police responded that they had opened an investigation into the incident.



"The assault took place as the Union is reaching out to international organizations, diplomats, and authorities in an effort to protect Arab students at Israeli academic institutions, who are currently facing incitement, persecution, and violent attacks. During this attack, students were even assaulted in their vehicles while attempting to leave their dormitories. The attack involved hundreds of Jewish-Israelis, some of whom were armed, and some tried to break into the dormitories while chanting slogans calling for violence against Arab students."

Union of Arab Students' Movements



Police Ban on Protest

While protests against the war have brought millions of people onto the streets around the world, inside Israel, PCI have been banned from holding demonstrations. On 17 October 2023, the Israeli police posted a video on its official Arabic TikTok account of Yaakov Shabtai, the Police Commissioner, in which he made a number of racist and inflammatory statements and issued an unlawful directive to reject all permits for demonstrations in support of the Palestinian people in Gaza. According to Shabtai, "Anyone who wants to identify with Gaza is welcome, I will put them on buses now that are headed there and I will help them get there [to Gaza]." In response, Adalah sent an urgent letter to the Commissioner and the Attorney General to demand the immediate cancellation of the protest ban as it violates the rights of freedom of expression and assembly, and that the Commissioner lacked the legal authority to issue it. Furthermore, the Commissioner's racist statements may be used to justify using illegal means to disperse protests, and heighten the risk of police brutality.

On 19 October 2023, the police attacked demonstrators in the Arab town of Umm al-Fahem in Israel during a protest against Israel's attacks on Gaza. The police brutally dispersed the protest, reportedly using rubber bullets and stun grenades, and arrested 12 protesters. The police asked to extend the detention of 11 demonstrators, including four minors, which the Haifa Magistrates' Court did without a hearing. Adalah's appeal to the District Court and request for permission to appeal to the Supreme Court were rejected. The state sought to place the minors under house arrest and extend the detention for all others. The next day, the Haifa Magistrates' Court held a hearing, and conditionally released nine protesters, while two remained in detention. Adalah is continuing to represent two of these protesters.



"Kudos to the Hof district policemen and the police chief Dani Levy who act resolutely against the supporters of terrorism. A number of demonstrators in Umm El Fahem who tried to demonstrate tonight were met with arrests and zero tolerance on the part of the policemen. This is a clear message to all the supporters of terrorism wherever they are – don't try us!"

National Security Minister Itamar Ben-Gvir, to whom the police are subordinate, praising the police for these arrests on his social media platforms





Israel's Police Commissioner, Yaakov Shabtai, in the official police social media video. Subtitles read: "There is no permission to hold protests"

Supreme Court Allows Ban on Protest

Adalah submitted three successive petitions to the Israeli Supreme Court, on behalf of the Palestinian political leadership in Israel, in an attempt to prevent the police from unlawfully obstructing anti-war protests by Palestinian citizens of Israel (PCI). Adalah filed the petitions in November and December 2023, on behalf of the Hadash (Jabha) political party and the Israeli Communist Party, as well as Mr. Mohammad Barakeh, Chairman of the High Follow-Up Committee for Arab Citizens in Israel, who sought to organize protests against the war. In the first case, the Court ruled that the state could not impose a total ban on protests but accepted the police's claim that they lacked the manpower to guarantee that the demonstrations in Umm al-Fahem and Sakhnin would not disturb public order, upholding the police's racially-based assessments about how a substantial police presence would be required in the two Arab towns due to concerns about incitement.

The second and third petitions concerned protest vigils that Adalah argued did not require a police permit under the specific provisions of Israeli law, since they did not involve marches or speeches. Nevertheless, the police blocked the events organized by the High Follow-Up Committee, in advance, amid statements by the Police Commissioner and spokesperson that they would suppress any attempts by PCI to protest against the war. The Supreme Court dismissed the second petition outright, without a hearing, ruling that the petitioners had not adequately proven that the protest was not subject to permit requirements, and held that the police had discretion in the matter. Notably, on 10 December, the Supreme Court affirmed in response to a separate and different petition that no permit was required for a comparable vigil that was held in Tel Aviv.

At a Supreme Court hearing on the third petition, Adalah argued that the police's de facto ban on protests by PCI constituted a flagrant contravention of Israeli law. However, Adalah and the High Follow-up Committee decided to withdraw the petition after the state insisted on introducing secret evidence before the Court concerning alleged information about a risk of violence and disruption, over the petitioners' objections. To date, therefore, the Supreme Court has allowed the police to continue implementing an unprecedented policy of preventing protests by PCI during wartime that violates their rights in a discriminatory and racist manner.





Instagram reel on the crackdown on freedom of expression in Israel, produced by PIPD, Yplus Media and Adalah, November 2023



Arab Leaders Arrested for Protest

Since 7 October, there has been a surge in incitement against Members of Knesset (MKs) who represent Palestinian political parties in Israel. National Security Minister Itamar Ben-Gvir has publicized plans to submit a new bill aimed at expelling MKs from the Knesset "who support terrorism and identify with the Hamas terrorists who massacred our brothers and sisters." Some MKs have also faced discriminatory disciplinary measures. The Knesset Ethics Committee suspended MK Aida Touma-Sliman (Jabha-Hadash) for two months and without pay for two weeks over a social media post stating, "Testimonies from al-Shifa hospital: bombed operating rooms, the smell of phosphorus in the air, of 48 surgeons only 7 remained, live shooting of the displaced 'in the humanitarian corridors.' And they still insist here: the 'moral world' army does not harm innocents and does not attack hospitals!" According to the Ethics Committee, "The accusations of war crimes against the IDF by a member of the Knesset contribute to the efforts of Israel's enemies to undermine the legitimacy of the State of Israel, whether intentional or not."

Following the Supreme Court's decision on 8 November, in which it held that the police cannot impose a total ban on protests, on 9 November, the Israeli police arrested and detained a group of senior Palestinian political leaders in Israel for organizing an anti-war protest in Nazareth. The detainees included former MK Mohammad Barakeh, chair of the High Follow-Up Committee for Arab Citizens of Israel, four members of the Balad (Tajammu) party including party leader, former MK Dr. Sami Abu Shehadeh, former party leader Dr. Mtanes Shehadeh, former MK Haneen Zoabi, and deputy Secretary-General, Yousef Tatour. High Follow-up Committee member Mahmoud Mawasi was also detained.

Adalah provided legal counsel to all of the Palestinian leadership and filed an urgent appeal for their release. After the arrests, the police announced that the individuals had been detained for defying police instructions and attempting to organize an unlawful protest with the potential to incite public disorder and disrupt the peace. In the appeal, Adalah argued that the planned demonstration was legal because it did not require a police permit under Israeli law. The Nazareth Court released Mr. Barakeh six hours after his detention, and the remaining detainees in the evening, under restrictive conditions.



Mr. Barakeh described his arrest as being "like a commando operation. They want to suppress our voices and we won't have that. Those who want to start a war against us should know that these measures will not budge us from our position."



Mohammad Barakeh, Chairman of the High Follow-up Committee for Arab Citizens of Israel From the Times of Israel, 9 November 2023

30 Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, left, pictured here with Minister of National Security Itamar Ben-Gvir, in the Knesset in May 2023. Image by **Yossi Aloni** / Flash 90

New Discriminatory Legislation Restricting Speech

On 8 November 2023, the Israeli Knesset passed an amendment to the 2016 Counter–Terrorism Law introducing a new criminal offense of "consumption of terrorist publications", with a penalty of up to one year's imprisonment. The "publications" referred to in the law include expressions of praise, support, or encouragement of terrorist acts, and direct calls to commit a terrorist act. The law designates Hamas and ISIS (the Islamic State) as the terrorist organizations to which this offense applies, and authorizes the Justice Minister to declare additional terrorist organizations for this purpose. After the legislation passed a preliminary reading in the Knesset, Adalah sent a letter to relevant Knesset committees and the Attorney General demanding that they halt the bill, arguing that it introduces an overly-broad and arbitrary criminal offense that violates fundamental principles of criminal law preventing the penalization of individuals for their thoughts or intentions. Adalah emphasized that the law criminalizes even passive social media use, when users merely observe content without engaging with it.

On 2 November 2023, the Interior Ministry published a memorandum of law that proposes to introduce amendments to the Entry into Israel Law and the Citizenship Law that would authorize the revocation of permanent residency or citizenship of an individual convicted of an offense related to "identifying with a terrorist organization" or "incitement to terrorism" (as defined in Israel's 2016 Counter-Terrorism Law), among other offenses. The amendments would apply when the offense is committed during a "special home front situation", as the Defense Minister has declared the current war. The new legislation would add to two existing tracks for revoking citizenship and residency, one of which has been confirmed by the Supreme Court. The expansion of the grounds for revoking citizenship and residency is a particularly alarming development: the memorandum sends a clear message to PCI and Palestinians in East Jerusalem that their status and rights are conditional on refraining from voicing dissenting opinions that diverge from the dominant Israeli narrative. Critically, speechrelated offenses are being selectively prosecuted almost exclusively against Palestinians. Adalah commented that the memorandum indicated a clear intention to cynically exploit the state of national emergency by sending a message to Palestinians that their status and rights are conditional upon their rejection of their own national identity, and that they face the threat of expulsion from their ancestral homeland.



Israeli parliament bill criminalises 'consumption of terrorist materials', Al Jazeera, 8 November 2023



Crackdown in Israel, EL PAÍS English, 9 November 2023



Palestinians in Israel face threats, firings and discrimination after Oct. 7, NPR, 21 November 2023



Israel's 'thought police' law ramps up dangers for Palestinians, +972 Magazine, 24 November 2023

An Ultra-Orthodox Jewish man seen training with weapons in a kibbutz in central Israel in November 2023. Image by **Yossi Aloni** / Flash90

Arming of Jewish Israeli Civilians under Minister Ben-Gvir

On 15 October 2023, the Knesset's National Security Committee approved new regulations that relax the requirements for civilians to acquire firearms, a step in the government's broader plan to arm Jewish Israeli civilians. The new regulations were introduced by the Ministry of National Security, headed by Itamar Ben-Gvir, who claims that they will make an additional 400,000 individuals eligible, almost exclusively Jewish Israeli citizens. Adalah issued a statement against the loosening of gun controls on 17 October, arguing that it puts the lives of Palestinians in peril.

Arming civilians and creating Jewish-Israeli militias has been a clear priority for Ben-Gvir since he took office. The efforts to formulate the recently-enacted regulations started back in January 2023 and Ben-Gvir is now capitalizing on the war as a pretext to advance his agenda. The tactic of arming civilians is imported from Israeli settlers in the West Bank, as a means of exercising control through terror. For years, settler violence against Palestinians in the West Bank enabled by Israeli forces has been a near daily occurrence. Crimes committed by armed settlers almost never result in prosecution, let alone conviction. Violence against Palestinians by armed settlers in the West Bank has been rampant since 7 October 2023.

The easing of restrictions on firearm licensing accompanies Ben-Gvir's efforts to accelerate the establishment of a 'National Guard' under his direct command. The National Guard is set to be composed of members of Israel's Border Police, army reservists, and civilian volunteers, and is aimed against PCI, as explicitly stated by Jewish Power Party member and Heritage Minister Amihai Eliyahu, who specified that it is meant to target "citizens of the country who identify with the enemy". Adalah issued a legal letter against the establishment of the National Guard on 2 April 2023.

Israeli national television (KAN 11 Channel) reported on 3 October 2023, even before the war, that the police and Minister Ben-Gvir were seeking to authorize the use of live ammunition against protestors who block roads and otherwise "disrupt public order" during emergencies, and that the committee tasked with the establishment of the National Guard had also discussed the matter.



Adalah's statement, Israel Loosening Gun Controls Puts Palestinian Lives in Peril, 17 October 2023



How Israeli apartheid spread from inside the Green Line to the West Bank, +972 Magazine, 29 June 2023



Ben-Gvir's 'private militia' moves forward, and Palestinians are in the line of fire, Mondoweiss, 8 April 2023



Ben-Gvir's militia: A private army in dangerous hands, The New Arab, 4 April 2023

A temporary shelter being set up in the Bedouin village of Al Zarnouq. Image by **Adalah**

Reopening of Medical Clinics in Naqab Bedouin Villages

At the beginning of the war, Israel closed medical clinics in several Bedouin villages in the Naqab (Negev), at the order of the Israeli Army's Home Front Command, citing lack of air raid shelters in the facilities. Medical clinics were closed down in villages with a combined population of about 20,000 residents, many of whom already have limited access to medical services due to their villages' "unrecognized" status. On 19 October, Adalah wrote to Israel's Minister of Health and the directors of the Clalit and Meuhedet health services demanding the immediate reopening of the clinics. On 21 October, a shelter was set up in the medical clinic in Abu Tuloul, a village with around 2,500 Bedouin residents. As of early November, all of the Clalit medical clinics in the unrecognized Bedouin villages, except for Wadi Al-Na'am, have been reopened as a result of this legal work and pressure from the local community.



"The clinic [in Al-Zarnoug] was closed from the beginning of the war for about a month. Throughout that time, villagers who needed to receive medical treatment had to go to clinics elsewhere. Access to medical treatment was not available to all residents during that period, especially for women and the elderly, a group that is not able to travel far, something that caused further deterioration to their health. In addition, there were not enough doctors available in clinics outside the village, forcing many patients to wait for long periods in order to receive treatment. The Clalit clinic was reopened approximately a week ago (on 5 November 2023) after the provision of a temporary bomb shelter next to the clinic. Of course, today there is a greater sense of security among the residents for having a shelter next to the clinic to protect us against the dangers of war."



Mohammad Abu Qweider, a member of the local committee in the unrecognized village of Al-Zarnouq

Bedouin children in the Nagab attempt to shield themselves from aerial rocket fire behind a vehicle in the town of Kuseife, 30 October 2023. Image via the Naqab Emergency Room.

Lack of Shelters in Bedouin Schools in the Naqab

On 30 October 2023, Adalah sent an urgent letter to the Education Ministry and Israel's Military's Home Front Command to demand immediate action to provide air raid shelters in schools in Bedouin villages in the Naqab. Dozens of schools have no air raid shelters, leaving the lives of thousands of Bedouin schoolchildren and staff, citizens of Israel, in peril. Based on Home Front Command directives, some of these children have resumed in-person learning without secure facilities at school, although they are at risk from rocket fire in their homes. In the Al-Qasoum and Neve Midbar Regional Councils, 122 Bedouin schools lack shelters or protected areas entirely, and there is a shortage of protected areas relative to the number of students in another 20. Other Bedouin towns have even more limited facilities, and cannot resume in-person learning due to the lack of air raid shelters. Here, the absence of internet infrastructure, lack of access to the electricity grid, and a shortage of computers combine to make remote learning unfeasible, as was already made evident during the COVID-19 crisis. In the letter, Adalah argued that the lack of shelters in Bedouin schools constitutes a blatant violation of the rights of Bedouin children to life, bodily integrity and education, and that the state's negligence in providing shelters makes any form of learning in these areas impractical or impossible. Adalah is continuing to follow up on these issues.



Bedouins, the weakest link in Israel's war on Hamas, EL PAÍS English, 14 November 2023



Bedouin Schools Are Much Less Likely to Have Bomb Shelters Compared to Rest of Israel Haaretz, 13 November 2023

Main Achievements

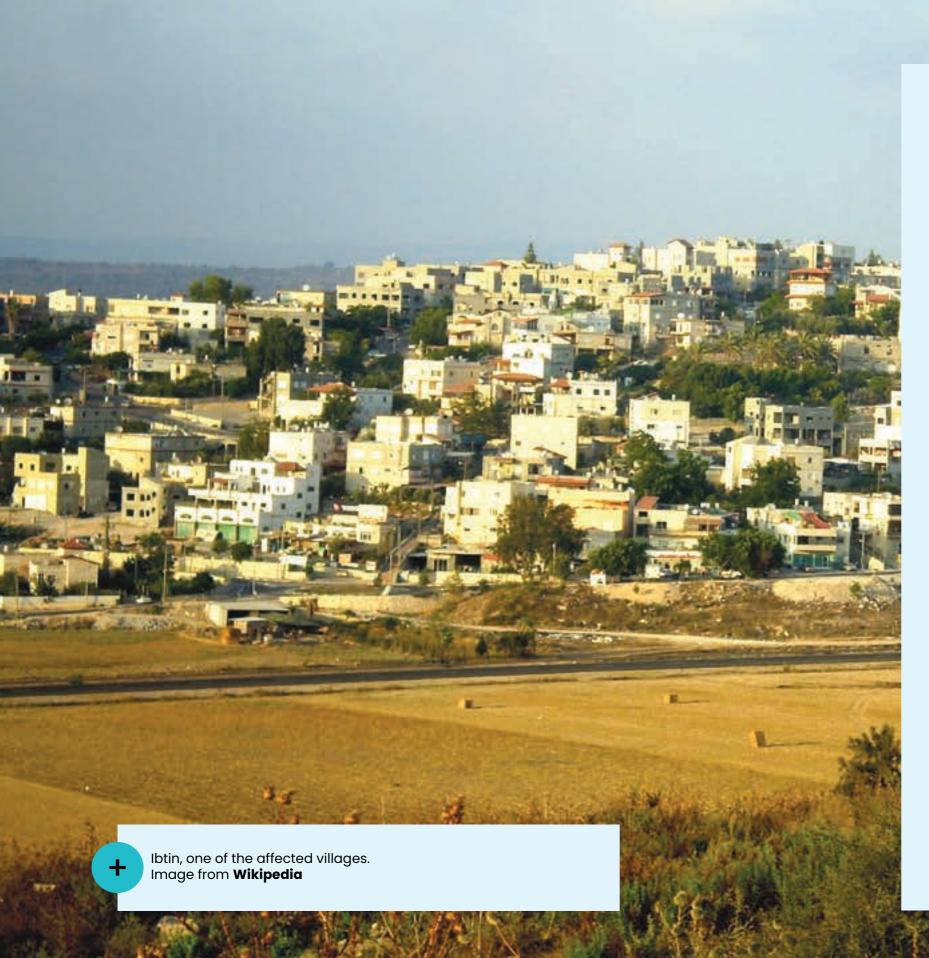
Prior to 7 October 2023

Nine Arab towns in Wadi Ara named 'National Priority Areas' (NPAs) for housing

In May 2023, the government decided to include nine Arab towns and villages in the Wadi Ara ("Little Triangle") region on the list of designated "NPAs" for housing, for the first time, making them eligible for exceptional state subsidies for housing and mortgages, as well as lucrative benefits for construction and land development. The development follows a Supreme Court petition filed by Adalah and the Arab Center for Alternative Planning, together with the local municipalities, challenging the state's decades-long discriminatory NPAs policy. The nine Arab localities include the city of Umm al-Fahem (pop: 60,000). Historically, Arab towns in Wadi Ara have been excluded from NPA designations, although they struggle with a severe housing crisis, while neighboring Jewish-Israeli towns with considerably higher social-economic rankings have received NPA status and been awarded these generous benefits.

Land around three Bedouin villages in the north avoids greenwashing

In March 2023, the national planning appeals committee decided to leave parts of an area of land around the three Arab Bedouin villages of Ibtin, Ras Ali and Khawaled designated for agricultural use. The decision follows objections filed by Adalah and Bimkom in 2021 against a plan to include the land in the 'Shomrat Alonim nature reserve', which threatened to appropriate land in the three villages. The plan threatened to harm the lifestyles and livelihoods of around 4,200 Palestinian citizens of Israel, who can now continue to use the land for agriculture. The case is particularly significant as it involves one of the few remaining areas within Israel where there remains a fully-functioning Palestinian agricultural system on privately-owned Palestinian land. 'Greenwashing' is used extensively by the Israeli planning authorities to appropriate land from Palestinians.



First preparatory psychometric course in Arabic

In March 2023, the Israel National Digital Agency announced that it had opened a preparatory course for students applying for higher education and taking the psychometric exam in the Arabic language, for the first time. Previously, Israel's Ministry for Social Equality offered a free online preparatory course only in Hebrew. Adalah has been working on this case since 2018, corresponding with the Ministry to demand the course in Arabic. About 70,000 high school students in Israel take the psychometric exams every year, around a third of whom take it in Arabic. The availability of the preparatory course in Arabic should enable more Arab students to enter Israeli universities.

Arab local authorities in Israel retain financial autonomy

In May 2023, the Interior Minister informed Arab local authorities in Israel that he would not enforce a directive usurping their power to manage tenders for service provision in their towns in 2023. The directive specifically targeted Arab local authorities and threatened to create two separate systems of local government – one for Israeli Jewish towns and another for Arab towns – with divergent powers. The decision to maintain the status quo followed pressure from the local authorities, with the legal assistance of Adalah, in 2022 and 2023, together with the Arab Mayors' Committee and the Injaz Center. The decision not to implement the discriminatory directive affects 85 Arab local authorities in Israel.



Private Palestinian land saved from Israeli landfill plan in occupied East Jerusalem (EJ)

In July 2023, the area designated for an Israeli landfill planned in occupied EJ was drastically reduced from approximately 406 dunams to 100 dunams – much of which is privately-owned Palestinian land – following objections filed against the plan to the planning authorities, including an objection submitted by Adalah and the Civic Coalition for Palestinian Rights in Jerusalem and residents. Under the plan, Israel will expropriate the land and transfer it to the Jerusalem Municipality. As originally drafted, the plan stood to affect around 90,000 Palestinian Jerusalemites. As the objectors argued, the plan would maintain territorial contiguity between Jewish settlements in the West Bank and the Jerusalem municipal area, while cutting off the Bedouin residents of Anata and Al-Isawiyeh in EJ from the rest of the OPT.

Gaza fishing boat returned to owners

In July 2023, following a motion for an interim order filed by Adalah and Gisha, Israel was forced to return a fishing boat to its owners in Gaza by the Israeli Maritime Court. The Israeli navy seized the boat in late 2022 and Israel requested to confiscate it permanently under old laws of war. The boat provided the primary source of income for four families of around 50 people, as well as a number of other fishermen who partially relied on it for their livelihood. The boat was returned to Gaza. Fishing was – prior to the war – a major sector of Gaza's economy and an important source of food for the population. For decades, Israel has tightly restricted Palestinians' access to the sea off the coast of Gaza, and its naval forces enforced these limits with warning shots and live rounds fired at Palestinian fishing vessels and their crews, resulting in damages to boats and equipment, injuries, and even death.





Interactive Map

of Forced Displacement in the Nagab

Adalah, Bimkom – Planners for Planning Rights and the Regional Council for Unrecognized Villages in the Naqab (RCUV) launched a new online interactive map in May 2023 to visually represent the wide range of the ongoing forced displacement faced by Bedouin communities. The map provides an overview of all of the Bedouin villages in the Naqab, and highlights those areas that are currently under imminent threat of displacement. It also provides a detailed guide of the "development" and infrastructure plans that Israel is pursuing, which are designed to induce displacement of the Bedouins and provide benefits exclusively for Jewish Israeli citizens. The map is based primarily on legal cases and land planning objections undertaken by Adalah and Bimkom in recent years.

The Swiss Embassy in Tel Aviv hosted a meeting in June 2023 for 15 representatives of different embassies in Israel, at which Adalah, Bimkom, and the RCUV presented the forced displacement map and discussed the new government's plans for development-induced forced displacement and the extensive building of new Jewish-only towns in the Naqab. Adalah also promoted the map and an accompanying position paper to many other international actors.





Adalah is representing Bedouin residents of two unrecognized villages in the Naqab, Al-Bqeaa and Ras Jrabah, against the state's efforts to evacuate them from their homes. Al-Bqeaa is located between Arad and the Masada National Park, near the tourist site of Kfar Nokdim. The 520 current residents of Al-Bqeaa were expelled in the 1950s by Israel from their land in Kurnu, and moved to Al-Bqeaa. In 2022, the Israel Land Authority (ILA) filed 18 eviction lawsuits against 254 residents of the village and their families, portraying them as "trespassers". Adalah, together with Meezan Organization for Human Rights, is representing residents in court to stop the evictions, which would displace the entire village. In 2023, Adalah submitted defense arguments and collected affidavits from the residents and state archival materials, and worked with Bimkom to analyze aerial photos and prepare an expert opinion on alternative planning solutions. Evidentiary hearings are set throughout 2024.

Ras Jrabah (population: 500) predates the establishment of Israel, and sits on land belonging to the Al-Hawashleh tribe. The village is adjacent to the city of Dimona, which was built on the tribe's land. In 2019, the ILA filed 10 eviction lawsuits against 127 residents of Ras Jrabah and their families. Adalah submitted defense arguments and represented the villagers at court hearings in 2022, at which experts and residents testified against the eviction process. On 24 July 2023, the Be'er Sheva Magistrates' Court ruled that all 500 residents of Ras Jrabah must evacuate and demolish their own homes by March 2024. The court ordered the residents to pay NIS 117,000 NIS (approx. US \$31,700 USD) to cover legal expenses. Adalah has appealed the decision.

Amnesty International is actively following the case of Ras Jrabah. Heba Morayef, Regional Director for the Middle East and North Africa, Amnesty International: "The clock is ticking for Ras Jrabah's residents, who have just months to pack up their lives and leave the only homes they have ever known."



See Israel/OPT: 500 Palestinians facing forcible eviction, displacement, and segregation, Amnesty International, 28 July 2023



"After we were relocated to Al-Bqeaa in the 1950s, a senior Israeli military officer came to our village and told us that this land belonged to our tribe and that we should guard it well. So, the claim that we are trespassers is wholly unfounded. The residents are very reliant on our village's proximity to Kfar Nokdim and Masada, their main sources of employment, and so the evacuation of the village to another location will also have serious economic consequences on the residents."



Ateeq Jabareen, a 94-year-old resident of Al-Baeaa.



Translated excerpts of the Ras Jrabah decision



Israelis Protest Authoritarianism but Apartheid Is Unchallenged, The Intercept, 1 April 2023



Israeli court orders to evict 500 Bedouin from unrecognized village, The Jerusalem Post, 27 July 2023



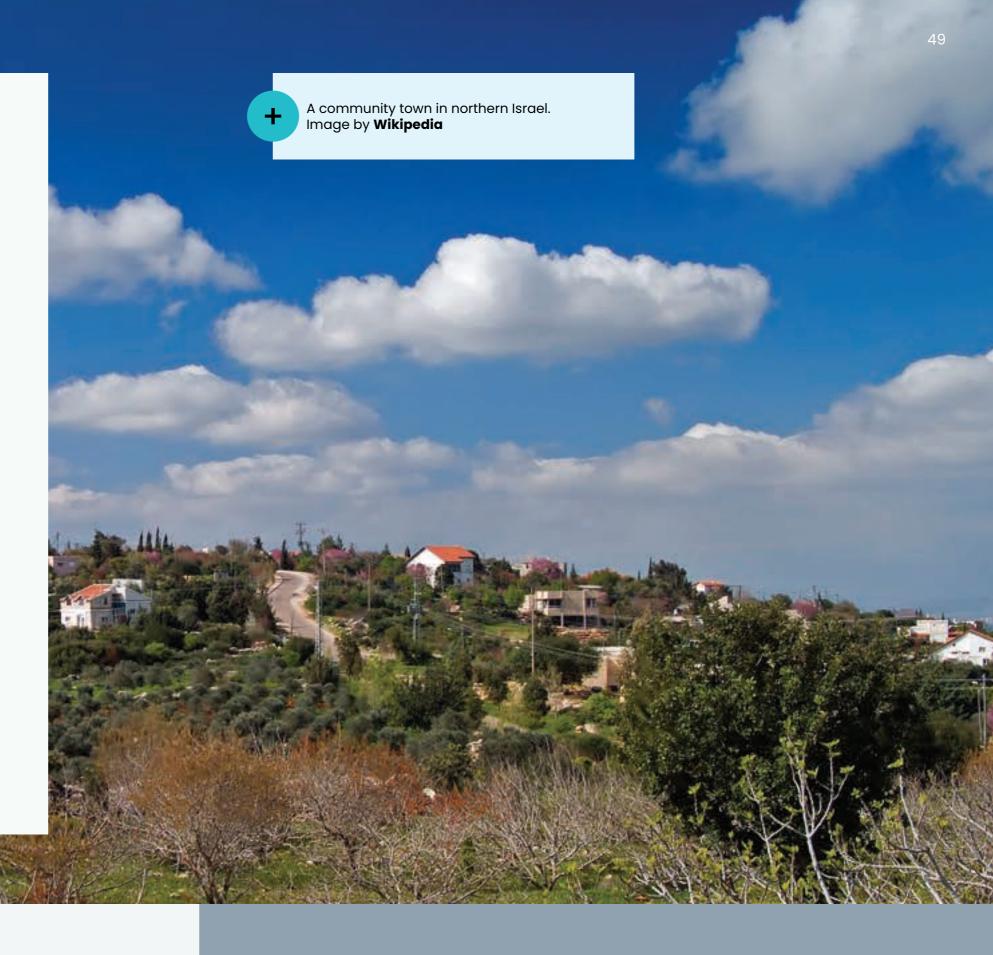
Israeli Court Orders Eviction of Bedouin Village for New Predominantly Jewish Neighborhood, Haaretz, 28 July 2023

Challenging New Discriminatory Laws

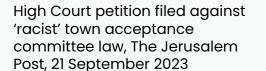
The 'Admissions Committees' Law

In July 2023, the Knesset passed an amendment to the "Admissions Committees Law", which effectively allows hundreds of "community towns" to operate "admissions committees". Admissions committees are exclusionary bodies that screen applicants for housing units and land in these towns, built on vast swathes of state land in Israel. They often make their decisions based on arbitrary and racist criteria related to applicants' perceived "social suitability" to the "social and cultural fabric" of a community. This law is one of a series of measures designed to promote Jewish hegemony, entrench racial segregation and exclude marginalized communities, primarily PCI. The amendment applies to 437 localities, which is more than 41% of all localities in Israel, and allows admissions committees in all regional councils, covering 80% of the state's territory.

On 21 September 2023, Adalah filed a Supreme Court petition against the law, in its own name and on behalf of a diverse coalition of civil society organizations: The Association for Civil Rights in Israel, the ACAP, the Mizrahi Democratic Rainbow Coalition, Bimkom, Ahoti – for Women in Israel, the Association for Distributive Justice, Gila Project for Trans Empowerment and Tolerance, and the Association of Ethiopian Jews. The petitioners demanded the annulment of the amendment and the original 2011 law. The petitioners argued that the main, racist purpose of the expanded law is to gate-keep segregated Jewish towns throughout Israel and keep PCI and members of other marginalized groups out. A court hearing has been scheduled for 27 May 2024.











50 Challenging New Discriminatory Laws A panel of 11 Supreme Court Justices meet to deliberate the Citizenship Law amendment, which prevents Palestinians from the OPT married to Palestinian citizens of Israel from becoming Israeli residents or citizens. Adalah and other groups filed petitions against the law. Image by **Yossi Zamir** / Flash 90

Law denying early release to Palestinians classified as "security prisoners" by Israel

In August 2023, Adalah, Al Mezan and ACRI filed a petition to the Israeli Supreme Court, on behalf of three Palestinian prisoners, against a new law that categorically leaves Palestinians classified by the Israel Prison Service (IPS) as "security prisoners" ineligible for early release for administrative reasons. This rule includes prisoners sentenced to short terms and even those who have managed, despite multiple obstacles, to win approval for conditional release from a release committee. The petitioners argued that the exclusion of these prisoners was done for purely punitive reasons, and that the law discriminates on the basis of nationality. Moreover, the distinction between criminal and security prisoners is often ludicrous given that the purpose of the law is to reduce overcrowding, as mandated by a prior Supreme Court ruling. Creating separate tracks and conditions for release based on racial identity also goes against the international consensus regarding the duty not to discriminate between prisoners, as established in a UN General Assembly decision. A Supreme Court hearing is set for 17 June 2024, almost an entire year after the filling of the petition.

Law granting sweeping powers to National Security Minister over the police

In April 2023, Adalah petitioned the Supreme Court on behalf of the High Follow-up Committee for Arab Citizens of Israel to revoke a new law that grants the National Security Minister the authority to determine the police's policies regarding investigations and setting "principled priorities", contrary to the rule of law. At a hearing in June, broadcast live on Israeli news outlets, Adalah argued that farright National Security Minister Itamar Ben-Gvir's actions indicate that the new law is aimed at increasing racist law enforcement against Palestinians, including his directives to ban raising the Palestinian flag in public and to increase home demolitions in East Jerusalem as a retaliatory action "in response to attacks". The Supreme Court ordered the state to explain why the law is constitutional, a move that shifts the burden of defense onto the state. The case is pending.

Ban on Palestinian family unification

On 5 March 2023, the Knesset extended the ban on Palestinian family unification for another year. Adalah's petition before the Supreme Court against the Israeli Citizenship Law, filed in March 2022, is still pending. The law bars citizens and residents of Israel from marrying Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza, as well as citizens of so-called enemy states – Syria, Lebanon, Iran and Iraq – and living together in Israel. It overwhelmingly affects the citizenship status and family life of Palestinian citizens of Israel and Palestinian residents of Jerusalem. The law explicitly states that its purpose is to ensure a Jewish demographic majority, and the petitioners argued that the State can no longer defend the law relying solely on unsubstantiated security arguments. A Supreme Court hearing is scheduled on the case on 8 July 2024.



Itamar Ben Gvir: How an extremist settler became a powerful Israeli minister, The Washington Post, 22 February 2023



Ben-Gvir Police Law against Israeli rule of law, Adalah tells High Court - Israel Politics, The Jerusalem Post, 20 April 2023



Israel Police risk politicization with Ben-Gvir's Police Law, The Jerusalem Post, 1 June 2023



Adalah's short film on Israel's ban on Palestinian family unification, which "would not have passed even in Apartheid South Africa", March 2023

HOW THE US IS PLANNING TO BUILD ITS EMBASSY ON STOLEN PALESTINIAN LAND IN JERUSALEM TUESDAY, 31 JANUARY 2023, 1 PM EST. Please join us for a discussion on the US State Department's plan to build their embassy on stolen Palestinian land in Jerusalem. The plan - a violation of international law - entails the embassy's construction on private Palestinian property that has been illegally confiscated bylsrael, the owners of which include numerous US citizens. Panelists will outline what the plan entails, its illegality,and what you can do to stop the US government from moving forward with the plan! **OUR SPEAKERS** MODERATED BY Legal Director | Ertward Said Professor Director of Government Senior Staff Attorney | CCR of Arab Studies Relations | IMEU PLEASE REGISTER HERE: bit.ly/JerusalemEmbassy Adalah - The Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel | Center for Constitutional Rights | Institute for Middle East Understanding | Institute for Palestine Studies

Historical (In)Justice

New US Embassy Compound in Jerusalem

In December 2017, former US President Donald Trump formally recognized Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, moved the US Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, and proceeded with plans for a more permanent location in Jerusalem. The Biden Administration has continued to pursue a location for a new US diplomatic compound in West Jerusalem.

On 30 January 2023, Adalah filed an objection against a plan submitted by the US administration to locate its embassy on land in Jerusalem that was confiscated illegally by Israel from Palestinian refugees and internally-displaced persons using the 1950 Israeli Absentees' Property Law. Adalah is representing 12 descendants of the original owners of the land, including US and Jordanian citizens and Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem. Adalah worked closely with some prominent descendants of the landowners, including Professor Rashid Khalidi, a US citizen and historian at Columbia University. Earlier, during a visit of US President Biden to Israel in July 2022, Adalah revealed archival documents proving Palestinian ownership of the land, and worked with the Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR) in New York to send an urgent letter to US Secretary of State Antony Blinken and then-US Ambassador to Israel Thomas Nides, calling on the Biden Administration to cancel the plan. The Jerusalem District Planning Committee rejected the objection, and the National Planning and Building Committee refused our request for permission to appeal later in 2023. The US government has yet to issue a final decision on the location of the new compound.



Webinar: How the US is Planning to Build its Embassy on Stolen Palestinian Land in Jerusalem, 31 January 2023



Opinion: Will the U.S. Embassy in Jerusalem Be Built on Confiscated Palestinian Land?, The New York Times, 15 January 2023



Rashid Khalidi's interview on BBC about the US embassy, Interview BBC NewsHour, 18 January 2023



Palestinians Campaign against Proposed US Embassy Site on Stolen West Jerusalem Land Jerusalem Story, 27 May 2023

Palestinians expelled from Tantura village, June 1948. Photo: **Benno** Rothenberg/Meitar Collection/ National Library of Israel/ The Pritzker Family National Photography Collection/ CC BY 4.0

Historical (In)Justice

The Case of Tantura

On 24 May 2023, Adalah sent a letter to the Israeli authorities on behalf of 11 displaced residents of the uprooted and destroyed Palestinian village of Tantura and the Tantura Committee to demand that the state mark, fence, and install signage at the mass graves and cemeteries of Tantura, where villagers were brutally massacred and displaced in 1948 by the Alexandroni Brigade of the Haganah. Adalah further demanded that visits and religious ceremonies should be allowed at the sites. The letter is based on the precise location of four mass graves and the village's cemeteries, as determined through comprehensive research conducted by Forensic Architecture (FA), a research agency that investigates human rights violations. FA used archival maps, photographs, aerial photographs, satellite images, videos, village surveys, memory sketches, an original survey of the village's remaining buildings, and a 'situated testimony' interview with a living survivor of Tantura to create a model of the village, reconstructing a place long since erased from the contemporary landscape.

To present the findings, Adalah, FA, villagers and historians held a guided tour in Tantura in May 2023, followed by an event at the Khashabi Theatre in Haifa at which a video presentation was shown, along with speakers from Adalah, FA and the Tantura committee, a 95-year-old survivor of the massacre, and historian llan Pappe. FA incorporated its findings in a platform that hosts a navigable 3D reconstruction of Tantura prior to its occupation and subsequent destruction, within which archival sources are geo-located.



"There were between 50 and 60 people who were killed, those who got sprayed by the machine guns ... They would take the best of the young men and make them stand facing the wall, then fire at them. And this is something I witnessed with my own eyes."

Testimony by survivor Ahman Abdel Mo'ty.



Tantura: Executions and Mass Graves in Palestine, Platform by Forensic Architecture, with input by Adalah



UK study of 1948 Israeli massacre of Palestinian village reveals mass grave sites | Palestinian territories, The Guardian, 25 May 2023



'We Threw Bodies': Researchers Say Four Mass Graves Dot Site of Arab Village in Israel, Haaretz, 26 May 2023



Tantura massacre: Challenging Israel's denial of the Nakba, The New Arab, 5 June 2023

Annexation of the West Bank

In June 2023, Adalah released a position paper in which it analyzed a series of recent measures by the current Israeli government that constitute annexation of the West Bank, and indicate a clear policy to extend Jewish supremacy and deepen the apartheid that has been in operation for generations. In its December 2022 coalition agreements and guiding principles, the new government pledged to increase Jewish settlements and development and to ultimately impose Israeli sovereignty throughout the West Bank. The policies detailed in the paper include institutional changes and the transfer of spheres of operation from the military to government civilian offices, the legalization of outposts and expansion of settlements, and the direct application of Israeli domestic law, in violation of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination. Adalah gave presentations about the paper at a series of webinars for US journalists, US congressional staffers, and for the members of the EU Delegation and the European External Action Service.

In July 2023, in response to a letter from Adalah, Israel's Cabinet Secretary categorically denied the Palestinian right to self-determination and asserted that Israel's control of the West Bank was legal and not considered occupation, stating that, "Israel has the right to impose its sovereignty over these areas, as they hold significant historical importance for the Jewish people and are an integral part of the land of Israel... Israel is not an occupying power in Judea and Samaria [the West Bank] but holds these areas legally, and the decision in question does not alter the law applicable in Judea and Samaria, in keeping with international law." The Secretary's statement was made in response to a letter in which Adalah objected to a decision made by the Political-Security Cabinet on 12 February 2023 to approve the "regularization" of ten settlements in the occupied West Bank. The statement is in line with the official position of the current far-right government, the governing principles of which assert that, "The Jewish people have an exclusive and inalienable right to all areas of the Land of Israel. The government will promote and develop settlement in all parts of the Land of Israel, in the Galilee, the Negev, the Golan, Judea, and Samaria."





Adalah Position Paper: The Acceleration of the Annexation of the West Bank, June 2023



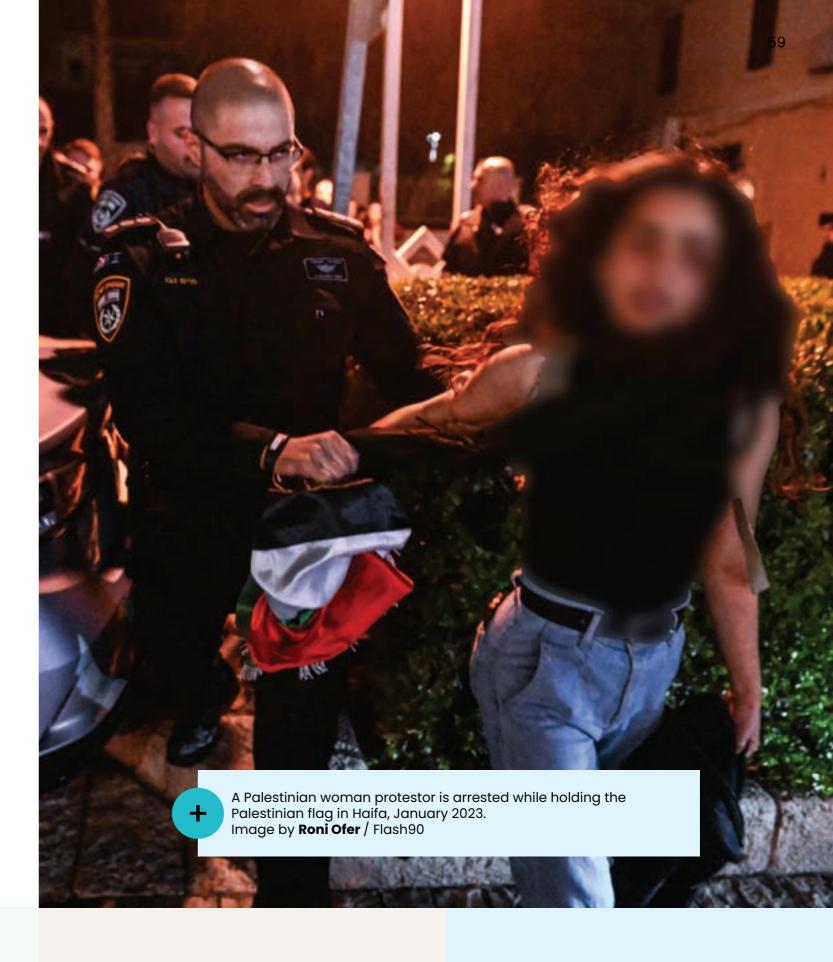
The Israel's Cabinet Secretary's letter, 19 June 2023, translated to English

Defending the Right to Wave the Palestinian Flag

Racialized policing against Palestinians intensified throughout 2023 following the election of the new government coalition. At the helm of the police, National Security Minister, Itamar Ben-Gvir, the ultra-nationalist leader of the Jewish Power Party, began his term by using his expanded powers to ban the raising of the Palestinian flag in public spaces. Adalah demanded that the Minister rescind his directive on the ground that it is illegal under existing Israeli law; however, it remained in place.

Among many other incidents, on 26 January 2023, police officers violently and illegally arrested six protestors for raising the Palestinian flag during a demonstration in Haifa against the military's killings of Palestinians a day earlier in the Jenin refugee camp. The Haifa police arrested the activists because they refused to lower the Palestinian flags. Among the detainees was one of Adalah's lawyers, who was present at the protest. He repeatedly demanded that police officers stop ordering protesters to lower the flag, given that there is no current ban on it in Israeli law. After being illegally arrested alongside the other protestors, he continued to provide legal advice to the detainees at the police station. The police later released all of the detainees without charge or conditions, a development that demonstrates the arbitrary and illegal nature of their arrests and an affirmation, to some degree, of the rule of law. However, the police's draconian actions are yet another in a series of attempts to clamp down on any expression of Palestinian national identity and to violently deter Palestinian citizens from protesting, attempts that escalated after 7 October 2023.

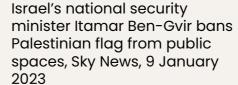
In March 2023, Adalah published a new position paper on the legality of the Palestinian flag in Israeli law, which finds that there is no explicit prohibition in Israeli law on displaying the Palestinian flag. The paper provides an historical account of the evolution of the Palestinian flag.













Israel Advances Law Imposing One-year Jail Term for Public Display of Palestinian Flags, Haaretz, 18 May 2023

60 Eyad Al-Hallaq's mother holds a photograph of her son. Image by **Shai Kendler** / Wikimedia Commons

Impunity for the Killing of Eyad al-Hallaq

On 5 September 2023, Adalah and the Meezan Organization for Human Rights petitioned the Israeli Supreme Court on behalf of the parents of the late Eyad al-Hallaq against the decision of the Police Investigation Department (PID) and the State Attorney's Office <u>not</u> to appeal the Jerusalem District Court's ruling that acquitted the Israeli police officer who killed their son. Al-Hallaq, a 32-year-old severely autistic Palestinian man, was shot dead by an Israeli Border Police officer in Jerusalem's Old City on 30 May 2020 while he was making his way to the special needs school where he both worked and studied. Eyad, who noticed two police officers shouting and running toward him, fled in fear; he was shot in the lower body, and again while lying on the ground, already injured.

In a very rare occurrence, the PID announced that the Border Police officer who shot Eyad would face reckless manslaughter charges, following an investigation. However, on 6 July 2023, the District Court fully acquitted the officer, and in September, the State Attorney's Office decided not to appeal the decision.

The petitioners argue that the decision is extremely unreasonable, establishing dangerous legal norms of blanket immunity in cases of extrajudicial killings of Palestinians. Further, it decreases the threshold that permits use of lethal force by police to a subjective sense of endangerment, essentially shielding the police from criminal responsibility. The case is pending.

The Fight to Free Ahmad Manasra

In 2023, Israel continued to hold 21-year old Palestinian prisoner Ahmad Manasra in solitary confinement, where he has been for over two years, since November 2021, in cruel and inhumane conditions, despite a serious medical condition. The Be'er Sheva District Court repeatedly extended his solitary confinement, relying solely on secret evidence. Manasra, a resident of East Jerusalem, was convicted of attempted murder when he was just 14 years old, and was sentenced to nine-and-a-half years in prison. During his time in prison, Manasra's mental health severely deteriorated and doctors have stated that he requires immediate treatment outside prison. Adalah and a private attorney represented Manasra, and repeatedly objected to the state's requests to extend his solitary confinement. The legal team requested a visit to Manasra by a psychiatrist, which took place in July 2023. The psychiatric evaluation confirmed that the isolation was undeniably playing a significant role in the deterioration of his mental state, and cited alternative treatments. At the hearing, the State Attorney's Office claimed that Manasra posed a threat to others and that, as long as he is held in an Israeli prison, the Israel Prison Service intends to keep him in solitary confinement, which is considered torture under international law. The court unquestioningly accepted the state's arguments. In September, Manasra refused to hold an additional meeting with the psychologist, and at a hearing later in the month he dismissed the whole legal team and declined further contact with his parents. He has since been appointed a public defender.

The UN Special Rapporteur on the OPT, Francesca Albanese, noted the severity of Manasra's case in her report to the UN General Assembly in October 2023, which focuses on the rights of Palestinian children and the meaning of life under "forever occupation" (page 12, para. 49).

In July 2022, numerous UN experts issued a joint statement urging Israel to free Ahmad Manasra, including the Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms while countering terrorism.







The UN experts' joint statement on Ahmad Manasra, July 2022







Students from the University of California, Berkeley on a tour of the Naqab with Adalah, in the village of Al-Zarnouq, 18 January 2023. Far left: Adalah's Naqab Office Coordinator, Marwan Abu Frieh



International Advocacy Highlight

Hundreds of International Visitors 'Walk the Land' in the Naqab and 'Cross the Green Line' Hundreds of PalTrek (US and UK) university students participated in Adalah-led tours in the Naqab to witness the situation in the unrecognized villages and forced displacement first-hand. These groups have very recently added the Naqab to their tour itineraries, which focus mostly on the West Bank. Participating student groups included those from Johns Hopkins SAIS, Harvard University, Georgetown Law School, and UC Berkeley, among others. Adalah, the Negev Coexistence Forum and the Regional Council for the Unrecognized Villages in the Naqab also frequently led tours for diplomats and international organizations, major development agencies and donor-partners, interfaith groups, and students. In 2023, Adalah also started to lead 'crossing the Green Line' tours with B'Tselem for journalists, major donors, and international human rights networks to show similar policies of forced displacement in Israel and in the occupied West Bank. In total, Adalah held 33 tours for over 630 people over the course of 2023.

The 50th regular session of the United Nations Human Rights Council. Image by **Violaine Martin** / UN Photo

At the United Nations

Favorable Concluding Observations from UN Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities

Adalah participated in the first review of Israel by the UN Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) in August 2023. Adalah, Al Mezan, and UK-based Medical Aid for Palestinians submitted a joint NGO report to the Committee on the Israeli military's unlawful and deadly conduct in the Great March of Return (GMR) demonstrations in Gaza in 2018 and 2019, in the course of which 217 Palestinians were killed at the protests, including nine with disabilities, and thousands more wounded and left with disabilities. Other issues included Israel's policies of shoot-to-kill and shoot-to-maim against Palestinian protesters, and of denying injured persons' access to medical treatment and civil remedies.

In September, the CRPD issued a concluding observation on "Reports of deaths of persons with disabilities at border controls by security forces, during public demonstrations and as a consequence of law enforcement operations and hostilities, including air strikes", the denial of liability for damages, and closed investigations. The CRPD also stated concerns about restrictions on freedom of movement in the OPT for people with disabilities, and denials of exit permits for medical care, issues raised in Adalah and partners in their report. These observations are the first statements made by the CRPD on Israel's responsibility towards Palestinians with disabilities harmed by the Israeli military and civilian authorities.

Universal Periodic Review

In early 2023, Israel was reviewed by the Universal Periodic Review (UPR), the process through which UN member states' human rights records are scrutinized by their fellow states. Adalah submitted a report in advance of the UPR in October 2022 on three key issues: (1) the 2018 Jewish Nation-State Law; (2) the Citizenship and Entry into Israel Law (Temporary Order) - 2022 banning family Palestinian unification, and a 2008 amendment to the law permitting the revocation of citizenship for alleged "breach of loyalty"; and (3) the use of excessive police violence against PCI and the associated lack of accountability. Adalah participated in briefings with other Palestinian NGOs for diplomats based in the West Bank, and with Israel-based NGOs for numerous embassy representatives. A number of states asked questions of Israel based on Adalah's points: e.g. Slovenia, Liechtenstein, Belgium and Germany raised concern about the death penalty bill, and Belgium raised concern about the ban on Palestinian family reunification. Adalah also participated in advocacy meetings in Geneva in advance of the UPR with state missions, and an NGO briefing to the EU concerning the UPR, with several other Palestinian human rights groups.





Shrinking Space for Civil Society: The Palestinian 6

Adalah continued to conduct extensive advocacy on the issue of the 'Palestinian 6' organizations internationally, alongside the Palestinian 6 groups and many other Israeli, Palestinian and international organizations, before the UN, individual states, donors, and other influential actors. Israel declared the six prominent Palestinian civil society organizations as terror organizations and unlawful associations in October and November 2021. Adalah's international advocacy work on this subject in 2023 included the following.

In February 2023, Adalah submitted a paper to the UN Special Rapporteur on Counter-Terrorism and Human Rights as a contribution for a report entitled, "Global Study on the Impact of Counter-Terrorism Measures on Civil Society and Civic Space", that focused on Israel's Counter-Terrorism Law and its use against the Palestinian 6 organizations amid the shrinking space for NGOs. Adalah held a follow-up meeting with the Special Rapporteur in May 2023 and also contributed to a submission by EUROMED Rights that placed the issue in a regional context. The Global Study published by UN in June 2023 made several references to Adalah's input, relating to, "overbroad counter-terrorism laws operate definitionally to impinge on the principles of legality, freedom of expression and opinion, freedom of thought, conscience and religion, freedom of association, and other fundamental rights and freedoms" (p. 41); "lowered evidentiary thresholds and the use of secret, torture-derived, and/or fabricated evidence and trials in absentia" (p. 56); "Travel bans and restrictions and border screening processes in the name of counter-terrorism have been documented by UN human rights mechanisms and Global Study respondents, both part and parcel of criminal powers, and separately as independent administrative powers" (pp. 60-61); and "raids of civil society organization offices and human rights defenders and their families' homes, sometimes without warrants and in phishing attempts for CFT countering the financing of terrorism]-related inquiries and investigations" (p. 68).

Adalah staff attended a three-day conference, "Les Assises pour la Palestine", held by a platform of 41 French organizations in March 2023, leading two workshops on shrinking civil space, with a focus on the Palestinian 6; published a factsheet on "The use of Counter-Terrorism Legislative Framework to Restrict Civic Space in Israel/Palestine" with EUROMED Rights discussing the outlawing of the six organizations in May; and addressed the Human Rights Platform (chaired by Switzerland and Finland) at the Heads of Mission level in Jerusalem in September on the topic of shrinking space for civil society, which included new updates on the Palestinian 6. Adalah incorporated the issue into presentations that it gave to visiting international groups, primarily students, professors and activists, amounting to hundreds of individuals per year.









Media Highlight

The New Israeli Government's Coalition Agreements

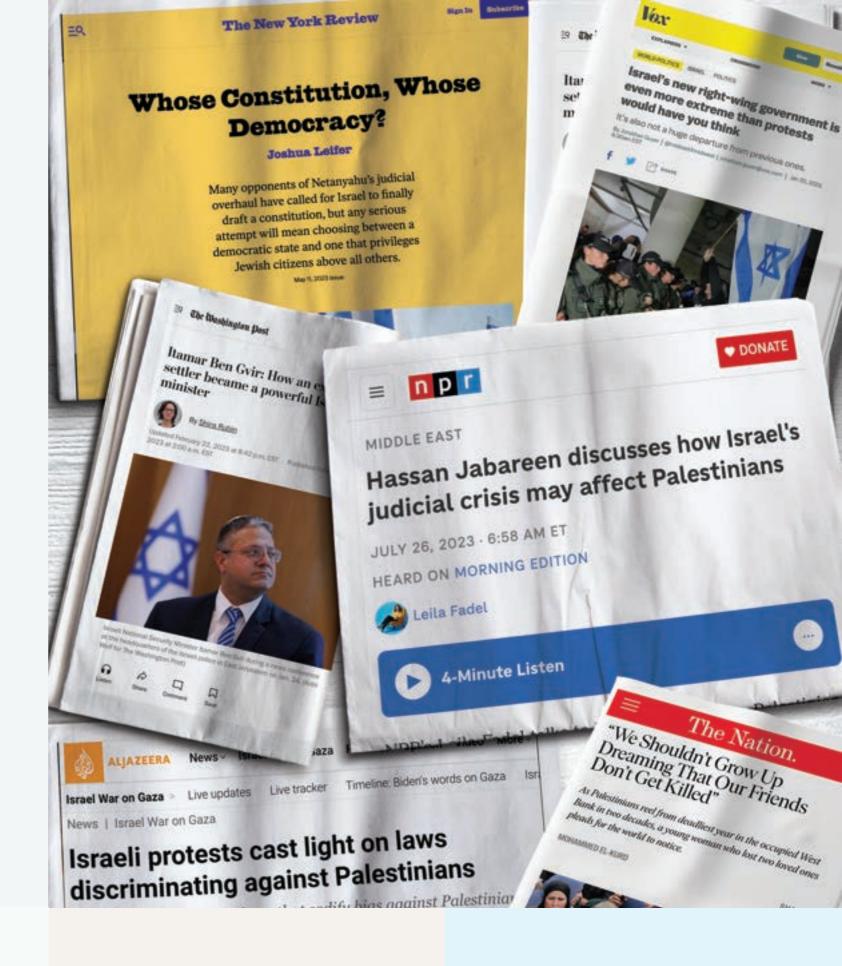
Adalah issued a position paper in January 2023 in which it analyzed the new government's coalition agreements, their guiding principles, expected actions and legislation, and their likely impact on Palestinians on both sides of the Green Line. The paper was frequently cited as a resource by think-tanks, news sites and other NGOs such as USMEP, The Arab Center in Washington DC, Rosa Luxemburg, Jadaliyya, and Al Haq. Additionally, prominent media outlets Vox, the Nation, and the Washington Post, among others, cited the paper in articles about Ben-Gvir and the new government. More than 100 diplomats and representatives of international organizations attended a presentation convened by Adalah to launch the paper, and Adalah additionally spoke at dozens of webinars about the agreements, including with the US-based Foundation for Middle East Peace, allowing our analysis and message to reach thousands of new listeners.



Position Paper: Adalah's Analysis of the New Israeli Government's Guiding Principles and Coalition Agreements and their Implications on Palestinians' Rights, January 2023



FMEP Podcast, "Occupied Thoughts", with Adalah's Legal Director, Dr. Suhad Bishara, 20 January 2023.





Jonathan Guyer, Israel's new right-wing government is even more extreme than protests would have you think, VOX, 20 January 2023



When Israel's Arab Citizens Turn to The Hague, Editorial, Haaretz, 31 January 2023

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Media Highlight

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Israel's Judicial Overhaul: The Enactment of the 'Reasonableness Law'

In August 2023, Adalah and 36 other human rights organizations and NGOs joined a petition to the Supreme Court, led by ACRI, against an Amendment to the Basic Law: The Judiciary, which abolished the "reasonableness" standard used by the judiciary to review the legality of administrative decisions made by government, prime minister and other governmental ministers. The petitioners argued that the amendment was unconstitutional and entailed an abuse of legislative powers and constitution–making powers, and that it would harm the courts' ability to protect human rights. On 1 January 2024, the court struck down the law in an 8-7 decision, finding that it amounted to an extreme deviation from the Knesset's authority.

Dr. Hassan Jabareen, Adalah's General Director, appeared on Israeli TV, Channel II (Hebrew) as an expert legal commentator during the Supreme Court's hearing, and was invited to give multiples interviews in which he analyzed the significance of the reasonableness law and the wider judicial overhaul, both in general and for Palestinians.

The new Editor-in-Chief of +972 Magazine, Ghousoon Bisharat, interviewed Dr. Jabareen against the backdrop of the widely-publicized SCT hearing. Dr. Jabareen's analysis stands out amidst the extensive media coverage and analysis of the judicial overhaul bills as he speaks of the implications of these laws for Palestinians in particular.



Q: Is this hearing really historic?

A: "I believe it is, primarily because it follows a long public struggle — including 37 weeks of demonstrations — and a lengthy public debate that divided the country into two camps: one supporting the judiciary and one against it. Despite the success of the protest, it couldn't prevent the passing of the law. Now the court will decide the winner of this debate."



Dr. Hassan Jabareen, in an interview for +972 Magazine.



Abstract of the SCT's decision in English



Adalah Position Paper: The Unconstitutionality of the new Basic Law: The Judiciary, (Amendment No. 3), Challenging the "Reasonableness Law", August 2023



Ghousoon Bisharat, Will Israel's High Court defy the farright government? +972 Magazine, 15 September 2023



Leila Fadel, Hassan Jabareen discusses how Israel's judicial crisis may affect Palestinians, National Public Radio , 26 July 2023



Israel's Judicial Overhaul Explained, IMEU's This is Palestine Podcast, 10 August 2023



Henriette Chacar, Arabs in Israel stay on sidelines of raging democracy battle, Reuters, 27 July 2023



Inside Story, Is Israel being torn apart by law that weakens the Supreme Court? Al Jazeera English, 25 July 2023

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Publications

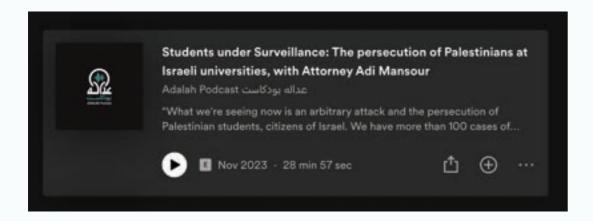
Adalah's Newsletter

During 2023, Adalah published 12 volumes of its Newsletter. Each volume focused on theme of Adalah's work, and included a year-in-review volume, a volume dedicated to the global day of solidarity with Palestinians in Gaza, the 47th Land Day, 75 years since the Nakba, the new Israeli government, and a court decision to evacuate the Bedouin village of Ras Jrabah.

All volumes of Adalah's Newsletter are available on Adalah's website

Adalah's new Podcast

The Adalah's new Podcast, November & December 2023



Thematic Reports

The Coalition Agreements

 Position Paper: Adalah's Analysis of the New Israeli Government's Guiding Principles and Coalition Agreements and their Implications on Palestinians' Rights, January 2023

Discriminatory Legislation and Policies

- Q&A: Law to Revoke Citizenship and Permanent Residency and Deport Palestinians Who Received Money from the Palestinian Authority in Relation to "Terrorist Acts", February 2023
- Position Paper: The Legality of the Palestinian Flag in Israeli Law, March 2023
- Adalah's short film on Israel's ban on Palestinian family unification, which "would not have passed even in Apartheid South Africa", March 2023
- Position Paper on Proposed Bill: Israeli Penal Code (Amendment Death Penalty for Terrorists) - 2023 April 2023, Adalah and the Committee Against Torture, April 2023
- Adalah Position Paper: The unconstitutionality of the new Basic Law: The Judiciary, (Amendment No. 3), Challenging the "Reasonableness Law", August 2023

The Naqab

- ILA Agricultural Plantings "To Protect The Land From Invaders" Carried Out By The JNF: An Explainer, January 2023
- Position Paper on Forced Displacement, May 2023

Occupied Palestinian Territory

- Adalah Position Paper: The Acceleration of the Annexation of the West Bank under the 37th Israeli Government led by Prime Minister Netanyahu, June 2023
- Joint Submission of Adalah, Al Mezan Center for Human Rights, and Medical Aid to Palestine to the UN Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD), focusing on the Great March of Return in Gaza, August 2023

The Uprising of Dignity, May 2021

 Two Years After the May 2021 Events The Uprising of Dignity: Israel's use of excessive force and racial segregation against Palestinians continues, May 2023

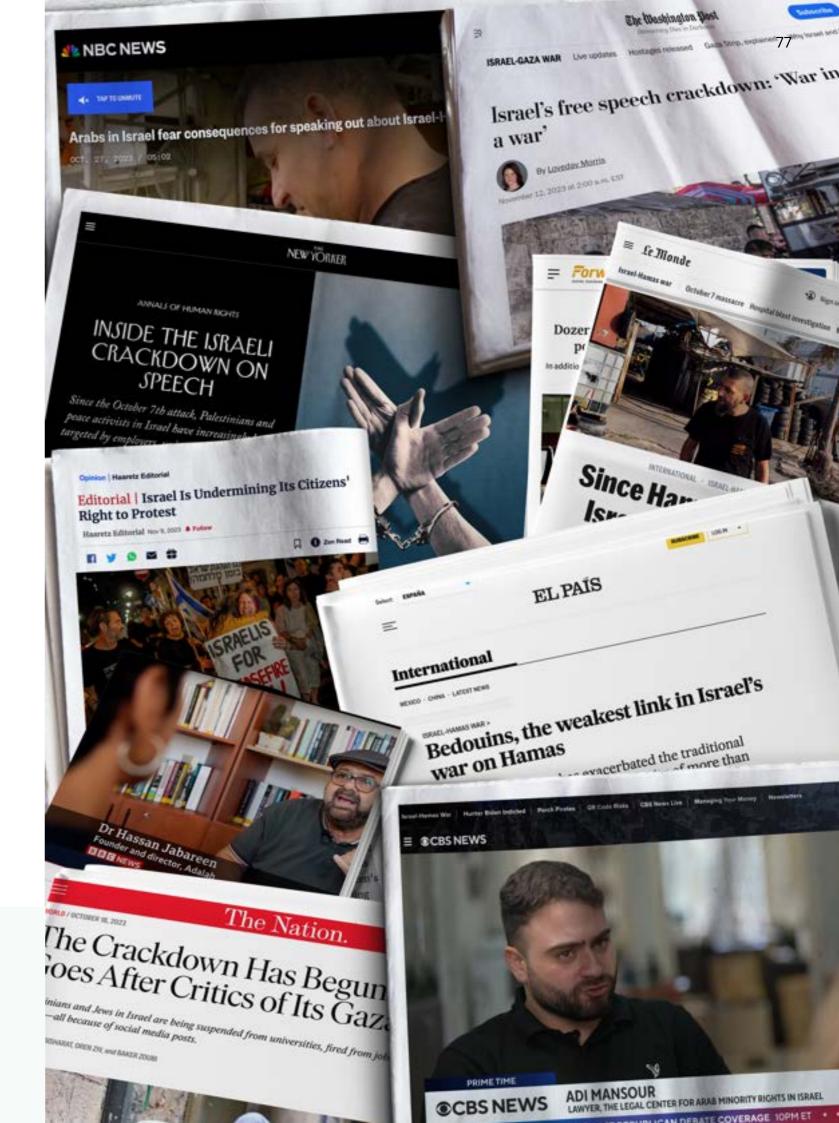
The War on Gaza and Palestinian Citizens of Israel

 Crackdown on Freedom of Speech of Palestinian Citizens of Israel, October/November 2023

International Media

During this emergency period, Adalah's work garnered high-profile media coverage all over the world, and Adalah was a source for journalists on issues including the crackdown on freedom of expression inside Israel, the persecution of the Palestinian political leadership in Israel, and the sweeping impunity that Israel has granted itself for its actions in Gaza. Adalah published a media impact report highlighting some major media coverage of our work.



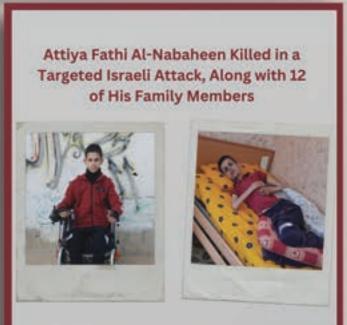










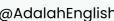


Social Media

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Annual Palestinian Law Students' Camp

From 5-7 October 2023, Adalah convened its 16th annual camp for Palestinian law students, on the issue of "Environmental Colonialism in Palestine: Nature as a tool of control". The three-day event was held in Beit Sahour to allow students from the West Bank to attend alongside those from inside Israel and East Jerusalem. A highlight of the camp was a field tour of villages in the Ramallah area with a focus on agricultural cooperatives and food sovereignty. Students attended workshops and seminars on environmental colonialism and the intersection of climate justice and human rights. Specific topics included forced displacement through greenwashing in the form of forestation and nature reserves, international law and the right to natural resources, the politics of water scarcity, the environment in Gaza under the Israeli blockade, and public interest lawyering and environmental justice. The sessions were led by senior lawyers, academics and Adalah's staff attorneys. The third and final day of the camp was cut short by the outbreak of the Gaza war. We nevertheless received much positive feedback from the students, including the following:



"The camp was very useful and interesting. Every lecture and workshop offered to us was a treasure trove of information. You might feel that you're knowledgeable of our situation, past, present and future, and then during the course of the camp you uncover many new subjects and issues that it's important and necessary for us to learn about and comprehend. Aside from the academic benefit it gave me, and though it was my first time participating in the camp, it was a very enjoyable experience with a special atmosphere."

Omar Alaa E-Din, a student at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

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Adalah's work in 2023 was supported by grants from foundations, development agencies, and hundreds of individuals. We greatly appreciate the generous contributions of all donors to our work. The major institutional donors to Adalah in 2023 were:

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