

Toward the 2025 Knesset Summer Session: From Destroying Democracy to Building Dictatorship

Introduction

The upcoming Knesset summer session marks another, perhaps even more dangerous, chapter in the efforts of the 37th government, led by Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, to transform Israel's system of government. In previous reports, we highlighted the destruction the government has inflicted from the beginning on democratic institutions, the judicial system, the civil service, and Israel's social fabric. We warned that the war has been exploited to accelerate anti-democratic measures and deepen human rights violations. Moreover, the bills on the Knesset's agenda for the upcoming session indicate that the government is not content with continuing to destroy existing structures; it is also simultaneously laying the foundation for the establishment of authoritarian rule.

This document reviews some of the bills on the Knesset's table, which can be divided into two main categories:

- 1. **Bills aimed at continuing the destruction of democratic institutions:** After previous Knesset sessions concentrated on weakening and delegitimizing the judicial system, government gatekeepers, and the rule of law, the government now appears to be expanding its focus to include restricting freedom of expression and silencing government opposition. It also seeks to turn elections, the most prominent and identifiable feature of democracy, into a hollow farce
- 2. **Bills laying the foundation for authoritarian rule:** These bills seek to increase government control over citizens: expanding arrest and surveillance powers; reducing judicial oversight of law enforcement agencies; taking over the media; and attempting to control public and national identity through legislation aimed at immigration, citizenship, and representation.

The establishment of this new foundation for authoritarianism is also accomplished by distorting democratic concepts and appropriating them in order to destroy them. For example, terms such as "appropriate representation," "diversity and inclusion," and "equality" are being redesigned in ways that actually harm disadvantaged groups and instead serve groups that already enjoy over-representation and excessive power. At the same time, there is a systematic effort to erase Palestinian identity and restrict freedom of

expression and protest under the slogans of "fighting terrorism," "national security," and "combating serious crime."

Cumulatively, the destruction of existing institutions and the construction of new, authoritarian ones serves to build a system that will allow the government to operate without meaningful criticism or substantial challenges from civil society, the media, or the judicial system, all of which are essential checks on government in a democracy. It enables the development of an authoritarian regime, ostensibly in a "legal" manner, without any real means of opposition.

As in previous sessions, the government continues its strategy of initiating and promoting numerous anti-democratic bills simultaneously. It becomes difficult to know which proposals are merely performative and which will advance and actually be enacted. Regardless, the mere introduction of these bills in the Knesset, even if not all mature into legislation, creates a chilling effect and legitimizes extreme ideas that would previously have been considered beyond the boundaries of legitimate discourse in a democratic state.

This document focuses on the legislative proposals on the agenda for the upcoming Knesset summer session, but it is important to emphasize that legislative initiatives are only a small part of the overall regime change process, which is being conducted simultaneously on several fronts: the actual policies of ministers, ministries, and government bodies, which do not require legislative changes; the conduct of law enforcement agencies; the public sphere; and the media. The proposals described in this report are the tip of the iceberg: the visible and formal part of a much larger and deeper process.

We hope that this document and the warnings it contains will contribute to strengthening the public's understanding of the dangerous processes taking place in the country and prompt action and resistance. Only public awareness, civic mobilization, and determined protest can stop the advancement of an authoritarian regime change.

1. Continuing the Destruction of Democratic Institutions

A. Freedom of Expression: Continuing Political Persecution, Silencing, and Erasing Palestinian Identity

The bills on the agenda for the current summer session are continuations of a systematic and comprehensive process that is already underway: political persecution of government opponents, and silencing all criticism of the government. The legislation that will be proposed in the summer session—expanding the criteria for incitement to terrorism, expelling students and lecturers based on their political views, restricting civil society's activities, blocking foreign media outlets, penalizing flag-waving—seek to significantly expand the boundaries of criminal behavior when it comes to speech, for and to create an atmosphere of fear and intimidation that will silence opposition to the government. Under the banners of "fighting terrorism" and "law and order," fundamental concepts of democracy, including freedom of expression, freedom of association, and the right to protest, are being stripped of their meaning and giving way to a system where opposition to the government and independent thinking become crimes.

• Counter-Terrorism Law (Amendment No. 11) (Incitement to Terrorism Offense),
2024: The Counter-Terrorism Law includes, among other things, a prohibition on
expressions that support terrorist organizations or terrorist acts, or incitement to commit
an act of terrorism. Given the significance of the right to freedom of expression and the fact
that it is a basic condition for the existence of a democracy, the law as it currently stands,
before the summer session, includes restrictions aimed at ensuring the balance between
freedom of expression and protection of public security. The conception underlying the
legislation is that expressions, no matter how outrageous, are not criminal except in
extreme cases, when there is substantive reason to believe that they will lead to a terrorist
act or they normalize the existence of terrorist organizations in society. In any other
situation, even terrible expressions that arouse disgust are permitted.

The bill seeks to amend the law so that it would be easier to charge an individual with incitement by weakening the mechanisms established in the law that were designed to prevent the over-criminalization of expressions and have a chilling effect on the right to freedom of expression. The proposed amendment would determine that instead of there being a "substantive possibility" that an expression will lead to terrorism, a "reasonable possibility" would suffice for charging someone with incitement to terrorism, lowering the bar for expressions that would be considered criminal. The amendment would also legislate a new offense: currently, identification with a terrorist organization is a crime. The proposed amendment seeks to add that anyone identifying with the perpetrator of a terrorist act, language that is much broader and encompasses a wider range of expressions and activities, would also be subject to prosecution. The proposal also seeks to repeal the obligation imposed on the police to obtain the approval of the prosecution before investigating a suspected expression of incitement to a terrorist act or identification with a terrorist organization. The amendments, if passed, will change the delicate balance

between protecting national security and preserving freedom of expression in a way that will lead to the unjustifiable criminalization of expressions, over-enforcement, and to the silencing of permitted expressions.

Status: In preparation for second and third reading in the Constitution Committee | ACRI's position

• Student Rights Law (Amendment No. 10) (Prohibition of Incitement to Terrorism and Illegal Activity within the Framework of Organized Public Activity of Students), 2025 (MK Limor Son Har-Melech. Original name: Student Rights Law (Removal of Terrorist-Supporting Students from Educational Institutions and Dismantling of Terrorist-Supporting Cells)): This bill underwent changes during discussions in the Education Committee, and the updated text requires academic institutions to take responsibility for the activities of student groups on campuses and to prohibit any activities that include "identification with a terrorist organization and incitement to terrorism." It also stipulates that violation of this section will constitute a disciplinary offense.

This amendment transfers the responsibility for dealing with expression offenses for incitement to or support of terrorism to the academic institution, which does not have the tools to deal with crimes. Criminal offenses, including incitement to terrorism, should be handled by law enforcement, and expression offenses require their own forms of investigation, since expressions are subject to broad interpretation. Another issue with this proposed legislation is that it solves an imaginary problem: in reality, illegal public activity—supporting terrorism, no less—takes place in higher education institutions and is not properly addressed, which law enforcement authorities themselves deny is an issue. Thus, in the end, these laws do not serve to fight terrorism but to police public discourse in academic institutions, and in particular to suppress and erase the voices of Palestinian students.

Status: In preparation for second and third reading in the Education Committee | ACRI's position (The position paper refers to the original version of the bill, which has since changed, but reflects the nature of the move against freedom of expression in the higher education system, which also exists in the updated version).

• Higher Education Council Law (Amendment – Dismissal of Academic Staff Due to Incitement or Support for Terrorism and Budget Reduction), 2024: This bill seeks to require academic institutions to dismiss staff without severance pay and without prior notice if they express identification with terrorism, based on an examination by the legal advisor of the educational institution. An institution that violates the provisions of the law and does not dismiss staff under these circumstances will have its budget reduced by the Council for Higher Education. As in the previous bill, the actual goal of this legislation is to police and restrict discourse and criminalize expressions on campuses, and will have a chilling effect that could harm freedom of expression in general, and academic freedom in particular. Here too, the responsibility for dealing with alleged expression offenses is

placed on higher education institutions, which do not have the necessary expertise or tools to investigate potential expression offenses.

Status: In preparation for first reading in the Education Committee.

• Law to Prevent a Foreign Broadcasting Body from Harming State Security
(Temporary Provision – Iron Swords) (Amendment – Permanent Provision), 2024 (MK Ariel Kallner): This is a proposal to amend the temporary provision known as the "Al Jazeera Law," which authorizes the Minister of Communications to order the closure of offices of a foreign media channel broadcasting from Israel and to block its reception in the country. The proposal seeks to make the law permanent and to expand the powers of the Minister of Communications to allow the minister to restrict internet channels. It also proposes to restrict reception in the territories and to double the duration that broadcasts are prohibited after a declaration.

The bill expands the powers given to the Minister of Communications for the purpose of harming freedom of expression and freedom of the press. If passed, it will set a dangerous precedent, whereby a minister is authorized to issue sweeping orders to various platforms to remove content, even if that content is not illegal or even alleged to be illegal. It should be emphasized that this bill is not about ordering the removal of specific content that incites violence, racism, or terrorism in violation of the law, but about blocking all access to a channel's content, including content that does not contravene the law.

Status: In preparation for first reading in the National Security Committee | ACRI's position

• Penal Law (Prohibition of Waving the Flag of an Enemy State or the Palestinian Authority in Bodies Budgeted or Supported by the State), 2024 (MK Nissim Vaturi): The bill seeks to impose a one-year prison sentence and a fine of 10,000 NIS for waving the Palestinian flag. Like previous bills that sought to ban waving the Palestinian flag, the proposal infringes on the constitutional rights to freedom of expression, dignity, and identity, and contradicts Supreme Court rulings and the directives of the Attorney General. Waving the Palestinian flag does not constitute identification with a terrorist organization; it is a marker of individual, national, and collective identity of Palestinians; a symbol of resistance to the occupation; and a demand for equal rights for Palestinians who are citizens and residents of Israel—which many Jews agree with. The bill is unnecessary because Israeli law already prohibits identification with a terrorist organization and incitement to terrorism, and provides tools to combat them. Instead, its purpose is to penalize and persecute Palestinians and those who show solidarity with them, and discourage expressions of Palestinian identity.

Status: In preparation for first reading in the Constitution, Law, and Justice Committee.

Courts Law (Amendment - Transparency in Supported Organizations), 2023 (MK Ariel Kallner and others); Associations Law (Amendment - Donation from a Foreign State Entity), 2024 (MK Ariel Kallner): Per the first bill, an organization whose main source of funding is donations from a foreign state entity must indicate this in petitions it submits

to the courts and forward a copy of the petition to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The second proposal would tax donations to NGOs from foreign state entities at 80%, and a nonprofit whose main source of donations are from foreign state entities will not be able to petition the courts.

Both proposals are the latest in a series of initiatives and legislative proposals intending to harm the ability of nonprofits, particularly human rights organizations, to receive donations and carry out their programs. This is due to the fact that the agendas of these organizations go against those of the political majority, so their activities constitute criticism of the government. The bills are discriminatory and carve out exceptions for organizations that do not oppose the government and infringe on freedom of expression and association, the right of access to courts, and the human rights of the entire population, particularly the rights of the disadvantaged groups represented by the affected nonprofits, such as Palestinians in the territories and Gaza, refugees and migrant workers, the LGBTQ+ community, women, and others.

The choice to target only donations from foreign state entities—donations from countries that are among Israel's strongest allies, such as the United States and countries in the European Union—and not to deal at all with private foreign donations is not accidental. This criterion has been "tailored" so that the legislation will affect organizations that the government wants to do away with. The bills will lead to the crushing of NGOs that do important work, and will place Israel in line with dictatorial countries that harm human rights organizations and effectively prohibit their operations within the country.

Status: Both proposals are in preparation for first reading in the Constitution, Law, and Justice Committee | <u>ACRI's position</u>

B. Elections: A Hollow Democracy

With the justification of "fighting terrorism," the proposed legislation under this category seeks to dismantle one of democracy's central features: the right to vote and to be elected in free and fair elections. The bills dangerously expand the grounds for disqualifying candidates and parties, while weakening the checks and balances designed to ensure freedom of political competition. Moreover, the power to disqualify candidates and parties would be transferred to political entities instead of being determined by the courts, creating a real risk of political manipulation and exclusion of ideological rivals from the democratic space. This would apply to national and local elections, and includes the ability to fire deputy mayors because of their views. Ultimately, this legislation paints a grim picture of future elections that are democratic only in appearance – but in practice allow for a coercive, discriminatory, and irreplaceable government.

The bills are drafted in neutral language, but their clear aim is to disqualify Arab parties and candidates from running in elections. This legislation, coming after decades of incitement against the political representation of Arab society in Israel, is intended both to

harm Arab society's political representation of Arab society and to fundamentally and irreversibly change Israel's political landscape.

Basic Law: The Knesset (Amendment - Expansion of Grounds for Preventing Participation in Elections) (MK Ofir Katz; amendments to Section 7a of Basic Law: The Knesset): The bill seeks to make it easier to disqualify candidates and parties from participating in elections based on "support for terrorism." The proposal further seeks to expand the definition of "support for terrorism" to include support for an individual attacker and not just support for a terrorist organization (i.e institutional terrorism). Instead of requiring continuous expressions of support in order to be considered for disqualification, the bill would establish that a single expression is sufficient, and incitement would only be relevant if it were against Israeli citizens: for example, a Jewish person inciting against Palestinians in the territories would not be considered incitement under the law. does not include support for terrorism by Jews against Palestinians in the territories. Moreover, the Elections Committee – a political body – would approve the disqualification (with the right to appeal to the court), and not the Supreme Court, which currently is responsible for approving any disqualifications. This is a dangerous bill that seeks to sabotage the election process and disqualify candidates and parties for political reasons. The bill infringes on the right to vote and be elected and the right to representation (particularly for Arab society). It erodes the holding of fair and free elections, and will perpetuate the rule of the current political majority.

In ACRI's view, the entire procedure established in Section 7a of Basic Law: The Knesset for disqualifying candidates and lists should be abolished, regardless of the current bill. Over the years it has transformed from a mechanism intended to serve as a means to defend democracy to be used only in extremely exceptional cases, to a mechanism that allows for voter suppression and has been weaponized against political rivals, resulting in biased elections and the disruption of the democratic system. Reality has demonstrated that Section 7a does not succeed in preventing extremists from being elected to the Knesset, so its benefit is minimal and while the damage it does is significant.

Status: In preparation for first reading in the Knesset Committee | ACRI's position

• Local Authorities (Elections) Law (Amendment No. 58) (Restriction of the Right to be Elected), 2025 (MKs Hanoch Milwidsky, Oded Forer, and others): This bill seeks to adapt the disqualification mechanisms for general elections (in Section 7a of Basic Law: The Knesset) and apply them to local elections. As noted above, in ACRI's view, Section 7a in the general elections harms democracy and should be abolished, so it clearly should not be extended to local elections.

At this stage, only the bill to expand Section 7a of Basic Law: The Knesset and adapting it for local elections is being advanced. The major concern arising from this bill is similar to the concern raised by applying Section 7a in the general elections: its potential to be exploited in order to harass political rivals. The bill is particularly problematic in mixed cities of Jews and Arabs.

A section that has been split from the bill and not being advanced at this stage seeks to allow a mayor to dismiss the deputy mayor due to statements and expressions made by the deputy mayor. This amendment would allow for political and inappropriate dismissals, which would bypass all of the processes protecting freedom of expression and the right to be elected.

Status: The part of the bill being advanced is in preparation for second and third reading in the Interior Committee. The part that was split is in preparation for a first reading in the Interior Committee.

2. Establishing the Infrastructure for Dictatorship

A. Granting Draconian Powers to Law Enforcement to Use Against Citizens

The series of bills to be debated and advanced during the summer session do not stop at destroying democratic protections. They actually seek to establish a new governmental infrastructure, one that is characterized by authoritarianism and violence. Under the justifications of "fighting crime" and "fighting terrorism," they propose to expand the enforcement powers of security agencies, the force they can use against citizens, and their abilities to violate citizens' privacy. These steps produce tools that allow the government direct and violent control over the population, especially disadvantaged groups and political opposition. Meanwhile, they simultaneously weaken the protections guaranteed by the law, suppress opportunities for criticism, protest, and organization, and create different enforcement systems for Jews and Arabs. The foundations are thus laid for a regime in which the government can persecute citizens, monitor them, silence opposition, and exert control over private lives. The transition from a state that protects human rights to a state that hunts its citizens is thereby carried out in overt and "formal" steps, building an enforcement system that can serve a tyrannical government through violent tools that anchored in the law.

• Criminal Procedure Law (Enforcement Powers – Arrests) (Amendment No. 23 – Temporary Provision) (Tightening Bail Conditions for Suspects in Serious Offenses), 2024 (MK Eliyahu Revivo): This bill, a temporary provision for three years, seeks to tighten the conditions for release on bail and extend the periods of restrictions that a police officer can impose on detainees suspected of felonies and several other offenses. The proposal raises concern about infringements on the rights of detainees without judicial review, as well as the selective use of this legislation against Arab society under the pretext of "fighting crime." There is also concern about infringement on freedom of protest: although offenses related to protest were ostensibly exempted from the bill, there are many other offenses with which protesters can be charged, thereby bypassing the exemptions.

Status: In preparation for second and third reading in the National Security Committee

• Emergency Powers (Detentions) Law (Amendment – Administrative Detentions Due to Membership in a Terrorist Organization), 2024 (MK Simcha Rothman): This bill seeks to prohibit the use of administrative detentions against citizens of the state, unless they are members of a terrorist organization and operating against the state or its citizens. Terrorist organizations would be determined according to a list of organizations approved by the Knesset Constitution Committee. The implication is that the invasive tool of administrative detention will continue to apply to non-citizens (Palestinians in the territories) as well as to Arab citizens and residents of the state, but will not apply under any circumstances to Jews who carry out terrorist activities against Palestinians. In short: administrative detention will be applied only to Arabs.

In ACRI's view, the use of administrative detention and similar tools is categorically unacceptable, regardless of who it is used against. Criminal offenses, including terrorism, should be dealt with through the regular legal system. And certainly the use of administrative detention cannot be reserved for Arabs only.

Status: In preparation for first reading in the Constitution, Law, and Justice Committee.

• Law to Expand the Means for Combating Crime Organizations (Legislative Amendments), 2023 (MK Moshe Saada): This bill seeks to promote several law enforcement tools against serious crime, including confiscating property by administrative order; preventing the accused from meeting with a lawyer, as is the practice for terrorist offenses; and preventing one lawyer from meeting with several detainees involved in the same investigation. At this stage, the government has approved advancing only the section dealing with preventing a lawyer from meeting with several detainees (Section 35a). However, the bill raises concerns about human rights violations through the use of administrative tools and waiving standard criminal procedures, and about violation of detainees' rights, particularly Arab detainees.

Status: Currently, only the section preventing a lawyer from meeting with several detainees is being advanced, and is in preparation for first reading in the National Security Committee.

• Police Law (Penetration of Computer Material), 2024 (MK Tzvi Fogel): This proposal seeks to give the police authority to use spyware for covert searches of suspects' computers or mobile phones. It infringes on the right to privacy and rights in criminal proceedings, and lacks the necessary oversight for such a powerful tool whose infringement on human rights has the potential to be so significant.

Status: The bill passed a preliminary reading on November 13, 2024. At this stage, it has been delayed due to a dispute between the government and the Ministry of Justice regarding the types of offenses for which this legislation can be applied. According to reports, the Ministry of Justice also wants to apply the proposal to offenses of government corruption such as bribery, while the government is not interested in this.

• Bill to Amend the Police Ordinance (Department for the Investigation of Police), 2022 (MK Moshe Saada): Currently, investigation and prosecution of individuals from the State Prosecutor's Office are carried out by the police and the prosecution. This proposal transfers the responsibility for investigating suspicions concerning people from the State Prosecutor's Office to the Department for the Investigation of Police (DIP). It is also proposed that the DIP be directly subordinate to the Minister of Justice and the ministry's Director General, including the authority to appoint the head of the department (who is currently appointed by a committee headed by the State Attorney). In ACRI's view, the independence of the DIP should be promoted, but not in the manner proposed in the bill. Creating a political dependence of the DIP on the minister is problematic and could harm the criminal process. Moreover, many reforms are needed in the DIP that are not addressed in the bill.

Status: In preparation for first reading in the Constitution, Law, and Justice Committee

• Incarceration of Unlawful Combatants Law (Amendment No. 4 and Temporary Provision – Iron Swords) (Amendment No. 4), 2025: The amendment to the law applies to detainees from Gaza who are not handled under regular criminal procedures, and its validity has occasionally been extended since the beginning of the war. This amendment dramatically extends the length of time a prisoner can be prevented from meeting with a lawyer and the length of time a prisoner can be held without judicial review. These are provisions that deviate from the regular criminal law and even from the provisions of the Incarceration of Unlawful Combatants Law itself, which are stricter.

Status: The amendment is valid until July 31, 2025; the Knesset may continue to extend its validity.

• Law for the Efficiency of Urban Enforcement and Supervision in Local Authorities (Temporary Provision) (Amendment No. 16), 2025: The purpose of this bill, which has been discussed over the past year in the National Security Committee, is to dramatically expand municipal policing so that it is applicable to an increasing number of authorities, and to grant municipal inspectors additional powers and areas of operation. The proposal raises serious concerns: it involves the granting of police powers to additional groups that are less qualified and are under less supervision; the likelihood increases that the police will reduce their activity in places where municipal inspectors are deployed; and local authorities would be required to invest resources to operate a municipal police force, which could harm equality and cause policing services in Israel to be operated in accordance with the socio-economic status of the local authority rather than in accordance with of according to policing need.

Status: The municipal supervision arrangement already exists as a temporary provision. The temporary provision has been extended until the end of June 2025 to allow the Knesset to complete the expanded legislation. Since the demands of the police and the Ministry of National Security have undergone changes during the discussions about the expanded proposal, it was agreed that a new government bill would be submitted during June. Until then, municipal policing will continue to operate in the slightly more limited format that currently exists.

• **General Security Service Law (Amendment) 2023**: Together with the positive regulation of several issues, the draft law seeks to give the Shin Bet additional invasive powers and sophisticated espionage tools, including the ability to conduct covert searches of mobile phones through spyware like Pegasus and to collect browsing data recorded by communication providers. The draft does not include references to supervision or transparency, and does not adequately protect the rights of citizens. The draft disregards the trend in democratic countries to increase external oversight of security organizations engaged in operating sophisticated surveillance systems, and instead continues with outdated approaches that allow the Shin Bet to operate without external oversight and with the approval of the Prime Minister, a political figure.

Status: The bill has not yet been advanced to the first reading since the memorandum was published

B. Taking Control of the Media and Public Discourse

The bills to be discussed in the upcoming session create the means for government control over public broadcasting and the media in Israel. Through a series of moves, including subjecting the public broadcasting corporation to tight political oversight, having ministers be responsible for appointing public broadcasting leaders, raising the possibility of privatizing public broadcasting, and removing restrictions on private broadcast stations, a reality is being built in which the government controls both the content being broadcasted and public access to information. Free access to media is a necessary condition for the existence of a democracy, and the proposed moves establish a controlled, censored, and cowed media infrastructure that can serve as a tool in the hands of a government seeking to shape citizens' consciousness and block criticism.

• Israel Public Broadcasting Law (Amendment No. 10) (Annual Report to the Knesset Economics Committee), 2025 (MK Ariel Kallner): The bill seeks to require the council of the Israel Public Broadcasting Corporation to submit annual financial reports and activity reports to the Knesset Economics Committee. The committee will oversee the corporation's activity and discuss the reports in the presence of the corporation council chair and its CEO. This is one of many proposals aimed at increasing government political involvement and oversight of public broadcasting, and will erase the separation between the political sphere and public broadcasting.

Status: In preparation for second and third reading in the Economics Committee.

• Israel Public Broadcasting Law (Amendment – Method of Appointing the Israel Public Broadcasting Corporation Council), 2025 (MK Osher Shkalim): This bill seeks to change the manner of appointing members to the Public Broadcasting Corporation Council, which acts both as the corporation's board of directors and as a regulating body. It would also abolish the search committee, and give the Minister of Communications full control over appointments. The amendment contradicts the purpose of the Corporation Law, which sought to grant the public broadcasting corporation as much independence as possible and to immunize it against political involvement.

Status: The proposal was approved in a preliminary reading on January 29, 2025.

• <u>Privatization of the Israel Public Broadcasting Corporation Law, 2022</u> (MK Tali Gottlieb): This proposal seeks to privatize public broadcasting on television and radio, and publish a tender for operation by private entities.

Status: In preparation for first reading in the Economics Committee.

• <u>Second Authority for Television and Radio Law (Amendment – Expanding Diversity in Radio Broadcasting)</u>, 2024 (MK Eli Dallal): The intention of this bill is to allow privately-

owned and commercial stations to broadcast nationwide. This appears to be a way to bypass restrictions on nationwide broadcasts and to expand certain content to the entire country in a way that circumvents the law.

Status: In preparation for first reading in the Economics Committee.

• Israel Public Broadcasting Law (Amendment – Budget of the Israel Public Broadcasting Corporation), 2024 (MK Avichai Boaron): According to this proposal, the budget of the Public Broadcasting Corporation will be part of the state budget, and can be changed and cut accordingly. It raises concerns about harm to public broadcasting and rendering it dependent on the government.

Status: In preparation for first reading in the Economics Committee.

C. Establishing Jewish Supremacy

A series of bills regarding legal status and immigration and preference for those who serve in the military or national service lay the foundation for establishing an authoritarian regime in three main ways. First, they create a legal system in which citizens are not equal before the law, and establishes a legal hierarchy that structurally discriminates between citizens and residents based on nationality and that grants privileges to one group over others—a pattern characteristic of non-democratic regimes. Second, they transfer extensive powers to the executive branch at the expense of the judicial branch, neutralizing judicial oversight, which is essential to democracy. Third, they establish a policy of "dividing loyalties" that rewards groups perceived as supporting the regime and punishes groups perceived as opposing it, which is a common tactic for controlling the population in non-democratic countries.

• Law Prohibiting Illegal Stay and Residence in Israel (Legislative Amendment), 2025 (MK Amit Halevi and many others): This bill seeks to prohibit granting a permit or residence license in Israel to family members (even distant ones) of a terrorist or someone convicted of a terrorism offense. It also proposes to increase the penalties imposed on illegal residents from the territories, and to prohibit anyone caught as an illegal resident from entering Israel for 10 years. The bill is a major infringement on the fundamental rights to family and equality, and it is based on collective punishment that is not constitutional.

Status: In preparation for second and third reading in the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee

• Basic Law: Entry, Immigration, and Status in Israel (MK Simcha Rothman); Basic Law: Entry, Immigration, and Status in Israel (MK Tzvi Fogel): These are extremely radical and harmful bills, whose sole purpose is to deny rights and the possibility of obtaining status from anyone who is not Jewish. Among other things, the proposals stipulate a quota for obtaining status in Israel (including for those who are family members of status holders); that a person without status will not be able to appeal to the court regarding entry to Israel; that the Knesset can determine that people from certain

countries or regions will not be able to obtain status; and that distinct and draconian provisions will be established for asylum seekers to encourage them to leave.

Status: In preparation for first reading in the Constitution Committee.

• **Citizenship Law (Amendment), 2025**: This is a government bill according to which a child born in the Gaza Strip to a mother who is an Israeli citizen and a Gazan father will not be an Israeli citizen from birth. The proposal is built on pretexts related to the war and national security, and is unnecessary except as a response by the Ministery of the Interior to populist criticism from right-wing groups. It does not align with the values of the State of Israel, its purpose is racist, and its infringement on human rights is serious.

Status: A draft law has been published

• Law on the Status of Those Serving in Regular Service or Civil Service, 2024 (MK Ohad Tal); Law on the Rights of Contributors to the State, 2023 (MK Nissim Vaturi); Law on Compensation for Those Serving in Military or Civil Service in Academia, 2024 (MKs Ariel Kallner, Yitzhak Kroizer, and Sharon Nir); Law on Providing Housing Benefits to Discharged Combat Soldiers and Reserve Soldiers, 2024 (MK Moshe Passal); and more: A series of bills seeks to give priority and preference in employment, participation in land tenders, admission to academic institutions and student dormitories, provision of services and entry to public places, and more, to those who served military / national / civil / reserve service (the criteria and definitions vary in each bill).

Insofar as it concerns providing economic support to individuals during their military or national service or providing financial compensation for the period of service during which they did not work, there is no significant problem with the proposals. But when it comes to benefits given from limited resources and at the expense of other populations that are not entitled to these benefits, a significant legal difficulty arises. The direct victims of the bill will be Arab citizens, the ultra-Orthodox, and people with disabilities who cannot, or do not, serve. Providing benefits in this manner does not take into account the unique needs and barriers facing populations that do not serve in the military or are not entitled to benefits for a variety of reasons, and also does not take into account the economic and social situation of the soldiers who are eligible.

Moreover, the bills convey the message (sometimes explicitly, in the explanatory notes) that the non-serving populations are groups that are not loyal to the state, and so it is permissible—even required—to discriminate against. By applying an attitude of collective punishment towards entire populations and turning military or national service into an entry ticket to basic civil rights, this type of legislation contributes to reshaping Israeli civic identity in a way that reduces the democratic character of the state and establishes a legal infrastructure for institutional discrimination.

Status: In preparation for first reading in various Knesset committees.

D. The Occupied Territories - Apartheid as Official Policy

The bills demonstrate and continue the process of quiet annexation of the West Bank that the government is advancing in giant steps. In a <u>previous report</u>, we extensively discussed these moves, which include transferring civil powers to political figures and the creeping application of Israeli laws to settlers in the West Bank. These moves fundamentally change the way Israel governs the West Bank and create a regime of legal apartheid, where the human rights of one group are guaranteed, publicly and declaratively, while those of another group are trampled upon.

Apartheid in the territories is not separated from what is taking place in Israel proper; it serves as a model for managing a dictatorial regime in Israel, in which legal discrimination, the suppression of rights, and decreasing democratic checks become standard. The cynical use of the term "prohibition of discrimination" for a bill whose purpose is to establish preferential rights for Jews only illustrates the depth of the conceptual distortion that characterizes the transition from a democratic system to oppressive rule.

• Law to Eliminate Discrimination in Land Acquisition in Judea and Samaria, 2023 (MK Moshe Solomon): After the conquest of the West Bank in 1967, Jordanian law remained in force, which was intended to prevent the purchase of land in the West Bank by those who are not Arabs or holders of Jordanian citizenship. In 1971, in order to allow Jews to purchase land in the West Bank, an order was enacted that allowed land to be purchased through a company registered in the West Bank, without restriction on the identity of the company's owners, thereby allowing Jews to register as company owners and purchase land in the West Bank. This proposal would establish in primary legislation that any person is allowed to acquire land rights in the West Bank. The bill's clear purpose is to repeal the restrictions on the purchase of real estate in the territories by Jewish Israeli citizens, but it also constitutes a declaration that there is no difference between buying land in the West Bank and buying land within the Green Line.

Status: In preparation for first reading in the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee.

• Law for the Use of the Term Judea and Samaria, 2025 (MK Simcha Rothman); Law to Amend Terms in Legislation (Judea and Samaria), 2025 (MKs Limor Son Har-Melech and Yitzhak Kroizer): The bills seek to establish that in all legislation, expressions referring to the occupied territories, such as "the West Bank" or "the Bank," will be replaced with the expression "Judea and Samaria." This is ostensibly an issue of semantics, but the proposal is part of a broader movement to establish and legitimize Israeli control in the West Bank and erase the Green Line, with the ultimate goal of the full application of Israeli sovereignty in the occupied territories.