

Compilation of documents
We published:

3
comprehensive policy reports



All our reports and publications were produced by a team of

11
lawyers and senior academic experts, with input from advisory and ad hoc panels and from Zulat's Steering Committee

37
legal opinions
(policy and position papers)



29
petitions to gatekeepers

[Destruction of the Free Media in Israel: Review Report](#) | [Regulatory Benefits to Channel 14](#) | [Termination of Legal Counsels in Government Ministries: Political Domination and Annihilation of Gatekeepers](#) | [Government Seeks Political Control over Ratings Measurement](#) | [Implementation of Rabbi Kahane's Ideology: Bar Arab Candidates and Skew Elections](#) | [October 7 Attack Necessitates Establishment of State Commission of Inquiry](#) | [Government Uses Regulatory Benefits to Establish Channel 14 as Propaganda Arm](#) | [Government Advances Takeover of Israel Bar Association Through Budget Control](#) | [Political Appointment of Judiciary Ombudsman Harms Independence of Courts](#) | [Termination of Legal Counsels in Government Ministries: Political Domination and Annihilation of Gatekeepers](#)

Policy promotion in the Knesset



16
of our legislative proposals were adopted by MKs

briefings to nearly

40
opposition MKs ahead of key sessions

In addition, we initiated and participated in dozens of Knesset committee debates


[Discussion in Knesset Committee: Who will protect Arab Society in the Knesset?\(Hebrew\)](#)
[Discussion in Constitution Committee: Levin-Sa'ar plan enables political deals in the appointment of judges \(Hebrew\)](#)



Legal Battle

We filed

2
petitions to the Supreme Court



[Petition against the appointment of retired judge Moshe Drori as head of the search committee of the Israel Public Broadcasting Corporation](#)

[Petition for the establishment of a state commission of inquiry into the October 7th fiasco](#)

Influence on the public discourse



We initiated approximately

150
publications in the media on our key issues
(reports, op eds, coverage)



Public outreach

We organized

10
public conferences, events and webinars





1. Situation Report

At the end of 2024, 100 hostages were still being held captive by Hamas. During this year we learned something we already knew: that human rights tend to be invisible until they are trampled. Zulat spoke out and labored to raise awareness to these rights, because in 2024 they were trampled more than ever.

The Netanyahu government, which has been leading our country toward a dictatorship, continued to lie, incite, and deceive even more intensely than before in its bid to turn Israel into an ugly version of Hungary and Russia. It is a government that sacrificed hostages to death, pursued destruction and starvation in the Gaza Strip, revived the regime revolution seeking to dismantle the Judicial Selection Committee and crush the judiciary, damaged the free media, artistic expression, and freedom of speech, expanded settlement construction, enabled the de-facto annexation of the Occupied Territories, endorsed Ultra-Orthodox draft evasion, and deepened discrimination and racism against Israel's Arab citizens. It is a government that damaged the economy and shirked responsibility for Israel's credit rating downgrade in a year when tens of thousands of Israelis lost their homes and were forced to live as refugees in their own country. It was a year that saw more people becoming disabled or killed, on top of the horrific price we paid the year before.

As a result, violations of the most basic human rights accumulated into a terrifying mix of fear and hardship, to the point that many preferred to lower their gaze, perhaps in the hope that this dark wave would pass them over. But, waves like these do not pass on their own and reality demands that we face them head-on. In a year when it was so easy to despair, we at Zulat raised our heads and got to work, both independently and in cooperation with civil society organizations, to safeguard the principles of equality and human rights.

2. Zulat's Action Strategy

Zulat's modus operandi consists of direct intervention and lobbying of decision-makers, legislators, and public opinion leaders. We operated through two main channels:

1. We relentlessly battled initiatives and laws aimed at destroying Israeli democracy. We closely monitored legislative proposals and Knesset debates, and fought off the government's attempts to crush ever more segments of the public service and democratic state institutions. We collaborated with opposition MKs, drafting for them legal opinions and policy papers and briefing them with the help of Zulat's experts from various disciplines.
2. In a parallel channel in the public arena, a task force of former ministers and MKs worked with opinion leaders to raise awareness about the government's legislative initiatives. We filed petitions to the Supreme Court, partnered with coalitions of civil society organizations, hosted webinars and conferences, and increased the public's interest in Knesset affairs through our activities on social media and a broad support network of half a million people. We succeeded to contribute to the overall fight against the government's anti-democratic legislative blitz that revived the regime revolution.

Zulat's Main Methods of Operation

- ◆ **Immediate response** to government and Knesset initiatives and identification of the required response (legal opinions, Supreme Court petitions, conferences, media outreach).
- ◆ **Influence on the opposition:** Personalized briefings of opposition MKs and supply of tools and knowledge we developed for them.
- ◆ **Significant presence in the parliamentary and public arena:** Recruitment of former public officials with extensive parliamentary experience, as well as experts from Zulat's steering committee, to attend Knesset discussions and participate in public events.
- ◆ **Campaigns in our areas of expertise:** Protecting free media, combating police violence, defending freedom of speech and protest, strengthening democracy and opposing the regime revolution, advocating for the establishment of a state commission of inquiry.
- ◆ **Influence on the public discourse:** Briefing journalists and opinion leaders, focusing public energy on blocking anti-democratic legislation and formulating an alternative to the agenda of the anti-democratic Right in the Knesset by amplifying our visibility on social media platforms and traditional media and linking our work in the Knesset to grassroots initiatives aimed at preventing anti-democratic legislation.
- ◆ **Collaboration with other organizations:** Filing joint petitions to the Supreme Court (with the Movement for Fair Regulation and the Association of Ethiopian Jews), establishment of a "coalition of organizations to protect the media" (with Movement for Fair Regulation, Union of Journalists in Israel the Democratic Bloc, Shatil, and the NPO Hatzlaha), collaboration with other organizations in public initiatives and various projects.

3. Highlights of Zulat's Work

- ◆ **Compilation of documents:** 3 comprehensive policy reports, 37 legal opinions (policy and position papers), 29 petitions to gatekeepers. All our reports and publications were produced by a team of 11 lawyers and senior academic experts, with input from advisory and ad hoc panels and from Zulat's Steering Committee
- ◆ **Policy promotion in the Knesset:** 16 of our legislative proposals were adopted by MKs. In addition, we initiated and participated in dozens of Knesset committee debates and provided briefings to nearly 40 opposition MKs ahead of key sessions.
- ◆ **We filed two petitions to the Supreme Court:** against the appointment of retired judge Moshe Drori as head of the search committee of the Israel Public Broadcasting Corporation and for the establishment of a state commission of inquiry into the October 7th fiasco.
- ◆ **Influence on the public discourse:** We initiated approximately 150 publications in the media (reports, op eds, coverage) on our key issues.
- ◆ **Public outreach:** We organized 10 public conferences, events, and webinars.

Bulk of our day-to-day output: Data-driven material in opposition to government/Knesset moves, participation in Knesset committee debates extensively covered in the media, clear and accessible analysis of government/coalition actions, briefings of MKs and parliamentary advisors, interpretation of the government's initiatives providing a comprehensive picture of its interests and intentions availing opposition MKs with the tools to challenge the coalition's claims, participation of MKs and experts on our behalf in Knesset committee sessions enabling embattled gatekeepers to adopt our position and corroborate our arguments. All these activities aligned with our advocacy-based theory of change, which stems from the realization that changing consciousness and harnessing elected officials to a struggle are processes that take time, but ultimately succeed to block, delay, or thwart racist and anti-democratic legislative initiatives designed to alter the political regime in Israel.

4. Zulat's Core Areas of Activity

Free Media

Under the cover of the war, Communications Minister Shlomo Karhi tried to promote a series of laws restricting a free media, as part of the government's bid to weaken Israel's democracy. We warned that if passed, these laws would infringe on the independence of the media and curb its freedom of expression, lead to the shutdown of public broadcasting, and harm the status of journalists. We argued that the effort to transform the media into an obedient and regimented entity constituted a violation of the basic right of Israeli citizens to independent information and freedom of expression.

Along with crushing its independence, the laws proposed by the government and the Knesset sought to reorganize the media market to secure benefits for "government-friendly" outlets such as Channel 14, which have been waging a campaign of incitement, venomous propaganda, and fake news against the democratic/liberal camp in Israel. This effort peaked last year, as the government openly tried to enshrine these restrictions and priorities in law. It goes without saying that these moves run counter to regulatory processes in democratic and liberal countries.

Zulat stood at the forefront of the struggle to curb legislative initiatives designed to politicize the media and to terrorize broadcasters, similar to what was done in Hungary. We worked on the parliamentary front in collaboration with opposition MKs, drafting legal opinions and position papers for them and briefing them with the help of Zulat's experts. We used our influence in the public arena to raise awareness about the government's legislative initiatives; we established a coalition of civil society organizations to fight the issue, and organized webinars, conferences, and social media activity.

Our Published Documents

[Destruction of Free Media in Israel: Review Report](#)

[Public Broadcasting Is Vital for Democracy: Deconstructing Kohelet Forum's Position](#)

['Privatization' of IPBC: Termination of Public Broadcasting and Free Media in Israel](#)

[Bill on Government Control Over IPBC Budget: 'What's the Point If We Don't Control It?'](#)

[Government Seeks Political Control Over Ratings Measurement](#)

[Bill To Expand Regional Radio Broadcasts: Benefits to Cronies](#)

[Government Uses Regulatory Benefits To Establish Channel 14 as Propaganda Arm](#)

[Government Bill on Digital Channels Law: Favoring Tycoons at Public's Expense](#)

[Regulatory Benefits to Channel 14](#)

[Bill To Shut Down Foreign Broadcaster Harms Democracy, Must Not Be Extended](#)

[Public Broadcasting Corporation Undermined Under Guise of Transparency](#)

[Bolstering Channel 14: Tycoons' Interests Favored Over Public Good](#)

Legal Battle

Submitted by Attorney Dr. Yifat Solel and in collaboration with the Movement for Fair Regulation and the Association of Ethiopian Jews in Israel, we filed a [petition to the Supreme Court](#) against the appointment of retired judge Moshe Drori as head of the search committee of the Israel Public Broadcasting Corporation Council, following which Judge Drori was forced to resign. The petition constitutes a major achievement for the preservation of public broadcasting in Israel.

Public Event

[Cannons and Muses: Wartime Media Conference in Memory of Prof. Moshe Negbi](#)

4. Zulat's Core Areas of Activity

Free Media Mentions in the Media

The Seventh Eye:

*Zulat's Executive Director: 'We Must Win This Struggle'

(* English-language reference. All other references in this document are in Hebrew)

The Seventh Eye:

Karhi Reveals Modus Operandi: Misuse of Private Bills

TheMarker:

IPBC Council Out of Commission: Chairman and Four Councilmen Retire Today

Walla:

Karhi Shrugs Off AG's Opinion, Bets on Knesset Legal Counsel for Legislation Schemes

Haaretz:

*'Political Interference': Knesset Advances Controversial Ratings Law

The Seventh Eye:

What's the Point of the IPBC If We Don't Control It?

Reshet 13 TV:

AG vs. Karhi: Yet Another IPBC Search Committee Candidate Disqualified

TheMarker:

Podcast Interview With Zulat President Galon: Channel 14 Incites War Crimes

Haaretz:

*Human Rights Groups: Channel 14 Calls for Gazans' Genocide More Than 50 Times

The Seventh Eye:

Hitch in Karhi's Scheming

Makor Rishon:

Supreme Court Halts Establishment of IPBC Search Committee

Walla:

IPBC Official: 'Rape Investigations Would Be Prioritized If AG's Cousins Were Victims'

The Seventh Eye:

Netanyahu and Pro-Channel 14 Legislation: Here Is How It Happened

Walla:

War? Terror Attacks? Law Passed To Help Out Channel 14

Maariv:

'Propaganda Channel': Supreme Court Rejects Galon's Petition Against Channel 14

Calcalist:

Civil Servants Must Face Politicians Head-On When They Go Berserk

4. Zulat's Core Areas of Activity

Freedom of Protest

We continued to build on our comprehensive report, [*The Legal Infrastructure for the Suppression of Protests and Demonstrations in Israel](#) (whose publication was delayed due to the war in Gaza), which highlighted the fact that the right to demonstrate is not anchored in legislation, thereby allowing National Security Minister Itamar Ben-Gvir to turn the Israel Police into his own private militia and use it to suppress anti-government protests. Israelis who took to the streets to demonstrate against the regime revolution and for a deal to secure the return of the hostages encountered restrictions, draconian enforcement, arrests, and brutality from a police force serving the political and personal interests of Ben-Gvir and the government.

We initiated debates in Knesset committees and participated in sessions of the Youth Committee led by MK Naama Lazimi, the National Security Committee, and the Constitution, Law, and Justice Committee. We drafted parliamentary questions that MKs subsequently addressed to government ministers. We presented a number of bills and initiatives to prevent violations of equality and selective enforcement of restrictions on certain demonstrations, as well as arbitrary, racist, and political use of force against protesters from minority populations and disadvantaged groups, or espousing political views opposed to those of the government.

Our Published Documents and Participation in Knesset Debates

[National Security Committee: Escalating Police Violence Toward On-the-Scene Journalists](#)

[Youth Committee: Police Violence Attempts To Suppress Protest](#)

[*No to Extension of Temporary Provision Allowing Search Without a Warrant](#)

[*Criminal Prohibition of Flag Display: Serious Blow to Freedom of Protest in Israel](#)

[*Ben-Gvir's Police Exploits Law Deficiencies To Suppress Protests](#)

[Petition to Attorney General on Violation of Freedom of Protest](#)

[Petition to Attorney General and Police's Legal Counsel on Police Abuse of Power at Protests](#)

[Complaint to Police About Distribution of Flyers as Protest-Suppressing Measure](#)

Our Law Proposals Adopted and Submitted by MKs

[Bill on Combating Police Violence](#): Naama Lazimi, Gilad Kariv, Ahmad Tibi, Aida Touma Sliman, Naor Shiri, Simon Davidson, Vladimir Beliak, Shelly Tal Meron, Matti Sarfati Harkavi, Tatiana Mazarsky, Walid Taha.

[Bill on Amendment of Police Ordinance](#): Naama Lazimi, Yosef Taieb, Ahmad Tibi.

[Bill on Conditions for Release from Arrest](#): Naama Lazimi, Ahmad Tibi.

[Bill on Combating Unwarranted Detentions](#): Naama Lazimi, Yosef Taieb.

[Bill on Visual Documentation of Use of Crowd-Control Weapons](#): Naama Lazimi, Ahmad Tibi.

[Bill on Mandatory Use of Bodycams in Demonstrations](#): Ahmad Tibi.

4. Zulat's Core Areas of Activity

Struggle Against Ongoing Regime Revolution

Our Published Documents and Participation in Knesset Debates

We worked with opposition MKs to formulate legal opinions and position papers after the judicial overhaul returned to the agenda. Addressing Knesset committees on our behalf, experts warned that the government was seeking to crush democracy and was leading Israel from a quasi-authoritarian state to a dictatorship.

We wrote legal opinions and position papers on Justice Minister Yariv Levin's clash with the Supreme Court to prevent the appointment of Justice Yitzhak Amit as President, the ultimatum that the Supreme Court issued to Levin, the effort to change the composition of the Judicial Selection Committee, the threats to terminate the Attorney General, the attempt to crush the Israel Bar Association, the appointment of legal counsels in government ministries as positions of trust, and the nomination of temporary gatekeepers such as a "friendly" civil service commissioner.

[*Termination of Legal Counsels: Political Domination and Annihilation of Gatekeepers](#)

[*Government Advances Takeover of Israel Bar Association Through Budget Control](#)

[*Political Appointment of Judiciary's Ombudsman Harms Independence of Courts](#)

[*Professionalism of Civil Service With Temporary Appointments to Senior Positions](#)

[*Not 'The Feldstein Law' But 'The Netanyahu Immunity Law'](#)

[Constitution Committee: Bill To Change Process of Appointment of Judiciary's Ombudsman](#)

[Constitution Committee: Judiciary's Ombudsman To Be Political Arm](#)

4. Zulat's Core Areas of Activity

Combating Racism, Incitement, Apartheid Policies

Our Published Documents and Participation in Knesset Debates

Under the cover of the war in Gaza and Lebanon, the government advanced discriminatory policies and legislative initiatives targeting Israel's Arab citizens, passing laws that entrench exclusion, racial discrimination, and Jewish supremacy. Minister Ben-Gvir engaged in an effort to carry out a mass displacement of Bedouins in the Negev by vacating and razing their villages. Defense Minister Yisrael Katz announced his intention to impose administrative detention on Israeli Arabs and Palestinians in the territories but not on settlers, while MKs introduced bills that would exclude Arab candidates and lists from running in Knesset and local elections.

All these issues were addressed in Zulat's work, which primarily included compiling legal opinions and position/policy papers in response to these legislative initiatives, promoting policies, briefing MKs and parliamentary advisers, and appealing to gatekeepers.

[*After the Dust Settles: The Dangers of Normalizing the Transfer Discourse](#)

[*Expanding the Scope of Basic Law: Referendum – Yet Another Step Toward Apartheid Policy](#)

[*Law on Local Authority Elections: Racist Onslaught on Democracy](#)

[*Implementation of Rabbi Kahane's Ideology: Bar Arab Candidates and Skew Elections](#)

[*Deportations and Death Penalty: Punishments Disguised as Counterterrorism Normalized](#)

[*Amendment to Counterterrorism Law To Confer Powerful Weapon for Political Persecution](#)

[*After the Dust Settles: The Dangers of Normalizing the Transfer Discourse](#)

[House Committee Debate: 'Who Will Protect Arab Society in the Knesset?'](#)

[Knesset Committee's Proposed Laws Contravene Freedom of Expression and Equality](#)

4. Zulat's Core Areas of Activity

Struggle to Establish State Commission of Inquiry Into October 7th Fiasco

We believe that a nation that cherishes life must hold accountable those responsible for the greatest disaster in its history. We argued that the government's most critical national mission was to bring the hostages back home. At the same time, we emphasized that the demand for an inquiry commission was imperative, because in the absence of an urgent, comprehensive, and objective investigation into the processes that led to this catastrophe and its ongoing consequences, Israeli society would never be able to begin the process of recovery.

[October 7 Attack Necessitates Establishment of State Commission of Inquiry](#)

Legal Battle

Together with 86 former ministers and MKs, we filed a [*petition to the Supreme Court](#) demanding an investigation into the full range of events, processes, and failures that led to the October 7th debacle. Represented by Attorney Dafna Holtz-Lechner, we argued that the very need to appeal to the Supreme Court was abnormal, and that the demand to establish a state commission of inquiry was first and foremost a refusal to normalize the abnormal. We attended the first hearing of our petition at the Supreme Court, where the judges gave the government 60 days to hold a debate on establishing a state commission of inquiry, which constituted a major achievement as it was a first step on the issue. We remained alert and continued to monitor legislative proposals seeking to change the law so as to avert the establishment of such a commission.

Public Poll

We published a [public opinion poll](#) showing that the majority of the public supports the establishment of a state commission of inquiry that is appointed by a Supreme Court judge and whose conclusions are binding, not the political cover-up committees that the Prime Minister wants.

Published Petition

We published [a petition](#), a campaign on social media platforms, and paid ads in newspapers signed by the 86 former ministers and MKs who joined our petition to the Supreme Court.

Webinar

We held a [*webinar](#) calling for the establishment of a state investigation committee into the October 7th fiasco with the participation of various experts and current and former MKs.