

Betrayal Shalit Deal

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About AOHR-UK

Arab Organisation for Human Rights in the UK is an independent human rights organisation based in London. It campaigns for human rights and freedom in the Middle East and North Africa.



Arab Organisation for Human Rights in the UK

PO BOX 68981 LONDON NW26 9FY Email: info@aohr.org.uk Web: www.aohr.org.uk

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"Some political prisoners who were released yesterday as part of the Gilad Shalit prisoner exchange have had their convictions reinstated amid shameless silence from Egypt which brokered the deal and the international community which has not lifted a finger to force Israel to respect the conditions of the prisoner exchange."

M. Jamil AOHR UK Director



Introduction:

On 18 October 2011, a deal was brokered between the Palestinian Resistance and Israel for the release of Israeli soldier Gilad Shalit in exchange for 1027 political prisoners from Israeli prisons. The swap was implemented in two phases; during the first phase 450 Palestinian men, and an additional 27 females were released, a further 550 were released during the second stage.

The first group of political prisoners, totalling 477, consisted of those who had spent many years in Israeli prisons. They were as follows:

• 131 Prisoners released to Gaza;

- 47 released to their homes in the West Bank without restrictions;
- 51 released to their homes in the West Bank with restrictions on their movement (They were required to report to the local police station at least once a month);
- 12 from Jerusalem, 8 of whom returned home without restrictions and 4 with security restrictions.
- 6 from areas occupied in 1948 were released to their homes;
- 1 from the Golan Heights;
- 163 from the West Bank and Jerusalem were deported to Gaza, including 15 prisoners form Jerusalem; and
- 40 political prisoners were deported to a neighbouring country including
 29 from the West Bank, 10 from Jerusalem and one from Gaza.

Political Prisoners who were released in the West Bank and Jerusalem soon found

themselves being harassed by occupation security forces who went on to further summon and detain most of them.

In June and July 2014, Israel arrested scores of prisoners released as part of the Gilad Shalit Prisoner Swap (Also known as Wafa' Al-Ahrar Deal in Arabic) after three settlers were abducted and killed in Hebron.



Reactions to the Prisoner Exchange



The deal was welcomed by many countries⁽¹⁾:

1. Former French President Nicolas Sarkozy said "France warmly welcomes the announcement of an agreement that should lead to the release of Gilad Shalit." Sarkozy also thanked all of those who contributed to the agreement, including Egypt, who had played a vital role in the negotiations. French foreign minister Alain Juppe praised the 'courage' of the Israeli authorities and told France Info radio station that "releasing a thousand

1 - Al-Zaytouna Centre for Studies, Gilad Shalit, special report, Monday 17 May 2011.

prisoners requires courage".

- 2. The European Union welcomed the release of Gilad Shalit as part of an agreement between Hamas and Israel. EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy/ Commission Vice-President Catherine Ashton said in a statement "I warmly welcome the news that Gilad Shalit will soon be able to return home after five years of captivity putting and end to the long ordeal that he and his family have endured."
- 3. Washington welcomed the release of Shalit. White House Press Secretary Jay Carney said "we are pleased by the reports that Mr. Shalit will be home soon with his family. The president, as you know, has called many times for his release, and that his release is long overdue."
- 4. British Secretary of State William Hague welcomed the deal between Israel and Hamas.

President Mahmoud Abbas welcomes the Prisoners

Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas received the released prisoners at the headquarters of the Palestinian presidency describing them as "freedom fighters and holy warriors." "We hope soon to see [Marwan] Barghouti and [Ahmed] Saadat, as well as every prisoner freed," Abbas told the thousands of cheering supporters and relatives. He added that as a result of the prisoners' struggle for freedom, a Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital was closer than ever and that Palestinians had not forgotten those detained whilst they were being held in Israeli prisons. He promised the release of more political prisoners soon. Abbas hailed



Egyptian efforts in brokering the deal⁽²⁾.

President Abbas called the Palestinian head of government in Gaza, Ismail Haniyeh, to exchange congratulations on the release of the prisoners. Haniyeh stressed that the exchange deal with Israel during their occupation was a strategic turning point in the nature of the conflict and a source of pride for all Palestinians.

President Abbas received a call from Turkish foreign minister Ahmet Davutoglu who offered his congratulations on the release of the prisoners from Israel jails.

^{2 -} President Mahmoud Abbas speech at celebrations held to honor received prisoners, 18 October 2011.



The Egyptian Role



Egypt moderated a number of indirect rounds of negotiations between Hamas and Israel to secure the two-phase release of the 1027 Palestinians in exchange for the Israeli soldier Shalit. The agreement was reached on 11 October 2011 and implemented a week later. Although Egypt was the main mediator in this deal, a number of other parties and countries tried to play a role in securing the release.

On release, Shalit was handed over to Egyptian intelligence services, who in turn handed him over to the Israel. Egypt also supervised the transfer of Palestinian prisoners to Gaza through the Rafah crossing and Cairo Airport (several prisoners were deported to Turkey and Qatar). It is in its capacity as a mediator that Egypt has the moral and political responsibility to ensure that Israel comply with the stipulations



of the agreement by refraining from re-arresting these political prisoners.

Families of political prisoners who were re-arrested on 19 June 2014 organized a 'sit-in' outside the Egyptian embassy in Ramallah and handed a letter to the Egyptian ambassador Nassaradeen Attia calling on the Egyptian government to shoulder its responsibilities vis-à-vis the prisoner exchange agreement⁽³⁾. The families, who were represented by the family of Nael A-Barghouthi (who had spent 33 years in prison), urged the Egyptian President Abdufattah Al-Sisi to intervene to secure the release of re-arrested prisoners and put pressure on Israel to comply with the agreement.

3 - Aljazeera.net, 19 June 2014.

The Arab League



When news about the impending prisoner exchange deal began circulating in early October 2011, the Arab League welcomed the good news. "Tomorrow's meeting is about the resolution of the issue of the prisoners. There are more than 6,000 prisoners, and if 1,000 are released then this is great, and the Arab League welcomes this, but we want the release of all the Palestinian prisoners," Arab League Secretary General Nabil Al-Arabi told the press on 13 October 2011 following an extraordinary League session in Cairo. He praised the Egyptian government's efforts in brokering the deal and reiterated the League's commitment to the release of all political prisoners. Al-Arabi urged all Arab and foreign countries to work towards achieving that goal.

It is of note that the Arab League has sought to secure the release of political



prisoners in Israeli jails on a number of occasions, and dedicated a number of meetings, the last of which was on 8 March 2015, to discussing the issue⁽⁴⁾. The League issued a number of recommendations which would have had a very positive impact had they been implemented. Unfortunately, the League is yet to condemn the re-arrest of Palestinian prisoners who were released as part of Shalit Deal.

4 - Details of the meeting were published on 8 March 2015 in Al-Youm Al-Sabi' website.



Harassment of released political prisoners



Israel began harassing the released political prisoners within one month of signing the deal. Some were re-arrested on the pretext they had failed to report to Civil Administration centers or had ventured outside of their places of residence. Others were summoned, interrogated and detained for days.

On 23 November 2011, a month after the deal was reached, Israeli intelligence services summoned Kahira Al-Sa'di, a Palestinian female political prisoner released as part of the deal, and questioned her at Salem Camp, west of Jenin. Al-Sa'di said at the time that she had been warned she would be arrested if she engaged in any



form of resistance activities⁽⁵⁾.

Israeli intelligence services also raided the home of another female political prisoner, Sana Shihada, in Shofat refugee camp. Shihada was notified she was being placed under home arrest and was banned from entering the West Bank.

On 22 November 2011, Israeli occupation forces raided the home of Abeer Amr,

^{5 -} Watan news agency, 24 November 2011.



another released female prisoner, and handed her a summons to report to the Israeli intelligence services at Atsion centre in Dora, south of Hebron⁽⁶⁾.

The arrest of political prisoners released during the first phase began with Ayman Ismail Shirwana on 31 January 2012, three months after the deal was implemented. Shirwana was arrested following a raid on his home in Dora, south of Hebron in the West Bank. He went on a hunger strike for more than 250 days before the Israeli

^{6 -} Watan news agency, 22 November 2011.



authorities released him and deported him to Gaza for ten years⁽⁷⁾.

Iyad Abu Fonoon from Bethlehem and Ayman Abu Daoud from Hebron were also deported to Gaza. Samer Al-Isawi from Jerusalem was also arrested. Israel went on to arrest 15 political prisoners released during the second phase and hold them for weeks before releasing them.

7 - Interview with Ayman Shirwana in Gaza, 8 March 2015.

On 6 February 2013, a special committee formed by the Occupation authorities issued a decision reinstating the conviction of released prisoner Yusuf Abdulrahman Shtewei. The 5-year sentence was reinstated in accordance with article (186) of Military Order 1651. The committee claimed it had secret evidence that incriminates Shtewei but could not be divulge it for security reasons. This made it virtually impossible for the defense to do act in accordance with their professional obligations and put Shtewei's case before the court. This is just one example of the judicial process being manipulated by Israel. Shtewei was the first among the others in the second phase to have his conviction reinstated.

On 18 March 2013, an Israel military court sentenced Ismail Mohammed Turki Okal from Nablus to 15 months. Okal was released during the second phase of the exchange deal before being abducted on 28 June 2012⁽⁸⁾.

These arrests and convictions are evidence that re-arrests had begun shortly after the deal was signed and had nothing to do with the disappearance of the three

^{8 -} Palestine Prisoners Centre for Studies, 19 March 2011.

settlers in June 2014. The latter was used as an excuse to re-arrest more than 74 political prisoners, including five women. It is notable that no useful evidence or intelligence was obtained from those subject to re-arrest, and thus their detention was evidently arbitrary and without foundation.

Distribution of freed political prisoners

Israeli occupation authorities are still holding 66 of the 110 political prisoners released as part of the first phase of the prisoner swap deal, including 4 women⁽⁹⁾.

9 - Phone calls with prisoners inside Israel jails in January 2015.

Table (1): Released political prisoners by governorate

No	Governorate	Total number
1	Hebron	18
2	Nablus	6
3	Jenin	11
4	Ramallah and Al-Bireh	11
5	Jerusalem	8
6	Tulkarm	7
7	Bethlehem	2
8	Qalqilya	2
9	Salfit	1
Total		66

Table (2) Names of released political prisoners who were re-arrested and are still under arrest.

No.	Governorate	
Hebron		
1	Safwan Al-Awawi	
2	Ahmed Khalil Al-Awawdeh	
3	Bassam Al-Natsha	
4	Mahmoud Sweiti	
5	Khalid Makamra	
6	Naif Al-Shawmra	
7	Mohammed Awad	

8	Suleiman Abu-Saif
9	Muath Abu-Romooz
10	Abas Shabana
11	Rasmi Mahareeq
12	Nameem Masalmeh
13	Mua'mar Al-Ja'bari
14	Yusri Ibrahim Al-Julani
15	Ziad Hasan Awad
16	Ismail Abdulhadi Al-Masalmah
17	Zuhair Iskafi
18	Muhanad Abu-Imad

Nablus		
19	Hamza Abu-Arkoob	
20	Nidal Abdul-Haq	
21	Ahmed Hamad	
22	Mehdi Asi	
23	Zaher Katatbeh	
24	Taha Al-Shaksheer	
Jenin		
25	Yacoub Adnan Ismail Zaid	
26	Arif Khouri	
27	Wael Jalboosh	

28	Imad Moussa			
29	Mua'mar Ghwadra			
30	Mohammed Ahmed Haj Saleh (Al-Reshq)			
31	Abdulrahman Hasan Salah			
32	Ashraf Abu Rub			
33	Waheeb Abdullah Abu Rub			
35	Samer Isam Al-Mahroom			
36	Muna Hussein Qa'dan			
Ramallah and Al-Bireh				
37	Nidal Al-Barghouthi			
38	Nidal Zalloum			
39	Rabie Shalabi Al-Barghouthi			

Ibrahim Al-Masri		
40	Suleiman Abu Eid	
41	Amjad Khalidi	
42	Khalid Ghithan	
43	Ibrahim Shalash	
44	Mahmoud Haskour	
45	Bushra Jamal Al-Tawil	
46	Haniya Munir Naser	
Jerusalem		
47	Ismail Hijazi	
48	Jamal Abu Saleh	
49	Rajab Tahan	

50	Adnan Maraga		
51	Samer Al-Isawi		
52	Ala' AL-Bazian		
53	Nasser Abid Rabbo		
54	Shireen Tariq Al-Isawi		
Tulkarm			
55	Amer Muqbel		
56	Ashraf Al-Wawi		
57	Mohammed Barakat		
58	Mo'yad Al-Jallad		
59	Abdulmon'em To'ma		

60	Majdi Ajouli	
61	Ayed Khalil	
Bethlehem		
62	Khadir Radi	
63	Nizar Taqatqa	
Qalqilya		
	Qaiqiiya	
64	Shadi Odeh	
64 65		
	Shadi Odeh	

Prisoners who were released after being arrested :

- 1. Ibrahim Abdulrazzaq Mashaal, arrested on 15 June 2014 and released on 15 July 2014.
- 2. Ibrahim Jaber from Hebron, arrested on 5 August 2014 and released on 12 August 2014.
- 3. Othman Musleh from Salfit, arrested on 18 June 2014 and released on 17 August 2014 after the Israeli military court overturned a request that his release be withdrawn.
- 4. Nayef Radwan from Qibya in Ramallah. Ofar Court ordered his release on 2 July 2014 on a 50,000 Shekel bail. The conditional release came after the prosecution failed to convict him.

- 5. Jihad Mohammed Bani Jami', arrested on 18 June 2014 and sentenced to six months in prison by an Israeli court after his lawyer reached an agreement with the prosecution which had asked he serve the remaining 7 years of his 28-year prison sentence. Jami' was released on 3 December 2014.
- Ibrahim Abu Hijleh from Al-Bireh was arrested on 15 August 2012 and sentenced to 28 months by Ofar Military Court. He served his sentence in full and was released on 31 August 2014.
- Luay Najeh Nofal from Deir Sharaf in Nabul was arrested on 18 June 2014 and released four days later.
- 8. Ibtisam Abid Al-Isawi was arrested on 17 December 2014 and released the next day.

Prisoners who had their convictions reinstated

The Israeli occupation's arbitrary measures against the released political prisoners targeted those from Jerusalem in particular. On 22 June 2014, A Haifa court issued a temporary decision reinstating the convictions of 7 Jerusalemites who were released as part of prisoner swap⁽¹⁰⁾. The prisoners are:

- 1. Ibrahim Abdulrazzaq Mishal, served 20 years of his life sentence.
- 2. Ismail Abdullah Hijazi, served four years of a life sentence.
- 3. Jamal Hammad Abu Saleh, served 23 out of 38 years.Shi
- 4. Rajab Mohammed Shihada Tahhan, served 14 years out of a life sentence.

^{10 -} Amjad Abu Ghaseeb, president of the Committee of Families of Jerusalemite Political Prisoners, 23 June 2014.

- 5. Adnan Mohammed Atta Maragha, served 20 years out of 60.
- 6. Ala'adin Al-Bazian, served 30 years out of a life sentence.
- 7. Nasser Musa Abidrabbo, served 24 years out of 48.

On 15 July 2014, a committee known as the 'Committee for Reviewing Release Violations by Shalit Deal Prisoners' reinstated the convictions of 6 Jerusalemites and they are⁽¹¹⁾:

- 1. Ismail Abdullah Musa Hijazi, Jabal Al-Mukkaber
- 2. Jamal Hammad Hussein Abu-Saleh- Silwan/Bab Al-Maghariba
- 3. Rajab Mohammed Shihda Tahan, Ras Al-Amud
- 4. Adnan Mohammed Atta Maragha, Silwan

^{11 -} Amjad Abu Ghaseeb, president of the Committee of Families of Jerusalemite Political Prisoners, 15 July 2014.

- 5. Ala'adin Al-Bazian, the Old City.
- 6. Nasser Musa Abidrabbo,

Ibrahim Mishal was released during the same period.



A letter from Jerusalem political prisoners rejecting their deportation⁽¹²⁾

Jerusalemite political prisoners who were freed as part of the Shalit Deal prisoner swap and were later arrested, again stressed that they rejected all attempts by the Israeli occupation authorities to deport them to a neighbouring country in return for their release. They reiterated their commitment to their homeland and struggle for freedom. The prisoners' statements were included in a special letter from Rajab Al-Tahan who sent it on behalf of the prisoners to Palestine Prisoners' Centre on 14 December 2014. What follows is the full text of the letter:

^{12 -} The letter was sent to the Palestine Prisoners Centre by Rajab Al-Tahan after it was leaked during a visit on 14 December 2014.

To the citizens of our beloved homeland,

It has come to our attention that the Israeli prosecution had offered the defence team to release us in exchange for agreeing to be deported to a neighbouring country or else spend the rest of our lives in jail now that our previous convictions have been reinstated. We, who have dedicated our lives to the defence of Jerusalem and Al-Aqsa, would like to inform you that we reject this offer and pledge to remain dedicated to our cause of liberating our occupied lands. We vow never to forfeit Jerusalem, its olives or any inch of its soil. We shall remain a thorn in the side of the Occupation until Allah ordains otherwise. We have weathered many a storm and we pride ourselves on thriving on hardships and suffering which have always served to embolden us further. The time when might was right is over and we will not allow anyone to humiliate us or break our will or intimidate us into giving up on Jerusalem and Al-Agsa. Our dedication to the cause has never wavered and never will. We reject any talk of deportation for as long as we shall live. We promise you that one day the Palestinian people shall prevail.

Table (3) Names of released political prisoners whoseconvictions were reinstated⁽¹³⁾:

No	Name of Prisoner	Area	Sentence
1	Ismail Abdullah Hijazi	Jerusalem	Life
2	Jamal Hammad Abu-Saleh	Jerusalem	38 years
3	Rajab Mohammed Al-Tahan	Jerusalem	Life
4	Adnan Mohammed Maragha	Jerusalem	60 years
5	Ala'adin Al-Bazian,	Jerusalem	Life
6	Nasser Abidrabbo	Jerusalem	48 years

13 - List was documented by a specialized team at the Palestine Prisoners Centre for Studies.

7	Hamza Abu Arkoob	Nablus	Life
8	Ahmed Hamad	Nablus	Life
9	Taha Shaksheer	Nablus	Life
10	Ashraf Al-Wawi	Tulkarm	Life
11	Nidal Zalloum	Ramallah	Life
12	Waheeb Abulrub	Jenin	Life
13	Mahmoud Al-Sweiti	Hebron	15 years out of which he served 11.5
14	Suleiman Abu Eid	Al-Bireh	Life
15	Mohammed Ahmed Haj Saleh	Jenin	Life
16	Bushra Al-Tawil	Nablus	16 months of which he served 5.5 months
17	Abdulmun'im To'ma	Tulkarm	Life

18	Imad Musa	Jenin	25 years
19	Moyad Jallad	Tulkarm	18 years of which he served 17 years
20	Ibrahim Shalash	Ramallah	Life
21	Rabie Shalabi Al-Barghouthi	Ramallah	Life
22	Ismail Abdulhadi Al-Masalma	Hebron	27 years out of which he served 12 years.
23	Abbas Shabana	Hebron	23 years out of which he served 20 years
24	Majdi Attia Ajouli	Tulkarm	22 years
25	Zaher Katatbeh	Nablus	Life
26	Ayed Khalid	Tulkarm	Life
27	Muath Abu Al-Rumuz	Hebron	18 years of which he served 10 years



28	Samer Al-Mahroom	Jenin	Life
29	Bassam AL-Natsha	Hebron	3 years
30	Mua'mar Ghawdra	Jenin	Life
31	Mohammed Barakat	Tulkarm	25 years
32	Ahmed Khalil Al-Awawda	Hebron	23 years of which he served 12 years
33	Yacoub Adnan Ismail Zeid	Jenin	16 years
34	Shadi Odeh	Qalqilya	23 years
35	Ibrahim Al-Masri	Ramallah	Two life sentences and 40 years
36	Khalid Ghithan	Ramallah	Two life sentences and 40 years
37	Nidal Mamdouh Abdulhaq	Nablus	Life



Prisoners Deported to Gaza

Four of those political prisoners released were deported to Gaza after which they went on a hunger strike⁽¹⁴⁾. They are:

- 1. Ayman Ismail Al-Sharawneh from Hebron
- 2. Iyad Atta Abu Funoon from Bethlehem
- 3. Ayman Yusuf Abu Daoud from Hebron
- 4. Hana Yihia Shalabi from Jenin

14 - Interview with Ayman Al-Sharawneh.



Occupation laws invoked to justify arrests

It is quite apparent that the Israeli Occupation government had every intention of re-arresting the political prisoners who were released in the prisoner swap deal. This was done by invoking article 186 of Military Order 1651⁽¹⁵⁾ which empowers the commander of the Israeli army in the region to form a committee and appoint officers with the rank of major or higher, to serve as judges of a military court of first instance.

The committee is tasked with reinstating the convictions of released prisoners if they are deemed to have breached the 'conditions of conditional mitigation of

^{15 -} A report published by the Addameer Organization on its website.

punishment'. This clause was invoked to re-arrest political prisoners released as part of the prisoner swap deal between Palestinian Resistance movements and the Israeli government on 18 October 2011. According to the clause, freed political prisoners may be arrested again and forced to serve the rest of their original sentence on the basis of secret evidence presented to the military committee in the presence of the military prosecution. Neither the prisoner nor his lawyer is granted access to this evidence, and thus the process is wholly arbitrary and without any real oversight given that the defence cannot bring any meaningful challenge.

Amendments were made to the Military Order in 2009 during the indirect negotiations brokered by Egypt. The Military Order known as 1677 allows the army and Shin Beit to re-arrest any released prisoner until the end of his original sentence on the slightest pretext. This means that even a traffic violation could see a released prisoner re-arrested to serve 20 or 30 years in prison without possibility of parole. These amendments reflect the ill-will of the Occupation government which had every intention of re-arresting the released prisoners and used the disappearance of the

three settlers as a pretext to do so⁽¹⁶⁾.

A number of lawyers filed a request with the Israeli Supreme Court in Jerusalem to re-examine article 186 (cancelling the conditional mitigation of punishment) of Military Order 1651 for the year 2009 which sanctioned the re-arrest of released political prisoners. According to the lawyer for the Palestinian Prisoner Club, Jawad Bolous, the court rejected on 20 February 2013 any re-examination of the military order on the pretext that the request should be first presented to other courts and military committees before filed with the Supreme Court. An appeal by Ayman Al-Sharawnah was rejected by another court on the same day⁽¹⁷⁾.

On 6 July 2014, the Legislative Ministerial Committee at the Knesset ratified a draft law that allows the Israeli government to re-arrest released Palestinian prisoners if they take part in any act of resistance against Israel⁽¹⁸⁾.

17 - Statement by Jawad Bolous on 20 February.

^{16 -} Al-Resalah net website quoting Haaretz newspaper on 12 March 2013.

^{18 -} A report by the Palestinian Media Centre published on 6 July 2014. .

Channel 7 quoted the president of the Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee at the Knesset Ze'ev Elkin who presented the draft legislation as saying he was extremely happy that the government had finally realised it was time to make it clear to Palestinian organisations that kidnapping soldiers or settlers could lead to the re-arrest of released prisoners. He added that the new law would make sure none of them would ever be released before serving their sentence in full and that any release would have to go through the government rather than the president, as it used to be.

The legal advisor to the Israeli government Yehuda Feinstein submitted a request on 24 June 2014 to a special legal committee at a Haifa court to re-arrest political prisoners released in Shalit Deal⁽¹⁹⁾. Feinstein claimed in his request that the released prisoners had violated the terms of their release and added "Hundreds of dangerous prisoners were released as part of the Shalit Prisoner Swap and their prison sentences were greatly reduced as a result of Hamas blackmailing the state

^{19 -} http://paltoday.ps/ar/post/202384.

of Israel. We are not going to forgive any parole violation".

Article 186 of Military Order 1651 which allowed the Israeli government to rearrest released prisoners is a clear violation of international and human rights laws which regulate and protect the rights of civilians in time of war. It also breaches the basic rights of political prisoners who were released as part of an agreement brokered and sponsored by international parties. The political prisoners were rearrested and thereafter denied the right to contest the accusations against them in a fair and transparent trial, given the prosecution case was shrouded in secrecy, not subject to challenge, and thus the mandatory fair trial rights of the defendants were clearly breached.

It was tacitly implied that all charges against the political prisoners and their later convictions were revoked when the deal was reached on 18 October 2011. Thus, reinstating these convictions is a breach of the terms of the prisoner swap deal. Further, it is arguably in breach of the principle of 'double jeopardy' which prohibits prosecuting someone for the same act twice. Israel has long considered itself above the law. Despite signing the Oslo Peace Accords in 1993, Israel continues to commit the most horrible atrocities against the Palestinian people. The pressing issue here is not legal in nature but rather pertains to the mechanisms needed to bring Israel under the authority of the law, something the international community has failed time and again in achieving.

Conclusions and Recommendations:

- Israel had every intention to re-arrest the released prisoners, a fact that has been confirmed by its decision to issue article 186 Military Order 1651during the negotiations with the Palestinian side.
- 2. The Israel occupation has attempted to bestow legitimacy on the re-arrests and reinstatement of the political prisoners' former convictions by submitting serveral new pieces of draft legislation to the Knesset. The latter ratified all of them, in effect giving Israel the green light to carry out the re-arrests.

- 3. Israel proceeded to place significant restrictions on the freed political prisoners from the moment they were released. Many were summoned and others were placed under house arrest to prevent them from enjoying their new-found freedom.
- 4. The decision of Israel to kidnap scores of freed political prisoners following the disappearance of the three settlers in Hebron in June 2014 was an act of revenge to blackmail the Palestinian people, and, to enable a pre-arranged intention to be given a veil of legitimacy and justification.
- 5. The Israeli occupation authorities reinstated the convictions of more than half of the freed prisoners who are re-arrested without a shred of evidence to prove they had violated the conditions of the deal.
- 6. The reinstatement of convictions in this manner is illegal even according to Israeli laws which shares the principle of double

jeopardy with other legal systems around the world.

- 7. There is currently no international law that protect the rights of freed prisoners. Consequently, it is more urgent than ever that the UN recognize Palestinian political prisoners as Prisoners of War (POWs) and to seek to ensure Israeli compliance with international law.
- 8. The Palestinian Authority (PA) has not exerted any genuine efforts to pressure the Egyptian government to live up to its role as the broker of the deal nor did the PA put any pressure on the Occupation forces to stop the arrest of the freed prisoners or release them later.
- 9. Egypt, whom brokered the deal, is urged to assume its legal and moral responsibilities to put pressure on Israel to release all political prisoners. The Egyptian government has failed to take any tangible steps to secure the release of these prisoners.

- 10. The Secretaries-General of the Arab League and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation are urged to fulfill their moral obligations towards the political prisoners who were rearrested and work closely with international decision-makers to secure their release.
- 11. All International parties, especially the EU, are urged to break the wall of silence and condemn Israeli actions by pressuring it to comply with the Prisoner Swap Deal's conditions which stipulate that these political prisoners be released.