



TERRORISTS IN UNIFORM

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July 2025

Terrorists in Uniform

A Study of Palestinian Authority Security Forces'
terror involvement

Table of Contents

<u>Executive Summary</u>	1
<u>Part 1: "Security Forces by day and self-sacrificing fighters (terrorists) by night"</u>	2
<u>Part 2 – Statistics and pride in PASF members' leading terror role</u>	15
<u>Part 3: PA/Fatah and PASF glorification of PASF terrorists</u>	20
<u>Conclusions</u>	26

Executive Summary

While Israel, the United States, and many other countries agree that the Hamas terror organization must be removed from the Gaza Strip, there is disagreement as to who should replace Hamas. Palestinian Authority (PA) Chairman Mahmoud Abbas is demanding that the administration be given to the PA/Fatah, while the security control be given to Western-funded PA Security Forces (PASF). Mahmoud Abbas recently called to give "Palestine the possibility to take over the civil and security responsibilities in the Gaza Strip... reorganizing the PASF in the Gaza Strip." [Official PA TV, May 17, 2025]

However, this report reveals that not only has the PASF failed in its task of fighting terrorism, but its members also play an active role in Palestinian terrorism against Israelis. Senior officers in the PASF simultaneously have senior roles in the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades, the internationally designated terror organization that serves as Fatah's terror wing. Moreover, when these terrorists are killed, they are honored by the PA with military funerals, and when convicted terrorists are released from prison, they are welcomed back in the PASF as heroes. In both 2024 and 2025, the head of PASF General Intelligence Maj. Gen. Majed Faraj gave special cash grants to families of PASF officers imprisoned for terror offenses. Both the PA and Fatah openly and proudly showcase the terror activities of the PASF members, glorifying these fundamentally conflicting roles with praise: "By day [PA] Security Forces, by night self-sacrificing fighters (i.e., terrorists)." [Official Fatah Facebook page, May 25, 2022]

The current spokesperson for the PASF wrote an article in 2023 lauding the PASF, not because it fought terror but because it fought Israel: "The Security Forces members today as they always were in the battlefields [against Israel], while many of them are falling as Martyrs and wounded and are filling the Israeli prisons... The highest rate of Martyrs and prisoners is from among the Security Forces members." [Official PA daily Al-Hayat Al-Jadida, April 15, 2023]

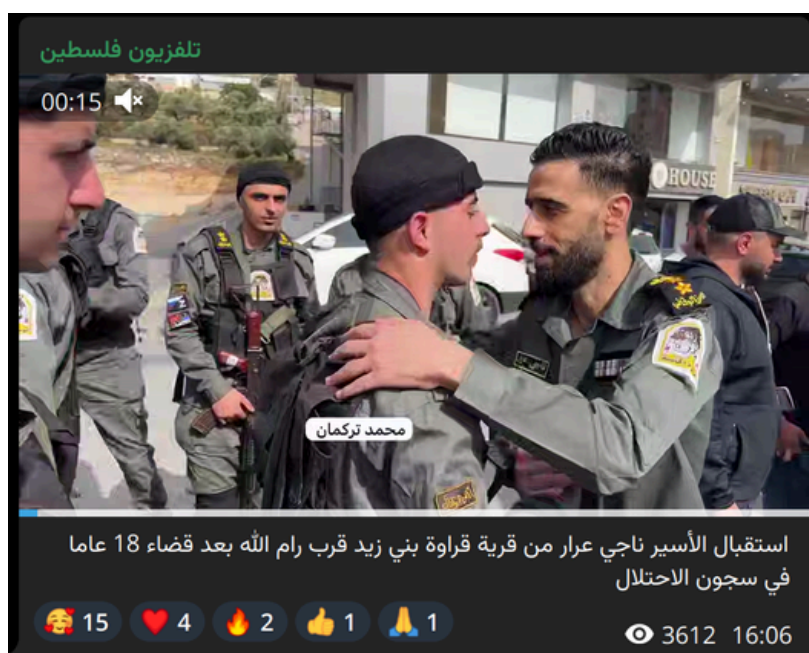
If the force ruling Gaza after the war is made up of PASF terrorists and terror-supporters who take pride in fighting Israel, they will certainly try to rebuild Palestinian terror infrastructures in the Gaza Strip. Israel's war to destroy Hamas and the horrific loss of life will have been in vain.

The documentation in this report of the deep terror involvement of Fatah and the PASF makes the idea of empowering them in Gaza both inconceivable and dangerous. Both the PA and its security forces must be invalidated as options for ruling Gaza.

Part 1

“Security Forces by day and self-sacrificing fighters (terrorists) by night”

On May 1, 2025, Palestinian terrorist and member of the PASF Naji Arrar was released after serving 18 years in Israeli prisons for shooting attacks. The released terrorist was immediately welcomed back to the PASF, dressed in his uniform and honored by the PASF in a “welcoming ceremony,” as reported on official PA TV Telegram (below left). There was no attempt to hide the hero’s welcome. The PA and PASF’s messages of support and glory for terror committed by PASF members was explicit.



Also coming to greet and express support for PASF-terrorist Arrar was PA District Governor of Ramallah Laila Ghannam, who welcomed him and chose to pose for a picture with the convicted terrorist (above right).

The PA and Fatah make no effort to hide the involvement of the PA security officers in terrorism—instead, they openly publicize and boast about it. If the PA was even minimally committed to fighting terror, its first step would be to purge the PASF—the very forces meant to combat terrorism—of all terrorists.

The clear and consistent message to all PASF members is this: Being a terrorist and serving as a PASF officer are not only compatible—this duality is admirable and heroic.

The PASF not only honors PASF-terrorists after they leave prison, but it also honors them with special payments while they are in prison. These payments are in addition to the standard terror salaries paid by the PA to imprisoned terrorists, and they are given under orders of the head of the PA General Intelligence Service, Maj. Gen. Majed Faraj, a close confidant of Mahmoud Abbas:

“The [PA] General Intelligence Forces in the Jenin district gave grants to families of Martyrs and prisoners from among the Forces' members in the district. A delegation of the Forces gave the grant to 28 families of Martyrs and 10 families of prisoners who belong to the General Intelligence... on the orders of the director of the Forces, Maj. Gen. Majed Faraj.”

[Official PA daily Al-Hayat Al-Jadida, March 26, 2025]

Similar payments to the families of imprisoned terrorists who were PASF members were made in April 2024, and April 2022, also under orders of Majed Faraj. [Official PA daily Al-Hayat Al-Jadida, April 28, 2022, April 5, 2024]



PA TV also publicized the extra payments: “The [PA] General Intelligence [Service] gives a grant to the families of the Martyrs and the prisoners from its members in the Jenin district.” **[Text on screen, Official PA TV, April 5, 2024]**

Maj. Gen. Majed Faraj not only rewards terrorists but sees them as the “most supreme” - above all other people:

“We came today to the Ramadan fast-breaking meal of [the families of] the Martyrs and the prisoners... the most honorable, the best, and the most supreme among us. After our faith in Almighty Allah, we bow before the Martyrs and prisoners (i.e., terrorists).”

[Facebook page of the PA General Intelligence, June 1, 2019]

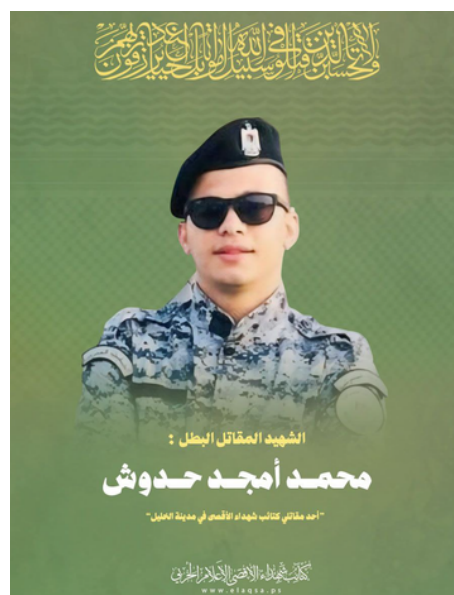
The terror-promoting message from the most senior PA security official is that PASF officers who commit terror attacks do not violate PASF values or regulations, but are “the most honorable” and worthy of extra financial rewards.

In February 2025, after terrorist and PASF officer First Sergeant Muhammad Amjad Hadoush was killed by Israeli forces, both the PASF (left) and the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades (right) created posters to honor him.



"The Martyrdom-death of First Sergeant Muhammad Amjad Hadoush (27), enlisted in the Customs Police, by the occupation bullets..."

[PA National Security Forces, Telegram, Feb. 2, 2025]



"Heroic Martyr fighter Muhammad Amjad Hadoush One of the fighters of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades in Hebron"

[Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades, Telegram, Feb. 3, 2025]

In striking inconsistency, the PASF glorified him with a full PA military funeral while his body was adorned with a headband of the designated terror organization - the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades.



[Palestine Post, Telegram, Feb. 3, 2025]

On May 8, 2025, Israel killed terrorist Rami Al-Kakhan in Nablus. Fatah's official Awdah TV Telegram channel reported that he was an officer in the PASF:

“The Martyrdom-death of [PA] General Intelligence Services officer young Rami Al-Kakhan, who was shot by the occupation army...”

[Fatah-run Awdah TV, Telegram, May 8, 2025]



A Telegram channel affiliated with the Palestinian Islamic Jihad terror organization published a picture of the PASF officer with a senior terrorist (below left):

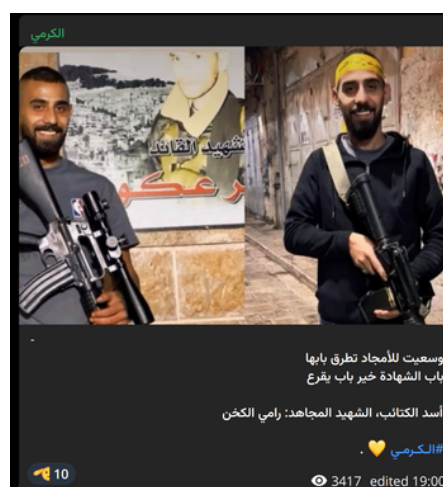
“Today's Martyr, Rami Al-Kakhan, together with the commander of the ‘Lion's Den’ squads, Martyr Wadi' Al-Houh.”

[Courage of Jenin – Al-Quds Brigades (PIJ), Telegram, May 8, 2025]

Another Telegram channel affiliated with Fatah and the Lion's Den published a picture (below right), praising his role in the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades:

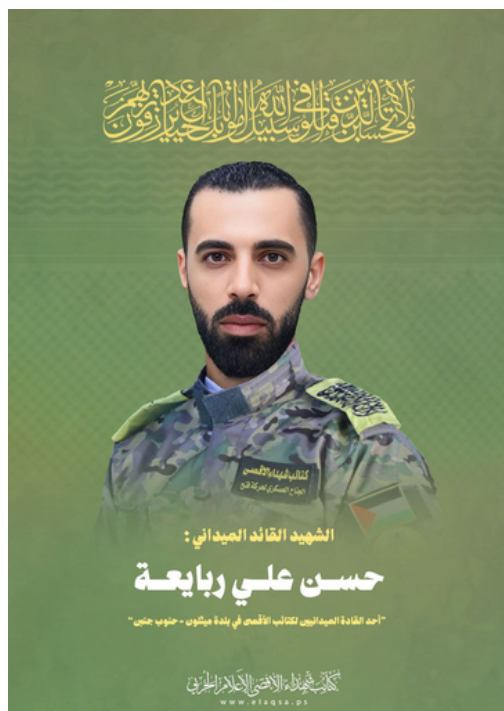
“Lion of the [Al-Aqsa Martyrs'] Brigades, Martyr Jihad fighter Rami Al-Kakhan”

[Al-Karmi, Telegram, May 9, 2025]



The Lion's Den was a terrorist organization primarily composed of members of Fatah's Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades and several Islamic Jihad terrorists, which was mainly active between 2022-2023.

On Jan. 5, 2025, Israeli forces killed terrorist Hassan Rabai'ah during an anti-terror raid. Within hours, Fatah's Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades terror organization eulogized him as one of their "field commanders" in the post below (left). Shortly afterward, the PASF also eulogized him (right), noting that he was a First Lieutenant in the Western-funded PASF.



"The field commander Martyr. Hassan Ali Rabai'ah, one of the field commanders of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades..."

[Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades, Telegram, Jan. 5, 2025]



"The self-sacrificing fighter Martyr, First Lieutenant Hassan Ali Rabai'ah, member of the Preventive Security Apparatus."

[Official PASF Spokeperson, Telegram, Jan. 5, 2025]

In its eulogy for terrorist Rabai'ah, Fatah praised the PASF for their willingness to "sacrifice the finest of their members as Martyrs to uphold the Palestinian national project," by fighting Israel. The PASF's Official Spokesperson was even more adamant in his praise, defining Rabai'ah's terrorism as "fulfilling his national duty":

"With all signs of lofty honor and pride, the [PA] Security Forces mourn their heroic Martyr son First Lt. Hassan Ali Hassan Rabai'ah (i.e., wanted terrorist) – who is counted among the [PA] Preventive Security Force, who was shot by the occupation (i.e., Israeli) army and fell as a Martyr on the land... while fulfilling his national duty."

[PA Security Forces Official Spokesperson, Telegram, Jan. 5, 2025]

Fatah's taking ownership of terror and celebrating it is not an exception but the rule. This is part of an ongoing pattern in which PASF members' terrorism is not condemned but embraced by the PA and Fatah leadership.

On Sept. 19, 2024, Israel arrested Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades terrorist, and PASF member Muhammad Zakarneh (pictured on left in PASF and right as a terrorist). His relative Shadi Zakarneh, also a PASF officer and member of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades, attacked the soldiers and was killed. His memorial poster (below) has both the terrorist organization's logo (left) and the PASF logo (right).



"The occupation arrests the officer in the National Security Forces Muhammad Zakarneh..."
[Fatah-run Awdah TV, Telegram, Sep. 19, 2024]



Muhammad Zakarneh wearing Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades headband and apparel.
["Freedom" News Channel, Telegram, Sep. 19, 2024]



Shadi Zakarneh in PA Security Forces uniform.
["Sons of Yasser [Arafat]", Telegram, Sep. 19, 2024]



"The Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades, Fatah's military wing, eulogize their fighting field commander Martyr. Shadi Zakarneh..."
[Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades, Telegram, Sep. 20, 2024]



The Martyrdom-death of the officer in the National Security Forces Shadi Zakarneh...
[Fatah-run Awdah TV, Telegram, Sep. 19, 2024]

Sergeant Muhammad Al-Sa'adi, "who works in the PASF" was arrested after shooting at a bus and wounding 3 Israelis, among them a 13-year-old child.



The picture posted after the attack, shows terrorist Al-Sa'adi in his PASF uniform being kissed by a little girl. ["Love of the Brigades," Telegram, April 1, 2024]

The main function of the PASF is ostensibly to fight terror organizations, including local ones, such as the "Jenin Brigade," a branch of Islamic Jihad.

On Jan. 17, 2025, **a video was posted** of Colonel Luay Erziqat, the official Spokesman of PA's West Bank Police Force, a branch of the PASF, being held aloft by supporters of the Jenin Brigade, as he throws kisses (left) and waves to the crowd and chants along with them: "The [Jenin] Brigade, the Brigade..." ["Izz A-Din Al-Qassam Brigades (unofficial)," Telegram channel, Jan 17, 2025]



Two terrorists ambushed and killed an Israeli officer. The attack was a joint attack with members of Fatah's Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades and members of the PASF. Not only didn't the PA condemn the participation of a PASF member in the killing, but after the attack, Fatah's official Facebook broadcast a video featuring official PA TV host Nasser Al-Lahham explaining that such operations like these, which included members of the PASF and members of Fatah's Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades, are considered "high-quality":



“Why is precisely this [operation] considered high-quality? Because it was carried out by the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades, Fatah's military wing, and one of the Palestinian [PA] Security Forces officers [Ahmed Abed]. This means the opening of two new fronts: First, with Fatah... Second, with the PASF members.”

Text on screen: “The [PA] Security Forces – the shield of the homeland”

[Official Fatah Facebook page, Sept. 14, 2022]

The PASF involvement in terror is supported from the top of the PA. Already in 2022, Mahmoud Abbas warned Israel that his PASF would be attacking them if they continued to enter villages in search of terrorists:

“PLO Executive Committee member and Fatah Central Committee member Azzam Al-Ahmad... added that two months ago President Mahmoud Abbas even asked the Palestinian [PA] Security Forces to inform the occupying government (i.e., Israel): ‘Do not be surprised if you discover that the Palestinian Security Forces are the ones who are taking action against you during your invasions of any refugee camp, or any village, or any farm, and during the theft of olives.’”

[Official PA daily Al-Hayat Al-Jadida, Nov. 14, 2022]

On Jan. 17, 2024, a journalist at Fatah-run Awdah TV, published a poster honoring 5 killed terrorists (below). One of them was defined as follows:

“Martyr Captain Abdallah Abu Shalal, Al-Aqsa Martyrs’ Brigades commander, General Intelligence services member”

[Fatah-run Awdah TV journalist Anas Hoshia, Telegram channel, Jan. 17, 2024]

The Israeli military announced that Abu Shalal was not merely a terrorist, he was one of the “central terror leaders”:

“The Israeli army announced that... a cell of terrorists was on its way to committing an attack, which was led by Abdallah Abu Shalal... one of the central terror leaders in Judea and Samaria (i.e., the West Bank).”

[Ynet, Israeli news website, Jan. 17, 2024]



Another of the terrorists pictured in the same poster above by the Awdah TV journalist was listed as “Captain Saif Al-Najmi, a member of the PASF.”

Two days earlier, the PA held a funeral for another PASF member - “Martyr Colonel Fares Mahmoud Khalifa,” - an Al-Aqsa Martyrs’ Brigades terrorist who was killed after attacking Israeli soldiers who came to arrest him.

“Martyr Fares Khalifa ... our people accompanied as a groom to his wedding canopy (i.e., a Martyr's funeral is considered his wedding to the 72 Virgins in Paradise in Islam) in an impressive funeral that began with a military ceremony.”

[Official PA TV News, Jan. 16, 2024]



Fatah openly announced that Khaled Tbeileh, a terrorist who carried out shooting attacks and threw explosives at Israeli soldiers was both a commander in the Lion’s Den terror cell and a PA Security Forces officer:



The picture shows terrorist Khaled Tbeileh in his PASF uniform standing in front of the logo of the PASF General Military Training Commission (GMTC). [Fatah Movement – Bethlehem Branch, Telegram, Sept. 22, 2023]

Fatah also marked the “ascent to Heaven” of another PASF officer, Muhammad Shanaah, who shot at Israeli forces as they attempted to arrest Hamas and Islamic Jihad terrorists:



Text on image: “Palestinian National Security Forces officer Martyr Muhammad Shanaah’s ascent [to Heaven] during his stand against the occupation’s invasion of the Nour Shams refugee camp in Tulkarem”

[Fatah Commission of Information and Culture, Facebook page, Oct. 19, 2023]

Likewise, when terrorist Abd Al-Nasser Mustafa Al-Riyahi was killed when he shot at Israeli forces, Fatah’s military wing published that he was both a member of its Al-Aqsa Martyrs’ Brigades and a First Lieutenant in the PASF:



Text on image: “The Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades – Revenge and Liberation Youth Accompany to [his] wedding in Paradise (i.e., a Martyr's funeral is considered his wedding to the 72 Virgins in Paradise in Islam), with all pride and glory, Fighting Martyr First Lieutenant Abd Al-Nasser Mustafa Al-Riyahi Son of the Palestinian [PA] National Security Forces – the fighter in the ranks of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades – Revenge and Liberation Youth...

Glory and eternity to the pure Martyrs – and victory grows where it is watered with blood.”

[“Qalqilya: The Event,” Telegram, Dec. 6, 2023]

Another Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades member who was at the same time a member of the PASF was Abd Al-Nasser Mustafa Al-Riyahi. He is the infant in the photo below wearing an Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades headband.

The photo is from around 2001, and the man holding him is his uncle, Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades commander terrorist Wael Al-Riyahi. Fatah posted the picture with the following text, stressing the terror connection between the two terrorists a generation apart, and boasting that "Martyrdom is inherited":



Posted text: "Martyrdom is inherited – A picture that unites Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades commander Martyr Wael Al-Riyahi, (in 2001) at the time of the Al-Aqsa Intifada, with his nephew [then infant] Abd Al-Nasser [Al-Riyahi], who died as a Martyr today fighting in the Balata [refugee] camp in Nablus."

[Fatah Movement – Bethlehem Branch, Telegram, Dec. 6, 2023]

Fatah: "By day Security Forces, and by night self-sacrificing fighters"

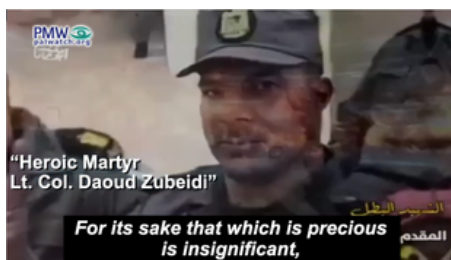
One video released by Mahmoud Abbas' Fatah party boasts that the PASF fulfill a double role of cops by day and terrorists by night. Fatah glorified 4 members of the PASF arrested or killed during gun battles with Israeli forces who were combating terror. In the Facebook post itself, Fatah referred to the Security Forces terrorists who were arrested as "heroic prisoners," and to the PASF terrorists who were killed as "Martyrs," finishing the post with a symbol of a heart.

In addition to glorifying the arrested and killed terrorists, the video further applauded the fugitive father of terrorist Ra'ad Hazem who murdered 3 in a terror attack in Tel Aviv. The father held the rank of colonel in the PASF and was suspected of supplying the weapons for the terror attack.

Posted text: “Our heroic prisoners and Martyrs♥”

Text on screen: “By day [PA] Security Forces, and by night self-sacrificing fighters.”

[Official Fatah Facebook page, May 25, 2022]



In the video, Fatah showed pictures of the terrorists, specifically noting the high officers' ranks they held in the PASF:

- “Heroic prisoner Major Muhammad Al-Tubasi”
- “Heroic Martyr Lieutenant Colonel Daoud Zubeidi”
- “The school of the Security Forces, Colonel Fathi Hazem ‘Abu Ra’ad”
- “Heroic Martyr Captain Tayseer Ayaseh”
- “Heroic Martyr First Lieutenant Adham Aliwi”

An additional Fatah Facebook post was dedicated solely to the first of the terrorists included in the video - Muhammad Al-Tubasi. Fatah glorified his and his 3 brothers' involvement in terror:

Posted text: “Muhammad Al-Tubasi, a hero of the Fatah Movement and the Palestinian security establishment, is a released prisoner who was imprisoned for 8 years. Two of his brothers are Martyrs, and he has a brother who was sentenced to 800 years (i.e., Said Al-Tubasi, who was responsible for the murder of 31 is serving 31 life sentences).”

[Official Fatah Facebook page, May 24, 2022]

Part 2

Statistics and pride in PASF members' leading terror role

The PA and Fatah brag about the dual role of the PASF members, so that their role in terror is well known. Brig. Gen Anwar Rajab, the Spokesperson for the PASF since November 2024, prior to his appointment, when he was already a high-ranking officer wrote an op-ed praising the PASF terror role.

“We see the Security Forces members today as they always were in the battlefields, while many of them are falling as Martyrs and wounded and are filling the Israeli prisons. Does Al-Musfir [a critic of Mahmoud Abbas] know that the highest rate of Martyrs and prisoners is from among the Security Forces members? Does he know that the one who is leading the popular resistance on the ground (i.e., PA term for non-government directed terror) and standing at the front of those confronting the Israeli army and its settlers with bare chests are from among the Fatah Movement members? Does he know that the Fatah members are the ones who are most subjected to arrests and house arrests in Jerusalem due to their defense of the Al-Aqsa Mosque?”

[Official PA daily Al-Hayat Al-Jadida, April 15, 2023]

A political commentator interviewed by Al-Jazeera stressed that “it is no longer unusual” that PASF members participate in terror:

“According to publicist and political commentator Akram Al-Natsheh... the participation of former or present PASF members [in operations] is no longer unusual. He added: ‘Recently, we have seen the participation of security members in operations (i.e., terror attacks). It is true that they are few, but they provide an important indication about the possibility that this group will participate if a confrontation develops in the West Bank, like in the Al-Aqsa Intifada (i.e., PA terror campaign 2000-2005, more than 1,100 Israelis murdered) or like what we saw with armed groups such as the Lion’s Den in Nablus (i.e., terror cell), which relied on the PASF members who resigned from their positions.’”

[Al-Jazeera website, March 22, 2024]

According to the PA and Fatah, the terror involvement of these Western-trained and armed PASF members has become the norm. Figures ranging from one third to two thirds of the terrorists killed fighting Israel are said to be members of the PASF. Instead of trying to fight it or hide it, the PA/Fatah publicized these figures bragging about the central role of Fatah and the PASF in “resistance,” i.e., terror.

Both the Fatah Commission of Information and Director of Palestinian Center for Strategic Studies Muhammad Al-Masri (pictured below) separately publicized statistics showing that Fatah and the PASF were leading terrorism against Israelis, already in 2023:

Fatah-run Awdah TV narrator: “Since the start of the current year [2023], in the West Bank there have been more than 2,750 acts of resistance (i.e., terror attacks) that have led to the killing of 12 Israelis, the latest of which was a shooting operation in Hawara, which led to the killing of 2 Zionists (i.e., 2 Israeli civilians). In January alone more than 1,448 acts of resistance were carried out, including 159 shootings and armed confrontations with the occupation forces, while the number of operations of planting or throwing explosives reached 55... The occupation’s crimes escalated... **and led to the deaths as Martyrs of 64 Palestinians, a third of them members of the Fatah Movement and the [PA] Security Forces... Thus, the members of Fatah and the Security Forces form the core and the arms of the resistance groups in the West Bank, together with the other Palestinian factions.. The resistance is burning under PA rule.**”

[Fatah Commission of Information and Culture, Facebook page, Feb. 28, 2023]



“More than roughly 63-65% of the number of Martyrs in the West Bank, in the daily confrontations, are members of the Fatah Movement. And most of them are members of the [PA] Security Forces or their sons...The ones who are being pursued in the streets, arrested, and imprisoned are the Palestinian Security Forces officers.”

[Official PA TV, Topic of the Day, June 14, 2023]

Similar statistics were broadcast repeatedly by Fatah on its TV channel. It is significant that PA leader Mahmoud Abbas’ Fatah party is proud to publicize that its own police force are leading the terror war against Israelis, and boasting about the numbers of murdered Israelis:



Fatah-run Awdah TV host: *“More than two-thirds of the Martyrs in the West Bank over [the last] year and a half belong to the Fatah Movement and the PA... More than 355 of our Palestinian people’s prisoners inside the prisons are from the Palestinian [PA] Security Forces – in other words, the PA’s soldiers.”*

*[Fatah Commission of Information and Culture, Facebook page,
May 27, 2023]*

A month later, Fatah added additional statistics about its terror:

Fatah-run Awdah TV host: *“If we ask about the armed resistance in the West Bank, the Fatah Movement is the one that is leading it... Martyr Abdallah Abu Al-Tin, [Wadi’] Al-Houh, and [Ibrahim] Al-Nabulsi (i.e., all terrorists who shot at Israelis) are Fatah members. Martyrs Ziyad Al-Zar’ini, Daoud Zubeidi (i.e., terrorists who shot at Israelis)... and dozens of others are the Martyrs of Fatah and the Palestinian [PA] Security Forces... Last night our Security Forces and our victorious Al-Aqsa Martyrs’ Brigades fought the occupation (i.e., Israel) in Nablus.”*

*[Fatah Commission of Information and Culture, Facebook page,
June 17, 2023]*

At the beginning of the Hamas’ Oct. 7 war on Isreal, Fatah Central Committee Deputy Secretary Sabri Saidam praised the involvement in terror against Israel by the PASF and Fatah:

“Fatah Central Committee Deputy Secretary Sabri Saidam [said in] the speech he gave on behalf of Fatah... that... those who ask where Fatah stands regarding what is happening [in the Gaza Strip] (i.e., the 2023 Gaza war), the answer lies in how a great number of the Martyrs who have ascended to Heaven in the Gaza Strip and West Bank are members of its PASF and Fatah activists... and how more than half of the prisoners are Fatah members...”

[WAFA, official PA news agency, Dec. 31, 2023]

Secretary of Fatah’s Nablus branch, Muhammad Hamdan, announced that the PA Security Forces’ central role in terror was common knowledge:

“I think that the entire Palestinian people and the whole world has [recently] seen that more than 1,500 military operations (i.e., terror attacks) against the Israeli occupation were led by the Fatah Movement members and the Security Forces members.”

[Official PA TV, Topic of the Day, March 19, 2023]

PLO Central Council member and regular columnist for the official PA daily Omar Hilmi Al-Ghoul stressed the terror role of the PASF “heroes”

“Six Martyr heroes died in Nablus... following the heroic battle of confrontation that the Israeli death army imposed on the people (i.e., 5 terrorists who shot at Israeli soldiers and a sixth who participated in violent riots). The heroes of the PASF had a prominent role in exposing the gang of [Israeli] undercover forces, (i.e., it was PASF who shot at Israeli forces raiding a terror cell -Ed.)... The Palestinian people and its forces will always resist (i.e., commit terror), as they have resisted throughout the last eight decades (i.e., since Israel was a state)... for the sake of their freedom and victory over the new Nazis – the Zionists.”

[Official PA daily Al-Hayat Al-Jadida, Oct. 26, 2022]

Another top Fatah official, Fatah Central Committee member Abbas Zaki, praised the PASF terrorists:

Fatah Central Committee member Abbas Zaki: *“To those who accuse the Fatah Movement of not fulfilling its duty... we say these are the heroic members of the prisoners’ movement who have spent dozens of years, including many, many PASF members, including those who have been released and those who are waiting for release soon. This is Fatah, which has sacrificed prisoners, wounded, and Martyrs for liberation and independence.”*

[Fatah Central Committee member Abbas Zaki, Facebook page, Nov. 26, 2022]

Fatah Deputy Chairman Mahmoud Al-Aloul likewise lauded the cooperation between terrorists and the PASF:

Fatah Deputy Chairman Mahmoud Al-Aloul: *“A confrontation took place between Israeli special forces and the Palestinian Security Forces... All the Palestinians are one unit. The Security Forces members, the Tanzim (i.e., Fatah terror faction), the public, and everyone – one unit in dealing with this occupation.”*

[Fatah Commission of Information and Culture, Facebook page, Oct. 25, 2022]

After a former PASF terrorist-officer was killed following his terror attack last year, a Fatah-affiliated Telegram channel took the opportunity to laud the killing of Israelis by the PASF members and mocked the so-called security coordination with Israel. The PASF officer, Mujahid Barakat Mansour, who had been trained by the US army in Jordan, shot at an Israeli civilian bus in a sniper attack. In the subsequent chase, he killed one Israeli soldier and injured 7 others before he was killed by an Israeli military helicopter.

In response, the Fatah-affiliated Telegram channel publicized a fictional letter as if it were written by terrorist Mansour after he was killed. In the fictional letter the terrorist stressed the central role of the PASF in terror against Israel, the PA's supplying the weapons, and his own attack and the killing of Israelis::

“I am Martyr Mujahid Barakat Mansour, a member of the [PA] Presidential Guard forces in the Palestinian Authority. I succeeded with the help of Allah and with the help of the machine gun of the PA – which some accuse of being a weapon of [security] coordination [with Israel] – and I confronted the most important brigade of the Israeli army... I say to all who disparaged, cursed, and accused the members of the PASF of treason and coordination [with Israel]: Here we are, we the sons of Palestine who belong to the PASF, standing at the front ranks and protecting the land... I confronted them and resisted them alone, with the weapon of the Palestinian Authority... I killed 3 (sic., 1) soldiers, and my bullets hit more than 7 soldiers... The enemy army only succeeded in killing me after using 2 missiles from a helicopter, so that I would end the incident as a Martyr, a Martyr, a Martyr. I am Mujahid Barakat Mansour, a member of the Fatah Movement and the Presidential Guard forces.”

[Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades – Communications Corps, Telegram, March 28, 2024]

Fatah's Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades published the following poster showing him in a photoshopped PASF uniform and honoring his “heroic” attack:



Text on image: "Heroic fighting Martyr – Mujahid Barakat Mansour
One of the fighters of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades in Ramallah
The one who carried out the heroic Ramallah operation."

[The Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades, March 22, 2024]

Part 3

PA/Fatah and PASF glorification of PASF terrorists

In addition to the repeated praise for the PASF's involvement in terror, the PASF and Fatah produce colored banners and posters to honor the PASF members who die as "Martyrs" fighting Israel.

In August 2023, Fatah published on its official Facebook page the poster below with the names and pictures of 30 members of the PASF titled "Martyrs of the PASF." PMW identified 23 of those with ranks in the PASF as known terrorists, most of whom were killed while attacking Israelis. Some are pictured in uniform.

"Martyrs of the Palestinian Security Forces."



Text under pictures of the terrorists in the top row from left to right:

"Captain Ziyad Al-Zar'ini, Customs Police
Captain Tayseer Ayaseh, Military Intelligence Forces
Captain Bilal Rawajbeh, Preventive Security Forces
Colonel Daoud Zubeidi, Preventive Security Forces
Colonel Daoud Al-Khatib, [PA General] Intelligence Forces
Colonel Ashraf Ibrahim, Military Intelligence Forces
Brig. Gen. Saud Al-Titi, Military Intelligence Forces
Maj. Gen. Abu Ashraf Al-Armoushi, National Security Forces"

Text under pictures in the second row from left to right:

"Second Lt. Amjad Al-Sukkari, personal security guard of the PA attorney general, Police Forces
Second Lt. Ahmed Alawneh, Military Intelligence Forces
Second Lt. Ahmed Abed, Military Intelligence Forces
Second Lt. Adham Aliwi, Military Intelligence Forces
Captain Ahmed Taha, Security Forces
Captain Hamdi Abu Daya, Police Forces
Captain Ramzi Zabarah , Civil Defense
Captain Imad Abu Rashid , Civil Defense"

Text under pictures in the third row from left to right:

"Second Lt. Izz Al-Din Salahat, Police Forces
Second Lt. Mutaz Al-Sharawneh, Training Forces
Second Lt. Raed Al-Naasan, Training Forces
Second Lt. Yazan Abu Tabih, Training Forces
Second Lt. Muhammad Jawabreh, Police Forces
Second Lt. Tareq Badwan, Police Forces
Second Lt. Muhammad Abu Bakr, Palestinian Administration and Organization
Second Lt. Muhammad Baradiyah, National Security Forces"

Pictures in fourth row:

Everyone listed in this row was apparently killed in clashes with Islamist terrorists at the Ain Al-Hilweh refugee camp in Lebanon in late July-early August 2023.

[Fatah Commission of Information and Culture, Facebook page, Aug. 6, 2023]

24 terrorists pictured in PA military uniforms

Another example of Fatah highlighting the participation of the PA Security Forces in terror was when Fatah published a video with the pictures of 24 terrorists who were PASF officers in their PA military uniforms. To stress that the dual roles do not conflict, each picture includes both the logo of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades terror organization and the logo of the PASF branch in which they served. Each terrorist's picture is accompanied by their name, rank, and PA security branch:



PA Security Forces member and Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades terrorist who was accidentally shot by Israeli forces during violent riots in Jenin on Feb. 6, 2020.



PA Security Forces member and Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades terrorist who was killed while participating in violent confrontations with Israeli forces in Jenin on Dec. 1, 2022.



21-year-old Palestinian terrorist and PA Security Forces officer who threw a firebomb at Israeli soldiers while participating in a violent confrontation in Al-Mughayyir, near Ramallah, on Nov. 29, 2022. The soldiers returned fire, killing Al-Naasan.



Palestinian terrorist and a member of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades who shot and killed Israeli army officer Maj. Bar Falah, on Sept. 14, 2022. Other soldiers returned fire, killing Abed, an officer in the PASF. Fatah took responsibility for the attack in a Facebook post that was subsequently removed.



38-year-old Palestinian terrorist, PA military intelligence officer, and member of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades who shot at Israeli soldiers while they were arresting two wanted terrorists in Jenin on May 29, 2023. The soldiers returned fire killing Ibrahim.



PA military intelligence officers Adham Yasser Aliwi and Tayseer Mahmoud Al-Issah opened fire on Israeli undercover forces arresting terrorists. Israeli soldiers returned fire, killing Aliwi and Ayaseh. The Fatah video presents him as a commander in the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades.



Palestinian terrorist and PA Preventive Security Forces officer who shot at Israeli soldiers at a military post near Nablus on Nov. 4, 2020, reportedly using a PA Security Forces issued handgun. The soldiers returned fire killing Rawajbeh.



23-year-old terrorist and member of the independent terror cell "the Lion's Den" who resisted arrest and initiated a gun battle with Israeli forces in Nablus on Feb. 22, 2023. In the exchange of fire, he and 11 other Palestinians were killed, most of them members of the terror cell.



23-year-old Palestinian terrorist and PA Security Forces officer who intentionally ran over and wounded 3 Israeli soldiers near Beit Ummar, north of Hebron, on March 31, 2023. Israeli soldiers at the scene responded by opening fire, killing Baradiyah.



Palestinian terrorist and member of the PA Administration and Organization Forces and Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades who was killed during an exchange of fire between Palestinians and Israeli soldiers in Jenin on Feb. 6, 2020. The soldiers were destroying the home of a terrorist who participated in the murder of Rabbi Raziell Shevach on Jan. 9, 2018.



Palestinian terrorist and officer of the PA Security Forces who shot at Israeli soldiers in Jenin on May 13, 2022. Israeli Police officer Noam Raz was killed in the attack. Zubeidi was shot and died of his wounds.



Palestinian terrorist killed on Sept. 28, 2022 during a shootout with Israeli forces who were in Jenin to arrest him. Alawneh was a wanted terrorist of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades responsible for a series of shooting attacks and he was a PA Security Forces member.



PA military intelligence officers Adham Yasser Aliwi and Tayseer Mahmoud Al-Issah opened fire on Israeli undercover forces arresting terrorists. Israeli soldiers returned fire, killing Aliwi and Ayaseh. The Fatah video presents him as a commander in the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades.



18-year-old Palestinian terrorist who attacked Israeli forces in Jenin on Oct. 8, 2022. Daraghme shot at the forces and the soldiers returned fire and killed him. The Israeli forces were in Jenin arresting Islamic Jihad terrorist Salah Abu Zeneh, 25, and three other wanted terrorists.



Palestinian terrorist, PA police officer, and member of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades who shot at Israeli soldiers in the Jenin refugee camp on Jan. 26, 2023. The soldiers returned fire, killing Salahat. Salahat's father is a colonel in the PA Presidential Guard.



Palestinian terrorist and PASF member who shot at Israeli soldiers performing security checks on Jan. 17, 2023. The soldiers returned fire, killing him. Two days prior Abu Dayya had shot at an Israeli civilian bus. He left a written "message to the Zionist enemy" threatening to "plant disasters" and inflict "death and humiliation" so "Allah's word will rule."



PA General Intelligence Forces member and Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades terrorist who died of a heart attack while serving an 18-year prison sentence. PMW was unable to determine the nature of his crimes.



PA Security Forces member and Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades terrorist who shot at Israeli soldiers together with terrorist Ramzi Zabarah at Hawara checkpoint on Oct. 28, 2022. The soldiers returned fire, killing Al-Rashid.



PA Security Forces member and Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades terrorist who shot at Israeli soldiers together with terrorist Abd Al-Fattah Kharousha and 4 other terrorists. The soldiers returned fire, killing Al-Zar'ini.



PA Security Forces member and Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades terrorist who shot at Israeli soldiers together with terrorist Imad Abu Al-Rashid at Hawara checkpoint on Oct. 28, 2022. The soldiers returned fire, killing Zabarah. In the video Zabarah is shown holding an assault rifle.



PA Security Forces member and Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades terrorist who was killed while participating in violent confrontations with Israeli forces at the Balata refugee camp on April 11, 2023.



PA Security Forces member and Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades terrorist who was killed while participating in violent confrontations with Israeli security forces in Dura village on July 2, 2013.



PA Security Forces member and Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades terrorist who was killed while participating in violent confrontations with Israeli security forces in Al-Arroub village on Feb. 24, 2023.



34-year-old Palestinian terrorist and the personal security guard of the PA Attorney General. Al-Sukkari injured 3 Israeli soldiers in a shooting attack next to the Jewish town of Beit-El, adjacent to Ramallah, on Jan. 31, 2016. Al-Sukkari was shot and killed by Israeli soldiers.

[Fatah Movement – Nablus Branch, Telegram, June 2, 2023]

Another dead terrorist “Martyr” of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs’ Brigades and “senior officer in the Palestinian general intelligence forces” was honored in a special poster.

The poster below shows terrorist Ashraf Ibrahim. On the right are two masked terrorists wearing yellow Fatah headbands. In the upper left is the logo of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs’ Brigades. Under it is the logo of the PA intelligence forces.



Posted text: “Martyr Ashraf Al-Sheikh Ibrahim is an officer with the rank of colonel in the intelligence forces. He was shot by the occupation and ascended [to Heaven] during an armed confrontation while he set out against the invasion of Jenin.”

Text on image: “The Al-Aqsa Martyrs’ Brigades – Palestine, The Martyr colonel who fell in battle – Ashraf Al-Sheikh Ibrahim

One of the commanders of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs’ Brigades – Jenin

And a senior officer in the Palestinian general intelligence forces

Glory and eternity to the pure Martyrs... Victory will blossom where the blood waters it.”

[Fatah Movement – Bethlehem Branch, Telegram, May 29, 2023]

Finally, PASF members who were also terrorists even decades ago continue to be presented as role models to reiterate that the PASF has always been actively fighting Israelis.

PASF officer Raed Al-Karmi (pictured below-left in PASF uniform) was also a senior leader of the Tanzim, a Fatah terror faction. He was responsible for the murder of 9 Israelis. Although he was killed in 2002, he was glorified on this poster, in 2024, showing him both as a PASF officer and as a Tanzim terrorist:



Posted text: “To those who argue against the PA Security Forces – Martyr Raed Al-Karmi, a member of the Palestinian [PA] Security Forces.”

[Al-Dhahiriya News/Fortress of the South, Facebook page, Jan. 13, 2024]



Afterword:

Four days before this report was to be published, two PA Police officers (pictured above) murdered a 22-year-old Israeli named Shalev Zevuloni. The terrorists who were shot and killed on the spot, Mahmoud Abed and Malek Salem, were given the ultimate praise by the PA that called them “Martyrs” – meaning that they died for Allah: “Two young men were shot by the Israeli occupation army and died as Martyrs.” [Official PA daily Al-Hayat Al-Jadida, July 11, 2025]

According to PA teachings, the highest level a Muslim can attain is to become a Martyr for Allah. The PA is telling its people that there is no act more honorable and desired by Allah, for Palestinians in general and PASF members as well, than carrying out terror attacks against Israelis and being killed in the process.

Conclusions

The Palestinian Authority's Security Forces are deeply and fundamentally involved in terror. Their terror involvement is not condemned by the PA or Fatah, rather it is glorified as an essential and heroic part of their role in the PASF. The terror involvement is not presented by the PA and Fatah as unfortunate exceptions but as the heroic norm. Instead of being ostracized, the terrorist PA officers involved are honored and, when killed, are given military funerals. When released from prison, they are welcomed back to the PASF as heroes.

With Fatah and the PA Security Forces so deeply involved in terror, the suggestion to empower them to rule Gaza after Israel has destroyed the terror infrastructures is both dangerous and inconceivable to anyone who seeks peace. The military force that will rule Gaza after the war cannot be fundamentally involved in terror, or else the entire operation to destroy the terror infrastructure will have been in vain.

The political structure and accompanying security force that administers the Gaza Strip must be found outside the Palestinian Authority terror supporting political leadership and military. Hamas, the PA, and Fatah are all fundamentally involved in terror, and it must be recognized that they will see reviving terrorism as a paramount duty wherever they are allowed to rule. The PA and the PASF are essential parts of the terror problem. It is a mistake to believe they can be part of the solution.