Post-7 October: A New Wave of Anti-Palestinian Israeli Laws

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		Page
1.	Introduction	3
2.	Denial of the Right to Freedom of Expression, Thought, Criticism, and Protest	5
3.	Denial of the Right to Citizenship, Family Life, and Community Ties among Palestinians	10
4.	Systematic Denial of Fair Trial Guarantees and Assault on Prisoners' Rights	14
5.	Denial of Social Rights and Deepening Inequalities in Resource Allocation	24
6.	Termination of UNRWA Operations in the OPT	27
7.	Conclusion	29

1. Introduction

Over the past two years, the Knesset has advanced a wide range of laws, the cumulative effect of which is to entrench and deepen the regime of apartheid, control, and repression over all Palestinians living under Israeli control. This report surveys and analyzes the key laws passed between 7 October 2023 and 27 July 2025, the conclusion of the Knesset's summer session. Many of these laws received broad support from both coalition and opposition members, despite their blatant violation of constitutional principles and Israel's obligations under international law.

This report builds on Adalah's position paper of 23 October 2024, which reviewed key bills at advanced stages of the legislative process, many of which were later enacted into law. The information contained in this report and the position paper also join Adalah's online Discriminatory Laws Database in documenting about 100 Israeli laws that directly or indirectly discriminate against Palestinian citizens of Israel and Palestinians under Israeli occupation.

The laws examined in this report span multiple themes and violate numerous fundamental rights, including freedom of expression (FoE), protest, and thought; the right to citizenship and legal status; the rights to family life, equality, social benefits, and equality in the allocation of state resources; principles of criminal justice; and prisoners' rights. While these violations are legitimized by the hostile public and political climate fueled by the war, their roots lie deep in Israel's constitutional and political culture, which is based on the principle of Jewish ethno-national supremacy. These laws reinforce and entrench the ongoing pattern in Israeli law of creating and consolidating separate legal systems for Palestinians and Jews.

Notably, the trends identified in this report do not represent a fundamental shift in the state's approach toward Palestinians. Even before the war, Adalah noted in its January 2023 position paper, which analyzed the current government's guiding principles and coalition agreements, that the principles underpinning Israel's system are based on Jewish ethno-national supremacy throughout all territory under its control. The government explicitly declared in its guiding principles, "The Jewish people have an exclusive and inalienable right over all areas of the Land of Israel." These statements were not unprecedented but rather a direct continuation of the logic underlying the Jewish Nation-State Law, passed by the Knesset on 19 July 2018, and of the constitutional framework established since the state's founding, reflected in its explicit ethno-national identity as a "Jewish and democratic" state. However, the crimes committed by Hamas and other armed groups in southern Israel on 7 October 2023 have been—and continue to be—used by Israeli authorities to justify intensifying these trends and further consolidating a regime of ethno-national supremacy on an even larger scale.

This report identifies several legislative trends. The first trend concerns the expanded use of counterterrorism laws, drafted in neutral language but applied almost exclusively against Palestinian citizens of Israel (PCI) and Palestinian residents of occupied East Jerusalem. These laws serve as a central mechanism for differentiating

between populations and as a convenient tool for violating rights on an ethno-national basis. As Adalah warned with the enactment of the 2016 Counter-Terrorism Law, the expansion of concepts such as "terrorist act" and "terror organization," combined with vague and overly-broad definitions of criminal offenses under the law, particularly those restricting freedom of expression, became a primary tool to suppress the FoE of Palestinians, particularly after 7 October 2023. Another trend is the effort to channel broad public support among Jewish-Israeli citizens for army reservists by providing them with a wide range of new benefits, which, by their nature, exclude PCI.

In addition, numerous temporary provisions are effectively becoming permanent in a range of areas, either through repeated extensions of temporary orders or through the incorporation of measures initially adopted as temporary into permanent legislation. This trend is particularly evident in the widespread violations of detainees' and prisoners' rights, including the imposition of degrading and punitive conditions designed to punish and retaliate against Palestinians held in Israeli custody.

While this report focuses on the Knesset, these developments do not result from legislative action alone. All branches of government operate according to the same ethno-national logic in their treatment of Palestinians subjected to the Israeli regime of control, and thus the trends and the specific laws examined in this report must be understood within a broader framework that includes governmental policy and the actions of all state authorities. Some of the laws discussed received support from both coalition and opposition parties, despite internal divisions over the government's judicial reform program. Beyond the political sphere, the State Attorney's Office and the Attorney General actively promoted these legislative processes. For instance, in correspondence with ministers responding to proposals to remove her from office, the Attorney General highlighted her role in combating "terror and incitement," promoting the government's military operations in Gaza, defending the government's policy concerning humanitarian aid to Gaza, her engagement with international tribunals, and her efforts to prevent the issuance of international orders against the state and its organs.

These coordinated actions are evident across all arenas: In **Gaza**, Israel has been committing a genocide, including the indiscriminate killing of tens of thousands of civilians, including thousands of children, and the injury of tens of thousands more; the destruction of most civilian residential buildings; the repeated forcible displacement of nearly all residents; and the destruction of hospitals, schools, universities, public buildings, archaeological sites, mosques, and churches, alongside policies of deliberate starvation, looting, and other abuses. Ministers and Knesset members have incited genocide in Gaza, declared that Israel is committing a "second Nakba," and took steps towards the forced expulsion of its residents. These ongoing crimes are currently the subject of South Africa's case against Israel at the International Court of Justice (ICJ) concerning the application of the Genocide Convention in Gaza. In the **West Bank**, the military, together with settlers, continues to carry out killings and ethnic cleansing. Within the Green Line and in Jerusalem, Palestinian citizens and residents are increasingly treated as "enemies within," expressed through racist policies promoted by law enforcement to suppress criticism

or protest against the war.[1] For an extended period, the police prevented protests led by Palestinian activists and the Palestinian political leadership in Israel, using violence and arbitrary arrests to suppress dissent. Petitions challenging these policies and practices before the Supreme Court were dismissed on various grounds, effectively leaving the protection of constitutional rights solely at the arbitrary discretion of police officers.[2] Since the beginning of the war, the police have arrested hundreds of Palestinian citizens of Israel and residents of Jerusalem over protests or social media-related activities. Between 7 October 2023 and the end of April 2025, at least 645 individuals were arrested on speech-related offenses under the Counter-Terrorism Law, the overwhelming majority of whom were Palestinians. As of the end of October 2024, Israeli authorities had filed 205 indictments for these offenses.[3] In the Naqab (Negev), Israel's policy of home demolitions and forced displacement of Bedouin communities has intensified despite the war, and disparities in resource allocation between PCI and Jewish Israeli citizens have widened, as the government continues to withhold funding intended to address these gaps.

2. Denial of the Right to Freedom of Expression, Thought, Criticism, and Protest

This section will discuss five laws that severely curtail the rights to freedom of expression, opinion, and protest. These laws: (i) criminalize the consumption of media content produced by designated "terrorist organizations"; (ii) prohibit expressions

[1] In the early days of the war, senior law enforcement officials announced a policy of "zero tolerance" toward protests. For example, on 17 October 2023, Police Commissioner Yaakov Shabtai declared a zero-tolerance policy toward "incitement" and protests. In a letter dated 19 October 2023 to the Chair of the Knesset's Constitution, Law, and Justice Committee, Deputy Attorney General (Special Assignments) Alon Altman clarified the State Attorney's Office's change of policy regarding the guidelines on "initiating investigations for incitement and support for a terrorist organization." The new policy reflected the position "that no tolerance should be shown toward anyone expressing support for the enemy…" Among other effects, this change allowed the police to open investigations into such offenses without requiring prior approval from the State Attorney's Office, as previously required.

[2] See: HCJ 8808/23 *Barakeh v. Commander of the Nazareth Police Station* (14 December 2023) and Adalah's press release, Adalah and Chairman of the High Follow-Up Committee Petition Israel's Supreme Court to Prevent Police Obstructing Anti-War Protests in Nazareth; HCJ 8007/23 *Hadash – The Democratic Front for Peace and Equality v. Yaakov Shabtai, Police Commissioner* (8 November 2023) and Adalah's press release, Adalah and Chairman of the High Follow-Up Committee Petition Israel's Supreme Court to Cancel the Police Ban on Protests Against the War in Palestinian Towns in Israel.

[3] According to information obtained by Adalah through Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests, between 7 October 2023 and 27 March 2024, Israeli police arrested 401 individuals for speech-related offenses, the vast majority of whom were Palestinians. Between April 2024 and 26 April 2025, 244 additional individuals were arrested, including 237 Palestinians and 7 Jewish Israelis. The police response lists a total of 1,052 suspects: 948 Palestinians (886 PCI and Palestinian residents of Jerusalem), 40 Jewish Israeli citizens, and 64 of unknown ethnic-national background. Information is drawn from responses to FOIA requests and inquiries from the Israel Police (received on 30 April 2024 and 16 July 2025) and the State Attorney's Office (received on 19 August 2024 and 21 May 2025), all on file with Adalah. In several cases observed by Adalah, Jewish individuals arrested under these charges were targeted for expressing sympathy with Palestinians or for alleged identification with Palestinian armed groups.

that authorities deem to deny the events of 7 October 2023, as per the official state version; (iii) grant the Education Ministry broad discretion to dismiss teachers and cut funding to schools for expressions it considers to constitute support for, or identification with, acts of terrorism or terrorist organizations, or as incitement to terrorism; (iv) bar the entry of foreign nationals into Israel for critical statements about the state's actions, or for appeals to international courts; and (v) restrict broadcasts of critical media channels on the grounds of alleged "harm to state security."

These laws build on existing restrictions in Israeli law, most notably Article 24 of the 2016 Counter-Terrorism Law, which criminalizes "incitement to terrorism" as well as expressions of "identification with or support for terrorism," and has historically been applied almost exclusively against Palestinians, in violation of their fundamental right to FoE. Introduced under the pretext of security and counterterrorism, the new laws aim to silence legitimate dissent against the state's conduct toward Palestinians and its unlawful policies and practices in the OPT. Given the context in which they were passed, statements by their proponents, and the historical application of similar laws, these measures are designed—and are likely to be applied—almost exclusively against Palestinians.

(i) Amendment No. 9 to the Counter-Terrorism Law: Criminalization of Content Consumption

On 8 November 2023, the Knesset passed the Counter-Terrorism Law (Amendment No. 9 and Temporary Provision), 2023, introducing a new criminal offense that carries a one-year prison sentence for the "systematic and continuous consumption of publications of a terrorist organization." The definition of "systematic consumption" is broad, encompassing praise, sympathy, or encouragement of terrorist acts, as well as the documentation of terrorist acts containing such expressions. Currently, the law designates Hamas and ISIS, however, the Justice Minister may add additional organizations.

In a letter dated 25 October 2023, Adalah urged the relevant authorities to withdraw the bill, noting that it violates fundamental principles of criminal law, including that thoughts alone do not give rise to criminal liability. Significantly, the offense criminalizes conduct confined entirely to the private sphere, involving no act of publication, expression, or communication to others. Furthermore, the enforcement of the provision would require intrusive surveillance, population monitoring, and online tracking, raising serious concerns of violations of the right to privacy.

In a communication to Israel dated 27 May 2025, numerous UN experts expressed concern that "although the offence targets the physical act of consumption, this appears to be a proxy for restricting freedom of opinion", a non-derogable right enshrined in Article 19(1) of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). The experts further noted that the offence "is neither necessary nor proportionate in pursuit of its security aim" and amounts to an unjustifiable restriction of FoE under the ICCPR.

(ii) Criminalization of Denial of the 7 October Events

On 21 January 2025, the Knesset passed the Prohibition on Denial of the Events of the October 7, 2023 Massacre Law 5785-2025. The law imposes a five-year prison sentence on any person who publishes, in writing or orally, "statements denying the October 7 massacre […] with the intent to defend the terrorist organization Hamas and its partners, to express sympathy for them, or to identify with them." This new law constitutes a severe infringement on FoE, as it fails to distinguish between direct incitement to violence or terrorism—which is already prohibited—and the mere expression of a political opinion, a critical narrative, or skepticism toward the official state version of events.

The law is designed to cultivate fear, stifle public debate, and suppress discussion on a matter of public concern. In addition, it remains unclear what actions constitute the act of "denial" that the law prohibits, especially since to this day, the state has not appointed an official commission of inquiry into the 7 October attacks, nor has it published any official report detailing an "official narrative" of the events of that day. Therefore, not only does the law risk censorship, but it also further places individuals at risk of breaking the law unknowingly, as there exists no official account of the nature and other aspects of the specific events the denial of which the law criminalizes. Thus, the law incentivizes broad auto-censorship by raising fears that proposing any version of the events of 7 October other than the official state version may lead to prosecution. Thus, the law constitutes a severe infringement on FoE and other rights, including the right to liberty, and it violates fundamental principles of criminal law, which require offenses to be clearly defined so individuals can regulate their conduct and avoid inadvertently committing a crime.

(iii) Dismissal of Teachers and Withdrawal of Funding from Schools

On 5 November 2024, the Knesset passed the Prohibition on Employment of Teaching Personnel and Withholding Budget from Educational Institutions due to Identification with an Act of Terrorism or with a Terrorist Organization (Legislative Amendments), 5785–2024. The law empowers the Director General of the Ministry of Education (MoE) to dismiss a teacher and revoke his/her teaching license if the Director is convinced that the teacher has expressed identification, support, or praise for terrorism or a terrorist organization, or has committed a terrorism offense as defined in the Counter-Terrorism Law, based on information from the Shin Bet (Shabak, Israel Security Agency) or police. The law also allows suspension of teachers once an indictment is filed against them for serious security or terrorism offenses, even without a conviction. It further empowers the education minister to withhold funding from schools if convinced that "there are expressions of identification with terrorism within the institution."

On 17 December 2024, Adalah, on behalf of the High Follow-Up Committee for Arab Citizens of Israel, the Follow-Up Committee on Arab Education, the National Committee of Arab Mayors, the National Committee of Arab Parents, the Al-Jabha-Hadash party faction within the Teachers' Union in Israel, and member of the Knesset's Education, Culture and Sports Committee MK Youssef Atauna (Hadash-

Ta'al), filed a Supreme Court petition against the law. The petition argued that, against the backdrop of the state's persecution of hundreds of PCI since 7 October 2023, including educators targeted by schools and academic institutions for expressing lawful opinions, the racist purpose of the law is clear. By relying on vague grounds and exclusively targeting speech offenses under the Counter-Terrorism Law—while excluding offenses related to incitement to violence or racism—the law is clearly designed to grant the Israeli authorities broad, unchecked discretion to act against PCI teachers for statements that lie outside the Israeli/Zionist consensus, violating their FoE rights. It also chills discussion of national and political issues in the classroom, undermining students' right to equality in education and the development of critical thinking. The petition further noted that sanctions against entire educational institutions constitute unlawful collective punishment, specifically targeting Arab schools. The petition is currently pending.

In a communication dated 8 July 2025, several UN human rights experts expressed concern that:

> "The Law would unjustifiably infringe upon the right of teachers and students to freedom of expression and opinion as protected under article 19 of the ICCPR and as an element of the right to education in article 13 of the ICESCR. The right to education can only be enjoyed if accompanied by the academic freedom of staff and students, who must be free to pursue, develop and transmit knowledge and ideas, to express freely opinions about the institution or system in which they work, and to fulfil their functions without discrimination or fear of repression by the State…"

(iv) Denial of Entry into Israel for Political Criticism and International Accountability Efforts

On 19 February 2025, the Knesset passed the Entry to Israel Law (Amendment No. 40), 2025, which provides that a person shall be denied an entry visa or residency permit in Israel if the person, or the organization they represent, has publicly:

- Called for a boycott of the State of Israel;
- Denied the massacre of 7 October 2023; or
- Supported the prosecution of Israeli citizens in foreign courts or international tribunals for actions taken in their official capacity in the Israeli military or security agencies.

The law's purpose is to target anyone seeking to exert international pressure on the State of Israel in response to war crimes and other violations of international law in the OPT, to entrench impunity for Israel and its agents, and to bar entry to international actors critical of the state, including individuals and bodies affiliated with UN institutions. On 25 June 2025, the Ministry for Diaspora Affairs and Combating Antisemitism, exercising his authority under this new amendment, issued a decision titled "Preventing Entry to Israel: Initiators and Promoters of International Lawsuits Against Israelis," in which he recommended the denial of entry of many employees of five prominent international organizations that promote Palestinians' human rights.

The law restricts the entry of individuals into Israel, thereby also limiting Israeli citizens' ability to invite or collaborate with those engaged in documenting or challenging Israel's conduct amounting to war crimes, ethnic cleansing, genocide, and other violations in the OPT. By controlling access to the OPT, the law is likely to prevent the Palestinian population living under occupation from engaging effectively with international organizations, including monitoring and oversight bodies, and to obstruct investigations and the collection of evidence about violations of international law. This new measure continues Israel's ongoing efforts—long predating 7 October—to prevent the entry of official UN personnel and other actors into the country. In addition, the law may bar foreign nationals, including Palestinian refugees and their descendants, some of whom have family ties to PCI and Palestinian residents of the OPT, from visiting their homeland and relatives, all based on the illegitimate purpose of silencing criticism of the state.

(v) Restrictions on Broadcasting by Critical Media: The "Al-Jazeera Law"

What has become known as the "Al-Jazeera Law" began as emergency regulations passed by the government in October 2023. These regulations allowed the government to act against foreign media channels operating in Israel if their broadcasts were deemed to harm state security, according to the Minister of Defense. The regulations empowered the Minister of Communications, with the consent of the defense minister and the Ministerial Committee for Legislation, to order the cessation of broadcasts, the closure of offices, the seizure of equipment, and the blocking or removal of the channel's website in Israel.

In April 2024, the Knesset enacted the Prevention of Foreign Broadcasting Entity Harm to State Security Law (Temporary Order–Iron Swords), 5784-2024, which incorporated most of the provisions previously introduced via the emergency regulations. Under the temporary order, the Minister of Communications is authorized to issue similar orders if the Prime Minister determines that the channel's broadcasts in Israel seriously harm state security. Such orders require approval from the Ministerial Committee or the government and are valid for up to 45 days, extendable in 45-day increments. A November 2024 amendment extended the period to 60 days, and the law's temporary provisions have been renewed repeatedly, most recently until 30 November 2025.

This law, and the orders issued under it to halt Al-Jazeera's broadcasting from and in Israel, is part of a broader government effort to control the narrative regarding the war on Gaza and restrict the flow of information to the Israeli public. This new order sets a dangerous precedent, particularly given the failure of Israeli media outlets to report on the atrocities committed by Israel against Palestinians in Gaza.

In a communication to the State of Israel dated 27 June 2024, the UN Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Opinion and Expression observed that:

> "The measures allowed by this law do not only directly limit the freedom of expression of the media outlets and affiliated journalists, but it also limits access to information and the right of the public to be informed. This

fundamental right is of vital importance at all times, and especially now during the armed conflict in Gaza, for the public in Israel, the OPT and globally."

In addition to the aforementioned laws, the Knesset enacted other laws and is advancing several bills that stand to further restrict FoE, dissent, and protest. For example, on 13 November 2023, the Knesset passed the Counter-Terrorism Law (Amendment No. 10), 2023, which expanded the Defense Minister's authority to designate foreign individuals or organizations as terrorists. Since its passage in 2016, Adalah has consistently warned that the Counter-Terrorism Law contains serious flaws in the process and scope of designation, flaws that are even more pronounced and consequential under Amendment No. 10.

On 2 July 2024, the Knesset passed in its first reading the Counter-Terrorism Law (Amendment No. 11) (Incitement to Terrorism), 2024, which seeks to expand the offenses listed under Article 24 in two ways: first, by lowering the likelihood threshold for "incitement to terrorism" so that a conviction may be based on a reasonable possibility of a terrorist act rather than a real possibility; and second, by introducing a new offense criminalizing expressions of "praise, support, or identification with anyone who commits a terrorist act resulting in death." In the most recent draft, submitted on 17 September 2024, an additional provision eliminates the requirement under State Attorney's guidelines for police to obtain prosecutorial approval before initiating criminal investigations under Article 24. This change would grant police broad, unchecked discretion to open investigations into "expressions of support for terrorism," despite evidence showing that the police fail to grasp the symbolic nature of certain expressions, such as posts showing solidarity with Gaza war victims or religious quotations, and have used such offenses to unlawfully criminalize, silence and suppress Palestinians *en masse*, especially since the beginning of the war on Gaza. The amendment effectively separates these speech offenses from other speech-related offenses, which still require the State Attorney's approval, thereby creating a distinct standard that, in practice, is applied almost exclusively against Palestinians.[4]

3. Denial of the Right to Citizenship, Family Life, and Community Ties among Palestinians

This section examines three new laws that: (i) allow for the deportation of Palestinian families; (ii) expand the existing ban on Palestinian family unification and illegal entry; and (iii) criminalize acts of assistance to, and solidarity with, Palestinians in the OPT under the guise of combating illegal residence. These laws provide yet further examples of how the legislature expands counter-terrorism frameworks to create a dual legal track aimed specifically at undermining the rights of PCI and Palestinian residents of the OPT.

[4] See Adalah's 24 July 2024 letter objecting to the bill, and Adalah's 13 July 2025 letter addressing the draft submitted by the Chair of the Knesset's Constitution, Law and Justice Committee.

(i) Expulsion of "Families of Terrorists"

On 7 November 2024, the Knesset passed the Deportation of Families of Terrorists Law, 5785–2024, authorizing the Minister of Interior to issue a deportation order against a family member of an individual classified as a "terrorist operative," either to Gaza or to another location to be determined. Such deportation may be ordered if the Minister is convinced that the family member either "knew, or should have known in advance, about the terrorist's plan to carry out a terror act and did not take the necessary steps to prevent its commission … including reporting to security authorities or the Israel Police," or if the family member, "expressed support or identification with the terror act, or published statements of praise, sympathy, or encouragement for the terror act or for a terrorist organization." Under the law, deportation orders range from seven to 15 years for Israeli citizens, and from 10 to 20 years for residents.

The law defines a "terrorist operative" according to the Freezing of Funds Paid by the Palestinian Authority in Connection with Terrorism from Revenues Transferred by the Israeli Government Law, 5778–2018. This definition encompasses not only individuals convicted of terror-related offenses in civilian or military courts (which can include acts such as stone-throwing, incitement to terrorism, or other speech-related offenses), but also those merely detained on suspicion of such offenses, persons held under administrative detention or under the Unlawful Combatants Law, individuals who committed such acts but were never charged, and persons who died while committing, preparing, or attempting to commit such offenses.

The law gives rise to prohibited collective punishment and violates multiple provisions of both Israeli constitutional law and international law. The explanatory notes to the bill, first introduced in December 2022, explicitly state that the deportation of family members is intended to use family members as a deterrent. The notes provide that "there is no doubt that many terrorists would refrain from carrying out an attack if they knew their family members would be punished. Regulation 119 of the Defense (Emergency) Regulations, 1945, as well as the judicial system, recognize the demolition of terrorists' homes, where other members of the nuclear family are harmed—as a fully lawful measure. However, this measure alone is insufficient and does not provide adequate deterrence. The expulsion of members of the nuclear family would, therefore, complete the deterrence package…'" Although the final law differs from the original draft, its core purpose remains to impose collective punishment on family members as a means of coercion, in clear violation of human dignity and fundamental rights under both Israeli constitutional and international law.

On 3 November 2024, before the law passed, Adalah sent a letter to Israeli officials urging them to withdraw the legislation, warning that it involves the exceptionally draconian measure of targeting entire Palestinian families under the pretext of security, flagrantly violating both Israeli constitutional protections and international law,[5] and advancing an unlawful and discriminatory agenda.

[5] Article 15(1) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and the Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness (1961). See also HCJ 2756/96 *Alrai v. Minister of the Interior*, P.D. 50(2) (1996), pp. 21–22.

On 2 April 2025, UN experts expressed serious concern over the law, warning that its implementation would lead to severe and wide-ranging human rights violations, including of the rights to equality, personal liberty and security, freedom of movement, family life, education, health, and an adequate standard of living.

Since the law's enactment, the Interior Minister has issued three deportation orders against Palestinian residents of occupied East Jerusalem, two of whom are currently imprisoned with pending criminal cases for speech-related offenses under the CT Law (article 24), as well as one woman who was released in a prisoner exchange after being charged for the same offenses. She is now facing deportation even though the criminal case against her has not progressed following her release.

Adalah is representing a 22-year-old young woman Palestinian resident of Jerusalem in one of these three deportations cases. Before her arrest on 12 December 2024, she was a law student at Al-Quds University. Her father was killed by the Israeli military in 2022 after being suspected of carrying out a car-ramming attack in the West Bank. The deportation order relies on the expressions for which she was charged and on other actions that the state itself determined were not criminal. For example, it refers to her and her mother's arrest in October 2022 at Al-Haram al-Sharif (the Temple Mount) for wearing necklaces with the image of Ibrahim al-Nabulsi, even though she was never charged.[6] The order further references alleged actions by other family members. This case highlights the law's illegality, given its use of collective punishment to target individuals and families for acts that are not criminal, in clear violation of Israeli and international law.

(ii) Expanding the Ban on Family Unification and Imposing Harsher Punishment for "Illegal Stay in Israel"

On 9 July 2025, the Knesset passed the Prohibition on Unlawful Stay and Residence in Israel Law (Legislative Amendments), 5785-2025. The law has two main elements: it expands the 2022 ban on Palestinian family unification, and it imposes harsher penalties for "illegal entry" into Israel, targeting Palestinian residents of the OPT.

Expansion of the Ban on Family Unification

The amendment expands the ban on Palestinian family unification under the Citizenship and Entry into Israel Law (Temporary Provision), 5782–2022. It introduces new grounds on which legal status in Israel (including in the context of family unification) cannot be granted or renewed, stipulating that individuals convicted of terror offenses or falling under the definition of a "terror operatives," and their family members, should be categorically denied. For new permits, "family" is defined broadly to include parents, spouses, children, siblings, cousins, aunts, uncles, nephews, nieces, and step-relatives. For the renewal of existing permits, the prohibition applies to parents, spouses, children, and siblings. The amendment further provides that anyone who enters from or through the West Bank and Gaza unlawfully, or who violates any condition of a permit, is prohibited from obtaining legal status or a residence permit

[6] Ibrahim al-Nabulsi was a commander in the Nablus-based Palestinian armed group, the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades, and was killed during an Israeli military operation.

for ten years, unless the relevant Israeli authorities determine that special grounds justify granting a permit.

The impact is far-reaching, affecting many Palestinian families whose right to family life is already severely restricted under Israeli law. Many Palestinian families who are in the initial stages of the family unification process may be adversely impacted, since Palestinians from the OPT may be denied legal status to join their PCI partners. Families already living together may be torn apart through the revocation or non-renewal of existing permits. Even minor, non-violent offenses by a family member—including expression-related offenses—or administrative detention without conviction can now be used to deny legal status, punishing individuals who have committed no wrongdoing themselves.

Even before the passage of the 2025 amendment, multiple UN bodies concluded that Israel's ban on Palestinian family unification violated its international obligations. The UN Human Rights Committee (2022) concluded that the law breaches the ICCPR, particularly the right to family life; the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (2020) similarly highlighted the disproportionate and adverse restrictions imposed on Israel by the Citizenship and Entry into Israel; and the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child (2024) warned that the law harms children by separating families. By dramatically expanding the ban and imposing new categorical restrictions on family members, the 2025 amendment exacerbates these violations and further harms Palestinian families.

Harsher Punishment for "Illegal" Entry

The law also amends the Entry into Israel Law by doubling the maximum prison sentence for "illegal entry" from one to two years for individuals coming from the West Bank or Gaza, explicitly targeting individuals based on their origin rather than the offense itself. It imposes fines of NIS 10,000–40,000 (approximately USD $3,000–12,000) and authorizes the confiscation of cash based on a statutory presumption that it is payment for—or a means of committing—an offense, shifting the burden onto the accused to prove otherwise. In effect, the amendment establishes two separate punishment tracks within Israeli law, where the severity of the penalty is determined by geographic origin—a proxy for ethno-national identity—rather than by the offense or its circumstances. These measures are explicitly designed to penalize Palestinians seeking family unification, work, or livelihood, compounding the law's oppressive impact.

On 11 August 2025, Adalah sent a letter to Israel's Attorney General and Interior Minister demanding that they refrain from implementing the law in light of its unconstitutionality, gross violation of fundamental constitutional rights, discriminatory purpose, and disproportionate infringement on these rights.[7]

[7] During the discussion of the Bill in the Knesset's National Security Committee, representatives from the Ministry of Justice highlighted the problematic breadth of the definition of "terrorism." See Protocol No. 355 of the National Security Committee meeting, 25 February 2025.

Stricter Penalties for Housing, Transporting, and Employing OPT Palestinians without a Permit

On 23 May 2024, the Knesset enacted the Entry into Israel Bill (Amendment No. 39) 2024, imposing severe economic sanctions on anyone convicted of transporting, housing, or employing foreign individuals without a permit or legal status in Israel—offenses that are already subject to harsh criminal and financial penalties under the Entry into Israel Law. In addition to pre-existing punishments, the new law allows for the suspension of business licenses and the confiscation of funds based on the "severity" of the offense in question.

The amendment makes certain penalties mandatory: courts must suspend professional or business licenses for at least one year and confiscate all property "connected to the offense," including apartments used to house an "illegal alien," businesses where they were employed, or property of equivalent value. While courts previously had discretion to impose such penalties—and continue to retain such discretion with respect to other offenses under the law—Amendment 39 introduces mandatory penalties for the offenses described above, thereby significantly increasing the severity of the sanctions.

The law imposes aggravated penalties for the offenses of housing or assisting an "illegal alien" if the housing or employment involved two or more "illegal aliens," lasted for two consecutive days or more, or was provided for employment purposes.

Many PCI and Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem maintain close familial and community ties in the West Bank and occasionally aid relatives for humanitarian, family, or communal reasons. The Israeli legal framework in general, and Amendment 39, in particular, disregards these social and familial bonds, effectively criminalizing certain acts of basic human solidarity.[8]

4. Systematic Denial of Fair Trial Guarantees and Assault on Prisoners' Rights

Much of the legislation reviewed in this section relies on a categorical distinction between different types of suspects, detainees, defendants, and prisoners, which often serves as a proxy for national origin. Together, these different laws entrench Israel's two-tiered system of criminal law: in ordinary criminal cases, constitutional rights are largely protected, whereas in cases involving security offenses or terror-related offenses, overwhelmingly applied to Palestinians, fundamental rights are systematically curtailed. For individuals classified by the Israeli authorities as

[8] The law's illegality becomes even clearer considering the 2018 ruling of the French Constitutional Council on the so-called "solidarity offense," which criminalized facilitation of the illegal entry, movement, or residence of foreigners. The Council emphasized that exemptions for family members and purely humanitarian assistance—such as legal advice, food, shelter, or medical care provided without compensation to preserve dignity or physical integrity—reflected core constitutional values of fraternity and held that penalizing such assistance in these contexts was unconstitutional.

"security" prisoners/detainees, the state frequently applies draconian conditions, including prolonged incommunicado detention, lengthy denial of access to legal counsel, extreme overcrowding in prisons, and remote-only participation in proceedings related to their cases, sometimes limited to phone calls. Together, these conditions produce an environment conducive to torture and ill-treatment, while shielding abuses from meaningful oversight and accountability.

Over the past two years, these new laws have contributed to conditions in which Palestinians in Israeli custody have faced extreme physical violence from guards, sleep deprivation, sexual harassment and violence, exposure to cold, poor hygiene, and denial of food, water, and medical care.[9] Additional laws further undermine the criminal process, including the imprisonment of children as young as 12 years of age, and extend tools previously reserved for counter-terrorism cases into ordinary criminal law. All these new laws deliberately target Palestinians.

This section is divided into three parts: (i) importing counter-terrorism powers into the criminal law; (ii) violations of procedural due process rights of Palestinian detainees and prisoners; and (iii) violations of prisoners' rights.

(i) Importing Counter-Terrorism Powers into the Criminal Law

In recent years, the state has militarized and securitized policing in Palestinian towns and villages inside Israel, introducing new legislation and importing measures previously reserved for counterterrorism, all under the pretext of combating high crime rates. It has done so instead of addressing the root causes of violent crime, which stem from decades of systematic neglect in welfare, education, infrastructure, employment, and from the persistent failure of law enforcement authorities to fulfill their duty of safeguarding citizens' security.

A clear example of this trend is the Law for the Protection of the Public from Criminal Organizations, 2024, passed on 11 December 2024, as a temporary order valid for two years. The law gives police the power to ask courts to impose judicial restriction orders against individuals suspected of involvement in organized crime, based on classified intelligence and evidence inadmissible in criminal proceedings. These orders may be imposed without criminal charges being filed against the individual.

With these orders, the courts can impose severe restrictions, including house arrest, curfews, bans on entering or leaving certain areas, prohibitions on contact with individuals or groups, mandatory police check-ins, travel bans, internet restrictions, and even requirements to notify police before moving between locations. The court may issue these orders for up to two months—45 days in the case of house arrest—and renew them repeatedly, for a total of up to six months (three months for house arrest). Orders may be based on secret evidence, denying the affected person a meaningful opportunity to challenge the allegations or defend himself/herself. The law also grants police sweeping powers over individuals subject to such orders,

[9] See, for instance, B'Tselem, "Welcome to Hell: The Israeli Prison System as a Network of Torture Camps," August 2024, available here.

including entering their homes, conducting body searches, accessing computer data, and seizing property.

The law represents a radical departure from fundamental principles of criminal justice. It normalizes extraordinary powers by extending draconian measures once confined to counter-terrorism frameworks into the ordinary criminal sphere. It grants authorities sweeping powers based on secret evidence and low evidentiary standards, effectively creating a parallel track that bypasses key protections and the right to a fair trial.

In a letter sent to the relevant Israeli officials on 28 October 2024, prior to the passage of the law, Adalah argued that the legislation is unconstitutional and would inevitably lead to severe violations of rights—including to a fair trial, dignity, property, and equality—and that its very purpose is to circumvent the criminal process, rendering it fundamentally illegitimate. Adalah stated, "law enforcement's failure to address crime and protect the public cannot justify such a drastic departure from foundational constitutional principles that are considered the cornerstones of criminal law, based both on domestic constitutional law and international human rights law."

(ii) Violations of Procedural Due Process Rights of Palestinian Detainees and Prisoners

Denial of Access to a Lawyer for Extended Periods of Time

The right of detainees to meet with a lawyer immediately after arrest is a cornerstone of criminal due process, safeguarding against abuse and promoting fairness in legal proceedings. Despite this fundamental right, Israeli law has long allowed for the postponement of a detainee's meeting with a lawyer in specific circumstances and for limited periods of time. Section 35 of the Criminal Procedure (Enforcement Powers – Arrests) Law, 1996 ("Arrests Law") permits the denial of access to legal counsel for individuals accused of "security offenses" for up to 21 days. This law has been repeatedly criticized by international human rights experts and bodies, including the UN Special Rapporteur on Counter-Terrorism and Human Rights in 2008 and the UN Committee Against Torture in 2016, for violating international human rights law by enabling incommunicado detention and increasing the risk of torture.

Since October 2023, the government has invoked emergency powers to dramatically expand this authority, allowing for even longer incommunicado detention. The Emergency Regulations (Iron Swords) (Meeting with a Lawyer for Detainees in Security Offenses), 2023, adopted on 24 October 2023, and valid for three months, extended the maximum denial of access to counsel for 90 days for "security" detainees arrested "in connection with the events of the 'Iron Swords War'."

On 29 October 2023, Adalah sent a letter to the Israeli authorities demanding the immediate cancellation of the regulations. In response, the Ministry of Justice claimed on 8 November 2023 that restricting access to lawyers was necessary to prevent the leaking of sensitive information that could endanger lives, interfere with the detention

of others, compromise the collection or preservation of evidence, or obstruct investigations.

The Knesset repeatedly extended these regulations, for a total of seven times, most recently on 21 July 2025, leaving them in force until 29 January 2026. In January 2024, the Knesset passed the Law to Amend and Extend the Validity of Emergency Regulations (Swords of Iron) (Meeting with Attorney by a Detainee Held for a Security Offense), 2024, which not only extended the regulations' validity but also increased the maximum period to 180 days, during which a detainee accused of a security offense "in connection with acts of hostility or military operations" could be denied a meeting with a lawyer. In April 2024, the Knesset enacted another amendment that reduced the general period to 60 days while allowing judicial extensions of up to 120 days when the denial is deemed necessary due to a "risk to human life in connection with military operations." Under the regulations, the court holds hearings on this matter *in camera* without the detainee or his/her lawyer present.

These measures deny detainees their fundamental right to prompt and confidential access to legal counsel, violating procedural and due process protections under domestic and international law. In combination with other restrictions, they isolate detainees and create conditions that facilitate arbitrary detention and coercive interrogation.

Participation in Criminal Proceedings via Video Conferencing

Over the past two years, remote participation in court hearings—rather than in-person attendance—has become the default option for Palestinian detainees and prisoners. On 8 October 2023, the government enacted the Emergency Regulations (Detention Hearings), 2023, allowing detention hearings to be conducted without the detainee's physical presence, with the detainee joining via video conferencing (or by audio communication if video is unavailable), after a declaration by the Minister of Justice and the Minister of National Security of a "special state of emergency." An amendment from 15 October 2023 extended these provisions to include hearings concerning administrative detentions. At the same time, on 18 October 2023, the Knesset passed a temporary amendment to the Criminal Procedure Law, permitting the reading of an indictment—and, if requested by the defendant, verdict and sentencing hearings—to be conducted without the defendant's physical presence, with the defendant participating only remotely.

With the expiration of the Emergency Regulations on 15 November 2023, the Knesset enacted the Law on Holding Hearings by Videoconference with Participation of Detainees, Prisoners, and Inmates (Temporary Provision – Iron Swords), 2023, replacing both the regulations and temporary order. The law authorizes the Minister of Justice, in consultation with the National Security Minister, to declare that detainees will participate in hearings *exclusively* via videoconference if in-person attendance would "pose a real risk to life". These declarations can be repeatedly extended with the approval of the Knesset's Constitution, Law and Justice Committee. Such "full restriction" declarations may last up to 14 days (seven days if applied nationwide) and can be extended for additional 14-day periods with the approval of

the same Knesset committee. A similar "security restriction" may be declared for hearings involving detainees or prisoners suspected or charged with specified security or terrorism offenses, valid for up to 28 days and extendable in further 28-day increments with the same committee's approval.

Over the past two years, the "security restriction" declaration has been repeatedly extended, most recently until 29 October 2025—for the 26th time—making remote participation the default option for security detainees and prisoners, who are almost exclusively Palestinians. The temporary provision has now lapsed. The temporary orders also extended this practice to minors, in clear violation of Israeli law and international human rights standards.

Mandatory remote participation gravely undermines fundamental rights. Physical presence in court hearings is a core component of the right to a fair trial, allowing detainees to meaningfully participate, raise substantive claims, and be properly assessed by judges and lawyers. By contrast, videoconferencing offers only limited and constrained participation, diminishing the effectiveness of hearings. Physical presence is particularly critical for those classified as security detainees, who already face broad restrictions that limit oversight over their detention and treatment. The Israeli Supreme Court has previously affirmed the right to be present as a part of the right to a fair trial, and thus as a constitutional guarantee in Israeli law.[10]

The risks are not hypothetical. Over the past two years, detainees have been intimidated, muted, or otherwise prevented from fully participating in hearings via videoconference, particularly from reporting ill-treatment in Israeli custody. For example, in December 2023, lawyer Ahmed Khalifa—arrested at an anti-war protest and charged with a speech-related offense—reported that during one of his videoconference hearings, an Israel Prison Service (IPS) guard muted the call and threatened him throughout the proceeding, demonstrating the potential consequences of replacing physical presence with remote participation.[11]

Prolonged Pre-Indictment Detention of Suspects in Security-Related Cases

On 7 November 2023, the government enacted the Emergency Regulations (Iron Swords) (Extension of Detention for Security Offense Suspects), 2023, amending several provisions of the Criminal Procedure (Enforcement Powers – Arrests) Law, 1996. These regulations apply to individuals suspected of "security offenses" allegedly connected to acts of hostilities or war. Under the regulations, a judge may order a suspect's detention for up to 45 days at a time, without an indictment—triple the previous 15-day limit. A judge may then extend the detention for an additional 45-day period, with any extension beyond 90 days requiring the Attorney General's approval. Critically, the regulations also permit keeping a suspect in custody even after the investigation ends, provided prosecutors declare their intent to file an indictment and

[10] Opinion of Deputy President A. Rivlin in Criminal Miscellaneous Application 8823/07, *[Name Redacted] v. State of Israel*, PD 63(3) 500 (2010), para. 17.
[11] Magistrate's Court (Haifa) 11189-11-23, *State of Israel v. Jabarin*, p. 35 of the hearing transcript, 28 December 2023.

the court determines that sufficient grounds exist to keep the suspect in detention until the conclusion of the criminal proceedings.

On 31 January 2024, the Knesset enacted an extension of the regulations, including minor amendments. Under the amendment, a detainee is defined as a "suspect of a security offense in connection with acts of hostilities or acts of war." "Acts of war" are defined as those occurring in the Gaza Strip from 7 October 2023, and "acts of hostilities" are defined as those that occurred from 7 October 2023 until 13 October 2023, making clear that the regulations were designed to target Palestinians detained from Gaza. The Knesset has extended the regulations six times, most recently until 29 January 2026.

These regulations allow the authorities to hold individuals for prolonged periods without informing them of the allegations against them or clarifying when, or even if, they will be tried. As a result, detention effectively becomes a form of punishment outside the bounds of fair criminal proceedings, with detainees brought before a judge far less frequently than under the ordinary criminal law and thus they are also deprived of effective judicial oversight. Over the past two years, reports have documented cases of detainees from Gaza—including civilians who took no part in hostilities, among them medical workers and journalists—being detained, tortured and ill-treated by military and prison authorities. The combination of prolonged detention, limited oversight, and abusive conditions, violates fundamental rights, including the right to liberty, fair trial guarantees, and the absolute prohibition of torture and other cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment.

The Unlawful Combatants Law

The Unlawful Combatants Law, 2002 grants the Israeli authorities sweeping powers to detain individuals indefinitely without charge, trial, or conviction, through six-month detention orders that can be renewed indefinitely based on secret evidence. Since December 2023, the Knesset has passed temporary orders expanding these powers, further undermining the rights to a fair trial and liberty. These orders have been used to detain thousands of Palestinians from Gaza, in serious violation of international human rights and humanitarian law, amid the ongoing genocide. The law has been used to incarcerate civilians with no connection to hostilities whatsoever, including for instance an 82-year-old woman with Alzheimer's.

On 13 October 2023, the government enacted emergency regulations that extended the period during which individuals classified as "unlawful combatants" could be held without a formal detention order, delayed judicial review, and denied them access to legal counsel. In December 2023, the Knesset replaced these regulations by amending the Unlawful Combatants Law, through temporary orders. The first temporary order, Unlawful Combatants Law (Amendment No. 4 and Temporary Provision – Swords of Iron), enacted on 18 December 2023, applies when the government declares a state of war or significant military operations. It authorizes holding individuals under the law without a detention order for up to 45 days (previously 96 hours), postpones judicial review for up to 75 days (previously 14 days), and permits denying access to legal counsel for up to 75 days and up to 180 days with court approval (previously 21

days). Judicial hearings are conducted by video conference, even when detainees are unable to meet or be represented by a lawyer.

The Knesset has repeatedly extended the temporary orders over the past two years, with certain changes, with the current order in force until 31 December 2025. An amendment approved on 28 July 2024 (Amendment No. 4), and subsequent extensions, set the maximum period for issuing a permanent detention order at 30 days and the maximum period before judicial review at 45 days. Furthermore, an extension passed by the Knesset on 22 July 2025 further restricted access to legal counsel. Under previous orders (July 2024–July 2025), meetings could be denied for up to 45 days, counted from the date of detention, and up to 75 days with a district court's approval. The July 2025 order allows a district court judge to deny access to counsel for up to 30 days, without requiring the period to start on the detention date. This means that even after an initial meeting, detainees may be prevented from meeting their lawyer, effectively isolating them.

In February 2024, the Public Committee Against Torture in Israel (PCATI), together with Adalah and other human rights organizations, filed a petition to the Israeli Supreme Court challenging the amendment to the law.[12] The petition argues that the amendment effectively permits arbitrary detention, authorizing deprivation of liberty without trial and prolonged incommunicado detention under conditions amounting to cruel, inhuman, and degrading treatment. The amendment gravely violates a wide range of constitutional and international human rights protections, including the rights to life, dignity, liberty, freedom from torture and ill-treatment, access to justice, and due process. [13]

When the original law came under judicial review in 2008, the Israeli Supreme Court acknowledged that the detention periods it prescribed were exceptional, lengthy, and constituted an infringement on detainees' liberty. Nevertheless, the Court upheld the law's constitutionality, reasoning that it applies only in wartime and sets maximum periods for detention. Almost two years have passed since the new petition was filed, yet the Court has not issued a decision, despite the law having been, and continuing to be, applied to thousands of Palestinians from Gaza, held in harsh detention conditions in Sde Teiman and other military detention camps, as well as in IPS custody. Reports from international bodies, human rights organizations, and released detainees describe systematic torture, sexual violence, starvation, prolonged isolation, denial of medical care, and physical and psychological humiliation. [14] In its July 2025 update to the Court, the state reported that 2,850 Palestinians were being held under the Unlawful Combatants Law. As of September 2025, in IPS facilities

[12] HCJ 1414/24 *The Public Committee against Torture in Israel et al. v. The Knesset et al*.

[13] Public Committee Against Torture in Israel, Position Paper – Law on the Detention of Unlawful Combatants (Amendment No. 4 and Temporary Provision – Iron Swords) (Amendment No. 2), 2024, available here.

[14] See, for instance: Alice Cuddy, "Chemical burns, assaults, electric shocks - Gazans tell BBC of torture in Israeli detention" (7 April 2025), available here; see also a press release from Amnesty International dated 18 July 2024 based on testimonies of Palestinian detainees, available here.

alone, Israel was holding 2,662 people as "unlawful combatants"; in November 2025, following the ceasefire, this number was down to 1,205.[15]

The law further effectively enables enforced disappearances, a practice recognized as a war crime under international law, and strips detainees of their legal status and the protections ordinarily afforded to prisoners under international law. By designating them as "unlawful combatants," it removes the fundamental rights granted to combatants under IHL, facilitating grave violations of rights, including the right to life, liberty, and a fair trial. In May 2024, the UN Special Rapporteur on Counter-Terrorism and Human Rights issued a communication to the State of Israel, concluding that the amendments and certain aspects of the original law violate Israel's obligations under international law.

(iii) Violations of Prisoners' Rights

Sentencing Children as Young as 12 Years Old to Imprisonment

Amendment 25 to the Youth Law (Adjudication, Punishment, and Treatment Methods), 1971, enacted by the Knesset on 7 November 2024 as a temporary order for five years, authorizes courts to sentence children as young as 12 years of age to imprisonment if convicted of murder or attempted murder classified as a "terrorist act" or linked to a designated terrorist organization. Prior to the amendment, minors under 14 could only be placed in secure facilities or face less severe penalties than imprisonment. According to the bill's explanatory notes, the amendment eliminates the longstanding legal distinction between adults and minors for certain offenses, based on the assertion that "there is no justification for distinguishing between adults and minors" in such terrorism-related cases.

This amendment undermines the very foundation of the Youth Law, 1971, which establishes a distinct legal framework for minors, considering their age, maturity and vulnerability. Criminal proceedings involving minors prioritize rehabilitation, reintegration, and the best interests of the child, rather than retribution or punishment.

On 5 June 2024, before the amendment's passage, Adalah sent a letter to the Chair of the Knesset's Constitution, Law and Justice Committee, the State Attorney, and the Attorney General, objecting to the bill. Adalah argued that allowing a minor to be transferred to a security prison unsuitable for their developmental needs and held alongside older prisoners (presumably 14-18 years old), contravenes fundamental principles of juvenile justice. Given that the Shin Bet security services argued during the legislative process that it is ill-equipped to accommodate these minors, a concern arises that they may be held in some instances with the adult prison population, which would contravene international legal norms. The amendment further produces discriminatory effects, disproportionately targeting Palestinian minors while

[15] According to HaMoked data.

exempting others, a distinction that appears to have been the intended aim of the bill's sponsors.

UN experts strongly criticized Amendment 25 as violating the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and the principle of the best interests of the child. They emphasized that the design and implementation of the law specifically target Palestinian children and may constitute a violation of international norms of equality and non-discrimination.

Entrenching Discrimination Among Prisoners: Excluding Security Prisoners from Administrative Release and Leave

Israel's prison system operates a regime of structural separation that systematically discriminates against Palestinians classified as "security prisoners," denying them rights and benefits available to other prisoners. This two-tiered system entrenches repression and violates fundamental rights. A key example is the blanket exclusion of Palestinian security prisoners from administrative release schemes and furlough programs, mechanisms intended to alleviate severe overcrowding in prisons

Overcrowding in Israeli prisons has persisted for years. In June 2017, the Supreme Court ordered the state to ensure each prisoner has a minimum living space of 4 m^2 (excluding bathrooms) or 4.5 m^2 (including bathrooms).[16] In response, the Knesset enacted Amendment No. 54 to the Prisons Ordinance (Administrative Release) in 2018, expanding administrative release as a tool to reduce overcrowding. However, the law created two tracks—regular and expanded release—and categorically excluded all prisoners classified as "security prisoners" from the latter.

In February 2019, Adalah and the Association for Civil Rights in Israel (ACRI) petitioned the Supreme Court on behalf of two Palestinian minors with no prior convictions, serving short sentences, who were denied administrative release solely because of their classification as "security prisoners". Before the Court issued a judgment, Amendment No. 54 expired and was replaced by Amendment No. 57 (2021), which preserved the blanket exclusion. The Court dismissed the petition on procedural grounds, citing the change in the legal framework.

When Amendment No. 57 expired, the Knesset enacted Amendment No. 62 (2023), this time extending the exclusion of security prisoners to both regular and expanded release. Adalah, ACRI and the Al Mezan Center for Human Rights filed a new petition in August 2023, but after the outbreak of war and with the measure's expiry imminent, the Court decided to delete the petition while formally preserving the petitioners' legal claims.

On 28 November 2024, the Knesset passed Amendment No. 67 to the Prisons Ordinance, making the previously temporary exclusion of security prisoners from administrative release a permanent provision. Before its passage, Adalah and ACRI

[16] HCJ 1892/14 *The Association for Civil Rights in Israel v. Interior Minister*. Decision issued on 13 June 2020.

urged the relevant officials to withdraw the bill, stressing that the exclusion is arbitrary, disproportionate, and unconstitutional.

Separately, on 11 March 2024, the Knesset enacted Amendment No. 66 (Special Furloughs – Operation Iron Swords), allowing up to 45 days of special furloughs to ease extreme overcrowding caused by the "special security situation." Security prisoners were categorically excluded from this measure, too, adding to their discriminatory treatment.

Extreme Overcrowding: Prisoners Forced to Sleep on Mattresses on the Floor

On 18 October 2023, the Knesset enacted Amendment No. 64 to the Prisons Ordinance (Temporary Order – "Iron Swords"), initially valid for three months. The amendment empowered the Minister of National Security to declare a "prison emergency," authorizing prisons to deviate from minimum living-space standards and even to accommodate prisoners on mattresses on the floor, allowing for an extreme deterioration in detention conditions.

The law explicitly prioritizes the application of these measures to security prisoners, administrative detainees, and "unlawful combatants," extending them to criminal prisoners only as a last resort. In effect, this regime institutionalizes degrading conditions for Palestinian prisoners. The law was extended four times, most recently on 23 July 2025, when it was extended until 31 July 2026.

The bill's explanatory notes claim that the law is necessary to allow the IPS to absorb the dramatic increase in detainees during the war. Data presented to the Knesset's National Security Committee shows that Israel's prison population surged by 42% after 6 October 2023, reaching over 24,000 by June 2025, including more than 10,400 individuals classified as "security prisoners." 61% of all prisoners are held in conditions that fall below the Supreme Court–mandated minimum. The situation is far worse for security prisoners: 94% of them—9,865 individuals—are held below this standard, compared to 36% of "criminal prisoners." Prisoners sleeping on floor mattresses and folding beds further shrinks already cramped cells, creating degrading conditions that violate both Israel's constitutional protections and its obligations under international human rights law.

This crisis is the direct result of arbitrary mass arrests of Palestinians since October 7, many of whom are held without charge or trial, and the state's total refusal to include security prisoners, even those convicted of minor offenses (e.g., stone-throwing without injury) or nearing release, in administrative release schemes.

On 23 October 2023, several human rights organizations petitioned the Supreme Court to annul Amendment No. 64, arguing that it permits "inhuman overcrowding, degrading prisoners, endangering their health, violating their privacy and autonomy, and increasing tensions among them." They stressed that "this constitutes cruel, inhuman, and degrading treatment prohibited under any circumstances, including wartime", and that "the law discriminates against security prisoners". However, the

Supreme Court rejected the petition in a brief ruling, stressing the need for judicial restraint when reviewing laws, especially during the state of emergency and war.[17]

Punishing Prisoners for "Obstructing" a Prison Officer

On 27 November 2024, the Knesset enacted Amendment No. 151 to the Penal Law, 1977, adding Section 275A, which criminalizes assaulting or interfering with a prison guard in the performance of his/her duties. The new law aligns penalties for these offenses, including mandatory minimums, with those for assaulting or interfering with police officers under Sections 273–275A of the Penal Code.

Before this amendment, the state prosecuted assaults on prison guards under the general offense of assaulting a public servant. This new offense of "interfering with a guard in the performance of duty" drastically broadens criminal liability for prisoners, potentially criminalizing nonviolent acts, resistance, and protest. In Israeli prisons, where guards control virtually every aspect of daily life, hunger strikes, vocal protests, or refusals to follow certain orders can now be treated as criminal acts. This expansion of the law entrenches an already repressive system, undermines prisoners' rights to dignity and expression, and violates fundamental principles of international human rights law.

5. Denial of Social Rights and Deepening Inequalities in Resource Allocation

Social rights and welfare laws are supposed to be based on universal, need-based criteria. However, the state, in a growing trend that predates the outbreak of the war, has increasingly used social rights and resource allocation both as a tool of punishment and as a means of deepening disparities between population groups. This section examines six new laws that deny social rights to Palestinians based on suspicion, accusation, or conviction for offenses classified as "terrorism," while simultaneously expanding the use of military service as a criterion for allocating benefits and resources, a measure that effectively excludes Palestinian citizens and residents. The laws are presented in two groups: (i) Social Welfare Benefits as a Tool of Punishment and (ii) Deepening Inequality in Education: Conditioning Resources on Military Service.

(i) Social Welfare Benefits as a Tool of Punishment

The National Insurance Institute (NII) is intended to provide a social safety net and to guarantee all residents a minimum standard of living by giving benefits such as disability, caregiving, unemployment, sick pay, birth grants, and pensions. In recent years, however, the state has increasingly used social welfare mechanisms as a tool of punishment. Rather than ensuring universal rights based on need, the system targets individuals suspected, accused, or convicted of security or terror-related offenses—and in some cases their families—by withholding social benefits. Some measures are retroactive, while others permanently strip benefits, highlighting their extreme and

[17] HCJ 7650/23, *Association for Civil Rights vs. Minister of National Security*, para 5, published 30 October 2023.

punitive nature. This use of social rights as a punitive tool specifically targets PCI and Palestinian residents of the OPT.

On 19 November 2024, the Knesset passed the National Insurance Law Amendment No. 250 (2024), which primarily targets Palestinians from the OPT who worked in Israel and are entitled to NII benefits for work-related injuries or disability. The law denies social security payments to non-Israeli residents—both to individuals entitled of such benefits and to their families—if they are convicted of a serious terrorism offense under the Counter-Terrorism Law, found guilty of an act of terrorism by a court, convicted of a security-related offense in a military court, or designated as a "terror operative" by the Minister of Defense, often based solely on secret evidence. As a result, Palestinians who have worked and paid into the system are stripped of compensation intended to guarantee a basic minimum standard of living.

On the same day, the Knesset also passed Amendment No. 251 (2024), which strips parents of minors convicted of serious terrorism offenses and sentenced to imprisonment of social security benefits, including child allowances, education grants, work-injury benefits, old-age pensions, and certain other dependent-related benefits. The law applies retroactively to minors who were already in detention when the law came into effect. Amendment 251 deliberately creates an arbitrary distinction between "security" and "criminal" prisoners, targeting and discriminating against Palestinian children. The law mirrors a 2015 amendment that the Supreme Court struck down for violating the right to equality.[18] In the new law, lawmakers made only a narrow procedural change: instead of requiring proof that the offense was motivated by nationalist intent, the amendment now obliges courts to determine whether the minor's offense constitutes a "serious terrorist act". This change is a clear attempt to circumvent the Supreme Court's 2021 ruling.

While proponents of the new law argued that its purpose is merely declarative, it became clear during Knesset committee discussions that its true aim is to punish Palestinian families, amounting to collective punishment. The Chair of the Knesset's Labor and Welfare Committee, for instance, asserted that child allowances are not considered part of criminal sentencing except in cases of terrorism, which "requires a different approach from all state systems."[19] Such statements expose the law's true purpose: the deprivation of social rights as a form of punishment, disguised as a counterterrorism measure.

On 19 March 2025, Adalah petitioned the Israeli Supreme Court against Amendment 251, arguing that it abandons the social purpose of the National Insurance Law and repurposes it as a punitive tool. Adalah argued that the amendment is unconstitutional for the same reasons the Supreme Court struck down the 2015 law in 2021 and represents a clear violation of fundamental rights to equality, dignity, and property, deliberately targeting Palestinian families. The case is pending.

[18] HCJ 3390/16 *Adalah - The Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel et. al v. The Knesset* (petition accepted 8 July 2021).
[19] Protocol No. 179 of the Knesset's Labor and Welfare Committee meeting, 5 March 2024, p. 2.

Several UN Special Rapporteurs issued a detailed assessment of the law, concluding that it is inconsistent with Israel's obligations under international human rights law, noting:

> "Israeli law does not withdraw benefits from children convicted of other serious offences, suggesting that the Amendment does not legitimately aim to suspend benefits that may be unnecessary while the child is in detention, but serves an ulterior punitive purpose. […] Further, since the Amendment creates a legal distinction between minors designated as "security prisoners" and "criminal prisoners", and Palestinian children are reportedly disproportionately convicted of security offences, the amendment risks having a discriminatory impact on the basis of origin, contrary to article 2 of the ICCPR."

Alongside these amendments, on 31 March 2025 the Knesset passed Amendment No. 257 (2025) to the National Insurance Law. This amendment permanently strips basic social rights from anyone convicted of murder or attempted murder in terrorism-related circumstances, or convicted of a serious terrorism offense (security offense), or by a military court for a security-related terrorism offense, and sentenced to at least ten years' imprisonment. The benefits affected include disability, old-age, nursing allowances, and even funeral grants. Its impact also extends to the families of the convicted and it applies retroactively from the date of imprisonment.

The law's proponents explicitly stated that its purpose is to punish not only the convicted individual but, primarily, his/her family. For example, during the Knesset's Labor and Welfare Committee meeting on 21 January 2025, held in preparation for the bill's first reading, the bill's sponsor, MK Ofir Katz (Likud), declared, "The goal is to revoke all National Insurance benefits, and we will make it happen. […] Terror must be confronted with force and strength, not with fear. It is time that we focus our energies on bereaved families, not on the families of terrorists. As you said, Mr. Speaker, there will be further changes. We will expand this more. For example, the original law considered what to exclude or not. Nothing will be excluded. He [the convicted] and their family, regardless of the timeframe, will receive nothing. Once convicted of murder or attempted murder of Jews, they will not receive a single shekel for the rest of their lives."[20]

(ii) Deepening Inequality in Education: Conditioning Resources on Military Service

One of the state's central mechanisms of discrimination against PCI is its policy of conditioning access to public benefits and resources, including housing and higher education, on military service. This policy entrenches structural inequality and widens socio-economic gaps between Jewish and Palestinian citizens of the state. The vast majority of PCI are exempt from and do not perform Israeli military service.

[20] Protocol No. 347 of the Knesset's Labor and Welfare Committee meeting, 21 January 2025, p. 3.

Numerous Israeli laws grant benefits based on military service, ignoring the social purpose of these benefits and effectively excluding PCI. Rather than promoting equality or social welfare, these measures function as a tool of exclusion, reinforcing a two-tier system of citizenship. Over the past two years, the Knesset enacted three new laws that further restrict equal access to higher education:

- The Absorption of Discharged Soldiers Law (Amendment No. 25), 2023, passed on 20 December 2023;
- The Law on Assistance to Students Who Served in the Reserves (Legislative Amendments and Temporary Order), 2024, passed on 27 March 2024;
- The Student Rights Law (Amendment No. 9 – Temporary Order – Iron Swords), 2024, passed on 23 July 2024.

These laws provide far-reaching benefits exclusively to discharged soldiers, including priority admission to student housing for the 2025–2026 academic year, direct financial support, and a range of academic benefits and concessions throughout their studies, all granted solely on the basis of military service, regardless of socio-economic need. In addition, the state now fully funds annual tuition fees for discharged soldiers for three years (or four years in certain fields including engineering and medicine).

The extensive educational benefits provided to soldiers are part of a longstanding pattern. In 2022 for instance, the Knesset passed Amendment No. 24 to the Absorption of Discharged Soldiers Law, 1994, granting eligible discharged soldiers state funding for two-thirds of their annual tuition. At the time, Adalah warned the Government, the Knesset, and the Ministry of Defense that making military service the sole eligibility criterion creates a patently discriminatory and unconstitutional scheme. Adalah emphasized that the stated goal of "expressing gratitude to soldiers" cannot justify the disproportionate harm to PCI, especially given the complete disregard for economic need.

6. Termination of UNRWA Operations in the OPT

On 28 October 2024, the Knesset enacted two anti-UNRWA laws aimed at terminating any activity by UNRWA (the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East) and prohibiting cooperation between the agency and Israeli authorities. The Law for the Termination of UNRWA's Activity within the State of Israel, 2024 provides that UNRWA shall not establish any representation, provide any services, or conduct any activities, directly or indirectly, within the "sovereign territory of the State of Israel". The Cessation of UNRWA Activities Law, 2024 immediately terminates the invitation to UNRWA based on a 1967 exchange of letters between Israel and UNRWA and bars any Israeli official from maintaining contact with UNRWA or its personnel.[21]

On 16 January 2025, Adalah petitioned the Supreme Court against the laws on behalf of ten Palestinian refugees who rely on UNRWA and Gisha – The Legal Center for

[21] See unofficial English translations of the laws is available here.

Freedom of Movement, in light of the significant harm to the petitioners and to refugees throughout the OPT. The petition underscored that UNRWA, established under international law, has provided essential relief and services for over 75 years to Palestinian refugees in Gaza, the West Bank (including East Jerusalem), and other areas. Its mandate encompasses primary and vocational education, primary healthcare, infrastructure and sanitation in refugee camps, economic support, and emergency assistance. For many refugees, UNRWA serves as a vital safety net, providing food security, health services, and social protection.

Even prior to the laws' enactment, UN Secretary-General António Guterres warned that they could exacerbate the already catastrophic humanitarian crisis and severely undermine the international humanitarian response in Gaza. The petition argued that the laws risk paralyzing UNRWA's operations in the OPT. The agency's services depend on coordination with the Israeli authorities, including in matters of work visas for international staff, permission for the passage of vehicles with supplies and aid, and coordination for the entry of humanitarian aid into Gaza. The petition further argued that implementing the laws would gravely undermine the rights of refugees to dignity, education, health, and freedom of occupation, rights safeguarded under both Israeli and international law, and breach Israel's obligations as an occupying power. It also contended that, in light of the war on Gaza, the laws contradict the provisional measures ordered by the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in the genocide case (*South Africa v. Israel*). The petition further stressed that the implementation of the laws may constitute a violation of the Genocide Convention and could amount to a war crime under the Rome Statute of the ICC, which criminalizes the intentional starvation of civilians as a method of warfare.

Despite the severe harm to Palestinian refugees, the Court rejected two requests for interim injunctions. The first motion, seeking to freeze the laws pending a decision, was denied, leaving the laws in force and the severe restrictions on UNRWA's operations in effect. The second motion, submitted after the Ministry of Education issued closure orders for six UNRWA schools in East Jerusalem serving around 800 students in April 2025, was likewise denied. Israeli authorities enforced the orders, raided several schools, and all six were closed before the end of the academic year.

Several UN experts expressed grave concern that the laws are inconsistent with Israel's obligations under international human rights law and IHL. Furthermore, the UN General Assembly requested an advisory opinion from the ICJ in December 2024 regarding Israel's obligations as an occupying power and UN member state in relation to UNRWA and other UN operations and agencies, including ensuring the unimpeded provision of life-saving assistance, basic services, humanitarian and development aid, and support for the Palestinian people's right to self-determination. On 22 October 2025, ICJ delivered its advisory opinion. In the words of UNRWA:

> "It [the ICJ] resoundingly supports UNRWA's mandate and continued operations in the OPT. The Court found that, as the Occupying Power, Israel is obliged to lift restrictions on UNRWA's operations and agree to and facilitate relief provided by the Agency. The opinion also recognizes the unique and sustained connection between UNRWA's mandate and the

realization of human rights for the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination. These rights underpin and reinforce Israel's obligations to respect the mandate, status, privileges and immunities of UNRWA in the OPT."[22]

7. Conclusion

A legal system organized along ethnic lines that denies fundamental rights to a racial group constitutes a crime under the 1973 Apartheid Convention.[23] The laws analyzed in this report demonstrate the entrenchment of a dual legal regime which privileges Jewish Israelis by design, while systematically violating the rights of Palestinians. However, unlike regimes of segregation and racial or ethnic supremacy known throughout history, such as apartheid in South Africa, Jim Crow in the United States, or the Protestant Ascendancy regime in Ireland from the 17th to the early 19th century, where identity-based criteria (ethnic, racial, religious, etc.) were explicitly enshrined in law, most of the legislation examined in this report uses neutral language that, in practice, operates as proxies for ethno-national identity, systematically targeting Palestinians. Beyond criminalizing legitimate political, social, and cultural expression, these laws authorize deportations, block family unification, dismiss teachers, defund schools, revoke social security benefits, expand detention powers, restrict access to counsel, and prevent broadcasting of critical media outlets.

Such measures violate both Israel's proclaimed constitutional principles and its obligations under international law. Under domestic law, they contradict constitutional principles and individual rights enshrined in Israel's Basic Laws and in the Supreme Court's general jurisprudence. However, alongside these general principles, a distinct constitutional standard has gradually developed in Israeli law with respect to security-related legislation and practices, particularly in the context of counterterrorism. This trend has created a parallel constitutional track that is not subject to the checks and balances applied to infringements of individual rights in other areas.

[22] UNRWA, "The ICJ Advisory Opinion on Israel's Obligations – Key Conclusions Relating to UNRWA," 26 October 2025, available here.

[23] The International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid defines apartheid as including "the following inhuman acts committed for the purpose of establishing and maintaining domination by one racial group of persons over any other racial group of persons and systematically oppressing them: […]; (c) Any legislative measures and other measures calculated to prevent a racial group or groups from participation in the political, social, economic and cultural life of the country and the deliberate creation of conditions preventing the full development of such a group or groups, in particular by denying to members of a racial group or groups basic human rights and freedoms, including the right to work, the right to form recognized trade unions, the right to education, the right to leave and to return to their country, the right to a nationality, the right to freedom of movement and residence, the right to freedom of opinion and expression, and the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association." Article II(c) of the Convention.

These new laws also constitute flagrant violations of international human rights treaties to which Israel is a State party, including the International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD), the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), and the Convention against Torture (CAT). Furthermore, in respect of Palestinian residents of the OPT, including East Jerusalem, much of this legislation also violates Israel's obligations as an occupying power under IHL. In this regard, the July 2024 ICJ Advisory Opinion determined that Israel's prolonged occupation and accompanying discriminatory practices are unlawful, and that "a broad array of legislation adopted and measures taken by Israel in its capacity as an occupying Power treat Palestinians differently on grounds specified by international law."[24] The Court thus concluded that, "Israel's legislation and measures constitute a breach of Article 3 of CERD," which prohibits racial segregation and apartheid.

Furthermore, several laws reviewed in this report must be understood in the context of the ongoing genocide on Palestinians in Gaza. The anti-UNRWA laws, which obstruct the delivery of essential humanitarian relief, stand in direct violation of the ICJ's second provisional measures issued in March 2024, which required Israel to "[t]ake all necessary and effective measures to ensure […] the unhindered provision at scale by all concerned of urgently needed basic services and humanitarian assistance". Moreover, human rights organizations have documented that the Unlawful Combatants Law enables arbitrary detention, enforced disappearances, an unlawful detention regime and other forms of systemic repression, which they argue form part of a broader pattern contributing to ongoing genocidal conduct against Palestinians in Gaza. The law allowing the closure of media outlets and the blocking of broadcasts, used to shut down Al-Jazeera in Israel and block access to its offices and websites, aims to prevent the Israeli public from witnessing the ongoing atrocities in Gaza, particularly given the mainstream media's deliberate suppression of coverage of crimes committed against Palestinian civilians.[25]

The laws enacted to date represent only a portion of what remains on the coalition's legislative agenda. A pending bill would further curtail the right to vote and be elected, including measures to expand the grounds for disqualifying Knesset lists and candidates and to weaken judicial oversight of the disqualification process, clearly aimed at enabling the disqualification of PCI representatives.[26] Another bill seeks to introduce disqualification grounds in local elections, modeled on those long used at the national level to target PCI candidates, such as denying Israel as a "Jewish and

[24] ICJ, Advisory Opinion, "Legal Consequences arising from the Policies and Practices of Israel in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem," 19 July 2024, para. 223.
[25] See: Michael Sfard, "When the Gaza War Ends, Israel's Mainstream Media Will Have a Lot to Answer For," Haaretz – Opinions, 20 May 2024, available here; The 'pact of silence' between Israelis and their media, Edo Konrad, 16 October 2024, +972 Magazine, available here.
[26] The bill, *Basic Law: The Knesset (Amendment – Expanding the Grounds for Preventing Participation in Elections)*, which is currently under preparation for first reading, is available in Hebrew here. Adalah sent a letter in November 2024 urging the Knesset to halt the legislative process in light of the bill's illegality.

democratic state" or supporting armed struggle/terrorism.[27] Other bills target the education and higher-education sectors: one would bar the employment of teachers holding academic degrees from Palestinian academic institutions in the West Bank,[28] while another would permit the dismissal of university staff for "incitement to terrorism" or "support for terrorism," and authorize reductions in state budget allocations to institutions that fail to implement such dismissals.[29]

Several bills seek to further entrench the annexation of the West Bank: one would transfer authority over West Bank antiquities from the Civil Administration to the Israel Antiquities Authority, thereby extending Israeli domestic jurisdiction to archaeological sites.[30] Another would redefine the "Negev" (Naqab) to include parts of the southern West Bank, bringing them under the authority of the Negev Development Authority, which operates under the Israeli Ministry of the Negev, Galilee, and National Resilience.[31] Yet another bill, which would further harm Palestinians in exceptionally vulnerable groups, seeks to exclude minors and persons with mental disabilities suspected of security offenses or terrorism-related charges from a proposed right to have an attorney present during interrogation.[32] The government is also advancing legislation to tax foreign government funding to NGOs registered in Israel, aiming to curtail the work of organizations that challenge Israeli laws, policies, and measures domestically and internationally, and to restrict such organizations' access to the courts.[33]

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[27] The bill, *Local Authorities (Elections) Law (Amendment No. 58), 5785–2025*, which is currently awaiting its final readings in the Knesset plenum, is available in Hebrew here.

[28] The bill, *Prevention of Employment of a Teacher Holding an Academic Degree from an Institution in the Palestinian Authority (Legislative Amendments) Bill, 5785–2025*, which is currently awaiting its final readings, is available in Hebrew here. In May 2025, Adalah sent a letter to the Knesset committee arguing that the bill gravely infringes on Palestinians' rights to equality and freedom of occupation, and that its purpose and underlying rationale are illegitimate.

[29] The bill, Higher Education Council Bill (Amendment – Dismissal of Academic Staff Due to Incitement or Support for Terrorism and Budget Reduction), 2024–5785, which is currently under preparation for first reading, is available in Hebrew here.

[30] The bill, which is currently under preparation for first reading, is available here. In March 2025, Adalah sent a letter to the relevant Israeli authorities arguing that the bill contradicts international law, Israel's obligations to preserve and protect cultural sites in occupied territory, and constitutes a measure of prohibited annexation of occupied territories.

[31] Negev Development Authority Bill (Amendment - Definition of the Negev), 5774-2024 is available here. The bill is currently in preparation for a first reading. In October 2024, Adalah sent a letter to the relevant Israeli authorities arguing that the bill violates international law and constitutes an annexationist measure.

[32] The bill, Presence of Attorney During the Interrogation of Different Populations (Legislative Amendments) (Temporary Provision), 5785–2025, which has passed its first reading and is being prepared for final readings, is available here. In May 2025, Adalah sent a letter arguing that the bill discriminates against Palestinians in a disproportionate and illegitimate manner.

[33] A revised version of the bill (Associations Bill (Amendment – Donation from a Foreign State Entity), 2024–5785), introduced by the chair of the relevant Knesset committee, establishes a three-tiered tax scheme: 0% tax for NGOs that agree to certain conditions and limitations, such as refraining from publicly criticizing government or state policies; 23% tax for NGOs that do not pledge to these restrictions; and 46% tax for those that commit to these obligations but subsequently violate them. See an unofficial translation of the revised bill here. A previous draft proposed an 80% tax on all foreign government donations to NGOs. In May 2025, Adalah sent a letter arguing that the bill seeks to

Taken together, the body of laws passed over the past two years indicate that the Israeli legislature is acting without restraint to impose far-reaching restrictions on Palestinians while further entrenching infringements of their rights. In doing so, the Knesset has and continues to ingrain recognition of Jewish citizens as the sole collective entitled to the full spectrum of individual and collective rights, and to further codify in Israeli law a regime of Jewish ethno-national supremacy, as explicitly and constitutionally enshrined in the 2018 Jewish Nation-State Law.

For further information, please contact:

Adalah - The Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel

Email: adalah@adalah.org

Tel: +972-4-950-1610

Website: www.adalah.org

undermine and potentially dismantle civil society organizations, while also violating the rights to freedom of association and freedom of expression.