

January 10, 2023

Special Dispatch No. 10414

## Amid Current Wave Of Violence, Palestinian Press Debates Which Is Preferable, Armed Struggle Or Popular Resistance

Amid the increase in Palestinian terror attacks launched from the West Bank, the emergence of new terror militias like the Lions' Den in Nablus and the Jenin Battalion in Jenin, and the lack of any hope for a renewal of the peace process, a debate has emerged in the Palestinian press regarding the desirable character of the struggle against Israel. There were articles that praised the attacks against Israelis and extolled their "heroic" perpetrators, both individuals who operated independently and the organized armed militias, thus echoing the discourse that has been promoted by the Palestinian Authority (PA) and Fatah in the recent months.<sup>[1]</sup> Some of these articles called to continue the armed struggle, since it is "the most effective way" to achieve the goals of national independence and to liberate all of Palestine "from the river to the sea." One of the writers called on the resistance axis, led by Iran, to help the Palestinians militarily, and also to cultivate a "culture of resistance" that will form a solid basis for all continued Palestinian action.

Conversely, there were articles that criticized the militarization of the struggle against Israel, arguing that this exacts a very high price from the Palestinian people but achieves very little.<sup>[2]</sup> These articles stated that popular unarmed resistance will yield far more achievements for the Palestinians, since it will exhaust Israel while increasing the international and media criticism against it and the solidarity with the Palestinians. Some even suggested that the new militias should lead the people in this type of struggle, namely a widespread popular uprising like the 1987 intifada. Several writers, such as former Palestinian minister Ashraf Al-Ajrami, assessed that resistance will only produce results if it follows comprehensive political reforms in the PA and the holding of elections to appoint a new leadership that will formulate a fresh political vision instead of the Oslo Accords.



Graphic on Fatah-affiliated Twitter page: "The Solution – An AK-47" ([Twitter.com/palestfateh1965](https://twitter.com/palestfateh1965), October 24, 2022)

*This report presents translated excerpts from the Palestinian press articles reflecting this debate.*

### Articles Advocating Armed Struggle: It's The Only Way To Deal With Israel And Liberate Palestine

As stated, some of the articles published in the Palestinian press expressed clear support for the armed militias in the West Bank and for the terrorists who carried out attacks against Israelis. These articles held Israel exclusively responsible for the violence, while demonizing it and its policies, and claiming that only multiple Israeli fatalities will lead to the liberation of Palestine "from the river to the sea."

### Palestinian Former Official: Only Armed Resistance, Inflicting As Many Casualties As Possible Upon The Enemy, Will Bring Us Independence

In an article in the *Al-Quds* daily titled "Has The Peace Farce Ended?", As'ad 'Abd Al-Rahman, a former member of the PLO Executive Committee, wrote that independence and liberation can only be achieved through armed resistance: "The [Israeli] occupation is fully and directly responsible for its crimes, which reach the level of war crimes and crimes against humanity. It is the occupation's conduct that has led young Palestinians to conclude that the most effective option is to take up the gun again – because it is no longer possible to accept the [occupation's] excuses for its

ongoing attacks – and that true independence involves and even requires resistance, armed or otherwise...

"For many years, many Palestinians and Arabs believed in a political settlement, even though the Palestinian-Israeli negotiations kept failing throughout those years and did not liberate even an inch of the occupied land. After all, Israel employs only force and fails to honor contracts, international conventions and international resolutions. It sought to turn the 'peace process' into a farce that would perpetuate the occupation. In this context, the new generation has arrived, and it reiterates that military resistance is the way to achieve liberation, that what does not start today will not end tomorrow, and that the resistance must continue – for the Palestinians will not gain anything except through resistance, armed or otherwise, and by causing as many casualties as possible to the Zionist enemy..."

"History teaches us that all the peoples who were attacked by foreigners sought their identity and independence, out of a belief that [national] rights are taken by force, not granted [for free]. Resistance, in all its forms, must not be a temporary state of emergency but must continue as long as there are elements that seek to expunge the political and cultural identity of the Palestinian people..."[\[3\]](#)

## **Article In Al-Quds Daily: The Palestinians Will Persist In Armed Resistance To Liberate The Land "From The River To The Sea" And "Pull The Knife Of Shylock From Their Necks"**

An article by Rashid Hassan, published October 23 in the Jordanian daily *Al-Dustour* and one day later in *Al-Quds*, argued in a similar vein. The article, which included antisemitic motifs, championed the option of armed resistance and called to increase it:

"[Social media] users, academics and research institutes all agree on one uniting fact that has been underscored by the Palestinian people and its glorious revolution, namely the commitment to the option of armed resistance, the determination to maintain this option, and the [willingness] to leap into the furnace of a war of liberation in order to expel the invading Zionists and liberate all the land from the river to the sea... This glorious revolution that erupted like wildfire all over Palestine highlighted the Palestinian people's rejection of the Oslo [Accords], and of the policy of abandoning the [Palestinian] principles and of ceding the land to the invading Zionists.

"No one disputes the fact that Palestine belongs to the Arab Palestinian people and to nobody else. This has been their land and the land of their forefathers since Allah created it and its people, since the Arab Canaanites and the Jebusites built the city of Jerusalem... [This land] is not to be bargained over and cannot be divided into two or more parts. Abandoning even a grain of this sacred land is a grave act of treason that merits the worst of punishments..."

"May the entire [Islamic] nation, from Jakarta to Rabat, hear how our people in [Palestine] respond to this revolution and to the brave confrontation [waged by] the *fidayoun* and the lions of this revolution – such as the martyred hero 'Uday Al-Tamimi,[\[4\]](#) who managed... to calmly step out of his car, fire towards the checkpoint of the enemy soldiers at the entrance to the Shu'afat [refugee] camp, kill a Zionist soldier and wound another, and then withdraw with the utmost confidence and skill. The oppressing state [of Israel then] failed to find the hero for 11 days, until he surprised them, determined to confront them face to face in front of a Zionist settlement. [Armed] with his personal weapon, his pistol, he confronted a large unit of enemy army soldiers, wounded a security guard and was martyred while attacking the enemy and not fleeing.

"Our loyal [Palestinian] masses proudly cheered the self-sacrificing hero and his brave stand, seeing this as authentic Palestinian action that must continue in order to expel the invading Zionists... defend Al-Aqsa and the holy sites, and pull the knife of Shylock from the neck of our people[\[5\]](#)... These are days of might, glory and pride. The lions of Jenin, Nablus and Shu'afat have restored the honor of our people, revived the spirit of resistance and steadfastness and thwarted the wretched Oslo track... Glory and laurels of victory to this nation of giants and to its lions[\[6\]](#) that are roaring in Jerusalem, Jenin, Nablus and all the other [Palestinian] cities, villages and refugee camps. They sow fear in the hearts of the wretched descendants of the Jews of Khaybar[\[7\]](#) and surely herald the coming of the dawn. Allah akbar, Allah akbar, rush forth [to wage] resistance."[\[8\]](#)

## **Al-Ayyam Columnist: "Resistance Axis" Must Help Palestinians Fight Israel**

In a column titled "Palestine and the Resistance Axis," *Al-Ayyam* columnist Muhammad Yaghi called on the resistance axis, led by Iran, to help the Palestinians retaliate militarily for every Israeli attack. He wrote: "The number of Palestinian losses is increasing, whereas the number of losses suffered by the occupation is not increasing to an extent that would cause it to reassess and understand that the price of maintaining the occupation is higher than the price of dismantling it. Making [the occupation pay] a price that will translate into a political profit [for the Palestinians] is something the Palestinian resistance cannot accomplish by itself. There is need to involve the so-called resistance axis in this activity. We are well-aware that the members of this axis coordinate, train and even arm one another, but when it comes to directly confronting the occupation, each side acts separately vis-à-vis the occupation state..."

"Therefore, the solution lies in uniting this axis, so that any attack on one of its members will be an attack on them all. When Hizbullah reacts to Israel's attacks on the Palestinians, Iran reacts to Israel's attacks on Syria, and the resistance factions in Palestine, Iraq and Yemen react to the attacks on Iran – then these attacks will stop and Israel will think twice before killing Palestinians, destroying a Syrian airport or bombing a plant in Iran.

"True, the Palestinians spearhead the defense of their land, but times have changed, and even if hundreds of them die, this is not enough to liberate the land when all they have is a gun someone stole, bought or transferred to the resistance fighters. The [resistance] axis does not have to reveal its presence by talking a great deal in the media. Rather, it must make itself felt by taking clear action in order to change the power-balance and establish new balances in its favor."[\[9\]](#)

## **Armed Struggle Must Be Accompanied By Culture Of Resistance**

In another article, Yaghi wrote that every kind of struggle against Israel must be grounded in "cultural resistance": "Armed resistance is not the only way to struggle against the occupation. There are also other methods, no less important than violent resistance, such as popular resistance to defend the land against the settlers, non-violent processions to express the people's commitment to their rights, and massive [popular] presence in areas the occupation wishes to seize. There is also civil disobedience, which is a refusal to heed the instructions and laws of the occupation, for instance by entering land that has been seized and putting up tents there, or coming to Al-Aqsa on days when the occupation has decided to shut its gates... There is also commercial boycott, which can be utilized by giving up [Israeli] products that can be manufactured locally and thus weakening the Israeli economy and strengthening the Palestinian economy... In addition, there is media resistance, which must focus on exposing the crimes of the occupation and refuting its false narrative, both about the history of the region and of the conflict in it, and about everyday events that happen there.

"As a matter of fact, the price that these forms of resistance exact from the Palestinian people is no less than the price of armed resistance, because past experience shows that the occupation usually responds to any move against it with brutal violence... which results in people being martyred and wounded. This is exactly what happened during the first intifada, which included every kind of non-violent resistance.

"But in order to employ all these types of resistance, we must strengthen our people by increasing the value of resistance in its eyes. There is no way to thwart the occupation's plans... without employing one of the most important forms of resistance, namely cultural resistance...

"I am referring to strengthening the spirit of our people by recalling the history of resistance, its own and other peoples'; turning its martyrs – both the officials and [simple] folk – into role models for it; turning its poets and international culture icons into sources of inspiration for it, and connecting it with its Arab, Islamic and Christian history. No people can withstand the kind of oppression suffered by the Palestinian people without relying on a solid culture that allows it to endure and gives it the hope it needs to continue the resistance and refuse to succumb to occupation. If we name each and every street for one of this people's martyrs, that will not be too much. In every neighborhood, refugee camp, city and village there are hundreds of streets and hundreds of martyrs. Naming the streets after the martyrs is not just a way to honor them, but also a way to remind the living that these martyrs gave their lives for the sake of liberating this homeland, and that the task is not yet complete. Naming streets after them will cause many journalists around the world to renew their interest in the Palestinian cause, which waned due to the preoccupation with the 'false peace process.' [The interest also waned] because our cause was treated as though we already have a state and the only problem is our lack of ability to manage it, due to the absence of elections or due to the schism..."

"Cultural resistance will be the fortified wall [protecting] the Palestinian people, against which all the occupation's operation methods will break. We therefore need to devote a week or perhaps even a month every year to reminding [the Palestinians] of the poems of Mahmoud Darwish, Samih Al-Qasim, Tawfiq Ziad, Tamim Al-Barghouti, Hussein Al-Barghouti, Mourid Al-Barghouti, Ibrahim Tuqan, Fadwa Tuqan, 'Abd Al-Rahim Mahmoud, Kamal Nasser, 'Izz Al-Din Al-Manasra and dozens of other [Palestinian poets]..."

Cultural resistance means drawing a connection between our present and our ancient past and the history of the defense of this land, since the time of [Caliph] 'Omar Ibn Al-Khattab's arrival in Jerusalem in 637... This requires holding cultural workshops by founding hundreds of cultural clubs and salons that will remind [the Palestinians] of the recent and distant history of this land. Every Palestinian must know what the Nakba is and how it happened, and the story of the conflict over this land in the last 100 years...We must build this fortified cultural wall, without which victory is impossible."[\[10\]](#)

### **Al-Ayyam Columnist: The Present Intifada Combines Popular And Armed Resistance**

Rajab Abu Sariya, a columnist for the Palestinian daily *Al-Ayyam*, boasted that Israel is weak and is unable to deal with the Palestinian resistance. He concluded by stating: "The most important thing is that the [current] third intifada combines the methods of the two previous ones. It is a popular [intifada], in which all the citizens confronted the occupation army when it invaded Jenin and Nablus... [But] it is [also] armed. That is, the use of weapons is not limited to the PA soldiers and police officers, as was the case in 2000, but also includes the armed groups: those affiliated with the PIJ, as in Jenin, as well as the Lions' Den in Nablus, which is a joint group of all the factions, and individuals who wage resistance at their own initiative, like 'Uday Al-Tamimi [who carried out the shooting at the Shu'afat checkpoint]."[\[11\]](#)

In another article, Abu Sariya called to continue this by arming the entire Palestinian people: "...In practice, the regimes in the region and even the international community will be more understanding of the Palestinian resistance, including the non-violent resistance, in light of the fascist and racist character of the new Israeli government. However, the regional and international opposition to this Israeli government will depend on the Palestinian resistance on the ground. Therefore, the first step that needs to be taken immediately is declaring [intra-Palestinian] unity, at least on the battlefield, without waiting for the results [of the reconciliation talks between the Palestinian factions] in Algeria..."

"We must declare unity among the fighting forces, based the method of the Lion's Den [militia] in Nablus, and start training all the people, involving them, arranging them in various resistance committees, arming them immediately and organizing their ranks. It is time for a comprehensive confrontation that will unite all the echelons – the officials, the [resistance] factions and the people – in opposing the racist Israel and its fascist occupation."[\[12\]](#)

### **Columnist In PA Mouthpiece Praises Terrorist Uday Al-Tamimi: He Presented "An Exquisite Example Of A Surprise Attack"**

Articles in the Palestinian press also praised the perpetrators of recent attacks. For example, Yahya Rabbah, a Fatah official in Gaza and a columnist for the PA daily *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*, glorified terrorist 'Uday Al-Tamimi, who has become one of the emblems of the current wave of violence. He wrote: "As published [by the Palestinian authorities], the general strike last Thursday [October 20] was intended to honor the martyrdom of 'Uday Al-Tamimi at the Shu'afat checkpoint in Jerusalem... The second operation carried out by this young hero, Al-Tamimi, was a shining example of a surprise attack, and the name 'Uday Al-Tamimi has been etched in the Palestinian memory. The general strike was therefore meant to demonstrate the love, appreciation and admiration felt for him by his people, and to convey to you, the Israeli occupiers, that we vow in the name of Allah, the Lord of the Worlds, that you shall never see anything in Palestine except for its models of heroism that will eventually bring about your defeat.

"As for you, 'Uday Al-Tamimi, you wrote your name in the glow of the sacred fire, and from now on it is we who shall write your name, which will be given to tens of thousands of our newborns in Palestine... Your name, 'Uday Al-Tamimi, will emerge among the thousands of new names in your homeland Palestine..." I-Tamimi carried out an October 9, 2022 shooting at a checkpoint in Shu'afat in East Jerusalem, in which an Israeli female soldier, Noa Lazar, was killed, and another shooting ten days later at the entrance to the Israeli town of Ma'ale Adumim, in the course of which he himself was shot to death by Israeli security officers. [13]

## **Other Articles In Palestinian Press Call To Adopt Strategy Of Non-Violent Popular Resistance**

As stated, other articles called to utilize the public's spirit of resistance to launch a non-violent popular uprising against Israel, arguing that this will advance the Palestinian cause more effectively than armed violence.

### **Palestinian Journalist: Armed Struggle Costs Us Dearly; We Should Turn To Unarmed Popular Resistance That Exhausts The Enemy**

Writing in *Al-Quds*, journalist 'Amer Abu Shabab, from Gaza, called to demilitarize the struggle and adopt a model of unarmed resistance that will humiliate Israel and strengthen the solidarity with the Palestinians. He wrote: In [both] the short term and the long term , it is non-violent popular resistance that will exhaust the occupation army and will have the greatest impact on the occupation forces. Dealing with masses of stone-throwers and popular marches... will put significant pressure [on the occupation forces]. Furthermore, this type of resistance gets a lot of media attention, which pressures the occupation state, and creates images that humiliate its army, which has become used to military confrontations, not to dealing with young men and women and chasing and arresting children. The most important thing is that our young people will shed less blood in this [kind of] struggle, which requires patience as part of a serious political vision.

"The occupation army finds itself in a better situation when confronted with armed [resistance], which it exaggerates so as to present it as equal to its own strength. It does this in order to convince the Israeli society and the world that it is waging a war against gunmen, not against an occupied people that is facing an all-out war aimed at expunging its identity, usurping its land, depriving it of freedom and crushing its rights. Past experience has taught us that the occupation army always needs a military target in order to utilize its arsenal and wage a murderous campaign for which our people pay dearly – which is what happened in all the rounds [of fighting] since the Al-Aqsa Intifada 22 years ago. We remember the [2002] campaign in Jenin, when local resistance fighters from the refugee camp and members of the [Palestinian] security forces came together in legendary steadfast [resistance], but the price paid by our people was high.

"Our people is legally entitled to wage an armed struggle against the occupation... but past experience, and the character of the occupation, require us to come up with a different tactic that will humiliate the occupation army rather than defeat it. We must draw inspiration from the first intifada of 1987, which eschewed all militancy...

"The national forces must restrain the public's anger and unite it in a framework of popular resistance, far from weapons and militancy, so as to prolong the struggle and deprive Israel of excuses to besiege the cities and use economic pressure [against us]... We must abandon the campaigns [stemming from] impatience and from a selfish [desire] for false partisan achievements, and embark on a national path leading to collective freedom that will provide our people with new and real achievements in their struggle and earn them more international solidarity and Arab attention..."[14]

### **Former Palestinian Minister: We Should Utilize The Existing Momentum To Launch A Comprehensive Popular Intifada That Will Confound Israel**

Ashraf Al-'Ajrami, a former minister of prisoner affairs in the PA, likewise advocated launching a comprehensive unarmed uprising, and called on the new armed militias to spearhead this struggle instead of committing armed attacks. He wrote:

"For many long years, the Israeli occupation authorities believed that the situation in the occupied West Bank was completely stable, with the exception of passing [violent] incidents that occurred from time to time... But the [recent] developments in the West Bank were a great and shocking surprise, especially the emergence of Palestinian fighting cells... in Jenin and Nablus. The Israeli [security] authorities thought they would be able to eliminate these cells over time, for most of their members are known and are on [Israel's] wanted list, and the occupation forces are pursuing them in order to kill or at least arrest them. But the emergence of the group called the Lions' Den was a warning bell for the Israeli security apparatuses and leaders... The problem no longer lies in what the members of this militia – which, according to Israel, includes only 30 members – can do, individually or as a collective. [The problem lies] in its ability to influence other young people to join the armed struggle or to take part in extensive popular confrontations..."

"[However,] if [these] armed Palestinian groups continue as they are, unaccompanied by wide-scope popular action, they will be short lived and will disappear, as many [armed] groups disappeared during the second intifada. But if they evolve into an enormous popular apparatus, they will make things difficult for Israel on all levels, because a confrontation between the occupation army, equipped with every kind of destructive and devastating weapon, and unarmed masses is very different from a confrontation with groups of armed fighters... If the Palestinian factions want to serve our people as effectively as those young [gunmen], they must prompt a comprehensive popular intifada involving the entire Palestinian people, with all its abilities. This will divide Israeli society and increase the [international] pressure on Israel..."[\[15\]](#)

## Alongside Resistance, We Need A New Leadership To Blaze A New Political Path Instead Of The Oslo Track

In another article, Al-'Ajrami urged the PA leadership to utilize the current momentum of resistance to forge a new vision that will further the construction of the Palestinian state, including by strengthening the democratic institutions, putting an end to legislation through presidential decree, holding general elections and involving the people in decision-making, and restoring the Palestinian people's faith in their leadership. He wrote: "The Palestinian people are in a very sensitive and complicated period, following the outbreak of the last wave of armed resistance, the emergence of the Lions' Den phenomenon, and the spread of the resistance – with both its components, popular and armed – in various parts of the West Bank... This wave obviously reflects the despair our people are feeling due to the loss of the political horizon... Sadly, this extensive Palestinian action on the ground is not accompanied by any development on the political front, and we see no significant Palestinian plan or initiative, except for a repetition of the [usual] political demands, which we are sick of hearing and are completely useless..."

"This unique situation requires formulating a comprehensive vision that will bring about a gradual change and will serve the [goal] of national independence and of building the state institutions, and will especially help to relieve us of the heavy burden of the Oslo Accords. What we need is not to turn the tables and create a situation of chaos, but rather to carefully and prudently find a way to emerge from this situation, establish the Palestinian rights on the ground, promote non-violent popular resistance and spread it throughout the occupied territories.

"This vision must include the Palestinian legal and legislative system, which must establish the principles of the independent Palestinian state and the meaning of national sovereignty – both in theory and in practice – as an alternative to legislation through [Presidential] decrees, which is unacceptable [to the public], even if some of it is justified... When we formulate such a plan with the involvement of all sectors of the [Palestinian] people... and begin to implement it, brick by brick, the entire world – including Israel – will understand that we are serious, that we are not talking in slogans or threatening moves that will never be implemented[\[16\]](#)... When the [Palestinian] people are convinced that what the PA is doing is part of a comprehensive national plan for achieving the hoped-for national freedom and independence, it will no doubt support [the PA].

"Today the citizens view every move of the executive branch [i.e., the PA government under President Mahmoud 'Abbas] with great suspicion, and even suspect it of trying to take over the political system, abolish the separation of powers and gain absolute control of the decision[-making] and the [national] resources. Therefore, there is an urgent need to rebuild the relations between the leadership and the people, [i.e.,] the various sectors of society, and restore the people's trust. The latest events... provide the leadership with a golden opportunity to benefit from them and utilize them in order to make tangible political and national achievements.

"The people's sacrifices should not be in vain, and we must not go back to square one after every wave [of resistance], which exacts a very heavy price in human life and in blood and suffering. The first lesson to draw from this situation is that we must proceed towards comprehensive general elections [to all the Palestinian institutions]... The Lions' Den model should inspire us to [achieve] full and complete national unity. This is the first step towards the hoped-for change, which forces the leadership to face the extent of its responsibility..."[\[17\]](#)

[1] See MEMRI reports: Inquiry & Analysis Series No. 1661 - Palestinian Authority Responds To Violence Wave In Two Conflicting Ways: Tries To Restrain West Bank Gunmen, While Also Encouraging Them And Inciting Terror – October 21, 2022; Special Dispatch No. 10279 - Palestinian Authority Daily Praises Terrorist 'Uday Al-Tamimi: He Carried Out Heroic Acts For Sake Of The Homeland – October 24, 2022; Special Dispatch No. 10284 - Fatah Officials At Events In Honor Of Terrorist 'Uday Al-Tamimi: Fatah Follows The Path Of Struggle; The Martyr Al-Tamimi Carried Out Heroic Actions – October 27, 2022.

[2] These articles recall the critical discourse that has prevailed in the Palestinian press in the past, including some 20 years ago. See Special Dispatch No. 9674 - Former Palestinian Authority Minister: Attacks By Individual Palestinians Do Not Serve Our Cause And Must Stop; The Leadership Is Letting Our Youngsters Shed Their Blood To Cover Up For Its Incompetence – December 10, 2021; Special Dispatch No. 213 - Palestinian Criticism of the Use of Weapons in the Intifada – April 30, 2001.

[3] Al-Quds (East Jerusalem), October 21, 2022.

[4] Al-Tamimi carried out an October 8, 2022 shooting at a checkpoint in Shu'afat in East Jerusalem, in which an Israeli female soldier, Noa Lazar, was killed, and another shooting ten days later at the entrance to the Israeli town of Ma'ale Adumim, in the course of which he himself was shot to death by Israeli security officers.

[5] This is apparently a reference to the character of the Jewish moneylender Shylock in Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*.

[6] The repeated use of the word "lions" may be a reference to the Lions' Den militia active in Nablus.

[7] According to Muslim tradition, in 628 CE, Muhammad expelled the two Jewish tribes of Medina – Banu Qaynuqa and Banu Nadir – from the city. Another Jewish tribe, Banu Qurayza, was completely destroyed – all its men were executed and the women, children, and property were distributed as booty among the Muslims. Muhammad also defeated the Jews of Khaybar (including the Jews of Banu Nadir, who settled there after their expulsion from Medina), but allowed them to stay there and continue working their lands on the condition that they give half of their crop yields to the Muslims of Medina. During the time of the second Muslim Caliph, 'Omar ibn Al-Khattab, the Jews were expelled from Khaybar and their lands were divided among the Muslims.

[8] *Al-Dustour* (Jordan), October 23, 2022; *Al-Quds* (East Jerusalem), October 24, 2022.

[9] *Al-Ayyam* (PA), December 2, 2022.

[10] *Al-Ayyam* (PA), October 21, 2022.

[11] *Al-Ayyam* (PA), October 18, 2022.

[12] *Al-Ayyam* (PA), December 6, 2022.

[13] *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida* (PA), October 25, 2022. For another article by Rabbah in praise of "lone wolf" attacks, see MEMRI Inquiry & Analysis Series No. 1661 - Palestinian Authority Responds To Violence Wave In Two Conflicting Ways: Tries To Restrain West Bank Gunmen, While Also Encouraging Them And Inciting Terror – October 21, 2022

[14] *Al-Quds* (East Jerusalem), October 29, 2022.

[15] *Al-Ayyam* (PA), October 19, 2022. 'Abd Al-Ghani Salama, also a columnist for *Al-Ayyam*, published a series of articles on the Lions' Den militia, in which he stressed that the importance of this militia should not be exaggerated, since it is no substitute for the Palestinians national leadership and its actions are no substitute for the Palestinians' national struggle (*Al-Ayyam*, PA, October 26, 30, 2022, November 2, 2022).

[16] This is apparently a reference to various ultimatums the Palestinian leadership issued to Israel and the U.S. For examples see MEMRI reports: Inquiry & Analysis Series No. 1642 - Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud 'Abbas, Palestinian Officials, Threaten: If Biden Visit Fails To Meet Our Demands, We Will Take Decisions Against Israel, U.S. – July 11, 2022; Special Dispatch No. 9591 - Palestinian Public Figures, Journalists Criticize President 'Abbas' UN Speech: His Ultimatum To Israel Is Meaningless; He Must Immediately Step Down, Hold Elections – October 18, 2021.

[17] *Al-Ayyam* (PA), November 2, 2022. Both articles express positions Ashraf Al-'Ajrami has been voicing for years.