Datasheet, May 2015

PROSECUTION OF ISRAELI CIVILIANS SUSPECTED OF HARMING PALESTINIANS IN THE WEST BANK

Yesh Din monitoring figures

- A fraction (7.4 percent) of complaints filed by Palestinians with the Israel Police result in a decision to indict Israeli civilians suspected of harming them
- In the few cases in which law enforcement agencies do decide to indict suspects, only a third of legal proceedings (33.3 percent) result in full or partial convictions
- Almost a quarter of the legal proceedings (22.8 percent) are ultimately cancelled or vacated, and approximately another quarter (24.6 percent) result in a judicial decision not to convict the defendants, despite finding that they did commit the alleged offenses for which they were tried

BACKGROUND

For the past ten years, Yesh Din has been documenting ideologically motivated crime perpetrated by Israeli citizens against Palestinians and their property throughout the West Bank. This type of crime is unique in that it has a clear strategic objective – it is meant to terrorize Palestinian victims in order to drive them off their lands, and take over these lands to expand the area under the control of illegal outposts and settlements in the West Bank.

In addition to documenting the criminal offenses, Yesh Din closely follows police investigations opened into such incidents and monitors the Samaria and Judea (SJ) District Police’s success in investigating them and prosecuting the offenders.

This ongoing monitoring of investigations and their outcomes is at the core of a long-term project implemented by Yesh Din with the goal of strengthening law enforcement on Israeli civilians (settlers and others) involved in harming Palestinians and their property. The project is based on the principle that Israel is legally and morally obligated to protect the Palestinian residents of the occupied territories under its control.

Yesh Din’s database of cases monitored has grown over the years. In early 2015, it included over a thousand investigation files opened by various units within the SJ District Police since 2005, following complaints filed by Palestinian victims of crimes perpetrated by Israeli citizens. The incidents under investigation involve assault, use of firearms, stone-throwing, vandalism, theft or arson of property, damaging olive trees and other crops, killing and harming livestock, desecrating holy places, trespassing, preventing access to Palestinian owned farmland or cultivating land owned by Palestinians, and many other offenses expressly intended to harm Palestinian residents of the West Bank or their property.

Yesh Din has published annual figures on the results of these investigations, aiming to shed light on how many investigations lead to indictments served against suspected offenders and how many end without substantive results. Year after year, the figures have reflected that the SJ District Police has not demonstrated any improvement in its ability to solve cases of ideologically motivated crime against Palestinians in the West Bank and hold perpetrators responsible.

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1 In our 2013 report The Road to Dispossession, the outpost of Adei-Ad served as a test case to demonstrate the clear connection between the time and place of criminal offenses and the outpost’s rate of expansion (Yesh Din, The Road to Dispossession - A Case Study: The Outpost of Adei-Ad, 2013, p. 124).
accountable. The rate of solved cases has stayed extremely low, and the number of indictments served against Israeli citizens suspected of committing offenses against Palestinians annually is negligible.

According to Yesh Din’s most recent datasheet, of 1,045 investigation files opened by the SJ District Police between 2005 and 2014, only 72 indictments were served (7.4 percent of all concluded investigations). The vast majority of the cases (91.4 percent of all concluded investigations) were closed without any suspect prosecuted.

These figures are consistent with earlier findings by Yesh Din. In 2013, the indictment rate was 8.5 percent, and 8.6 percent in the previous year. This steady trend reflects the low likelihood that a complaint made by a Palestinian to the Israel Police will result in the apprehension and prosecution of the perpetrators. With such dire prospects, there is little wonder that many Palestinians feel that filing complaints with the Israel Police is pointless.

But this is not the only obstacle Palestinians encounter when demanding their right to justice and equality before the law. Monitoring of the results of proceedings in the few cases that do result in a decision to indict Israeli citizens suspected of harming Palestinians demonstrates that the state of affairs at this particular juncture of law enforcement is also far from satisfactory.

Over the past few years, Yesh Din has monitored proceedings in various courts following the few indictments served in cases of ideological crime against Palestinians, in order to learn more about this final link in the long chain of law enforcement in the West Bank. This datasheet is a first attempt to present a comprehensive account of the results of legal proceedings held in investigation files monitored by Yesh Din from 2005 until the end of 2014.

B FIGURES

Since Yesh Din began monitoring SJ District Police investigations into Palestinians’ complaints in 2005, 1,067 files have been added to our database. Police investigations are often a lengthy affair, and some of the complaints monitored by Yesh Din are still under investigation or in other stages of processing. At the time of writing, 71 of the files monitored by Yesh Din are still being processed by various law enforcement officials and no final decision has been made in them.

The remaining 996 cases have either concluded, or a decision has been made in them, allowing for follow-up on the results achieved by the SJ District Police

- 911 files (91.5 percent of all concluded investigations) were closed without an indictment being served against suspects;
- 11 files (1.1 percent of all concluded investigations) were lost by the Israel Police and never investigated – despite the fact that Yesh Din has written confirmation that a complaint was filed;
- In 74 files (7.4 percent of the investigations concluded to date), indictments were served against suspects.

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2 Law Enforcement on Israeli Civilians in the West Bank (Yesh Din, November 2014).
3 This datasheet refers to cases opened by the SJ District Police until August 2014.
4 The remaining 11 files were lost by the Israel Police and never investigated, though Yesh Din has confirmation that a complaint was filed.
5 See datasheet: Law Enforcement on Israeli Civilians in the West Bank (Yesh Din, July 2013).
6 See datasheet: Law Enforcement on Israeli Civilians in the West Bank (Yesh Din, March 2012).
7 It is important to note that this datasheet does not purport to include all indictments served against Israelis suspected of harming Palestinians, but a summary of the results in legal proceedings conducted in cases monitored by Yesh Din. Repeated inquiries with the police regarding the number of indictments served annually in cases of offenses by Israelis against Palestinians or their property have not yielded significant results. As such, files in which Yesh Din represents Palestinian crime victims are taken as a broad, representative sample of ideological crime. If anything, circumstances in the cases included in this sample favor law enforcement agencies as when necessary, Yesh Din helps investigation and prosecution officials contact the victims, obtain documents and assist witnesses to arrive at court.
For purposes of this report, six cases in which the crime victims were Israelis or foreign nationals, rather than Palestinians, were omitted from the total number of indictments. Additionally, to avoid duplicity, two cases in which the police filed an indictment as part of another investigation file were omitted from the total number of indictments. Four cases which were closed upon conclusion of the investigation and reopened in response to an appeal by Yesh Din and ultimately resulted in indictments, are included in the total.

In summary, of 1,067 investigation files opened by the SJ District Police between 2005 and 2014 following complaints by Palestinians and monitored by Yesh Din, 70 resulted in indictments and legal action taken against Israeli citizens accused of harming Palestinians. The results of these proceedings are presented in this datasheet.

C  
INDICTMENTS

Types of offenses
As stated, the 70 indictments served against Israeli citizens accused of harming Palestinians are a minority among the total number of SJ District Police investigation files monitored by Yesh Din. In total, 120 individuals were charged in these indictments, an average of 1.7 defendants per indictment.

An analysis of the cases shows that the majority of these indictments (61.4 percent) were filed regarding incidents classified by Yesh Din as violent offenses. Indictments were served for beating Palestinian farmers or shepherds on their land; assaulting Palestinians with clubs or metal bars; group assault by masked Israelis; stone-throwing; use of firearms; threatening violence and more. One of these 43 indictments was served following an exceptionally serious incident that took place in July 2007, when two Israeli citizens abducted a 15-year-old boy from the village of Quasrah at gunpoint, severely beat him, killed a lamb he had with him and ultimately abandoned him bound, naked, injured and unconscious in a field between Quasrah and the illegal outpost of Esh Kodesh.

Yesh Din’s cumulative monitoring figures show that approximately half of the ideologically motivated offenses against Palestinians in the West Bank are property offenses. These include setting fire to structures and vehicles, theft of livestock, damage to farmland, damage to fruit trees, crop theft and more. The data indicate that the failure to indict offenders is most prominent with respect to property offenses. Only 20 percent of indictments filed in cases monitored by Yesh Din concerned offenses against property owned by Palestinians. These 14 indictments were served for criminal trespassing on Palestinian-owned land; cutting down, defacing or damaging olive trees; crop theft; arson of cars belonging to Palestinians; theft of livestock belonging to Palestinians; damaging farmland, farming equipment and property. One of these indictments was served following an incident in November 2013, in which a truck and a car belonging to a Palestinian resident of Far’ata were torched and Star of David signs were spray-painted on

8 Yesh Din cases 1179/06, 1230/06, 1257/07, 1778/09, 1819/09 and 2157/10.
9 Yesh Din case 1235/07 in which an indictment was served together with case 1210/06 and case 1394-7/08, in which an indictment was filed together with case 1394-5/08.
10 Yesh Din cases 1079/05, 1582/08, 1954/09 and 2179/10.
11 In three of the cases, Yesh Din was not informed how many defendants were named in the indictment. Hence, the number may be slightly higher than 120.
12 The complaints in the cases monitored by Yesh Din are divided in the organization’s publications into four major offense categories: violence, property offenses, seizure of Palestinian land and a fourth category covering other types of offenses such as desecration of mosques and cemeteries, discharging sewage into Palestinian farmland, dumping waste on Palestinian land and more.
13 Yesh Din case 1299/07. In this case, an indictment was served against one defendant in December 2008 (CrimC 279/08 State of Israel v. Strock) for aggravated assault, kidnapping for the purpose of causing bodily harm, three counts of assault and one count of harming an animal. He was convicted in November 2011 by the Jerusalem District Court and sentenced to 18 months in prison and payment of 50,000 NIS in damages to the complainant. Strock appealed his conviction to the Supreme Court. The appeal was rejected in August 2012. At the same time, the Supreme Court accepted the State’s appeal against the lenient sentencing decision, and increased the penalty to 30 months in prison. Strock was released from prison in April 2014, 9 months before the end of his sentence, after the parole board granted him early release, despite the State Attorney Office’s objection. The other civilian involved in the attack was never apprehended.
As part of its monitoring of SJ District Police investigations, Yesh Din has focused special attention to a slew of cases in which fruit trees were cut down, uprooted, set on fire, stolen or damaged. The data shows that although these types of offenses are widespread, very few investigations into them result in a decision to indict offenders. Only six of 251 investigations opened following attacks on trees and monitored by Yesh Din resulted in a decision to indict suspects (2.5 percent of concluded cases).14 Most of these indictments included additional charges, such as trespassing, assault causing bodily harm, attempted injury, rioting and obstructing a police officer. Only two indictments were served solely for harming trees. When it comes to deliberate harm to olive trees, a crime that has come to symbolize both the occupation and the ideological crime perpetrated under its auspices, the incompetence of Israel’s law enforcement system is particularly glaring and gives the impression that the Israeli authorities take a casual approach to this type of crime and are not particularly eager to bring offenders to justice. Yesh Din’s ongoing monitoring data from the past years shows that when it comes to investigating damage to trees owned by Palestinians, the SJ District Police consistently fails to bring offenders to justice.15

Four of the court cases opened following decisions to indict in these files are still pending at the time of writing. One resulted in an acquittal and another in a finding that the defendant did commit the acts attributed to him in the indictment, but without a conviction, sparing the defendant the implications of a criminal conviction.

The remaining indictments in cases monitored by Yesh Din (18.6 percent), were served following incidents Yesh Din classifies as seizure of Palestinian land. in other words, attempts by Israelis to take over Palestinian land by erecting fences, cultivating land, setting up structures, portable homes or greenhouses, preventing Palestinians from accessing their land, trespassing and more. Eleven of these 13 indictments were filed following two major incidents that occurred in late 2007, in which Israeli citizens tried to take over lands owned privately by Palestinians and establish illegal outposts on them: the outpost of Giv‘at HaOr, established on land owned privately by Palestinians from the village of Beitin, and the outpost of Shvut Armi, established on land owned privately by a Palestinian resident of Kafr Qadum. In both cases, repeated attempts to remove the illegal outposts resulted in violent confrontations between the invaders and the Israeli security forces sent to remove them. As a result, in addition to trespassing, these indictments include

14 Yesh Din case 2995/13: In this case an indictment was filed in February 2014. It was subsequently amended twice and filed again in November 2014 (CrimC 8718-02-2014 State of Israel v. Landsberg et al.). In the amended indictment, two residents of the illegal outpost of Havat Gilad were charged with conspiring to commit a crime for racial motivations, arson committed jointly and vandalism of land for racial motivations (in the original indictment the two were also charged with an attempt to jointly commit arson and a joint attempt to cause property damage for racial motivations). A third defendant, also residing in the illegal outpost, was indicted in a different proceeding (CrimC 8751-02-2014 State of Israel v. Richter), in which, in addition to these offenses, he was also charged with breach of a legal order, as at the time of the arson, he was under house arrest. The first two defendants were convicted in a plea bargain in December 2014 and sentenced to two and a half years in prison and payment of 15,000 NIS in damages to the complainant. The third defendant was also convicted in a plea bargain, in February 2015, and sentenced to three years in prison and payment of 15,000 NIS in damages to the complainant.

15 Verdict, February 4, 2015, Para. 23.

16 Yesh Din cases 1243/07, 1280/07, 2559/12, 2680/12, 3033/14 and 3087/14.

17 See Yesh Din datasheets: Law Enforcement on Israeli Civilians in the West Bank (Yesh Din, November 2014), Police Investigations of Vandalization of Palestinian Trees in the West Bank, (Yesh Din, October 2013).
charges related to interference with government authorities, such as assaulting a police officer, obstructing a police officer or participating in an illegal assembly. In at least one of these 11 indictments, the charges were amended over the course of the legal proceeding, leaving only the charge of obstructing a police officer and erasing any trace of the original offense committed against the Palestinian landowners.\textsuperscript{18}

The remaining indictments in cases of land seizure: one indictment served against a man who had buried an electrical cable in a private plot of land belonging to a resident of the Palestinian village of Thulth. The cable was to deliver electricity from the settlement of Ginot Shomron to the illegal outpost of Elmatan.\textsuperscript{19} Another indictment was served against a man who had cleared a road for vehicles on land owned privately by a Palestinian from Bethlehem.\textsuperscript{20} No other indictments were served in investigations monitored by Yesh Din into complaints made by Palestinians for seizure of land by Israelis. Israeli law enforcement agencies would have been expected to show better success rates in solving this type of crime, as it is easier to locate suspects and gather evidence against them.

**Indictments filed in Yesh Din cases, by type of offense**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offense</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Seizure of Palestinian land</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property offenses</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violent offenses</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>61.4%</td>
</tr>
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### Proceedings Outcomes

Legal proceedings are still pending in 13 of the 70 files monitored by Yesh Din, in which indictments were served against Israeli citizens. In the remaining 57 files, proceedings have been concluded and results can be analyzed.

It is difficult to provide a neat break down of the outcomes of the legal proceedings. Some of the indictments named more than a single defendant, and some of the proceedings ended with different results for different defendants. Cases involving a single defendant sometimes resulted in a conviction on some of the charges and acquittal on others. As a

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\textsuperscript{18} Yesh Din case 1319-2/07: In this case, an indictment was served against six defendants who had resided in the illegal outpost of Shvut Ami, and were present in the outpost at the time of its evacuation. The indictment originally included counts of criminal trespassing, obstructing a police officer in the line of duty and failure to assist a police officer in the line of duty. However, the indictment was ultimately amended to include a single count of obstructing a police officer. In this case, the indictment against one of the defendants was vacated, proceedings against two others were suspended, and three other defendants were found guilty, but not convicted.

\textsuperscript{19} Yesh Din cases 1210/06 and 1235/07: In these cases, a joint indictment was served against a single defendant in March 2007 (CrimC 1436/07). The defendant was a resident of the settlement of Ginot Shomron who was charged with failure to safeguard hazardous materials and installation of an electrical facility without a permit (under the Electricity Law). The charges were ultimately dropped on consultation with the State Attorney’s Office, and the case against the defendant was closed.

\textsuperscript{20} Yesh Din case 1710-2/09: In this case, an indictment was served against one defendant in May 2010 (CrimC 48263-05-10). The defendant was charged with trespassing after he had cleared a road on privately owned Palestinian land east of the settlement of Efrat. The case resulted in a finding of guilt against the defendant, but no conviction. He was sentenced to 60 hours of community service.
result, this datasheet follows the same breakdown used by the Judicial Authority Research Department, as presented in a May 2012 study of conviction and acquittal rates in criminal trials in Israel.²¹

The main categories used to describe the outcomes of legal proceedings are **full conviction**, meaning all defendants are convicted of all original counts; **partial conviction**, meaning some defendants are convicted of some counts, or convicted of lesser counts than those originally included in the indictment, **guilt without conviction**, meaning the court found that the defendant committed the offense or offenses attributed to him or her, but refrained from conviction; **acquittal** and **vacated or dropped indictments**.

The following is a breakdown of the outcomes of all cases monitored by Yesh Din, in which a decision was made to indict suspects:

- **Six cases ended with a full conviction** (10.5 percent of all files in which indictments were served);²²
- **Thirteen cases ended with a partial conviction**. One case ended with the defendants convicted of some of the counts. Four cases ended with the conviction of only some of the defendants, and eight ended with the defendants convicted of lesser counts than originally included in the indictment. In most cases, the conviction on lesser counts was the result of a plea bargain between the defendants and the prosecution (22.8 percent of all files in which indictments were served);
- **Fourteen cases ended with a finding of guilt without a conviction** (24.6 percent of all files in which indictments were served);
- **Thirteen cases ended with the indictment vacated or dropped** after an indictment against one or more defendants was served (22.8 percent of all files in which indictments were served);
- **Five cases ended with an acquittal** (8.8 percent of all files in which indictments were served);
- **Four cases ended with results unknown to Yesh Din** (7 percent of all files in which indictments were served);
- **Two cases ended with different results**. One case was suspended and another, in which three defendants were indicted, ended with proceedings against one defendant suspended, charges against another dropped, and a finding of guilt without a conviction for the third defendant.

²¹ Oren Gazal-Eyal, Inbal Galon and Karen Winschel-Mergel, *Conviction and Acquittal Rates in Criminal Proceedings*, Judicial Authority Research Department and the University of Haifa Crime, Society and Law Research Department, 2012. As noted by the authors, the report was aimed at collecting information regarding verdicts and sentencing decisions in criminal cases heard by the District and Magistrates Courts as courts of first instance. In addition, the Judicial Authority study examined indictments according the total number of counts included, and therefore does not follow a polar division between “convictions” and “acquittals”. The aim was to take other possible results of criminal cases into account, such as, withdrawal or vacation of indictment, withdrawal of some charges, findings of incompetence etc. With this in mind, it appears that the division used by the report’s authors, and a comparison between their data and the data presented in this datasheet is highly relevant to the issue discussed here. For more information about the Judicial Authority study and how it was conducted, see pp. 5-6 of the study.

²² One of these cases (Yesh Din case 1319-1/07) resulted in a full conviction only after the State’s appeal against the defendant’s acquittal of some of the charges was accepted.
The significance of this data is that of the total number of investigations under Yesh Din monitoring, and in which a decision to indict was made, only a third of the proceedings (33.3%) culminated in full or partial convictions. The remaining cases ended with acquittals, dropped or vacated indictments, suspension of proceedings, or findings of guilt without conviction. An examination of all legal proceedings that did not result in a conviction shows that the vast majority ended with one of two results: cancellation of an indictment after it was filed with the court and after the court began hearing the case, or a judicial finding that the defendant did commit the alleged offense, but no conviction.

Vacated/dropped indictments
A breakdown of the circumstances in which charges were dropped in 13 files monitored by Yesh Din reveals that most cases involved failure of investigation and prosecution officials to prove allegations against suspects, as well as delays in proceedings, failure of defendants to appear for court sessions and suspension of proceedings which ultimately led to the cancellation of the criminal case. In at least six of the cases that were ultimately cancelled, defendants failed to appear at some or all of the court sessions, and in most cases, the proceedings included fines issued against the defendants, capias warrants, arrest warrants, and sometimes a suspension of proceedings pending location of the suspects. In at least one case, the proceedings have been suspended to this day,23 and in another, the significant delays and the prolonged suspension resulted in what the police called “compromised evidence”. The charges were withdrawn and the proceeding was halted.24

As a rule, defendants’ failure to appear for court hearings in cases monitored by Yesh Din is a common occurrence. In total, of the 70 files monitored by Yesh Din, in which a decision to indict was made, in at least 18 cases Yesh Din members documented defendants’ failure to appear in court. In most cases, the failure to appear was systematic and

23 Yesh Din case 1319-2/07.
24 Yesh Din case 1079/05.
occurred in more than one hearing. In at least 12 of these proceedings, failure to appear resulted in fines issued against defendants, capias warrants, arrest warrants or a suspension of proceedings.

In addition, in one case, the State Prosecution withdrew charges to avoid exposing major evidence that would have revealed classified information. An indictment for laying electrical infrastructure in an illegal outpost was dropped “on consultation with the State Attorney’s Office”, as stated in response to Yesh Din’s inquiries in the matter. Another case was withdrawn after a psychiatric expert opinion stated that the defendant was incompetent to stand trial. Yesh Din has no information about what led to the cancellation of the indictments in five other cases. Inquiries as to whether the court had made any comments that resulted in the indictments being vacated, and what these comments might have been, remain unanswered.

Guilt without conviction

The data shows that fourteen of the cases monitored by Yesh Din in which a decision was made to indict ended with a court finding that the defendant did commit the alleged offense, but no conviction; in only three of these cases the defendants were minors. In most cases, the finding of guilt was followed by community service imposed on the defendant, at the court’s discretion.

Court decisions to avoid convictions are meant to spare defendants the ramifications of a criminal conviction. Such decisions are reserved for special circumstances, or for cases in which the defendants have no criminal history, and the offense for which they are tried appears to be an irregularity rather than a pattern. This is a unique practice, and its use is limited. The Judicial Authority’s figures show that in the Magistrates Court, only 5.3 percent of defendants were found guilty but not convicted. In the District Court, the rate is even lower at only 1.2 percent.

Given this information, the fact that courts preferred not to convict Israeli defendants who harmed Palestinians in almost a quarter (24.6 percent) of the cases monitored by Yesh Din, is unusual and puzzling, all the more so considering that the offenses in question are not ordinary ones, but rather constitute ideologically motivated crime perpetrated against Palestinians in pursuit of political, ideological goals. As such, these offenses are especially heinous, and the Israeli judicial system is expected to be aware of this. The fact that courts prefer to avoid convicting Israelis who deliberately harm Palestinians in the West Bank undermines any deterring effect on other Israeli citizens from perpetrating similar crimes, and sends a clear message that law enforcement agencies do not consider these act to be particularly grave.

E CONCLUSION

This datasheet is the first analysis of the results of investigation files opened by the SJ District Police and in which a decision was made to indict Israelis accused of committing offenses against Palestinians and their property. Within the larger context of Yesh Din’s decade long monitoring of investigations into ideological crime against Palestinians, the figures presented here help provide a fuller account of the state of law enforcement on Israeli citizens in the West Bank.

A fraction of the complaints filed with the SJ District Police by Palestinian victims of crimes perpetrated by Israelis resulted in a decision to indict the suspects (7.4 percent of all concluded investigations). In the rare cases in which indictments were filed, only half of the defendants were found guilty (10.5 percent of the investigations ended with full convictions, 22.8 percent of the cases ended with a partial conviction and 24.6 percent of the cases ended with a finding of guilt without a conviction. Added up, these cases make up 57.9 percent of the total number of cases). Finally, even in the

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25 Response of then Head of the Samaria Prosecution Unit, Israel Police, Adv. Shir Laufer to Yesh Din’s inquiry dated October 27, 2008.

26 Section 71a(b) of the Penal Code stipulates, “Inasmuch as the court finds the defendant guilty of an offense, it may issue an order of service even without a conviction”.

cases in which the defendants were found by the court to have committed an offense, in more than 40 percent of the cases no conviction is made, and the courts limit themselves to the finding of guilt only.

The data’s significance is that a Palestinian who files a complaint with the SJ District Police has a mere 1.9 percent chance that his or her complaint will lead to an effective investigation that results in the identification of a suspect and followed by indictment, trial and conviction.

This sorry state of law enforcement is incongruent with Israel’s duty to protect Palestinians living in the West Bank, who, according to international law, are protected persons under the Israeli occupation. Moreover, this data contradicts the repeated declarations made by Israeli officials that Israel is determined to fight and end ideological crime, i.e. use of crime as a means of achieving political goals, in the West Bank. The incompetence exhibited by Israeli law enforcement agencies regarding this type of crime, the impunity of offenders and the absence of deterrence, raise serious doubts as to whether Israel is able to run an effective law enforcement regime in the territories it occupied.

**From complaint to conviction - a long journey**
Complaints, indictments and convictions in Yesh Din cases