Palestinian Authority Security Forces Officers' Involvement in Terrorism

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Officers

by Day,

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Regavim (R.A) is a public movement dedicated to the protection of Israel's national lands and resources.



The Regavim Movement acts to prevent illegal seizure of state land, and to protect the rule of law and clean government in matters pertaining to land-use policy in the State of Israel.

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Foreword

One of the most talked-about topics in Israeli public discourse surrounding the "Iron Swords" War that continues to rage around us as this report is being written is the collapse of "the conception," the operational paradigm or underlying perception of our enemies' intentions, capabilities and willingness to wage war against us, and the wishful thinking that has taken root among Israel's military and policy bodies over the course of years - all of which went up in smoke, blood and tears as the horrors of October 7th unfolded.

Since that day, the discourse on "the day after the war in Gaza" has been awash with statements by almost every political or security official, on the need to uproot and correct the wishful thinking vis-à-vis Hamas and the Gaza Strip. Most unfortunately, and even tragically, "the conception" is alive and well in the security and political echelons when it comes to the issue of Judea and Samaria, particularly regarding the possibility of the Palestinian Authority Security Forces (hereinafter, PASF) turning their weapons against Israeli civilians or security forces.

This report was written in the midst of the war, and it exposes the deep, ongoing and increasing involvement of the various branches of the Palestinian Authority Security Forces in acts of terrorism and murder perpetrated against Israeli citizens and IDF soldiers.

The Palestinian Authority (PA) pays huge salaries to terrorists, shamelessly binding itself directly to terrorism, but neither this barefaced illegal activity nor the wages paid to terrorists and their families are the focus of this report. Rather, in the pages that follow we expose the activities of those already on the PA payroll, members of official branches of the Palestinian security framework who, under orders of the PA, play a dual role: on the one hand, they ostensibly serve in the policing and security entities responsible for the prevention and eradication of Palestinian terrorism, "without Bagatz (the Israeli Supreme Court) and without B'Tselem," in the words of Prime Minister Yitzchak Rabin z"l, while at the same time, these same officers are themselves perpetrators of unspeakable acts of terrorism against civilians and Israeli security forces.

This document briefly reviews the structure of the security and coordination mechanisms of the Palestinian Authority, illustrates how, since their inception, the members of these mechanisms carry out this dual role, and details the terrorist activity of PASF operatives, including terrorists killed while perpetrating attacks who are posthumously glorified as holy martyrs by Palestinian society at large and by the Palestinian Authority itself.

Finally, we will prove that the State of Israel and decision-makers at the top levels of our political and security systems continue to hide information about the extent of the involvement of PA security operatives in acts of terrorism.

It is not only Regavim's contention that a reality in which the PASF turns its guns on Israel is not a futuristic scenario but is happening, increasingly, even now; senior officials in the Fatah Movement and the PASF have already made it very clear that the members of all branches of the PA security framework are actively involved in the struggle against "the occupation," and proudly boast about the large and growing number of "martyrs" and prisoners from among their ranks!

The notion that on "the day after the war" the very same Palestinian "security mechanisms," which are actually terrorist mechanisms, will bear responsibility for Judea and Samaria, as well as for Gaza - is chilling; the very thought should be keeping every sane person awake at night. It is this same line of thought that brought the massacre of October 7th upon us. The Palestinian Authority and its "security" mechanisms in particular, believe themselves to be the hands entrusted with the dual mission of conquering Israel and eradicating the Jewish People. This is their operative plan and their ultimate objective. Any statement to the contrary, made in service of or by any other interest, is tantamount to burying one's head in the sand and poses a strategic threat to the State of Israel and the Jewish People.



PASF terrorist Muhammad Abu Bakr, bodyguard for Abu Mazen's deputy, Mahmud al-'Alul







Post by terrorist Ahmed al-'Abed, praising terrorist Dawud al-Zubeidi

Security Coordination: An Asset or a Liability? // 9

Security Coordination: An Asset or a Liability?

For many years, the Palestinian Authority has been encouraging terrorism against the citizens of Israel both indirectly and directly - both in terms of inciting and glorifying terrorists in the education system and in public discourse, and by paying huge salaries to terrorists incarcerated in Israeli prisons and to the families of terrorists who have been killed.

Small wonder, then, that the intensive and continuous incitement and glorification of terrorism has impacted the attitudes and outlook of the Palestinian public. These attitudes were reflected in a survey published 100 days after the outbreak of the Iron Swords War, according to which approximately 82% of Arabs in Judea and Samaria support the massacre of October 7. Support for Hamas among Arabs in Judea and Samaria rose from 12% in September 2023 to 44% in November - December 2023.¹

The discourse in Israel surrounding the Palestinian Authority's support for terrorism revolves mainly around the issue of the law empowering the Israeli government to freeze funds for terrorism, and the law's implementation on the ground. However, regarding the direct involvement of members of the PASF - there is a virtually-absolute bond of silence.

Just as the results of the aforementioned survey of Palestinian opinion were published, Israeli Defense Minister Yoav Galant was interviewed by a number of leading Israeli media outlets.² Galant stressed "the importance of security coordination with the Palestinian Authority" and the need to transfer funds to the Palestinian Authority. In his opinion, "at this time the Palestinian Authority is working to curb terrorism, to rescue Israelis who accidentally stray into territories under the PA's jurisdiction, and I think that this effort is helping us - otherwise we will have to do it ourselves. If we reach a situation where they act against us - we will know what to do, but we're not in that situation."³

Despite Gallant's denial, in-depth research by the Regavim Movement conducted during the course of the war has identified many members of the PA security apparatus who are deeply and actively involved in terrorism, including the murder and maiming of Israeli civilians and soldiers.

As we have noted, the Palestinian Authority itself highlights the involvement

¹ AP, <u>Palestinian poll shows a rise in Hamas support and close to 90% wanting US-backed Abbas to resign, https://bit.ly/3UZiNi8.</u>

² Times of Israel, <u>Gallant calls on government to strengthen Palestinian Authority</u>, <u>https://bit.ly/48Hr4KE</u> (15 January 2024).

³ Gallant's response to Israeli digital news reporter Liran Weinstein, as posted on X (Twitter), 15 January 2024: <u>https://bit.ly/432bOXE</u>

of PA security staff in terrorism: The official spokesman for the PA security system, Colonel Talal Dweikat, conducted numerous interviews after the outbreak of the war. Responding to criticism in Al Jazeera that "the PA makes no contribution to the struggle against the Zionist enemy and even cooperates with it, mostly on security coordination," Dweikat stated that "we have no objective other than achieving liberation, independence and the establishment of the state." Dweikat expressed great pride, speaking for "the Fatah Movement and also for the PASF for 30 years - the PASF has sacrificed more than 2000 martyrs, hundreds of prisoners, among them those serving life sentences."⁴

According to Dweikat and and senior PA official Jibril Rajoub,⁵ PASF staff constitute 12% of all Palestinian terrorists incarcerated in Israel ("security inmates").

Fatah spokesman Hasin Hama'il boasted about the high number of PASF officers in Israeli prisons and stressed that "the PASF do not arrest Munadhilin ('fighters' from the ranks of Palestinian terror groups), to the contrary, members of the PASF are the very ones involved in the fight against the occupation."⁶

⁴ See interviews (Arabic) on 12 November 2023 (<u>https://bit.ly/4c2ubjb</u>), 14 November 2023 (<u>https://bit.ly/3T6cpDj</u>), 20 December 2023 (<u>https://bit.ly/3uNksNf</u> - at 05:55).

⁵ Moshe Elad, "The Method: Policemen by Day, Terrorists by Night," Makor Rishon (Hebrew) 20 September 2023 (https://bit.ly/3IoQi67).

⁶ Hasin Hama'il, Fatah spokesman, in an interview on 12 November 2023 (<u>https://bit.ly/3Pa53xo</u> - beginning 03:35).





Caricature extolling PASF terrorist Muhammad Barad'iyeh: "He stripped off the Security Liaison Service uniform and restored Fatah to its glory days."



Youth camp in the Jenin region, named in memory of Dawud al-Zubeidi, co-sponsored by the Palestinian National Security Service.



PASF terrorist Muhammad Barad'iyeh, photographed in military training course in Bangladesh.

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The Palestinian Authority Security Forces – Background

The Palestinan Authority Security Forces were formed under the Oslo Agreement signed in September 1995: "In order to guarantee public order and internal security for the Palestinians of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the Council shall establish a strong police force, as set out in Article XIV below."⁷ In practice, a broad Palestinian security apparatus was established, consisting of the Palestinian Police and other branches responsible for national, preventive, public and presidential security - all of which are, in theory, supposed to combat terrorism and collaborate with Israel on security matters.⁸

- **General Intelligence Service (GIS** considered the Palestinian equivalent of the Israeli Mossad). The official mandate of the GIS is to preserve stability in the PA-governend territories, intelligence gathering both within and beyond the PA's jurisdiction, to prevent and thwart espionage and terrorism. The GIS is funded by, among others, the CIA and MI6.
- Preventive Security Service (PSS the Palestinian equivalent of Israel's Shin Bet/Shabak) The official mandate of the PSS is to ensure stability in the PA-controlled territories and to thwart terror, and to act against Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) operatives and affiliates in Judea and Samaria.
- Palestinian National Security Forces (PSF parallels the IDF). The PSF is the largest branch of the PASF. Its operatives are trained at Al Istiqlal University, the PA's military academy in Jericho, where European military advisors conduct and oversee their training. US military trainers supervise and provide training for the PSF in Jordan. The PSF is tasked with maintaining the borders, conducting arrests and enforcing public order.
- Palestinian Civil Police (PCP equivalent to any national police force). Aside from maintaining public order and fighting crime, the PCP is tasked with controlling Palestinian demonstrators who seek confrontation with IDF forces.
- Presidential Guard (PG) and Military Intelligence (parallels Israel's Director of Security of the Defense Establishment (DSDE) and Military Police Investigative Unit) Among other things, Military Intelligence is tasked with due process for members of the PASF who are involved in

⁷ Annex 1 Section XII of the Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement on the West Bank and Gaza Strip, <u>https://ecf.org.il/media_items/624</u> (p. 9).

⁸ See Mohammad Al Kassim, "Backgrounder: Palestinian Security Forces Explained," The Medialine, <u>26 May 2020</u> (https://bit.ly/48FkZP0).

criminal or terrorist activities.

- Liaison and Coordination Department a system, created under Annex I Article III of the Interim Agreement ("the Oslo Accords"), that is tasked with coordinating and cooperating on security matters of mutual interest with the Israeli security apparatus. The PA's department hands over to the IDF Israelis who accidentally cross into PA-controlled areas, notifies the Israeli authorities of "price tag" actions, and receives advance notice from the Israeli side to withdraw from areas in which the IDF intends to carry out arrests and other operations.
- Palestinian Civil Defense (parallels Israeli Fire and Rescue Service)

Palestinian Customs Authority

According to PASF Spokesman Colonel Talal Dweikat, as of December 2023 the PASF in Judea and Samaria numbered some 33,500 employees.9

The PASF budget is comprised of a predetermined percentage of the PA's annual budget as well as funds from additional sources, such as the intelligence services of foreign governments. These funds are earmarked for a variety of uses, including to strengthen the PASF's constituent divisions, to meet regular budgetary needs, to purchase equipment and for training exercises.

Until 2000, the PASF's constituent branches each fended for themselves in terms of international funding. With the outbreak of the Second Intifada in September 2000, security coordination between Israel and the Palestinian Authority was suspended. In 2005, after the death of Yasser Arafat and the election of Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen) as Chairman of the Palestinian Authority, the relationship between the PASF and the Israeli security apparatus ostensibly began a process of rehabilitation.

Western governments, including the US, Canada, Australia, Britain, France, the European Union and Jordan, under the leadership of the United States Security Coordinator for Israel and the Palestinian Authority, General Keith Dayton, began to rebuild the Palestinian Authority's security apparatus, providing professional training and weapons.

General Dayton was deeply involved in training PASF personnel, so much so that Islamist critics refer to the Palestinian Authority's security services

⁹ PASF Spokesman Major General Talal Dweikat, interviewed on 14 November 2023 (Arabic) <u>https://bit.ly/3T6cpDj</u>. Other sources, such as Mohammad Al Kassim ("Backgrounder: Palestinian Security Forces Explained," The Medialine, 26 May 2020 (<u>https://bit.ly/48FkZPD</u>) estimate PASF staff at 60,000.

as "the Dayton Forces." There are those who contend that General Dayton changed the attitudes of the PASF regarding the need to fight terrorism and to uphold the Oslo Accords.10 In 2007, parallel with the loss of PA control of the Gaza Strip to Hamas, security coordination between the PASF in Judea and Samaria and Israel was reinstated.

See Cops by Day, Terrorists by Night: The U.S.-Funded PA Security Forces, Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, February 2024 (https://bit.ly/3IlB7KV). Regarding the depth of Dayton's involvement in the training and "rehabilitation" of PA security forces, see Keith Dayton, "Peace through Security: America's Role in the Development of the Palestinian Authority Security Services," <u>The Washington Institute 2009 (https://bit.ly/49UWFcM</u>). Also see Avi Issacharoff, "Dayton to Retire After Five Years of Rebuilding PA Forces," <u>Haaretz, October 8, 2010 (https://bit.ly/3P87ZdO</u>); Mohammad Al-Kassim, <u>Backgrounder: Palestinian Security Services Explained (https://bit.ly/48FkZP0</u>); Mohammed J. Herzallah, Why Obama Should Fire General Dayton, <u>The Electronic Intifada, July 2, 2009 (https://bit.ly/3wDOG5H</u>); Shlomo Brom, Update on Reform of the Palestinian Security Apparatuses, <u>Institute for National Security Studies Insight No. 77, October 30, 2008 (https://bit.ly/3vOSnC8).</u>

Three Decades of "The Conception"

At the inception of the PASF, Palestinian personnel were recruited security amona "araduates" of the Palestinian Liberation Army¹¹ - a militant Palestinian nationalist organization established as the military wing of the Palestine Liberation Organization at the Arab League Summit in September 1964. The PLA was tasked with combatting the State of Israel.¹² Many of the members of the force were terrorists who had served time in Israeli prisons for committing acts of terrorism or terror affiliations.13

Security coordination between the State of Israel and the Palestinian Authority is conducted on a daily basis on a variety of levels, from the political echelon through the military level and down to on-theground coordination.



Fatah Spokesperson's official social media post (2022) commemorating the 26th anniversary of the "Western Wall Tunnels Uprising, in which members of the PASF confronted the Occupation Forces."

The paradigm based on a positive perception of security coordination generally views the mutual trust and cooperation between Israel and the PA as effective, and considers the PASF the appropriate body to hold jurisdiction in Area A of Judea and Samaria; in similar vein, this paradigm contends that on "the day after," the PA and PASF will be effective in the Gaza Strip as well.

This viewpoint was best expressed by journalist Elior Levy, formerly the Palestinian Affairs Analyst for the Yediot Aharanot News Division and currently head of the Palestinian Affairs Desk at Israel's Kan Broadcasting:

"Security coordination between Israel and the Palestinian Authority has never been better or stronger...the PASF are at the top of their game in terms of professionalism... mainly

13 In the words of PASF Spokesman Talal Dweikat, "The overwhelming majority of PASF personnel languished for years in the prisons of the occupation (i.e., Israel), released prisoners who spent decades in the occupation's prisons constitute the main nerve center of the security establishment." Awdeh TV Interview of 12 November 2023 (Arabic) (https://bit.ly/4c2ubjb).

¹¹ Elior Levy, "The Many Layers of the Palestinian Security Forces," <u>Ynet Magazine, 26</u> <u>April 2016</u> (https://bit.ly/3P8n0Mx).

¹² For more information, see the Wikipedia entry <u>Palestine Liberation Army</u> (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Palestine_Liberation_Army).

thanks to security coordination with Israel.

The PASF have helped Israel locate suspects,... returned Israelis who accidentally strayed into Area A, and information and intelligence is shared between the police forces ... Coordination is also carried out in civil matters. For example ... during the massive Carmel Forest fire in 2010, the PA dispatched firefighters ... Security cooperation between the PASF and Israel drives Hamas mad, because this cooperation is one of the main reasons that Hamas' military infrastructure in the West Bank is rather rickety. Many of its military cells are intercepted while still in their very early stages thanks to the security coordination ... Security coordination between Israel and the PA has withstood quite a few tests ... the weapons that are in PASF hands are almost all light weapons (i.e., handguns), riot control gear and on- and offroad vehicles...¹⁴

As we will see throughout the pages below, the idea that we can place Israel's security in the hands of the Palestinian Authority has proven, time after time after time, to be fundamentally mistaken - but too many decision-makers have chosen to be lulled by the false sense of calm provided by security coordination. Today, it is clear that this is one part of the larger fabric of a conception based on wishful thinking that has mesmerized Israel for many years.

In practice, from the day the PASF was founded, and even more so in recent years, at the very same time that they hold positions in the Palestinian Authority's security apparatus, ostensibly tasked with preserving order and security and **preventing terrorism**, **many PASF officers hold parallel positions in 'resistance' movements**, either civil or military, such as the Al Aksa Martyrs Brigades (the military arm of Fatah). They do not hesitate to resort to armed confrontation with Israel;¹⁵ rather than upholding public order and preventing terrorism, they themselves carry out acts of terrorism against Israeli civilians and members of Israel's security forces,

¹⁴ Elior Levy, "The Many Layers of the Palestinian Security Forces," <u>Ynet Magazine, 26</u> <u>April 2016</u> (https://bit.ly/3P8nOMx).

¹⁵ See Dr. Moshe Elad, "The Method: Cops by Day, Terrorists by Night (Hebrew)," <u>Makor Rishon 22 September 2023</u> (https://www.makorrishon.co.il/opinion/669515/). Dr. Elad served as the Ministry of Defense Advisor for Arab Affairs, Commander of Military Coordination in the Territories, and Civil Administration's Military Governor of the Jenin and Bethlehem Regions.

exploiting the skills and weapons provided by western benefactors.

For years, the dual role of PASF personnel has been directed and operated by the PA leadership, which itself plays a dual role, through two different branches: One arm is the PASF which ostensibly represent peace, security and cooperation with Israel; the other arm, the Al Aksa Martyrs Brigade and the Fatah Secretariat, more officially and practically partner with "resistance" and terrorism.¹⁶ Indeed, the dual role is even more of a tangled web than this description implies, as there is no clear division between the members of the two arms, and some, as we have noted, belong to both the PASF and the terrorist branch. The PA controls the temperature of the conflict, as it were; at any given moment it can dispatch PASF officers to attack, and these operatives don't miss a beat.

The Western Wall Tunnels Riots

In September 1996, soon after the formation of the PASF, dozens of Palestinian Police officers initiated the Western Wall Tunnels riots, using their weapons to engage in street battles against the IDF; 17 Israeli soldiers were killed. The events followed a spree of incitement by PA President Yasser Arafat.

The Western Wall Tunnels riots were not a momentary or singular slip in which individuals and institutions meant to combat terrorism actually fought on the side of terrorism. The riots became a formative event in the Palestinian Authority's national ethos.

Regavim's Research Division has culled many statements posted on social media in recent years by senior office holders in the Palestinian Authority, by official PA offices and institutions, and by a host of PA educational institutions, all of which reflect the ongoing memorializing and glorification of the Western Wall Riots in the Palestinian curriculum, as well as Arafat's inflammatory speech in which he called upon the members of the PASF to engage in armed battle against Israel. See, for example:

 A post by General Maazen Izaladin, Member of the Palestinian National Council and the Fatah Advisory Council, former General Political Commissioner of the Palestinian National Authority, to which he attached a video clip of Yasser Arafat urging PA Security Forces to launch the

¹⁶ Amichai Shiloh, "Why is the IDF hiding the Al Aksa Martyrs Brigade terrorists?" HaKol HaYehudi, 19 February 2024 (<u>https://bit.ly/3Pgj4JQ</u>).

Western Wall Tunnels riots;17

- Fatah Youth Movement, Arab Department for Applied Science social media post dated 2022, to which the same video clip of Arafat urging PASF officers to launch the Western Wall Tunnels riots is attached;¹⁸
- Videos and posts by the "Fatah Department of Media and Culture" dating 2022-2023¹⁹; a variety of publications recording school events and reenactments (in Rafah, Anabta, Silwad and elsewhere) in which the riots are glorified;²⁰
- A 2022 post by the Fatah Media and Culture Commission, marking 26 years since the "Tunnel Uprising, during which the Palestinian Security Forces confronted the Occupation Forces."²¹

The Al Aqsa (Second) Intifada

In September 2000, under the direction of PA Chairman Yasser Arafat who continued to play both good cop and bad cop in his ongoing "theater of duplicity" for the benefit of international and Israeli audiences, hundreds of PASF officers used weapons provided by western governments to actively fight against Israeli security forces and carry out countless terror attacks against the citizens of Israel. They documented their battles, and reveled in the "ferocity" and bravery of the Security Forces fighters.²²

- 17 <u>Facebook post with video</u> (Arabic) (https://bit.ly/49Fqrt9)
- 18 Facebook post and video (https://bit.ly/3T1kvNr)
- 19 Facebook post and video of the Fatah Media and Culture Department, dated 25 September 2023 (https://bit.ly/3V6Fd0X); Facebook post and video of the Fatah Media and Culture Department, dated 25 September 2022 (https://bit.ly/3uYsAKJ); Facebook post and video by the Fatah Spokesman, dated 29 August 2017; Facebook post and video dated 4 July 2021 (https://bit.ly/3wBSPaa), reading: "When Palestine had a president who did not sleep for the sake of Jerusalem and made the security services fire in the face of the occupation, here Yasser Arafat gave the signal to start the tunnel rampage in 1996..."
- 20 Facebook post and video <u>2022</u> (<u>https://bit.ly/3Iosi2L</u>); facebook post and video of a memorial ceremony held in The Shafa Amr Elementary School for Girls in Rafah, <u>23</u> <u>September 2023</u> (https://bit.ly/3PaEDLI); another little girl celebrates the Western Wall Tunnel riots in a school ceremony at the Anabta School for Girls, <u>25 September 2019</u> (https://bit.ly/3ILgHv).
- 21 <u>https://bit.ly/3T8l7kn</u>
- 22 See a Facebook post and video posted on "Palestine: Heaven on Earth", titled "Ferocious fighters of the Security Forces in the Al Aksa Intifada, 2000" dated <u>6 January 2017</u> (https://bit.ly/3T5AJoP).

In the course of 2022, documents were cleared for publication that had been seized by the IDF during the Guardian of the Walls Campaign of 2002. These documents proved that "Force 17" fighters and Palestinian Police officers were engaged in extensive fighting against IDF forces in the early 2000s, particularly around Ramallah and Jenin.²³

In 2004, Colonel Khamis Hussein Abdel Majeed Qaoud, an officer in the PASF, was filmed - in uniform - shooting at Israeli forces near Netzarim.²⁴

As a response to the "Al Aqsa Intifada," the IDF suspended joint patrols, destroyed PASF installations and killed terrorists, among them those who served concurrently in the PASF. The Shin Bet classified the Palestinian **Preventive Security Service as a terrorist entity!**²⁵ Any semblance of law and order in Area A was replaced by anarchy that gripped Palestinian cities for years thereafter.

2005 saw the beginning of an ostensible rapprochement between the PASF and the IDF and the various Israeli intelligence branches. As noted earlier, the west developed and rebuilt the Palestinian security framework, trained Palestinian officers and supplied them with weapons and other military materiel.

In 2007, as control of the Gaza Strip was wrested from the Palestinian Authority by Hamas, security coordination in Judea and Samaria between the PASF and Israel's security apparatus was reinstated.

In the years that have elapsed, this cooperation has known ups and downs, including months-long breaks in communication, but even in the "good times" neither the security coordination nor the "enforcement activity" of the PA's security apparatus have successfully prevented the development of Hamas infrastructure or the proliferation of Hamas terror cells in Judea and Samaria.

So it has been in recent years: In 2021 the Bennet-Lapid government (and then-Defense Minister Benny Gantz) approved the PA's request that the IDF

²³ Elior Levy, "Documents seized during 'Guardian of the Walls' prove: The PA supported terrorism and terrorists (Hebrew)," <u>Ynet, 6 January 2017</u> (https://bit.ly/3Tpxbiq). <u>Facebook post and video</u> of the 4moltqa Youth Forum, highlighting "Very rare video [of] the heroes of the security services and national security killing Zionist soldiers, Netzarim settlement." (https://bit.ly/3wQ6Ukl)

^{24 &}lt;u>See the Facebook memorial post of 14 July 2023</u> (https://bit.ly/3TqQisg). Qaoud was killed in Gaza by Hamas in 2007.

²⁵ Yishai Shenrav, "The dismissive attitude toward rockets fired from Jenin is reminiscent of the early 2000s", (Hebrew), <u>Makor Rishon 14 August 2023</u> (https://bit.ly/3V1Xn3W).

refrain from overt operations in Area A, and no IDF operations were carried out in the Jenin refugee camp. The results of this policy decision were immediate: Local clans affiliated with Hamas and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) utilized the vacuum to organize; they established fighting brigades with organized command and control structures, bulked up on weapons, created munitions workshops and explosives labs, and boobytrapped many of the streets of Jenin, preparing for confrontation with the IDF.

Within only half a year, Jenin, the "terror capital" of Judea and Samaria, launched murderous attacks in Elad, Hadera, Bnei Brak, and Dizengoff Center in Tel Aviv,²⁶ and attempts to develop missile technology resulted in rockets fired from Jenin toward Israel's Gilboa region.

26 See Tom Nisani on X, <u>9 April 2022</u> (<u>https://bit.ly/3T9acqm</u>) Shlomo Filber on X, <u>14 December 2023</u> (<u>https://bit.ly/3T3XR6V</u>); MoranT on X, <u>15 December 2023</u> (<u>https://bit.ly/3SY1Fqc</u>).



Military funeral of PASF terrorist Taysir al-'Ayaseh, who was buried in full PASF uniform



Martyrdom proclamation published by the PASF National Security Service honoring PASF terrorist Saif al-Najami

Officers by Day, Terrorists by Night

Behind the illusory display of security coordination and the façade of security, we find more and more officers and members of the PASF taking a significant role in encouraging and supporting terrorism:

- Ostentatious military funerals for terrorists who were not PSAF staff, organized and attended by the PSAF; senior PSAF officers pay condolence calls to honor the memory of terrorists killed while attempting to murder Israelis;²⁷
- Senior PA officials take pride in the "shahid" (martyrs), wounded and imprisoned members of the PASF;
- Children and other family members of PASF staff and officers are actively involved in terrorism, alongside PASF officers who personally carry out murderous attacks against Israel.
- PASF officers disrupt Israeli security forces' operations in Judea and Samaria;²⁸
- 27 Tamer Alkilani, a terrorist from the Lions' Den, was killed in Nablus in October 2022. Senior PSAF officials, including the governor of Nablus district, the deputy commander of the Nablus region, and the commanders of the PASF, paid a condolence visit to the mourners tent.

Ibrahim Navlesi fired at IDF positions and at worshipers at Josef's Tomb (and wounded Shomron Brigade Col. Roi Zweig). After a six-month manhunt, he was eliminated in August 2021 by the IDF. The commander of the PASF and the commander of tahe Nablus region awarded his mother a PASF badge of honor as a token of appreciation for her firm stance, "a model and a symbol for emulation."

Muhammad Elaraishi, a Fatah activist, was killed in October 2022 after clashes with the IDF in Nablus. According to the instructions of the commander of the Nablus region of the PASF, Lieutenant Colonel Muhammad Salama Laaraishi, an official military funeral was held for the terrorist.

Wasim Khalifa, a Fatah operative, was killed in August 2022 after violent clashes with the IDF near Josef's Tomb. He was given an official military funeral in which PASF operatives in the Nablus district participated.

Military funerals were also held for Adel Daoud and Amjad Abu Aliya, who were killed (in two different incidents) after throwing Molotov cocktails at IDF soldiers. Their bodies were carried by operatives of the PASF. Abu Mazen called Abu Aliya's father to console him. Also see, "The Palestinian Authority and Fatah have adopted a policy of full solidarity with Palestinians killed while carrying out terrorist attacks against Israel or in confrontations with Israeli security forces," <u>17 November 2022</u>. The Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center (https://bit.ly/49W2yXa).

28 "The heroes of the PASF block the IDF from entering Jenin" (https://bit.ly/3T45pkq); "The heroes of the PASF in Hebron" (https://bit.ly/435pFwk); "Members of the security services in Hebron intercept the occupation forces and prevent them from advancing towards the city" (https://bit.ly/3wKsl6D); "The security services prevent the occupation forces from storming the Wadi al-Hariya area in the city of Hebron" • After the outbreak of the war on October 7th, Fatah commanders serving in the PA security apparatus in Jenin issued a 24-hour ultimatum to Abu Mazen, demanding that he declare a total and open confrontation against Israel "by any and all means," otherwise they would declare a military revolt.²⁹

In December 2020, the identification of PASF personnel with terrorist activists was so high that armed Al Aksa Martyrs Brigades militants released a statement in the name of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades warning against targeting the PASF!³⁰ In September 2022, the situation was so dire that Israel issued a severe warning to the PA regarding participation of PASF personnel in acts of anti-Israel terrorism.³¹

As we have noted, the IDF does not publicize the organizational affiliations of terrorists who are members of the Palestinian Authority's security apparatus, and there is no organized or official list of PASF personnel who have "turned their guns" on Israeli civilians or security operatives.

Our research has, from the outset, focused on "PASF terrorists" active between 2020 and 2024, on the basis of open sources - first and foremost, the "proclamation of martyrdom of PASF personnel," circulated by the Fatah Movement and its supporters. The names that appear on these proclamations were subjected to meticulous and exhaustive inspection and research, and the majority were found to be on the PASF payroll. We identified the terror incidents in which each were involved. The proclamations also included names of individuals whom we have not yet been able to identify or whom we have identified but have not succeeded in proving their connection to the PASF. We have not included these individuals in this report's tally of PASF terrorists.

The proclamations also include additional PASF terrorists who carried out

- 29 David Israel, "Blinken Doesn't Blink as Abbas Submits Wish List Spelling the End of the Jewish State," Jewish Press <u>1 December 2023</u> (https://bit.ly/49MM5oU).
- 30 Alarabiya Palestine on Facebook, <u>13 December 2020</u> (https://bit.ly/49H8kfR).
- 31 See Yoni Ben Menachem, "The Terrorism of the Palestinian Authority's Security Forces," (Hebrew), News1, <u>18 September 2022</u> (https://bit.ly/3wGHMMZ) and Orit Perlov and Udi Dekel, "Chaos in the Palestinian Authority," Institute for National Security Studies, <u>18 September 2022</u> (https://bit.ly/49LfxLN).

⁽https://bit.ly/3V7Db0z); "IDF forces on an operation in the village of Bidya in western Samaria were blocked by Palestinian policemen armed with Kalashnikov rifles. The incident is even more serious because the village is in Area B where the Palestinian Authority has no security jurisdiction according to the Oslo Accords, and any Palestinian activity in the village requires IDF approval. The location - only two kilometers from the Israeli communities of Etz Ephraim and Barkan." (https://bit.ly/49ENY6F)

attacks prior to the timeframe covered in this study; we will provide details on these individuals and incidents, as well as PASF terrorists we have identified through other sources but whose names do not appear on the " martyrdom proclamations." It is clear that these data underestimate the phenomenon, and cannot be considered a definitive tally of the extent of "PASF terrorists" in the period we have examined.

Because the Fatah Movement takes great pride in the terrorists that arise from its ranks, they periodically publish proclamations with the names and photos of their "martyred" terrorists. These proclamations are publicized widely in Palestinian print and digital media and are often found gracing shops and residences, in windows and on walls and the sides of buildings throughout the cities and villages of Judea and Samaria.³² Regavim's Research Division analyzed these proclamations and found that many of the terrorist who are lauded and memorialized in them, and other terrorists as well, are officers of various rank in the Palestinian Authority Security Forces (in some cases, different sources report different ranks for the same officer) who exploited the training they received from western governments' military specialists and the advanced weaponry with which they were equipped for the purpose of "making peace in the region a reality," and acted in precisely the opposite manner, turning their guns against Israelis and Jews.

In the pages below we will present data regarding the identity of terrorists from the ranks of the Palestinian Authority Security Forces - beginning with the terrorists featured in the "martyr proclamations." We will begin with the PASF officers who carried out attacks between 2020 -2024, followed by terrorists, listed in those same proclamations, who carried out attacks in previous years. We will then proceed to provide details on terrorists who were killed while carrying out attacks but whose names do not appear in the proclamations. We will then present the PASF terrorists who were arrested and others who were wounded by Israeli forces. Lastly, we will list PASF personnel who incite to terrorism.

³² Dr. Moshe Elad, "Again and again, Israel falls into the trap set by Abu Mazen and the PA," Makor Rishon <u>25 July 2023</u> (Hebrew) (https://bit.ly/48LPanw)

Proclamation 1:

Publicized on 6 August 2023 by "Odeh - the Fatah Channel" of the Fatah Media and Culture Commission³³ presenting "martyrs of the PASF 2021 - 2023, noting the security branch in which each one served.



33 <u>https://bit.ly/48LKKgB</u> - The following are names of those who appear on this proclamation but are not included in our tally of terrorists: Colonel Abu Ashraf Al-Armoushi, Malazem Mahand Kassem, Bilal Abid, Tarek Khalaf, Musa Pandi, Amr Muhammad, Younes Abu Shakara - all from the PASF, were not included in our list because they are Lebanese nationals. Another name that was not included is Malazam Tarek Badwan - because the IDF issued an official apology for killing him accidentally; he is not included because he did not turn his gun on Israeli forces or Israeli civilians. In this context, we should note that unlike the PA, Israel has proven to be willing and able to apologize when mistakes are made, while PASF and PA officials who carry out terror attacks and premeditated murder of Israelis are glorified and honored by the Palestinian Authority.



Proclamation 2:

Publicized on 18 February 2024 on the "Abna Alwatan" Telegram channel.³⁴

34 <u>https://bit.ly/49T7M60</u> - names that were added but that we have not included in our tally of terrorists - because we were unable to identify them or were unable to establish a link to the PASF: Colonel Mentzer Sif, Makadem Ali Odeh, Lieutenant Abdullah Abu Al-Hija, Lieutenant Muhammad El-Azmi.

Proclamation 3:

Publicized 29 February 2024 on the "Abna Alwatan" Telegram channel³⁵



35 <u>https://bit.ly/433HtrR</u> - Names that appear on this proclamation for the first time but were not included in our tally of terrorists - either because we were unable to identify them or because we were unable to find a link to the PASF: Colonel Muhammad Kabhaah, Jihad Ghanem, Shakar Alchuzluth (whose home in Gaza was bombed).



Martyrdom proclamation jointly published by the PASF General Intelligence Service and the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades honoring Ashraf al-Sheikh Ibrahim



Martyrdom proclamation published by the PASF General Intelligence Service honoring PASF terrorist 'Abdullah Abu Shalal





Martyrdom poster published by the PASF Civilian Police Service honoring Anas Dwikat

PASF terrorists, 2020-2024 // 33

PASF officers listed in the "martyrdom proclamations" who carried out terrorist activities between 2020-2024



1. Lieutenant Colonel/ Major General Saud Al Titi:

A PASF officer, and at the same time a fighter in the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades, the military arm of Fatah. Altiti participated in the Second Intifada, was arrested and imprisoned in Israel for 16 years and was released in March 2022. When he was released, Al Titi said: "We entered here as soldiers and we return to you as soldiers," ³⁶ and immediately resumed his activities within the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades, and took part in the establishment of the "Al-Aqsa

Martyrs Brigades Youth of Revenge and Liberation." On April 11, 2023, he participated in a drive-by shooting attack on the IDF post in Elon Moreh. IDF soldiers returned fire at the vehicle and Altiti and another terrorist, who were both armed, were killed.³⁷

2. Lieutenant Colonel Ashraf al-Sheikh Ibrahim:

A commander in the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades in Jenin, Ibrahim was incarcerated in an Israeli prison between 2006 and 2012 and again between 2014 and 2019. After his release, he joined and eventually became an officer in the Palestinian Authority's General Intelligence Service "and this did not prevent him from fighting the occupation" at the same time.³⁸ He was killed in May 2023 during an exchange of fire with the IDF. Although he was killed while carrying out an attack aunder the auspices of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades, at his funeral his body was wrapped in the flag of the PASF's General Intelligence Service. The Fatah Media and Culture Commission published a statement of mourning for his death, in which it emphasized that the operatives of the Palestinian security mechanisms are the "iron shield" of the Palestinian national project, as proven by their sacrifice and their role in protecting the Palestinian People and the national interest."³⁹

36 Al Quds Network on YouTube, https://bit.ly/48Rwqfm.

^{37 &}quot;Spotlight on Terrorism and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict (April 3-18, 2023)," The Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center, <u>19 April 2023</u> (https://bit.ly/3T46Ll6)

³⁸ Quds Network on YouTube published a <u>video</u> describing the incident in which he was killed and his funeral: https://bit.ly/3P6VmQ8.

^{39 &}quot;Spotlight on Terrorism and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict (April 3-18, 2023)," The Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center, <u>19 April 2023</u> (https://bit.ly/3T46Ll6).



3. Lieutenant Colonel Dawud al-Zubeidi:

Brother of Zakaria Zubeidi. After spending 12 years in an Israeli prison, he joined as a member of the security forces. On May 13, 2022, IDF and National Counter-Terrorism Unit troops surrounded the house in Kfar Burkin of a wanted terrorist, Mahmoud Adbei, a member of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, with the aim of arresting him. During the operation, the IDF troops exchanged heavy fire with the Palestinian terrorists, one of whom, Dawud al-Zubeidi, shot 47-year-old National Counter-

Terrorism Unit fighter Noam Raz of Kida, who later died of his wounds.⁴⁰ Al-Zubeidi was hit by Israeli gunfire and died of his wounds two days later. Abu Mazen and others, including PSAF spokesman Talal Dweikat, paid a condolence call to comfort Yahya Al-Zubeidi, the terrorist's brother.⁴¹

4. Captain Bilal Rawajbeh

Rawabjeh was an officer in the Preventive Security Service. In November 2020, he fired a handgun at close range at soldiers at the entrance to the Samaria Brigade base. The soldiers returned fire and killed him. Ammunition and other weapons were found in his vehicle. The Palestinian Authority took full responsibility for the terrorist and the Palestinian Foreign Ministry issued an official statement stating that he was "executed by Israel."⁴²

5. Captain Taysir al-'Ayaseh

Al-'Ayaseh of the Nablus District served in the Palestinian General Intelligence Service. He was killed in June 2021along with his colleague in the GIS, Sgt. Adham 'Aliwi (see No. 11 below) in a confrontation with

⁴⁰ Rachel Bernstein, "A Hero Lived Among Us: Yamam Officer Laid to Rest on Mount Herzl," Times of Israel <u>15 May 2022</u> (<u>https://bit.ly/3V6jwOE</u>). Moshe Elad, "The Method: Policemen by Day, Terrorists by Night," Makor Rishon (Hebrew) <u>20 September</u> <u>2023</u> (<u>https://bit.ly/3IoQi67</u>). "The Jenin Battalion: a non-aligned organization of terrorists operating against the Israeli security forces," The Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center, <u>6 July 2022</u> (https://bit.ly/3T7RWxL).

⁴¹ Memorial page: <u>https://bit.ly/48KN1J5</u>.

⁴² Elior Levy and Yoav Zeitun, "PA stands behind terrorist eliminated near Nablus: "Executed by Israel", Ynet, <u>4 January 2020</u> (Hebrew) (https://bit.ly/48I0Doq).

Israeli security forces, when the Counter-Terrorism Unit (Yamam) sought to arrest suspects for shooting at soldiers. Even though the PASF was informed in advance, the Palestinian intelligence officers fired at the Israeli forces; El Aisa and Alioi were killed in the firefight.

Al-'Ayaseh's funeral was attended by senior officials of the PASF, Governor of Jenin Akram Rajov; Commander of the National Security Forces Major General Nidal Abu Duchan; Regional Commander Colonel Bassem Rashid; Director of Intelligence, Lt. Col. Talib Salahat and other high-ranking officers. In their remarks, the PASF officials spoke about national unity, the security establishment and emulating martyrs, prisoners and wounded fighters until freedom and independence are achieved. The speakers praised the efforts of the PASF and their ongoing struggle against the "occupation authorities," as well as the "national action factions" (i.e., terror organizations). The honor guard of security forces fired a 21-gun salute.⁴³ Colonel Zakaria Musleh, the head of military intelligence, paid a condolence visit to the family.⁴⁴

6. Captain Ziad al-Zar'ini

Al-Zar'ini served as an officer in the PASF's Customs Police. In September 2022, after joining the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades, he was arrested by Palestinian military intelligence for his involvement in the "Jerusalem Battalion - Jenin Brigade" and for his role in establishing the Nablus Brigade. A short time later he was pardoned and invited to return to his job at the Customs Police.⁴⁵



On February 26, 2023, the despicable Hamas terrorist Abdel Fattah Hossein Ibrahim Kharusha, (a graduate of the UNRWA school in Askar Refugee Camp), murdered two Israeli brothers, the late Yigal Yaakov (19) and Hillel Menachem Yaniv (21) of Har Bracha, in a shooting attack in Huwara.

- 44 Reported in Wattan News: <u>https://bit.ly/4a24SvT</u>.
- 45 See a posthumous article on his life on the UltraPalestine platform (https://bit. ly/3TpCPRy). Also see <u>https://bit.ly/3IugKLz</u> and <u>https://bit.ly/43nhrQB</u>.

⁴³ WAFA (official PA news site) reported on the funeral: <u>https://bit.ly/3V6AT1R</u>.
After the attack, the terrorist fled to a hideout in Jenin, where al-Zar'ini and other terrorists helped hide him. On March 7, 2023, Israeli security forces entered Jenin with the aim of arresting the Yaniv brothers' murderer. al-Zar'ini was the first to expose the Israeli forces in the vicinity of the hideout and together with other terrorists unleashed a massive firestorm at the Israeli forces who returned fire and killed many terrorists, including Kharosha and al-Zar'ini.⁴⁶ The PASF and Fatah issued glowing tributes and eulogies.⁴⁷

7. Captain 'Imad Abu Rashid and 8. Second Lieutenant Ramzi Zabarah:

Officers in the Palestinian Authority's Civil Defense Forces. In October 2022, Zabara and Abu Rashid carried out a drive-by shooting attack at a military post at the Hawara checkpoint. IDF soldiers returned fire and killed them.⁴⁸ Although they were killed while acting as terrorists, they were given a military funeral.⁴⁹

9. Captain Hamdi Abu Dayah

Abu Dayah was active in the Popular Front terrorist organization and spent time in an Israeli prison. Upon his release, he was inducted to the Palestinian Civil Police. In January 2023, he carried out a shooting attack on an Israeli civilian bus near Karmei Tzur and immediately afterwards opened fire on IDF forces, who in returned fire and killed him.⁵⁰

10. Captain Ahmad Yaaqub Taha (Ta'a),

Taha was an officer in the PASF's national security apparatus. carried out an attempted car-ramming and stabbing attack at Gitai Avisar intersection near Ariel In April 2023: he attempted to run over soldiers and civilians on a bus stop on Route 5, collided with a Palestinian vehicle coming from

⁴⁶ Spotlight on Terrorism and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict (April 3-18, 2023)," The Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center, <u>19 April 2023</u> (<u>https://bit. ly/3T46Ll6</u>).

⁴⁷ See the Fatah memorial on the official <u>Facebook page</u>: <u>https://bit.ly/49IumyC</u>

⁴⁸ Jack Khoury and Yaniv Kubovich, "Two Palestinians Killed in Checkpoint Shootout With Israeli Army", <u>Haaretz 28 October 2022</u> (<u>https://bit.ly/48K4bq9</u>)

⁴⁹ See WAFA Palestinian News Agency report: <u>https://bit.ly/3T5pQmS</u>.

⁵⁰ Spotlight on Terrorism and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict (April 3-18, 2023)," The Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center, <u>19 April 2023</u> (<u>https://bit.ly/3T46Ll6</u>).

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the opposite direction, got out of his vehicle, pulled out a knife and tried to stab an Israeli policeman; an Israeli soldier who was at the scene shot him to death.⁵¹ His coffin was carried by Palestinian policemen. The mourning announcement published by the Fatah Information Bureau stated that Ahmed Yakob Ta'a was "executed by the occupation, and that the Palestinian People will confront the policy of systematic terrorism that harms all its members and particularly their leaders in security forces."

11. Second Lieutenant Adham 'Aliwi of Nablus district

Aliwi was a member of the PASF's General Intelligence Service. In June 2021, he was killed along with Captain Taysir al-'Ayaseh of the Palestinian GIS (No. 5 above) in an exchange of fire with Israeli counter-terrorism and IDF forces who initiated an operation to arrest terrorists suspected of shooting at IDF soldiers. Even though the PASF were given advance warning about the operation, Palestinian intelligence officers opened fire on the Israeli forces; in the exchange of fire, al-'Ayaseh and 'Aliwi were killed.⁵²

12. Second Lieutenant Ahmad al-'Abid

Al-'Abid served in the PASF's military intelligence service. At the same time he was active in the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Battalions. On September 14, 2022, he carried out a shooting attack at the Jalama checkpoint together



with his cousin Abd El Rahman Abed, killing the Deputy Commander of the Nahal Brigade Reconnaisance Unit, Major Bar Falah of Netanya (30), who managed to shoot the terrorists, who were eventually neutralized by IDF forces.⁵³

For several months before carrying out the attack, El Abed posted messages of

^{51 &}quot;Attempted ramming, stabbing attack in West Bank, terrorist shot," <u>Jerusalem Post</u> <u>27 April 2023</u> (https://bit.ly/3wK9LeQ)

⁵² PA News agency WAFA report, <u>6 October 2021</u> (https://bit.ly/3V6AT1R)

⁵³ Emanuel Fabian and Carrie Keller-Lynn, "Senior officer killed in West Bank firefight identified as Maj. Bar Falah, 30 ," <u>Times of Israel 14 September 2022</u> (https://bit. ly/3PcvX7M)

support on his Facebook page for many other terrorists who were killed, among them: "You did your duty and were a breath of fresh air in a time of lowliness and betrayal, your weapon is the purest"; "The only way is to be a martyr, God will multiply your reward." Regarding the terrorists from the attack in Elad, whom the IDF searched for long and hard, he wrote, "God inscribed you to remain alive so that you will witness the liberation of Jerusalem You have fulfilled your duty."⁵⁴

Other PASF fighters boasted on social media that they were members of the same graduating class as the terrorist, indicating that they expressed support and encouragement for terrorism. In addition, Fatah Secretary of Jenin Ata Abu Armila (a high ranking official!), announced a general strike in Jenin in response to the "criminal massacre"⁵⁵ carried out by IDF soldiers - i.e., the elimination of the terrorists.

13. Seccond Lieutenant Ahmad 'Alawneh

'Alawneh was an officer in PASF Military Intelligence Service, 'Alawneh received advanced military training, including a special forces course, in Pakistan. At the same time, he was involved in many terrorist activities. In September 2022 in Jenin, when he opened fire on IDF soldiers, he was shot by Israeli sniper.⁵⁶ According to one of the news reports, he had been arrested by the PASF on charges of spying for Hamas and passing on information about PASF activities against Hamas operatives. However, the Palestinian Authority did not confirm this information, and 'Alawneh was eulogized on behalf of Fatah.⁵⁷

'Alawneh was an inspiration to another PASF operative Ketzi (Kosai) Abu Ara, who together with PASF terrorists Muhammad Frikhat, Malek Abu Akel and Karim Abu Arish, used the weapons they received from the west as PASF officers to participate in armed clashes against the IDF. On 24 October 2022, they were shot by IDF forces who returned fire.⁵⁸

54 <u>https://bit.ly/3Irvta1</u>

⁵⁵ As reported by Abu Ali Express, Telegram channel, <u>14 September 2022</u> (https://bit. ly/49KmrB8).

⁵⁶ Full biography and details of the incident provided by Quds News, <u>2 October 2022</u> (https://bit.ly/3T4IOdb)

⁵⁷ See Quds Network report and video (Arabic): <u>https://bit.ly/4a3HsWW</u> .

⁵⁸ A screenshot of Abu Ara's Facebook page, boasting an "inspirational" photo of Alawneh, as publicized on the Abu Ali Express Telegram channel, <u>28 October 2022</u> (https://bit.ly/4c7Rx76)

14. Captain Muhammad Barad'iyeh

Barad'iyeh carried out a drive-by attack in April 2023 in Beit Ummar in Gush Etzion, injuring three IDF soldiers. Barad'iyeh's father is an officer with the rank of lieutenant colonel in the PASF's military medical corps. Before the attack, Muhammad Barad'iyeh posted a story on his Facebook account, where he wrote: "We asked for heaven and its gates."⁵⁹

15. Seccond Lieutenant Muhammad Abu Bakr

Abu Bakr served as the personal security guard (in military uniform) for Mahmoud al-Alul, Abu Mazen's deputy. In April 2023, Abu Bakr was killed in Nablus in clashes with the IDF forces who entered the city to arrest suspects involved in the attack in Hawara. Abu Bakr and another terrorist opened fire on the IDF and Yamam forces, who returned fire.⁶⁰ Mahmoud al-Alul, Abu Mazen's deputy, participated in the terrorist's Abu Bakr's funeral.⁶¹

16. Second Lieutenant Muhammad Jawabreh

Jawabreh served in the Palestinian Civil Police , Bethlehem District. In February 2023, he was injured in clashes with the IDF in the Al-Arub Refugee Camp and later died of his wounds. Although he was killed outside of his PASF duties, he was given a military funeral.⁶²

17. Second Lieutenant Yazan Munther Abu al-Tabikh

Al-Tabikh was a cadet at the PASF's Al-Astakalal Military College. On February 6, 2018, violent clashes broke out in Jenin during the demolition of the house of Ahmed Konba, one of the members of the squad that murdered the late Rabbi Raziel Shevach at the Havat Gilead intersection in January 2018. Terrorists fired at the the IDF forces, who returned fire; Abu Tabikh was killed in the exchange. He was given a military funeral.⁶³

⁵⁹ See i24 News, <u>2 April 2023</u> (https://bit.ly/4342lz7)

⁶⁰ Jack Khoury and AP, "Palestinians: Two Killed in West Bank Clashes With Israeli Army ," <u>Haaretz 3 April 2023</u> (https://bit.ly/3wJSpyC).

^{61 &}quot;Al-Aloul mourns his companion, the martyr of the Nablus clash, Muhammad Abu Bakr," Al Watan Arabic News on Facebook, <u>3 April 2023</u> (https://bit.ly/438PcoD).

⁶² As reported by Jack Khoury, Haaretz, <u>24 February 2023</u> (https://bit.ly/3wJDuV9).

⁶³ Rami Mansour, "A martyr in Jenin in confrontations with the occupation," Arab 48 News, <u>6 February 2020</u> (<u>https://bit.ly/49BWvr8</u>); "Al-Istiqlal University organizes a memorial for the martyr student Yazan Munther Abu Tabikh," Al Istiqlal University website, <u>8 February 2020</u> (https://bit.ly/48088tM) Elior Levy, "Israel the only

18. Second Lieutenant Raid al-Na'san

Al-Na'san served in the PASF Preventive Security Service. His father, Ghazi Na'san, a high-ranking officer in the PASF's Intelligence Service, served a total of some 9 years in Israeli prisons. Like his father, Raed also spent time in Israeli security prisons for a total of around 1 year. He was a close friend of the terrorist Ahmed El Abed, and praised him on his Facebook page after he carried out the attack in which the late Major Bar Falah was killed. In November 2022, al-Na'san participated in rioting in Kfar Al-Magha'ir; when he threw a Molotov cocktail at IDF soldiers, he was shot and later died of his wounds.⁶⁴

19. Second Lieutenant Izz al-Din Salahat

Salahat served as an officer in the PASF's Palestinian Civil Police. On January 26, 2023, in Jenin, he opened fire on IDF forces and was killed by an Israeli sniper. The Palestinian Authority's Chief of Police published an official obituary.⁶⁵

20. Major Ahmad Abd al-Fattah Daraghmeh

Daraghmeh served as an officer in the Palestinian General Intelligence Service. He was killed on May 11, 2021 by Israeli security forces when, together with another intelligence officer - Muhammad Ali Abdel-Rahman Nobani, they carried out a shooting attack with a handgun, at the Zaatra checkpoint south of Nablus.⁶⁶ Novani was injured.⁶⁷

21. Corporal Anas Jamil Dwikat

Dwikat was a Palestinian National Security officer, was killed in February 2024 by IDF forces near the Beit Furiq checkpoint in the Nablus region,

enemy': Rivals Hamas, Fatah unite over annexation," (Hebrew), Ynet, <u>7 February 2020</u> (https://bit.ly/3wB1gT9).

⁶⁴ Palestine News published a biography and footage of the incident on <u>29 November</u> <u>2022 (https://bit.ly/3wHnX8h</u>); Israel's Channel 11 Arabic News published additional footage on its Telegram channel (<u>https://bit.ly/3It8ivU</u>), and Ynet's Lilach Shoval and Dana Ben Shimon reported on the terrorists PASF position (Hebrew) (<u>https://bit. ly/3TtLX84</u>).

⁶⁵ Abu Ali Express posted security camera footage of the incident on <u>26 January 2023</u>: https://bit.ly/439HIBO.

^{66 &}quot;The martyrdom of Ahmaed Abdel Fattah Daraghmeh at the Zaatra checkpoint," KunoozNet website, poste <u>11 May 2021</u>(https://bit.ly/48HFFWI)

⁶⁷ As reported on Arabic social media pages, including <u>Facebook, 11 May 2021</u> (https:// bit.ly/4cg965c)

after he did not respond to calls by IDF soldiers, who were carrying out an arrest procedure for a suspect.⁶⁸ His last social media post was a hymn to terrorism.⁶⁹ He was given a military funeral by the Palestinian Authority Security Forces.⁷⁰

22. Lieutenant Ziad al-D'meh

Al-D'meh was an officer in the Palestinian Civil Police - and at the same time, a fighter in Fatah's al-Aqsa Martyrs Battalions who was active in the terror cell of the Noor al-Shams Refugee Camp near Tulkarm. On February 7, 2024, IDF forces surrounded a building in the refugee camp where a wanted terrorist, Mu'atsam Ali, was holed up. After an exchange of fire Ali was killed, as were two other armed men who tried to escape from the building, including Ziad al-D'meh. All three were given a military funeral by the Palestinian Authority Security Forces.⁷¹

23. Captain Na'im al-Zubeidi

Al-Zubeidi was an officer in the PASF, was concurrently an active fighter in Fatah's al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades. al-Zubeidi spent five years in an Israeli security prison and was released in July 2022. He assisted the escape of five terrorists, including his cousin Zakaria Zubeidi, from Gilboa prison in September 2021. Na'im Al Zubeidi was killed on December 1, 2022 in an IDF operation to arrest wanted persons in Wadi Brukin near Jenin.⁷²

- 70 Kol Al Nas TV on Facebook, <u>19 February 2024</u>, covered the funeral: https://bit. ly/4c4R6KH.
- 71 "Operation Iron Swords (Updated to 1 p.m., February 8, 2024)," The Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center, <u>9 February 2024</u> (https://bit. ly/4850ChO).
- 72 "Spotlight on Terrorism and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict (November 30 December 6, 2022), The Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center, <u>7 December</u> <u>2022</u> (<u>https://bit.ly/4c4kv7Q</u>). Zubeidi was filmed as he opened fire on IDF forces during the confrontation in which he was killed. Posted on Kan-Israel Channel 11 News, Telegram channel 2 December 2022 (<u>https://bit.ly/3IrPq0h</u>); also see Facebook posts <u>https://bit.ly/48DNKeU</u> and <u>https://bit.ly/48Jhqan</u> documenting Zubeidi's attack on IDF forces and his funeral.

^{68 &}quot;Operation Iron Swords (Updated to 1 p.m., February 19, 2024)," The Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center, <u>20 February 2024</u> (https://bit. ly/3TrmU5x); "The young man Anas Dweikat was killed by occupation bullets east of Nablus," Arabs 48 News, <u>18 February 2024</u> (https://bit.ly/3PbCkIB)

⁶⁹ Reposted by Saif News Network on Telegram, <u>19 February 2024</u> (The text accompanying the post reads "The last video published by the martyr Anas Dwikat, who was shot dead by the occupation forces today at the Beit Furik checkpoint. Anas is a member of the National Security Servic and he is one of the honorable people who support the resistance. May God have mercy on the heroic martyr") (https://bit.ly/48MoXW5).

24. Major (Lieutenant Colonel) Faris Khalifah

Khalifah served in the PASF Preventive Security Service and at the same time as a fighter in the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades, Fatah's military arm. He received the rank of lieutenant colonel as a token of appreciation for terrorist activities for which he spent 14 years in an Israeli prison. He was killed in January 2024 near the Einav checkpoint, after attempting to evade arrest by the IDF.⁷³

25. 'Abdullah Abu Shalal

Abu Shalal served as an officer in the PASF's General Intelligence Service. He was the head of the terrorist infrastructure in the Balata camp, and for years he was wanted by Israel's security and intelligence forces. He was responsible for a number of terrorist attacks in 2023, including the shooting attack in the Shimon Hatzadik neighborhood in Jerusalem in April, in which two Israeli civilians were injured, and a bomb attack against IDF forces in October, in which a soldier was injured. He received funding and guidance from Iran. In August 2023, his house was bombed in an attempt to force him to turn himself in. On January 17, 2024 he was eliminated in an Israeli airstrike on the vehicle in which he was traveling with 4 other terrorists on their way to carry out an attack. After their elimination, weapons were found in the bombed vehicle, including a machine gun, three gas canister launchers, an explosive canister launcher, an M16 rifle, two pistols, multiple ammunition cartriEmanudges and many disassembled weapon parts.⁷⁴

26. Captain Saif al-Najami

Al-Najami served both as an officer in the Palestinian National Security Forces and a terrorist with the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades. On January 17, 2024, he was eliminated in an air strike, along with 'Abdullah Abu Shalal (No. 25, above) and 3 other terrorists, while they were on their way to carry out an attack.⁷⁵

⁷³ See coverage of the incident by Ynet (Hebrew) (https://bit.ly/4a1CQAN), WAFA (<u>https://bit.ly/3Pa9CYs</u>), Abu Ali Express (<u>https://bit.ly/4c5XpO9</u>) on 15 January 2024.

⁷⁴ See Intellinews - Telegram Channel post of <u>22 May 2023</u> on Abu Shalal (https://bit. ly/3V8xUWy); also see Emanuel Fabian and TOI Staff, "Terror cell planning 'imminent attack' killed in West Bank drone strike, IDF says," Times of <u>Israel 17 January 2024</u> (<u>https://bit.ly/48J2d9m</u>). Video footage of the drone strike on the vehicle see Elisha Ben Kimon, Einav Halabi and Yossi Zeitun, "In an airstrike near Shechem: One of the leading terrorist in Judea and Samaria is eliminated," (Hebrew) Ynet <u>17 January 2024</u> (https://bit.ly/49KyiPE).

⁷⁵ See Palestine Info Center on X, <u>17 January 2024</u> (https://bit.ly/3Pbev3t).

27. Second Lieutenant Wadi' al-Najjar

Al-Najjar was a PASF officer, spent 4 years in an Israeli prison. He was eliminated in November 2023 during riots in the Alfuar Refugee Camp in the Hebron region. In Fatah's proclamation, he is included in the "martyrs of Tufan al-Aqsa (The Al Aksa Flood - the Iron Swords War)", that is, after October 7th.⁷⁶

28. Second Lieutenant 'Ali Alqam

Alqam served as an officer in the PASF Customs Police. He belonged to the Alaqsa Martyrs' Battalions and was eulogized by them when he was killed in December 2023 in clashes with the IDF forces in Qalandia.⁷⁷

29. Second Lieutenant Anas Manasrah

Manasrah served in the Palestinian Civilian Police Force. On October 16, 2023, he was eliminated by the IDF at a military checkpoint near Jenin, after posing a danger to the force operating in the area.⁷⁸

30. Second Lieutenant Muhammad Jarrar

Jarrar an officer in the Palestinian National Security Forces, also belonged to the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Battalions. He was killed on 1 November 2023 when he attempted to shoot Israeli troops operating in the Jenin area, and the IDF soldiers returned fire.⁷⁹

31. Second Lieutenant Yanal Hamran

Hamran was an officer in the Palestinian Civil Police; at the same time he was active in the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades. Hamran was killed on 1 November 2023 after opening fire on Israeli security forces operating in Jenin.⁸⁰

- 78 Einav Halabi, "Palestinian Ministry of Health: Youth shot dead by security forces near Jenin," Ynet <u>16 October 2023</u> (Hebrew) (<u>https://bit.ly/4a2Q800</u>). Also see AlfajerTV report, <u>16 October 2023</u> (https://bit.ly/4a1vZHt).
- 79 Coverage of the incident can be found on X posts (such as <u>https://bit.ly/49GZcb4</u>) or traditional media sources (see Jack Khoury and Yaniv Kobovitz, "West Bank health ministry: handicapped person killed by IDG fire in Tulkarm," Haaretz <u>1 November 2023</u> (Hebrew) (https://bit.ly/4c8o7pp)
- 80 Jack Khoury and Yaniv Kobovitz, "West Bank health ministry: handicapped person killed by IDG fire in Tulkarm," Haaretz <u>1 November 2023</u> (Hebrew) (<u>https://bit. ly/4c8o7pp</u>).

⁷⁶ Reported in Wattan News, <u>3 November 2023</u> (<u>https://bit.ly/3VboZnd</u>) and Awdeh TV's <u>Telegram channel</u> (https://bit.ly/4cgit45).

⁷⁷ As reported on the Wattan Telegram channel, <u>4 December 2023</u> (<u>https://bit.ly/3ItIdgc</u>) as well as <u>Awdeh TV on Telegram</u> (https://bit.ly/3SYSzcY).

32. Secons Lieutenant 'Abd al-Nasir Riyahi

Riyahi was an officer in the PASF's National Security Forces. He was killed during an exchange of fire between the IDF and terrorists in Nablus in December 2023. His funeral was attended by police officers and Palestinian Authority dignitaries.⁸¹ Mahmoud al-Alul, Abu Mazen's deputy, eulogized the terrorist; while publicly supporting the fight against Israel, al Alul noted that the Riyahi fell as part of a "resistance action against the occupation."⁸²

33. Second Lieutenant Mahmoud Abu al-Nada

Al-Nada was an officer in the Palestinian Civil Police Force and also active in the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades, was killed in November 2023 in an exchange of fire with the IDF in Jenin.⁸³

34. Second Lieutenant Jamal Masharqa

Masharqa (also known as Jamal Kharyush) was an officer in the PSAF General Intelligence Service and was also active in the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades. Wounded in November 2023 during an exchange of fire with the IDF in Jenin, he later died of his wounds.⁸⁴

35. Second Lieutenant Muhammad Abu al-'Abid

Al-'Abid was a PASF Supply and Equipment Corps officer is also a Hamas or the Islamic Jihad terrorist! On October 22, 2023, an IDF fighter jet attacked the Al-Ansari Mosque in Jenin, where a terrorist squad belonging to Hamas and Islamic Jihad was hiding, in preparation for a large, mutipronged and imminent attack in Samaria inspired by the October 7 massacre, using grenades and a large variety of weapons. At least two terrorists were eliminated; others were wounded or captured. These terrorists were responsible for a series of attacks over the previous number of months.⁸⁵

- 83 Wattan News, <u>9 November 2023</u> (<u>https://bit.ly/3PaRyNK</u>). Also see Abu Ali Express on Telegram, <u>9 November 2023</u> (Hebrew) (https://bit.ly/49H9fNi).
- See Dana Ben Shimon, "Israel is concerned that Abu Mazen is losing control of Fatah as fighters join Hamas," Yisrael Hayom, <u>17 November 2023</u> (https://bit.ly/3ItaWlC) and reports on X - All News Updates (https://bit.ly/49EPshj).
- 85 "Israel strikes militant compound under West Bank mosque, military says," Reuters, <u>22 October 2023</u> (https://reut.rs/3wGDK7w).

⁸¹ See Abu Ali Express on Telegram, <u>6 December 2023</u> (<u>https://bit.ly/3V9b94W</u>). Also see footage of the funeral attended by PASF officers and PA officials on the Kol HaYehudi website: https://bit.ly/3wSHFxR.

⁸² Al Aloul's remarks, captured on video, are accessible here: https://bit.ly/3TrmMSn.

Muhammad Abu al-'Abid was killed when the IDF bombed the Al-Anasri Mosque in Jenin on 22 October 2023.⁸⁶

36. Second Lieutenant Ayham al-'Amir

Al-'Amir was a Preventive Security Service officer, was killed in Jenin by IDF forces after he opened fire on them November 2023.⁸⁷

37. Sergeant Muhammad Shana'ah

Shana'ah was a PASF officer, was killed on October 19, 2023 in an exchange of fire with the IDF forces in the Noor al-Shams Refugee Camp near Tulkarm.⁸⁸

38. Lieutenant al-Mansur Billah Jalal Mahmud al-Jabbar

Al-Jabbar (abbreviated: Mansur) Jalal was an officer in the PASF. On February 8, 2024, he carried out a shooting attack with a handgun at a military post near the settlement of Shavei Shomron, and was killed in action.⁸⁹ In addition to the colective martyrs' proclamation, Fatah issued a separate, personl announcement of his death.⁹⁰

39. Ibrahim Majid al-Titi

Al-Titi was a Palestinin Civil Police Service officer, was killed in December 2023 during a confrontation with IDF forces in the Al Fuwwar Reugee Camp.⁹¹

89 See X- RealTime News Updates <u>8 February 2024</u> (<u>https://bit.ly/3Pb103Y</u>) and Shlomi Diaz, "Judea and Samaria:

⁸⁶ See the Fatah-El Bireh Facebook post memorializing Abu Abed on <u>22 October 2023</u>: https://bit.ly/3IsJunW.

⁸⁷ Video footage of the gunfight in which EL-Amar was killed. Note that he was wearing a military vest and using military-issue weapon: <u>https://bit.ly/4c2CRGq</u>.

⁸⁸ Einav Halabi, "One of the terrorists eliminated in the firefight near Tulkarm: An Officer in the Palestinian Authority Security System," YNET <u>12 October 2023</u> (Hebrew) (<u>https://bit.ly/3wNDCTO</u>); "Sons of the Homeland on X", https://bit.ly/3wDSZxM.

⁹⁰ See the official Fatah Facebook announcement, posted on <u>8 February 2023</u> (https:// bit.ly/3wLA4kT).

⁹¹ See Facebook post, of 26 December 2023 (<u>https://bit.ly/3ParxhG</u>).

40. Corporal Marwan al-Qaddumi

Al-Qaddumi was an officer in the PASF, and at the same time active in the al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades. In an interview before his death it is evident that he advocated "resistance." Al Qaddumi was killed in clashes with the IDF forces in February 2024. To mourn his death, a general strike was held and schools were closed in the Qalqilya district.⁹²

41. Captain Muhammad Manasrah

Manasrah was an officer in the Palestinian Civil Police. He served two separate sentences in Israeli prison, and was released for the last time from Ofer Prison in 2019. On February 29, 2024, he carried out a shooting attack at a gas station near Eli, murdering Yitzhak Zeiger of Shavei Shomron (53) and Uria Hartom of Dolev (16). The owner of the hummus shop in which the attack was perpetrated elminated Manasrah at the site.⁹³



92 See al-Qaddumi's last interview on Alghad TV (<u>https://bit.ly/43nOT9D</u>). Also see Odeh Satellite Channel's posthumous Facebook post with video (<u>https://bit.ly/3wQMt6U</u>), and an official photo of al-Qaddumi in uniform (<u>https://bit.ly/4c1BA2h</u>). A Fatah announcement of his death and an announcement of a general strike were posted here: <u>https://bit.ly/439ulkW</u>.

⁹³ Elisha Ben Kimon, "Yitzhak Zeiger, 57; Uria Hartum, 16, killed in terror attack in Eli," Ynet, <u>29 February 2024</u> (https://bit.ly/3TqzX7b).

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Martyrdom proclamation published by the Palestinian Civilian Police honoring PASF terrorist Ziad al-D'meh



Jenin Rgion Governor Akram Rajoub and senior PASF officials at a condolence visit in the home of PASF terrorist Muhammad Saba'neh



Martdom proclamation published by the Customs Police honoring PASF terrorist Ziad al-Zar'ini

PASF Officers Whose Names Appear in the "martyrdom proclamations" -Perpetrators of pre-2020 Terrorist Attacks

a) Lieutenant-Colonel Dawud (Dawood) al-Khatib,

born 1975 in Bethlehem. After spending time in an Israeli prison in 1990-1991, he joined the Palestinian General Intelligence Service in August 1997. At the same time, he belonged to Fatah and was a terrorist operative. He was arrested in August 2002 and sentenced to 18 years in prison for harming state security, planting a bomb, and illegal trespassing in Israel. In 2020, he died of a heart attack in Ofer Prison,⁹⁴ and his body was handed over to the Palestinians.⁹⁵

b) Second Lieutenant Amjad al-Sukkari

was a Palestinian policeman who served as a security guard for the Palestinian Attorney General in Ramallah. At the same time he was active in the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades. On January 31, 2016, he shot at a checkpoint near Beit El and wounded three IDF soldiers. Other soldiers on the scene shot and killed him.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ See Palestinian media report: https://bit.ly/4a9L5eq.

⁹⁵ As per Palestinian media reports: <u>https://bit.ly/3PkxN6G</u>

⁹⁶ Judah Ari Gross and Lee Gancman, "3 soldiers wounded by PA gunman at West Bank checkpoint,' Times of Israel <u>31 January 2016</u> (https://bit.ly/480LHVk). Also see Al Jazeera coverage on <u>31 January 2016</u>, where Al Sakhri's photo, in official PASF uniform, appears: https://bit.ly/3V2LKtz.

c) Second Lieutenant) Mu'taz al-Sharawneh

was a cadet at the Palestinian Defense Academy in Jericho, and was killed in July 2013 after he tried to attack an IDF patrol jeep during clashes between Palestinian youths and IDF forces near the village of Dura in the southern Hebron mountains.⁹⁷

d) Lieutenant Colonel Kamal Abu Wa'r

was a resident of Qabatia, a Tanzim terrorist who started his career in Yasser Arafat's presidential guard. During his service he carried out many shooting and bomb attacks, and was a member of a terrorist squad in 2001. On May 8, 2001, he participated in the murder of the guard Arnaldo Aryeh Agranioni, 49, of Elon Moreh, in an attack in Itamar.⁹⁸ Only twenty days later, on May 28, 2001, Abu Wa'r participated in a shooting attack on a passing vehicle in the area of Kfar Akbara. In the attack, two passengers were injured, one seriously. In August 2001, Abu War was involved in another shooting

attack on a passing vehicle near Kibbutz Merav; in this attack, Aliza Malka of Bat Yam (16) was murdered⁹⁹ and three other girls were injured, one seriously.¹⁰⁰ In 2001, Abu Wa'r was involved in directing another terrorist attack on Israeli territory. Abu Wa'r was arrested by



Israeli security forces in January 2003,¹⁰¹ and was sentenced to fifty years

- 98 Israel's official memrial website page for civilian victims of terrorism: Arnaldo Aryeh Agranioni <u>https://bit.ly/435PLPK</u>.
- 99 Israel's official memrial website page for civilian victims of terrorism: Aliza Malka https://bit.ly/3Io5sZj.
- 100 Amos Harel, "Girl Slain in Drive-by Shooting Near Gilboa," Haaretz <u>10 August 2001</u> (<u>https://bit.ly/3v7HnCM</u>).
- 101 "Murderers Of Rabbi Herling And Others Caught: After more than a two-year

⁹⁷ A memorial post with photos of al-Sharauna in uniform, and the funeral, was uploaded to YouTube here: <u>https://bit.ly/3TofMXt</u>. For Israeli media coverage of the incident, see Amir Buchbout and Josh Briner, Ynet: <u>https://bit.ly/3ToOvEm</u>. Palestinian coverage, not surpisingly, paints a very different picture of the incident: <u>https://bit.ly/4a3v0qo</u>.

and six life sentences. He died of cancer in 2020 at Assaf Harofeh Hospital. The terrorist Muhammad Kabaha, who murdered Esther Horgan, testified that the motive for the murder was revenge for the death of Abu Wa'r.

e) Lieutenant Colonel Thair Abu Asab

was an officer in the PASF's Coordination and Liaison Unit. In 2005 he was arrested for committing security offenses such as carrying an explosive belt and involvement in arms trafficking, and has been in Israeli prison ever since. In December 2023 he died in his prison cell. An investigation was launched on suspicion that he was beaten to death by prison guards.¹⁰²

f) Second Lieutenant Muhammad Turkman

was a member of the PASF Civil Police Service, who had received extensive military training. On October 31, 2016, dressed in his uniform, he shot his Kalashnikov rifle at soldiers at the Focus checkpoint near Beit El. He wounded three soldiers, and was killed on the spot.¹⁰³

g) Khalid al-Shawish

was an officer in Force 17, and at the same time a senior member of Fatah and one of the founders of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades. He was arrested by the Israeli security forces in 1989, in 1991, and again in 2000. He was responsible for a shooting attack in December 2000 in which Binyamin and Talia Kahana were murdered and their five daughters injured. He is also credited with numerous attacks against IDF forces and civilians, in which more than fifty Israelis were injured and many were killed. Among other things, he was responsible for the attack on King George Street in Jerusalem in 2002, in which an IDF officer, Sergeant Major Gad Shemesh (34) and his wife Tzipi (29) of Jerusalem, and Yitzhak Cohen of Modi'in (48) were murdered. He was also responsible for a shooting attack in Jerusalem's French Hill neighborhood in 2001 in which Jerusalemite Meir Weisshaus (23), was killed. Al-Shawish was wounded in shoot-out with IDF forces and

chase, the Shabak and Israel Police finally put their hands on the members of wanted murderous Fatah-Tanzim terrorist cells, arresting seven of them last night." Arutz 7, <u>28 April 2003</u> (https://bit.ly/3Paoki6).

^{102 &}quot;Cleared for publication: Prison guards questioned after terrorist was beaten and died," Arutz 7 <u>21 December 2023</u> (https://bit.ly/4c3hEw6).

¹⁰³ Judah Ari Gross and Lee Gancman, "3 soldiers wounded by PA gunman at West Bank checkpoint. Two in serious condition after attack on IDF position near Beit El; shooter, 34, member of Abbas security forces, shot dead by soldiers," Times of Israel <u>31</u> <u>January 2016</u> (https://bit.ly/3IsjyZx).

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hid for years in the Muqata'a in Ramallah. In 2007, he was arrested while carrying a handgun and sentenced to 11 life sentences for the murder of eight Israelis. Al -Shawish died in 2024 after 17 years behind bars.¹⁰⁴



104 Yaakov Katz, "IDF nabs Kahane's murderer," Jerusalem Post <u>28 May 2007</u> (<u>https://bit.ly/3TrgyTt</u>). Ali Waked, "Terror mastermind arrested after 7 years," Ynet <u>28 May 2007</u> (<u>https://bit.ly/49J7fUF</u>). "Palestinian terror convict dies in Israeli custody under undisclosed circumstances," Times of Israel <u>21 February 2024</u> (https://bit.ly/49XvdLu).

PASF officers whose names do not appear on the "martyrdom proclamations" who committed acts of terror, 2020-2024

1. Muhammad Saba'neh

was active in the PASF Preventive Security Service and was also a Fatah militant. He was killed during riots that broke out on the night of September 5-6, 2022 when Israeli security forces destroyed Ra'ed Hazem's apartment in Jenin; Hazem had carried out a shooting attack on April 7, 2022 in Tel Aviv in which Eitam Magini and Tomer Morad of Kfar Saba (both aged 27), and Barak Lufen (35), a former international kayak rowing champion from Givat Shmuel, were murdered. The governor of the Jenin district, the deputy commander of the Jenin region and the heads of the PASF paid condolence visits to the family of the terrorist in Jenin.¹⁰⁵

2. Hikmat Samir Muhammad Milhim,

a PASF officer, was eliminated on December 18, 2023 by Israeli security forces after he and other terrorists threw explosives at troops who were conducting counter-terrorism activity in the Al-Farah Refugee Camp in the Nablus region.¹⁰⁶

^{105 &}quot;The Palestinian Authority and Fatah have adopted a policy of full solidarity with Palestinians killed while carrying out terrorist attacks against Israel or in confrontations with Israeli security forces," The Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center <u>17 November 2022</u> (https://bit.ly/49W2yXa). Jack Khoury and Fadi Amoun, "Palestinian Killed While Live-streaming on TikTok Clashes With Israeli Army Over West Bank Demolition," Haaaretz <u>6 September 2022</u> (https://bit.ly/3wR9vdQ).

¹⁰⁶ See IntelliNews on Telegram, 18 December 2023 (<u>https://bit.ly/3IsjVmV</u>); Abu Ali Express on Telegram <u>https://bit.ly/3wGEAAV</u>;

3.and 4. Muhammad Bashar 'Azizi and 'Abd al-Rahman Subh,

officers in the Palestinian National Security Service, were killed in July 2022 in an firefight with IDF forces on a mission to arrest terrorist suspects in the Qasbah in Nablus. Palestinian Authority Chairman Abu Mazen called the parents of the two terrorists to console them.¹⁰⁷ They are not mentioned in the general proclamations, but Fatah spokesman Manir Al-Jayoub identified them as operatives of the PASF, and high-ranking PASF officials officers from various branches, including the PASF Commander of the Nablus Region, Lieutenant Colonel Muhammad Salama, paid condolence calls to the mourners tent.¹⁰⁸

5. Ahmad Ibrahim al-Wadi

was an PASF officer. On October 12, 2023, a false report was published on social media according to which al-Wadi and his father, a senior member of the Fatah movement, were shot by settlers during a funeral in Nablus. The truth is that the two, terrorists who had served time in Israeli prison after participating in the 2017 lynching of boys who went on a nearby bar mitzvah trip near Migdalim, were shot while rioting at the funeral of four terrorists killed by IDF fire the previous day. Al-Wadi is not mentioned in the general proclamations, but is mentioned, as a PASF officer, with his father in an a separate proclamation.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ Dalit Halevi, "Abu Mazen consoles families of terrorists killed in battle with IDF forces in Shechem," (Hebrew) Arutz 7 24 July 2022 (https://bit.ly/3TrAgys); "Red Crescent in Nablus: Announcing the death of two young men in Rafidia Hospital Abboud Sobh and Abu Saleh Azizi from National Security," via X, 24 July 2022 (https://bit.ly/3T6kzvo). Al Jazeera on X, "Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas offers his condolences to the families of the two young men, "Mohammed Bashar Azizi and Abdel Rahman Jamal Sobh," who died Sunday morning in Nablus," 25 July 2022 (https://bit.ly/3PdmGfI). Facebook video: The President calls the parents of the martyrs Azizi and Sobh with condolences (https://bit.ly/3v4E6nV).

¹⁰⁸ See https://did.li/DpqIw and https://did.li/6iwrl

¹⁰⁹ Hank Berrien, "Arabs Try To Lynch Israeli Children Taking Hike To Celebrate Bar-Mitzvah, The Daily Wire <u>30 November 2017</u> (<u>https://bit.ly/49Jka92</u>). "Terrorists who were in prison for lynching boys - were killed during a riot at the funeral of Hamas terrorists," JDN News (Hebrew), <u>13 October 2023</u> (https://bit.ly/49GmpKd).

PASF officers arrested for involvement in terrorism, 2004-2020

1. 'Abd al-Hakim al-Shahin

An officer in the PASF, was high on Israel's most wanted list. ElshaAl-Sgahin's personal weapon was used by the terrorist Ibrahim Navlesi (who frequently shot at IDF positions and towards Jewish worshipers at Josef's Tomb, wounding Shomron Regional Commander Col. Roi Zweig; Navlesi was eventually eliminated by the IDF in August 2022¹¹⁰). Al-Shahin was arrested by IDF forces in November 2021, ¹¹¹ and released in August 2023.¹¹²

2. Major/Lieutenant-Colonel Ra'fat Ghawadreh

A PASF officer who had previously served time in an Israeli prison for security offenses, was arrested by the IDF in September 2021 in the village of Bir Elbasha.¹¹³

3. Khalid Tabilah

A member of the Palestinian security apparatus, is at the same time the field commander of the Lion's Den terrorist organization. He was involved in shooting attacks and sabotage activities against Israelis, and was arrested after surrendering to IDF forces in Nablus on the night of December 21 -22, 2023.¹¹⁴

^{110 &}quot;The Palestinian Authority and Fatah have adopted a policy of full solidarity with Palestinians killed while carrying out terrorist attacks against Israel or in confrontations with Israeli security forces," The Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center, 17 November 2022 (<u>https://bit.ly/49W2yXa</u>).

¹¹¹ Abu Ali Express on Telegram ((Hebrew) reports on the arrest, per Palestinian sources: https://bit.ly/3V90eIh.

¹¹² Palestine Post, <u>31 August 2023</u> (https://bit.ly/3uZPrWm).

¹¹³ IntelliNews on Telegram, <u>10 September 2021</u> (https://bit.ly/3wIuwHV).

¹¹⁴ Lions' Den leader arrested by IDF - Palestinian reports," i24 News, <u>22 September</u> <u>2023</u> (https://bit.ly/3v0UjKI).

4. 'Abd al-Salam 'Issa

An officer in the PASF Military Intelligence Service, was arrested in December 2022 near Nablus. $^{\rm 115}$

5. Mahmud Abu Hamza

An officer in the Palestinian Authority's counterintelligence division, known to have been one of the Palestinian Authority operatives who fought against Israel in the Second Intifada. Arrested in October 2022 in Jilazun (Ramallah district).¹¹⁶

6. Nabil al-Ja'bari

An officer in the General Intelligence Service, was imprisoned - and was released - in March 2022, and arrested again, in Hebron, in October 2022 after a shooting attack in Kiryat Arba by Nabil's brother, the terrorist Muhammad Al-Jabari, in which Ronen Hanania was killed.¹¹⁷

7. Lieutenant-Colonel Muhannad al-Dik

An officer in the Palestinian Customs Authority, was arrested in Salfit in September 2022. $^{\rm 118}$

8. Nabil al-Sawalhi

A PASF officer and an activist of the Islamic Jihad in Nablus. Sawalhi was arrested in August 2022 when he participated in confrontations with the IDF forces that were surrounding the home of wanted terrorist.¹¹⁹

9. Anis 'Alawneh

An PASF officer, resident of Jenin and released security prisoner who has repeatedly expressed support and solidarity with PASF terrorists who have carried out attacks against Israeli soldiers and civilians, such as Dawud al -Zubeidi. In June 2022 he was arrested in Jenin by the IDF.¹²⁰

- 115 See Abu Ali Express on Telegram (Hebrew), reporting from Palestinian sources: https://bit.ly/4c6SwED.
- 116 Abu Ali Express (Hebrew), reporting on Palestinian sources, provides a photo of Abu Hamza in uniform: https://bit.ly/3Ir4yen.
- 117 See Abu Ali Express on Telegram ((Hebrew): https://bit.ly/4a1jk7A, and PalestineNet on Telegram for more details on the Hebron attack: https://bit.ly/3P8i0rm.
- 118 Abu Ali Express (Hebrew), 5 September 2022: <u>https://bit.ly/4a2reNX</u>.
- 119 Abu Ali Express (Hebrew),29 August 2022: <u>https://bit.ly/3IyH4UB</u>.
- 120 Abu Ali Express (Hebrew), 28 June 2022: <u>https://bit.ly/3Ir6aVt</u>.

10. Rayhan Rayhan

An officer in the Security Liaison and Coordination Unit, was arrested, in uniform, in June 2022 in the al-Amri Refugee Camp (Ramallah area) along with with ten other terror suspects. Rayhan is accused of having carried out actions against IDF forces.¹²¹

11. Major Muhammad Tubasi

An officer in the Preventive Security Service, is a former Israeli security inmate. In May 2022, he was arrested by the IDF in the Jenin Refugee Camp during a siege on the house of Tubasi's nephew, the terrorist Iyyad Tubasi. ¹²² According to Palestinian sources, Muhammad Tubasi is accused of killing an IDF soldier. ¹²³

12. Ramiz Sadaqah

A PASF officer affiliated with Fatah, was arrested in February 2022 in the Jenin region. $^{\rm 124}$

13. 'Azmi Mansur

A PASF officer, was arrested in Kfar Kalil by the IDF in April 2022.¹²⁵

14. Mamduh Khamayse

A former PASF officer, previously imprisoned in Israel for security offenses, was arrested in May 2022 by the IDF in the village of Eliamon.¹²⁶

15. Hafith al-Harini

Both a PASF officer and terrorist operative. On September 12, 2022, he

- 121 Rihan in uniform: IntelliNews, 6 June 2022: https://bit.lv/4c2xWVZ. IntelliNews
- report of the arrest: <u>https://bit.ly/3To5Tca;</u> Abu Ali with a duplicate report: <u>https://bit.ly/3To5Tca;</u> Abu Ali with a duplicate report: <u>https://bit.ly/3To5Tv9</u>. Abu Ali Express provides additional details (Hebrew): <u>https://bit.ly/3T7z7L5</u>.
- 122 Abu Ali Express (Hebrew),24 May 2022: <u>https://bit.ly/3PacHI1</u>. Also see IDF Spokesperson's website, "IDF to Open Investigation Following Jenin Clashes," 11 May 2022: <u>https://bit.ly/3T6rswK</u>.
- 123 Quds Press, "Participation of members of the authority's security services in the resistance: messages and implications," <u>29 September 2022</u> (<u>https://bit.ly/49IDwvd</u>).
- 124 IntelliNews on Telegram (Hebrew), 11 February 2022: <u>https://bit.ly/3PgrHEb</u>.
- 125 IntelliNews on Telegram (Hebrew), 11 February 2022: <u>https://bit.ly/3T95cCh</u>.
- 126 Hamisa in PASF uniform: IntelliNews on Telegram (Hebrew),3 May 2022: <u>https://bit.ly/49Ffh0T</u>.

was arrested after he was involved in an attack perpetrated by some thirty Palestinians on two shepherds in the southern Hebron Hills area, in which one of the Jewish shepherds was seriously injured.¹²⁷

16. Lieutenant-Colonel Ahmed al-Qanni

A PASF officer, spent nealy 12 years in Israeli prison after being accused of operating under the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades and commanding terrorist groups associated with the organization. Al-Qanni was arrested in October 2022 in Kfar Kalil.¹²⁸

17. Walid A'bdullah 'Adili

A PASF officer, was arrested at the Tapuach Junction in May 2022.129

18. Mahmoud Hujair

An officer in the National Civil Police Service, had been wounded in the past by IDF fire at the Hawara checkpoint. Hujair was arrested after carrying out a shooting attack against IDF forces in July 2022.¹³⁰

19. Junaid Abu Bakr

Former PASF officer and brother of the PASF terrorist Muhammad Abu Bakr, was arrested by the IDF on January 11, 2023 on his way home - after being released that same morning from the PA prison in Jericho.¹³¹

20. Mu'min al-Akhras

A PASF officer, was arrested in the Nablus region in April 2023 by Israeli security forces. $^{\rm 132}$

127 Arveh Savir, "Jewish Shepherd Attacked by Arab Mob in Biblical Heartland

Victim evacuated in serious condition. Lead suspect in butcat hear tand Victim evacuated in serious condition. Lead suspect in brutal terror attack is a Palestinian Authority police officer," Israel Today, <u>13 September 2022</u> (https://bit. ly/3Tq95nD). Also see IntelliNews on Telegram (Hebrew), <u>12 September 2022</u> (https:// bit.ly/3Pzka3J).

- 128 IntelliNews on Telegram (Hebrew), <u>11 October 2022</u> (https://bit.ly/3V7C0OM).
- 129 IntelliNews on Telegram (Hebrew), <u>1 March 2022</u> (https://bit.ly/49IJWuj).
- 130 Quds Press, "Participation of members of the authority's security services in the resistance: messages and implications," <u>29 September 2022</u> (<u>https://bit.ly/49IDwvd</u>).
- 131 IntelliNews on Telegram (Hebrew), <u>11 January 2023</u> (<u>https://bit.ly/3PeomWm</u>). Also see <u>https://bit.ly/3uYadpj</u>.
- 132 Abu Ali Express (Hebrew), <u>25 April 2023</u>: Al Akhrs in uniform and under arrest: https://bit.ly/436fqbe.

21. Lieutenant Colonel Muhammad al-Baz

An officer in the Palestinian security forces and also a released prisoner, was arrested by the IDF at his home in the Nablus district in May 2023.¹³³

22. Muhammad al-Asmar

An officer in the Palestinian Civil Police Service, arrested in Jenin by IDF forces in May 2023. $^{\rm 134}$

23. Darwish Sirdah

A PASF Military Intelligence officer, was arrested by the IDF south of Jericho in April 2023. $^{\rm 135}$

24. Jihad Abu Bakr

A PASF Military Intelligence officer and nephew of the PASF terrorist Muhammad Abu Bakr, was arrested by IDF forces in the north of the Jordan Valley in July 2023.¹³⁶

25. Jamil Nabhan

Palestinian National Security officer and released security prisoner, was arrested in February 2024 by the IDF after they surrounded his house in Jenin. $^{\rm 137}$

¹³³ Abu Ali Express (Hebrew), <u>31 May 2023</u> (https://bit.ly/3Iu2v9o).

¹³⁴ Abu Ali Express (Hebrew), <u>16 May 2023</u> (https://bit.ly/3TBp2I1).

¹³⁵ Abu Ali Express (Hebrew), <u>25 April 2023</u> (https://bit.ly/48JdSFd).

¹³⁶ Palestine TV on Facebook, <u>2 July 2023</u> (https://bit.ly/3TslXKf).

¹³⁷ Abu Ali Express (Hebrew), <u>25 February 2024</u> (https://bit.ly/3wKdQ2N).

PASF officers arrested prior to 2020 for involvement in terrorism

1-2. 'Amir Badr Halim Taha, a Fatah operative who served in the Palestinian National Security Service, and Ali Alhamid Rajab Dandis, a Fatah operative who served as a clerk at the Sharia Court in Hebron and was in contact with elements of the Palestinian Authority's general intelligence apparatus. Taha and Dandis were members of a three-person terrorist cell that carried out a shooting attack on December 28, 2007 in Nahal Telem and killed two vacationing IDF soldiers: David Rubin (21) and Ahikam Amichai (20), both from Kiryat Arba. Fearing they would be captured by the Israeli security forces, Taha and Dandis handed themselves over to the Palestinian General Intelligence Service in Hebron.¹³⁸ As PASF personnel, they were tried in a Palestinian military court, and sentenced to 15 years in prison.¹³⁹



- 138 "Shooting attack near Hebron, December 28, 2007: The Israel Security Agency revealed that the attack was carried out by Fatah operatives linked to the Palestinian security services," The Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center, <u>3</u> <u>January 2008</u> (https://bit.ly/3wUCLAo).
- 139 Ezra HaLevi, "PA Court Sentences PA-Employed Killers of Hikers," Arutz 7 <u>23 January</u> 2008 (https://bit.ly/3PcXWUH).

PASF officers wounded while carrying out attacks against civilians or IDF soldiers

1. Muhammad 'Ali Abd al-Rahman al-Nubani

An officer in the General Intelligence Service, wounded on May 11, 2021 by Israeli security forces. Nubani opened fire on the Zaatara checkpoint, south of Nablus, using a handgun. His accomplice, Major Ahmad Abd al-Fattah Daraghmeh, also a GIS officer, was killed (see above).¹⁴⁰

2–5. Qusai Abu 'Arrah, Muhammad Farihat, Malik Abu A'qil and Karim Abu al-Rish

PASF officers who were inspired by Second Lieutenant Ahmed Alawneh (see above). They used the weapons they received by virtue of their position, and on October 24, 2022, they participated in armed clashes with the IDF in Nablus, where they were shot and wounded.¹⁴¹

6. Tamir N'irat

An officer in the Palestinian Authority's National Security branch, was involved in confrontations with the IDF in Jenin in June 2023 and was seriously injured by IDF retaliatory fire.¹⁴²

^{140 &}quot;The martyrdom of Ahmed Abdel Fattah Daraghmeh at the Zaatara checkpoint," KunoozNet-Palestine, <u>11 May 2021</u> (https://bit.ly/48HFFWIO.

^{141 &}lt;u>Abu Ali Express (Hebrew), 25 October 2022 (https://bit.ly/4c7Rx76</u>). "Additional PASF personnel wounded in the armed clashes with the IDF in Nablus," (Hebrew) <u>25</u> <u>October 2022 (https://bit.ly/3PzovUz</u>). "One of those seriously wounded in tonight's confrontations with the IDF in Nablus is Karim Abu Reish, an officer in the PA's Intelleigence Service," <u>25 October 2022</u> (https://bit.ly/4a3G5c0).

¹⁴² Abu Ali Express on Telegram (Hebrew), <u>19 June 2023</u> (https://bit.ly/49Kt9qE).

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7. Shadi Tariq Abi Awwad

A PASF Military Intelligence officer, serves as the personal bodyguard of Lt. Gen. Zakaria Matzal, head of the PASF. Awwad was injured in the Ramallah area in May 2023 when he was involved in clashes with Jewish residents of the area.¹⁴³

PASF personnel who incite terrorism

1. Lieutenant Colonel Fathi Hazim

Senior officer (retired) in the National Security Service. His oldest son, Raed Hazim, carried out a shooting attack on Dizengoff Street in Tel Aviv in April 2022 in which Eitam Magini and Tomer Morad, childhood friends aged 27 from Kfar Saba, and Barak Lufen of Givat Shmuel (35) were murdered, and another six Israeli civilians wounded.¹⁴⁴ Hazem's second son, Abd al-Rahman Hazem, was the founder of the Al-Quds Special Forces in Jenin and was responsible for numerous attacks against Israeli targets. Abd al-Rahman pasted his brother Raed's picture on his weapon; he was eliminated by the IDF in Jenin in October 2022 .

Fathi Hazim became a "spiritual leader" and he publicly incites and encourages terrorism against Israelis. He is held in high esteem among the Palestinians, and this esteem even intensified after he "sacrificed" his second son. Fathi is held up as a role model and inspiration. At his son's funeral, he inflamed the crowd and called on his colleagues in the PASF to act against Israel through armed resistance.¹⁴⁵

2. Nasir al-Sa'di

A PASF officer whose son , PIJ terrorist Ahmad al-Sa'di was eliminated by the IDF in Jenin in 2022. At his son's funeral, the elder al-Sa'di encouraged "resistance" and "martyr after martyr, until the occupation is gone."¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴ Wikipedia entry on the Dizengoff attack: <u>https://bit.ly/3Ta6gWs</u>.

¹⁴⁵ Photos of Abdul Rahman Hazim's gun, with photo of his brother Raed, used in the attack: <u>https://bit.ly/3v3om4y</u>. The Fatah-PIJ connection: Abu Ali Express Ihebrew), <u>29 September 2022 (https://bit.ly/3IreNiP</u>). Recording of the inflammatory eulogy delivered by the elder Hazim (Arabic): <u>https://bit.ly/3v0P7Xg</u>. Incitement on Alghad TV: <u>https://bit.ly/49JCm2m</u> and to the adoring crowds: <u>https://bit.ly/3TsLoeG</u>. Hazim's PASF credentials: Abu Ali Express (Hebrew), <u>8 April 2022</u> (https://bit.ly/3TtGRsp).

¹⁴⁶ London-Arabic 21 website: "Touching words from the father of the martyr of Jenin during his funeral (witness)," <u>9 April 2022 (https://bit.ly/48JW2BW</u>). Al Jazeera interview, <u>10 April 2022 (https://bit.ly/3PbM4ma</u>). Al-Sharq News interview, <u>9 July 2022 (https://bit.ly/3Ve9Ul3</u>). "Two officers in the Palestinian security services, the father of the martyr Raad Hazei, and the father of the martyr Ahmed Al-Sa'di. This is the school of the Palestinian security services from which the homes of its struggling officers emerge," Monir Aljaghoub on Facebook, <u>9 April 2022</u> (https://bit.ly/3V5Y9wM).

Summary

Since the establishment of the Palestinian Authority, members of its security apparatus have been directly and actively involved in terrorism against Israeli citizens and the IDF. Two particularly glaring incidents - the events of the Western Wall Riots and the Second Intifada - saw Palestinian Authority Security Forces at the height of their involvement in acts of terrorism.

This report is concerned exclusively with the terrorist activities of members of the Palestinian Authority's Security Forces, and does not focus on members of Fatah, the movement with which the Palestinian Authority has identified since its founding, or on members of the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades, the military arm of the Fatah Movement which many within Israel's political and security systems prefer to treat as a an "unruly offshoot" that is not connected with the Palestinian Authority and does not operate under PA direction.

The PA not only does not eschew or denounce the "PASF terrorists" within its ranks, it glorifies the memory of those killed in the act of terrorism and lauds them at ostentatious military funerals, gushing official condolence visits, memorials in public institutions and more. This conduct is one aspect of the support offered by the PA to terrorists, an aspect that is also expressed in the payment of salaries to imprisoned terrorists and the families of terrorists killed while committing their barbaric crimes.

This outrageous conduct notwithstanding, there are senior members of Israel's political and security hierarchy who treat the Palestinian Authority as if it were a positive force in fighting terrorism; they continue to consider the scenario of the PA turning its guns on us as a negligible threat in the distant future, rather than a current and ongoing reality.

To the best of our knowledge, no research or security agency has

published comprehensive data on the precise number of these "PASF terrorist" or of the percentage of the PASF system they represent in the 30 years of the PA's existence. This study limited itself from the outset to a time-frame beginning in 2020 through the present, March 2024. That being said, in the course of our research we discovered a not insignificant number of cases in which the PA turned its guns on Israel prior to 202; these, too, were included in the current study.

For the most part, our research focused on the "martyrs proclamations" published by the Fatah Movement as a means of glorifying the terrorists from among its ranks during this period, and identified those who were officers of the Palestinian Authority Security Forces at the time they committed the act of terrorism in question. Additional publicly-accessible information on "PASF terrorists" active during this period was also included in our study.

All told, we identified 46 "PASF terrorists" who were killed during the period covered by this study (2020-present) in the course of committing terrorist attacks targeting Israeli citizens, Israeli security personnel and IDF soldiers and were posthumously crowned as "martyrs."

Between 2021 and 2023, at least 25 "PASF terrorists" were arrested by Israeli security forces due to involvement in terrorism. At least 7 "PASF terrorists" were wounded in the course of carrying out terror attacks against Israeli citizens and IDF forces in this period. It should be noted that our study considers those who were killed or apprehended, and does not take into account those who escaped perpetrated attacks but escaped justice.

In other words, our research identified a total of 78 PASF terrorists who were active during the period covered by this study. It is clear that these data underestimate the phenomenon, and cannot be considered a definitive tally of the extent of "PASF terrorists" in the period we have examined.

As noted, according to PASF Spokesman Colonel Talal Dweikat, "Speaking for the Fatah Movement and for the Palestinian Authority Security Forces for some 30 years, the PASF has sacrificed more than 2000 martyrs," meaning terrorists who were killed in the course of committing attacks or battles with IDF forces.

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Unfortunately, public discourse in the State of Israel is not aware of the extent to which PASF officers are **directly** involved in terrorism. In statements released by the IDF and the security system in the aftermath of terrorist attacks there is a tendency to obscure the organizational affiliations of terrorists to Fatah and to the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades, Fatah's military wing. This is even more true when attacks are carried out by members of the various official Palestinian Authority security divisions that indicate a growing involvement is terrorism.

Years of concealment, cover-up and denial serve the interests of international and Israeli actors who are in favor of transforming the Palestinian Authority into a Palestinian state under the rule of Abu Mazen and his Fatah cohorts, and this approach has been a consistent topic in the political discussions regarding the future of the Gaza Strip "the day after the war."

The public debate within Israel regarding the establishment of a Palestinian state must be based on the full picture, in which all of the relevant data is brought to bear; the security establishment must conduct itself in a transparent and trustworthy manner in this regard.

However, the very alarming details presented in the preceding pages, even without the data to which the security establishment has exclusive access, suffice to make it clear that the Palestinian Authority, in which these terrorists are full and honored members, cannot be permitted to continue to rule in Judea, Samaria or Gaz. The scenario in which the PA turns its guns on Israel is not an insignificant threat lurking in an unspecified future. It has been happening for many years, at varying levels of intensity, and it is happening now - today, as these lines are being written.¹⁴⁷ Closing our eyes or denying reality wis nothing more and nothing less than a return to the paradigms that came crashing down on October 7th.

¹⁴⁷ It can be assumed that the instability within the Palestinian Authority's Security Forces, which is expected to intensify after the death of Abu Mazen (88 years old at the time of this writing), will contribute to a spike in terrorism.



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