



# The Knife and the Message: The Roots of the New Palestinian Uprising

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[Contents](#)

[Executive Summary](#)

[The Knife and the Message:](#)

[The First 100 Days of the New Palestinian Uprising  
\(October 2015 – January 2016\)](#)

by Hirsh Goodman

[The Palestinian Knife Campaign:](#)

[A Policy of Limited Liability](#)

by Brig.-Gen. (res.) Yossi Kuperwasser

[Incitement on Social Media:](#)

[The Fuel and Detonator of Palestinian Violence](#)

by Gilad Gamlieli

[Post-Attack Incitement](#)

by Lenny Ben-David

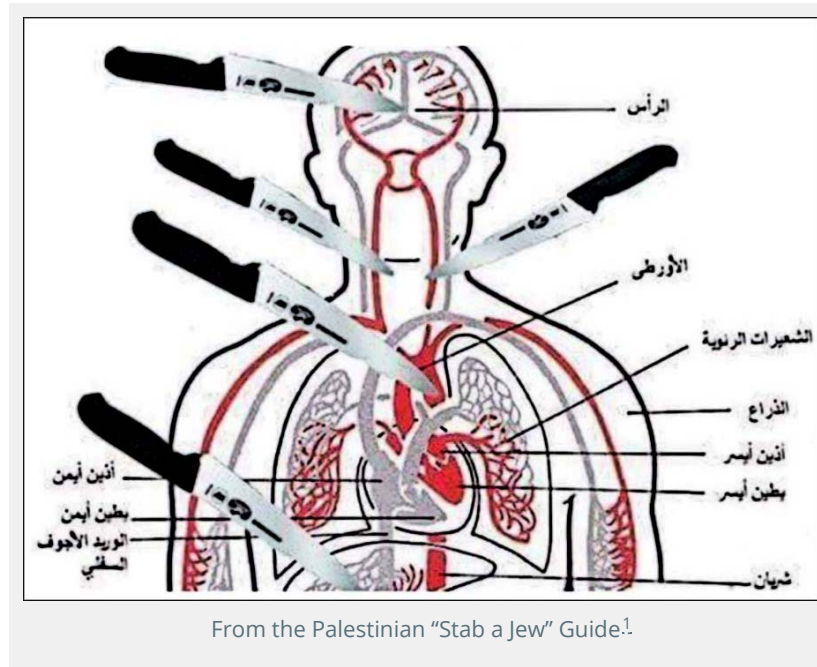
[The Palestinian Authority-Fatah's Incitement Strategy](#)

by Adam Shay and Pinhas Inbari

[Palestinian Authority Funding to Terrorists and their Families](#)

by Lenny Ben-David

### About the Authors



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*There is incitement that is done by the [Palestinian] leadership and you see it in the Palestinian media. Other than that I don't see a source that is guiding the terrorism.*

– Lt. Gen. Gadi Eisenkot, IDF Chief of Staff, February 9, 2015. <sup>2</sup>

## Executive Summary

The latest wave of Palestinian violence against Jews is something new, an insidious wave of seemingly un-orchestrated attacks, perpetrated by unlikely assailants, and generally untraceable to any particular organization. They were also characterized by brutality, viciousness and randomness, and the purposeful use of the knife, to drive home the intent of bringing a new and unrelenting wave of slaughter to the Jews; a message to all Israelis that neither they, nor their children, will ever be able to live in this land in peace.

As this document will show, the Palestinian president and those under his authority are indeed instructing young Palestinians what to do. Not sending them into battle as soldiers, but goading them into action through deliberate messaging, distortion and fabrication, sometimes stated openly by senior Palestinian officials, but mostly insidiously, aimed at keeping the conflict alive and portraying the Palestinians as the victims in a whitewash of terror.

There is a guiding hand in all this, the Palestinian Authority and the Palestinian faction that leads it, Fatah. What is being witnessed today is the end-game of a strategy adopted by Fatah in 2009 and culminating in Mahmoud Abbas' speech to the UN General Assembly on September 30, 2015, when he announced that the Palestinians are no longer bound by the Oslo (peace) Accords.

A television broadcast that sends a youth on his/her mission of death is part of a carefully calibrated policy of incitement and cynicism, which has brought the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to a

new level, one that generates terror without fingerprints, but which adroitly serves Fatah's strategy of an endless war of attrition, by varying means, against Israel.

While the current wave of violence has succeeded in placing the Palestinian issue back on the international agenda to some degree, it has lost the Palestinians a valuable asset: the Israeli political center. Israelis have lost trust in the Palestinians and their leaders, even those Israelis who believe that Israel should relinquish the territories as part of a peace agreement between the sides.

No society can live in fear and with anarchy at its doorstep, where suspicion lurks at every turn.

And no society can live with and tolerate the hatred being spewed against them, via social media and other means, with calumnies and lies reminiscent of the dark days that led to even darker days in the not-too-distant past of the Jewish people.

Israel will learn and adapt to this new situation as it has done in the past. The question is whether the Palestinian leadership will do the same and come around to understanding that the monster they have created, a generation of children led to believe in the culture of death, is not in their own best interest.

Israel can control the damage, but only Fatah and the PA can end it, and it is they, the Palestinian leadership, who have to do so if the path to negotiation and conciliation is to be opened again, and this endless and senseless wave of violence extinguished.

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### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Raoul Wootliff, "Videos teach would-be Palestinian attackers 'how to stab,'" *Times of Israel*, October 15, 2015, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/videos-teach-would-be-palestinian-attackers-how-to-stab/>

<sup>2</sup> Yoav Zitun, "Eisenkot: IDF searching for every possible solution to tunnel problem," *Ynetnews*, February 9, 2016, <http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4764074,00.html>

## The Knife and the Message: The First 100 Days of the New Palestinian Uprising (October 2015 – January 2016)

*Hirsh Goodman*

### Overview

On the afternoon of Saturday, October 3, 2015, two Israelis were stabbed to death near Lions' Gate in the Old City of Jerusalem.

Both were rabbis, one had come to pray at the Western Wall with his young family, the other had come to try and save them when he witnessed the stabbing attack in progress. Both were easily identifiable as Jews.

While just one of many hundreds of terrorist incidents perpetrated by Palestinians against Jews over the years, this attack was a moment in time: it marked the start of something new, a "Stealth Intifada," an insidious wave of seemingly un-orchestrated attacks, perpetrated by unlikely assailants, and generally untraceable to any particular organization.

These were also characterized by brutality, viciousness and randomness, and the purposeful use of the knife, to drive home the intent of bringing a new and unrelenting wave of slaughter to the Jews; a message to all Israelis that neither they, nor their children, will ever be able to live in this land in peace.

This message was delivered almost daily, sometimes several times a day, from mainly young Palestinians, fired by incitement from their leaders, accelerated by social media, and aimless other than in its mission of indiscriminate slaughter. Some were seeking martyrdom and others revenge. The message and the means, however, remained the same.

The months covered in this document have also seen shooting attacks and, particularly in Jerusalem, nearly a dozen instances of Palestinians driving their cars into groups of Israelis waiting for public transportation.

Our focus, however, is intended to give frame and form to what we see as the roots of a new Palestinian uprising, one with no suicide bombers and explosives; no direct orders; no clear demands; a stealthy uprising because it brings the shadow of terror, death, and fear to every corner of the country in the most unexpected and unpredictable ways, starting in Jerusalem, then to other cities, and the West Bank.

IDF Chief of Staff Lt.-Gen. Gadi Eisenkot told a conference in Tel Aviv on January 18, 2016, there is no early warning when it comes to random knife attacks. "We have had 101 such attacks over the past three months," he said, "and have not been able to provide a warning in a single place."<sup>1</sup>

Ten years earlier, when he headed the Judea and Samaria Division, Eisenkot said, good intelligence allowed for preemption. "Now," he said, "the knife-attack phenomenon, for all intents and purposes, leaps over what was our most important asset in fighting terror – intelligence."

"Now we have no early-warning. Today an attack occurs when the terrorist pulls out a knife and runs towards his target," he concluded, saying that finding a solution to the problem was "a serious challenge" the IDF will have to resolve.



A stabber running toward an Israeli checkpoint on October 24, 2015  
(Israeli security camera)

Killed in the October 3 attack were student-rabbi Aharon Banita-Bennett, a 22-year-old Breslov Hassidic resident of Beitar Ilit, and Nehemia Lavi, 41, a long-time resident of the Old City and rabbi at Yeshivat Ateret Kohanim for the last 23 years. Rabbi Banita's wife, Odele, was seriously injured; the couple's two-year-old was slightly injured. Their infant remained unharmed.

The violence of the attack was shocking and captured, in full, on video.<sup>2</sup> The film shows the chaos in the Old City market as a young Palestinian man runs amok after a Jewish family, apathetic Palestinian shopkeepers watching as a woman screams for help for her family. It is an act of rage and hatred for all to see; another indelible moment in the Israel-Palestinian struggle.

Chief of Staff Eisenkot is right. With all the resources available to him, he could not have predicted

that Muhannad Shafiq Halabi, a 19-year-old law student at al-Quds University in Jerusalem, would become a multiple killer that afternoon.

Not unless they had read his Facebook page that morning where Halabi explains his intentions with utmost clarity: revenge for the death of a friend, Dhiaa' al-Talahme, killed in clashes with Israeli forces two weeks before; "what is being done to al-Aqsa and our other holy sites; what is being done to the women of al-Aqsa is also being done to our mothers and sisters."

"The third intifada," he declared, "has begun."

## Social Media in the Service of Death

Social media is the new enabler of random terror. It spreads rumors and lies, and provides role models and incentive for copycats. It gives instructions on how best to kill, who to kill and why to kill, all without fingerprints. There is no organization to formally accept responsibility for its actions, no recruiting bureau where potential recruits can be watched, no ammunition belts, explosives and arms, all of which leave behind intelligence trails.

It is also the builder of symbols and legends. Halabi has become a role model, touted as a hero on social media by the Palestinian Authority, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, Hamas and even the Palestinian Bar Association. A monument depicting his face has been erected on a stone shaped to include all of Palestine, from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea, and framed by the Palestinian flag. The PA and Fatah have sponsored a sports competition in his name.

Halabi's face and name and the narrative of his "legacy of martyrdom" have flooded Palestinian social media sites. Many have cited him as an inspiration and many have since October 3 chosen to follow in his path.

On October 6, two *Associated Press* correspondents filed a story titled "New Generation of Disillusioned Palestinians Drives Unrest"<sup>3</sup> from Halabi's home town, Surda, six kilometers northeast of Ramallah in the West Bank. They wrote in their opening paragraph:

*"A new generation of angry, disillusioned Palestinians is driving the current wave of clashes with Israeli forces. Too young to remember the hardships of life during Israel's last clampdown on the last major uprising, they have lost faith in statehood through negotiations, distrust their political leaders and (believe) Israel only understands force."*

They went on to quote, among others, Malik Hussein, a 19-year-old fellow law student and friend of Halabi at al-Quds, as saying: "We are all impressed by what he has done. The day after the attack, university students took to the streets and clashed with Israeli soldiers. Mohannad's way is the only way to liberate Palestine."

They quote Halabi's 22-year-old cousin, Ahmed, as saying he hopes a new uprising will erupt. "What is going on here is unbearable: al-Aqsa; the settlements, and the killing in the streets. We have to move. We cannot stay silent," he said, repeating, virtually verbatim, the messages that had flooded his social media of late.

Halabi's father, Shafiq, spoke to the reporters in his newly-built two-story home, saying that while his son followed events at al-Aqsa closely and was known to be a supporter of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad students association at al-Quds, he was not particularly religious and that his son's violent act had come as a surprise.

He was "proud of him," he said and ended with an observation: "This generation cannot be controlled by family or any other authority. Even we, the family, couldn't tell Mohannad what to do."

His words were echoed by 21-year-old Bassel Obeida, who said the unrest would continue regardless of the decisions of the Palestinian leadership. "If Abbas is against us...we will reject his words and start the intifada. We don't want any leaders to tell us what to do."

But, as this document will show, the Palestinian president and those under his authority are very much telling the youngsters what to do. Not sending them into battle as soldiers, but goading them into action through deliberate messaging, distortion and fabrication, sometimes stated openly by



senior Palestinian officials, but mostly insidiously, aimed at keeping the conflict alive and portraying the Palestinians as the victims; a whitewash of terror by other means.

There is a guiding hand in all this, the Palestinian Authority and the Palestinian faction that leads it, Fatah. What is being witnessed today is the end-game of a strategy adopted by Fatah in 2009<sup>4</sup> and culminating in Mahmoud Abbas' speech to the UN General Assembly on September 30, 2015, when he announced that the Palestinians are no longer bound by the Oslo (peace) Accords.

"We cannot continue to be bound by these signed agreements with Israel and Israel must assume fully all its responsibility as an occupying power."<sup>5</sup>

Muhannad Halabi was not created in a vacuum.

## **The Palestinian Authority's Agenda**

The new curve of violence started to escalate around mid-September 2015, two weeks before the Jerusalem Old City stabbings. Earlier, the country's capital had seen an erratic series of attacks, primarily by Palestinians deliberately driving their vehicles into bus stops and other public areas near highways and roads, hoping to kill as many innocent civilians as possible, usually with some modicum of success.

The randomness began to take on form on September 13, 2015, the eve of the Jewish New Year, when a series of clashes broke out on the Temple Mount between youths who had armed themselves with pipe bombs and stones<sup>6</sup> in preparation for an attack on Jewish pilgrims to the site the following day and against Israeli police.

Palestinian media constantly replayed videos of the incident. The perennial incitement over official Palestinian Authority media, statements by the highest levels of the Palestinian leadership, and vitriol spread by the Northern Branch of the Islamic Movement – a now-illegal, Israel-based, Islamic fundamentalist movement – proclaimed that Israel and the Jews were trying to take over al-Aqsa, Islam's third holiest site.

The reasons for this, from the Palestinian Authority's point of view, were manifold: al-Aqsa in east Jerusalem is the only issue of international Islamic concern that makes the Palestinians relevant.

With geo-strategic realities focused on the tragedy in Syria, the American-Iranian nuclear agreement, manifestations of an escalating Sunni-Shiite rift as demonstrated in Yemen, the situation in Iraq, the phenomenon of ISIS, NATO-Russia tensions over the Ukraine and Crimea, and instability in Turkey, the Palestinian issue had become marginalized on the international agenda, so much so that the Palestinian issue was not even mentioned by the U.S. president in his extended overview of world affairs in his speech at the UN in September 2015.

The Palestinians had expected, as had become a near-annual ritual, that Israel's alleged failure to move on the peace process would be criticized, its settlement policy condemned, and Israel's government castigated for flouting international conventions. None of these were mentioned, not even in passing.

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict had taken a backseat on the international stage and, in consequence, the Palestinian leadership decided to ignite the explosive issue of al-Aqsa, which they did with deadly effect, as witnessed by the events that followed.

Internally, as well, the Fatah-controlled Palestinian Authority needed to re-assert itself, fighting for relevancy against its principal rival, Hamas, the militant Islamic arm of the Palestinian movement, isolated in Gaza as a result of the 2014 Gaza War, but still active and growing in influence in the West Bank.

A poll conducted by the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research in September 2015, before the Abbas UN speech, indicated that two-thirds of Palestinians wanted their 80-year-old president to stand down; 57 percent supported an armed intifada in the absence of peace negotiations, up from 49 percent three months earlier.<sup>7</sup>

## **A Failure of Leadership**

From the Palestinians' perspective, Mahmoud Abbas had failed to deliver a single item on the Palestinian national agenda. He rejected an intensive U.S.-led peace initiative in 2013-14 and formed a Fatah-Hamas government of national reconciliation instead. The supposed reconciliation, however, quickly fell apart when Fatah refused to transfer any funds or authority to Hamas personnel, embittering even further Fatah's already noxious relationship with that organization.

In terms of his own constituency in the West Bank, Abbas, elected president of the Palestinian Authority for a four-year-term in 2005, has unilaterally suspended all further electoral processes, including the 2009 election as demanded by Palestinian law.

He instituted measures of repression over a free press and the arrest and intimidation of journalists. There was an endless stream of reports of corruption among the Palestinian leadership, of featherbedding and patronage for those families close to the centers of power, and of an entrenched bureaucracy.

Abbas tightened his control over the police and security forces, unencumbered by the rule of law or transparency in the way they are deployed – this despite their training undertaken and financed by the international community, and their positive interaction, when convenient, with Israeli security forces in controlling Hamas terror.

Against this backdrop, the frustration among young Palestinians takes on a new perspective. It is a frustration with the inability of their leaders to offer them a vision of a future where they will be able to lead fruitful and open lives, a society where they can express their opinions, a place where their children will want to live.

They see no road to progress, no negotiations underway to change the current reality, but rather an unmovable, entrenched, corrupt and repressive leadership whose only "achievements" to date have been getting esoteric and meaningless resolutions passed in the UN that do not impact on their daily quality of life by one iota. They saw sporadic, noisy anti-Israel demonstrations on the pavements of the world, and a campaign to boycott Israeli goods and institutions that may have kept Roger Waters off Israeli stages and Israeli wines off Scandinavian supermarket shelves, but did little to change the reality in which they live.

Instead of holding elections in 2009, as the law required, Fatah, the arm of the PLO headed by Abbas, held a convention in Bethlehem, where they adopted a new course of action, dealt with in detail later in this study. The plan called for something different from the second intifada, which was characterized as an armed struggle, but where violence would be used differently. It would be a war of attrition, termed as "popular resistance," to include the use of "low-intensity" violence without resorting to firearms or explosives, while, at the same time, keeping the flame of resistance alive by seeking Israel's de-legitimization internationally, promoting the BDS campaign against Israeli services and products, and, at the heart of it, incitement as a valve to turn on and off as required, as witnessed initially with calumnies that Israelis were defiling al-Aqsa and, later, randomly slaughtering innocent Palestinian children in the streets.

In tandem, and with a great degree of sophistication, a parallel policy was decided on, a policy spoken in English, not Arabic, to ostensibly keep a door open for negotiations with Israel, Fatah not wanting to be perceived as opposed to peace or to antagonize its international supporters and, critically for the Palestinians, the Israeli peace camp.

The formula was to speak of peace to bolster Palestinian legitimacy while demonizing Israel's occupation of the territories. PA security forces also continued cooperating with their Israeli counterparts in preventing terror, but only with regard to quelling Hamas, one interest shared by both the PA and Israel, and mutual common ground where the sides could meet and coordinate formal security matters.

Typical of this dichotomy were two reports published on January 19, 2016, in *Al Quds*, the largest Palestinian daily, of a statistical study noting "direct executions and excessive use of force were the main reasons for martyrs, with a rate of 84 percent martyrdom in this way."<sup>8</sup>

In an interview published the same day in the U.S. magazine *Defense News*, the head of the Palestinian intelligence services, Majed Faraj, said that the PA security services "were able to foil 200 attacks against the Israeli occupation throughout the past three months since the start of the Quds Intifada."<sup>9</sup>

The difference between the two reports is both typical and apparent: *Al Quds'* report of executions was in Arabic and designed to incite; the *Defense News* interview was in English and designed to curry international favor. Together they epitomize the meaning and intention of the strategy adopted by Fatah at its 2009 convention.

On January 15, Amos Harel, defense correspondent of *Ha'aretz*, reported that for the past month, Israeli divisional commanders had been interviewing young Palestinians apprehended while planning or executing an attack to try and understand what was motivating them.<sup>10</sup>

The prison meetings, he reported, had been arranged by the IDF Central Command, and focused on what the military called "lone terrorists" or "lone wolves" – those unaffiliated with any specific terrorist or political organization.

These meetings, he continued, pointed to two main understandings: Israel is facing a long-term phenomenon; and that while Israel's tactical responses in the deployment of its security forces have managed to reduce casualties, the present response is far from complete, particularly in terms of intelligence.

## **Evolving Motives**

The far more interesting observation, however, was what they heard from the young Palestinians in terms of their motive – an observation that ties this new wave of unrest to a coordinated incitement campaign, carried on official Palestinian media, from mid-September 2015 and onwards.

In October it was fear for al-Aqsa that motivated the attacks. In November there was a general atmosphere of preparations for a third intifada. In December, those questioned mainly talked about being inspired by the deeds of others and imitating others attackers. In January it was about extracting revenge for the alleged slaughter of innocents.

On January 24, 2016, in an unusual press release to the local and foreign media, the Israel Security Agency reported that a minor from the village of Beit Amra, near Hebron, was apprehended on suspicion of stabbing and killing Dafna Meir, a mother of six, in the neighboring Jewish settlement of Otniel on January 19.

"Released for publication," the press release<sup>11</sup> continued, "was that during questioning by the ISA (Shabak) it transpired that prior to committing the attack, the youth was watching Palestinian television portraying Israel as 'killing Palestinian young people.'"

It was then, while watching the program, that the 15-year-old decided to "commit a stabbing attack with the goal of murdering a Jew."

The television broadcast that sent the youth on his mission of death was yet another careful calibration of incitement, policy and cynicism, which has brought the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to a new level, one that generates terror without fingerprints, but which adroitly serves Fatah's strategy, which may differ from that of Hamas in terms of tactics and the use of violence, but which is identical in its ultimate goal: an endless war of attrition, by varying means, against Israel.

## **Timeline of Terror**

An unofficial log of the violent events that occurred in the first 100 days and more mounts up to scores of pages of single-spaced text, each line a description of another horrific attack and its consequences.

The first fatality in this new phase of confrontation was 64-year-old Alexander Levlovich on September 14, 2015, killed while driving home from a family dinner on the Jewish New Year, when stones hit his car and caused him to crash.

Three youths, two 18-year-olds and one 17, were later arrested in the east Jerusalem village of Sur Baher and admitted to the attack.

The next day, September 15, saw a third day of clashes on the Temple Mount. The Waqf, the Muslim authority on the Mount, issued incendiary statements that "Israeli forces had penetrated the southern mosque as far as Saladin's *Minbar* (pulpit) and witnesses said that stun grenades had set



fire by the mosque's *Bab al-Janaez* (funerals door)," intimating that Israel was willfully violating the inner sanctums of Muslim holy sites.

However, Israeli UN Ambassador Ron Prosor wrote to the UN Secretary General and the Security Council that "at no point did Israeli police forces enter the mosque. All damage sustained at the mosque was a direct result of the activities of the militants."<sup>12</sup> Moreover, Israel Police Spokeswoman Luba Samri said Palestinians threw rocks, firebombs and fireworks at police from within the al-Aqsa mosque and the firebombs sparked a fire at the entrance to the holy site.<sup>13</sup>

In the following days, Molotov cocktails were hurled at Israeli army checkpoints. Firebombs were also thrown at and destroyed a bus in the Jerusalem neighborhood of Armon Hanatziv.

Clashes on the Temple Mount became more aggressive. Riots began to flare up in major Palestinian cities as well, and on September 21, 2,000 Israelis visiting Joseph's Tomb in Nablus were violently attacked by some 60 Palestinian teens. Serious injury to the group was avoided thanks to a quick and efficient response by the IDF in coordination with the PA security forces, neither side wanting to see the incident escalate into a massacre.

If, in the smoke of unrest, one can point to a seminal moment when the new Palestinian intifada emerged, it would be September 22, 2015, on the outskirts of the West Bank village of Khursa, near Hebron.

On that day, Diyaa Abdul-Halim Talhama, 21, was killed by Israeli forces during a violent demonstration, some say by a bomb of his own making, against what he considered Israel's abuses on the Temple Mount.

On that day, at Talhama's funeral, Muhannad Shafeq Hallabi, Talhama's fellow law student at Al-Quds University, kissed the dead man's forehead and swore revenge.

On October 3, outside Lions Gate in the Old City of Jerusalem, Hallabi exacted it, knife in hand, insanely slashing away at the Benita family, with the intent to kill all in his wake, including their infant child, leaving the cobbled path covered in blood. His Facebook page, as we have written, tells it all.

Also on that day, September 22, and also on the outskirts of Khursa, Hadeel Al-Hashlamoun, a 19-year-old married student, dressed herself in a black traditional *niqab*, her body and face fully covered, and approached Israeli soldiers standing casually by a roadblock.

Footage, taken from behind, as if to document her journey, shows no particular tension among the soldiers as she came close to them. The footage, later to become viral on Palestinian social media, then stops and the next image is of her body, as if callously killed by the soldiers for no reason other than for being a Muslim woman in traditional garb. The knife she pulled out of her bag as she lunged at the unsuspecting soldier was never shown, and when pictures of the knife were later released by Israel, they were deemed forgeries by Palestinian activists.

## Defending Women's Honor



Within hours, driven by a social media frenzy, Al-Hashlamoun became a symbol of a violated Muslim woman, killed for her traditional garb, a victim of the Israelis in their war against Islam, another crime against Muslim women, like Israel's decision to banish the so-called *Mourabitat* (women guardians on the Temple Mount) the week before in an attempt to quell the explosive situation at the site.

It is now known that Al-Hashlamoun had asked her husband for a divorce the previous day. From the footage and the way it was edited and distributed on social media after the fact, she was clearly sent on this carefully choreographed mission with a purpose in mind. While Hamas praised her actions, the Palestinian Authority did not, though it did nothing to temper the storm that followed.

Al-Hashlamoun's portrait has become, and remains, a feature intrinsic to much of the incitement that has led to the current situation and which frames the Stealth Intifada we now face. Her profile appeared on a poster with the Kaaba in Mecca, Islam's holiest site, a rare honor, maybe unprecedented, for a Muslim woman.

In Khursa, a street was named in her honor. The real reasons for her deed are long forgotten, but her legacy of hate lives on and thrives and her actions have been emulated by an inordinate number of young women since.

The message of the knife became an entrenched icon of this new and different struggle.

## The Spread of Hate

At first the main violence seemed to be in and around Jerusalem, with sporadic armed involvement by Hamas operatives, trying to ride the wave of stabbings and motor vehicle attacks. Then the attacks started to spread throughout the country, from Beersheba in the south, to Afula in the north of Israel, as well as Gush Etzion and, in particular, the Hebron area in the West Bank.

The spread and intensity of these attacks makes for numbing reading. Here is a partial report for October 8, 2015: Subhi Ibrahim Khalifeh, 19, stabbed a 25-year-old Haredi man in French Hill; a Palestinian stabbed four soldiers near IDF headquarters in Tel Aviv with a screwdriver; a Palestinian stabbed a settler, 25, inside Hebron; a Palestinian stabbed an Israeli soldier, 20, in Afula; a Palestinian died in a confrontation with Israeli forces in Shuafat; Palestinians attack Israeli soldiers in Bethlehem; Tha'er Abughazaleh, another teenage Palestinian, was shot dead after stabbing an Israeli soldier.

On October 9, 2015, a 16-year-old Israeli youth was stabbed on Shmuel Hanavi Street in Jerusalem;

19-year-old Mohammad Al-Jabari, 19, repeatedly stabbed a police officer in Kiryat Arba; Israa Abed, 30, one of the very few Israeli Arabs involved in the violence, was injured when she tried to stab an Israeli security guard in Afula; five Israelis, including three children, were injured after their car crashed after being pelted by Palestinian stone-throwers; three Israeli soldiers were injured by stones and projectiles thrown at them at Nebi Saleh and near Rachel's Tomb; in A-Tur, an east Jerusalem suburb, a man holding a firebomb was shot in the leg by the police, while two firebombs were thrown at Israeli vehicles on Route 65, and an Israeli woman reported being shot near the settlement of Karnei Shomron.

The litany of violence is endless. The next morning, a 16-year-old Palestinian, Ishak Badran from Kafr' Aqab, stabbed two Israelis returning from prayers at their local synagogue in Jerusalem. Muhammad Saed Ali, 19, of Shuafat, was killed after stabbing a policeman on Sultan Suleiman Street near the Damascus Gate. Another incident just days later and 50 meters away caused international outrage after a foreign reporter erroneously reported that a Palestinian youth had been killed in cold blood. The on-site reporter was corrected, in real-time, by the newscaster who said that the video footage clearly showed the knife attack in progress.

On October 12, two cousins, 13-year-old Ahmed Manasra and Hassan, 15, rode their bikes from the prosperous Palestinian neighborhood of Beit Hanina and stabbed an Israeli man and a 13-year-old Israeli boy as they came out of a candy store in the shopping center of Pisgat Zeev, east of Jerusalem.

Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas declared that "Israel is responsible for the execution of our children in cold blood as they did with the child Ahmed Manasra." Hardly had the ink dried on the calumny, when Manasra appeared in the media, bandaged and in treatment for a slight wound in the head, at an Israeli hospital. The mistake, however, did not deter PLO Executive Committee Secretary Saeb Erekat from sending a formal letter of complaint to the UN Special Envoy on October 16, demanding an international investigation into the "extrajudicial killings being carried out against the Palestinians in the past few weeks."<sup>15</sup>



Ahmed Manasra in Hadassah Hospital after stabbing Israelis  
(Prime Minister's Office, Israel)

And thus it has gone, from day to day, almost every day, for over 100 days. The attacks have been inside Israel, in the territories, on buses, on trains, in shopping malls, on the streets, outside synagogues, on the roads, at junctions where Jews and Palestinians share traffic routes, and, in a different direction, in the last week of January, inside settlements in the West Bank.

On January 17, 2016, as noted, Dafna Meir was stabbed to death in the doorway of her house, in full view of her children, in Otniel. Michal Froman, a pregnant woman, was wounded in a separate attack while shopping in a clothing store in the settlement of Tekoa the next day. Both attacks were carried out by 15-year-old Palestinians.

A week later, on January 25, two Palestinians from the village of Ur-al-Tahta stabbed women shoppers in neighboring Beit Horon, killing Shlomit Krigman, 23, and moderately wounding Adina Cohen, 58. In this attack, however, in addition to knives, the assailants brought three home-made pipe bombs, intended to be used in the attack, but which failed to explode.<sup>16</sup>

These bombs, like the instructions on how best to stab Jews, were produced from lessons broadcast over social media, indicating, perhaps, that the Stealth Intifada may be headed in a more explosive direction, the long-term consequences of which bode ill for both sides.

## The Victims Are to Blame

Hours after Shlomit Krigman of Beit Horon died on January 26, UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon addressed the current situation at the UN Security Council. While condemning the current wave of attacks against Israeli civilians, he added the unilateral perception that what we see now is a result of "Palestinian frustration...growing under the weight of a half century of occupation and the paralysis of the peace process....It is human nature to react to occupation."<sup>17</sup>

In what the *New York Times* termed "an unusually personal retort," Israel's Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, is quoted as saying, "The words of the UN secretary general give a tailwind to terrorism. There is no justification for terrorism. The Palestinian murderers do not want to build a state – they want to destroy a state and they say that out loud."<sup>18</sup>

The Israeli prime minister is not alone in this perception. As opposed to other Palestinian uprisings against Israel, where the Israeli pro-peace camp remained intact, this situation of random terror in Israel's heartland, as well as in the territories, has changed the way many Israelis think. It has deepened skepticism that peace with the Palestinians is possible or that a two-state solution is attainable.

In a stunning turn-about, in early February 2016, the Israeli Labor Party, long the advocate of a two-state solution, formally changed its position to one of unilateralism, whereby Israel would unilaterally withdraw from those Palestinian areas whose retention they consider poses a security threat to Israel, including the Palestinian neighborhoods in east Jerusalem, while retaining those areas of the West Bank they consider vital to Israel's security. A two-state solution was the core of Labor's thinking. Now, hopes for peace have become a vision of unilateralism; a one-sided divorce with no negotiation.

While the current wave of violence has succeeded in placing the Palestinian issue back on the international agenda to some degree, it has lost the Palestinians a valuable asset: the Israeli political center. No polls are necessary here: the Labor Party's formal decision to adopt a policy of unilateralism says it all.

Israelis have lost trust in the Palestinians and their leaders, even those Israelis who believe that Israel should relinquish the territories as part of a peace agreement between the sides.

No society can live in fear and with anarchy at its doorstep, where suspicion lurks at every turn.

And no society can live with and tolerate the hatred being spewed against them, via social media and other means, with calumnies and lies reminiscent of the dark days that led to even darker days in the not-too-distant past of the Jewish people.

Israel will learn and adapt to this new situation as it has done in the past, its security relations with the Palestinians resulting in a constant learning curve. The question is whether the Palestinian leadership will do the same and come around to understanding that the monster they have created, a generation of children led to believe in the culture of death, is not in their own best interest.

The international community has not yet fully comprehended the change that has occurred here. This is not the same conflict they knew. A quest for justice has been replaced by a lust for revenge and an ideology that slaughtering the enemy, not negotiating with him, is the path to true salvation.

This current reality may not have been foreseen by Fatah when they adopted their policy of "popular resistance" back in 2009. But what we are witnessing now are the consequences, intended or otherwise, and a future riddled with more violence and blood.

Israel can control the damage, but only Fatah and the PA can end it, and it is they, the Palestinian leadership, who have to do so if the path to negotiation and conciliation is to be opened again, and this endless and senseless wave of violence extinguished.

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## The Palestinian Knife Campaign: A Policy of Limited Liability

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Five months into the stabbing terror campaign, the Palestinian leadership keeps evaluating its costs and benefits to date and the prospects for its future. As described by Hirsh Goodman, the decision to embark on this course of action was a result of a combination of several factors:

- A. The availability of the stealth terror tool, which is a result of the long-time and ongoing incitement and the inculcation of the people in the pillars of Palestinian national identity,<sup>1</sup> with particular impact on children's psychological make-up.
- B. The ease of turning this option into action almost instantly by introducing religiously sensitive issues into the discourse such as the fate of the al-Aqsa mosque.
- C. The need to employ this activity to restore international attention to the Palestinian issue and compensate for the damage done by the regional turmoil to Palestinian attempts to present the case that Israel's attitude is the main reason for the tension between the Islamic and Arab world and the West.
- D. The existence of a comprehensive Palestinian strategy adopted in the Sixth Fatah conference in 2009, which is based on a combination of unilateral diplomatic effort in the international arena and "popular resistance," of which the current stabbing campaign is an example.
- E. The assumption that the costs to the Palestinians for this kind of terror campaign will be limited and the benefits will be much greater.

Apparently, not much thought was given by the Palestinian leadership to the potential dilemmas that a long terror campaign may eventually present. One reason is that a previous attempt to embark on such a policy, in the second half of 2014, was quite successful. At that time, PA President Mahmoud Abbas called for such a campaign, raised the al-Aqsa alarm, and quoted a well-known verse from the Quran,<sup>2</sup> enabling him to halt the campaign after things went out of control following the November 18, 2014, attack in a Jerusalem synagogue in the Har Nof neighborhood where five rabbis were brutally murdered.



A Palestinian cartoon after the Har Nof Synagogue attack



The Palestinian leadership was also not worried that the terror campaign would spin out of control and turn into something similar to the second intifada. This option, termed “the militarization of the intifada” (*Askarat Al-Intifada*) in internal Palestinian debate, was considered to be Hamas’ goal, but eventually was hard to execute because of Israel’s proven capability to thwart most of the terror attempts of this kind. Israeli security cooperation with the PA also helped prevent such violence.

In fact, the terror campaign so far has gone according to the characteristics designated by the leadership without the need for their direct, guiding involvement. The Palestinian leadership regained attention to the Palestinian issue in the international arena and in Iran, though, ironically, much less so in the Arab world which is totally preoccupied with its own problems.

Despite the vicious incitement and inhumane terror attacks that have provoked some criticism of the Palestinians, no threats or pressure has been directed at the Palestinian leadership. Rather, the international media and Western leadership echo the Palestinian claim that the attacks stem from Palestinian frustration due to the ongoing Israeli occupation and its settlements policy. No price was to be paid by the Palestinians for their support for the terror campaign. Moreover, due to the wide popularity of this campaign within the Palestinian community, the support of the Palestinian leadership for the campaign helps it mitigate public criticism and resentment for its conduct on all fronts (corruption, lack of governance, economic dysfunction, etc.) and raises its nationalist posture.

Israelis have shifted positions in recognizing that the Palestinian leadership is not a partner for a real peace, but the alternatives raised by some in the Israeli center-left – a unilateral separation – can also be interpreted as a sign of weakness and readiness to make concessions to the Palestinians unilaterally, without the Palestinians having to change any of their basic positions.

It is not surprising, then, that up to this point the Palestinians are quite satisfied with the results of the campaign, and in discussions held by the Fatah Central Committee and other leaderships forums, the decision was made to continue supporting and encouraging this effort unabatedly. The assumption of the leadership is that the terror campaign would continue as long as there is no decision to stop it. This is based on the assessment that the psychological inculcation of the Palestinian youth will guarantee that at any given time there will still be young Palestinians who will decide to go out and stab a Jew. Just like popcorn kernels explode in the microwave at random with no indication when the first will explode and which will not, so are the Palestinian youngsters randomly ready to explode when the indirect message comes from their leadership.

Will the leadership be able to control the level of violence if they so decide in the future? It might not prove to be that easy. It could put them in direct confrontation with a considerable part of the Palestinian public who support the continuation of the terror campaign. In a way, the leadership is short of options other than supporting the continuation of the terror campaign. Fortunately for them, for the time being, this campaign is paying off for them.

So what should Israel do in order to end the campaign and force the Palestinian leadership to move out of its complacency? So far Israel has taken direct steps against the terrorists and their families, adopted enhanced security measures, and criticized the Palestinian Authority, but it has refrained from taking any measures against the Palestinian leadership itself. Recently, Israel announced it is going to deliver half a billion shekels to the Palestinians in order to improve economic conditions in the Palestinian Authority, and has raised the number of permits for Palestinian workers in Israel. As long as this soft-glove attitude is adopted, it is hard to see any incentive for the Palestinian leadership to reconsider their policy. If eventually the Palestinian leadership decides to stop the attacks, they may still be able to do it, but only if the general population feels the price for the continuation of the campaign is too high. This was the case in most previous rounds of Palestinian terror and violence.

\* \* \*

## Notes

<sup>2</sup> The antecedents of these pillars can be found in the PLO’s Palestinian National Charter of July 1968 (<http://www.iris.org.il/plochart.htm>) and the Hamas Covenant of August 1988 ([http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\\_century/hamas.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hamas.asp)). They reflect the concept that the essence of being a Palestinian is to deny Zionism. The first pillar claims that Judaism is only a religion and not a nationality or peoplehood, and hence the Jews are not eligible to a right of self-determination. The second pillar denies any sovereign history of the Jews in Palestine (Eretz Israel). Based on those two pillars, the Palestinians

believe that there is no place for a state for the Jews in Palestine and that its disappearance is inevitable. The third pillar is that the Jews are the vilest creatures ever created, which explains why stabbing them is an acceptable course of action for Palestinians, including youth. The fourth pillar states that the struggle against Zionism is on-going and diverse, and all its various means, including violence and terror, are legitimate. The fifth emphasizes the unbreakable bond between the Palestinians and the land of Palestine in its entirety and is reflected in the commitment to the eventual return of the Palestinians to their homes and the establishment of the Palestinian state over the entire territory. And the sixth is the identification of the Palestinians as victims, which spares them any accountability or responsibility.

2 Verse 39 from the 22<sup>nd</sup> Sura – 'Al-Haj'.

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## Incitement on Social Media: The Fuel and Detonator of Palestinian Violence

*Gilad Gamlieli*

### The Major Role of Social Media Networks

An important aspect of the terror wave of recent months is the major role of social media networks in shaping the Palestinian narrative about the incidents and influencing their course. The contents conveyed in these networks significantly affect events on the ground, which was already evident before the recent clamor over the Temple Mount, particularly in the Arab world during the Arab Spring. Young residents of Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, and other countries, who suffered from difficult economic realities, rising unemployment, and longstanding repression by the local security forces, used these social networks – which became more and more accessible via their cellular phones – to wage online campaigns against their governments.



Egyptian protesters during the Arab Spring.  
Do the Palestinians seek to emulate them? (AP)

These campaigns – which gained momentum and were very easily propagated among young people through the social networks – sparked mass demonstrations in which these countries' youth demanded the ouster of regimes and the resignation of leaders. The networks not only made it possible to plan these demonstrations in concert, but also to circumvent the established media outlets, which immediately suppressed any attempt to send out such calls to action. The young people could thereby transmit content among themselves without the authorities being able to filter or block information. Through the social networks, then, the young people generated narratives that spawned the mass protests, which, in turn, overthrew the regimes in several countries after violent clashes of different magnitudes. The use of these social networks, whose potency was proved during those Arab Spring events, is important to understanding what fostered the wave of Palestinian terror that erupted last September.

This chapter will survey the presentations, themes, and characterizations that were disseminated in the social networks at the time of these violent events. It should be noted that the content discussed here is only a sample of the significant materials that have surfaced in these networks. This content will be described in various relevant contexts (such as incitement over the Temple Mount compound, calls for violence, or the glorification of fatalities), and will then be presented as the main feature of each topic as they emerged in these networks. Finally, some conclusions will be offered.

### **The Situation On and Near the Temple Mount in September 2015 from the Palestinian Standpoint**

The month of September 2015 saw an increase in various propaganda activities in the social networks concerning Israel's measures on the Temple Mount. These numerous presentations portrayed the situation on the ground, gave the Israeli measures a Palestinian interpretation, and suggested how the Palestinians should respond. In different ways this content influenced considerable numbers of Palestinian youths who shared it, stirring up ferment on a large scale.



Israel Police attempting to restore order on the Temple Mount, September 13, 2015 (Police Spokesman's office)

During that month, the Palestinian and Arab media networks, and especially the local online news pages, gave extensive coverage to the events occurring on the Temple Mount and in Jerusalem in what was a tense and delicate period. These reports, accompanied by numerous photos and videos, inundated the social networks; they were widely viewed and abundantly shared. The reports, photos, and videos dealt with visits to the Temple Mount by religious Jews, conducted under intensified surveillance by the security forces.<sup>1</sup> The Arab media, as has been their custom in recent years, called such visits “break-ins” (*iktacham* in Arabic). The basic underlying perspective is that the Mount is actually Islamic and Palestinian, with the Jewish presence forbidden and achieved only through the use of force. The reports also dealt with daily clashes between Israeli security forces and Palestinian youths within the compound, and sometimes within the Al-Aqsa Mosque itself,<sup>2</sup> and with attempts by the security forces to prevent the Palestinians from preparing attacks from inside the mosque. Israeli Police and Border Police were filmed clashing with Muslim women at one of the entrances to the compound; this incident garnered hundreds of thousands of views and thousands of shares.<sup>3</sup>

The measures that Israel took on the Temple Mount, such as imposing age restrictions on Muslim visitors to the mosque while allowing visits to the Mount by Jews, were seen by young social-network users as a deliberate attempt to change the status quo that has been practiced on the Mount for decades. This was evident, in their view, in the division of the compound between Jews and Muslims with regard to visiting or prayer times, as was instituted in the Cave of the Patriarchs in Hebron, or in the location of visits to the Mount. Israel, it was claimed, wanted to expropriate parts of the compound to build synagogues there.<sup>4</sup>

To bear out these charges, contrived photos were spread through the networks ostensibly depicting the effort to divide the compound in terms of visiting times<sup>5</sup> or, simply, physically.<sup>6</sup> The aim was to link the struggle with the Dome of the Rock and not only with the Al-Aqsa Mosque. The use of the “#al-aqsa” and “#lan yukasam” (“Al-Aqsa will not be divided” in Arabic) hashtags helped propagate these messages all over the networks.

A Facebook event under that name was also circulated and attracted about 4,500 users.<sup>7</sup> Also transmitted under these hashtags were various statements by leaders and politicians from both sides of the Palestinian map as well as prominent religious figures; these were in the same vein and warned that Israel’s plans would not be implemented.<sup>8</sup> Palestinian and even pan-Arab media networks also used these hashtags to depict the events occurring in these locales. These included the *Al-Quds News Network*<sup>9</sup> and the Gaza-based *Shehab News Network*<sup>10</sup> as well as the pan-Arab *Al Jazeera* channel.<sup>11</sup> These pages gave the impression that Israel was changing the status quo or aiming to do so, and hence, Al-Aqsa was in danger.<sup>12</sup>

## What Should the Palestinians Do in Light of Israel’s Measures on the Temple Mount?

On the social networks in September, there were calls upon Palestinians distressed by the situation on the Temple Mount to vent their anger at the Israeli measures. A video distributed on the networks urged the Palestinians to “take a decision by yourselves. Do not wait for this or that leader or senior official; go out in the city squares, for this is the day of confrontation. This day is your day, heroes.”

The video was accompanied by dramatic music along with graphics that included clashes between IDF soldiers and masked demonstrators. At the end, the Palestinians were summoned to take part in the “Day of Rage” that was planned for a few days later. The video was viewed by thousands and shared by hundreds.<sup>13</sup> In other graphic material that was disseminated, Gaza’s *Shehab News Network* used one of the abovementioned incidents to ask, “When will you express your rage?” – an inducement to go out and demonstrate against the Israeli measures.<sup>14</sup>

These messages about Israeli plans to change the status quo on the Temple Mount, and on how to cope with them, were also illustrated in the Palestinian social networks with cartoon videos. One of them shows Palestinian children playing in a yard when suddenly, out of the blue, the Israelis capitalize on Palestinian lethargy to build the Jewish Temple in place of the Dome of the Rock and conduct Jewish rituals in the compound. At the end, words appear in black and red: “Are you prepared to take responsibility for this? Don’t wait [for it to happen], arise [launch an intifada] now!”<sup>15</sup>

In another cartoon video, which was posted on the YouTube page of the *Al-Aqsa* television channel of Hamas in Gaza, an IDF soldier prevents a Muslim woman from entering the Temple Mount but grants free passage to a Jew, depicted in stereotypical anti-Semitic fashion as an ultra-Orthodox Jew who is planning to perform Jewish rituals in the compound. The angry woman hits the soldier with her bag and then slams the Jew.<sup>16</sup> By very simplistically bearing out Palestinian claims about Israeli measures on the Mount, cartoon videos of this kind can strongly affect children.



Cartoon of Israeli soldier, religious Jew and Jewish symbol ejected from the Temple Mount by a Palestinian woman

### The Social Networks Glorify the Knife and Its Use

With the outbreak of the stabbing attacks by lone-wolf perpetrators in late September and early October, the social networks got to work legitimizing these attacks and stressing their importance in light of the Israeli measures on the Temple Mount. In numerous content that appeared in the networks, including widely disseminated cartoons, the knife was presented as a tool that, if used by Palestinians in attacks, could induce Israel to put a stop to its measures on the Mount<sup>17</sup> and could actually remove it from the site altogether by “peeling away” its influence.<sup>18</sup>

Moreover, the images that were circulated conveyed a larger message that knife attacks could bring about the liberation of all of Palestine, not only of Al-Aqsa. Some of the cartoons showed a knife in the shape of the Greater Land of Israel adorned with the Palestinian flag, with the caption, “Your knife is your freedom.”<sup>19</sup>





Another cartoon depicts a Palestinian youth holding a knife as well as a key, alluding to the Palestinian demand to fulfill the refugees' right of return to the homeland; the Dome of the Rock is seen in the background.<sup>20</sup> The simple Palestinian youth holding the knife, sometimes even a child, is also shown threatening Israeli soldiers who, armed from head to toe with the best military gear, look on in fear and dread.<sup>21</sup> In these presentations, the knife constitutes a legitimate means to force Israel to halt its measures on the Mount and to drive it out of the land.

Not only did the social networks legitimize the attacks being perpetrated, but some also used them to *urge* Palestinian youths to go out and commit further attacks. The "#stab" (*aan'itin* Arabic) hashtag provides numerous illustrations of how Palestinians can go about stabbing Jews, with bloodstains or the Dome of the Rock in the background.<sup>22</sup> One of the more prominent recent videos shows a Salafi sheikh from Gaza giving a sermon while holding a knife and slashing it in the air. He calls upon Palestinian youths to go out in small groups, look for Jews, then stab them and indeed cut them to pieces. This lengthy video repeats the word *aan'it* several times consecutively, intensifying its impact on the youths.<sup>23</sup>





In a video that was circulated after the terror wave began, reportedly by Hamas, that was then removed by the networks after several days, a Palestinian youth is sitting unsuspectingly when two Jews go by after bothering Palestinian children who were playing. The youth reacts by ambushing the Jews and stabbing them with a knife.<sup>24</sup> The producer of another video that encourages the stabbing of Jews and includes the burning of the Israeli flag, with rap music in the background, was located by security forces and charged with incitement.<sup>25</sup>

A noteworthy stabbing attack in this context is the one that was filmed in front of cameras by Iyad Awawdeh in Hebron on October 16, 2015. Awawdeh, a native of the city, pretended to be a journalist and even wore a "press" jacket as he approached a group of IDF soldiers who were there to quell disturbances. He was able to stab and moderately wound a soldier who tried to flee from him. The attack, which was filmed by Awawdeh's colleagues, made waves in the social networks and became a kind of symbol.<sup>26</sup>

In another picture that was shared, the terrorist was displayed as a lion adorned with the flag of Palestine springing on the soldier who lies on the ground in fear, symbolizing the notion that the stabber restores the Palestinians' honor in their anti-Israel struggle.<sup>27</sup>

## Women and Incitement on the Networks

In the incendiary contents dealing with purported Israeli infractions on the Temple Mount and how the Palestinians should respond to them, young Muslim women play an active role in the national struggle against Israel, similar to that of male Palestinians. This notion is also well evident in the social networks and in content that was disseminated during this period. Cartoons showed a Muslim woman deliberating on what weapon to use against the Israelis, or a Muslim woman stepping on an Israeli tank or throwing stones at IDF soldiers.<sup>28</sup> Another cartoon shows a pregnant woman digging her fingers into an Israeli soldier's eyes and brandishing a rifle as she warns him: "If you kill my child in my womb I will tear out your eyes and your roots from our land."<sup>29</sup>



“I am carrying in my womb the 7-month-old martyr to be,” October 12, 2015 <sup>30</sup>

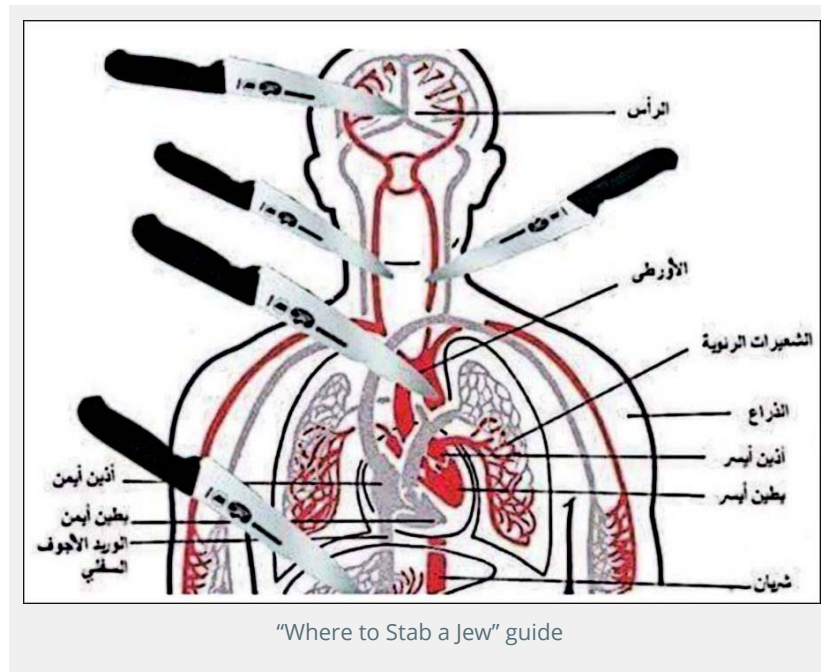
A Gaza-based website tweeted another cartoon in which the body of a young Muslim woman lies with her blood oozing on the ground, which is shaped as the Land of Israel.<sup>31</sup> Still another cartoon criticizes Palestinian gunmen for busying themselves with mundane matters like “selfie” photos while a young Palestinian woman goes to the front on behalf of Al-Aqsa bearing a knife and scissors with which to stab an Israeli, and is then shot.<sup>32</sup>

## The Palestinian Factions Encourage the Violence through the Networks

The main Palestinian movements could hardly have remained indifferent to the wave of terror attacks, which occurred mainly in Jerusalem and the Hebron region and were spurred on by individuals through the social networks. Hamas, of course, praised these actions as heroic deeds proving that the Palestinian people would not accept Israel's measures at the Al-Aqsa Mosque. The movement also warned of additional attacks that would be a natural reaction to crimes against the Palestinian people by Israel and the settlers.<sup>33</sup> A few days after the incidents began, Hamas dubbed them the “Jerusalem Intifada.” It circulated a video in the networks calling upon the Palestinians to keep committing attacks. “Arise and wage an intifada,” the video began, and continued: “Go out and stab, go out and ram with vehicles.” The video illustrates how to carry out a vehicle ramming and also encourages shooting attacks.<sup>34</sup>

Since the young perpetrators had not undergone relevant operational training in the Palestinian terror organizations, the movement explained in one of its forums how stabbings were to be performed. The video that was posted in the networks shows a masked Hamas operative demonstrating on a companion how to carry out a stabbing, including what places to sink the knife into, while incendiary music plays in the background.<sup>35</sup> Unidentified users also posted stabbing-attack guides for youths in the social networks; these explained which parts of the human body are

most sensitive so that stabbing can cause maximal or even fatal injury.<sup>36</sup>



Indeed, most knife attacks on Israeli civilians and soldiers are concentrated on the neck and chest.

### Fatah Competes with Hamas

Fatah's social-network accounts also offered encouragement to the perpetrators of stabbing attacks, though to less of an extent than the Hamas accounts. In the first days after the stabbing attacks began, Fatah's official Facebook page posted a cartoon in which a Jew is stabbed by a knife bearing the colors of the Palestinian flag with the Dome of the Rock in the background. A caption says: "This is Jerusalem. Crazy ones, be warned."<sup>37</sup> This cartoon, along with the fact that it was shared, indicates that initially Fatah supported the stabbing attacks by lone wolves. This was, however, the only reference to the attacks on the official page that included approval of them. A few days later a picture appeared that urged participation in the struggle but made no mention of a knife or the Temple Mount.<sup>38</sup> A further reference to the struggle on Fatah's Facebook page is a picture of a masked person throwing a stone, with the caption in English: "Intifada – until freedom and justice. Palestinians are fighting for their lives; Israel is fighting for its occupation."<sup>39</sup> As noted below, most of the content on Fatah's official page deals with two other topics: the alleged staging of attacks by Israeli security forces and the glorification of martyrs.

### The Glorification and Commemoration of Martyrs

Another major theme of the Palestinian social networks' incendiary content is the glorification of the perpetrators of attacks. Those who carry out terror attacks and especially those killed during them are described as heroes, and Palestinian and Arab public opinion awards them the status of *shaheeds* (martyrs) whose deaths are a sanctification of Allah's name and a sacrifice for his sake. Palestinian public life marks this special status with large funerals and with the provision of stipends for relatives by the different factions. During the recent terror wave, these practices have continued. Shaheeds are also honored in the Palestinian social networks, which are rife with content commemorating them and exalting their heroism.

In the course of this latest wave, one of the main ways to pay tribute to a shaheed has been to open a fan page in the networks. Relatives post pictures of the person, and participants express their lamentation with thoughts and reminiscences. Also posted are images of family members who eulogize the shaheeds with stories about them. For example, after the death of the first lone-wolf terrorist in this wave, Muhanad Halabi, his fan page gained over 11,000 members.<sup>40</sup> This page also exported incendiary content on its own. Other terrorists as well have been commemorated in this way.<sup>41</sup> The terrorists are also honored in songs written in their memory that praise their

heroism and Photoshop pictures show their portraits with the heavens in the background, adding to their aggrandizement. Such pictures carry captions stating, for instance, “The shaheeds do not die, rather their blood adorns the revolution.”<sup>43</sup> This treatment of terrorists causes others to view them as heroes and models for emulation, which can, of course, help induce them to carry out attacks with the expectation of similar lionization.

Pictures eulogizing and exalting some of the shaheeds have also appeared on Fatah’s main Facebook page. Although the movement did not take responsibility for the attacks, it posted announcements on the networks carrying pictures of former Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat and of current Chairman Mahmoud Abbas, along with the movement’s symbol. These announcements proclaim: “With full honor and esteem, the movement [or sometimes a certain branch in one of the districts] mourns the death of the hero shaheed, a shaheed of Jerusalem. Our souls will redeem Al-Aqsa.” The Dome of the Rock, of course, is in the background.<sup>44</sup> These online glorifications make sure to note that the shaheeds were killed while carrying out an attack on Israelis or attempting to do so. The fact that this movement, at whose helm stands the chairman of the Palestinian Authority, Mahmoud Abbas, portrays the terror perpetrators in this way is seen as legitimizing and even encouraging such attacks. At the same time, Hamas accounts in the social networks shared the shaheeds’ pictures while calling them heroes and “soldiers of Palestine.”<sup>45</sup>

### The “Execution” of Ahmed Manasra

Although the quantity of incendiary content about the al-Aqsa Mosque declined in late October and early November, it was replaced by content on other topics, particularly the glorification of shaheeds and claims that Israel was “executing” innocent Palestinian youths. In the first month of the terror wave, a stabbing attack that was especially touted in the Palestinian social networks was one in the Pisgat Ze’ev neighborhood of Jerusalem on October 12, 2015, in which two Palestinian boys came to the neighborhood and stabbed several Israelis, including a 12-year-old boy.

Minutes after the incident, Israeli social networks posted footage of one of the boy terrorists lying on the sidewalk after having been shot while an Israeli photographer cursed him. In the Palestinian social networks, however, it was believed that the child, named Ahmed Manasra, had died. These networks erupted in rage with a picture circulated in which Manasra appeared alongside Muhammad al-Dura, a Palestinian child whom, it was claimed, Israel killed in Gaza at the start of the Second Intifada.<sup>46</sup> The picture bore the hashtag “#the new al-Dura” (in Arabic), launching it and widely disseminating it on the network.

Many users who shared the picture in this hashtag declared that the boy had to be avenged: “Your cry has reached everyone who has a conscience. The response and the revenge will come, O Zionists. Your blood will not be spilled in vain!”<sup>47</sup> The hashtag “#execution of a Palestinian boy” also had a great impact. A day later Abbas used this picture to assert, in a speech broadcast live on Palestinian television, that Israel was killing innocent Palestinian children.<sup>48</sup> Only after another day passed did Israel publish pictures of the boy alive and being treated in an Israeli hospital.<sup>49</sup>





In the wake of the Pisgat Ze'ev attack, not only did Palestinian social networks devote attention to the notion that Manasra had died, but also to the footage of him lying on the sidewalk. Palestinians who shared this clip said it manifested Israeli barbarism and the fact that Israelis were not human beings or even beasts, but less than that.<sup>50</sup> Cartoons circulated in the Palestinian networks depicted the photographer filming the video and cursing Manasra as a monkey, with a pig beside him,<sup>51</sup> or showed an IDF soldier shooting Manasra and also filming the event for his enjoyment.<sup>52</sup>

### “Executions” Instead of Terror Attacks

During October, claims began to arise in the Palestinian social networks that the stabbing attacks by young Palestinians were an Israeli ruse aimed at covering up ostensible executions of these youngsters. Many users posted “before and after” pictures on the networks of corpses of perpetrators (or attempted perpetrators), saying they had been killed in cold blood by the Israelis. The Israelis, it was alleged, then planted knives at the scenes of the incidents so they could assert that the shooting was done during an attack and not as cold-blooded murder.<sup>53</sup> Fatah adopted this accusation on its official Facebook page and broadly shared these pictures, sometimes even explaining their purpose in English.<sup>54</sup> In one cartoon widely disseminated in the social networks, an IDF soldier is seen planting knives beside bodies of those who have been shot to death and drinking the blood of young Palestinians of both sexes. The caption summed up the message the Palestinians wanted to transmit: “Kill, plant a knife, take a picture.” This cartoon, too, was shared on Fatah’s official Facebook page.<sup>55</sup>



### Conclusions and Prospects

This survey reviewed major aspects of the Palestinian social-network discourse beginning in September 2015, a few weeks before the outbreak of the terror wave that in its first 100 days had

resulted in the deaths of 27 Israelis and over 150 Palestinians. Clearly, a certain view of Israel's measures on the Temple Mount during that month generated numerous presentations in these social networks, the content of which did much to provoke the outbreak and incite whole sectors. This incitement was not confined to claims that Israel was changing the status quo on the Mount. As it evolved, it dealt more and more with the "shaheed industry," that is, the increasing glorification and commemoration of the perpetrators of attacks, the legitimization of these attacks, and the portrayal of details of the attacks, up to the point of denying that they were being committed at all. This content was disseminated by Palestinians across the political spectrum, from pages identified with Hamas to those identified with Fatah. It is also clear that much of the incitement issued from pages originating in Gaza.

An important element of these incendiary contents is how the Israeli "aggressor" is portrayed. In many of the presentations, the Palestinians view their enemies on the Temple Mount compound as IDF soldiers (or other security forces) and ultra-Orthodox Jews, who are quite often depicted with the use of anti-Semitic staples that recall anti-Semitic incitement from other eras. It is no surprise, then, that large percentages of the victims of the stabbing attacks are soldiers or ultra-Orthodox Jews. This is clear testimony to the fact that these incendiary presentations, which have spread throughout the social networks, have influenced the perpetrators' perceptions and shaped their actions.



The year 2016 begins with a Palestinian collecting the heads of two ultra-Orthodox Jews. Says the cartoon character, "What luck someone shot two kosher heads."<sup>56</sup>

In late October and early November, another important trend in the incitement in social networks emerged: a decline in the volume of the provocations concerning Israel's measures on the Temple Mount and the need to defend the Mount against them. The number of presentations dealing with this topic decreased, though it was not forgotten completely. Their place was taken in the networks by other topics that helped keep the flames of incitement burning, such as the major motifs of the glorification of shaheeds, which appeared at all stages of the terror wave, and the charges that Israel was executing Palestinian youths. The waning of the Temple Mount theme can perhaps be ascribed to the understanding that U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry achieved at the time with regard to maintaining the status quo in Jerusalem<sup>57</sup> or in the realization that the al-Aqsa theme had played itself out and that there was a need for a new motive to ignite the public, especially the youth, to continue to perpetrate the terror attacks.

## Incitement by the Palestinians' Post-Attack PR Industry

Lenny Ben-David





Fatah poster in honor of its "son"

On January 25, 2016, two Palestinian terrorists jumped a fence and entered the Jewish community of Beit Horon where they stabbed two Jewish women, killing 23-year-old Shlomit Krigman. The assailants were shot and killed by the community's security guard.

The next day the Fatah organization published this poster mourning the "brave *shahid* [martyr]" Ibrahim Osama Alan. The message, issued by the Fatah branches in Ramallah, Al Bira and Beit Ur al Tahta in the "name of Allah the merciful and beneficent," mourned their "son." The background for the terrorist's portrait is the Dome of the Rock, the gilded icon that has replaced the less photogenic al-Aqsa mosque in the Palestinian public relations campaign, despite al-Aqsa's superior Islamic holiness.

Ibrahim Osama Alan may not have been a member of any organized terrorist cell nor received instructions from a Fatah leader, but there is another clear trail.

After terror attacks just a few years ago, Israeli investigators looked beyond the Palestinian suicide bomber and followed the trail of the bomber's driver, religious handler, paymaster, bomb maker, recruiter, and ultimately the commander. In the current surge of attacks the terrorist trail may not be apparent *before* the attack, but the *terror incitement trail* after the attack certainly is.

Upon learning of Ibrahim Osama Alan's attack and death, someone of authority in Fatah ordered this poster. A copywriter was assigned, photos had to be obtained from the terrorist's family, a graphic artist was employed, and a printing and internet production crew was activated. The Fatah authority then approved it, and if printed posters were published, a crew was dispatched to plaster them everywhere.

The terrorist chain could not be detected before this attack, but it can be examined after the fact, especially since it serves as an incitement tool for the next terrorist attack.

\* \* \*

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> For example:

<https://www.facebook.com/QudsN/videos/1003169533093281>;  
<https://www.facebook.com/QudsN/videos/1003141083096126/>

- 2 For example: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rgz0t3MFdX4>
- 3 <https://www.facebook.com/ShehabAgency.MainPage/videos/1187318454643906/>
- 4 <https://www.facebook.com/891731604234469/photos/pb.891731604234469.-2207520000.1450876354./901005133307116/?type=3&theater>
- 5 <https://www.instagram.com/p/7qj99sjcGB/>;  
<https://www.facebook.com/QudsN/photos/a.119620728114837.22171.119605611449682/998521710224731?type=3&theater/>
- 6 <https://www.facebook.com/891731604234469/photos/a.892526567488306.1073741828.891731604234469/719360202360/?type=3&theater>
- 7 <https://www.facebook.com/events/418180811711080/>
- 8 [https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story\\_fbid=897864453621184&id=891731604234469](https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=897864453621184&id=891731604234469)
- 9 <https://www.facebook.com/QudsN/photos/a.119620728114837.22171.119605611449682/998521710224731?type=3>
- 10 <https://www.facebook.com/ShehabAgency.MainPage/photos/a.182662565109505.38264.17960960874813474127465963005/?type=3>
- 11 <https://www.facebook.com/ajmubasher/photos/a.163116800367729.44027.125786760767400/1161880793653/?type=3>
- 12 <https://www.facebook.com/ShehabAgency.MainPage/photos/a.182662565109505.38264.17960960874813479511208757964/?type=3&theater>
- 13 <https://www.facebook.com/QudsN/videos/998597703550464/>
- 14 <https://www.facebook.com/ShehabAgency.MainPage/photos/a.182662565109505.38264.17960960874813479474055428346/?type=3>
- 15 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bj0cHfWspxc&feature=youtu.be>
- 16 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jttA-GNsYuc>
- 17 For example, [https://twitter.com/AlShareef\\_Azzam/status/665851273988714498](https://twitter.com/AlShareef_Azzam/status/665851273988714498)
- 18 [https://twitter.com/itihad\\_org/status/654228564942827520](https://twitter.com/itihad_org/status/654228564942827520)
- 19 <https://twitter.com/gilangilan703/status/671058169813213184>
- 20 [https://twitter.com/y\\_bn\\_m/status/659023255932653569](https://twitter.com/y_bn_m/status/659023255932653569). Further examples:  
[https://twitter.com/abdulrzak\\_fadl/status/655141530450137089/photo/1](https://twitter.com/abdulrzak_fadl/status/655141530450137089/photo/1); [https://twitter.com/new\\_jerusalem3/status/667346447998697472](https://twitter.com/new_jerusalem3/status/667346447998697472); <https://twitter.com/ghlab777/status/659059676512931843>
- 21 <https://twitter.com/FarisPainted/status/669283461140729857>; <https://twitter.com/mnw404/status/659094216656728068>
- 22 For example:  
<https://twitter.com/mohager241/status/663356877107933185>; [https://twitter.com/ibn\\_masr87/status/659081830126235649](https://twitter.com/ibn_masr87/status/659081830126235649)
- 23 <https://twitter.com/HamzaERadwan/status/652858510628163586>
- 24 "Arab charged for publishing an incitement to terror video on Facebook," *Kikar Hashabat*, December 13, 2015, <http://www.kikar.co.il/182357.html>
- 25 Ibid.
- 26 <http://okok11111111111111111111.blogspot.co.il/2015/10/a-palestinian-posing-as-journalist-runs.html>
- 27 [https://twitter.com/726\\_www/status/655038580037914624](https://twitter.com/726_www/status/655038580037914624)
- 28 <https://twitter.com/essbilal05/status/653556362283216896>; <https://twitter.com/omamahwest/status/660722848328056832>; [https://twitter.com/ameena\\_press/status/683685358488305668](https://twitter.com/ameena_press/status/683685358488305668)
- 29 <https://twitter.com/ibnaja1988/status/686266381122207744>
- 30 Cartoon by Sabaana, Palestinian Cartoonist, October 12, 2015, later removed;  
<https://twitter.com/Sabaaneh>

31 <https://twitter.com/Alresalahpress/status/671146663986126848>

32 <https://twitter.com/PalinfoAr/status/668899130769580032>

33 <http://www.aljazeera.net/news/arabic/2015/10/3/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AC%D9%87%D8%A7%D8%AF-%D8%AA%D8%AA%D8%A8%D9%86%D9%89-%D8%B9%D9%85%D9%84%D9%8A%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%82%D8%AF%D8%B3-%D9%88%D8%AD%D9%85%D8%A7%D8%B3-%D8%AA%D8%A8%D8%A7%D8%B1%D9%83%D9%87%D8%A7>

34 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=huFbmvm-cBE&feature=youtu.be>

35 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9zmjbroQJBw&feature=youtu.be>

36 <https://twitter.com/E1h2h/status/654978521031274497>

37 <https://www.facebook.com/Official.Fateh.1965/photos/pb.1591249977800343.-2207520000.1450937725./1630049023920438/?type=3&theater>

38 <https://www.facebook.com/Official.Fateh.1965/photos/pb.1591249977800343.-2207520000.1450937689./1630446367214037/?type=3&theater>

39 <https://www.facebook.com/Official.Fateh.1965/photos/pb.1591249977800343.-2207520000.1450937237./1640606042864736/?type=3&theater>

40 <https://www.facebook.com/%D9%85%D9%87%D9%86%D8%AF-%D8%AD%D9%84%D8%A8%D9%8A-1504870583143667/?fref=ts>

41 For example: <https://www.facebook.com/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B4%D9%87%D9%8A%D8%AF-%D8%A8%D9%87%D8%A7%D8%A1-%D8%B9%D9%84%D9%8A%D8%A7%D9%86-272314566214652/>

42 For example: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NqlamnhEwcY&feature=youtu.be;>  
<https://www.facebook.com/1677499935798501/videos/1688208454727649/>

43 <https://www.facebook.com/media/set/?set=a.1031421166934784.1073741849.119605611449682&type=3>

44 For example: <https://www.facebook.com/Official.Fateh.1965/photos/pb.1591249977800343.-2207520000.1450937726./1629935703931770/?type=3&theater;>  
<https://www.facebook.com/QudsN/photos/a.119620728114837.22171.119605611449682/10473923053376/?type=3>

45 For example:  
[https://twitter.com/qassam\\_arabic1/status/650369464936984576](https://twitter.com/qassam_arabic1/status/650369464936984576)  
[https://twitter.com/qassam\\_arabic1/status/653677298420350976](https://twitter.com/qassam_arabic1/status/653677298420350976)  
[https://twitter.com/izzat\\_risheq/status/662695356308828161](https://twitter.com/izzat_risheq/status/662695356308828161)

46 <https://twitter.com/khalidjadallah5/status/653648652834066432>

47 [https://twitter.com/OmOb\\_2/status/653718814224457729](https://twitter.com/OmOb_2/status/653718814224457729)

48 Abbas speech, <http://youtube.com/watch?v=0-ARHs-w4ko>

49 "The terrorist who was 'executed' is alive in the hospital," *Channel 2 News* (Hebrew), October 15, 2015, [http://www.mako.co.il/news-military/security-q4\\_2015/Article-a2d1ed07daa6051004.htm](http://www.mako.co.il/news-military/security-q4_2015/Article-a2d1ed07daa6051004.htm)

50 <https://twitter.com/adham922/status/653659264783921152>

51 <https://twitter.com/SafaPs/status/653830323327799297>

52 <https://www.facebook.com/ShehabAgency.MainPage/photos/a.182662565109505.38264.17960960874813408649785844106/?type=3&permPage=1>

53 For example: <https://twitter.com/lubnaAli13/status/659705016899518464>

54 <https://www.facebook.com/Official.Fateh.1965/photos/a.1591709777754363.1073741828.1591249977800343.639075199684487/?type=3&permPage=1;>  
<https://www.facebook.com/Official.Fateh.1965/photos/pb.1591249977800343.-2207520000.1450937407./1636196203305720/?type=3&theater>

55 <https://www.facebook.com/Official.Fateh.1965/photos/pb.1591249977800343.-2207520000.1450937195./1642070419384965/?type=3&theater>

56 <https://twitter.com/search?f=images&vertical=default&q=%D8%A7%D9%86%D8%AA%D9%81%D8%A7%D8%B6%D8%A9&src=typd>

57 <http://www.haaretz.co.il/news/politics/.premium-1.2759379>

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## The Palestinian Authority-Fatah's Incitement Strategy

*Adam Shay and Pinhas Inbari*

” *“The popular intifada will continue until the occupation is over and there will be no return to negotiations without full recognition of Palestinian rights. Movement towards a settlement will be achieved through international intervention.”<sup>1</sup>*

– Mahmoud Abbas, Palestinian Authority President and head of Fatah, January 6, 2015



Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas, Fatah Chairman

Abbas' assertion casts doubts over the assumption that the current wave of Palestinian violence is unplanned and uncontrolled. In reality, it appears that this ongoing violence is part of a multi-layered and far-reaching strategy. According to this strategy, the Israeli approach of achieving a two-state solution by way of negotiations is incorrect, since Abbas is relying on other factors to bring about a resolution: "Time and demographics are the two basic elements that will bring about the demise of Zionist theory."<sup>2</sup>

Abbas' demographic element is simple: Once there are more Palestinians than Jews west of the Jordan River, the Palestinians will be able to call the shots. The time element appears to be slightly more complex. In conjunction with demographic shifts, the idea is that with the extension of time, constantly brewing tensions will lead to the accumulation of pressure on Israel. In response to this pressure from the Palestinians and then subsequently the international community, Israel has the choice to either offer concessions or experience unceasing violence.

However, as far as action is concerned, Abbas has set clear parameters for acts aimed at supporting this dynamic: No guns and no bombs. Abbas' model of resistance relies on easily



obtainable weaponry – stones and knives. These weapons are not meant to be used by trained operatives and militants, but rather by the untrained – mostly teenagers and relatives of fallen compatriots. In this way Abbas differentiates himself from Hamas and its brutal tactics and creates a facade of a popular uprising by the masses.



Bloodstained tools of the trade (Israel Police)

*Editor's note:* The three terrorists who carried out a coordinated attack on police at Damascus Gate in Jerusalem on February 3, 2016, were equipped with assault rifles and pipe bombs. Their joint attack with “hot” weapons seemingly broke Abbas’ mold, but it appears that the three from Kabatiya in the West Bank were not part of a cell larger than three friends seeking revenge for the death of another friend.

According to the concept Abbas promotes, this wave of terror was *planned to be unplanned*, and the appearance of spontaneity is crucial for its success. Everything is geared to create a popular and uncontrolled uprising. For this reason Abbas refused the demand made by the fighting factions active in the previous uprisings to set up a joint operations command center; the resulting coordination could impede the spontaneous and popular appearance Abbas is hoping to achieve.

Rather than plan and coordinate violent attacks, Abbas uses the Palestinian public debate and the media as a mechanism for instigating waves of violence. The public debate also uses a dialogue based on cultural codes which broadcast a specific, pre-defined meaning to the Palestinian listener. When President Abbas says that “they [the Jews] have no right to defile them [the al-Aqsa mosque and the Church of the Holy Sepulcher]...we will not allow them, and we will do everything in our power to protect Jerusalem,”<sup>3</sup> he is in fact giving permission and legitimacy to intensify the struggle. Within the context of the struggle this is an authorization to move from stone-throwing to knifing and vehicular attacks, as was indeed the case.

“We bless every drop of blood that has been spilled for Jerusalem, which is pure and clean blood,” Abbas declared. “Blood spilled for Allah. Every martyr will reach paradise and everyone wounded will be rewarded by Allah.”<sup>4</sup> The meaning is clear: This statement provides carte blanche for violence using any means necessary. Again, within the context of the conflict, it means an intensification of the struggle.

The recurring theme of “Martyrs and Prisoners” and its constant use in the public debate assures

the perpetuation of violence and provides a morbid channel for political participation. According to this narrative, the establishment of the Palestinian state depends on the individual's willingness to sacrifice his or her life for the cause, and martyrdom is considered as the greatest votive offering one can make to the cause of Palestinian statehood. This narrative is constantly reinforced by Palestinian leaders.

In his speech representing President Mahmoud Abbas, District Governor of Hebron Kamel Hamid stated: "I convey the president's greetings to you. Our martyrs and prisoners will remain the beacon of our magnificent glory until the dream of the martyr and [Fatah] founder Yasser Arafat, [ Hamas founder] Ahmed Yassin and all the [other] martyrs is fulfilled with the establishment of our Palestinian state. We must be loyal to these heroes in all aspects."<sup>5</sup>



Specific verses from the Koran are also used regularly in the public discourse to promote or further intensify violence. Among these is *Surah* 22, verse 39: "Permission [to fight] has been given to those who are being fought, because they were wronged. And indeed, Allah is competent to give them victory."<sup>6</sup> When this verse is used in regard to a martyr – it is in fact a call for vengeance. The fallen martyr must be redeemed by another terrorist attack.

## The Origins of the Current Wave of Violence

The term *habba*, used to describe this wave of violence, refers to a constant "buzz" of low-intensity violence utilizing stones, knives, firebombs, and vehicular attacks perpetrated by random and unorganized civilians. The initiation and parameters of the *habba*, which defines the current wave of violence against Israelis, was actually conceived at the Sixth Fatah Conference held in Bethlehem on August 4, 2009.<sup>7</sup> Fatah's position, both within Palestinian politics as well as its connections with Israel and the outside world, were at an all-time low; the humiliation of being expelled from Gaza was still fresh. In Ramallah, the Western powers had forced the Palestinian Authority to set up a government headed by Salam Fayyad, who was supposed to weed out Fatah entrenchment in the political system.

Fayyad presented an alternative strategy to that of Fatah: on the internal level he promoted the formation of a meritocratic bureaucracy able to support an ongoing nation-building process. On the external level he put the emphasis on a concept of "victimhood" as a method of evading any Palestinian responsibility for the constant deterioration of Israeli-Palestinian relations. Fayyad was not a member of Fatah and actually contested both Fatah and Hamas dominance over Palestinian politics by forming his own party – The Third Way – which ran in the Palestinian legislative elections of 2006.<sup>8</sup> He was given control over the security apparatus – which gave him de facto control over Fatah. With its military capabilities and options significantly diminished, it was time for Fatah to reposition itself, and the Sixth Fatah Conference laid down the infrastructure for the future *habba*.



At the conference, Fatah agreed to promote “popular resistance” to serve as a lever for asserting pressure on Israel. This ability, in turn, gave Fatah an advantage over both Hamas and Fayyad. If Fatah were to reposition itself as the leader of the resistance against Israel, it would help its popularity versus that of Hamas. At the same time, the more Fatah controls the flames of the *habba*, the more it becomes the relevant player when it comes to Israel and the United States. Fatah understood that Hamas-style armed terrorism does not necessarily gain them support abroad. Therefore, Fatah opted to substitute its model of armed struggle, one that could be presented as a popular struggle, supplemented by unilateral diplomacy, action through the UN, and the promotion of boycotts.

## The Beginning of the *Habba*

The actual start of the renewed wave of Palestinian violence traces back to Abbas’ speech at the UN on September 30, 2015, with the ongoing tension surrounding the Temple Mount as the background.

Abbas’ speech was echoed in a New Year’s Eve interview with Riad Mansur,<sup>9</sup> Permanent Observer for Palestine to the UN, where he spoke of the escalation of the popular Palestinian *habba* in response to the perceived endangerment of sacred Islamic places. Mansur described the topic of *Haram al-Sharif* [Temple Mount] as a matter relating to the entire Arab world as much as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict:

”

*Action against Israel at the United Nations is currently not taking place due to American objections and various excuses such as Iran or Syria. America keeps postponing such action but the situation cannot tolerate being postponed anymore, especially now with the popular Palestinian habba and the danger to the Islamic holy places such as al-Aqsa....This is a pan-Arab interest and the Palestinian reaction is one of frustration and desperation and the habba carried out by our youngsters may escalate. Those who pushed the problem aside will be forced to deal with it after the Palestinian forces will prove that the Palestinian problem cannot be ignored as it is the central problem of the Middle East.<sup>10</sup>*



Palestinian rioting on the Temple Mount

The various factions in the West Bank, reluctant to stay behind, demanded that Abbas set up a joint command and control center for coordinating various activity relating to the *habba*. Abbas rejected this and ruled out the participation of the various armed factions in order to allow for the more authentic grassroots appearance of the *habba*. To allow this, an alternative method of communication and messaging had to be developed, supplementing the old-school *shahid* (martyr)

posters. Spontaneous social network pages started to appear and gain momentum online; many of these coincide with the focal points declared by Abbas at his UN speech as well as other popular messages.

## The Purpose of Incitement

It is entirely possible that Abbas, Fatah, or the Palestinian Authority did not give a direct order for the outbreak of violence. There is, however, no doubt that Fatah agreed upon, planned, created, and continues to maintain the infrastructure that facilitates and promotes this violence. This is mostly achieved by two methods: support and incitement.

Regarding support, Jibril Rajoub, a prominent Fatah Central Committee member and former head of the Palestinian Preventive Security Force, announced that Fatah regards the fallen (Palestinians who carried out terrorist attacks against Jews and were killed while doing so) as martyrs – *shahidis* – and called upon young Palestinians to follow in their footsteps.<sup>11</sup> This statement contains within it support and legitimacy from two of the highest authorities: the political one, as expressed by Fatah encouragement, and the religious one, as expressed by declaring the fallen as martyrs.

While Hamas would like to maintain a constant “buzz” of incitement in order to facilitate and promote constant violence, its end goal remains the liberation of Palestine by means of armed *jihad*. PA President Mahmoud Abbas, conversely, wishes to maintain political control by ensuring that the violence remains at the popular level – namely, stone-throwing and stabbings – as this type of violence is perceived by many in the Western world as legitimate and viewed as a fight for freedom and independence rather than terrorism.

From an internal-political point of view, this is a source of conflict between the Palestinian Authority and its main adversary, Hamas.

Hamas incites in order to promote *armed struggle* against Israel and thereby label itself as the leader and central actor of the resistance. Abbas is tasked with governing the Palestinian Authority and, therefore, has an interest in maintaining control over incitement, tying it to the varying needs of the peace process as well as internal Palestinian needs. This is specifically demonstrated by Abbas’ ability to assert power and control over the violence by considerably limiting incitement to terror on its media channels, as well as sending the PA security apparatus to control violent demonstrations and prevent clashes with the IDF – if and when possible.<sup>12</sup>

However, official Palestinian control over lone, young, and unaffiliated assailants remains limited, a fact which conveniently aligns with Abbas’ agenda to create the appearance that the current violence is an unplanned popular uprising and that his ability to control or quell it is limited. At the same time, Abbas, like other Palestinian factions, openly voices his support for the violence.<sup>13</sup> He condemns the use of explosives or “hot” weaponry,<sup>14</sup> but avoids condemnation of violence which falls within the parameters of the *habba*, even when called upon to do so by U.S. President Obama.<sup>15</sup>

Israeli security forces have commented that behind Abbas’ restraint is the PA’s fear that Hamas would use the escalation of violence for two parallel moves: (a) “hijacking” the agenda and turning it into a full-blown armed intifada including firearms and suicide bombers, and (b) a renewed attempt to destabilize the Palestinian Authority in order to bring about its collapse. This difference defines the ways these actors utilize incitement: Hamas uses it in order to support armed struggle and resistance, while Abbas and the Palestinian Authority use incitement as a tool for applying pressure on Israel in order to bring about Israeli concessions. In this way, violence brought about by incitement can be seen as a complement to the peace process: The more violent the conflict, the more pressure on Israel to conduct negotiations and make concessions.

## Varying Levels of Incitement

Levels of incitement – as well as the objectives they serve – vary according to intensity, specificity, and targeting. The more specific the focal point of the inciting narrative, the more specific the outcome. For example: presenting this narrative: “The Jews are threatening the physical stability and the religious sanctity of al-Aqsa,” results in this outcome: attacks against Jews associated with al-Aqsa.

These codes provide Abbas with a regulating system. He maintains a certain degree of control and has the ability to raise or lower the levels of violence according to his varying needs. When Abbas speaks publicly about “Jews desecrating and defiling the al-Aqsa mosque,”<sup>16</sup> he is essentially turning on a green light for violence against Jews. The ability to regulate the levels of incitement and the level of violence allows Abbas to utilize the already present incitement not only to prevent or produce violence, but also to re-focus global attention, thereby creating international pressure on Israel to reignite the peace process, all the while simultaneously refusing to come to the table.

At the time when the negotiations surrounding the Iranian nuclear issue were drawing to a conclusion (September–October 2015), the United States was not actively participating in an Israeli-Palestinian peace process. In fact, the Palestinian topic was not a focal point of attention by the international community. The speech given by President Obama at the United Nations on September 28, 2015, did not even mention the Palestinian issue.<sup>17</sup> This served as a warning sign for the Palestinian leadership that it was becoming irrelevant and needed to take action. Civil demonstrations against the Palestinian Authority over its high levels of corruption, on the one hand, and its willingness to cooperate and coordinate certain actions with Israel and the IDF, on the other, served as further warning signs to Abbas and the PA. This wave of demonstrations took place in major Palestinian cities such as Ramallah, Bethlehem, Nablus and Tulkarm, and quickly escalated to violence against Palestinian security forces.<sup>18</sup> Threatened with the escalation of internal strife which could endanger both Abbas’ rule and person, diverting public attention and rage from the PA to Israel by way of incitement seemed like a successful strategy.

### Re-establishing Relevance: Fatah’s *Habba*

The videos of ISIS atrocities established the knife as a powerful symbol of Islamic resistance. While many of the recent attacks by Palestinians against Jews in Israel are knife attacks, Abbas originally opposed the use of the knife and adopting it as a symbol precisely because of its association with ISIS.



A Palestinian with a knife (AP Photo)

This matter was discussed at a meeting with the Fatah leadership on October 8, 2015. Abbas opposed the use of the knife and using it as symbol of the *habba*. However, he met with significant objection from the representatives of the fighting factions. The next day Abbas’ emissary and senior member of the Fatah Central Committee, Nabil Sha’ath, appeared on Palestinian television and was asked if the knife was to become the icon of the *habba*. Sha’ath replied:

”

*The relevant icon is the popular struggle itself and the challenge it poses to the occupation. Use of the knife is precisely where Israel wants to drag us. We stand in the middle of two populations: our own population and that of the world. The world is watching our media*

*closely and following what we say. Our message to the Palestinian people is to abide by the popular revolution and not follow the path the enemy would have us follow, which leads to a trap. The enemy is armed. Our strength lies in our people's willpower. I am following global media and it is reporting all of Israel's crimes. We must work to reaffirm this because this is a war crime and a crime against humanity. When they kill children – this is genocide. Their intention is to annihilate us.<sup>19</sup>*

The lower echelons of Fatah, however, continued to support the use of knives since these are an easily obtainable and effective weapon for perpetrating physical harm against enemies while simultaneously matching the popular uprising image that it wished to maintain.



A Palestinian with a knife near Damascus Gate, about to attack a Jew (Zipi Malkov)

On the ground, the knife also allowed for renewed Fatah-Hamas cooperation. Hamas criticism had long blamed Fatah for giving up the armed struggle and cooperating with Israel by way of security coordination. In order to placate the public and maintain its relevance, Fatah needed to show that it was still a fighting force to be reckoned with and was still capable of promoting and waging violence against Israel. However, Fatah continued to shy away from attacks that could be compared to ISIS, assaults perpetrated by relatives of Hamas members, violence that may appear overzealous and cruel, as well as attacks utilizing firearms or explosives.

Ironically, it was the knife that initially gave these two parties the ability to conduct limited cooperation. Hamas and Fatah have both routinely raced to take credit for attacks. Hamas was quick to “hijack” the *habba's* agenda and position itself through its solid support base in Hebron as the leader of the knife attacks. Hamas was in a unique position, able to conduct both armed attacks and popular struggle at the same time, thereby increasing its popularity. Association with Hamas also increased the level of the *habba's* religious element.

### **Links between the Palestinian Leadership and Control over Incitement**

According to Fatah logic, there is a need for a constant proliferation of incitement material in order to serve and promote the interests of the popular struggle against Israel. Therefore, the matter of incitement is not discussed as something to be fought against, but rather controlled and manipulated according to the constantly changing conditions, both on a micro level – allowing the local population and the lower levels of the struggle to “vent” their antagonism and cultivated hatred of Israel – and on the macro level – to serve as a strategic tool in the continuing armed and political conflict with Israel.

In order to understand this phenomenon there is a need to identify the delicate balance between two interrelated types of incitement:

1. *Subdued and controlled incitement*, which will nurture hatred but will not directly promote violent action. This allows the Palestinian leadership to maintain a public mindset which fosters antagonism and is therefore willing to accept, support, and carry out actions against Israel when incited. This also allows the Fatah/PLO – and subsequently the Palestinian Authority – to counter claims from extremists such as Hamas that the Palestinian Authority is a tool for cooperation with the enemy and that it has abandoned the cause of liberating all of Palestine by force. This form of incitement does not directly call for violent action against Israel, but it reaffirms and enforces the centrality of the struggle for Palestine as part of the Palestinian experience. It serves as a cohesive experience for the masses (like the concept of the *habba*) because it is the place where both main political factions – Fatah and Hamas – can openly express their will for continued struggle against Israel without paying a cost politically or compromising the Palestinian Authority's ability to call for a peace process. This type of incitement will usually result in low-intensity popular resistance and localized action, such as demonstrations or roadside stone-throwing.
2. *Specific incitement* creates a receptive and encouraging environment for individuals who are willing to carry out actions based on or relating to a specific and clearly defined agenda (such as “defending” the al-Aqsa mosque). It provides a defined platform for all acts of antagonism through which any Palestinian can take part in the Palestinian struggle regardless of that individual's reasons and motivation. The effects of this type of incitement can vary from random violence and terrorism to a full-blown intifada. The message is designed to achieve a specific level of violence without completely losing control over the masses. The result of “random terror,” mostly carried out by unaffiliated individuals, allows the Palestinian leadership to maintain a certain degree of deniability and claim they are not promoting violence and “their people” are not involved in said violence. The appearance of spontaneous violence is seen to be coming from the Palestinian street, over which the Palestinian leadership supposedly has little or no influence.

## **Palestinian Authority Funding to Terrorists and their Families**

Lenny Ben-David

### **Blood Money Incitement**

The Palestinian Authority (PA) is responsible for one more nefarious form of incitement to attack Jews – paying large bounties to the attackers and their families. An attacker can go out to commit murder assured that if he is arrested he will receive a monthly salary; if he is killed, his family will receive a monthly pension; and if his family home is destroyed, the family will receive a very generous award to rebuild their home.

Rather than being deterred by the harsh consequence of their terrorist attack at Israel's hand, the perpetrators are actually encouraged and incentivized by the Palestinian leadership. According to one study published by the Gatestone Institute, “Terrorists in prison receive higher average salary than PA civil servants and military personnel.”<sup>1</sup>





Muhannad Halabi stabbed two Israelis to death in Jerusalem in October 2015. In response, the IDF razed his home near Ramallah. Activists in Ramallah raised more than \$63,000 – besides grants offered by the PA and Iran – to rebuild the Halabi home.<sup>2</sup> (*Arab press*)

An Israeli government 2014 memorandum, citing official PA budgetary reports, noted that \$75.5 million had been paid out in stipends to convicted terrorists and their families in 2012.<sup>3</sup>

The instructions for compensation payments come from the highest levels of the Palestinian Authority, according to the *Al-Araby Al-Jadeed* website in February 2014: “The Jerusalem Martyrs’ families and the National Campaign to Return the Bodies of the Martyrs confirmed that President Mahmoud Abbas promised to compensate the Jerusalem Martyrs’ families for their homes, which the occupation forces demolished or damaged.”<sup>4</sup>

In a long-standing practice, the Palestinian Authority grants large bonuses to prisoners – even terrorists – when they are released from prison. The longer the stay, the more the pay. These grant payments reached more than \$6 million, creating a serious crisis, according to Director of the PLO Commission of Prisoners’ Affairs Issa Karake.<sup>5</sup>

The British *Telegraph* provided more details on April 27, 2014:

”

*Based on Palestinian documents, Palestinian Media Watch says that the longest-serving terrorists receive £2,075 [British pounds] per month, plus bonuses for wives and children. Grants made upon release can be as much as £50,000. The average Palestinian wage is about £312 per month. In 2013, the Palestinian Authority (PA) paid more than £60 million to those convicted of terror offences; of this, £9 million was paid as bonuses when terrorists were released. In February, the Palestinian Authority announced that this bonus pot would be increased to £27 million.*<sup>6</sup>

Meanwhile, a bidding war has erupted between the PA/Fatah on one side and Hamas/Iran on the other. Iran accused the PA of failing to deliver aid it sent to the terrorists’ families. In reaction, Iran announced the formation of another organization to provide funds to Palestinians; the grants would amount to \$7,000 to every family of a *shaheed* (martyr) and \$30,000 to rebuild any house destroyed because of a family member’s involvement in a terrorist act.<sup>7</sup> The Iranian accusation further weakens the Palestinian Authority, seen by many Palestinians as a corrupt organization.

American lawmakers are angry over the Palestinian Authority’s involvement in incitement. On September 25, 2015, the State Department informed Congress that it would cut economic aid for the West Bank and Gaza by 22 percent. “There were several factors contributing to this decision,” a State Department official said, “including unhelpful actions taken by the Palestinians and constraints on our global assistance budget.”<sup>8</sup>

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\* \* \*

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## Adam Shay

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## Pinhas Inbari

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# Breakdown: The Stabbers and the Message that Motivates Them

*Compiled by Tamara Elashvili*

## The First Knife Appears

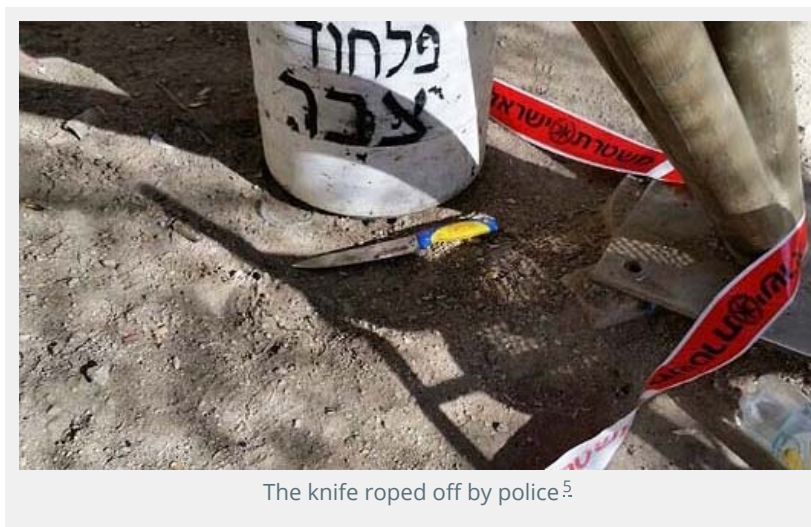
Many point to Muhannad Shafiq Halabi as the first stabber in the Old City of Jerusalem on October 3, 2015, the first inspiration to the many terrorists to stab their victims to death. However, the first signs of the current "*habba*" [buzz] started to emerge in Hebron. On September 22, 2015, about two weeks prior to Halabi's knifing attack, Hadeel al-Hashlamon, a 19-year-old woman student, dressed in full *niqab* garb, approached a soldier at a Hebron checkpoint, pulled out a knife, and attempted to stab him. She was shot and killed.<sup>1</sup>

This scene was captured digitally, shot in dramatic fashion, depicting a seemingly peaceful woman clad from head to foot in black confronting a soldier with gun held at the ready.<sup>2</sup> The fact that Palestinian photographers and videographers were on the scene to record the encounter from several angles, and the presence of activists, all suggest that al-Hashlamon's attack was coordinated in advance. Israeli *Channel 2* reported on September 24, 2015, "that al-Hashlamon was known to the Israel Security Agency and had long expressed a desire to commit a terrorist act. Prior to her attack, al-Hashlamon told friends on numerous occasions she wanted to 'do something' and carry out an attack. The day before the incident in Hebron, she asked to separate from her husband and told him they would not see each other again."<sup>3</sup>



The pictured scene is perfectly calm – the photographer positioned himself before any violent behavior became evident; he anticipated an incident. The Twitter account expressed the popular Palestinian view that she was killed because of her *niqab* (veil).<sup>4</sup>

Despite the abundance of cameras, no one published the scene of her drawing a knife and being shot. The photographs only depicted the moments before and immediately after. The picture of the knife with a blue and yellow handle, lying on the floor at the scene of the attack, was mysteriously missing from the video footage.





Hadeel al-Hashlamon's name is hashtagged with blood dripping from the al-Aqsa mosque<sup>6</sup>.

Al-Hashlamon's death caused a frenzy on social media, which referred to her as a glorious chaste martyr – a woman who was shot to death for the “crime” of Islamic modesty. The narrative evolved that she was shot because she refused to take off her *niqab*.

As the first female *shaheeda* of this terror wave, she became an icon, her image spread all over the media. One man even posed in front of Mecca's Kabba with her name scrawled on a piece of paper and declared her the “detonator” of the current uprising.<sup>7</sup> Her funeral filled the streets of Hebron with women in *hijabs* and *niqabs* prominently marching with her picture aloft. Social media was ablaze.





The tweet reads: "Plant a knife into his side...into his heart and avenge for chaste Hadeel al-Hashlamon."<sup>8</sup>

When two Israeli parents, Eitam and Naama Henkin, were murdered by Hamas in front of their children in their car on October 1, Palestinians posted pictures of the bloody car and declared: "Revenge for our sister" [al-Hashlamon], and hashtagged her name.



نايف الكاسر  
@2012\_nss

Follow

أثار لأختنا  
#هديل\_الهشلمون.



رضوان الأخرس  
@rdooan

تم إعدام الصهيونيين بخمسين رصاصة وهذا  
يعني أن نصيب كل واحدٍ منهم كان ٢٥ رصاصة  
وتذكروا أنهم أعدموا هديل بـ ١٥ رصاصة..

[pic.twitter.com/defZvAhNty](http://pic.twitter.com/defZvAhNty)

9:44pm - 1 Oct 15



12:57 PM - 1 Oct 2015



The Henkin car featured in this Palestinian tweet. The tweet reads: "Revenge for our sister."<sup>9</sup>

A road has since been named after her and a commemorative stone has been erected in al-Hashlamon's honor near Hebron.



48 @48news الإخبارية - 5 Dec 2015

مجلس اتحاد طلبة جامعة الخليل يقرمون بتسمية أحد شوارع الخليل المحلة باسم الشهيدة هديل الهشلمون.

Council of Students at Hebron University naming a street in Hebron after

On the same day as the death of Hadeel al-Hashlamon, September 22, 2015, a funeral in Hebron was held for Diyaa Abdul Talahmeh, a 23-year-old male student, who was killed by an improvised explosive device that he attempted to throw at Israeli soldiers.<sup>11</sup> Talahmeh's death was a trigger that greatly influenced his friend Muhannad Halabi, who would go off to Jerusalem to kill the first two people at the start of this current terror wave. Like Halabi, Talahmeh appeared to be a member of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) student wing at Al-Quds University in east Jerusalem.<sup>12</sup>

As a member of the PIJ student wing, Talahmeh can be seen in a video wearing the sash of Palestinian Islamic Jihad and shouting heatedly to a crowd about how, "With the permission of Allah...we will be leaders of the *mujahedeen*. We will be leaders of the revolution and we will arrive in Jerusalem. [Palestinians] are in the diaspora. We will return to our homeland, to Haifa, to Jaffa, to Acre, to Safed; we will return with Allah's permission."<sup>13</sup>

Talahmeh's death was in the context of a surge in confrontations in the Palestinian territories. According to Israel Security Agency, the number of confrontations (mostly firebomb attacks) in September had increased 22 percent from the previous month.<sup>14</sup> A Palestinian hospital official said that Talahmeh "was showered in shrapnel and was also shot in the head," though the military maintained it had not shot him; the device he built exploded and killed him.<sup>15</sup>



Talahmeh with his shrapnel wounds at his funeral (September 22, 2015, Twitter).<sup>16</sup>

## The First Stabbing



Muhannad Halabi (above) and Talahmeh

A placard on Muhannad Halabi's grave reads: "The martyred lawyer Muhannad Halabi, igniter of the Jerusalem uprising."<sup>17</sup>

Muhannad Halabi was a 19-year-old law student at Al-Quds University from Surda, north of Jerusalem. Before Halabi's attack, he posted to his Facebook page: "As far as I can see, the third intifada has begun....What is being done to al-Aqsa is also being done to our other holy sites. What is being done to the women of al-Aqsa is also being done to our mothers and sisters. I do not think the Palestinian people will accept the humiliation...the Palestinian people will wage an intifada. In fact, it is waging an intifada."<sup>18</sup> Before Halabi headed out to carry out the attack, he reportedly watched a video of a Palestinian woman being arrested by Israeli police at the al-Aqsa mosque.<sup>19</sup>



Women of the Mourabitoun, prohibited from entry to the Temple Mount for causing disturbances<sup>20</sup>

The protection of Palestinian women's honor was a theme reiterated by Halabi's father and mother



at their son's funeral. His mother stated, "I speak while I am blessing my son, on his martyrdom-death (shahada), and I am proud that he died to defend the women of Palestine."<sup>21</sup> His father remarked: "He avenged the women carrying out *Ribat* (religious conflict/war over land claimed to be Islamic) at the al-Aqsa [mosque]. He avenged them. He avenged them against the impure enemies. He avenged them and made everyone lift his head up high. He made everyone lift his head up high. Muhannad, may he find favor in the eyes of Allah, may he find favor in the eyes of Allah, praise Allah, Master of the World, praise Allah."<sup>22</sup>

Halabi came from a politically active home, with his father a former member of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine who was arrested in the first intifada. Like his father, Halabi emphatically rejected the idea of negotiations with Israel and supported the idea of armed resistance, sentiments which he conveyed in a letter to PA President Mahmoud Abbas which Halabi posted on his Facebook page shortly before the attack.<sup>23</sup> Despite Halabi's disdain for the Palestinian Authority, which he felt aided the Israeli oppression, after his death the PA extolled Halabi as an exemplary martyr for Palestinians to follow.<sup>24</sup>

Halabi was aided and abetted by Abd al-Mari'i, who was detained under suspicion of having initiated the attack and helping Halabi enter Israeli territory illegally to pray at the al-Aqsa mosque. When Halabi was prevented from entering al-Aqsa, Mari'i convinced him to carry out the attack instead and bought a knife for him.<sup>25</sup>

Halabi continues to serve as a role model in the territories, with the Palestinian Authority, PIJ, Hamas, social media, and even the Palestinian Bar Association touting Halabi as a national hero.



A monument was erected depicting Halabi's face on a Palestine-shaped stone (depicting all of Israel), above a Palestinian flag; a sports competition sponsored by the PA and Fatah was named after him; the Palestinian Bar Association awarded Halabi a posthumous honorary LL.D degree, claiming he excelled at his studies; and Halabi's face and legacy of "martyrdom" has flooded Palestinian social media sites. Halabi has been turned into another Palestinian icon, as he was cited



by other terrorists as a source of inspiration for similar attacks.<sup>27</sup>



Halabi (right) and Abd al-Mari'i<sup>28</sup>

## Statistics on Terror



@new\_jerusalem3 أخبار بيت المقدس 19 Nov 2015  
##انتفاضه القدس  
##انتفاضه السكاكين  
##ملقى القدس  
##غرد بصورة  
##الانتفاضه مستمرة  
##زد رصيدك  
##الضفة تنكض

1 3

Picture of a Palestinian stabbing a Jew on the Temple Mount in front of the Dome of the Rock

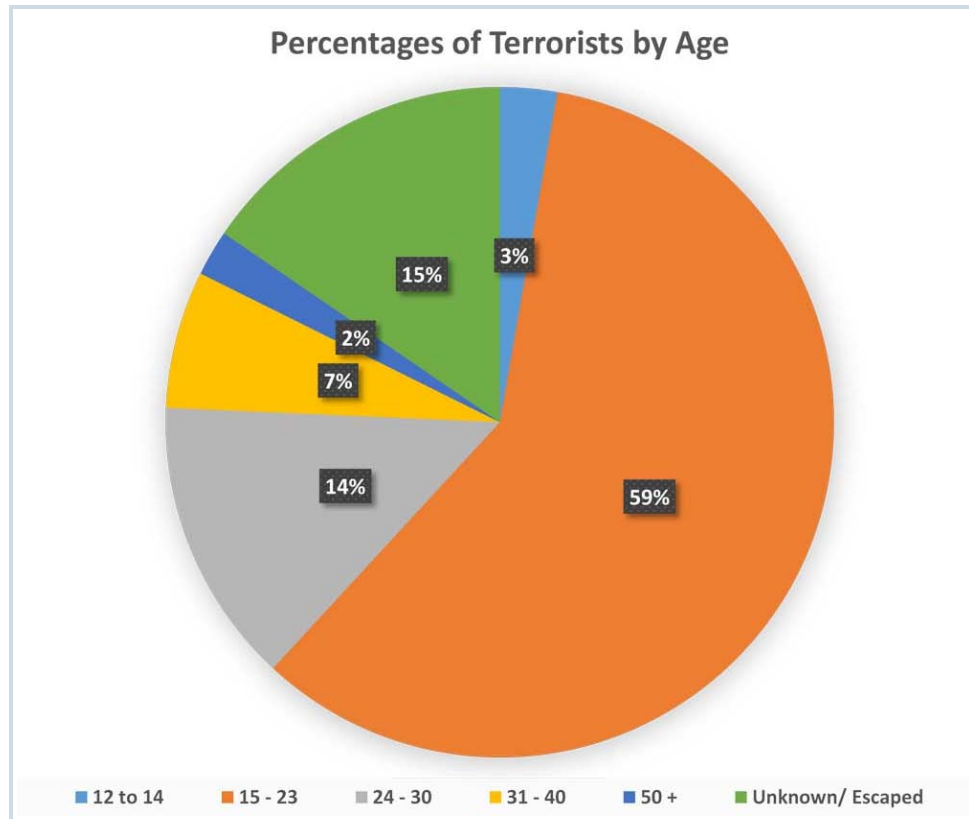
From September 15, 2015, until January 18, 2016, there were 111 stabbing attacks, 38 shooting

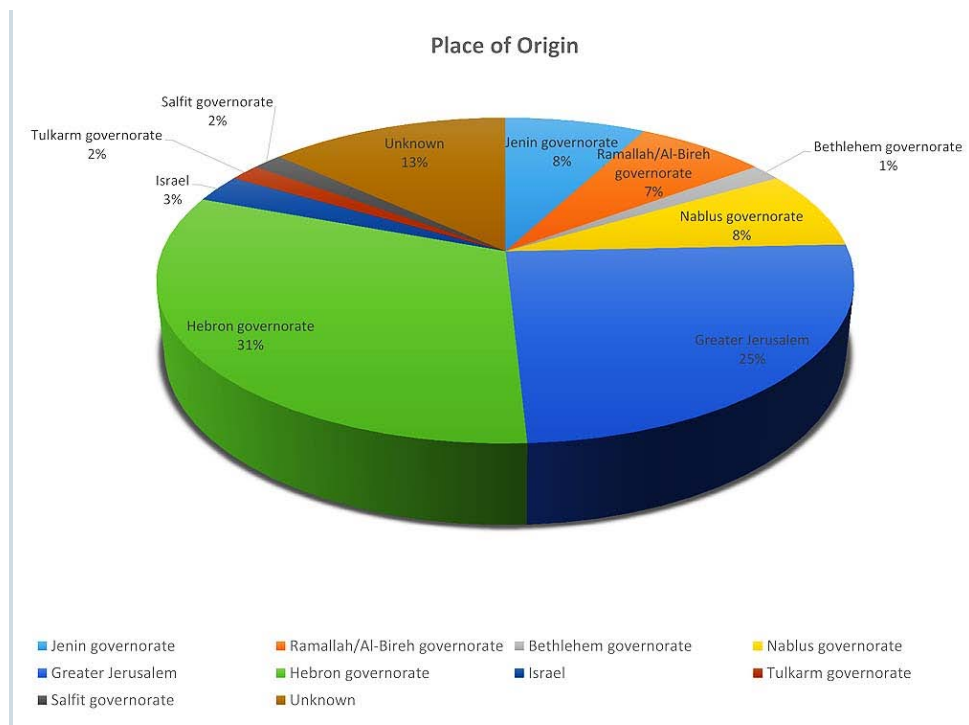
attacks, 22 car rammings, and two bombings, killing 30 people and wounding 290, 25 seriously.<sup>29</sup>

Each terror attack, perpetrator, location, potential motive, age, affiliation, and political endorsements have been compiled in the Appendix at the end of this chapter, listing the 181 attackers.<sup>30</sup>

### Background of the Attackers

Some 59 percent of the attackers were between the ages of 15 and 23. The average age is 22, and the median age is 21. The attackers were mostly unmarried; only 17 out of 181 were married, while four were engaged to be married. Many were high school students or recent graduates, employed at low-paying jobs or unemployed, while some were university students. Most were male; only 22 (12 percent) were women. Almost none had a previous security record.





## Where Were the Terrorists From?

Hebron and the surrounding district are overrepresented. "Above and beyond other cities in the West Bank, society in Hebron is very closed," explained Majed (last name withheld), a language teacher at Hebron University. "People here are startlingly traditional. There is something called *faz'ah*, or a call to arms. 'How could my neighbor be killed without me doing a thing?' is part of the culture here." Majed cited tribalism and a low level of education playing a crucial role as well.<sup>31</sup> These reasons could explain the conspicuously high number of terrorists originating from the Hebron area.

From Hebron city came 26 attackers; the broader Hebron governorate provided a total of 57 out of 181 attackers, making the Hebron area the source of 31 percent of total attackers. The Hebron governorate includes around 24 percent of the West Bank population (600,364 people in 2010).<sup>32</sup> "The fathers of the attackers cite frustration with Israeli 'oppression,' violent images on the news, the violation of Palestinian women's honor, and daily friction with the settlers of Hebron as the main reasons for their sons' actions."<sup>33</sup>

The greater Jerusalem area accounted for 25 percent of the attackers (numbering 45).

An explanation for the number of attacks focusing on Jerusalem and Hebron could be that both contain holy places for Muslims and Jews and therefore act as a focal point for Palestinian attacks. Furthermore, Hebron and Jerusalem share a common culture that has grown closer for over a century. A member of the Palestinian National Council and former Palestinian ambassador to Switzerland, Ani al-Qaq, credits Mufti Amin al-Husseini for his efforts in the 1920s to strengthen the Arab presence in Jerusalem by encouraging Hebronites to move to the city. "People of Jerusalem and Hebron have a strong bond. There are many common issues between them, including family relations," Qaq said, adding that as a result of the movement of people and marriage, Hebron and Jerusalem are the "most socially connected cities" in Palestine.<sup>34</sup> In fact, according to Riyad Khamis, director general of Radio 4 in Hebron, "More than 70% of the population of our capital, Jerusalem, have Hebron origins."<sup>35</sup>

## Who Honors the Terrorists? Who Takes Responsibility for Them?

One characteristic of the current uprising is the terrorists' lack of clear organizational affiliation. For each martyr, multiple groups often send out simultaneous death notices. Perhaps the best way to discover their true political affiliations is at the funeral procession.

Bodies are never wrapped in multiple flags signifying different political factions at a funeral

procession. The shroud that covers the body points to a definitive claim by an organization or lack thereof. According to analyst Pinhas Inbari, if a member is affiliated with Hamas, the dead body is wrapped in the iconic green flag of Hamas. Hamas would very rarely wrap anyone associated with them in a shroud of the Palestinian flag. Due to its roots in the Muslim Brotherhood, nationalistic symbols like the Palestinian flag would be avoided in burial ceremonies because of Hamas' desire for an Islamic caliphate. Fatah and the Palestinian Authority, on the other hand, tend to shroud their dead in the signature yellow flag of Fatah.

Even terrorist attacks that one would imagine Fatah would attempt to distance itself from for political reasons, like the attack on January 31, 2016, by Palestinian security officer Amjad Sukari, was fully embraced by the PA. In an attempt to highlight the hypocrisy of an attack by PA security personnel and embarrass the PA over its security cooperation with Israel, Hamas immediately issued a death notice for Sukari.<sup>36</sup>

However, far from being embarrassed by Sukari's actions, the Palestinian Authority honored Sukari with a funeral eulogy, laudatory Facebook posts, and a military funeral with a Fatah shroud wrapped around his feet.<sup>37</sup>



38

## Patterns in the Incitement to Kill

The beginning of this wave of terror was marked by a shared motivation on behalf of the attackers to protect the al-Aqsa mosque (often confused with the golden-topped Dome of the Rock, even by Palestinian demonstrators) and for the sake of being a *shaheed* for the homeland. This image of al-Aqsa being defiled by the Jews, who are "foreign invaders," and the glory offered by Palestinian society for becoming a martyr offer a tantalizing heroic legacy for many of the teenagers who set off to kill Israelis. The romanticized portrait of the *shaheed* is one that has been consistently promoted by the Palestinian Authority through social media, including Facebook and Twitter, as

39

well as by popular online news sites like *QudsN* and *Shehab News Network*.



These popular social media sites serve as extremely popular platforms, as many of these teenagers and adults connect and spread propaganda photos of “murdered Palestinian children” and “girls” to further fan the flames. These disturbing images are often publicized on television programs, in which they claim Israel is killing innocent children in the streets – a motive cited by Morad Adais, who stabbed Dafna Meir to death at her home in Otniel on January 17, 2015.<sup>40</sup>

As the attacks continued, an additional motive appeared – vengeance for previously killed “martyrs” – relatives or friends killed in confrontations with the IDF. (Fifteen of the attackers were related to previous terrorists.) Official Palestinian media promotes this type of violence on virtually every platform through song, social media, TV shows, and cartoons, commonly honoring and promoting stabbers as noble martyrs with death notices and even commemorative statues.<sup>41</sup>

This incitement to violence has permeated throughout Palestinian society, as seen in polls taken in the West Bank and Gaza: 42.1 percent were in favor of a violent uprising, while slightly more than half, 50.4 percent, are in favor of a third intifada. Moreover, 62.3 percent are opposed to any resumption of peace talks with Israel.<sup>42</sup>

## Appendix: Profiles of the Perpetrators (September 13, 2015 – January 18, 2016)

### Sep. 13, 2015, Stones thrown at Israeli vehicle in Armon Hanatziv, Jerusalem, killing the driver

1. **Abd Mahmoud Abd Rabbo Dawiyat**, 19, from Sur Bahr, east Jerusalem

*Affiliation:* Unknown. During interrogation he claimed he had gone to carry out the attack wrapped in a Hamas flag. He claimed he got it when he participated in the “Al-Aqsa mosque is in danger” rally in Um el-Fahm before the attack.



*Background:* Headed the squad. He threw the stones that hit Alexander Levlowitz's car.

Others included in the attack:

2. **Muhammad Salah Muhammad Abu Kaf**, 18, from Sur Bahr, east Jerusalem
3. **Walid Fires Mustafa Atrash**, 18, from Sur Bahr, east Jerusalem
4. **Minor, name withheld**, 14, from Sur Bahr, east Jerusalem

**Oct. 1, 2015, Shooting attack in Samaria where an Israeli husband and wife were killed**

5. **Yahya Muhammad Naif Abdallah Haj Hamid**, 24, engaged to be married, from Nablus

*Occupation:* Worked at a supermarket.

*Security Record:* Had been jailed in Israel, carried out terrorist attacks in Israel

*Affiliation:* Hamas operative, had carried out terrorist attacks

*Honored by:* Facebook page of Palestine Dialogue Forum (PALDF). Official Fatah bulletin declared the attack carried out by their operatives.

6. **Sami Zuheir Ibrahim Kousa**, 33, married and father of three, from Nablus

*Occupation:* Bus driver

*Affiliation:* Hamas operative

7. **Karim Lutfi Fathi Rizaq**, 23, from Nablus

*Occupation:* Studied technical engineering at Al-Najah University in Nablus

*Affiliation:* Hamas operative

8. **Zaid Ziyad Jamil A'mer**, 26, from Nablus

*Occupation:* Driving teacher in Nablus

*Affiliation:* Hamas operative

**Oct. 3, 2015, Stabbing attack in Old City of Jerusalem, two Israelis killed**

9. **Muhannad Shafiq Halabi**, 19, unmarried, from Surda, north of Jerusalem. Law student at Al-Quds University in Abu Dis.

*Affiliation:* Belonged to Al-Jama'a Al-Islamiyya, the student wing of Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ)

*Motivation:* Abd al-Aziz Mar'i was detained on the suspicion of having initiated the attack. He accompanied Halabi and helped him enter Israeli territory illegally to pray at Al-Aqsa mosque. When prevented from entering Al-Aqsa, Mar'i convinced Halabi to carry out the attack and bought the knife for him. Halabi watched a video of women being blocked from entering Al-Aqsa before he went out to attack. His father claimed that he defended the honor of the women of Al-Aqsa (Electronic Intifada/ Palwatch).

*Background:* Halabi wrote on his Facebook page: "As far as I can see, the third intifada has begun....What is being done to Al-Aqsa is also being done to our other holy sites. What is being done to the women of Al-Aqsa is also being done to our mothers and sisters. I do not think the [Palestinian] people will accept the humiliation....The Palestinian people will wage an intifada. In

fact, it is waging an intifada.” According to reports he was greatly influenced by the death of his friend Dhiaa’ al-Talahme. He attended the funeral, kissed the corpse and sought to avenge his death (Jerusalem Brigades website).

*Honored by:* PIJ claimed Halabi as an operative. A PIJ banner hung on the mourning tent erected in the village of Surda. On October 10, 2015, the council of the Palestinian Bar Association decided to award Halabi a posthumous honorary LL.D degree, claiming he excelled at his studies. He became honored by many as a role model.

#### **Oct. 3, 2015, Stabbing attack, Hanevi'im Street, Jerusalem, young boy harmed**

10. **Fadi Samir Mustafa Aloun**, 19, unmarried, from Issawiya, east Jerusalem

*Occupation:* Formerly worked as a cleaner for Givatayim municipality

*Affiliation:* DFLP’s military-terrorist wing claimed he died “defending Al-Aqsa mosque” (DFLP website)

*Motivation:* Frequently had his picture taken and posted the pictures on social networks. Did not appear religious. Tweeted shortly before the attack, “It is my intention to die as a Shaheed, or be victorious for the sake of Allah. Allah will forgive all the faithful Muslims. From now on I intend to return to Islam, with the help of Allah I intend to follow the path of Islam and die as a shaheed. Allahu akbar.”

*Background:* He lived in Jerusalem with his father. Mother and brother lived in Jordan since their request for family unity was denied. Fadi’s father raised him alone (Al-Jazeera). Became a role model and many Palestinians who carried out terrorist attacks posted his picture on their Facebook pages, claiming they were following in his footsteps.

#### **Oct. 7, 2015, Stabbing attack, Old City, Jerusalem**

11. **Shorouq Salah Dwayyat**, 18, unmarried, from Sur Bahr, east Jerusalem

*Occupation:* First-year student in the education department at Bethlehem University (Al-Jazeera)

*Motivation:* A few hours before the attack she wrote on her Facebook page that her dream was to become a shaheeda. She wrote: “Mother, where am I going? Mother, I am going to be a shaheeda. Our greatest aspiration is to die as a martyr for the sake of Allah.”

*Background:* Described as gentle, childish, and loving life, and wanted to be a teacher.

#### **Oct. 7, 2015, Stabbing attack, Petah Tikvah**

12. **Tamer Younes Ahmed Varidat**, 25, married, came from affluent family from Thahiriya, south of Hebron

*Occupation:* Graduated from Hebron University, worked in Israel as a barber

*Background:* Staying in Israel illegally

*Motivation:* Two days before the attack he changed his Facebook profile picture to a picture of the Al-Aqsa mosque. Not religious.

#### **Oct. 7, 2015, Stabbing attack, Kiryat Gat, entered a private home and tried to attack a woman**

13. **Amjad Amjad Hatem Mahmoud Al-Jindi**, 18, unmarried, from Yatta, south of Hebron

*Affiliation:* The Fatah branch in Yatta issued a death notice for him, claiming he was a Fatah

member, and also organized his funeral in Yatta.

*Background:* Staying in Israel illegally

*Motivation:* Facebook page (username Amjad Hosheih) had profile picture of Halabi and Fadi Aloun – with caption saying, “You have captured my heart, oh shaheed.” Many Fatah flags at his funeral. His family issued a notice with his picture on the background of Al-Aqsa mosque, calling him an “al-Aqsa shaheed.”

#### **Oct. 8, 2015, Stabbing attack in Kiryat Arba, Jew critically wounded, terrorist escaped**

##### **14. Unknown**

#### **Oct. 8, 2015, Stabbing attack in Tel Aviv with screwdriver, stabbed 5 Israelis**

##### **15. Ta'er Abds Salam Abu Ghazala, 19, unmarried, from Kafr Aqab, north of Jerusalem**

*Personal background:* Mother lived in Hebron. Dropped out of school in the 10th grade to help his father at work.

*Occupation:* Worked in a shop for repairing and installing air conditioners

*Affiliation:* There were many Fatah flags at his funeral

*Background:* Customarily prayed at the Temple Mount. Relatives described him as a well-balanced person, easy to get along with, well liked and helping everyone. He recently began saving money to get married.

*Honored by:* A Facebook page created to commemorate him features verses from the Quran.

#### **Oct. 8, 2015, Stabbing attack in Afula**

##### **16. Tareq Abd al-Fattah Salameh Yahya, 20, unmarried, from A'araqa, west of Jenin**

*Occupation:* Worked in restaurants in Nazareth and Afula

*Background:* Staying Illegally in Israel

#### **Oct. 8, 2015, Stabbing attack on yeshiva student at light rail in Jerusalem**

##### **17. Subhi Ibrahim Muhammad Abu Khalifa, 19, unmarried, from Shuafat refugee camp**

*Motivation:* The day before the terrorist attack, he decided to participate in the Palestinian national and religious struggles by stabbing Jews. He sent an SMS indicating his intention to become a shaheed.

*Background:* A resident of Shuafat wrote on his Facebook page that when he was 11 years old he threw stones at IDF forces that entered the camp.

#### **Oct. 9, 2015, Attempted suicide by waving knife in the air, Afula bus station**

##### **18. Israa Zeidan Abed, 29, divorced with 3 children, from Nazareth, Israel**

*Background:* She did not intend to carry out a stabbing attack but waved the knife in the air to commit suicide. Her father is an imam in Nazareth. Emotionally unstable/suicidal tendencies.

#### **Oct. 9, 2015, Stabbing attack using a vegetable peeler, Jerusalem**

##### **19. Younes Saleh Ismail Theriya Abu Zuweid from Bituniya, near Ramallah**

#### **Oct. 10, 2015, Stabbing attack at Kiryat Arba**

20. **Muhammad Fares al-Ja'abari**, 19, from Hebron

*Occupation:* Worked in a shoe factory

*Affiliation:* Hamas issued death notice for him.

#### **Oct. 10, 15, Stabbing attack at Nablus Gate, Jerusalem**

21. **Muhammad Sayyid Ali**, 25, from Shuafat

*Affiliation:* Fatah (Fatah-affiliated Facebook page)

*Motivation:* Influenced by the stabbing attack in Jerusalem by Fadi Aloun

*Honored by:* Fatah death notice issued for the "the heroic shaheed."

#### **Oct. 10, 2015, Stabbing two people on their way home from praying at the Western Wall**

22. **Ishaw Qasem Badran Amrish**, 16, from Kafr Aqab, north of Jerusalem

*Affiliation:* Fatah (issued a death note for him).

#### **Oct. 11, 2015, Combined vehicular and stabbing attack near Gan Shmuel**

23. **Alaa' Ra'ed Mahamid (Zayoud)**, 20, unmarried, from Um el-Fahm near Hadera, in Israel.  
Carried an Israeli ID.

*Background:* During interrogation he claimed he acted on his own initiative

*Motivation:* He participated in the mass "Al-Aqsa mosque is in danger" rally held in Um el-Fahm. The rally was orchestrated by Ra'ed Saleh, head of the northern branch of the Islamic Movement in Israel.

#### **Oct. 11, 2015, Attempt to detonate an IED in southern part of Jerusalem**

24. **Israa Riyadh al-Ja'abis**, 31, from Jabel Mukaber, east Jerusalem and Jericho

#### **Oct 12, 2015, Stabbed border policeman at Lion's Gate in Old City, Jerusalem**

25. **Mustafa Adel Khatib**, 17, unmarried, Jabel Mukaber, east Jerusalem

#### **Oct. 12, 2015, Two young Palestinian cousins conduct stabbing attack in Pisgat Zeev, Jerusalem**

26. **Ahmed Saleh Muhani Manasra**, 13, from Beit Hanina

*Motivation:* "I went there to stab Jews," he told investigators at Hadassah Hospital where doctors have been treating him for wounds he sustained during the incident, police said. "I came with my cousin Hassan. He brought the knives and I agreed to join him" ([Times of Israel](#)).

*Background:* "My son cannot stab, he doesn't know how to hold a knife," Ahmed Manasra's father said.

*Honored by:* Abbas claimed Ahmed was shot dead. The myth was perpetrated on social media via Twitter and Facebook. His death notice called him an "Al-Aqsa shaheed."

27. **Hassan Khaled Manasra (Muhani)**, 15, from Beit Hanina

*Background:* Pupil in the 10th grade. According to mother, an excellent student

*Motivation:* The elder cousin reportedly confessed to the crime and said he was retaliating for the death of a relative in October, who was shot dead outside Jerusalem's Old City after stabbing three policemen. "I decided to kill Jews to take revenge for Mohammed's death," he told his interrogators, according to Channel 10 ([Times of Israel](#)).

*Honored by:* Fatah branch in Yatta issued a death notice calling him a "heroic shaheed, an Al-Aqsa shaheed."

#### **Oct. 12, 2015, Stabbed border policeman at Ammunition Hill in Jerusalem**

28. **Marah al-Bakri**, 16, from Beit Hanina

*Background:* Student at the Abdallah bin Hussein School for Girls in Sheik Jarrah

#### **Oct. 12, 2015, Stabbed soldier on a bus near the entrance to Jerusalem**

29. **Muhammad Nazmi Alian Shamasneh**, 22, from Qatanna, northwest of Jerusalem

#### **Oct. 13, 2015, Stabbing attack bus stop in Ranaana**

30. **Tareq Khalil Dweik**, 22, Al-Ram, north of Jerusalem

*Background:* In Israel illegally

#### **Oct. 13, 2015, Stabbing attack in Ranaana near a hospital**

31. **Khaled Basti**, 25, from Kafr Aqab, north of Jerusalem

*Occupation:* Hospital cleaner

*Background:* In Israel illegally

#### **Oct. 13, 2015, Combined shooting and stabbing attack in Armon Hanatziv, Jerusalem, killed four**

32. **Bahaa Muhammad Khalil Alian**, 23, married father of one, from Jabel Mukaber, east Jerusalem

*Occupation:* Worked as a youth leader in Jabel Mukaber

*Background:* Believed in Palestinian nationalism. Initiated a campaign for a human chain of Palestinian youth around the walls of Old City of Jerusalem to enter Guinness Book of Records.

*Motivation:* He wrote on his Facebook page that he was ready to sacrifice his life for the "homeland." He also wrote that he wanted to be a shaheed.

*Honored by:* Palestinian Bar Association and its council issued a death notice for the "heroic shaheed," son of a Palestinian lawyer.

33. **Bilal Abu Ghanem**, 23, from Jabel Mukaber, east Jerusalem

*Background:* Student at Al-Quds University in east Jerusalem. His father comes from Jenin, lived in Jerusalem together under family unification.

*Affiliation:* Hamas

#### **Oct. 13, 2015, Combined vehicular and stabbing attack with meat cleaver in Geula, Jerusalem**

34. **Alaa Abu Jaml**, 20, from Jabel Mukaber, east Jerusalem



*Occupation:* Worked for Bezeq, Israeli phone company

*Background/Motivation:* He was the cousin of two terrorists who carried out the mass-killing attack at the Har Nof synagogue on Nov. 18, 2014.

#### **Oct. 14, 2015, Stabbing attack at Nablus Gate, Jerusalem**

35. **Basel Bassem Sidr**, 16, from Hebron

*Background:* Affluent apolitical family. He led a secular life and was affiliated with Fatah.

*Motivation:* On Oct. 5 he replaced his Facebook profile picture with one of Yasser Arafat and his Facebook cover with a picture of a Hamas terrorist operative with Al-Aqsa mosque in the background and the slogan, "At your orders Al-Aqsa." He wrote that he wanted the flag of Palestine flown at his funeral. He dreamed of dying as a shaheed near Al-Aqsa. His brother said he changed his lifestyle, left the house less frequently and had become very quiet. He smoked, dressed in regular clothing, was an enthusiastic soccer fan, and liked playing cards and pool.

#### **Oct. 14, 2015, Stabbing attack on bus on Jaffa Rd., Jerusalem**

36. **Ahmed Fathi Muhammad Abu Sha'aban**, 23, from Ras Al-Amoud

*Security Record:* Released prisoner. Detained April 29, 2012, and sentenced to three years in jail.

*Affiliation:* Fatah, which issued a death notice for "the movement's shaheed."

#### **Oct. 16, 2015, Stabbing attack near Kiryat Arba, disguised as a member of the press corps**

37. **Iyad Khalil al-Awauda**, 26, from Dura, south of Hebron

*Security Record:* Was imprisoned in Israel for 3 years, released in 2012

*Affiliation:* Hamas issued a death notice for him. His father is a retired PA Preventive Security Forces officer. The PA gave him a formal military funeral and his body was carried on the shoulders of operatives in the Palestinian national security forces.

*Motivation:* He joined the "Haters of Israel" Facebook page. He used his Facebook page to support the popular resistance, and glorify terrorists who had been killed in the current terrorist campaign. He also posted pictures of rifles and pistols.

#### **Oct. 17, 2015, Attempted stabbing attack in Armon Hanatziv, Jerusalem**

38. **Muataz Ahmed Hajis**, 16, from Jabel Mukaber, east Jerusalem

*Motivation:* Cousin of Bahaa Alian, one of the terrorists in the earlier Armon Hanatziv attack

*Background:* Had epilepsy.

#### **Oct. 17, 2015, Stabbing attack at Qalandia crossing**

39. **Omar Muhammad Al-Faqi**, 24, from Qatanna, north of Jerusalem and Qalandia *Occupation:* Graduated from Bir Zeit University in 2013 with a degree in finance and banking, worked at odd jobs

*Background:* Won the Union of Palestinian Universities tennis championship. Wanted to become a professional tennis player and enter other competitions.

#### **Oct. 17, 2015, Stabbing attack at a Hebron roadblock**

40. **Tareq Ziyad al-Natshe**, 18, from Hebron

*Affiliation:* Body draped with Hamas flag and Hamas issued death notice for him

*Background:* Involved in clashes with IDF forces and in throwing stones.

#### **Oct. 17, 2015, Stabbing attack in the Jewish community in Hebron**

41. **Fadhel Muhammad Awad al-Qawasmeh**, 18, from Hebron

*Affiliation:* Hamas issued death notice for him. On his Facebook page he affiliated himself with Fatah.

#### **Oct. 17, 2015, Stabbing attack near Cave of the Patriarchs**

42. **Bayan Imam 'Asila**, 16, from Hebron

*Background:* High school student

*Honored by:* Hamas issued death notice for her. Facebook page of the Islamic Bloc at Hebron University has a poster dedicated to her.

#### **Oct. 18, 2015, Combined shooting and stabbing attack at Beersheba Central Bus Station**

43. **Muhannad Khalil Salem al-Uqabi**, 21, from the Israeli Bedouin village of Al-Uqabi near Hura in the Negev

*Occupation:* Metal worker

*Background/Affiliation:* He had been in contact with Hamas operatives for a long time and had carefully planned and prepared for the attack. His cellphone had pictures of Hamas operatives and weapons. His uncle, Sheikh Osama al-Uqabi, is the head of the Islamic Movement in the Negev. He was detained by the Israel Police in 2014 and at the beginning of 2015 Jordan prevented him from entering its territory. His mother is from Nuseirat in Gaza and received an Israeli ID under family reunification when she married his father.

*Motivation:* He called during a Friday sermon for massive numbers to go pray at Al-Aqsa and condemned Israel's activity.

#### **Oct. 20, 2015, Vehicular attack at the Gush Etzion junction**

44. **Hamza Musa Muhammad Al-Amla**, 25, from Bayt Ula, west of Hebron

*Occupation:* Carpenter

*Motivation:* On Oct. 4, 2015, he changed his Facebook profile picture to Fadi Aloun (who carried out a stabbing attack and became a symbol). On Oct. 17, changed his Facebook cover to a picture of the terrorist who disguised himself as a member of the press corps (Iyad Khalil al-Awauda).

#### **Oct. 20, 2015, Stabbing attack at Bayt 'Awwa, west of Hebron**

45. **Adi Hashem Musalma**, 24, from Bayt 'Awwa

#### **Oct. 20, 2015, Stabbing attack near "Beit Shalom" in Hebron**

46. **Basher Nidal al-Ja'abari**, 15, from Hebron

47. **Husam Ismail Jamil al-Ja'abari**, 17, from Hebron

#### **Oct. 21, 2015, Stabbing attack at Adam Square, south of Ramallah**

48. **Mu'taz Attallah Qasem**, 22, from Al-Azariya, east of Jerusalem

*Motivation:* The day before he carried out the stabbing attack he posted a quotation from a *hadith* (the Muslim oral tradition) on his Facebook page which read, "The man who speaks when the muezzin calls the faithful to prayer cannot say the shahada upon his death. If you do not speak [the word] know that your sins prevented you from doing it. I swear by Allah that I will tell this to ten people. There is no God but Allah and Muhammad is his prophet. Do not forget that this is what you swore." The authenticity of the *hadith* is not considered particularly reliable, but its use may indicate that Mu'taz had a certain amount of Islamic orientation.

#### **Oct. 21, 2015, Vehicular attack near Bayt Umar**

49. **Fahim Shalaldeh**, 25, from Sa'ir

*Affiliation:* Hamas issued a death notice for him, claiming he was a member of the organization. However, the Palestinian Ministry of Health in Ramallah and the Palestinian Prisoners' Club claimed he was still alive.

*Background:* The Palestinian media reported he was critically injured and hospitalized in Israel.

#### **Oct. 22, 2015, Stabbing attack at Tel Romeida, Hebron**

50. **Unknown**

#### **Oct. 22, 2015, Stabbing attack in Beit Shemesh, tried to get on a school bus**

51. **Mahmoud Khaled Mahmoud Ghaneimat**, 20, from Surif, north of Hebron

*Occupation:* Worked in construction in Beit Shemesh

*Security Record:* Detained in Israel between 2012 and 2014 for security felonies after being caught with a knife near the Cave of the Patriarchs in Hebron

*Affiliation:* Hamas operative; under his clothes he wore an Izz al-Din Qassam Brigades T-shirt; activist in the Islamic Bloc, Hamas' student wing.

52. **Miqdad Muhammad Ibrahim Al-Heeh**, 20, from Surif, north of Hebron

*Occupation:* Worked in construction in Beit Shemesh

*Affiliation:* Under his clothes he wore an Izz al-Din Al-Qassam Brigades T-shirt

*Motivation:* His Facebook profile showed him holding a knife. The day before the attack he replaced the picture with one of Al-Aqsa mosque and Arabic reading, "I have been blessed with love." Before that his profile picture was changed to one of intifada symbols and a notice reading "I want to be a shaheed for the sake of Al-Aqsa."

#### **Oct. 23, 2015, Stabbing attack at the Gaaton roadblock**

53. **Unknown**

#### **Oct. 25, 2015, Stabbing attack at the Ariel Junction**

54. **Tamer Shawket Khdeir**, 26, from Beita, near Nablus

#### **Oct. 25, 2015, Attempted stabbing attack at a roadblock near Cave of the Patriarchs**

55. **Dania Jihad Irshid**, 17, from Hebron

*Background:* Student at the Al-Rayan High School in Hebron. Her father said she went to the Cave of the Patriarchs to pray every day after school (Al-Jazeera).

*Honored by/Affiliation:* Hamas issued a death notice for her. Facebook page of PALDF has her

death notice.

#### **Oct. 25, 2015, Attempted stabbing attack at the Gilboa (Jalameh) crossing**

56. **Ahmed Muhammad Sayyid Kamil**, 16, from Qabatiya, near Jenin

*Background:* Student in the 12th grade, studying science; worked on weekends helping his father in the fields

*Honored by:* Hamas issued a death notice for him. Ibrahim Ramadan, governor of Jenin, sent Mahmoud Abbas' condolences to the family. Attallah Kheiri, PA representative in Jordan, sent a formal communique expressing his condolences to the family.

#### **Oct. 25, 2015, Stabbing attack near Mezad in Gush Etzion**

57. **Azzam Izzat Sha'ban Shalaldeh**, 20, from Sa'ir, north of Hebron

*Background:* Comes from a family of Hamas operatives. Wounded during the stabbing attack, escaped and sought refuge in Al-Ahli Hospital in Hebron. On Nov. 12, 2015, Israeli commandos abducted him and brought him to a hospital in Israel for treatment.

#### **Oct. 26, 2015, Attempted stabbing attack at a roadblock near Cave of the Patriarchs**

58. **Sa'ad Muhammad Yussuf al-Atrash**, 19, Hebron

#### **Oct. 26, 2015, Stabbing attack near Bayt Anoun**

59. **Ra'ed Saket Abd al-Rahman Jaradat**, 22, from Sa'ir, north of Hebron

*Background:* Studied accounting at the Hebron branch of Al-Quds University

*Affiliation:* Fatah issued a death notice for him, claiming he belonged to the organization

*Motivation:* He posted two notices on his Facebook page before the attack. One was a picture of Palestinian terrorist Dania Irshid, killed while carrying out a stabbing attack in Hebron. He wrote, "Imagine she is your sister." The other was a poem encouraging stabbing attacks to liberate Al-Aqsa mosque and Jerusalem.

#### **Oct. 27, 2015, Stabbing attack at the Gush Etzion junction carried out by two Palestinian terrorists**

60. **Shadi Nabil Abd Al-Mu'ti al-Qudsi (al-Dweik)**, 23, from Hebron

*Security Record:* Served a 16-month prison term in Israel for Hamas activities.

*Honored by:* Hamas issued a death notice for him. YouTube video with a picture of al-Quds posted when he was in Israeli jail. Poster of him by Islamic Bloc at Hebron University.

61. **Izz al-Din Nadi Abu Shakhadam** (al-Husseini), 17, from Hebron

*Affiliation:* Both Fatah and Hamas issued death notices for him

*Honored by:* Fatah's Shabiba Facebook page has poster of death notice.

#### **Oct. 27, 2015, Attempted stabbing attack at a roadblock at the entrance to Tel Romeida, Hebron**

62. **Humam Adnan Yahya Iss'id**, 23, from Hebron

*Background:* Student at Hebron University, was the manager of a children's clothing store, and also worked as a barber

*Motivation:* He posted notices on his Facebook page calling for violence against Israel and praising shaheeds. A few days before the attack he posted a notice calling on Palestinians to “shake Israel’s security.” The day before he died he wrote that “the heavens weep for the shaheed’s.” He posted pictures on his Facebook page showing him in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv.

*Honored by:* Hamas death notice for “a shaheed of Palestine” (Facebook page of the Islamic Bloc in Hebron University).

**Oct. 27, 2015, Attempted stabbing attack by two sisters at the entrance to the Cave of the Patriarchs**

63. **Jihan Hatem Abd al-Aziz Erekat**, 17, from Abu Dis

64. **Noura Hatem Abd al-Aziz Erekat**, 21, from Abu Dis

**Oct. 28, 2015, Stabbing attack at the shopping center in Gush Etzion**

65. **Unknown**

**Oct. 28, 2015, Attempted stabbing attack at a roadblock at the entrance to Tel Romeida, Hebron**

66. **Islam Rafiq Hamad Abido**, 23, from Hebron

**Oct. 29, 2015, Attempted stabbing attack at Beit Hadassah in Hebron**

67. **Farouq Abd al-Qadr Sidr**, 19, from Hebron

*Background:* Law student at Hebron University

*Motivation:* His brother, Basel Sidr, was killed on Oct. 14, 2015. His cousin, Malek al-Sharif, was killed while attempting a stabbing attack at Gush Etzion junction.

*Honored by:* Hamas issued a death notice for him “mourning the death of a shaheed of Palestine” (Facebook page of the Islamic Bloc at Hebron University).

**Oct. 29, 2015, Stabbing attack in the Jewish community in Hebron**

68. **Mahdi Muhammad Ramadan al-Mukhatasab**, 23, from Hebron

*Honored by:* Hamas issued a death notice for the “heroic shaheed” (Facebook page of the Islamic Bloc at Hebron University).

**Oct. 30, 2015, Attempted stabbing attack at the Tapuah Junction in Samaria**

69. **Qasem Mahmoud Qassem Saba’neh**, 20, from Qabatiya, near Jenin

*Honored by:* The PA’s representative in Jordan, Atallah Kheiri, sent a formal communique expressing his condolences to the family (Facebook page of Qabatiya Online).

70. **Bassam Fares Ibrahim al-Na’ssan**, 20 or 23, from Al-Mughir, north of Ramallah

*Background:* Wounded while attempting a stabbing attack riding on his motorcycle.

**Oct. 30, 2015, Attempted stabbing attack near Beit El**

71. **Unknown**

**Oct. 31, 2015, Attempted stabbing attack at Jalameh crossing**

72. **Mahmoud Talal Abd al-Karm Nizal**, 18, from Qabatiya, near Jenin



*Honored by:* Mahmoud was given a formal military funeral by the PA. His body was carried by operatives of the Palestinian national security forces. One picture shows his body draped with a black PIJ flag. Atallah Kheiri, the PA representative in Jordan, sent a formal notice of condolence to the family (Facebook page of Qabatiya Online).

*Motivation:* Mahmoud left a letter in his home in which he wrote, "Forgive me, mother. I am going to be a shaheed. Forgive me if [the Israelis] destroy our house, for some time I have wanted to perform the shahadah [death as a martyr for the sake of Allah]....Say goodbye to my father and other relatives."

#### **Nov. 1, 2015, Attempted stabbing prevented at the Bayt Anoun junction**

73. **Fadi Hassan al-Farouk (Abu Hassan)**, 26, from Sa'ir, north of Hebron

*Honored by:* Hamas and Fatah individually issued death notices for him. A video released after his death shows him clashing with IDF forces. He is seen throwing a stone at an IDF vehicle. His cousin Aweis al-Faroukh is a police officer and PA police commander in the village of Idhna, west of Hebron. Hamas death notice posted (Facebook page of the Islamic Bloc in Hebron University).

#### **Nov. 1, 2015, Vehicular attack near Kiryat Arba**

74. **Ahmed Yakin al-Ja'abari**, 22, from Hebron

*Occupation:* Unknown. A picture on a Palestinian news site show him as a photographer working for the Palestinian Red Crescent.

*Background:* After the attack he turned himself in to the Palestinian security services, claiming the incident had been a traffic accident (a claim often made by Palestinian terrorists who carry out vehicular attacks).

#### **Nov. 2, 2015, Attempted terrorist attack at gas station near the Jalameh crossing**

75. **Ahmed Awad Nasri Abu al-Rab**, 17, from Qabatiya, near Jenin

*Honored by:* Hamas issued a death notice for him

76. **Mahmoud Mu'amim Mahmoud Kamil**, 17, from Qabatiya, near Jenin

*Background:* Wounded while carrying out stabbing attack and detained

#### **Nov. 4, 2015, Vehicular attack on Route 60 near Halhul**

77. **Ibrahim Samir Ibrahim al-Sakafi**, 22, from Hebron

*Honored by:* The PA held a formal military funeral for him. His body was carried by operatives of the Palestinian national security forces.

#### **Nov. 5, 2015, Stabbing attack at the Gush Etzion junction**

78. **Malek Talal Muhammad al-Sharif**, 25, from Hebron

*Occupation:* Had a BA in accounting, worked in a copy shop in Hebron. Also worked at several radio stations: Siraj, Al-Huriya, and Al-Khalil (the last two shut down because they broadcast incitement)

*Honored by:* Hamas issued a death notice for him

*Motivation:* According to his Facebook page, among the events influencing him was death of Palestinian terrorist Dania Irshid near the Cave of the Patriarchs in Hebron. He wrote, "Don't be sad. The battalions of vengeance are coming." A few minutes before the attempted attack he

called his mother and asked for her forgiveness, saying he planned on becoming a shaheed. He also called his father and his aunt, who was the mother of two Palestinians killed in the current terrorist campaign: Basel Sidr (killed on Oct. 14, 2015), and Farouq Sidr (killed Oct. 29, 2015). Ten minutes before the attack, Malek Sharif phoned his father in Hebron. "Dad, I want you to be pleased with me. The last words I want to hear in my life are 'God is pleased with you.'" Father implored him to come home. Malek said, "It's done. I've prayed to God and I can't go back." Revenge was key in his decision for Farouq and Basel Sidr, his father said. He posted a prayer for his mother not to be sad and a wish to meet the "lovely-eyed maidens" who await martyrs in heaven. He posted a photo of Sheik Ahmad Yassin, the founder of Hamas, saying, "The children around you have grown up, O Sheikh; matured to the stage where they can bomb Haifa and Tel Aviv" ([Tablet Magazine](#)). Hamas death notice on Facebook page of the Islamic Bloc – Nablus.

#### **Nov. 6, 2015, Shooting attack at the Bayt Anoun junction**

79. **Unknown**, 16, from Bani Na'im

*Background:* Detained by the Israeli security forces

#### **Nov. 6, 2015, Stabbing attack near the Cave of the Patriarchs in Hebron**

80. **Unknown**

#### **Nov. 6, 2015, Stabbing attack at the Shaar Binyamin shopping center, north of Jerusalem**

81. **Baraa' Kayed Faiq Issa**, from Anata

*Motivation:* He posted a video on his Facebook page showing himself sitting in front of the flags of Fatah and its military wing. In it he claimed he was wanted by the Israelis and that he belonged to Fatah's military wing. He carried out the attack "to defend Al-Aqsa mosque and for the sake of the Palestinian people and to defend the occupied land of Palestine." He claimed he carried out the attack without being directed or pressured by anyone. Postings on his Facebook page called for an uprising, a struggle for the sake of Al-Aqsa mosque, and revenge for the deaths of Palestinian attackers. A day after the attack he turned himself in to the Palestinian security services.

*Honored by:* Fatah's official Facebook website has his "martyr" video"

#### **Oct. 6, 2015, Vehicular attack near the Halhul bridge in Hebron, knife found in car**

82. **Tharwat Ibrahim al-Sha'rawi**, 72, widow, mother of five, from Hebron

*Honored by:* Hamas issued death notice for her. Ismail Haniyeh, deputy head of Hamas' political bureau, spoke to the family and expressed his condolence (PALDF forum). The Palestinian media issued a false report of her death, claiming the IDF had "executed" her for no reason.

*Motivation:* Was the widow of Fouad al-Sha'rawi, a terrorist operative who was killed by IDF fire in the region of Hebron in 1988 during the first intifada. Two weeks before her death, she wrote a will and spoke with her daughter Ihlam. She said, "I think I am going to die soon....If I die, oh, Allah, Let me die as a shaheeda and not in my bed."

#### **Nov. 8, 2015, Vehicular attack at the Tapuah junction**

83. **Suleiman 'Adal Muhammad Shahin**, 22, married, father of baby girl, from Bir Nabala

*Occupation:* Vegetable vendor in the Al-Bireh market

*Honored by:* Fatah issued a death notice for him. According to the family, he was not a Fatah operative. Formal Fatah death notice for Suleiman appeared on Facebook page of QudsN (Oct. 8). Fatah death notice also features Dome of the Rock.

*Motivation:* His older brother said that since the current wave of terrorism began he had gone to

the Al-Bireh area every day to throw stones and clash with Israeli security forces. His cousin said that on several occasion Suleiman said he wanted to die as a shaheed. Pictures show Suleiman with M-16 and another with Arafat photo, Fatah flag to the right, and picture the Dome of the Rock to the left.

**Nov. 8, 2015, Stabbing attack at the entrance to Beitar Illit**

84. **Hilwa Salim Muhammad Alian**, 22, married, mother of baby boy, from Husan

**Nov. 8, 2015, Stabbing attack in the village of Nebi Elias in the Alfei Menashe region**

85. **Unknown** – Turned himself in to the Palestinian Authority
86. **Unknown** – Turned himself in to the Palestinian Authority

**Nov. 9, 2015, Attempted stabbing attack at the Eliahu crossing in the Alfei Menashe region**

87. **Risha Muhammad Ahmed Awissi**, 23, engaged to be married, from Qalandia

*Motivation:* She left a suicide note in her bag reading, "I don't know what will happen at the end. I am doing this with a clear mind, in defense of the homeland, the boys and girls. I cannot bear what I see and I cannot suffer any longer. My parents, father, mother, sisters, forgive me for what I am doing. I love you. Especially my fiancé. I am sorry for what will happen to me on this path and that this is the way I am ending [my life]."

**Nov. 10, 2015, Stabbing attack in light rail car in Jerusalem by two children**

88. **Muawiya Alqam**, 12, from Shuafat refugee camp

*Motivation:* Relatives say he saw the leaked video clips of Ahmad Manasra (Israeli police yelling at him). Uncle Abu Nimer Alqam said, "Anyone who saw that clip would want to go out and seek revenge or fight the enemy. I think more youths are going to carry out attacks to prove to the Israeli authorities that they are not scared of them or their tactics." Cousins from Shuafat got on the train with a pair of scissors and a knife and stabbed the guard.

89. **Ali Alqam**, 13, from Shuafat refugee camp

*Motivation:* Considered a copycat attack to Ahmad Manasra. Ihab Alqam, Ali's father, said he first heard of the attack from an older brother who said Ali's picture was "all over Facebook." "I am extremely shocked," Ihab Alqam said. "My son Ali did not seem as though he was angry about anything. In fact he is the one that is spoiled the most" ([New York Times](#)).

**Nov. 10, 2015, Attempted stabbing at Nablus Gate, brandished knife and rushed towards two security guards**

90. **Muhammad Abd Nimr**, 37, father of four, from Issawiya, east Jerusalem

*Honored by:* Hamas issued a death notice for him. Notice on Facebook page of the Islamic Movement in Jenin.

**Nov. 10, 2015, Stabbing attack of a Border Policeman near Al-Tira**

91. **Unknown**

**Nov.10, 2015, Stabbing attack at a roadblock near Abu Dis near Jerusalem**

92. **Sadek Ziyad Gharbiah**, 16, from Sanur, south of Jenin

*Background:* High school student; religious and frequented the mosque

*Motivation:* His father, Ziyad Abu Garbiah, was a senior Hamas operative in Jenin and one of the terrorists expelled to Lebanon in the 1990s.

*Honored by:* Hamas and the Islamic Bloc in Sanur issued a death notice for Sadek. Death notice issued by Hamas for its “son, the jihad fighter shaheed” (Facebook page of the Islamic Bloc in Jenin) features Al-Aqsa mosque with Dome of the Rock in the background. Death notice issued by Islamic Bloc in Sanur.

**Nov. 12, 2015, Stabbing attack at the Rachel’s Tomb in Bethlehem**

93. **Unknown**

**Nov. 13, 2015, Shooting attack in south Mt. Hebron, killing an Israeli father and son**

94. **Shadi Ahmed Mutawa (al-Tamimi)**, 27, married, father of two, from Hebron

*Affiliation:* Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ)

*Background:* Shadi Ahmed Mutawa’ told his brother he had carried out the attack, and the brother rushed to tell their father. The two were afraid that the IDF would raze their house and turned in Shadi Ahmed to the Israeli security forces.

*Honored by:* Notice issued by the Islamic Bloc in Hebron University. The Arabic reads, “Hebron struggles. May your hand be blessed, man of the resistance. The death of two settlers and the wounding of others in the shooting attack near Hebron” (Facebook page of Islamic Bloc in Hebron). Hamas spokesman Husam Badran issued a statement praising the “heroic action of the Palestinians in Hebron.”

**Nov. 14, 2015, Vehicular attack near Psagot north of Jerusalem**

95. **Shadi Fathi Jamil Matriya**, 22, from Al-Bira

*Honored by:* Fatah issued death notice for “fighting shaheed” Shadi (Facebook page of PALDF).

**Nov. 18, 2015, Attempted stabbing attack near Cave of the Patriarchs in Hebron**

96. **Unknown**, 16, from Hebron

*Motivation:* He confessed he had gone to the roadblock intending to die.

**Nov. 19, 2015, Three Israelis stabbed in south Tel Aviv. Two were killed and third seriously wounded. Attacker entered the synagogue on the second floor of the building and stabbed worshippers.**

97. **Ra’ed Muhammad Jabra Masalma**, 35, married and father of five from Dura, south of Hebron

*Occupation:* Was in Israel legally, and worked in a nearby restaurant

*Background:* First terrorist attack in ten years by someone with a permit to work in Israel; originally came from Bayt ‘Awwa.

**Nov. 19, 2015, Shooting attack with an Uzi submachine gun. Attacker opened fired at Israeli vehicles in a traffic jam near Alon Shvut. Three killed and 5 wounded.**

98. **Muhammad Abd al-Basset al-Haroub**, 24, from Deir Samet, south of Hebron

*Motivation/Honored by:* His house flew a Hamas flag. His mother claimed she was the “mother of a hero” (Facebook page of PALDF).

**Nov. 21, 2015, Four people stabbed in the Israeli city of Kiryat Gat, a man, two women, and 13-year-old girl**

99. **Shaker Muhammad al-Tirda**, 17, from Taffuh, southwest of Hebron

*Occupation:* Was in Israel illegally and worked in construction.

**Nov. 21, 2015, Attempted stabbing attack at Cave of the Patriarchs in Hebron**

100. **Palestinian woman**, 27, from Yatta, south of Hebron

*Background:* She aroused suspicions of the Border Policeman and had a knife.

**Nov. 21, 2015, Attempted car-ramming attack in Abu Dis, near Jerusalem**

101. **Unknown**

**Nov. 21, 2015, Attempted stabbing attack near Cave of the Patriarchs in Hebron**

102. **Alaa' Ataf al-Awauda**, 16, from Deir Samet, south of Hebron

**Nov. 22, 2015, Israeli woman stabbed at Gush Etzion junction**

103. **Issam Ahmed Salman Thawabtah**, 31, from Bayt Fajar, south of Bethlehem

*Honored by:* Fatah issued a death notice for the "heroic shaheed" (Facebook page of Ayn al-Bayt Fajar). His mother told a local TV station she was "proud of her son, who lifted his head up high." Fatah issued a death notice for the "heroic shaheed" (Facebook page of Ayn al-Bayt Fajar).

**Nov. 22, 2015, Attempted stabbing attack at the Huwaara roadblock, near Nablus**

104. **Ashraquat Taha Ahmed Qatanani**, 16, from Iskar refugee camp in Nablus

*Honored by:* PA condemned her death. Ismail Haniyeh, deputy head of Hamas' political bureau, telephoned her father and expressed admiration for the family's stance and courage. He claimed that she had been killed to liberate Palestine and her death had not been in vain. Hamas spokesman Sami Abu Zuhri condemned her death and claimed it had been encouraged by the Netanyahu government. Her death was a "serious war crime" and such "crimes" encouraged the Palestinian people to continue the intifada (Hamas website).

*Background:* Her father, Sheikh Tah Qatanani, claimed that if his daughter had carried out an attack, she had fulfilled her national, moral duty, and he was proud of her. Loved Hassan Nasrallah, leader of Hizbullah. Her father said: "To be honest, the last night before her martyrdom was a very weird night. She was joking around with her brother – Habib Al-Rahman – and telling him, 'I want to practice stabbing on you,' so she got up and headed to the kitchen from where she brought all the knives and asked me which one was the best. We thought all that was just joking around and harmonizing with the state of combativeness she was passing through. Next morning, on the day of her martyrdom, she prayed the Morning Prayer, turned on the TV, and prepared herself for school like every day. She gave me my medicine for I was very sick then. She fed her cat and put water for her canary bird, kissed my hands – something she didn't usually do – and went out. Throughout that night she kept on asking me: Shall I bring you some water to drink?"

**Nov. 22, 2015, Car-ramming attack at Kfar Adumim junction combined with stabbing attack**

105. **Shadi Hadib al-Khasib**, 30, from Al-Bireh

*Background:* Drove a taxi and tried to run over people. When that did not succeed, he got out of the car and tried to stab them with a knife. When his wife was told he had become a shaheed, she said, "Praise be to Allah."

*Honored by:* Facebook page of the Palestinian Ministry of Health in Ramallah.

**Nov. 23, 2015, Stabbing attack on Route 443 between Tel Aviv and Jerusalem**

106. **Ahmed Jamal Ahmed Taha**, 21, from Qatanna



*Background:* Dropped out after elementary school and worked at odd jobs to help support the family

*Honored by:* Hamas issued a death notice for “the hero who died [fighting] in *jihad*,” who had “carried out a heroic stabbing attack” west of Ramallah. Facebook page of Qatanna praised him, calling him a “hero” and “blessing his right hand.”

*Motivation:* Ahmed Taha has a picture with a Hamas flag.

#### **Nov. 23, 2015, Stabbing attack on soldier near Huwwara in the Nablus region**

107. **Alaa’ Khalil Sabah Hashash**, 16, Iskar refugee camp in Nablus

*Honored by:* Fatah’s military-terrorist wing in the Balata refugee camp and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP) both issued death notices

#### **Nov. 23, 2015, Vehicular attack near Homesh**

108. **Unknown**

#### **Nov. 23, 2015, Stabbing attack in Machaneh Yehuda, Jerusalem by two girls who stabbed a 70-year-old Palestinian man from Bethlehem**

109. **Hadil Wajia Awad**, 16, from Qalandia

*Motivation:* Hadil’s brother was Mahmoud Wajia Awad, a former prisoner, who was killed Nov. 28, 2013, during a clash with IDF forces at the Qalandia crossing

*Honored by:* Facebook page of PALDF and QudsN.

110. **Nurhan Ibrahim Awad**, 14, from Qalandia

*Background:* Girls were cousins.

#### **Nov. 24, 2015, Vehicular attack at Tapuah junction**

111. **Azmi Suhail Azmi Nafaa’**, 21, from Jenin

*Background:* A law student in his fourth year at Al-Najah University in Nablus

*Honored by:* Facebook page of PALDF.

#### **Nov. 25, 2015, Stabbing attack at IDF roadblock at the entrance to the Al-Fawar refugee camp**

112. **Muhammad al-Shoubaki**, 20, from Al-Fawar

*Occupation:* Studied graphic design at the Palestinian College in Al-Aroub, and worked at a restaurant with Farouq Sidr (stabber Oct. 28)

*Honored by:* Both Hamas and Fatah issued death notices for him, but he did not belong to either organization. Facebook page of the Al-Fawar refugee camp, and Facebook page of the Islamic Movement in Hebron, Facebook page of Fatah in Al-Fawar.

*Motivation:* On his Facebook page he posted a notice calling himself “Muhammad al-Shoubaki (shaheed on the waiting list).” About a half an hour before the attack he posted the following: “You are honored, dear homeland....You are honored, Al-Aqsa....You are honored, our shaheed #youth\_the homeland.” Shoubaki’s Facebook postings called for revolt and terrorism.

#### **Nov. 26, 2015, Attempted stabbing attack at the Tapuah junction in Samaria**

113. **Samer Hassan al-Sarisi**, married and father of four, 51, from Jenin

*Occupation:* Did not have stable work

*Honored by:* Hamas issued a death notice for him, but his wife said he did not belong to any organization. Facebook page of the Islamic Movement in Jenin.

#### **Nov. 27, 2015, Combined vehicular and stabbing attack**

114. **Fadi Muhammad al-Khasib**, 30, married and father of two, from Al-'Aroua

*Occupation/Background:* Worked in a store in the village, in the past he had worked in Israeli factories.

*Honored by:* Hamas issued a death notice. His wife said he did not belong to any political framework. Hamas spokesman Husam Badran praised the attack because it wounded soldiers. He said such "heroic actions" proved the intention of the Palestinian people to continue the intifada. He also expressed admiration for the shaheeds who "glorify the Palestinian people" and called for more "heroic actions" (Hamas website).

*Motivation:* Devout Muslim. His brother was Shadi al-Khasib, who carried out a vehicular attack in same spot and was killed.

#### **Nov. 27, 2015, Vehicular attack entrance to Bayt Umar**

115. **Omar Arafat Issa al-Za'ariq**, 19, from Bayt Umar

*Honored by:* Fatah issued a death notice for him. Fatah hung a banner on the family house. Hamas spokesman Husam Badran praised the attack.

#### **Nov. 27, 2015, Stabbing attack by Israeli Arab near central bus station in Nahariya**

116. **Unknown**, 16, from a village in northern Israel

*Motivation:* He claimed that before he stabbed the Border Policeman the two had argued.

#### **Nov. 29, 2015, Stabbing attack in Old City Jerusalem**

117. **Bassim Abd al-Rahman Mustafa Salah**, 38, married, from Nablus

*Background:* According to Palestinian security sources, he had psychological and social problems.

*Honored by:* Hamas issued a death for him.

#### **Nov. 29, 2015, Woman from Nepal stabbed in the back at bus stop in Jerusalem**

118. **Unknown**, 17

*Occupation:* Worked at a construction site nearby.

#### **Dec. 1, 2015, Attempted stabbing attack with a pickaxe in the village of Anabta**

119. **Maram Ramez Hassouna**, 20, from Rafidia, west of Nablus

*Occupation:* Studied English at Al-Najah University in Nablus

*Security Record:* She was detained after shooting fireworks and trying to stab an IDF soldier at a roadblock east of Tulkarm. Released from jail in Israel on May 21, 2014, after a year and a half.

*Motivation:* Before the attack, she told family she wanted to keep the intifada "permanently alive" (Al-Qassam Brigades Twitter)

*Honored by:* Facebook page of QudsN and Facebook page of Shehab.

#### **Dec. 1, 2015, Stabbing attack at Gush Etzion junction**

120. **Mamoun Ra'ed Muhammad al-Khatib**, 16, from Al-Duha, west of Bethlehem

*Honored by:* Facebook page of QudsN.

#### **Dec. 1, 2015, Attempted stabbing attack at Efrat junction**

121. **Palestinian woman**, large knife found in her possession.

#### **Dec. 3, 2015, Shooting attack at Hizma roadblock north of Jerusalem**

122. **Mazen Hassan Areiba (Abu Zeid)**, 37, married, father of four, from Abu Dis

*Occupation:* Officer in Palestinian general intelligence in the Jerusalem sector

*Security Record:* Served 3-year term in an Israeli prison

*Honored by:* Official PA media did not report on Areiba's affiliation with Palestinian general intelligence, reporting only "the death of a civilian at Himza." *Al-Risala*, a newspaper affiliated with Hamas, printed a cartoon making fun of Mahmoud Abbas, who now had to examine his security officers more carefully. Raa'fat Alian, Fatah spokesman in Jerusalem, said that the person who carried out the attack was in fact an officer in general intelligence. He called Areiba a shaheed and a hero and stressed that Fatah opposed security coordination with Israel because it did not serve Palestinian interests. Saeb Erekat, secretary general of the PLO executive committee and a relative of the terrorist, paid a condolence call to the Areiba family. He was accompanied by Majed al-Fatiani, the governor of the Jericho district, and Fatah members from the Jerusalem region.

#### **Dec. 3, 2015, Stabbing attack near Nablus Gate in Jerusalem**

123. **Izz al-Din Rayiq Abdallah Raddad**, 21, from Saida, north of Tulkarm

*Motivation:* Before the attack, he posted pictures of confrontations with IDF forces on his Facebook page.

#### **Dec. 4, 2015, Vehicular attack in the village of Silwad, near Ramallah**

124. **Anas Bassam Abd Al-Rahim Hamad**, 21, from Silwad

*Occupation:* Worked as a barber in his village

*Honored by:* Hamas issued a death notice for him. Facebook page of the Islamic Bloc at Bir Zeit University

*Motivation:* Oldest son of senior Hamas activist Sheikh Bassam Abd al-Rahim Hamad, who was imprisoned in Israel a number of times.

#### **Dec. 4, 2015, Stabbing attack near the village of 'Aboud, northwest of Ramallah**

125. **Abd al-Rahman Wajja' Ibrahim al-Barghouti**, 27, engaged to be married, from Aboud, northwest of Ramallah

*Occupation:* Worked delivering water bills for the local council and lived with his brothers in the village

*Background:* His parents and other relatives have left the PA and now live in the U.S.

*Honored by:* Hamas issued a death notice for him. PA held a formal military funeral for him and his coffin was carried on the shoulders of operatives of the Palestinian national security services.

#### **Dec. 5, 2015, Shooting attack in the Benjamin Region**

126. **Unknown**

#### **Dec. 5, 2015, Stabbing attack in Tel Romeida, Hebron**

127. **Mustafa Fadhel Abd al-Munam Fanoun**, 16, from Hebron

*Background:* Student in the 10th grade, cousins of second attacker

*Honored by:* Hamas issued a death notice for both even though they didn't belong to the movement.

128. **Taher Mustafa abd Al-Manum Fanoun**, 19, from Hebron

*Background:* Studying law and legislation in the Shariah and law department of Hebron University

*Motivation:* Posted condemnations of the Palestinian Authority. Posted pictures of Israeli forces on the Temple Mount, and of two female terrorists who were killed while carrying out attacks. Posted video of himself with Islamic Caliphate flags. Ten minutes before the attack he posted a notice reading "Hello...and goodbye."

*Honored by:* Hamas issued a death notice for both even though they didn't belong to the movement. Facebook page of PALDF.

#### **Dec. 6, 2015, Combined vehicular-stabbing attack in Romema, Jerusalem**

129. **Omar Yasser Fakhri Iskafi**, 21, from Beit Hanina

*Honored by:* Fatah in the Al-Rahm region issued a formal notice for the death of "the son of the [Fatah] movement, the heroic shaheed" (Facebook page of Fatah in Al-Ram). The terrorist's mother told a local TV station she would be ready to give birth to another Omar every day and willing to sacrifice everything for the sake of Al-Aqsa mosque and Palestine. She said she asked Allah to receive her son Omar as a shaheed. After the attack, there was positive feedback on the Beit Hanina Facebook page. Talk-backers hoped Allah would have mercy on the terrorist and let him rest peacefully in paradise. One post the following morning read, "May peace be upon you. May Allah's mercy and blessings [be upon you]. The morning is fragrant with the perfume of the shaheeds of Palestine. The intifada of knives continues" (Facebook page of Beit Hanina).

#### **Dec. 6, 2015, Shooting attack in Benjamin region**

130. **Unknown**

#### **Dec. 7, 2015, Stabbing attack at bus stop near the Cave of the Patriarchs in Hebron**

131. **Ihab Fathi Zakaria Masouda**, 18, from Hebron

*Motivation:* Pictured at the Temple Mount with Dome of the Rock in the background

*Honored by:* Family distributed candy to visitors who came to pay their condolences (Facebook page of PALDF).

#### **Dec. 9, 2015, Stabbing attack at Beit Hadassah in Hebron**

132. **Abd al-Rahman Yasri Zakaria Masouda**, 21, from Hebron

*Honored by:* Hamas issued a death notice for him. Death notice issued with Dome of the Rock

and Al-Aqsa in the background by Hamas (Facebook pages of Shehab, Quds and Islamic movement in Nablus).

#### **Dec. 9, 2015, Shooting attack near Avnei Hefetz in Samaria**

133. **Unknown**

*Honored by:* Hamas praised the attack.

#### **Dec. 10, 2015, Vehicular attack north of Modiin**

134. **Muhammad Abd Al-Halim Abd Al-Hamid Salem**, 37, from Luban al-Gharbiya

*Security Record:* He is a released prisoner. In 2001 he spent a year and a half in administrative detention for his membership in Hamas.

*Affiliation:* Previous affiliation with Hamas

*Motivation:* He confessed to carrying out the attack because he claimed he had been influenced by the Palestinian media's coverage of the situation in Jerusalem and the "murder of Palestinian children."

#### **Dec. 11, 2015, Attempted vehicular attack at the Halhul junction in Hebron**

135. **Issa Ibrahim Salameh al-Haroub (Abu Jawad)**, 57, had two wives and 16 children, from Deir Samet, south of Hebron

*Occupation:* Worked for many years as a clothing merchant

*Honored by:* Hamas issued a death notice for him. Ismail Haniyeh, deputy head of Hamas' political bureau, spoke to one of his children and expressed his condolences (Facebook page of the Hamas movement in Nablus).

#### **Dec. 11, 2015, Shooting attack at the Jalameh crossing**

136. **Unknown**

#### **Dec. 13, 2015, Attempted stabbing attack at western gate of Kiryat Arba**

137. **Lama Munzer Hafez al-Bakri**, 16, from Hebron

*Background:* Student; carried out attack on way home from school.

#### **Dec. 14, 2015, Attempted attack in Jerusalem by two young Palestinian girls**

138. **Unknown**

139. **Unknown**

#### **Dec. 14, 2015, Vehicular attack at entrance to Jerusalem, one-year-old infant critically injured, along with two adults, axe was found in car**

140. **Abd al-Muhsen Shaher Hassouna**, 21, from Beit Hanina

*Honored by:* Hamas issued a death notice for him.

#### **Dec. 15, 2015, Blunt instrument attack in Modiin**

141. **Palestinian man**, from Bayt Sira, had Israeli work permit

*Occupation:* Construction worker



#### **Dec. 16, 2015, Attempted vehicular attack in Qalandia**

142. **Ahmed Hassan Jahajha**, 23, from Qalandia

*Occupation:* Worked as a photographer for a wedding studio and as a photojournalist. Studied communications at the Modern Academic College in Ramallah

*Motivation:* On his Facebook page he posted pictures from events that occurred in Qalandia (riots, funerals, rallies) and calls for violence and struggle.

*Honored by:* Hamas issued a death notice for them.

143. **Hikmat Farouq Hamdan al-Sarafandi**, 29, father of three from Al-Bireh

*Honored by:* Ismail Haniyeh, deputy head of Hamas' political bureau, called the father to congratulate him on the attempted attack (Facebook page of the Hamas movement in Nablus).

#### **Dec. 17, 2015, Attempted stabbing attack near Huwwara**

144. **Abdallah Hussein Nasasra**, 15, from Bayt Furik, east of Nablus

*Motivation:* He posted a picture of a masked Palestinian throwing stones on his Facebook page. He wrote, "The dream of honor is not far off, either you live as a hero or you die as a shaheed."

*Honored by:* Hamas and Fatah individually issued death notices for him. Death notice issued by Fatah in Nablus district features Dome of the Rock and Arafat.

#### **Dec. 18, 2015, Attempted vehicular attack, Qalandia crossing**

145. **Jalal Shuman**, 32, from Khirbat Abu Falah, northeast of Ramallah

#### **Dec. 18, 2015, Attempted vehicular attack in Silwad**

146. **Muhammad Abd al-Rahman Ahmed Iyad**, 21, engaged to be married, from Silwad

*Motivation:* He was a friend of Anas Hamad (killed in vehicular attack on Dec. 4). Left a will in which he stated he had decided to sacrifice himself because he could not bear the "occupation." Told his mother he wanted to become a shaheed.

*Background:* Returned from America a few days prior to the attack to marry his fiancée

*Honored by:* Hamas issued a death notice for him. Relatives distributed candy to people who came to the mourning tent.

#### **Dec. 19, 2015, Shooting attack in Qalandia**

147. **Unknown**

#### **Dec. 19, 2015, Stabbing attack in Ranaana**

148. **Mahmoud Feisal Mahmoud Basharat**, 20, from Tammun, north of Nablus

*Background:* A school dropout who worked in Israel illegally.

#### **Dec. 20, 2015, Attempted stabbing attack on soldier in Hebron**

149. **Madelein Taleb Hareizat**, 22, from Yatta, south of Hebron

#### **Dec. 23, 2015, Stabbing attack at Jaffa Gate in Jerusalem**

150. **Issa Yassin Assaf**, 21, from Qalandia

*Security Record:* Imprisoned in 2015 because of involvement with terrorism

*Honored by:* Hamas claimed both attackers were operatives of the movement and issued death notices for them.

151. **Anan Muhammad Abu Habsa**, 21, from Qalandia

#### **Dec. 24, 2015, Vehicular attack at Adam Square north of Jerusalem**

152. **Wisam Nasser Abu Ghuwila**, 20, from Qalandia

*Honored by:* Qalandia's Facebook page has his portrait with a message, "Be blessed in the shahadah, lions of Qalandia."

#### **Dec. 24, 2015, Attempted stabbing attack in Hebron region**

153. **Iyad Jamal Issa Id'is**, 25, from Yatta, south of Hebron

*Honored by:* Hamas issued a death notice for him. Facebook page of PALDF.

#### **Dec. 24, 2015, Stabbing attack at the entrance to Ariel industrial park**

154. **Muhammad Zahran Abd al-Hamid Zahran**, 22, from Kafr al-Dik in the Salfit region

*Occupation:* Worked in the Ariel industrial park and had an entrance pass

*Honored by:* Hamas issued a death notice for him (PALDF Facebook)

#### **Dec. 25, 2015, Attempted vehicular attack in Silwad**

155. **Mahdia Muhammad Ibrahim Hamad** (Um Zakaria), 40, mother of four from Silwad

*Honored by:* Fatah issued a death notice for her, but she apparently did not belong to the movement.

#### **Dec. 26, 2015, Attempted vehicular attack near Huwwara, near Nablus**

156. **Maher Zaki al-Jabi**, 56, from Nablus

*Honored by:* Hamas and Fatah individually issued death notices for him. Fatah banner carried at his funeral.

#### **Dec. 26, 2015, Attempted stabbing attack in Jerusalem**

157. **Musab Mahmoud Muhammad al-Ghazali**, 26, from Silwan, Jerusalem

*Background:* Brother claimed he was retarded and as a child had gone to a school for special needs. Followed Jewish worshippers around the Old City and then pulled out a knife when asked for identification.

#### **Dec. 27, 2015, Stabbing attack near central bus station in Jerusalem**

158. **Sayyid Farouq Muhammad Kanbaz**, 30, from Al-Azariya, east of Jerusalem

#### **Dec. 27, 2015, Stabbing attack at gas station near Huwwara Center, south of Nablus**

159. **Muhammad Rafiq Saba'ana**, 17, from Qabatiya, near Jenin

*Honored by:* Hamas issued death notice.

160. **Nour al-Din Muhammad Saba'ana**, 23, from Qabatiya, near Jenin

*Honored by:* Hamas issued death notice.

**Dec. 31, 2015, Vehicular attack in the Huwwara region, south of Nablus)**

161. **Hassan Ali Bazour al-Silawi**, 22, from Raba, southeast of Jenin

*Background:* Student at the American University in Jenin

*Motivation:* During the past six months he posted many pictures of Hamas military-terrorist operatives on his Facebook page.

*Honored by:* Hamas issued a death notice for him, calling him its "son, the heroic shaheed."

**Jan. 1, 2015, Two-part shooting attack in Tel Aviv, at a pub and then killed an Israeli Arab taxi driver**

162. **Nashat Milhem**, 29, from Ara, an Israeli Arab

*Background:* Graduated high school, worked in a vegetable store. After extensive manhunt, was found near his home

*Security Record:* Spent five years in prison, indicted in 2007 for attacking an IDF soldier and trying to snatch his weapon

*Honored by:* PA/Fatah hesitated to call him a martyr due to strong linkage with ISIS-like inclinations. Hamas praised the attacks. "We do not know what the reasons were for Nishat to have committed the shooting attack," said family member Ahmed Milhem. "We would prefer for him to still be alive, to understand what caused him to kill people like he did." The family is under suspicion for aiding and abetting his hiding. Facebook pages of Fatah and Hamas praised Milhem.

**Jan. 3, 2016, Attempted stabbing attack in Armon Hanatziv, Jerusalem**

163. **Unknown**

**Jan. 3, 2016, Shooting attack – woman shot by sniper next to the stairs of Cave of the Patriarchs**

164. **Unknown**

*Honored by:* Notice congratulating the Hebron sniper and encouraging shooting attacks on Facebook page of QudsN.

**Jan. 3, 2016, Shooting attack at junction south of Hebron**

165. **Unknown**

*Honored by:* Notice congratulating the Hebron sniper and encouraging shooting attacks on Facebook page of QudsN.

**Jan. 4, 2016, Stabbing attempt in Jerusalem**

166. **Unknown**

**Jan 5. 2016, Stabbing attack at Gush Etzion junction**

167. **Ahmed Yunis al-Kawazbah**, 17, from Sa'ir, north of Hebron

*Motivation/Background:* Son of senior Hamas operative Yunis al-Kawazabah. Father was imprisoned by Israel and detained by PA.

#### **Jan. 6, 2016, Attempted stabbing attack at the Bayt Einun junction**

168. **Khalil Muhammad Mahmoud Shalaldeh**, 16, from Sa'ir, north of Hebron

*Honored by:* PA held a military funeral for him. Facebook page of Fatah had his picture. The death notice was issued by Salaldeh clan (on Facebook page of Sa'ir Our Home).

*Motivation:* He was the brother of Mahmoud Shalaldeh, 18, who died on Nov. 13, 2015, after having been wounded by the IDF in a riot in Sa'ir.

#### **Jan. 6, 2016, Attempted stabbing attacks at the Gush Etzion junction**

169. **Ahmed Salam Abd al-Majid al-Kawazba**, 19, from Sa'ir, north of Hebron

*Honored by:* Both Hamas and Fatah issued death notices for them. Facebook page of Fatah had their pictures. QudsN also had their photo. Facebook page of Sa'ir Our Home. Facebook page of Hamas in Nablus.

*Motivation/Background:* All three attackers came from the same family and same village. PA held a military funeral for all three terrorists, carried by Palestinian national security forces and the Palestinian police force.

170. **Alaa Abd Muhammad al-Kawazba**, 17, from Sa'ir, north of Hebron

171. **Muhannad Ziyad al-Kawazba**, 18, from Sa'ir, north of Hebron

*Background:* Son of an officer in the Palestinian police

#### **Jan. 9, 2016, Attempted stabbing attacks in the Jordan Valley**

172. **Ali Muhammad Aqab Abu Maryam**, 23, from Jedida, near Jenin

*Background/Occupation:* Studying economics at Al-Quds Open University and worked in agriculture to support his family.

*Motivation:* He posted a picture of Palestinians throwing stones on his Facebook page. On January 8, 2016, he wrote, "The Jews say adults die and young people forget. We say adults die and young people avenge them."

*Honored by:* His funeral was attended by many Fatah supporters.

173. **Sayyid Jawda Abu al-Wafa Zawiya**, 40, married with at least one child, from near Salfit

#### **Jan. 11, 2016, Attempted stabbing attack near Jenin**

174. **Zaid Maher Muhammad Ashqar**, 18, from Sida, north of Tulkarm

#### **Jan. 12, 2016, Attempted stabbing attack at Bayt Einun junction near Hebron**

175. **Adnan Iyad Hamed al-Haliqa**, from Al-Shuyukh, northeast of Hebron

*Honored by:* Facebook QudsN has video of his body with people kissing it.

#### **Jan. 12, 2016, Attempted stabbing attack at Anoun junction near Hebron**

176. **Achmed Mahmoud Qasem al-Kawazba**, 23, from Sa'ir, north of Hebron

*Motivation:* He was related to the three attackers from the Kawazba family who were killed on Jan. 6.

*Honored by:* Hamas issued death notice for him as "our shahid son, *jihadi* warrior." Facebook

page of the Islamic Movement in Nablus. Facebook page of "Sa'ir Our Home."

#### **Jan. 14, 2016, Attempted stabbing near Mount Ebal, in Nablus**

177. **Hitham Mahmoud Abd al-Jalil Yassin**, 36, from Al-Smaliyah, north of Nablus

*Honored by:* Hamas issued death notice for him on Facebook page for Hamas in Nablus.

#### **Jan. 14, 2016, Attempted stabbing at Bayt Anoun junction near Kiryat Arba**

178. **Mouyad Ouni Jabrin**, 20, from Sa'ir, north of Hebron

*Motivation:* He left a letter for his mother asking her for her forgiveness and expressing a wish to kill two Israeli soldiers and become a shaheed.

*Honored by:* Hamas issued death notice for him. The PA organized a formal military funeral for him. Death notice on PALDF Facebook.

#### **Jan. 17, 2016, Stabbing attack at Hawwara, near Nablus**

179. **Wassam Maroun Ahmed al-Katzraoi**, 21, from Masaliah, southeast of Jenin

*Honored by:* Hamas issued death notice for him. PALDF Facebook page. Quds Network. Shehab news has his picture. Fatah Facebook page calls him an executed martyr.

#### **Jan. 18, 2016, Came to Dafne Meir's home in Otniel and stabbed her to death in front of her children**

180. **Morad Bader Abdullah Adais**, 16, from Bayt Amra, near Yatta

*Motivation:* His father said his son "had everything in life" and had not acted suspiciously before the attack.

*Honored by:* Picture of him on PALDF Facebook, Shehab News, Al-Quds News.

#### **Jan. 18, 2016, Infiltrated Tekoa and stabbed pregnant woman**

181. **Itaman Mahmoud Shaolon**, 19, from Nadaza village (southeast of Bethlehem)

### **Terrorist Cells Uncovered**

#### **Dec. 23, 2015, Hamas network planned bombs and suicide bombings, exposed in Abu Dis**

*Headed by:* **Jamal Musa Azzam**, 27, from Abu Dis

*Description:* Recruited people for attacks – constant contact with operatives in Gaza. Trained to manufacture explosive belts and IEDs. Recruited two Israeli citizens who were students at Abu Dis University (one from east Jerusalem and the other a Bedouin from Hura). Both students support ISIS. An explosives laboratory was discovered in an apartment rented by Ahmed Azzam in Abu Dis. The Bedouin agreed to carry out a suicide attack. Materials were purchased in Ramallah and Israel. So far 25 cell members have been detained.

#### **Dec. 23, 2015, Hamas network exposed in Bethlehem**

*Members:* **Issa Nasser Issa Shawka**, 19, from Bethlehem, accepted Ahmed Azzam's offer to carry out an attack. Cell received funds from Hamas.

*Background:* Some members were students at Abu Dis University from Bethlehem. Three recruits said they were will to carry out attacks, two for suicide attacks.

#### **Jan. 20, 2016, Hizbullah network exposed in Tulkarem**



Recruited by: **Jawad Nasrallah** (son of Hassan Nasrallah) via social media

**Leader:** **Mahmoud Zaghoul**, 32, from Zita outside of Tulkarem, who was recruited directly by Jawad Nasrallah.

**Description:** An initiative of Hizbullah's Unit 133, which is charged with setting up terror cells in Israel. Israel Security Agency (ISA) called the group very irregular. In addition to Zaghoul, four other members of the cell were arrested.

Zita resident Rabah Labadi, 28, who had been imprisoned in an Israeli jail in 2002-2007 and 2008-2011, was also arrested. The ISA and IDF also arrested Muhammad Zaghoul (Mahmoud Zaghoul's relative), Muhammad Matzarwa, and Ahmed Abu el-Az, all 19-years-old from the Tulkarem area ([Times of Israel](#)).

## A Note on Sources

The main source used was the [Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center](#). Additional information came from news articles from various sources (*New York Times*, *Times of Israel*, *Tablet Magazine*, etc.). Additional information came from QudsN and Shehab News.

\* \* \*

## Notes

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