

The “Law-Train” Project
Why A Partnership With The Israeli Police Is
Indefensible

BACBI-Dossier Nr 2

Herman De Ley

2017

Table of Contents

Prologue: p. 3

1. *“Law-Train”* and International Law: p. 4

2. *“Ethics Checks”*: p. 9

 Addendum: UGhent Human Rights Policy: p. 14

3. *“Bar-Ilan is all security”*: p. 16

4. Arrest and Detention: p. 22

5. Prison Regime and Interrogation: p. 35

 Addendum: the PA Security Policy: p. 43

Conclusions: p. 44

Human Rights Organizations: Reports: p. 46

International Conventions: p. 51

Letter to Federica Mogherini and Carlos Moedas (March 8, 2017):

http://www.bacbi.be/pdf/lawtrain_letter_mogherini.pdf

Dutch version of the Dossier:

http://www.bacbi.be/pdf/lawtraindossier_NL.pdf

French version : http://www.bacbi.be/pdf/lawtraindossier_FR.pdf

Contact: herman.deley@ugent.be

Prologue

In conformity with the EU-Israel Association Agreement¹ Israeli institutions and companies enjoy a privileged entry to European long-range programs for research and innovation (R&D). The current program, Horizon 2020, is funding projects for 77 billion euro. On the Israeli side collaboration with it is coordinated by the “*Israel-Europe R&D Directorate*” (ISERD), the Israeli Ministry of Science and Technology being politically responsible. Israel is participating in 310 signed agreements involving 369 participations for which they will receive a total of €203,875 million.² The Israeli authorities are very well aware of the enormous advantages R&D collaboration with Europe has brought with it for Israel all these years.³

“*Law-Train*” is one of the projects European and Israeli entities are taking part in together.⁴ The Israeli Bar-Ilan University coordinates the project, while the Israeli Ministry of Public Security/the Israel National Police is one of its partners.⁵ European partners of the project, next to private research centres and companies, are the Spanish Guardia Civil and (initially) the Portuguese Ministry of Justice/the Portuguese Police.. At the end of July 2016, however, the Portuguese authorities decided to withdraw from the project.⁶ Recently the Romanian Police stepped into the project Belgian partners are: the Federal Public Service Justice (Federal Prosecutors Department) and, being the only one European university to take part, the Catholic University of Louvain (KU

1The Association Agreement was signed in Brussels on 20 November 1995, and entered into force on 1 June 2000: http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/delegations/israel/documents/eu_israel/asso_agree_en.pdf .

2EU Research Cooperation with Israel, via <http://ec.europa.eu/research/iscp/index.cfm?pg=israel#projects> .

3The newly appointed managing director of ISERD, Nili Shalev, admitted, Oct 14, 2016: “*Israel’s participation in European R&D programmes over the years has brought tremendous benefits to industrial, academic and other organisations in Israel which have taken part in it*”, via: <http://horizon2020projects.com/pr-knowledge-innovation/israel-europe-rd-appoints-new-head/> .

4Reference: 653587; description: “*Mixed-reality environment for training teams in joint investigative interrogation-Intelligent interrogation training simulator*”, financed under “*H2020-EU.3.7. - Secure societies - Protecting freedom and security of Europe and its citizens*”. C. [= “consulted”] Sept 1, 2016 via http://cordis.europa.eu/project/rcn/194874_en.html The project’s budget amounts to 5 million euro.

5Is an Israeli partner as well: *Comperia Software & Hardware Development Ltd*. It was taken on board because of its experience in developing training platforms and ‘*serious games*’. The total funding for the Israeli partners in this project amounts to € 2,374,062.

6“*Portugal pulls out of law enforcement project led by Israeli university*”, (Aug. 25, 2016, Jewish Telegraphic Agency). Consulted on Aug 27, 2016 via <http://www.jta.org/2016/08/25/news-opinion/israel-middle-east/portugal-pulls-out-of-law-enforcement-project-led-by-israeli-university>. According to EC sources the reason would have been a lack of human resources. Because of the participation of a Portuguese private R&D institute (INESC-ID) the explanation does not really convince.

Leuven).⁷ The project's aim, we are told, is to develop "*cross cultural interrogation methods and training modules based on multicultural research in criminology*"; a "*virtual suspect*" electronic platform is developed for the sake of training.⁸

With the present dossier we would like to draw the reader's attention to the broader context, from an ethical as well as legal point of view, within which this project and its partners should be evaluated. That context, broadly put, is one of systematic violation of international law and of the human and civil rights of the Palestinian people. The Israeli Ministry of Public Security, with its police and security services, plays an indispensable role in Israel's policies of oppression and apartheid in historic Palestine. In this dossier we shall concentrate on the way this policy is implemented in the daily routines of arrest, detention, incarceration and interrogation (chapters 4 & 5).

PS 1: We profited a lot from the (succinct but) excellent dossier published by Stop the Wall: "*LAWTRAIN: European license for Israeli torture*".⁹

PS 2: At the end of the discussion readers will find a list with (the electronic addresses of) the human rights reports and fact sheets we consulted, as well as a list of international conventions and treaties international law is based upon and which are violated by the Israeli State.

PS 3: In the notes we usually add the date of consultation of our sources, publications from this year however are excepted from this rule.

1. "*Law-Train*" and International Law

The national headquarters of the Israel police as well as the Ministry of Public Security are located in East Jerusalem, more particularly in or next to the Sheikh Jarrah neighbourhood.¹⁰ One of its main tasks being training, the participation in "*Law-Train*"

⁷Prof. Geert Vervaeke, Research unit for Penal Law and Criminology, via <https://www.law.kuleuven.be/linc/leden/00005349> ..For a complete list of the project's partners: <http://www.law-train.eu/partners/>, c. Sept 1, 2016.

⁸The website of Law-Train: <http://www.law-train.eu/> (c. Sept 8, 2016). More on http://cordis.europa.eu/project/rcn/194874_en.html (c. on 2016). Interesting as well: the (summary of an) interview with coordinator Prof. Sarit Kraus: <http://www.law-train.eu/zeitungsinterview-sarit-kraus/> (c. Sept 20, 2016).

⁹Via <http://www.stopthewall.org/sites/default/files/LAWTRAIN%20-%20EU%20license%20for%20Israeli%20torture.pdf> (c. Aug 20, 2016). We made also use of the dossier drafted by the Leuvense Actiegroep Palestina (LAP), aug-sept 2016, via http://www.bacbi.be/doc/Samenwerking_KUL_Isra_lischeMPS_sept2016.docx .

¹⁰The complex of Israeli government buildings is called « *Kiryat Menachem Begin* ». See Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Headquarters_of_the_Israel_Police . On the same page we read: "*The Ministry of Public Security building was later built next to the police headquarters*".

of the National Police most probably has to do with the development of training techniques.

East Jerusalem was annexed by Israel after the 1967 war and is subjected to a systematic policy of *Judaization*. It involves maximizing the number of Jews and reducing the number of Palestinians through a gradual process of colonization, displacement and dispossession. Methods include land expropriation for illegal settlements, discriminatory municipal services, revocation of Palestinians' permanent residency. Settler groups who have strong links with the State institutions are also evicting Palestinians and moving into Palestinian neighbourhoods.¹¹ Whilst living under the yoke of the Border Police, "Arab" or Palestinian Jerusalemites, indeed, have their homes expropriated or demolished. 2016 alone saw more house demolitions in East Jerusalem than any year since 1967, displacing 1,593 Palestinians and affecting the livelihoods of another 7,101. Just recently, building permits have been approved for hundreds of Jewish houses in three East Jerusalem settlements. In their recent confidential report the heads of the EU's diplomatic missions in Jerusalem and Ramallah warn that "*the situation in Jerusalem has never been so threatening since 1967.*"¹²

The same political objective of Judaization is served with the transfer of Israeli national institutions to the Arab part of Jerusalem. The policy is all the more shocking because, notwithstanding Israeli promises,

*"more than 20 Palestinian institutions in East Jerusalem, notably including the Orient House and the Chamber of Commerce, remain forcibly closed by Israeli occupying orders and raids since 2001, in violation of international law".*¹³

Not only the East Jerusalem location of the Ministry of Public Security and the Headquarters of the National Police should be noted here, but also that of the Ministry of Science and Technology.¹⁴

"Israel established several public institutions on occupied territory on the eastern side of the Green Line. Major examples of this colonial policy aimed at changing

¹¹Nur Arafah : « *Jerusalem: Israel's Vision vs. Palestine's Reality* » (Al-Shabaka, Jan 18, 2017), via <http://al-shabaka.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/Al-Shabaka-Policy-Fellow-Nur-Arafah-Jerusalem-Briefing.pdf>

¹²"*Le livre noir de la colonisation de Jérusalem Est, écrit par les consuls européens sur place*" (CAPJPO - EuroPalestine, février 13, 2017) via <http://www.europalestine.com/spip.php?article12661> .

¹³Daoud Kuttab, "*Israeli police raid map center outside East Jerusalem*" (Al-Monitor, March 21, via <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/03/palestine-orient-house-map-close-israel-jerusalem.html> .

¹⁴See: "*European Union obligations and duty to end Israeli policies of Forced Transfer, Colonialism and Apartheid in Occupied East Jerusalem*" (ECCP, Sept 2014, 42p.), p. 18, via <http://www.eccpalestine.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/report4web-11.pdf> (c. 9 Nov 2016). For the present, see as well Yotam Berger, "*Israel Pushes Plans for Hundreds of New Houses in Continuous East Jerusalem Neighborhood*" (Haaretz, Dec 8, 2016), via <http://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-1.757662> .

the status of East Jerusalem in breach of Resolution 478 of UN Security Council and Article 64 of Fourth Geneva Convention, are: Hebrew University..., Israeli Ministry of Justice Headquarters..., and Israel Police Headquarters compound located in the area of Sheikh Jarrah where several houses of Palestinian Jerusalemites have been expropriated for the benefit of Israeli settlers”.

East Jerusalem being part of the Occupied Palestinian Territories, the Fourth Geneva Convention is fully applicable to it.¹⁵ Article 49 paragraph 6 forbids any transfer or settlement by the occupier of its own people into occupied territory, in this particular case: Jewish colonial settlements beyond the Green Line. As a consequence, any kind of (e.g. diplomatic) association by a third country with Israeli entities established and operating in East Jerusalem amounts to a serious breach of international law.¹⁶ Most recently it was once more confirmed by Security Council Resolution 2334 (December 23, 2016):¹⁷

“Reaffirms that the establishment by Israel of settlements in the Palestinian territory occupied since 1967, including East Jerusalem, has no legal validity and constitutes a flagrant violation under international law”, etc.

These fundamental stipulations, though, of international law were only partially acknowledged in the 2013 (July 19) *Guidelines of the European Commission “on EU funding instruments”*.¹⁸ Paragraph 9 (b) of it, it is true, states explicitly that *“only Israeli entities having their place of establishment within Israel’s pre-1967 borders will be considered eligible as final recipients.”* In paragraph 11 (b), however, a curious, bureaucratic exemption was inserted: *“(these requirements) do not apply to Israeli public authorities at national level (ministries and government agencies or authorities)”*.

¹⁵See art. 49 par. 6 of the Convention: *“The Occupying Power shall not deport or transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies.”* The applicability of the Convention re the Occupied Palestinian Territories, denied by Israel, has been confirmed by the International Court of Justice, cf.: *“Legal Consequences of the Construction of a Wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, Advisory Opinion”*, July 2004, par. 95-97.

¹⁶Numerous resolutions of the UN Security Council upheld this, e.g. Resolution 465: *“all measures taken by Israel to change the physical character, composition, institutional structure or status of the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, or any part thereof, have no legal validity and that Israel’s policy and practices of settling parts of its population and new immigrants in those territories constitute a flagrant violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention”*. R. 478 also *“calls... upon those States that have established diplomatic Missions in Jerusalem to withdraw such Missions from the Holy City”*. For a complete list of Israel resolutions between 1948 and 2006, see: <http://www.cie.ugent.be/Palestina/palestina274.htm> (c. 27 Nov 2016).

¹⁷Adopted by the SC at its 7853rd meeting, 23 December 2016, via <http://www.un.org/webcast/pdfs/SRES2334-2016.pdf> . For a list of resolutions (up till 2009) not respected by Israel, see: Le Monde Diplomatique (Febr 2009), via <https://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2009/02/A/16775> (c. 24 Dec 2016).

¹⁸*“Guidelines on the eligibility of Israeli entities and their activities in the territories occupied by Israel since June 1967 for grants, prizes and financial instruments funded by the EU from 2014 onwards”* (July 19, 2013), via <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2013:205:0009:0011:EN:PDF> (c. 8 Nov 2016).

Its acceptance implies in fact that one is accepting the Israeli claim that an “*indivisible*” Jerusalem is the “*eternal capital of the Jewish people*” – which is, so far, not the position of the EU.

It is true that Article 64¹⁹ of the Geneva Convention gives the occupying power the possibility to install “*provisions*” or “*establishments*” in the occupied territory, but clearly only for the benefit of the administration and security of that occupied territory itself. However, the Israeli ministries, such as that of Justice, of Public Security, of Science and Technology, etc., which are established in occupied East-Jerusalem, serve the administration of *Israel’s own, national* territory, within the pre-1967 borders. As a consequence, precisely the “*national*” character of those institutions which makes their establishment contrary to international law.²⁰

The feeling that we have to do here with a kind of bureaucratic “*loophole*” is confirmed by a briefing document of July 24, 2013, drafted by the College of Commissioners for the benefit of Catherine Ashton (at that time head of the EU foreign policy) with a view to her signature, jointly with the Israeli minister, of Israel’s association with the Horizon 2020 program.²¹ First of all, on page 2 of the document, the reader is explicitly assured that “*the guidelines do not change one inch our position of principle*”. Accordingly as to the “*Content of the guidelines on EU funding instruments*,” it is stated categorically that their aim is to

“ensure that only entities and activities within Israel’s pre-1967 borders are eligible for EU support, meaning:

(i) place of establishment within the Green Line;

(ii) activities under the EU-funded projects within the Green Line.”

In plain contradiction, however, with this unambiguous statement and without any legal explanation being given, it is proclaimed on the next page:

19Art. 64: “*The Occupying Power may, however, subject the population of the occupied territory to provisions which are essential to enable the Occupying Power to fulfil its obligations under the present Convention, to maintain the orderly government of the territory, and to ensure the security of the Occupying Power, of the members and property of the occupying forces or administration, and likewise of the establishments and lines of communication used by them.*”

20 May 7, 2017, Ms.Mogherini answering a parliamentary question stated: “*In the guidelines, the eligibility exception applicable to national public authorities recognises that they are not established in the same way as other legal entities. National public institutions cannot be considered to have a ‘place of establishment’ understood as a legal address corresponding to a particular physical location at which they were registered, but rather they are established by national legislation*”, via

<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getAllAnswers.do?reference=E-2017-001291&language=EN>

21The document was released only a few months ago at the request of David Cronin, see his article “*How EU secretly embraced Israeli ministry in East Jerusalem*” (The Electronic Intifada, 23 Nov 2016), via <https://electronicintifada.net/blogs/david-cronin/how-eu-secretly-embraced-israeli-ministry-east-jerusalem> . It provides a copy of the original document.

“The Guidelines will not obstruct the signature of agreements with Israeli ministries and government agencies whose headquarters are located in East Jerusalem. This means that the Israeli Minister of Science and Technology will be able to sign the agreement on Israel’s association to the ‘Horizon 2020’ programme even though his ministry is located beyond the Green Line” (o.u.).

We should not really be surprised, however: in the introduction, indeed, of the document we read:

“With these guidelines Israel as such will have nothing to lose in terms of participation in EU projects and will have very much to gain in terms of new possibilities for integration in the European space of research, innovations, business opportunities, culture and many other fields”.

This way the EC document thus confirms that the bureaucratic “*loophole*” was inserted into the *Guidelines* specifically to allow Israel, international law notwithstanding, to associate with the EU R&D program “*Horizon 2020*”. One legal obstacle, indeed, that had to be removed, was the location of the “*Ministry of Science and Technology*” which is politically responsible for the R&D associations (it is a member of the “*Israel-Europe R&D Directorate*”).²² Indeed, as was mentioned already, this ministry as well is located in or next to the same Sheik Jarrah neighbourhood as is the case with the Israel Police, i.e. in a vicinity “*where several houses of Palestinian Jerusalemites have been expropriated for the benefit of Israeli settlers*”.²³

The Horizon 2020 R&D association between the EU and the State of Israel is based on a formal agreement with the EU.²⁴ It stipulates as well the *conditions* for Israel’s admission into the “*Horizon 2020*” program, notably that the agreement does “*not apply to the geographic areas that came under the administration of the State of Israel after 5 June 1967*.”²⁵ The agreement was signed jointly by the Israeli Minister of Science and Technology (at that time: Yaakov Perry) and Ms. Ashton, for the EU, and it took place, not in Tel Aviv, Israel’s capital recognized by the international community, but in

²²Website van het *Ministry of Science, Technology & Space*:

<http://most.gov.il/English/about/Pages/default1.aspx> (c. 1 Dec 2016). Its aspirations are very clear: “*Scientific and technological research forms the basis for constant economic growth and positions Israel globally as a technologically advanced country and a leader in science and research.*”

²³Newsitem Dec 30: *The residents of Sheikh Jarrah are continuing their protest vigils in the neighborhood every Friday, protesting their violent evictions from their homes, the taking over of the neighborhood by the settlers, and the Judaization of East Jerusalem* (Gush Shalom).

²⁴ « *Agreement between the European Union and the State of Israel on the participation of the State of Israel in the Union programme ‘Horizon 2020’* » via [http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:22014A0617\(01\)&from=EN](http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:22014A0617(01)&from=EN) (c. 4 Dec 2016).

²⁵ Art. 6.1. : « *In accordance with EU policy, this agreement shall not apply to the geographic areas that came under the administration of the State of Israel after 5 June 1967* »...

occupied East Jerusalem.²⁶ From the point of view of international law, this diplomatic complicity with the occupier should be “*censure(d) in the strongest terms*” (using the wording of UN Res. 478).

Even if we resign ourselves, however, to the twists of the EC *Guidelines*,²⁷ the National Police’s partnership in “*Law-Train*” still implies that some of the project’s *activities* are located in occupied territory. Contrary to the exemption granted to the place of establishment of national entities, the limiting “*conditions of eligibility*” in matter of *activities* “*apply... to Israeli public authorities at national level*”, as well (*Guidelines*, para. 14.b). For that reason, the project’s funding status should be withdrawn from it, for being in contravention with the existing EC’s 2013 *Guidelines*.

The conclusion must be that EU policy towards Israel, not only in general but also specifically in matters of scientific collaboration demonstrates some form of tortuosity, or perhaps more correctly: duplicity. With regard to the Israeli State, indeed, the EC’s professed high respect for international law is quite flexibly handled in practice. This was quite openly acknowledged by the then Commissioner for Research, Ms. Máire Geoghegan-Quinn, in her letter to a member of the European Parliament (18 November 2013):²⁸

“Both parties are conscious of the need to find flexible ways of implementing the guidelines.” Such flexibility was required, she argued, “*to ensure full respect of the Union’s policy in relation to the territories occupied by Israel, while not deterring Israel’s association to EU programs.*”

The exemption made in the “*Guidelines*” regarding the location of Israeli “*eligible*” entities, was clearly already a first sign of such a “*flexible*” approach.

2. “*Ethics Checks*”

The “*Law-Train*” project, we wrote in the *Prologue*, aims at optimizing interrogation techniques within an international environment. The development of an electronic “*virtual suspect*” platform for the benefit of training should improve “*interrogation*

²⁶ May 7, 2017, though, Ms. Mogherini answered: “*The agreement associating Israel to the Horizon 2020 research and innovation framework programme was signed in the offices of the Prime Minister of Israel (in West Jerusalem) on 8 June 2014. All further documents signed with participants in Horizon 2020 projects, including from Israel, such as grant agreements, declaration on honour or accession forms, were signed electronically and as such have no specific place of signature.*” Via:

<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getAllAnswers.do?reference=E-2017-001291&language=EN>

²⁷The incoherence of EU’s policy, its lofty principles being contradicted again and again in practice, is in fact typical for its policy towards Israel and Palestine in general.

²⁸Again David Cronin, “*Revealed: EU science chief promised to be “flexible” towards Israel’s war crimes*” (The Internet Intifada, 15 Oct 2014), via <https://electronicintifada.net/blogs/david-cronin/revealed-eu-science-chief-promised-be-flexible-towards-israels-war-crimes> (with a photocopy of the document).

competences”, while a lack of *“familiarity with different cultures, laws and methods”* shall be addressed to by means of *“cross cultural interrogation methods”*. The project, we are told, fits in with the fight against international drug crime.

1. From a point of view strictly limited to the project’s declared aims and methods, *“Law-Train”* looks ethically sound. This opinion was confirmed with the EC’s *“Ethics Appraisal Procedure” (EAP)* the project, just like any other project funded under Horizon 2020, has been submitted to.²⁹ The EAP has to ensure that, complementary to the scientific evaluation focusing on the scientific merit, *“all research activities are conducted in compliance with fundamental ethical principles.”* The *“Ethics Review Procedure”* is an important step to that end:

“The Ethics Review Procedure focusses on the compliance with ethical rules and standards, relevant European legislation, international conventions and declarations, national authorizations and ethics approvals, proportionality of the research methods and the applicants’ awareness of the ethical aspects and social impact of their planned research.”

Finally, along with the implementation of the project’s activities, an *“Ethics Assessment”* is performed. On behalf of *“Law-Train”* it took place on October 26, 2016. The project, we are informed on its *“Ethical Issues”* page, *“passed with the best possible result: “Good to excellent compliance with the H2020 ethical guidelines”*.”³⁰ On the same page the project’s compliance with these guidelines is detailed by means of a list of the EC’s *“golden rules”* put under the headings of: *“Ethics of Research”* and *“Ethics of Content”*.³¹

2. Of course, with the eventual conclusion of its research activities *“Law-Train”*’s significance will not come to an end: its results will be applied, one way or another, in the *“real world”* of policing. As of that moment, the *“H2020 ethical guidelines”* will no longer ensure that *“cross cultural”* police interrogation practices would respect effectively *“European legislation, international conventions and declarations”*. A deciding factor, on the contrary, will be the existing ethical and legal *context* within which results will be applied. In the case of European participants, the overarching framework will be that of international law, in general, and of European legislation, in particular. As for the latter, for example the EU’s *“Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union”*, of 2000, will have a binding force for its member states. The Charter, in its Article 4, for example, forbids that a person be *“subjected to torture or to inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment”*. The actual enforcement of European law, human rights, etc. is taken care of by the Court of Justice of the European Union (1952)

²⁹*“Ethics Review Procedure applied to LAW-TRAIN by the European Commission”*, via http://www.bacbi.be/pdf/ethics_review_EC.pdf.

³⁰Vide: <http://www.law-train.eu/ethical-guidelines/>.

³¹Under *“Ethics of Research”*: *“In LAW-TRAIN we follow the golden rules for ethical research provided by the 7th Framework Program (European Commission, 2013, p. 24). Specifically, we strictly stick to: (1) respecting the integrity and dignity of persons”, etc.*

and the European Court of Human Rights (1959). A EU country that does not comply, will be called to order and, eventually, sanctions will be applied (as will be the case, possibly, with Hungary and/or Poland).

Israel, of course, is *not* a member state of the EU. Nonetheless, it proclaims itself to be a “*European*” country and the EU political establishment considers it to be a “*de facto member*” of the EU.³² What is more, it is *associated* with the EU thanks to dozens of agreements providing it with a privileged entry into all European fields and programs (e.g. Horizon 2020), providing it with “*enormous benefits*”. For *moral* reasons, at the very least, it should comply, though, with the “*fundamental ethical principles*” maintained by the EU. The unambiguous condition, anyway, imposed by Article 2 of the Euro-Israel Association Agreement of 1995 (entered into force in 2000) should be decisive: respect for the human rights is called no less than “*an essential element*” of the agreement.³³ The Israeli State, nevertheless, did not and does not comply. The dealings, more especially, of the services of its Ministry of Public Security with the Palestinian population, inside Israel as well as in the West Bank, constitute a persistent breach of that Article, specifically but not exclusively in the matter of police interrogations. Israel’s call to order by the EU by means of sanctions is long overdue. Nevertheless, it continues enjoying complete impunity.

Interrogation, indeed, of Palestinian so-called “*security prisoners*” is an essential component of a general policy of oppression (see the last chapters in this dossier). Because of its involvement in crimes against humanity, the ministry’s participation, in a project focused on interrogation techniques is far from being ethically innocent. The project’s coordinator, prof. Sarit Kraus (Bar-Ilan University), has to admit, *en plus*, that the “*Israel Police cannot say when and how they will use the Virtual Suspects, but notes that it will be added to the existing training methods, rather than replace them.*”³⁴ Distrust as to the real intentions of the Israeli participants is not unjustified, we believe. Finally, since the project’s purpose is to streamline methods and experiences between partner countries, there is reason for concern that the project will help proliferate disreputable techniques and practices into European policing and security policies.³⁵ The participation in the project of European ministries of Justice and/or police agencies enhances that possibility. The fact that the Portuguese authorities withdrew from the

32Notorious, here, are the words of the first head of the EU foreign policy, Javier Solana, proffered in 2009 in Jerusalem: “*Israel, allow me to say this, is a member of the European Union without being a member of its institutions. It is a member of all its programs, it participates in all its programs*” (quoted in David Cronin, “*Europe – Israël. Une alliance contre nature*”, 2012, p. 16).

33“*Relations between the Parties, as well as all the provisions of the Agreement itself, shall be based on respect for human rights and democratic principles, which guides their internal and international policy and constitutes an essential element of this Agreement.*” Via http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2010/april/tradoc_146089.pdf (c. 15 Dec 2016).

34<http://www.law-train.eu/zeitungsinterview-sarit-kraus/>.

35For the danger of an “*Israelization*” of European policing and security practices, see the next chapter.

project, should serve as a wake-up call (that a lack of funding or of human resources should have been the reason, seems more than implausible).³⁶

3. Specific ethical accountability of a H2020 project is the responsibility of its participants. For the benefit of the “Law-Train” project, “*Law-Train Ethical Guidelines and Ethical Procedures*” have been drawn up,³⁷ while Ms. Dr. Galit Nahari of Bar-Ilan University, not being herself a participant, is acting as the project’s “*supervisor on ethics*”. In a recent interview on video the project’s coordinator, Prof. Sarit Kraus, stresses Law-Train’s conformity with “*the ethics and laws of the EU*”. She refers particularly to the presence in the project of the Belgian Federal Prosecutor and insists on his central role in ensuring that “*ethics*” in the project is being respected.³⁸

Prof. Kraus’ emphasis, however, on the project’s “*European*” ethical environment, should not make us neglect the *Israeli* coordination and context of the project. Scientific research is never conceived or implemented in a societal vacuum. The project’s “*Ethical Guidelines*” themselves refer explicitly to the legal context, viz. with the – prima facie reasonable - requirement that “*every partner respects the laws and regulations of other participating partners’ countries*” (par. 2.4). And, “*(t)his understanding (is) fundamental for the conduct of Law-Train*” (ibid., p. 14). Later on, it is completed with the necessity of “*considering and respecting national and international law*” (par. 3.3.1.).

The question here, though, which forces itself upon us, is this: what with the Israeli “*laws and regulations*” that should be “*respected*” as well, this way, by the other partners? Is it not true that racial discrimination and unequal treatment of Israel’s “*Israeli Arab*” citizens is in fact enshrined into Israel’s legal system? The Israeli human rights association Adalah signals more than 50 discriminatory laws.³⁹ And the UN *Committee for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination* (CERD), in the “*concluding observations*” of its 80th session (2012), as well, confirmed that racial discrimination is deep-rooted into that system and its institutions, and particularly into its judiciary system.⁴⁰ In a recent UN report which caused a big fuss in international pro-Israeli circles, the Israeli institutionalized system of discrimination against Israeli “non-Jews” (so-called “*Israeli Arabs*”) is categorized as apartheid.⁴¹

36“*Portuguese government withdraws from controversial project with Israeli police following BDS pressure*” (BDS National Committee, Aug 23, 2016), via <https://bdsmovement.net/news/portuguese-government-withdraws-controversial-project-israeli-police-following-bds-pressure>.

37“*The Law-Train Ethical Guidelines and Ethical Procedures*”, <http://www.law-train.eu/?wpdmdl=2899> (c. Sept 12, 2016).

38See on the website of Law-Train: <http://www.law-train.eu/official-law-train-video/>.

39“*The Inequality Report: The Palestinian Arab Minority in Israel*”. Update Adalah, 6 Dec 2016: “*Discriminatory Laws in Israel*”, via <https://www.adalah.org/en/law/index>.

40The CERD, for example, rejects the racist “*Citizenship and Entry into Israel Law*”, making reunification of a Palestinian family (one of its partners living in the West Bank and the other in Israel) impossible. See its “*concluding observations*”, para. 18.

For example, the racist policy of demolition of so-called “*unrecognized*” Bedouin villages and homes in the Negev, accompanied by the displacement and ethnical cleansing of its non-Jewish residents, is “*legally*” made possible (approved by the High Court of Justice).⁴² The implementation of that policy is one of the assignments of the Ministry of Public Security. Is it not true that “*respect*” implies that the project’s non-Israeli partners should accept Israel’s institutionalized racism, or at the very least remain silent? The requirement, indeed, deprives those partners of their legitimate freedom of expressing their views and, what is more, makes them objectively an accessory to Israeli policies of violating international law.⁴³ At the very least, it shows that no attention was paid by the drafters of the “*Guidelines*” to the political *context* of the project.

Actually, it is not just Israel’s legal system *stricto sensu* which is to be blamed, here. During their daily activities the operatives of the Israeli police, army, security and correction services often simply go their own way, ethical or legal considerations arising or not. To quote a former chief of the Shin Bet: “*in the war against terror, forget about morality*”. This should not come as a surprise, though: for the sake of its so-called “*security*” the Israeli State itself continuously, shamelessly and with impunity violates the resolutions, conventions and treaties of international law. If need be, even the rulings of Israel’s own High Court of Justice are put aside.⁴⁴ The paucity of investigations and indictments against police and security operatives (e.g. of the Shin Bet) or soldiers for having transgressed the rule of law, e.g. for having killed a Palestinian youngster extra-judicially, is there to prove it.⁴⁵ One’s expectations that “*Law-Train*” might be able to bring improvements to that situation, are illusory. No

41 “*Israeli Practices towards the Palestinian People and the Question of Apartheid*” (Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia, ESCWA, 2017, 74p.). Under US pressure, the report was withdrawn by the UN Secretary-General and even removed from the UN servers. The head of the ESCWA thereupon, Executive Secretary Rima Khalaf, resigned. The report can be read on the BACBI website: http://www.bacbi.be/pdf/un_apartheid_report_saved.pdf. An “*executive summary*”, though, can still be read on the ESCWA website: [click here](#).

42 It is happening in the Jordan Valley (West Bank) as well, vide David Shulman, “*Palestine: The End of the Bedouins?*” (The New York Review of Books, Dec 7, 2016) via <http://www.nybooks.com/daily/2016/12/07/israel-palestine-the-end-of-the-bedouins/>.

43 For a selection of international conventions regularly violated by Israeli order and security officers, have a look at the end of this dossier.

44 In the cases that Israeli law is conflicting with international law, the Israeli High Court of Justice does not hesitate to give priority to Israeli law – a practice that is contrary to article 27 of the *Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties*.

45 See Ali Abunimah, “*Israel dismisses 1,000 complaints of torture*” (The Electronic Intifada, 12 Dec) via <https://electronicintifada.net/blogs/ali-abunimah/israel-dismisses-1000-complaints-torture>. And: “*The reality in which soldiers kill Palestinians with impunity is part of the occupation’s routine.*” Also Hagai El-Ad, in +972, Sept 7, 2016: “*A once-in-a-decade show trial*”, via: <http://972mag.com/a-once-in-a-decade-show-trial/121768/>.

initiatives are known from those operatives, anyway, to change their methods and techniques.

4. Finally, “*Law-Train*” was also subjected to an “*ethics check*” by the Catholic University of Louvain (KU Leuven) which was adopted as well by the (Belgian) Ministry of Justice. The project was examined by two academic committees (see the *Guidelines*, par. 3.6.4). First of all, by the “*Social and Societal Ethics Committee*”. Being asked for advice with regard to the ethical rules guiding the interviews to be taken from the end users, the committee did not object. Second, the “*Committee for Ethics on ‘Dual Use of Research’*” was engaged as well.⁴⁶ On the base of a detailed description of the project’s objectives and procedures this committee as well gave the go-ahead.

Obviously, we do not wish to cast any doubts on the seriousness and expertise of both committees (nor on that of the EC’s “*Ethics Committee*”, for that matter). On the basis, however, of the information provided by the “*Ethical Guidelines*” of the project, it is clear that, comparably to the ethics review by the EC, the academic ethics check was strictly focused on the *internal* deontology of scientific research, i.e. the ethics of research, for example regulating the relationship between researcher and interviewee. Relevant rules to that end as well as its accomplishments can indeed be listed⁴⁷ and be “ticked off”. It is more than doubtful, however, if this is sufficient in order to reach a *fundamental*, ethical appraisal of projects.⁴⁸

In the case, anyway, of a project focusing on policing methods and techniques, such a fundamental ethical evaluation is only achievable if the project is confronted with the political and ideological context of the country in which it was launched and by which it is coordinated. In the case of “*Law-Train*”, a project coordinated by an Israeli university having close ties with the Israeli security services (Shin Bet) and being partnered by the Israeli police, that context is one of daily police misdemeanors and, more generally, of racist oppression and dehumanization of the native population.

Secondly, concomitant data should be taken into account as well, and among them, first of all the list of the project’s partners. In other words: there should be an “*ethics check*” of those partners. The ethical credibility, indeed, of a project – of *any* project, be it scientific, applied, social, humanitarian, etc. – depends on that list: if it is ethically

46A practical question: is the violent, and many times armed, repression of the Palestinians by Israel’s police and security forces, the army included, a “civil” or a “military” matter? Have a look anyway at the Fact Sheet of the ECCP: “*Dual use technology – how Europe funds Israeli military companies through Horizon 2020*”, via http://www.bacbi.be/pdf/Dual_use.pdf.

47As is the case on the project’s page of “*Ethical Issues*”: <http://www.law-train.eu/ethical-guidelines/>.

48Rector Torfs of KU Leuven, in the press, recognized the limitations of the existing procedure: “(Rector Torfs) promised as well that he would engage, internally to the KU Leuven, in a ‘more profound’ discussion on the ‘fundamental ethics of projects’. ‘We should prevent that universities would narrow ethics to compliance, i.e. to the application of formal small rules’, he said” (Maarten Rabaey, DeMorgen.be, 26/9, my translation), via <http://www.demorgen.be/binnenland/-ku-leuven-moet-project-met-israelische-universiteit-stoppen-bbc6b913/>. Alas, the results of the first meetings with vice-rector and rector were disappointing: ethical or moral considerations, apparently, should be addressed *outside* the university.

questionable because of the presence of an ethically questionable partner, there is no way the “*ethics*” of a project will be called unproblematic, whatever its professed lofty principles, procedures and objectives.

In the case of “*Law-Train*”, the presence among its partners of the Israeli Ministry of Public Security is no less than fatal for its ethical credibility. The ethical status, indeed, of the ministry, is more than questionable. Because of the violations of international law and human rights perpetrated by its police, security and prison services, its presence in *any* European R&D program is ethically (and morally) unacceptable. In the case, more specifically, of a project aiming at optimizing police interrogation methods its partnership is ethically inexcusable.

The “*ethics checks*” by the EC and the KU Leuven are not adapted, apparently, to point this kind of problem out. From an ethical point of view, for that reason, they should be called defective. Once again, that way, the EU in general and Belgium in particular are made complicit in Israel’s policies of dispossession and oppression. The Palestinians’ acts of legitimate resistance to their dispossession are violently crushed by the colonial state for being acts of “*terrorism*” or, at the very least, of “*incitement*”. Together with the army and the Shin Bet, the ministry and its services play a prominent role in Israel’s “*policies of cruelty*” (Amira Hass). The details of it, in the daily “*routine*” of police, security services and army, will be documented in the last two chapters of this dossier.

Addendum: the human rights policy of Ghent University:

Today the Catholic University of Leuven still lacks an institutional tool that would enable it to confront fundamental ethical issues in connection with international agreements. Ghent University has a definite lead here, thanks to the expertise provided by its Human Rights Centre (dir. Prof. Eva Brems). Recently, indeed, a fully detailed radical proposal was endorsed by the Board of UGhent: “*A Human Rights Policy for the international activities of Ghent University.*”⁴⁹ Its practical implementation will be entrusted to a Human Rights Policy Commission that will be installed in the coming months.

The UGhent “*ethical guidelines*” (to adopt the terminology of “*Law-Train*”) contain important provisions regarding the human rights conditions for any cooperation with an international partner. For the sake of effectuating a “*human rights impact assessment*” two questions should be answered:

“1) *What is the risk that the activities undertaken in the context of the cooperation agreement could directly or indirectly contribute to the violation of one of the rights*

49 For the moment it can be consulted via: [http://www.bacbi.be/pdf/Mensenrechtenbeleid\(1\).pdf](http://www.bacbi.be/pdf/Mensenrechtenbeleid(1).pdf) . The BACBI campaign in 2016 as to the collaboration of UGhent with “*Technion – Israel Institute of Technology*” and the arms manufacturer “*Israel Aerospace Industries*” contributed to this positive result. Prof. Eva Brems: “*I am happy to confirm that the adoption of the UGent human rights policy by the university board in January is indeed a direct result of the boycott campaign. The internal discussions in our university that resulted from the 'Technion' campaign, led to the suggestion to formulate a general policy from a human rights perspective and to the climate in which this policy was ultimately endorsed*”. Alas only an expanded dossier in Dutch is available: “*Universiteit en Kolonialisme. Kritische bedenkingen bij partnerships met Israël*” (97p., update 4 March), via: <http://www.bacbi.be/pdf/techniondossier2.pdf>

guaranteed in any of the Core International Human Rights Instruments?

2) Is the partner institution or organization implicated in serious or systematic violations of human rights?"

Secondly, even if the present human rights conditions are favorable, a "human rights clause" will be added to any cooperation agreement. It should enable Ghent University

"to terminate the agreement in case of clear indications that the partner institution is involved in any serious violation of human rights".

Noteworthy, not only direct "complicity" in human rights violations needs to be taken into account but being "implicated" in an indirect way as well:

"The term 'implicated' suggests that a negative human rights impact can ensue in some situations in which the gross human rights violations are not committed by the partner itself. For example, an institution can be strongly intertwined with an actor such as a police service or army that commits human rights violations on a systematic basis. The proposed human rights committee gives advice in this respect... It is submitted that, by way of principle, no cooperation should exist with any partner institution that is implicated in gross or systematic violations of human rights" (o.u.).

Respect for human rights, as a consequence, counts as a binding condition for concluding international partnerships. The relevance of all this for a fundamental ethics check of e.g. the "Law-Train" project should be clear to everyone.⁵⁰

The UGhent human rights procedures are no less than a milestone and deserve to be taken into consideration by other Belgian universities.

3. "Bar-Ilan is all security"

The "Law-Train" project is being coordinated by Prof. Sarit Kraus.⁵¹ She is a professor of Computer Science at the Israeli Bar-Ilan University.⁵² Being the fastest growing university in Israel (some 34.000 students), Bar-Ilan is one of Israel's five major research institutions, together with: the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Tel Aviv University, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, and the University of Haifa/Technion. Like other academic institutes, it is part of the academic-military-industrial complex which is actively committed to Israel's militaristic policies of oppression and colonization. Israeli universities, indeed, collaborate willingly and closely with the army and the security forces, providing the intellectual, scientific and technological

⁵⁰Noteworthy as well: although the stipulated conditions refer to an eventual partner and not to his or her country, the possibility of an academic boycott of a country is not ruled out: "(it does not) preclude Ghent University from deciding at any point in the future to join an academic boycott against a particular country" (p. 8).

⁵¹For a (summary of an) interview with her re the "Law-Train" project, see: <http://www.law-train.eu/zeitunginterview-sarit-kraus/> (c. 20 Sept 2016).

⁵²English website: <http://www1.biu.ac.il/indexE.php> (c. 20 Sept 2016).

knowledge but also the ideological foundations necessary for their successful performance against the Palestinian population.

Let us consider first of all research. Comparable to other universities, Bar-Ilan houses a center that is devoted to Israel's security policy: the "*Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies*", staffed with several (res.) army officers. The Center, it says on the site, "*advances a realist, conservative, and Zionist agenda in the search for security and peace for Israel*".⁵³ A contribution e.g. by a (res.) major general pleads in favor of the continuation of the military occupation of the West Bank (euphemistically put by him as: "*a flexible, dynamic form of security in full friction [!] with the resident populations*"), in the interest of Israel's security.⁵⁴ Among the many researchers at the Center we should mention as well Uzi Rubin, founder and director of the Arrow defense program against long-range missiles in the Israeli Ministry of Defense.

In matters of academic courses all major universities offer special courses for the benefit of the defense and security officers. Gideon Levy, in 2008, put it in an ironical way:⁵⁵

"Today there is hardly a university that does not offer special courses for officers, pilots and secret agents. As such, all it takes for students of the National Security College to receive a master's degree in political science from Haifa University is two classes a week for one semester. Pilots receive a bachelor's degree at Ben-Gurion University in the Negev after one year's study, while Shin Bet operatives receive a B.A. from Bar-Ilan University after a mere 16 months"...

Bar-Ilan's specific educational contribution, indeed, bears on Israel's "*security*". For the benefit of the *Israel Security Agency (Shin Bet)*, more especially, it offers in a special department an MA curriculum exclusively designed for security personnel in active service.⁵⁶ On its Hebrew website one can read⁵⁷:

53 <http://besacenter.org/about/mission/> (c. Sept 28, 2016). The center prides itself a.o. on "*specialized research on contract*" with NATO. It also participates in the Western debate on IS, see: Ben Norton, "*Israeli think tank: Don't destroy ISIS; it's a 'useful tool' against Iran, Hezbollah, Syria*" (Salon, Aug 23, 2016), via <http://www.salon.com/2016/08/23/israeli-think-tank-dont-destroy-isis-its-a-useful-tool-against-iran-hezbollah-syria/>.

54 Maj. Gen. (res.) Gershon Hacoheh: "*Separation is not the Answer*" (Sept 29, 2016), <http://besacenter.org/perspectives-papers/368-hacohen-separation-not-answer/>.

55 "*The Shin Bet's Academic Freedom*" (Haaretz, Sept 8, 2008), via <http://www.haaretz.com/the-shin-bet-s-academic-freedom-1.253397> (c. Sept 10, 2016).

56 The same goes (went?) for the Hebrew University van Jeruzalem, see Jonathan Cook, "*Academic Boycott: Shin Bet training program highlights academic complicity with occupation*" (EI, 31 May, 2006): via <https://electronicintifada.net/content/academic-boycott-shin-bet-training-program-highlights-academic-complicity-occupation/5988>: "... a decision of Hebrew University in Jerusalem, to offer a special fast-track degree programme to members of the General Security Service, or the Shin Bet".

57 See <http://mzb.biu.ac.il/about> (the passage was translated for us by an Israeli colleague).

"The Security Arm Department (of Bar Ilan University) was founded in 1995. It operates special study programs for BA degrees. The Department's main purpose is to enable workers of the (Israeli) security arms and the security industries to study for a BA while carrying out their active service, as well as meeting the special needs of workers in those systems."

Gideon Levy, in his article, criticized these academic services Bar-Ilan is providing for the benefit of Shin Bet as well as the army, making Bar-Ilan into *"the most militaristic university"* of Israel:⁵⁸

"Shin Bet operatives receive a B.A. from Bar-Ilan University after a mere 16 months. Bar-Ilan deserves the title of the most militaristic university of them all - it offers a plethora of programs for the security forces only. There is the Jericho program for the Shin Bet and a whole host of programs for officers in the Israel Defense Forces, officers about to enter the IDF and officers who have already reached the rank of battalion commander. The entire nation is an army and Bar-Ilan is all security".

Having strong religious ties – it houses e.g. a faculty for *"Jewish Studies"*, its website offers a *"Weekly Torah Portion"*, etc. –, Bar-Ilan was the first (and, as yet, the only) university to establish a branch in Ariel, a fast expanding illegal settlement deep into the West Bank. Despite the protests from academics of the major existing universities, in 2012,⁵⁹ Ariel's academic college (called *"University Centre of Samaria"*) was upgraded to a *"university"* by Ehud Barak, at that time minister of Defense. Since, it is getting a special financial treatment from the consecutive governments, at the expense of the other universities.⁶⁰ Finally, like other universities, Bar-Ilan upholds a discriminatory policy towards Palestinian students.⁶¹

⁵⁸Haaretz, Sept 8, 2008, via <http://www.haaretz.com/the-shin-bet-s-academic-freedom-1.253397> (c. 10 Sept 2016).

⁵⁹In reaction to the academic uproar against the impending accreditation – a petition was signed by 1000 academics - Sara Hirschhorn, in The Times of Israel (June 19, 2012), castigated the *"hypocrisy"* of it all: *"The entire nation is complicit in the occupation, and there is no safe haven in the libraries and laboratories within the Green Line. Whether it is the research dollar spent on a security algorithm, the professor serving guard duty as a reservist in the territories, or even the Bagel-Bagel snack (produced in Ariel!) purchased in a cafeteria, Israel's educational network — regardless of the political persuasions of faculty — is already entrenched in the occupation"* (Ben White, *"Uproar over Ariel settlement university highlights Israeli academia's hypocrisy"*, The Electronic Intifada, 27 June, 2012), <https://electronicintifada.net/blogs/ben-white/uproar-over-ariel-settlement-university-highlights-israeli-academias-hypocrisy> (c. Oct 28, 2016).

⁶⁰Shlomi Eldar, *"Why Israel is pouring cash into this settlement university"* (Al Monitor, Nov 4, 2016), via <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/en/originals/2016/11/israel-ariel-settlement-universitys-big-money.html>.

⁶¹Golan-Agnon, D., *"Separate but not Equal: Discrimination Against Palestinian Arab Students in Israel"*, in: The American Behavioral Scientist. Vol 49 (8), 2016, pp. 1075-1084. On a total of some 34.000 students Bar-Ilan has 750 *"Arabs students"*, *"drawn from Christian, Muslim, Druse, and Circassian backgrounds"*, http://www1.biu.ac.il/milestones_60.

Let us put Bar-Ilan's involvement with "security" into the broader perspective of Israel's booming "security sector".⁶² Beating the successes of its armament technology and production (where it is still heavily dependent on the US – except for its development of drones), Israel is presenting itself more and more as a hub in matters of policing and surveillance, counterinsurgency, war on terror and "homeland security",⁶³ where it disposes of a large pool of experts.⁶⁴ Its successes here are the result of the close collaboration between universities, the technology sector, IDF intelligence services (Unit 8200)⁶⁵ and private companies.⁶⁶ In the matter of policing, surveillance and security systems (including interrogation techniques, ethnic profiling, crowd control, etc.) we can effectively speak of an "Israeli model". It is exported around the world. Even conservative Arab regimes nowadays, such as the United Arab Emirates, are turning to Israel because they believe Israelis are "simply the best in this market, the most intrusive, the most secretive".⁶⁷

However, let us not forget the wider political background that has been the cause as well as the motor of Israel's present successes in armament and security technology: i.e. the military oppression of the Palestinian people. Since its colonial establishment, indeed, the Israeli State has been at war with a subject native population and its "security" was and still is the main concern of its leaders. Security issues, for that reason, mobilized Israel's intellectual forces in terms of technological and scientific endeavors in order to maintain its colonial rule. Since 1967, subsequently, the Occupied Territories provide an additional, economically important advantage. They offer the opportunity, indeed, to test and fine-tune "in the field" the technological weapon systems developed at universities and manufactured in the arms factories. In other words, the Territories serve as "laboratory", "four million Palestinians... hav(ing) become little more than guinea pigs in military experiments designed to enrich a new

⁶²It "includes not only the military, but the many intelligence services, including the Mossad spy agency, Israel's arms manufacturers, homeland security and cyber warfare firms, as well as more conventional industries". Zo Jonathan Cook, "Netanyahu scandals reflect corruption at the heart of Israeli society" (Mondoweiss, Feb 3, 2017), via <http://mondoweiss.net/2017/02/netanyahu-scandals-corruption/>

⁶³"(Israel) has become the world's 'shopping mall for homeland security technologies', reaping billions" (Naomi Klein (in "The Shock Doctrine", quoted in Ali Abunimah, "The Battle for Justice in Palestine", p. 10).

⁶⁴"No other country has such a large pool of experienced former security, military and police personnel and no other country has been able to field test its systems and solutions in real-time situations," so the report of the International Jewish Anti-Zionist Network, "Israel's Worldwide Role in Repression" (2012).

⁶⁵"Unit 8200 is the largest unit in the Israel Defense Forces, comprising several thousand soldiers. It is comparable in its function to the United States' National Security Agency and is a Ministry of Defense body just as the NSA is part of the United States Department of Defense", Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Unit_8200.

⁶⁶Products and services exported in 2014 by more than 300 Israeli "Homeland Security" companies amounted to some 6 billion dollar. Cf. Alex Kane, "How Israel Became a Hub for Surveillance Technology" (The Intercept, Oct 17, 2016), <https://theintercept.com/2016/10/17/how-israel-became-a-hub-for-surveillance-technology/>.

⁶⁷Alex Kane, *ibid*.

elite of arms dealers and former generals".⁶⁸ In the competition with their international colleagues, indeed, the occupation offers an important commercial asset.

Since many decades, repressive regimes in Central and South America as well as in Africa are regular customers of Israel's counterinsurgency expertise and weapons technology.⁶⁹ However, with the growing tensions between NATO and Russia, EU democracies too become important customers of the Israeli arms industry.⁷⁰ At the same time, "thanks to" international terrorism, today and the so-called asylum crisis they are more and more receptive to an "*israelization*" of their surveillance and security policies.⁷¹ It is accompanied by a militarization of policing practices, e.g. in the matter of equipment and armament, use of crowd-control weapons, training and tactics. In some Western countries special training of police departments includes visits and internships in Israel.⁷² Not by accident, the militarized nature of law enforcement in Black ghetto communities in the US, with its shoot-to-kill policy, seems directly borrowed from routine practices of the IDF in the West Bank.⁷³

Proposals in the area of legislation belong here as well (here in Belgium: to introduce the possibility of installing a state of emergency and of restricting the right to freedom of expression).

68Jonathan Cook, "*Israel's booming secretive arms trade. New documentary argues success of country's weapons industry relies on exploiting Palestinians*" (Al-Jazeera, Aug 16, 2013), via <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2013/08/201381410565517125.html> . Cook is referring of course to the documentary directed by Yotam Feldman, "*The Lab*".

69See e.g. Gabriel Schivone, "*Israel's shadowy role in Guatemala's dirty war*" (The Internet Intifada, 22 Jan 2017), via <https://electronicintifada.net/content/israels-shadowy-role-guatemalas-dirty-war/19286> . Israel was also a main arms supplier and political adviser of the Pinochet regime in Chile and the Argentinian dictatorship: John Brown, "*Investigate Israeli complicity with Pinochet's crimes*" (+972, March 2, 2017), <https://972mag.com/investigate-israeli-complicity-with-pinochets-crimes/125566/> .

70See David Cronin, "*Europe's "turbo boost" for war industry will benefit Israel*" (The Electronic Intifada, 2 Dec 2016), via <https://electronicintifada.net/blogs/david-cronin/europes-turbo-boost-war-industry-will-benefit-israel> .

71E.g. in France, see Sylvain Cypel, "*Ce « modèle israélien » de lutte contre le terrorisme qui fascine politiciens et médias français*" (orientXXI, 19 Sept 2016), via <http://orientxxi.info/magazine/ce-modele-israelien-de-lutte-contre-le-terrorisme-qui-fascine-politiciens-et-1480> . As for Belgium, in November last year Minister of Home Affairs, Jan Jambon, was in Israel for a working visit. On the (Flemish) radio he praised Israel : *« We can learn a lot of things from Israel, in the field of psychological interpretation of behavior as well as the use of high tech control »*. He referred as well to Israel's experience with terrorism.

72Vide: Justin Gardner, "*U.S. Police Routinely Travel to Israel to Learn Methods of Brutality and Repression*" (The Free Thought Project, Aug 30, 2015): <http://thefreethoughtproject.com/u-s-police-routinely-travel-israel-learn-methods-brutality-repression/#RYLFbWdglkwEkT8u.99> (c. 16 Sept 2016). For the UK: "*Why are London's Police travelling to Israel?*" (Wake Up Act, Nov 29, 2014), <https://medium.com/wake-up-act/why-are-londons-police-travelling-to-israel-cf15bb9b8848#.k7rvn7ihf> (c. 15 Sept 2016).

73It *« has inspired rap artists and Black youth to refer to the police presence in Black communities as "The Occupation"*, Michelle Alexander, quoted in Ali Abunimah, "*The Battle for Justice in Palestine*" (2014), p.8.

Shin Bet's expertise as well in the matter of interrogation techniques, torture methods included, attracts a lot of attention from security agencies around the world, most of all, perhaps, from the US security services. Shin Bet perfected torture techniques which afterwards were used by the American armed forces in Iraq, Afghanistan, the secret "black sites" of the CIA and in Guantanamo Bay. Dr. Rachel Stroumsa, the executive director of the *Public Committee against Torture in Israel*,⁷⁴ recently wrote in Haaretz:⁷⁵

"Use of the Palestinian Chair⁷⁶ is but one of many examples of ties and seepages between the security practices of Israel and America. The security establishment in America also examines with a keen eye the way that Israel succeeds in legitimating interrogation practices that obviously violate human rights. Indeed, the CIA explicitly justified its use of torture in depositions to the Senate Intelligence Committee by citing [Israel's] High Court of Justice rulings".

Recently, some methods of torture have been described by the Israeli interrogators themselves.⁷⁷

The so-called "Israeli model" is actively, i.e. commercially as well as politically, promoted abroad.⁷⁸ The conclusion, nevertheless, that it would increase effectively the safety and security first of all of its own citizens, is far from obvious. Actually, despite its "security religion",⁷⁹ there are few countries today where one's life is as unsafe as in Israel. Precisely because it is a sophisticated and constantly improved system to keep a whole population in a state of dependency and powerlessness – political powerlessness to realize its national ambitions and powerlessness to live a normal life –, that "model" contributes substantially way to increase further acts of "terrorism" and as a result the insecurity it is creating. Its effects can be looked at since October 2015 with "the youths intifada". Palestinian youngsters, in a desperate revolt against the hopelessness of the

⁷⁴Website: <http://stoptorture.org.il/?lang=en> (c. 20 Sept 2016).

⁷⁵Haaretz, Sept 18, 2016: "Will the U.S. Stop Importing Israeli Torture Techniques?" via <http://www.haaretz.com/opinion/.premium-1.742712>.

⁷⁶This is a special kind of torture during interrogations: "There was a small chair, about 2 feet tall, made of plywood and two by fours, and it had plastic zip ties used to secure someone's hands underneath. The 'Palestinian Chair' was intended to put someone in a crouched position from which they could not recover and forced all their weight onto their thighs and their calves and they stayed there for as long as an interrogator decided they were going to stay", ibidem. Another form of torture used by the Shin Bet is the "banana position" (the prisoner is tied with its back on a chair, with his head on one side of the chair and his legs on the other).

⁷⁷Chaim Levinson, "Torture, Israeli-style - as Described by the Interrogators Themselves" (Haaretz, Jan 24, 2017), via <http://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-1.767095>.

⁷⁸E.g. the press release of the Israeli embassy in Paris, July 22, 2016 (one week after the terrorist attack in Nice): "L'exemple israélien face à la menace terroriste", <http://embassies.gov.il/paris/NewsAndEvents/Pages/L'exemple-isra%C3%A9lien-face-%C3%A0-la-menace-terroriste.aspx> (c. 23 Sept 2016).

⁷⁹Gideon Levy in *Le Monde Diplomatique* (oct 2016): "Israël ou la religion de la sécurité (La face cachée du "modèle" qui fascine la France)".

never-ending occupation, turned against soldiers and colonists, brandishing a knife, scissors, a screwdriver, or even nothing at all, most of them getting killed on the spot.⁸⁰

Within Israel, what is more, the “*model*” is infringing more and more upon the democratic rights and freedoms of its own citizens, such as the freedom of expression, of association, of the press (already publications are checked by a military censor), etc. Ngo’s and human rights organizations criticizing the occupation – e.g. B’Tselem or Breaking the Silence - are viciously attacked and stigmatized.⁸¹ Artists and theatres as well are being cornered and pressured to comply (and to consent to perform in the colonies): the minister of Culture is preparing a “*cultural loyalty*” bill “*making support for a cultural institution dependent on its loyalty to the State of Israel.*”⁸² So-called Minister of Culture, Miri Regev, has been denounced for committing a form of “*cultural terrorism*”.⁸³ As for the Knesset it continues to enact discriminatory and anti-democratic laws, much of which entrenches “*securitization*” over the protection of human rights: a new, draconian “*anti-terror bill*” enables the police and security services to prosecute any critical political, social, even humanitarian or cultural activity as a kind of “*terrorism*”. Even those who are not personally involved in “*terrorist activities*” but appear to “*support*” them in their utterances, e.g. on Facebook,⁸⁴ may be prosecuted for “*incitement*” and eventually sentenced to life.⁸⁵ The parliamentary immunity of the Palestinian Knesset members of the Knesset is more and more under attack,⁸⁶ and a

⁸⁰Since October 2015 265 Palestinians have been killed, compared to 47 Israeli. See: “*Death in numbers: A year of violence in the occupied Palestinian territory and Israel*” (Ma’an, Oct 4, 2016), via <http://www.maannews.com/Content.aspx?id=773407>. Also: Haggai Matar: “*A ‘wave of violence’ that never actually ends*” (+972, Sept 20, 2016), via <http://972mag.com/a-wave-of-violence-that-never-actually-ends/122055/>.

⁸¹It is happening now to the executive director of B’Tselem, Hagai El Ad. In his speech on the occasion of a special session of the UN Security Council, he called for an international intervention in order to put an end to the occupation. Reactions in Israel were livid: he should be robbed of his citizenship, charged with treason, etc. See: Hagai El Ad: “*B’Tselem Head: Why I Spoke Against the Occupation at the UN*” (Haaretz, Oct 16, 2016), via <http://www.haaretz.com/opinion/.premium-1.747699>.

⁸²Jonathan Lis, Yair Ashkenazi, Jack Khoury & Sharon Pulver : « *Israel’s Nationalistic ‘Loyalty in Culture’ Bill Passes Legal Test* » (Haaretz, 25 feb 2016), <http://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-1.705312>. The first to give in to political pressure from the government is the National Puppet Theatre Habima, consenting to put on a show in the colony Kiryat Arba. Haaretz (Oct 26) deems it a “*moral stain worthy of condemnation*”, via <http://www.haaretz.com/opinion/1.749207>.

⁸³So Rami Younis, “*The cultural terrorism of Miri Regev*” (+972, March 28, 2017, via <https://972mag.com/the-cultural-terrorism-of-miri-regev/126209/>).

⁸⁴Recently: “*Palestinian sentenced to 17 months in prison for Facebook ‘incitement’*” (Ma’an, Feb 14, 2017), via <http://www.maannews.com/Content.aspx?ID=775471>.

⁸⁵“*Israel’s new Anti-Terror Law violates Arab citizens’ human rights*” (Adalah, June 19, 2016), via <https://www.adalah.org/en/content/view/8834>.

⁸⁶“*New legislation from 2016 that negatively affects the rights of Palestinian citizens of Israel includes the ‘Expulsion of MKs’ Law, which allows a majority of members of Knesset (MKs) to oust a serving MK*” (Adalah, Dec 6, 2016), via <https://www.adalah.org/en/content/view/8965>.

recently voted bill makes it obligatory that the elected representatives of Israel's non-Jewish minority swear loyalty to the *'Jewish state'*.⁸⁷ Etc.

Finally, to return once more to the commercial success of the Israeli "security sector": the military occupation is big business, primarily for the economic (but also the ex-military) elite which depends on it for its wealth, power and prestige. In the second place, though, the Israeli population as a whole is a beneficiary.⁸⁸ At the same time, and hardly less important: Israel's status as an apartheid state is legitimized by its successful integration into the globalized economy and security policies.

In the two last chapters we will document the concrete, political context within which, in our view, "Law-Train" should be situated, that context being one of racist oppression and excessive violence perpetrated by the forces of order and the army. We will concentrate on the "routine" stages of daily repression: arrest, detention, prison treatment and interrogation. The routine is executed against the ideological background of a profound dehumanization of its victims. It helps to comprehend somewhat the ease with which police officers and soldiers, always trigger-happy, kill Palestinian adults and young people.⁸⁹

As Gideon Levy bitterly comments:⁹⁰

"To most Israelis, all Arabs are the same and they're not human beings equal to us. They're not like us. They don't love their children or their lives the way we do. They were born to kill. There's no problem killing them. They're all enemies, suspicious objects, terrorists, murderers – their lives and deaths are cheap. So kill them, because nothing bad will happen to you. Kill them, because it's the only way to treat them".

4. Arrest and Detention

⁸⁷Haaretz Editorial: "An Arab-free Knesset" (Haaretz, March 12, 2017): via <http://www.haaretz.com/opinion/editorial/1.776614> .

⁸⁸Zie J.Cook, "Israel's behaviour will bankrupt it over time" (The National, June 15, 2015), via <http://www.thenational.ae/opinion/comment/israels-behaviour-will-bankrupt-it-over-time> . As for the average Israeli, "the reality is that most Israelis' perception of their national interests, both as a Jewish state and as a military power, are intimately tied to a permanent occupation and the exclusion of Israel's Palestinian minority from true citizenship" (ibid.). See Noam Sheizaf, "How every Israeli profits from the occupation" (+972, 9 June, 2015): via <https://972mag.com/how-every-israeli-profits-from-the-occupation/107629/> .

⁸⁹A recent victim: "19-year-old Palestinian shot and killed by Israeli forces in Jenin refugee camp" (Ma'an News Agency, Jan 29, 2017), via <http://www.maannews.com/Content.aspx?ID=775164> .

⁹⁰"Kill Them, They're Fair Game" (Haaretz, Jan 19, 2017): <http://www.haaretz.com/opinion/.premium-1.765915> .

Introduction. For the sake of its enforcement of *"law-and-order"* the Israeli State has first of all at its disposal: the Israel National Police,⁹¹ the Israel Border Police (being the *"operational"* arm of the police, see below) and the Israel Prison Service (IPS)⁹². The three of them are departments or services of the Ministry of Public Security.⁹³ They have been denounced many times by international organizations such as the UN, UNICEF and the EU Parliament as well as by international, Israeli and Palestinian human rights associations.⁹⁴ Taking care of *"law and order"*, the Israel Police is responsible as well for *"public security"*, including the *"prevention of acts of terror"*. To that end *"the police conduct patrols and raids, and work to increase public awareness"*, says the website. They operate both inside Israel and in the parts of the Occupied Territories under Israel's control, annexed East Jerusalem and the colonies included (there are regional West Bank police headquarters). The police force has long been criticised for corruption, racism and incompetence.

Recently, top posts in Israel's national police force have been taken over by hardline religious settlers. This gradual infiltration of religious settlers into the police and security services mirrors a similar process in the army that began two decades ago. They intend *"to make 'alarming' changes to policing in both Israel and the occupied territories"*, critics have warned. E.g. Aida Touma-Suleiman, a Palestinian member of the Israeli Knesset, warns:⁹⁵

"Relations between the police and Palestinian citizens are already disastrous. But the situation will deteriorate much further if the ideology of the settlers becomes the norm among the police".

The same ministry of *"Public Security"* is also charged with what is officially called the *"reduction of illegal constructions and infiltrations in the Negev"*⁹⁶ - meaning in fact the ethnic cleansing of the Negev (Naqab, in Arabic). The ministry, in other words, takes care of the demolition of so-called *"unrecognized"* villages and structures of the Bedouin population within the pre-1967 borders (up to 70,000, being citizens of Israel)

91Cf. <http://mops.gov.il/English/PolicingENG/Police/Pages/default.aspx> (c. Sept 18, 2016).

92Cf. <http://mops.gov.il/English/CorrectionsENG/Pages/IPS.aspx> (c. Sept 18, 2016).

93<http://mops.gov.il/English/Pages/HomePage.aspx> (c. Sept 18, 2016).

94E.g.: "UN: Report of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in the Palestinian territories occupied since 1967" (Jan 11, 2016).

95Quoted in Jonathan Cook, *"Israel: Settlers' takeover of security posts 'alarming'"* (Al Jazeera, Oct 27, 2016), <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/10/israel-settlers-takeover-security-posts-alarming-161027064557139.html>.

96The ministry's department is the so-called *Coordination Directorate of Land Law Enforcement in the Negev*. Its assignment is the *"Concentration of the national effort to reduce illegal building and infiltration in the Negev"*. Consultation of the official website, Sept 18, 2016, via http://mops.gov.il/English/PolicingENG/Negev_Land_Law_Enforcement/Pages/default.aspx.

as well as in the West Bank.⁹⁷ The demolitions – the last months they are accelerated – happen at the service of a program for building new exclusive Jewish settlements (the so-called “*Prawer Plan*”, suspended but to be replaced by the “*Ariel Plan*”).⁹⁸ In order to implement that policy Israel Police disposes of a special section: the *Yoav Unit*. E.g. since June 27, 2010, the village al-Araqib has been destroyed 108 times, being rebuild each time by the villagers. These weeks the village Atir-Umm al-Hiran, with its 700 inhabitants, is being demolished, one resident having been shot dead.⁹⁹ A future victim will be the Bedouin community of Khan Al-Ahmar, a demolition order having been delivered for all its 146 houses, their school with 172 students, mosque and medical clinic...¹⁰⁰ Etc.

This racist, forced displacement policy - condemned in international law for being a crime against humanity¹⁰¹ - has been denounced by the UN *Committee for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD)*.¹⁰²

Next to the actual police departments should be included as well in a list of Israel’s forces of repression: the Israel Security Agency (ISA), i.e. Shin Bet (or Shabak), and the regular army (Tsayal, or Israel Defense Forces, IDF). In the occupied West Bank, indeed, in the context of the prevailing martial law, fully armed soldiers serve as a kind

97“According to the Association for Civil Rights in Israel, more than half of approximately 160,000 Negev Bedouins reside in unrecognized villages”, Mersiha Gadzo in: “Arab Bedouins expelled for second time to make way for new Jewish community” (Mondoweiss, Dec 5, 2016), via <http://mondoweiss.net/2016/12/bedouins-expelled-community/> .

98“Demolition and Eviction of Bedouin Citizens of Israel in the Naqab (Negev) - The Prawer Plan” (Adalah), <https://www.adalah.org/en/content/view/7589> (c. 15 Nov 2016), see: Philip Weiss, “Global outcry appears to stop Israeli demolition of Palestinian village to make way for Jewish settlers” (Mondoweiss, Nov 22, 2016), via <http://mondoweiss.net/2016/11/demolition-palestinian-settlers/> .

99Jonathan Cook, “In Umm al-Hiran, it is 'a continuing Nakba' ” (Al Jazeera, 22 Jan 2017), via <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2017/01/umm-al-hiran-continuing-nakba-170122085822718.html> . An other notorious case is Susiya, south Hebron Hills, in the West Bank. The village is under threat of demolition to make way for a neighbouring Jewish settlement that is also called Susiya, see: Max Schindler, “Living on borrowed time: Palestinian village fights for its existence” (+972, Dec 14, 2016), via <https://972mag.com/living-on-borrowed-time-palestinian-village-fights-for-its-existence/123704/> .

100Amira Hass: “The Bulldozers and the Bedouin” (Haaretz, Feb 24, 2017): <http://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-1.773577> , See also: “UN officials visit Bedouin village slated for demolition, call situation 'unacceptable'” (Ma’an, Feb 23, 2017), via <http://www.maannews.com/Content.aspx?ID=775619> . Also: <http://www.rebuildingalliance.org/i-care-about-khan-al-ahmar/> .

101Cf. the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (2002), Article 7.1 and 7.2). PS For a systematic guide aiming “to help non-lawyers understand and apply international law to Israel’s oppressive regime over the entire Palestinian people”, see: “Advocating Palestinian Rights in conformity with International Law - Guidelines” (Feb 2014), http://stopthewall.org/sites/default/files/Guidelines_Eng_FINAL.pdf (c. 1 Oct 2016).

102The policy was condemned by the UN *Committee for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination*, 80th Session, 13 February – 9 March 2012, “*Concluding Observations*”, Nr. 20.

of colonial police force, performing routine police tasks such as manning the checkpoints and roadblocks, patrolling streets and vicinities, protecting Israeli citizens (i.e. colonists), arresting people, etc. The effect on the “morale” of the army is summarized by Uri Avnery:¹⁰³

“For more than 40 years now, the army has not fought a real war against a real military. It has deteriorated into a colonial police force, the instrument of a system of oppression of another people. In the performance of this role, many acts of brutality are committed every day.”

In order to lower the costs of the occupation, though, surveillance tasks at the checkpoints are often privatized (e.g. G4S). These civilian “security guards” are as “trigger happy” as the soldiers and the Border Police.¹⁰⁴

The infamous paramilitary Border Police (*Magav*) is a division of Israel’s national police. In practice it is a hybrid between the police and the army (joining it counts as an alternative to military service). On the website of the Ministry its task is spelled out as: “the multi-purpose force deals with problems relating to public security, terror, severe crime, rioting, guarding sensitive sites and securing rural areas.”¹⁰⁵

In fact, its units carry out crack-downs, arrests, raids, aggressions and even killings in Palestinian neighborhoods.¹⁰⁶ They are deployed in East-Jerusalem: protecting extremist colonists, for example, in their raids on the Al-Aqsa mosque, or making arbitrary arrests, not only of adults but of children as well,¹⁰⁷ but they are also active in the West Bank, alongside the IDF. A special unit of it is engaged in undercover activities (e.g. during demonstrations, making arrests).¹⁰⁸ Despite the ethnical diversity of the

103In his weekly column, “*The Great Rift*” (25 Feb 2017), via <http://zope.gush-shalom.org/home/en/channels/avnery> .

104E.g.: “*Court drops charges against Israeli security guards over killing of Palestinian siblings*” (Ma’an, Oct 27, 2016): <http://www.maannews.com/Content.aspx?id=773744>. Due to a “*lack of evidence*” charges against the two guards have been dropped, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/charges-dropped-in-shooting-of-palestinian-siblings-at-qalandiya/> .

105Cf. <http://mops.gov.il/English/PolicingENG/Police/Pages/BorderPolice60.aspx>.

106Cf. Mondoweiss, Oct 20, 2016, “*Israelis ‘train with stun grenades’ among civilians*”, <http://mondoweiss.net/2016/10/training-palestinian-neighborhood/>.

107The new film of Addameer : « *Precarious Childhood: Arrests of Jerusalemite Children* », https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0uDPeED_RPk .

108The BP actually incorporates two special units: (1) YAMAM (acronym for “*Special Central Unit*”), i.e. “*an Israeli elite counter-terrorism unit*”, zie: <http://www.special-ops.org/1309/yamam-special-unit-of-israel-border-police/> , c. 12 Oct, 2016); and (2) YASAM, i.e. de “*Special Patrol Unit*”, “*a riot police unit dedicated to continuous security, riot and crowd control, and other special operations*”, see: Wikipedia, <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yasam> , c. 12 Oct, 2016). “*Their operatives are often sent to undercover mission into Palestinian-controlled territories where they wear Arab clothing to look like Palestinians as they carry out their missions*”, see: <http://www.special-ops.org/5202/idf-mistaravim-yamas/> (c. 12 Oct, 2016).

corps, its personnel is feared for its brutality, against children as well,¹⁰⁹ and their use of excessive, even lethal violence.¹¹⁰

Already at the time of its creation, the name of the corps was marked in blood. The infamous police massacre, indeed, sixty years ago, on 29 October 1956, at Kafr Qasim – 48 men, women (one of them pregnant) and children coming home from their fields were slaughtered – was perpetrated by a unit of the recently created Border Police.¹¹¹

Arrests and detentions are an essential tool in Israel's racist policy of discrimination and oppression of the Palestinian people. It suffices to take a look at the numbers and percentages of arrests and imprisonments of "Jews" versus "non-Jews" within Israel.¹¹² While "non-Jews" make up at the most 25% of the Israeli population, 60% of people arrested by Israeli police between 2011 and 2015 were "non-Jews". With minors the disparity is even greater: 88% of minors arrested for "security offenses" were "non-Jews"; also, 86% of minors arrested for bodily crimes were classified as "non-Jews".¹¹³ Equally, 60% of arrests that resulted in indictments were of "non-Jews". The same goes for explicitly "Arab" prisoners.¹¹⁴ Figures got from the Israel Prison Service reveal that the number of Arab prisoners is more than twice the number of Jewish ones, even though they make up only 20 percent of the general population.

"Among juvenile delinquents the gaps are even more staggering: out of 281 minors held by IPS, only 100 are Jewish, 160 are Arabs, and "others" comprise 21 inmates. If we take into account the number of Palestinian minors in Israeli custody (511,

109Recent instances, (1) "Israeli Border Police fire black sponge round at chest of 10-year-old boy in a-Ram, killing him" (B'Tselem, Aug 3, 2016), via: http://www.btselem.org/firearms/20160802_killing_of_muhyi_a_din_a_tabakhi. And (2), "Horrific Video Shows Israeli Border Police Terrorize 8-yo Palestinian Girl and Steal Her Bike" (The Free Thought Project, Aug 3, 2016), via: <http://thefreethoughtproject.com/israeli-police-terrorize-palestinian-girl/>.

110Gideon Levy & Alex Levac: "Thirty Bullets to Take Down a Teen With a Knife" (Haaretz, Nov 4, 2016), <http://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-1.750897>.

111"Thousands mark 60 years since police massacre at Arab town" (The Times of Israel, Oct 29, 2016), <http://www.timesofisrael.com/thousands-mark-60-years-since-police-massacre-at-arab-town/>. In 2014 President Reuven Rivlin laid a wreath during the annual memorial of the massacre.

112Noam Rotem, "60% of people arrested by Israeli police are 'non-Jews'" (+972, June 1, 2016), <http://972mag.com/60-of-people-arrested-by-israeli-police-are-non-jews/119696/>.

113Henceforth: "New Israeli law allows children as young as 12 to be jailed" (Defense for Children International – Palestine, Aug 11, 2016): http://www.dci-palestine.org/new_israeli_law_allows_children_as_young_as_12_to_be_jailed (The new law impacts children living under Israeli civilian law, while for Palestinian children living in the occupied West Bank, Israeli military law already allows for any person 12 years and older to be imprisoned.)

114Noam Rotem, "In the Jewish state, most prisoners are Arabs" (+972, Sept 2, 2016), <http://972mag.com/in-the-jewish-state-most-prisoners-are-arabs/121686/>, referring to the report "Lethal in Disguise – The Health Consequences of Crowd Control Weapons" (2016).

according to B'Tselem), the proportion of Jewish inmates drops to a mere 13 percent."

Palestinians of Israel (so-called "*Israeli Arabs*") are nominally citizens of the Israeli state. Although better off than the non-citizens in the West Bank and Gaza, this minority has long suffered discrimination and mistreatment at the hands of Israeli authorities. Unfair budgeting and planning, land confiscations, surveillance and political suppression, even outright state violence, are some of the methods used to marginalize almost a fifth of the country's population.

They are regularly victims, indeed, of racist and discriminatory police violence, such as: arbitrary arrests, of minors as well (once even a 9 years old child), brutalities and abuse, etc.¹¹⁵ Police behaviour was denounced by *Adalah – The Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel*:¹¹⁶

"Brutal and repressive acts undertaken by the Israeli police against Palestinian citizens and residents of Israel include the arbitrary arrests of minors; 'preventive arrests' of activists/protest organizers to thwart demonstrations; arrests of activists' family members to pressure them; and severe physical violence against protestors, and in particular, Palestinians in East Jerusalem".

Widely applied by the military against Palestinians living in the occupied West Bank (below), the practice of "*administrative*" detention (without a trial) against Palestinian citizens of Israel increased considerably in the past 12 months. The data indicate that the number of such detention orders issued for Israeli citizens jumped from zero in 2014 to 20 within the past year. Most of them were issued against Palestinian citizens.¹¹⁷

In the West Bank Palestinians are subject to (the military orders issued under) Israeli martial law,¹¹⁸ in contradistinction to Jewish colonists: living in the same territory in violation of international law, the latter are full Israeli citizens and subject to Israeli civil law. Accordingly, the Israeli State maintains two different legal systems in the

¹¹⁵Violating the *International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination* (entry into force 4 January 1969), see list at the back.

¹¹⁶E.g.: "*Israeli police acting above the law, taking brutal measures to suppress legitimate protest of Palestinian citizens of Israel*" (Adalah, Oct 11, 2015, c. Sept 5, 2016). Another example (with the involvement of the special patrol and security unit Yassam, the victims being Bedouin, see: Amira Hass, "*Israel's Justice System Blames the Victims, and Violent Cops Go Unpunished*" (Haaretz, Dec 26, 2016), via <http://www.haaretz.com/.premium-1.761360> .

¹¹⁷Charlotte Silver, "*Israel seeks greater use of detention without trial*" (The Electronic Intifada, 2 Nov 2016), <https://electronicintifada.net/blogs/charlotte-silver/israel-seeks-greater-use-detention-without-trial> .

¹¹⁸Since 1967 nearly 1,700 military orders have been issued. On the military justice system in the West Bank, see the report of B'Tselem, "*Presumed Guilty: Remand in Custody by Military Courts in the West Bank*" (June 2015). Also the report of Defense for Children International – Palestine: "*No Way to Treat a Child. Palestinian Children in the Israeli Military Detention System*", ch. 4: "*Israeli military court system*" (April, 2016).

same territory. This context of apartheid being given, Military Order 101 in particular plays a central role in the oppression of the indigenous population. Under its command almost every participation in social and political activities is punishable. Israel denies the Palestinians their right to peaceful resistance, branding every expression of it as an act of “terrorism”. When resistance is accompanied with violence, or even just a semblance of it, the Palestinian person involved: man, woman, boy or girl, is often summarily executed.¹¹⁹ Merely arbitrary killings, though, happen as well: e.g. Mustafa Nimir, shot dead in his car, while being on his way home with food and baby clothing.¹²⁰ Since October 2015, with the start of what has been called a wave of unrest, a Palestinian upheaval, a “youths intifada” or the “Jerusalem Intifada” (in the Western media: the “knife intifada”), the intensification of deadly violence in the occupied Palestinian territory and Israel led to more than 265 Palestinian victims (children as well) and many thousands of wounded (on the Israeli side 47 persons were killed).¹²¹ A Palestinian living in the West Bank has no civil rights. All kinds of reasons suffice to get him or her brutalized and detained (or worse): e.g. suspicious behaviour or a critical remark at a checkpoint; or just... laughing¹²²; being in the wrong place at the wrong time; membership of a political or religious organization that does not suit Israel;¹²³ union, cultural or social activities; trouble with the occupier’s bureaucracy (permits, etc.); waving a Palestinian flag; criticism on Facebook and other social media.¹²⁴ Human rights defenders in particular are prime targets:

119E.g.: “Five days, four children shot dead” (DCIP, Sept 22, 2016). Over the last year, Israeli forces have killed at least 57 Palestinian children, implementing a ‘shoot-to-kill’ policy in response to alleged attacks.

120<http://www.maannews.com/Content.aspx?id=773009> (Ma’an, Sept 5, 2016). Cf. Ariyana Love: “85 Percent of Palestinians Killed by Israel were Extrajudicially Executed” (Middle East Rising, Jan 24, 2016), via <http://www.middleeastrising.com/85-percent-of-palestinians-killed-by-israel-were-extra-judicially-executed/>.

121See the documented overview (with a list of all the names) by Chloe Benoist, “Death in numbers: A year of violence in the occupied Palestinian territory and Israel” (Ma’an, Oct 4, 2016) via <http://www.maannews.com/Content.aspx?id=773407>.

122Lori Rudolph, “In Tel Rumeida you can be arrested for laughing” (Mondoweiss, Nov 1, 2016), <http://mondoweiss.net/2016/11/rumeida-arrested-laughing/>.

123All Palestinian political parties are criminalized by Israel and are deemed to be illegal organizations.

124E.g.: initially being ordered to administrative detention, astrophysicist Prof. Imad Barghouthi of Al-Quds University was convicted for “incitement” on his Facebook page. The number of “likes” and “shares” his posts received was cited by the prosecutor as “evidence” for the charges. Following an outcry of hundreds of international academics and scientists, he was released on Nov 4, 2016: <http://samidoun.net/2016/11/palestinian-astrophysicist-imad-barghouthi-released-after-over-six-months-in-israeli-prison/>. Should be mentioned as well the poet Doreen Tatour: she is charged with incitement to violence and support for a terrorist organization because of a poem she published on YouTube (“Resist My People, Resist Them”). See now: “200 Israeli cultural icons call to release Palestinian poet under house arrest” (+972, Oct 22, 2016), via <http://972mag.com/200-israeli-cultural-icons-call-to-release-palestinian-poet-under-house-arrest/122753/>.

“Human rights defenders are subjected to acts of harassment, restrictions on freedom of movement, stigmatisation, abductions, long periods of arbitrary detention usually under administrative detention orders, illegal searches of their homes and offices and killings.”¹²⁵

A special mention in these days of busy online traffic deserves Israeli obsessive espionage of Palestinian social media (by the infamous Unit 8200). Especially young people are its victims: no less than 35% of them in the West Bank said they had already been arrested for something they had posted on the social media or privately written to a friend using online resources:¹²⁶

“The fact that almost 20 per cent — that’s one in five — of Palestinian youth within historic Palestine have been arrested as a result of something they wrote online is a truly staggering statistic. It demonstrates Israel’s obsessive desire to control all aspects of Palestinian life. In this context, though, as disturbing as it is, it is merely another phase in a long history of social control by Israel’s brutal military occupation, which has simply been updated to take advantage of the social network era.”

The hundreds of checkpoints scattered over the West Bank offer unlimited occasions to soldiers and border police for violence. Being either permanent, provisional, “flying”, mobile or seasonable, they split up the Palestinian territory into a multitude of helpless, unconnected enclosures. Together with the many gates in the Separation Wall, they rob the Palestinians of their freedom of movement and of their time, make their daily life unpredictable and disrupting their social life.¹²⁷ At the same time, they are the locus of their humiliation and dehumanization, being aimed at depriving them of their dignity. Even a town like Al-Khalil (Hebron) is purposefully fragmented by no less than 17 permanent checkpoints:

“The official rationale of ‘security reasons’ for the implementation of this checkpoint-regime seems pointless. If soldiers are asleep at checkpoints, unaware of their surroundings, how are they really maintaining security? Instead, the checkpoints serve the purpose of fragmentation and humiliation. They lead to the fragmentation of Palestinian civilian neighborhoods: dividing neighborhoods in the same city from each other by fenced off checkpoints, separating families from

¹²⁵Via <https://www.frontlinedefenders.org/en/location/occupied-palestinian-territory> : “People considered to be human rights defenders in the OPT include journalists, lawyers, medical workers, fieldworkers, international volunteers who act as independent observers and carry out human rights work and defenders working for economic, social and cultural rights”.

¹²⁶Asa Winstanley, “Almost 20% of Palestinian youth have faced arrest after online postings” (MEMo, Feb 28, 2017), via <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20170228-almost-20-of-palestinians-have-faced-arrest-after-online-postings/>. Recently a young man was sentenced to 1 year in prison (7 March 2017).

¹²⁷ Amira Hass: “Palestinian Time in Israeli Hands. Hours a day, every day, at every gate in the separation fence, at every checkpoint, at every vehicle inspection post, Palestinians’ lives come to a halt as they wait for armed Israeli soldiers to let them go past” (Haaretz, Jan 4, 2017, via <http://www.haaretz.com/opinion/.premium-1.762878> .

*work, schools, medical care, basic necessities such as cooking gas or a pack of rice. Additionally, the checkpoints perpetuate the all too common humiliation of Palestinian civilians by the Israeli forces.”*¹²⁸

The different permits to be checked every time make the crossings into a place where the colonial State implements a crafty, social differentiation and antagonism among the colonized population. The checkpoints offer also many opportunities to the IDF soldiers, Border Police and guards for giving free rein to their racist feelings and paranoia, conducive to harassments, arbitrary arrests, aggressions and even summary killings.¹²⁹ Crossing a checkpoint, that is, at any time of the day, being on his or her way to his or her job, his or her school, a medical center, etc., confronts a Palestinian resident of the West Bank, male, female or child, with unforeseeable risks, even to his or her life.¹³⁰ No wonder, the so-called “*lone-rebellion*” since October 2015 focused on checkpoints.

*“The general complications in the daily life of Palestinians and the violations of their freedom of movement caused by the checkpoints can be compared to the Group Areas Act (1950) which was implemented in South Africa under the Apartheid regime.”*¹³¹

“*No civil rights*” as well, when Palestinians, youths or adults, are the victim of acts of violence and aggression by colonists. In the West Bank, we noticed, the army is responsible for policing and maintaining law and order, regularly supported, though, by the Border Police. Nevertheless, according to Israeli human rights organization *Yesh Din*, soldiers most of the time stand idly by in the face of offenses committed by

128 “*The checkpoint regime: Israel and the fragmentation of Palestinian society*” (International Solidarity Movement, Jan 31, 2017), via: <https://palsolidarity.org/2017/01/the-checkpoint-regime-israel-and-the-fragmentation-of-palestinian-society> .

129 E.g. “*On Monday, Israeli security guards at Qalandiya checkpoint shot and killed Jihad Muhammad Said Khalil, 48, after he allegedly drew a knife and then engaged in a fistfight with a guard. He is the 240th Palestinian killed in the last 14 months in the series of lone-rebellions*” (Mondoweiss, Nov 23, 2016), via <http://mondoweiss.net/2016/11/neutralize-checkpoint-palestinian/> .

130 Gideon Levy & Alex Levac: “*A Palestinian Was Standing Still at a Checkpoint. Why Did Israeli Troops Shoot Him Dead?*” (Haaretz, Feb 24, 2017) via <http://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-1.773456> .

131 “*Interview: experiences from dealing with the checkpoints*” (Stop the Wall, Oct 31, 2013), via <http://www.stopthewall.org/interview-experiences-dealing-checkpoints>. Also: Le Monde Diplomatique, Sept 2015 (with a series of pictures : “*Checkpoint Chronicle*”, par Sandra Mehl) : “*La cérémonie de l'humiliation*”, by Abaher El Sakka (Birzeit Univ.), via (intro): http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2015/09/EL_SAKKA/53684 (c. 11 Nov 2016). As well as : “*Restriction of Movement: Checkpoints, Physical Obstructions, and Forbidden Roads*” (B'Tselem, update 20 May 2015): http://www.btselem.org/freedom_of_movement/checkpoints_and_forbidden_roads.

colonists: e.g. assaulting children or farmers,¹³² destroying olive trees, harvests, water tanks, etc.¹³³ Palestinian official complaints are mostly put aside:

*“According to official statistics, police complaints filed by Palestinians in the West Bank have a mere 1.9% rate of being effectively investigated, and a suspect identified, prosecuted and convicted. This figure suggests grave concerns regarding Israel’s claims to be effectively enforcing the law in the OPT”.*¹³⁴

The Israel national police that operates out of the West Bank and investigates cases of settlers’ aggressions, has been called “terrible”, i.e. terribly incompetent; “they’ve also been caught a number of times ruining investigations by having shoddy police work.”¹³⁵

The same goes for damages caused by the army or the operatives of the security forces: over the past 20 years, Israel has assembled an entire system to ensure it won’t have to pay compensation to Palestinians harmed by security forces in the occupied territories.

*“It is almost impossible for Palestinians to file successful civil suits against the Israeli military for harm caused to them in the occupied territories, thereby leaving them with no effective avenues for recourse, according to a report published by Israeli human rights clearinghouse B’Tselem on Wednesday.”*¹³⁶

Not surprisingly, also because of the risks of repression or harassment, Palestinians often avoid complaining to the police.¹³⁷ In general, in matters of damages suffered from the army or the police, Israel has imposed numerous obstacles to discourage

132“*We will kill you!': Israeli settlers attack Palestinians harvesting olives*” (Mondoweiss, Nov14, 2016), via <http://mondoweiss.net/2016/11/settlers-palestinians-harvesting/>. A very recent example of criminal behaviour: “*Israeli settlers attack Palestinian house in Hebron with Molotov cocktails*” (Wafa, Nov 22, 2016), via <http://english.wafa.ps/page.aspx?id=bThDeYa51700174713abThDeY>.

133“*Standing Idly By: IDF soldiers’ inaction in the face of offenses perpetrated by Israelis against Palestinians in the West Bank*” (Yesh Din, Jan 21, 2015). Alternatively, “*somehow, when it comes to protecting Palestinians it turns out (the army) just shoots tear gas at them and sometimes uses force against them and detains them – and only them*” (Yesh Din, “*When 'security' means training in a Muslim cemetery*”, +972, Nov 7, 2013), via <http://972mag.com/when-security-means-training-in-a-muslim-cemetery/81454/>).

134“*UN Committee against Torture reviews Israel, concluding observations to be published on 13 May 2016*”. Yesh Din: “*Data Sheet October 2015: law enforcement on Israeli citizens who harm Palestinians and their property in the West Bank*” (Oct 27, 2015). Also the reports of B’Tselem: “*The Occupation’s Fig Leaf: Israel’s Military Law Enforcement System as a Whitewash Mechanism*” (May 2016), and:

135Thus an American Israeli, speaking in a New York synagogue, in his speech “*The West Bank without spin*”, quoted in: Philip Weiss, “*One-state solution gets fairer shake in a NY synagogue than it gets in NY Times or MSNBC*” (Mondoweiss, Dec 26, 2016), via <http://mondoweiss.net/2016/12/solution-fairer-synagogue/>.

136Michael Schaeffer Omer-Man, “*Who pays when Palestinians are harmed by Israeli forces?*” (+972, March 8, 2017), via: <https://972mag.com/who-pays-when-palestinians-are-harmed-by-israeli-forces/125724/> The report: “*Getting Off Scot-Free: Israel’s Refusal to Compensate Palestinians for Damages Caused by Its Security Forces*” (March 2017, 54p.).

137“*Avoiding complaining to police: facts and figures on Palestinian victims of offenses who decide not to file complaints with the police*” (Yesh Din, August 2, 2016).

Palestinians from going to court. According to Jamil Dakwar, a former senior attorney with Adalah, Palestinians are confronted with *“a pattern where the Israeli judicial system has become another arm of the occupation, approving the worst policies of the Israeli military since 1967.”*¹³⁸

Demonstrations as well offer a regular occasion for excessive violence and arrests, in the West Bank and at the fences of the Gaza Strip.¹³⁹ Palestinians, because living under military law and being robbed of other civil rights as well, are denied the right to demonstrate. People demonstrate. Israeli soldiers give chase. On the sidelines, Israeli settlers stand by, grinning under the protection of the soldiers. In comparison to police behavior inside Israel, the army and Border Police are used to respond with even greater brutality. Confronted with unarmed people, not only so-called *“less-lethal”* crowd control weapons are brought into action (which nonetheless can be lethal, particularly for children),¹⁴⁰ but downright live fire is regularly used as well: firing rubber-coated bullets, sponge-tipped bullets or even live bullets, eventually by army snipers.¹⁴¹ Not infrequently, collective punishments are applied,¹⁴² e.g. gassing a whole village or a refugee camp with tear gas (with serious, eventually deadly effects on children and elderly people), spraying *“Skunk water”* on people and houses,¹⁴³ placing road blocks, etc.

Most arrests, better: most kidnappings happen at night or predawn, by armed military or police raids and incursions into villages, refugee camps and towns.¹⁴⁴ Every night, adults and children are terrorized by heavily armed soldiers blowing up their front door and bursting into their homes. Under loud shouting and threats, furniture

138Charlotte Silver, *“Family of boy paralyzed by Israel sues for damages”* (The Electronic Intifada, 31 Jan 2017), via <https://electronicintifada.net/content/family-boy-paralyzed-israel-sues-damages/19381>.

139“Palestinian medical sources have reported that one Palestinian was killed on Friday evening, and three others were injured, after Israeli soldiers stationed across the border fence opened fire on Palestinian protesters in central Gaza and east of Gaza city” (IMEMC, Nov 18, 2016), via <http://imemc.org/article/israeli-army-kills-one-palestinian-injures-three-others-in-gaza/>.

140Cf. the report of B’Tselem: *“Crowd Control. Israel’s Use of Crowd Control Weapons in the West Bank”*, Jan 2013. Recently at the Gaza Strip’s fence a Palestinian boy was killed, being shot in the face with a illumination flare, cf. Haggai Matar, *“IDF soldiers shoot flare at teen’s face, killing him”* (+972, Oct 15, 2016): <http://972mag.com/idf-soldiers-shoot-flare-at-teens-face-killing-him/122645/>.

141Natasha Roth: *“Under Fire in the West Bank”* (London Review of Books, Jan 28, 2015) via: <http://www.lrb.co.uk/blog/2015/01/28/natasha-roth/under-fire-in-the-west-bank/> (c. Oct 30). Also: *“ACRI: End the Use of Dangerous New Bullets”* (24 March, 2015), via <http://www.acri.org.il/en/2015/03/24/black-bullets/>.

142“International law prohibits the imposition of collective punishment in occupied territories. Art. 33 (1) of the 1949 Fourth Geneva Convention to which Israel is a party and which applies to occupied territories, provides that *“no person may be punished for an offence he or she has not personally committed”*”. See as well: UNRWA, *“Statement on Hebron Closures”*, July 25, 2016.

143Among crowd-control weapons *“Skunk Water”* is an Israeli invention: the chemical liquid produces an unbearable, foul stench, staying for days on your body, your clothes, your house, etc. After Ferguson (USA) the formula has been bought by the police of Saint-Louis.

and belongings are ransacked and, not rarely, seized (e.g. mobiles, laptops). Adults and children are beaten up (sometimes shot)¹⁴⁵ and brutally arrested in their bed. Hand tied, blindfolded and abused they are forcefully abducted to an unknown destination.¹⁴⁶ In the words of Gideon Levy and Alex Levac:¹⁴⁷

“This is a type of anxiety that no Israeli civilian is familiar with: nights when sleep is marred by the noise of soldiers moving about, gunshots, armored vehicles outside the window, stun grenades and explosives in an adjacent alley. Night after night. Soldiers who storm the house rowdily, after blowing up the front door. Children who wake up in a fright to the sight of masked, heavily armed figures during dead-of-night kidnappings euphemistically called “arrests.””

From the point of view of police and soldiers, causing this kind of nightly terror is just “routine”, be it probably an exciting one.¹⁴⁸ Its political purpose is clear:¹⁴⁹

“Night arrests frighten, threaten, and intimidate Palestinian families and communities throughout the occupied West Bank, particularly ones that organize weekly protests or are located near illegal Jewish-only settlements. Arresting children from their homes in the middle of the night, ill-treating them during arrest and interrogation, and prosecuting them in military courts that lack basic fair trial guarantees, works to stifle dissent and control an occupied population.”

A similar, only still more terrifying military practice – “to ensure the Palestinians feel our presence, so that they are scared” – is that of unannounced, large-scale army

144E.g.: “According to UN documentation, the Israeli army carried out 186 detention raids from Sept. 6 to 19” (Ma’an, Oct 16, 2016): “Israeli forces detain 20 in predawn military raids across occupied West Bank”, via <http://www.maannews.com/Content.aspx?id=773586>. And: “The Israeli army conducted at least 100 raids and arrested approximately 120 Palestinians in the West Bank, including 29 children, in the first two weeks of December alone, according to the UN monitoring group OCHA”, in: “Israeli officer threatens to kill Palestinian youth and his family” (Nora Barrows-Friedman, The Electronic Intifada, Dec 23, 2016), via <https://electronicintifada.net/blogs/nora-barrows-friedman/israeli-officer-threatens-kill-palestinian-youth-and-his-family>.

145“Israeli army kills Palestinian in West Bank Faraa camp” (Al Jazeera, Jan 10, 2017), via www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/01/israeli-army-kills-palestinian-west-bank-faraa-camp-170110065046834.html.

146One example : “Israeli forces detain 11 Palestinians, including 4 minors, in overnight raids” (Ma’an, March 29, 2017), via: <http://www.maannews.com/Content.aspx?id=776177> For a vivid description : Gideon Levy : « Bonjour du compte Twitter de l’armée israélienne » (Investig’Action, 15 novembre 2016) via <http://www.investigaction.net/bonjour-du-compte-twitter-de-larmee-israelienne/>.

147“‘State of Jenin’: A Palestinian Refugee Camp Raided by Israeli Troops Night After Night” (Haaretz, Feb 10, 2017), via <http://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-1.770743>

148Een example of an “ordinary” day: “After Kidnapping 20 In Jerusalem, Army Kidnaps Six Palestinians Several Parts Of The West Bank” (IMEMC, Oct 23, 2016), <http://imemc.org/article/after-kidnapping-21-in-jerusalem-army-kidnaps-six-palestinians-several-parts-of-the-west-bank/>.

149DCI-P report, “No Way to Treat a Child”, p. 28. Gideon Levy & Alex Levac: “An Israeli Army Tactic: Intimidating Palestinian Children in the Night” (Haaretz, Jan 12, 2017), via <http://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-1.764648>

exercises, with full infantry, shootings, stun grenades, explosives, tanks and combat helicopters, in the midst of Palestinian villages and towns.¹⁵⁰

Particularly children and minors are persecuted by the occupying forces: hundreds of vulnerable children in East Jerusalem and other areas of Palestine face daily harassment, arrest and abuse. As recorded by the human rights organization Badil:

“The systematic targeting of Palestinians, particularly youth, by Israeli military forces throughout the occupied Palestinian territory (oPt) has intensified since the beginning of 2016. This targeting has taken the form of injuries and arbitrary killings by the use of live ammunition by the Israeli army in the context of arrest campaigns, military raids and random wide searches which usually trigger clashes. The preliminary investigation conducted by BADIL Resource Center for Residency and Refugee Rights (BADIL) shows that these actions represent an Israeli policy that constitutes a grave breach of international law and could amount to an international crime.”¹⁵¹

One example: the youths of Dheisheh refugee camp (near Bethlehem) are systematically targeted with raids and arrests by an Israeli army unit under the command of a notoriously aggressive officer with Israel’s domestic intelligence agency Shin Bet. Going by the alias “Captain Nidal,” he has threatened to make “*all youth in the camp disabled*” (shooting them in their knees or limbs).

“Under Captain Nidal’s directives, at least 18 youths – between 14 and 27 years old – were shot in their legs in July and August alone, as The Electronic Intifada reported. Eight were shot directly in the knee and several more in both legs. (...) During confrontations between invading Israeli forces and camp youth on 12 December, soldiers shot and injured four Palestinians in their lower limbs, an indication that a long-standing pattern of targeting youths to cause deliberate injuries is continuing.”¹⁵²

So-called “*administrative*” detainees make up a special category of prisoners. Addameer’s documentation unit figures that between 1 January 2016 and 30 November 2016, there were 1586 total administrative detention orders issued, among them 588 new orders and 998 renewed orders. During November 2016, the occupation

¹⁵⁰In the words of a former Israeli soldier: “*Imagine a massive amount of infantry troops all around, with explosions shaking the earth under your feet. Tanks and attack helicopters open fire as soldiers run through the village setting off stun grenades*” (Shay Davidovich, “*For Israeli soldiers, some Palestinians are little more than props*”, +972, Nov 3, 2013, via <http://972mag.com/for-israeli-soldiers-palestinians-are-little-more-than-props/81381/>).

¹⁵¹“*Israeli forces targeting Palestinian youth in the West Bank* (23 August 2016)

¹⁵²Nora Barrows-Freedman, “*Israeli officer threatens to kill Palestinian youth and his family*” (The Electronic Intifada, Dec 23, 2016), via <https://electronicintifada.net/blogs/nora-barrows-friedman/israeli-officer-threatens-kill-palestinian-youth-and-his-family> . E.g. Gideon Levy & Alex Levac: “*An Israeli Army Tactic: Intimidating Palestinian Children in the Night*” (Haaretz, Jan 12, 2017) via <http://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-1.764648> .

authorities issued more than 111 administrative detention orders, including 32 new orders and 79 renewed orders.¹⁵³ Article 285 of Military Order 1651 being applied, detention in this case happens for so-called “*security reasons*” based on “*secret information*”. Since there is no official charge or trial, defending oneself before a judge is impossible.¹⁵⁴

“*Administrative detention*” was introduced during the British Mandate as an emergency measure against the imminent threat of an attack. The Israeli State, though, made it into one of its central policies. Like other criminal practices against Palestinians (e.g. house demolitions, night raids, a.o.), an unmistakable escalation is going on in its adoption.¹⁵⁵ This kind of persecution amounts to a form of psychological warfare against prisoners (children and women as well) and their families. At the same time it is an attempt to disrupt Palestinian political, social and cultural life.¹⁵⁶

“Any colonial regime aims to destroy the cultural integrity of its subject population as a means to degrading and destroying its social life. Israel is no exception to this”.

Notably political leaders, community organisers, cultural workers and journalists are targeted.¹⁵⁷ The systematic use of administrative detention is a violation of the Geneva Convention (it being a case of torture as defined by Art. 147); according to the “*Rome Statute of the ICC*”, Art. 8(2), it is a war crime. It has been condemned many times by the *UN Commission for Human Rights*.¹⁵⁸ The arbitrariness here is complete: the detention order for a period of six months is renewable indefinitely, without reason given (the longest “*administrative*” detention up to now went on for 10 years), and even when people have been released, they are often arrested again.¹⁵⁹ Not surprisingly, then, this kind of detainment causes severe psychological suffering amounting to torture. It induces feelings of helplessness and lack of control and the detainee, being separated

153Addameer: “*Israeli Forces Issue 1586 Administrative Detention Orders Since January 2016*” (Nov 30, 2016) via <http://www.addameer.org/news/israeli-forces-issue-1586-administrative-detention-orders-january-2016>. Most recently: “*Israel issues 35 administrative detention orders against Palestinians*” (Ma’an, Jan 31), via <http://www.maannews.com/Content.aspx?id=775223> (between 18-31 Jan).

154Talal Jabari, “*Administrative detention: 'Because I said so' ruling*” (+972, 14 August, 2016) via: <http://972mag.com/administrative-detention-because-i-said-so-ruling/110377/>.

155E.g. “*Palestinians protest as 99 administrative detention orders issued in February by Israeli military courts*” (Samidoun, March, 2017) via <http://samidoun.net/2017/03/palestinians-protest-as-99-administrative-detention-orders-issued-in-february-by-israeli-military-courts/>.

156David Lloyd, “*Strangled Education: Reporting on higher education in Palestine and Israel*”, (Mondoweiss, Dec 9, 2016), via <http://mondoweiss.net/2016/12/strangled-education-reporting/>.

157E.g. Faisal Mohammad Abu Sakha, clown and trainer at the *Palestinian Circus School*. Arrested at the end of 2015, on his way to his job, in spite of international protest his detention was renewed in June. Recently (Dec 2016) the order was renewed again.

158E.g.: “*Israel’s use of administrative detention against Palestinians draws concern of UN rights office*” (April 10, 2015).

for an indefinite time from his loved ones and associates, lives in a permanent state of waiting. Small wonder, many of them go on hunger strike.

*“Administrative detainees embark on such hunger strikes as a last resort type of political protest and visibility against being reduced to what philosopher Giorgio Agamben calls “bare life” (marginalized and deprived of political significance)”.*¹⁶⁰

Israel, in this way, is exercising a total control over Palestinians’ lives. And it can arrest any Palestinian whenever it chooses to, so long as it chooses to, with an indictment or without one. Not without reason, conditions of life for the Palestinians have been compared to conditions of slavery:¹⁶¹

“When we (...) ask sociologically what kind of life this is, we are compelled to observe that a large quantity of Palestinians live in conditions in which their freedom, honor, physical integrity, capacity to work, acquire property, marry and, more generally, plan for the future are alienated to the will and power of their Israeli masters. These conditions can only be named by their proper name: conditions of slavery. “

According to the *Palestinian Prisoner Affairs Ministry* between 1967 and 2012 some 800.000 people were apprehended and incarcerated, i.e. as much as 40% of the total male population. Almost every Palestinian family, you could say, has been confronted with the detention of at least one family member, with all the disruption this necessarily implies (loss of the head of family, of the mother, of a loved one, of a child...).¹⁶² Not infrequently, the arrest of a suspect is followed by collective punishment, against his family, village, refugee camp...: e.g. demolition of the family home, closure of the access roads to a village or camp, annulment of permits, etc.

PS We cannot enter into it, here, but it is obvious that this never-ending Israeli policy of oppression and occupation against a defenseless population should have its effects on the moral sense and self-awareness of the general Israeli public. Among the younger Israeli artists, journalists and intellectuals this is signaled, for example, by the writer Nir Baram (he is called the “*new Grossman*”):

¹⁵⁹Infamous is the case of Bilal Kayed: immediately after completing his 14.5-year sentence in Israeli prison, 13 June 2016, he was ordered to “*administrative detention*”. In June-August he conducted a 71-day hunger strike. 12 Dec he was finally released (Samidoun, <http://us8.campaign-archive2.com/?u=aeb5550176fd8ccc29dd78fe0&id=fc97c37479&e=9669ad2756>).

¹⁶⁰Addameer. Cf. the report: “*Induced Desperation: The Psychological Torture of Administrative Detention*” (26 June 2016). And: “*When Hunger is the Only Option*” (Budour Youssef Hassan, The Electronic Intifada, 6 Oct 2016), via <https://electronicintifada.net/content/when-hunger-only-option/18166>. Very recently: Addameer’s docu film, “*Life on Hold: The Policy of Administrative Detention*,” on <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gpu875Zpkto>.

¹⁶¹See: Eva Illouz, “*47 Years a Slave: A New Perspective on the Occupation*” (Haaretz, Feb 7, 2014): <http://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-1.572880> (c. Sept 3, 2016).

¹⁶²Ibid. NB The ministry has been abolished by the PA and replaced with a PLO body.

*“Israel should not be treated as a role model. It became a society of jailers, surrounded by a wall making it into the biggest ghetto in the world. Israel is a rich, high-technological ghetto. Almost any way you go, you bump onto a wall”.*¹⁶³

5. Prison Regime and Interrogation.

Palestinian adults and children in the West Bank are continuously facing arrest, prosecution and imprisonment under an Israeli military detention system that denies them their basic rights.¹⁶⁴ The system consists of a network of military bases, interrogation centres (of the Shin Bet) and detention centers, military courts and police stations in the West Bank, East Jerusalem and in Israel. Some of the latter are established in a colony in the West Bank.¹⁶⁵

Ill-treatment starts from the moment of arrest. Once sentenced before a military court (in the case of minors, before a Juvenile military court),¹⁶⁶ detainees are subjected to harsh conditions, ill-treatment and even torture in a military detention center.¹⁶⁷ Afterwards, the vast majority of them are deported and incarcerated in IPS prisons situated inside Israeli territory. It makes it difficult if not impossible for them to exercise their right to receive visits from their family or get legal counsel, special permits being required for them to enter Israel. Prisoners and their family from the Gaza Strip are punished with extra restrictive measures:¹⁶⁸

“While Israel has a responsibility to ensure that prison visits are carried out safely and securely, the authorities have imposed general limitations on Gaza families’

¹⁶³In an article in De Tijd, 3 Dec 2016, *“Israël is een samenleving van cipiers geworden”* (my translation). Already Amira Hass called her country *“the prison-guard nation”*, in: *“Why Humiliation Became a Routine Tactic in Israeli Prisons”* (Haaretz, July 13, 2016), via <http://www.haaretz.com/opinion/.premium-1.730545>.

¹⁶⁴*“On June 7, 1967, the day Israeli forces occupied the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, Israeli authorities issued Military Proclamation No. 2, which provided the military commander in the area with full legislative, executive, and judicial powers over the West Bank. Since then, Palestinian (adults and) children have been living under Israeli military law and prosecuted in military courts that lack basic due process rights”* (DCI-P, *“No Way to Treat a Child”*, p. 9).

¹⁶⁵For a map of the detention centers in Israel and the West Bank, see: <http://www.addameer.org/prisons-and-detention-centers> (c. 29 Sept 2016).

¹⁶⁶The percentage of convictions before these tribunals is no less than... 99,7%. As to the dealings in military courts see Meredith McBride, *“Separate and Unequal: Inside Israel’s Military Courts, Where the Only Defendants Are Palestinians (The UN says Israel’s West Bank justice system, which tries Palestinians exclusively and has reported an almost 100% conviction rate, violates international law. This is what I saw)”*, Haaretz, March 28, via <http://www.haaretz.com/opinion/.premium-1.779748>.

¹⁶⁷Amnesty International, *“Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories: briefing to the Committee against Torture”* (September 2008). For a list of 20 types of ill-treatment, see the DCI-P report, p. 22.

¹⁶⁸*“Israel: Rules Curtail Gaza Family Visits to Prisoners”* (Human Rights Watch, July 31, 2016), via <https://www.hrw.org/news/2016/07/31/israel-rules-curtail-gaza-family-visits-prisoners>

entry into Israel that unnecessarily hinder visits to incarcerated loved ones. By contrast, family members of the more than 6,000 Palestinian prisoners and detainees from the West Bank are subject to only some of these restrictions, and they can visit relatives more frequently. Family members from Israel are subject only to the conditions that the Israel Prison Service sets."

From a legal point of view, deportation from occupied territory to the territory of the occupier constitutes a severe breach of international law as it has been set down in the Fourth Geneva Convention (art. 49, 76 and 147). The more recent *Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court* (2002, art. 8) classifies the offense as being a war crime.

Statistics: At the end of April 2016, according to the Israeli human rights association *B'Tselem*, 6.293 Palestinians were detained for "political" reasons in an IPS prison; 414 of them were minors (between 11 and 17 y. old);¹⁶⁹ 334 of them were from the Gaza Strip. An extra 749 Palestinians were held for being in Israel illegally, 14 of them from the Gaza Strip.¹⁷⁰ For "political reasons", indeed:

"according to the IPS, an overwhelming majority of prisoners from the West Bank and Gaza (81 percent) are classified as "security prisoners," as opposed to the "criminal prisoners." Being classified a "security prisoner" means being deprived of many of the perks other prisoners are entitled to, such as access to higher education, phone calls, regular visit, and more. Out of 6,283 security prisoners currently held in Israeli prisons, only 31 are Jewish (about 0.5 percent)".¹⁷¹

Should be noted as well: the privatization of Israeli prisons today allows companies to profit off of the political persecution and incarceration of Palestinians. In violation of an Israeli High Court ruling limiting the practice, many Israeli companies, as well as 17 private companies (including G4S, 3M, Motorola, and Hewlett-Packard) administer prison services like wire-tapping, security fencing, and other security systems. The canteen system in the prisons, which began in 1973, is another way Palestinian prisoners are forced into dependency only to be exploited. Addameer's report reveals:

"according to the Israeli government budget, the canteens were estimated to generate \$34.82 million in income for the Israeli Prison Services."

On an individual basis, this means that a prisoner spends approximately \$39.15 a month on hygiene products alone.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁹The usual charge: having thrown stones. Boys can be sentenced with 20 years of imprisonment.

¹⁷⁰"Statistics on Palestinians in the custody of the Israeli security forces", B'Tselem, 11 Sept 2016, and "Statistics on Palestinian minors in the custody of the Israeli security forces", B'Tselem, Sept 9, 2016. As well: "Committee: More than 1,000 Palestinian minors detained by Israel in 2016 so far" (Ma'an, Sept 24, 2016) via <http://www.maannews.com/Content.aspx?id=773281>.

¹⁷¹Noam Rotem, "In the Jewish state, most prisoners are Arabs" (+972, Sept 2, 2016), <http://972mag.com/in-the-jewish-state-most-prisoners-are-arabs/121686/>.

The regime imposed on Palestinian prisoners in IPS jails, first of all implies a whole range of “current” or routine abuses. Most frequent are: beating with batons, kicking, throttling, forcing and keeping the prisoner into painful positions, putting his head into a sac soaked with urine, deprivation of sleep, cursing, threats of arresting family members, humiliations and not providing the prisoner with his essential needs. A frequent way of terrorizing him is placing him for a long time in an isolation cell, i.e. cramped into a space that is too small with only a mattress and eventually a blanket, and separated from one’s comrades.¹⁷³

Prisoners’ life is also made hell by means of a multi-faced policy of: denial of family visits; denial of telephone access; violent night raids by the *Israeli Prison Service Special Forces (Masada)* and nightly inspections; deliberate medical neglect¹⁷⁴; worsening of the living conditions (e.g. invasions of insects or other pests provoking contagious skin diseases, or the prison administration’s refusal to provide adequate sanitary conditions); the daily torment on the floor of the infamous “*bosta*” (police van), during transfers from prison to prison, or to and from courts and hospitals, while being beaten continuously, along the way, by security guards, etc.¹⁷⁵ “*They experience excruciating pain that continues for days especially children and women*”.¹⁷⁶

According to Israeli law, Palestinian citizens should be treated in the same way as Jewish prisoners. In prison (in prison, as well), this is not the case: they are incarcerated together with Palestinian prisoners from the Occupied Territories and are treated in the same way.¹⁷⁷ So-called “*Arab-Israeli security prisoners*” are often imprisoned for many years in inhuman conditions.¹⁷⁸

172 “*The economic exploitation of Palestinian political prisoners*” (Alternative Information Centre, Feb 13, 2017), via: <http://www.alternativenews.org/index.php/headlines/346-the-economic-exploitation-of-palestinian-political-prisoners> . For the Addameer report, “*The Economic Exploitation of Palestinian Political Prisoners*”, 2016, see the list at the end of this dossier.

173 Actually, there is a real “*policy*” of solitary confinement: “[*In this prison*] (t)here are over 20 prisoners held in solitary confinement, and many of them have been held in solitary cells for over three years... Many of these isolated prisoners are also denied family visits, forcing them into a complete isolation from the outside world.” (Wael Jaghoub, IMEMC, Nov 1, 2016), <http://imemc.org/article/2017-the-year-of-prisoners-freedom-challenges-and-ideas-for-action/>.

174 Vide: “*Policy of deliberate medical negligence*” (Addameer, Jan 2016).

175 Ibid. The fact sheet was written inside prison. Wael Jaghoub is a leader in the prisoners’ movement affiliated to the leftist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

176 « *The ‘Bosta’, a journey of endless pain* » (The Palestinian Information Center, Dec 18, 2016, via <https://english.palinfo.com/news/2016/12/18/The-Bosta-a-journey-of-endless-pain> .

177 « *Palestiniens d’Israël, des détenus à part* » (Plateforme Palestine, déc 14, 2016): via <http://plateforme-palestine.org/Palestiniens-d-Israel-des-detenus-a-part-4796>.

178 See Gideon Levy, “*Security Prisoners Are Human Beings*” (Haaretz, Dec 29, 2016), via <http://www.haaretz.com/opinion/.premium-1.761864> .

Medical neglect, in particular, affects in the first place heavily wounded and/or disabled prisoners – their mutilations not unfrequently caused by torture during interrogations:¹⁷⁹

“32 Palestinian prisoners suffering from different disabilities are being held in Israeli detention centers without receiving suitable medical care, according to a report released by the Palestinian Prisoners’ Center for Studies (PPCS) on Sunday [4 Dec]. Center spokesperson Riyad al-Ashqar said in the statement that Israeli use of torture against Palestinian prisoners had dramatically increased the number of disabled prisoners, with many suffering from permanent disabilities due to injuries sustained during violent interrogations. The statement noted that Israel Prison Service (IPS) authorities routinely did not provide disabled and injured prisoners with necessary equipment such as wheelchairs”.

This International Women’s Day, March 8, 2017, there are 55 Palestinian women held in Israeli prisons and detention centers, including 12 girls and 2 administrative detainees held without charge or trial. Among these female prisoners and detainees, 16 are mothers of 58 children.¹⁸⁰ In total, 42 are held in HaSharon Prison and 13 are held in Damon Prison. Testimonies by Palestinian women and girls highlight the brutality of the arrest process as well as conditions inside Israeli interrogation, detention and prison centers and even hospitals while in custody. They are subjected to degrading conditions and various forms of abuse and violence:¹⁸¹

“Both HaSharon and Damon prisons lack a gender-sensitive approach and, as such, women prisoners often suffer from harsh imprisonment conditions including medical negligence, denial of education, denial of family visits, including for mothers with young children, solitary confinement, overcrowded cells which are often filled with insects and dirt, and lack natural light. Personal health and hygiene needs are rarely addressed by prisons authorities, even in cases involving the detention of pregnant women. Moreover, the majority of Palestinian women prisoners are subjected to some form of psychological torture and ill-treatment throughout the process of their arrest and detention, including various forms of sexual violence that occur such as beatings, insults, threats, body searches, and sexually explicit harassment”.

179See “Report: 32 disabled Palestinian prisoners face medical negligence in Israeli custody” (Ma’an, Dec 4, 2016), via <http://www.maannews.com/Content.aspx?id=774254> .

180Charlotte Silver, “Dozens of Palestinian women and girls remain in Israel’s prisons” (EI, March 7, 2017), via <https://electronicintifada.net/blogs/charlotte-silver/dozens-palestinian-women-and-girls-remain-israels-prisons> .

181Addameer (January 2016): “Imprisonment of Women and Girls”. Recently: “Palestinian women prisoners in HaSharon prison suffer medical neglect, separation from family” (Samidoun, 14 Feb 2017), via <http://samidoun.net/2017/02/palestinian-women-prisoners-in-hasharon-prison-suffer-medical-neglect-separation-from-family/> .

During interrogations, in particular, Palestinian prisoners are subjected to abuse, threats, humiliations, psychological and physical torture etc. in order to coerce them to confess, incriminate others, provide information, etc. As of 1994 the UN Committee on Torture “recommended” Israel, apparently in vain, *“that interrogation procedures be published in full so that they are both transparent and seen to be consistent with the standards of the Convention”*.¹⁸² As we can read in the 2014 report of Addameer on violence against Palestinian prisoners in Israeli detention:¹⁸³

“Torture, and Cruel, Inhuman and Degrading Treatment during Interrogation. The occupation state systematically and on a large scale practices various types of psychological and physical torture against Palestinian prisoners as a form of collective punishment regardless of the reasons of arrest, age, or medical condition. They use torture as a tool to extract information from prisoners, or in effort to coerce them to incriminate themselves or others, and as a tool of repression. The torture policy carried out by the occupation state resulted in the death of two prisoners in 2014 as a result of being tortured during interrogations, or being assaulted by special forces. ...Torture continues in the dungeons of interrogation by interrogators to push prisoners to disclose information and confessions”.

In 2016, nothing changed in Israel’s policy of torture:

“There is still no crime of torture in Israeli law, and the existence of the ‘necessity defense’ is contrary to the absolute prohibition of torture; as a result, torture and CIDT [Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment] continue to be widely practiced against Palestinians, especially in the Occupied Palestinian Territory (OPT)”.¹⁸⁴

Shikma Interrogation Facility, in Ashkelon, Israel, in particular, is infamous for its practices of abuse and torture.¹⁸⁵ It is one of the interrogation centres where so-called security prisoners, mostly Palestinians, are interrogated by operatives of the Shin Bet.¹⁸⁶ With its *“Arab Affairs Department”*, responsible for *“Arab-related counterterrorism activities”*, the Shin Bet, in Israel as well as in the West Bank, is feared

182“UN Report of the Committee Against Torture” (1994), par. 170 (b). Compare: the *“Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union”*, art. 4: *“No one shall be subjected to torture or to inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment”* (Israel is no member of the EU but proclaims to be a “European” state and is treated as such by the EU).

183Addameer, *“Annual Violations Report 2014 – Violations against Palestinian Prisoners in Israeli Detention”* (2015), Ch. 2, p. 35.

184Adalah (5 May 2016): *“UN Committee against Torture reviews Israel, concluding observations to be published on 13 May 2016”*. From the Committee itself: *“Committee Against Torture, Concluding observations on the fifth periodic report of Israel”* (adopted 12 May 2016), nrs 12-13 & 31-31. Also: Amnesty International, Annual Report 2016/2017: *“Israel and Occupied Palestinian Territories 2016/2017”*, via: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/countries/middle-east-and-north-africa/israel-and-occupied-palestinian-territories/report-israel-and-occupied-palestinian-territories/>

185See: *“Backed by the System: Abuse and Torture at the Shikma Interrogation Facility”*, report of B’Tselem and HaMoked, December 2015

for its torture methods, blackmail practices (forcing people e.g. to become an informer)¹⁸⁷ and other infringements on human rights. The abuse and ill-treatment detainees in Shikma are subjected to, happen both inside and outside the interrogation room, with the intention to “break” detainees both physically and psychologically. A 2016 report of B’Tselem and HaMoked is very revealing:

*“The interrogation system at the Shikma facility, as revealed in this report, contravenes the prohibition in international law on abuse and torture, and fails to meet Justice Barak’s definition of a “reasonable investigation”. It comprises degrading, inhuman and cruel treatment of detainees, causing them pain and suffering. In some cases described in this report – especially when cruel and harsh measures were combined, including detention in appalling conditions – detainees were caused extreme suffering and pain tantamount to torture”.*¹⁸⁸

Need it be said that for children the traumatic effects of abuse and torture while in prison are more damaging still than for adults? According to a report by DCI-P, three out of four Palestinian children are subjected to torture behind bars, both in the pre-trial and post-trial phases .

Especially alarming is the growing number of detentions and the heavy sentences against minors (sometimes only 12 or 13 years old).¹⁸⁹ According to the *Palestinian Committee of Prisoners’ Affairs* at least 1,000 Palestinian minors between the ages of 11 and 18 have been detained by Israel since January. And according to the *Former*

186Website: <http://www.shabak.gov.il/english/Pages/homepage.aspx> (c. 18 Sept 2016). Together with the *Aman* (military intelligence) and the *Mossad* (Israeli Intelligence Agency, active abroad) the Shin Bet makes up the Israeli “intelligence community”. Among its activities: “exposing terrorist rings, interrogating terror suspects, providing intelligence for counterterrorism operations in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip”. Interesting: “The Shin Bet Gatekeepers”, a transcript of the documentary, “The Gatekeepers”, dir. by Dror Moreth (2012), via <http://www.bacbi.be/pdf/TheGatekeepers.pdf> (c. 12 Oct, 2016). One of the interviewees – all retired heads of the Shin Bet - , Avraham Shalom, admits: “In the war against terror, forget about morality”.

187Blackmail practices by the Shin Bet are not restricted to prisons, of course: women of Gaza, e.g., suffering from breast cancer have been told that they will only be allowed to travel for treatment if they become informers to the Shin Bet (Sarah Algherbawi, “Israel blocks Gaza women from breast cancer treatment” (The Electronic Intifada, Dec 5, 2016), via <https://electronicintifada.net/content/israel-blocks-gaza-women-breast-cancer-treatment/18761>).

188Cf. the report, “Backed by the System”, by B’Tselem and HaMoked, p. 56. Haaretz published an article on the report (in: “Dozens of Palestinian Detainees Abused, Israeli Rights Groups Say”, Feb 24, 2016). Quote: “The combination of conditions both in and outside the interrogation room constitutes abuse and inhuman, degrading treatment, at times even amounting to torture”, via <http://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/1.705175> . See as well: Ali Abunimah, “Israel dismisses 1,000 complaints of torture” (The Electronic Intifada, Dec 12, 2016), via <https://electronicintifada.net/blogs/ali-abunimah/israel-dismisses-1000-complaints-torture> .

189E.g. Charlotte Silver, “Palestinian child sentenced to 12 years in Israeli prison” (The Electronic Intifada, Nov 7, 2016), via <https://electronicintifada.net/blogs/charlotte-silver/palestinian-child-sentenced-12-years-israeli-prison> .

Detainees Coalition Israeli the occupation authorities have arrested 2,320 Palestinian children since October 2015, 400 of whom are still in Israeli prisons.¹⁹⁰ Child prisoners are exposed to penalties and harsh conditions of life alongside their fellow adult Palestinian prisoners. They are denied proper care, education, services and necessities and are subject to abuse and violence under arrest and interrogation. Special prison provisions for children are exceptional: only in two prisons, Megiddo and Rimonim, a restricted form of instruction is provided for by the IPS.¹⁹¹

There is a big difference between the treatment of Israeli and of Palestinian children:

- In Israel a child can only be sent to prison from the age of 14, Palestinian children, however, from the age of 12 years;
- In Israel a child cannot be interrogated without the presence of one parent;
- In Israel a child cannot be interrogated at night, most of the Palestinian children are abducted from their homes and detained between midnight and 5h am.
- In Israel the maximum period of detention with access to a lawyer is 48 hours; in the West Bank it is 90 days...¹⁹²

In a fact sheet *Human Rights Watch* denounces Israeli police abusing detained children:

*“While the increasing number of attacks by Palestinian children is troubling, security forces should obey the law and treat child detainees with the humanity and dignity that all children deserve.”*¹⁹³

Being detained in often horrendous conditions, children are interrogated by security forces without a parent or legal counsel being present. Interrogations of them can last up to 90 days, according to prisoners’ rights group *Addameer*. In addition to beatings and threats, cases of sexual assault are mentioned as well¹⁹⁴ and placement in solitary confinement is a frequent practice¹⁹⁵. Confession documents the children are forced to sign, are drawn up in Hebrew - a language most Palestinian children are not familiar with (at the time of their arrest they were spoken to in Hebrew as well).¹⁹⁶

190“Israel Arrested 2,320 Palestinian Children since October 2015” (Palestine Chronicle, Aug 6, 2016), via <http://www.palestinechronicle.com/israel-arrested-2320-palestinian-child-prisoners-since-october-2015/> (c. Sept 5, 2016). Also: “Palestine: Israeli Police Abusing Detained Children. With Arrests Spiking, Growing Concern” (Human Rights Watch, April 11, 2016).

191Addameer, *Quarterly Newsletter, July to Sept 2016*.

192See: “Vidéo dédiée à Hamon, Macron et tous les politiciens qui mangent à la table des supporters de la torture d’enfants » (CAPJO-EuroPalestine, 23 février 2017), via <http://www.europalestine.com/spip.php?article12702>

193Human Rights Watch (April 11, 2016): “Palestine: Israeli Police Abusing Detained Children. With Arrests Spiking, Growing Concern”, via <https://www.hrw.org/news/2016/04/11/palestine-israeli-police-abusing-detained-children>.

The International Convention of the Rights of the Child (1989), signed by Israel, is systematically violated by the Israeli police, detention and prison services. The UN Committee overseeing the compliance with the treaty, concluded in 2013:¹⁹⁷

“The Committee expresses its deepest concern about the reported practice of torture and ill-treatment of Palestinian children arrested, prosecuted and detained by the military and the police, and about the State party’s failure to end these practices despite repeated concerns expressed by treaty bodies, special procedures mandate holders and United Nations agencies in this respect. The Committee notes with deep concern that children living in the OPT continue to be:

(a) Routinely arrested in the middle of the night by soldiers shouting instructions at the family and taken hand tied and blindfolded to unknown destination without having the possibility to say good bye to their parents who rarely know where their children are taken;

(b) Systematically subject to physical and verbal violence, humiliation, painful restraints, hooding of the head and face in a sack, threatened with death, physical violence, and sexual assault against themselves or members of their family, restricted access to toilet, food and water. These crimes are perpetrated from the time of arrest, during transfer and interrogation, to obtain a confession but also on an arbitrary basis as testified by several Israeli soldiers as well as during pretrial detention;

(c) Held in solitary confinement, sometimes for months.”

194 “Since 2009, there have been at least 20 cases of children alleging sexual abuse and threats by Israeli interrogators” (Defense for Children International – Palestine, May 8, 2013), via http://www.dci-palestine.org/israeli_man_in_police_uniform_sexually_abuses_two_palestinian_boys (c. 26 Sept 2016). A lot of reports mention “threats of sexual violence” against children in order to make them confess, e.g.: Addameer, Febr 2016: “Imprisonment of Children”. Women as well are subjected to “various forms of sexual violence” (Addameer, Feb 2016, “Imprisonment of Women and Girls”).

195 The Special Rapporteur on Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman and Degrading Treatment or Punishment has affirmed that “the imposition of solitary confinement (and a fortiori the incommunicado detention) of any duration on juveniles is cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment and violates art. 7 of the CCPR [Covenant on Civil and Political Rights] and art. 16 of the Convention Against Torture” (5 August 2011), see: Defense for Children International: “Palestinian Children’s Rights in Israeli Military Detention”, April 26, 2016, p. 23.

196 “Lawyer: Israeli authorities torture Palestinian minors during detention, interrogation” (Ma’an News Agency, Aug 27, 2016), <http://www.maannews.com/Content.aspx?id=772769>. Also: “Israeli forces use electric shock on 16-year-old Palestinian prisoner, assault others” (Ma’an, Aug 21, 2016), via <http://www.maannews.com/Content.aspx?id=772751>.

197 “UN Convention of the Rights of the Child, Committee on the Rights of the Child, Concluding observations on the second to fourth periodic reports of Israel, adopted by the Committee at its sixty-third session (27 May – 14 June 2013)”, par. E, “Violence against Children”, art. 35.

A report by UNICEF of 2015 confirmed that abuse of Palestinian child detainees continues to be systematic.¹⁹⁸ Today, according to human rights organizations the situation is only getting worse:¹⁹⁹

“The overwhelming majority of Palestinian minors held in Israel’s Megiddo and Ofer prisons have been tortured during their detention and interrogation, the Palestinian Committee of Prisoners’ Affairs said Tuesday [Oct 18], amid a marked increase in the incarceration and mistreatment of Palestinian children by Israel.”

Small wonder, in a recent report by *Human Rights Watch* (July 2016) Israel is being criticized in the company of Afghanistan, Somalia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Iraq, Nigeria and Syria, all of them being countries where the rights of children are systematically violated, *“in a misguided and counterproductive response to conflict-related violence”*.²⁰⁰

Addendum. The Palestinian Authority (PA), acts as a kind of subcontractor for Israel – in accordance with their mutual *“security coordination”* - and enjoys a very limited autonomy in Area A of the West Bank (mostly the towns).²⁰¹ In that capacity it spends heavily on *“security”*, i.e. not fewer than 40% of its budget. For the enforcement of its *“law and order”* it relies upon: Special Police Forces, Riot police and National Security Forces, trained by US, EU or Israeli instructors.

*“The Palestinian security sector in its current form is far from being part of a national project that would serve the Palestinian cause. Palestinian security forces do not represent the people they are supposed to protect, and their operations and blatant coordination with the Israeli occupation have proven to be destructive to Palestinian national interests.”*²⁰²

The brutal interventions by the PA security forces are accompanied by a continuing deterioration in the human rights situation on the ground. Political opponents, critical journalists, civil rights activists and intellectuals are harassed and persecuted. Peaceful assemblies and demonstrations are assaulted, security forces using batons, tear gas,

198“UNICEF report confirms ill-treatment of Palestinian child detainees remains systematic” (DCI-P, 21 feb 2015).

199Ma’an News Agency, Oct 18, 2016: <http://www.maannews.com/Content.aspx?id=773619>.

200See: *“Extreme Measures. Abuses against Children Detained as National Security Threats”*, Human Rights Watch, 28 July 2016.

201“Limited”, indeed: the IDF does not hesitate to carry out raids into Zone A, assassinations included: recently, March 6, 2017, the activist Basel Al-Araj was killed by the army in his house in al-Bireh, near Ramallah, shortly after having been imprisoned and tortured by the PA. Vide: Emilio Minassian, *“Basel Al-Araj, martyr de la coopération sécuritaire entre Israël et l’Autorité palestinienne”* (orientXXI, 13 mars, 2017), via <http://orientxxi.info/magazine/basel-al-araj-martyr-de-la-cooperation-securitaire-entre-israel-et-l-autorite.1759> .

202Tariq Dana: *“The Beginning of the End of Palestinian Security Coordination with Israel?”* (Jadaliyya, July 4, 2014).

rubber-coated and even live ammunition to disperse crowds.²⁰³ In 2016 more than 2,000 Palestinians were arrested.²⁰⁴ Detainees in PA jails, what is more, are regularly subjected to brutal abuse, heavy beatings and torture. Addameer, the *Prisoner Support and Human Rights Association*, denounces “acts of torture and ill-treatment, which exemplify modern lynching techniques by government personnel”.²⁰⁵

Conclusions

We believe the present dossier amply substantiates the claim that we have to do with a coordinated repressive policy meant “to dismember the Palestinian social fabric” - this being a quote from Addameer’s recent report: “*Annual Violations Report. Violations of Palestinian Prisoners’ Rights in Israeli Prisons 2015*”.

Summarizing the dossier’s particular findings, we conclude that:

(1) Since fifty years, the Palestinian population is submitted to Israel’s overarching control, surveillance, violence and government force. In their daily routine of controlling and harassing a subject people, i.e. repressing, arresting, incarcerating and interrogating them, the Israeli forces of order and security persistently violate international law and the human rights of the Palestinians, more especially their right to a dignified and humane life. The Israeli Ministry of Public Security, with its national police, while being a partner in “*Law-Train*”, was and is fully implicated.

(2) Diplomatic recognition of and cooperation with Israeli civil institutions and settlements in occupied East Jerusalem are in conflict with the Fourth Geneva Convention and dozens of UN Resolutions (most recently resolution 2334). The Israel Police as well as the Ministry of Public Security and the Ministry of Science and Technology (and Space) being established in Occupied Territory, not only the “*Law-Train*” project, in particular, but Israel’s association with the EU Horizon 2020 program, in general, are vitiated and EU funding of 369 Israeli participations is legally questionable. PS The 2013 EC “*Guidelines on EU funding instruments*” for the benefit of Israel should be amended: i.e. article 11 (b) with its exemption as to the location of Israeli national institutions should be dropped.

(3) The Euro-Israeli Association Agreement of 1995 (entered into force in 2000) requires explicitly compliance with human rights and democratic principles. The Israeli State, however, since many decades refuses to comply with European fundamental

²⁰³“PHROC [Palestinian Human Rights Organizations Council] condemns the assault on the peaceful assembly that took place in front of the Palestinian Court Complex and warns of the consequences of the violations of rights and freedoms” (Addameer, March 13, 2017), <http://www.addameer.org/news/phroc-condemns-assault-peaceful-assembly-took-place-front-palestinian-court-complex-and-warns> .

²⁰⁴“PA arrested more than 2000 Palestinians in 2016 “(MEMo, Jan 4, 2017), via <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20170104-pa-arrested-more-than-2000-palestinians-in-2016/>

²⁰⁵“Addameer Condemns Beating to Death of Palestinian in PA Custody” (23 Aug, 2016), via <http://www.addameer.org/news/addameer-condemns-beating-death-palestinian-pa-custody>.

ethical principles as far as its treatment of the Palestinian population is concerned. Dialogue and engagement by the EU having been to no avail at all since decades - on the part of the Israeli politicians dialogue and engagement never were more than a charade allowing them to continue trampling the rules of international humanitarian law - sanctions should be applied; cancelling of the agreement should be considered.

(4) The project's aim is to optimize "*cross cultural*" interrogation skills for the benefit of the fight against international drug crimes. The possibility, though, that results obtained will benefit in one way or another so-called "*anti-terrorism*" interrogations of Palestinian prisoners cannot be excluded in advance. In view of the record of the Ministry's departments mistrust is allowed, here. The fact that the project is being coordinated and ethically supervised by the Bar-Ilan University, cannot reassure us because of its involvement in the instruction of Israel's notorious security operatives of the Shin Bet. That the project would help "humanize" actual practices, is an illusion: no initiatives are known from operatives in order to change their usual, abusive methods.

(5) The violations of international humanitarian law by the Israeli forces of order and security are a crying shame. They amount to international crimes. The inclusion, nevertheless, of the Ministry of Public Security in an European R&D project inevitably legitimizes and normalizes Israel's "*policies of cruelty*" (Amira Hass), under the dubious cover of the project's "*Ethical Guidelines and Ethical Procedures*".

(6) The "*Ethics Check*" of the project by the European Commission and both the ethical committees of the Catholic University of Leuven does not satisfy us. It was largely restricted to the control of the methodological deontology of its scientific research. No attention was given to the Israeli political context within which this police project was conceived and is coordinated, that wider context being one of Israel's persistent non-compliance with the EU's fundamental ethical principles. *En plus*, the presence on the participants' list of the Ministry of Public Security and its police is fatal for the project's ethical standing.

A partnership, for these reasons, with the Ministry of Public Security and its National Police is indefensible from an ethical as well as from a juridical (also: from a moral) point of view. Because of its collaboration Belgium is objectively complicit in the crimes against humanity perpetrated under the political responsibility of the same ministry. At the level of the European Commission similar considerations should be made.

As we mentioned at the start, the Portuguese authorities withdrew from the project, the problematic aspects of it having been pointed out to them. We urge the Belgian partners they would do the same. As for the European Commission, it should withdraw its funding of the project. These decisions would signal to Israel's politicians that the EU effectively does no longer tolerate that the fundamental rights of the Palestinian people to a dignified life, in freedom and justice, are willfully violated. The time for rhetoric - mere speeches, admonishments, concerns, warnings and even threats - is long gone.

The Israeli State is a military superpower engaged in a war against a defenseless civil population, against its children in the first place. No acceptable reason can be thought

of, either from a military, a political or a moral point of view, why Israel should not have to comply with its international legal obligations. Its “*exceptionalism*” and impunity should at last come to an end. According to international law, third countries have the obligation to see to it that those legal rules should be respected by Israel as well. The US policy making a turn, the EU should take the lead. Resolution 2334 of the Security Council is hopefully a step in the right direction.

Human Rights Organizations: Reports, etc.²⁰⁶

ACRI: Association for Civil Rights in Israel: “*End the Use of Dangerous New Bullets*” (24 March, 2015), via <http://www.acri.org.il/en/2015/03/24/black-bullets/> (c. 27 Jan 2017).

Adalah - The Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel: “*Israeli police acting above the law, taking brutal measures to suppress legitimate protest of Palestinian citizens of Israel*”, Oct 11, 2015: <http://www.adalah.org/en/content/view/8652> (c. 2 Sept 2016).

Adalah: “*Adalah spotlights top five 2016 human rights concerns for Palestinian citizens of Israel*” (12 Dec 2016), via <https://www.adalah.org/en/content/view/8965> (c. 8 Dec 2016).

Adalah: “*Demolition and Eviction of Bedouin Citizens of Israel in the Naqab (Negev) - The Praver Plan*”, via <https://www.adalah.org/en/content/view/7589> (c. 15 Nov 2016).

Adalah: “*The Inequality Report: The Palestinian Arab Minority in Israel*”, March 2011, via http://www.adalah.org/uploads/oldfiles/upfiles/2011/Adalah_The_Inequality_Report_March_2011.pdf (c. 21 Sept 2016).

Adalah: “*UN Committee against Torture reviews Israel, concluding observations to be published on 13 May 2016*”, 5/5/2016, via <https://www.adalah.org/en/content/view/8794> (c. 12 Sept 2016).

Adalah: “*Database of Discriminatory Laws*” (updated Sept 2016), via <https://www.adalah.org/en/law/index?page=1> (c. 19 Feb 2017).

Addameer - Prisoner Support and Human Rights Association: “*Policy of deliberate medical negligence*”, January 2016, via http://www.addameer.org/key_issues/medical_negligence (c. 13 Jan 2017).

Addameer: “*The Economic Exploitation of Palestinian Political Prisoners*”, 2016, via http://www.addameer.org/sites/default/files/publications/final_report_red_2_0.pdf (c. 15 Feb 2017).

Addameer: “*Annual Violations Report. Violations of Palestinian Prisoners’ Rights in Israeli Prisons 2015*” (29 Nov, 2016, pdf, 110p.) via [http://www.badil.org/phocadownloadpap/badil-new/publications/research/working-papers/CaseStudyFPT-Hebron\(August2016\).pdf](http://www.badil.org/phocadownloadpap/badil-new/publications/research/working-papers/CaseStudyFPT-Hebron(August2016).pdf) (c. 29 Nov 2016).

²⁰⁶Ranged alphabetically via the name of the associations.

- Addameer: *"Induced Desperation: The Psychological Torture of Administrative Detention"* (26 June 2016, pdf, 7p.):
http://www.addameer.org/sites/default/files/publications/the_psychological_torture_of_administrative_detention.pdf (c. 2 Sept 2016).
- Addameer: *"Administrative Detention in the Occupied Palestinian Territory. A Legal Analysis Report"*. Fourth Edition, 2016 (27p.), via
http://www.addameer.org/sites/default/files/publications/administrative_detention_analysis_report_2016.pdf (c. 8 Nov 2016).
- Addameer: Quarterly Newsletter July-September 2016, via
http://www.addameer.org/sites/default/files/publications/quarter_3_newsletter_1.pdf (c. 22 Sept 2016).
- Addameer: *"Annual Violations Report 2014 – Violations against Palestinian Prisoners in Israeli Detention"* (2015,169p.), via
http://www.addameer.org/sites/default/files/publications/violations_report_2014.pdf (c. 1 Oct 2016).
- Addameer, January 2016: *"Imprisonment of Women and Girls"*, via
http://www.addameer.org/the_prisoners/women (c. 26 Sept 2016).
- Addameer, February 2016: *"Imprisonment of Children"*, via
http://www.addameer.org/the_prisoners/children (c. 27 Sept 2016).
- Addameer: *"Deportation as Policy: Palestinian Prisoners & Detainees in Israeli Detention"*, 18 April 2016, via <http://www.addameer.org/publications/deportation-policy-palestinian-prisoners-detainees-israeli-detention> (c. 1 Oct 2016).
- Addameer: documentary, *"Life on Hold: The Policy of Administrative Detention,"* Nov 2, 2016, via <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gpu875Zpkto> .
- Amnesty International: *"Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories: Briefing to the Committee against Torture"* (September 2008) via
http://tbinternet.ohchr.org/Treaties/CAT/Shared%20Documents/ISR/INT_CAT_NGO_ISR_42_9120_E.pdf (c. 31 Aug 2016).
- Amnesty International: *"Israel and the occupied Palestinian territories: submission to the United Nations Committee against torture – 57th session"*, 25 maart 2016, via
<https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/mde15/3688/2016/en/> (c. 27 Aug 2016).
- Amnesty International: *"Annual Report 2016/2017: Israel and Occupied Palestinian Territories 2016/2017"*, via: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/countries/middle-east-and-north-africa/israel-and-occupied-palestinian-territories/report-israel-and-occupied-palestinian-territories/> (c. 21 Feb 2017).
- Badil – Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights: *"Israeli forces targeting Palestinian youth in the West Bank"* (23 August 2016), via
<http://badil.org/en/publication/press-releases/77-2016/4629-pr-en-230816-37.html> .

B'Tselem - The Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories: "*Statistics on Palestinians in the custody of the Israeli security forces*", 11 Sept 2016, via http://www.btselem.org/statistics/detainees_and_prisoners (c. 25 Sept 2016).

B'Tselem: "*Abuse and torture in interrogations of dozens of Palestinian minors in the Israel Police Etzion Facility*" (2013, 23p.), via http://www.btselem.org/download/201308_etzion_eng.pdf (c. 26 Sept 2016).

B'Tselem: "*Presumed Guilty: Remand in Custody by Military Courts in the West Bank*" (June 2015, 64p.), via http://www.btselem.org/download/201506_presumed_guilty_eng.pdf (c. 24 Oct 2016).

B'Tselem: "*The Occupation's Fig Leaf: Israel's Military Law Enforcement System as a Whitewash Mechanism*" (May 2016, 85p.), via http://www.btselem.org/download/201605_occupations_fig_leaf_eng.pdf (c. 24 Oct 2016).

B'Tselem: "*Crowd Control. Israel's Use of Crowd Control Weapons in the West Bank*", (Jan 2013, 57p.): http://www.btselem.org/download/201212_crowd_control_eng.pdf (c. 5 Oct 2016).

B'Tselem & HaMoked (Center for the Defence of the Individual): "*BACKED BY THE SYSTEM: Abuse and Torture at the Shikma Interrogation Facility*", December 2015 (69 p.) met steun van de EU: http://www.btselem.org/sites/default/files2/201512_backed_by_the_system_eng.pdf (c. 18 Sept 2016).

B'Tselem: "*Statistics on Palestinians in the custody of the Israeli security forces*", 11 Sept 2016, via http://www.btselem.org/statistics/detainees_and_prisoners (c. 25 Sept 2016).

B'Tselem: "*Getting Off Scot-Free: Israel's Refusal to Compensate Palestinians for Damages Caused by Its Security Forces*", March 2017 (54p.) via <https://www.scribd.com/document/341292296/Getting-Off-Scot-Free-Israel-s-Refusal-to-Compensate-Palestinians-for-Damages-Caused-by-Its-Security-Forces#download>

B'Tselem: "*Statistics on Palestinian minors in the custody of the Israeli security forces*", Sept 9, 2016, via http://www.btselem.org/statistics/minors_in_custody (c. 25 Sept 2016).

Defense for Children International: "*Palestinian Children's Rights in Israeli Military Detention*", April 26, 2016, via <http://www.defenceforchildren.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Paper-FOLZANI-SPAGNOLI.pdf> (c. 17 Nov 2016).

Defense for Children International Palestine : "*Five days, four children shot dead*", Sept 22, 2016, via http://www.dci-palestine.org/five_days_four_children_shot_dead (c. 24 Sept 2016).

Defense for Children International Palestine : Report "*No way to treat a child. Palestinian Children in the Israeli Military Detention System*", April 2016 (84p.), via https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/dcipalestine/pages/1527/attachments/original/1460665378/DCIP_NWTTAC_Report_Final_April_2016.pdf?1460665378 (c. 24 Sept 2016).

Defense for Children International Palestine: "*Solitary confinement for Palestinian children in Israeli military detention*", 1 May 2014, via

https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/dcipalestine/pages/339/attachments/original/1437406651/solitary_confinement_report_2013_DCIP_final_29apr2014.pdf?1437406651 (c. 20 Sept 2016).

European Coordination of Committees and Associations for Palestine (ECCP): Fact Sheet “*Dual use technology – how Europe funds Israeli military companies through Horizon 2020*”, via http://www.bacbi.be/pdf/Dual_use.pdf (c. 29 Sept 2016).

Europees Parlement: “*European Parliament resolution of 14 March 2013 on the case of Arafat Jaradat and the situation of Palestinian prisoners in Israeli jails (2013/2563(RSP))*”, 29 Januari 2016, via <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?qid=1477839299015&uri=CELEX:52013IP0102> (c. 29 Oct 2016).

Human Rights Watch: “*Palestine: Israeli Police Abusing Detained Children. With Arrests Spiking, Growing Concern*”, April 11, 2016, via <https://www.hrw.org/news/2016/04/11/palestine-israeli-police-abusing-detained-children> (c. 11 Sept 2016).

Human Rights Watch: “*Extreme Measures. Abuses against Children Detained as National Security Threats*”, 28 July 2016, via <https://www.hrw.org/report/2016/07/28/extreme-measures/abuses-against-children-detained-national-security-threats> (c. 25 Oct 2016).

Human Rights Watch: “*Off the Map. Land and Housing Rights Violations in Israel’s Unrecognized Bedouin Villages*” (March 30, 2008), via <https://www.hrw.org/report/2008/03/30/map/land-and-housing-rights-violations-israels-unrecognized-bedouin-villages> (c. 24 Jan 2017).

Human Rights Watch: “*Unwilling or Unable: Israeli Restrictions on Access to and from Gaza for Human Rights Workers*” (April 2, 2017): via <https://www.hrw.org/report/2017/04/02/unwilling-or-unable/israeli-restrictions-access-and-gaza-human-rights-workers> .

International Jewish Anti-Zionist Network: “*Israel’s Worldwide Role in Repression*” (2012, pdf, 28 p.) via <http://www.ijan.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/IWoRR.pdf> (c. 26 Sept 2016).

Leuvense Actiegroep Palestina (LAP), aug-sept 2016, via http://www.bacbi.be/doc/Samenwerking_KUL_Isra_lischeMPS_sept2016.docx .

Military Court Watch, Submission: “*Children in Israeli Military Detention*”, 11 July 2016, via <http://www.militarycourtwatch.org/files/server/UN%20SUBMISSION%20-%20CHILDREN%20IN%20MILITARY%20DETENTION%20-%20JULY%202016.pdf> (c. 7 Oct 2016).

Physicians for Human Rights, Association for Civil Rights in Israel en International Network of Civil Liberties: “*Lethal in Disguise – The Health Consequences of Crowd Control Weapons*”, 2016, 104p., via <http://www.khrc.or.ke/publications/113-lethal-in-disguise-health-consequences-of-crowd-control-weapons/file.html> (c. 4 Oct 2016).

Stop the Wall (Palestinian Grassroots Anti-Apartheid Wall Campaign): “*LAWTRAIN: European license for Israeli torture*” (6p.), via http://www.bacbi.be/pdf/LAWTRAIN-EU_license_for_Israeli_torture.pdf (c. 15 Sept 2016).

Stop the Wall: *"Interview: experiences from dealing with the checkpoints"* (Oct 31, 2013), via <http://www.stophthewall.org/interview-experiences-dealing-checkpoints> (c. 8 Nov 2016).

Stop the Wall: *"Advocating for Palestinian Rights in conformity with International Law: Guidelines"* (Published by the Civic Coalition for Palestinian Rights in Jerusalem in cooperation with the Birzeit University Institute of Law, February 2014, 15p.) via http://stophthewall.org/sites/default/files/Guidelines_Eng_FINAL.pdf (c. 8 Nov 2016).

UN: *Committee Against Torture, Concluding observations on the fifth periodic report of Israel*, adopted 12 May 2016, CAT/C/ISR/CO/5 (UN 3 June 2016), via http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=CAT/C/ISR/CO/5 (c. 11 Dec 2016).

via http://www.bacbi.be/pdf/UN_torture.pdf (c. Oct 14, 2016).

UN: *Committee Against Torture, Report*, General Assembly, Official Records, Forty-Ninth Session, Supplement 44 (A49/44), United Nations, New York, 1994 (59 p.), via http://www.bacbi.be/pdf/UN_torture.pdf (c. Oct 14, 2016).

UN: *Committee for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination: CERD, 80th Session, 13 February – 9 March 2012, "Concluding Observations"*, via <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cerd/docs/CERD.C.ISR.CO.14-16.pdf> (c. 21 Sept 2016).

UN: *Convention of the Rights of the Child, Committee on the Rights of the Child, Concluding observations on the second to fourth periodic reports of Israel, adopted by the Committee at its sixty-third session (27 May – 14 June 2013)*, via: <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/crc/docs/co/CRC-C-ISR-CO-2-4.pdf> (c. 29 Sept 2016).

UN: *"Israel's use of administrative detention against Palestinians draws concern of UN rights office"*, 10 April 2015, via <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=50546#.V-Eyjq3RZyS> (c. 20 Sept 2016).

UN: *"Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid"*, New York, 30 November 1973, Introductory Note by John Dugard, via <http://legal.un.org/avl/ha/cspca/cspca.html> (c. 16 March, 2017).

UN: *"Report of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in the Palestinian territories occupied since 1967"* (Seventy-first session, 19 Oct 2016) (c. 11 Dec 2016) via http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Countries/PS/A_71_554_en.pdf .

UN: *"UN: Israel's execution of wounded Palestinian gruesome, immoral, unjust"*, Ma'an News Agency, March 25, 2016, via <http://www.maannews.com/Content.aspx?id=770839> (c. 21 Sept 2016).

UN: *"Israeli Practices towards the Palestinian. People and the Question of Apartheid"* (UN Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia, Palestine and the Israeli Occupation, Issue No. 1, Beirut 2017, 74p.): via <https://www.unescwa.org/sites/www.unescwa.org/files/publications/files/israeli-practices-palestinian-people-apartheid-occupation-english.pdf> (c. 16 March 2017).

UNICEF: “UNICEF report confirms ill-treatment of Palestinian child detainees remains systematic”, 21 feb 2015, DCI-Palestine, via http://www.dci-palestine.org/unicef_report_confirms_ill_treatment_of_palestinian_child_detainees_remains_systematic (c. 27 Aug 2016).

UNICEF: *Briefing Paper “Children in Israeli military detention: observations and recommendations”*, February 2013: http://www.unicef.org/oPt/UNICEF_oPt_Children_in_Israeli_Military_Detention_Observations_and_Recommendations_-_6_March_2013.pdf (c. 5 Sept 2016).

UNRWA: “Statement on Hebron Closures”, July 25, 2016, via <http://www.unrwa.org/newsroom/official-statements/statement-hebron-closures> (c. 15 Sept 16).

Yesh Din – Volunteers for Human Rights: “Standing Idly By: IDF soldiers’ inaction in the face of offenses perpetrated by Israelis against Palestinians in the West Bank” (Yesh Din, Jan 21, 2015), <http://www.yesh-din.org/en/standing-idly-by-idf-soldiers-inaction-in-the-face-of-offenses-perpetrated-by-israelis-against-palestinians-in-the-west-bank/> (c. 22 Oct 2016).

Yesh Din: “Data Sheet October 2015: law enforcement on Israeli citizens who harm Palestinians and their property in the West Bank” (Oct 27, 2015): <http://www.yesh-din.org/en/data-sheet-october-2015-law-enforcement-on-israeli-citizens-who-harm-palestinians-and-their-property-in-the-west-bank/> (c. 22 Oct 2016).

Yesh Din: “Avoiding complaining to police: facts and figures on Palestinian victims of offenses who decide not to file complaints with the police” (Aug 2, 2016): <http://www.yesh-din.org/en/avoiding-complaining/> (c. 22 Oct 2016).

International Conventions²⁰⁷

Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (2000), via <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:12012P/TXT&from=EN> (c. Dec 14, 2016).

Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (entry into force: 26 June 1987), via <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CAT.aspx> (c. 3 Oct 2016).

Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (entry into force 3 September 1981), via <http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/ProfessionalInterest/cedaw.pdf> (c. 10 Oct 2016).

²⁰⁷For a systematic guide aiming “to help non-lawyers understand and apply international law to Israel’s oppressive regime over the entire Palestinian people”, see: “Advocating Palestinian Rights in conformity with International Law, Guidelines” (publ. by the Civic Coalition for Palestinian Rights in Jerusalem in Coalition with the Birzeit University Institute of Law, Feb 2014, 15p.), via http://stopthewall.org/sites/default/files/Guidelines_Eng_FINAL.pdf (c. 1 Oct 2016).

- Fourth Geneva Convention (1949)*, via <http://www.bacbi.be/pdf/GC-IV-EN.pdf> (c. 27 Sept 2016).
Additional Protocol I (8 June 1977), via <https://ihl-databases.icrc.org/ihl/INTRO/470> (c. 8 Nov 2016).
- Guidelines to EU Policy towards third countries on torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment - An up-date of the Guidelines* (EU Monitor, 20 March 2012), via <https://www.eumonitor.eu/9353000/1/j9vvik7m1c3gyxp/vj6ipo91b0v2> (c. 24 Jan 2017).
- International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination* (entry into force 4 January 1969), via <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CERD.aspx> (c. 10 Oct 2016).
- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, 23 maart 1976, via <http://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/ccpr.aspx> (c. 2 Sept 2016).
- International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*, 3 januari 1967 via <http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/ProfessionalInterest/cescr.pdf> (c. 3 Sept 2016).
- International Court of Justice: "Legal Consequences of the Construction of a Wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, Advisory Opinion"*, July 2004, via <http://www.icj-cij.org/docket/files/131/1671.pdf> (c. 16 Sept 2016).
- International Covenant on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid* (1973), via <https://treaties.un.org/doc/publication/unts/volume%201015/volume-1015-i-14861-english.pdf> (c. 15 Oct 2017).
- Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court* (2002), via https://www.icc-cpi.int/nr/rdonlyres/ea9aeff7-5752-4f84-be94-0a655eb30e16/0/rome_statute_english.pdf (c. 19 Sept 2016).
- United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child* (entry into force 2 Sept 1990), via <http://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/crc.aspx> (c. 10 Oct 2016).
- Vienna Convention on the law of treaties (with annex)*. Concluded at Vienna on 23 May 1969, via <https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%201155/volume-1155-I-18232-English.pdf> (c. 4 Oct 2016).
-