



Spotlight on Terrorism and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

November 18-25, 2025

Overview¹

- ▶ IDF forces continued operating in areas within the Yellow Line in the Gaza Strip to destroy tunnels and terrorist facilities, and eliminated terrorist operatives who posed a threat to the forces and those hiding in tunnels in Rafah. Following Hamas violations of the ceasefire agreement, senior operatives in Hamas' military wing were eliminated.
- ▶ Hamas and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) continued searching for the bodies of the three murdered hostages still in the Gaza Strip. A Hamas delegation arrived in Cairo for talks about [alleged] Israeli "violations" and to discuss the second stage of the ceasefire agreement.
- ▶ The Gaza Humanitarian Aid Foundation announced the termination of its activity after more than four months.
- ▶ A former officer in the Palestinian Authority security forces announced the establishment of a new militia in Khan Yunis which opposes Hamas, while Hamas continues to implement security and civilian governance in the areas under its control in Gaza.
- ▶ The European Union announced that it would assist in training thousands of Palestinian police officers in preparation for their deployment in the Gaza Strip.
- ▶ An Israeli civilian was killed in a combined vehicular ramming and stabbing attack at the Gush Etzion Junction; the two terrorists who carried out the attack were shot and killed. Israeli security forces continued counterterrorism activity in Judea and Samaria, eliminating two terrorists who killed a civilian and IDF soldiers and a terrorist who served in the Palestinian police; three others were detained.
- ▶ The Palestinian Authority prime minister said implementing the required reforms was expected to last about two and a half years, but most would be completed in the coming year. An investigation revealed that the Palestinian Authority continues paying the families of prisoners and terrorists who had been killed despite its public commitment to stop.

¹ Click <https://www.terrorism-info.org.il/en> to subscribe and receive the ITIC's daily updates as well as its other publications.

The Southern Front and the Ceasefire

The IDF in Gaza

► Gaza Strip, in accordance with the ceasefire agreement and the directives of the political echelon, and eliminated terrorists who crossed the Yellow Line and posed a threat (IDF spokesperson, November 17–24, 2025):

- ◆ The forces exposed the tunnel where Hamas held the body of Lieutenant Hadar Goldin, who was killed and abducted in Operation Protective Edge in 2014. It was more than 7 kilometers long (about 4.5 miles) and dug to a depth of about 25 meters, passing beneath a densely populated residential neighborhood, an UNRWA compound, mosques, clinics, kindergartens and schools. In addition, a launcher with four rockets aimed at Israeli territory and weapons were located.
- ◆ The forces operated against Hamas terrorist operatives hiding in tunnels in Rafah, eliminating 11 who emerged and detaining six others. In addition, hundreds of meters of underground routes were destroyed.
- ◆ In response to Hamas' violations of the ceasefire agreement, the forces attacked Hamas targets throughout the Strip, eliminating senior operatives of the movement's military wing, among them the head of the supplies and equipment department in Hamas' production headquarters and the head of Hamas' naval apparatus in Gaza.



Right: A Hamas terrorist operative who was eliminated after shooting at IDF forces behind the Yellow Line (IDF spokesperson, November 22, 2025). Left: Hamas terrorists who were detained after emerging from tunnels in Rafah (IDF spokesperson in Arabic, November 21, 2025)

► After the IDF attacks following ceasefire violations, Hamas denied the Israeli reports about shots fired at IDF forces and condemned the events in Gaza City and Khan Yunis, alleging they had killed more than 25 Gazans, including women and children. Hamas claimed since the

signing of the ceasefire agreement, more than 300 Gazans had been killed and demolitions continued (Hamas Telegram channel, November 19, 2025).

► " Hamas sources " claimed that IDF forces in the eastern areas of Gaza City changed the positions of the yellow concrete blocks that were meant to mark the Yellow Line, thereby expanding the area under IDF control by 300 meters (Hamas government media information office Telegram channel, November 20, 2025). Dozens of families in the al-Shuja'iyya and al-Tuffah neighborhoods were reportedly forced to leave the neighborhoods following the activity (aljazeera.net, November 20, 2025; Anadolu Agency, November 21, 2025). Hamas spokesperson Hazem Qassem accused Israel of "violating" the ceasefire agreement, adding that moving the blocks changed the agreed-on maps (Hamas Telegram channel, November 20, 2025).



A new yellow concrete block near the vegetable market in the al-Shuja'iyya neighborhood (Telegram channel of Hamza al-Masri, November 21, 2025)

The Ceasefire Agreement

► Hamas and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) renewed the searches for the bodies of the three murdered hostages still in the Strip, including in areas under Israeli control beyond the Yellow Line. " Hamas sources " claimed that the searches had become more complicated, however, they had located the site of one body in the al-Nuseirat area and were trying to reach it, and they were trying to locate the site of another body in the al-Zeitoun neighborhood in Gaza City. The site of the body of the third murdered hostage in the northern Strip has not yet been found, and it would allegedly be difficult to locate it soon since it is in an area destroyed by Israeli forces (al-Sharq al-Awsat, November 21, 2025). The PIJ's military wing later claimed that the body of one of the "enemy captives" was found in the central Gaza Strip (Jerusalem Brigades Telegram channel, November 24, 2025).

► Izzat al-Rishq, a member of the Hamas political bureau, denied a report that Hamas had informed the Americans that it was ending the ceasefire, and added that Hamas demanded that the mediators and the American administration intervene and force Israel to implement

the agreement (Telegram channel of Izzat al-Rishq, November 22, 2025). Senior Hamas figure Musa Abu Marzouq called the report "false," adding that Hamas was committed to the success of the agreement. Regarding the international stabilization force that is expected to operate in the Gaza Strip, he said that "it is out of the question that we would confront the force" (Al Jazeera, November 23, 2025).

► A Hamas delegation headed by Khaled Mashal, head of Hamas "abroad," and Khalil al-Hayya, head of the Hamas political bureau in the Gaza Strip, met in Cairo with Hassan Rashad, head of Egyptian General Intelligence. They discussed developments and the general situation in the Gaza Strip and the second stage of the ceasefire agreement. Hamas reportedly demanded that the mediators immediately deal with "violations" and prevent unilateral steps which could escalate the situation and threaten the stability of the agreement (Quds Feed Network, November 23, 2025). A "Hamas source" added that the meetings were also supposed to discuss arrangements and the establishment of an independent technocratic committee for managing the Strip (al-Sharq, November 24, 2025). Hamas spokesperson Hazem Qassem said that the presence of the delegation proved Hamas was doing everything required and was committed to cooperating with the mediators in preparation for the second stage of the ceasefire agreement (Al Jazeera, November 24, 2025).

The Gaza Strip

Entry of Humanitarian Aid into the Gaza Strip

► The Gaza Humanitarian Aid Foundation (GHF) announced it was ending its activity after nearly four and a half months, during which it distributed 187 million meals to Gazans at four distribution points. It reported that it had succeeded in showing that disciplined civilian humanitarian operations could achieve more than traditional aid systems, even under the most complex conditions, and that its activity had helped create conditions which enabled reaching the ceasefire agreement and the release of the hostages. It noted that the distribution was carried out safely, inclusively and without a single case of looting or unauthorized receipt (Gaza Humanitarian Foundation website, November 24, 2025). Hamas welcomed the end of the foundation's activity, which it called an "inhuman organization," and called for the foundation to be tried over the "deaths and injuries of thousands of residents" while they were waiting to receive aid (Hamas Telegram channel, November 24, 2025).

► In preparation for winter, the Egyptian Red Crescent, as part of the "Egypt to Gaza" program, sent a convoy of more than 220,000 food packages, more than 104,000 items of winter clothing,

about 17,000 blankets, 144 mattresses, more than 8,900 tents for housing wounded people, 2,800 tons of flour, more than 3,000 tons of medical and humanitarian equipment and about 1,200 tons of fuel (Telegram channel of journalist Mahmoud al-Louh, November 23, 2025).

The Situation in the Gaza Strip

► The Israeli Coordinator of Government Activities in the Territories (COGAT) reported that nearly 300 Gazans who required medical treatment and their escorts, and residents of the Strip with dual citizenship or a valid visa, left the Strip through the Kerem Shalom Crossing and crossed the Allenby Bridge to Jordan on their way to other countries. According to the statement, they exited after requests had been received from foreign governments and the UN, and all those leaving had been approved by the Israeli security establishment (COGAT X account, November 24, 2025).

► The Hamas public health system continued to complain about damage to medical institutions. The director of the pediatrics and maternity department at Nasser Medical Center, Dr. Ahmed al-Farra, said there were about 5,000 amputees in the Strip and no suitable rehabilitation centers for them. He called on international organizations to renew the supply of prosthetics to the Strip (al-Risalah Telegram channel, November 18, 2025). The head of the mental health training department in the Hamas ministry of health, Osama Imad, claimed the IDF had destroyed six mental health centers in the Strip (Telegram channel of Radio Alam, November 23, 2025). Munir al-Barsh, of the Hamas ministry of health, claimed that Israel was flooding the Strip with goods and "luxury products" but closing the crossings to essential equipment (Ramallah News Telegram channel, November 24, 2025).

► UNRWA reported that it continued its activity in the Gaza Strip, although since the outbreak of the war 380 agency employees had [allegedly] been killed and about 300 facilities, or about 90% of UNRWA facilities in the Gaza Strip, had been destroyed. The agency's spokesperson said it operated about 100 centers where there were about 80,000 displaced persons, provided remote education to about 300,000 students and treated about 15,000 patients a day (Shehab Agency, November 24, 2025).

Local Opposition to Hamas

► Shawqi Abu Nseira, formerly an officer in the Palestinian Authority (PA) security forces and who had been imprisoned in Israel, reported the establishment of an armed militia which would act against Hamas in eastern Khan Yunis (X account of Mustafa Asfour, November 22, 2025; X account of Yassin Izz al-Din, November 22, 2025). He said the militia had been

established to protect the people from Hamas' crimes after three PA intelligence officers were killed, and he publicly criticized Hamas' October 7, 2023 attack and massacre ("operation al-Aqsa Flood"). According to him, his group numbers more than 30 fighters, all of whom left their homes and families "after they became fed up with the movement's injustices and its oppression" (Jisr News, November 23, 2025). The Abu Nseira clan hastened to disavow his actions (Shehab Telegram channel, November 23, 2025). The Fatah spokesperson in the Strip, Munther al-Hayek, said Fatah had no connection to the people or groups involved in establishing armed gangs that commit crimes against the Palestinian people (alresala.net, November 23, 2025).



Right: Shawqi Abu Nseira, (Jisr News Telegram channel, November 23, 2025). Left: Abu Nseira addressing his fighters (X account of Mustafa Asfour, November 22, 2025).

► Ghassan al-Dahini, deputy commander of Yasser Abu Shabab's of Popular Forces militia in Rafah, which has Israeli support, instructed his men to act quickly and decisively against unauthorized armed "elements"² in accordance with international standards, to secure the area and prepare it for the absorption of additional families (Facebook page of the Popular Forces, November 18, 2025).

Security Governance

► The Sahm Unit of Hamas' interior ministry warned that shipments of cellular phones which arrived in the Gaza Strip might contain components that could be remotely activated, similar to Israel's pager attack against Hezbollah. According to reports, a phone exploded in a shop in the al-Nuseirat refugee camp and the remaining devices were confiscated. The channel recommended not purchasing new phones until an official clarification and the results of the security examination were published (Telegram channel of Sahm Unit 103, November 21, 2025). Subsequently, the Hamas ministry of the interior reported that there was no truth to the

² Terrorist operatives.

rumors about a mobile phone explosion in a shop in the central district of the Strip (Telegram channel of Hamas' interior and national security ministry, November 21, 2025).

Civil Governance

► ETA, (the Abdul Salam Yaseen Co.), a manufacturer of drinking water with the largest desalination facilities in the Gaza Strip, announced the closure of all of its desalination plants and the suspension of all activity and services until further notice, after a Hamas security force detained the company's operations manager, Muhammad Abu Ouda, inside the company's facility in Khan Yunis, without a judicial warrant and without any prior notice (Smart Index website, November 18, 2025). A day later, the company announced that it would resume activity after the issue of the detention had been fully resolved through mutual understanding of the relevant parties, and that the detention had "resulted from a misunderstanding" (ETA Facebook page, November 18, 2025).

► The Hamas ministry of economy reported that consumer protection teams had carried out 56 patrols and inspections in markets, stores and stalls in the Gaza district to ensure compliance with the set prices and prevent price hikes. Eighty cartons of frozen chicken and 260 kilograms of chicken breast were seized after they were sold at a price higher than permitted, and the violators were detained and transferred to the relevant authorities for legal action (Telegram channel of the ministry of economy, consumer protection unit, November 19, 2025).

► According to reports, the destruction of educational institutions in the Gaza and northern Strip districts encouraged many to invest in establishing private schools or renovating existing schools, due to the high demand among affluent families for frontal education, and given the absence of a clear and practical plan for comprehensive renewal of education at all levels. As a result, parents of poor students in Gaza called to unify the education system to ensure free education, because they could not afford the annual tuition fees, which range between 1,800 shekels (about \$550) and 4,000 shekels (about \$1,220), depending on the quality of the school and its location (al-Ayyam, November 23, 2025).

The Day After

► The European Union foreign minister, Kaja Kallas, stated that the two EU missions in the Palestinian arena, EUBAM and EUPOL COPPS,³ would train the Palestinian police forces who

³ EUBAM is the European Union mission to assist at the Rafah Crossing; EUPOL COPPS is the European Union mission to support the Palestinian police and the rule of law.

will be deployed in the Gaza Strip (X account of Kaja Kallas, November 20, 2025). The French foreign minister, Jean-Noel Barrot, said he supported training 3,000 Palestinian police officers by European forces and declared that France was prepared to deploy 100 French police officers to that end (X account of BFMTV channel, November 20, 2025).

► "Egyptian sources" reported that hundreds of Palestinian security personnel were ready for deploying to the Gaza Strip as agreed with the European police mission in Judea and Samaria, and they would play a central role in maintaining security and preventing a renewal of fighting. It was further stated that Egypt was expected to participate in the activity of the forces in the Strip to accelerate the transition to the second stage of the ceasefire agreement (al-Akhbar, November 21, 2025).

► Muhammad Mustafa, PA prime minister, met in Brussels with the president of the European Parliament, Roberta Metsola, and with the parliament's foreign affairs committee, and briefed them on the latest developments in the Palestinian arena. He expressed support for UN Security Council Resolution 2803 regarding the "day after" plan for the Gaza Strip and noted the authority's readiness to work with partners on its implementation. Mustafa reiterated the PA's position that it had a mandate over the Gaza Strip and Judea and Samaria as part of the framework of one rule, one government and one weapon, adding that reconstruction efforts had to be conducted under Palestinian leadership in accordance with the Arab plan, which had received international recognition (Wafa, November 20, 2025).



**The Palestinian prime minister in the European Parliament in Brussels
(Wafa, November 20, 2025)**

► Hussein al-Sheikh, PA deputy chairman, met in Ramallah with Tony Blair, the former prime minister of the United Kingdom, and with a representative of the United States government to discuss the "day after" in the Gaza Strip. They discussed the developments pertaining to

Security Council Resolution 2803 on the future of the Gaza Strip⁴ and the basic requirements for achieving the right to establish an independent state. Al-Sheikh praised the efforts of the United States and all the mediating countries in consolidating the ceasefire, supplying assistance to the Strip and renewing engagement in creating a path to a settlement and to stability (X account of Hussein al-Sheikh, November 23, 2025).



Al-Sheikh meets with Blair (X account of Hussein al-Sheikh, November 23, 2025)

► The PA government's operations room for dealing with emergency situations in the Gaza Strip reviewed the assistance plan for the social development sector in the Strip. The minister of social development, Samah Hamad, presented a three stage plan: immediate assistance, food, cash, shelter, psychological support and restoration of basic services; early recovery, empowerment of families, expansion of social protection, rehabilitation of service centers and operation of management systems; and building a stable social protection system as part of the rehabilitation stage. According to the ministry, the cost of the plan is estimated at \$3.73 billion (Wafa, November 24, 2025).

Hamas International Activity

► A Hamas delegation participated in a conference of the Pakistani organization Al-Jama'a al-Islamiyya in Lahore alongside representatives from various Islamic states. Khalil al-Hayya, head of Hamas' political bureau in the Gaza Strip, delivered a recorded speech in which he called on the Islamic nation, its scholars and "institutions of freedom" to support the "steadfastness" of the Palestinian people and to accelerate the reconstruction of the Strip. He also claimed that operation al-Aqsa Flood (the October 7, 2023 terrorist attack and massacre) was "a historic turning point that broke the Zionist narrative and opened the door to the unity

⁴ For further information, see the November 2025 ITIC report, [UN Security Council Resolution 2803 for the Future of the Gaza Strip – Positions of Power Actors](#)

of the nation," similar to the propaganda Hamas has been promoting since the ceasefire (Hamas Telegram channel, November 24, 2025).⁵

Hamas Terrorist Activity Abroad

► The Israeli Institute for Intelligence and Special Operations (Mossad) in cooperation with intelligence and law enforcement services in Europe, recently reported that Hamas terrorist networks planning to attack Israeli and Jewish targets had been revealed.⁶ According to reports, Muhammad Na'im, the son of senior Hamas figure Bassem Na'im, hid weapons in Vienna, and met with his father in Qatar around the time the activity was exposed. That raised the suspicion that the Hamas leadership was involved in promoting terrorism in Europe. It was also revealed that Hamas headquarters in Turkey might be involved in promoting plans to attack in Europe, and that a prominent operative in Hamas' terrorist facilities was detained in November 2025 after staying in Turkey (Israeli Prime Minister's Office spokesperson on behalf of the Mossad, November 19, 2025).



Right: A map of the Hamas terrorist network that was foiled. Left: Muhammad Na'im (Prime Minister's Office spokesperson on behalf of the Mossad, November 19, 2025)

Israel, Judea and Samaria

Terrorist Attacks

► **A combined vehicular ramming and stabbing attack at the Gush Etzion Junction:** On November 18, 2025, two Palestinian terrorists carried out a combined vehicular ramming and stabbing attack at the Gush Etzion Junction. One Israeli civilian was killed and three were wounded. An IDF force that arrived at the scene eliminated the two terrorists (IDF spokesperson, November 18, 2025). The PA ministry of health said the attackers were from

⁵ For further information, see the November 2025 ITIC report, [Hamas' Battle for Hearts and Minds after the Ceasefire Agreement in the Gaza Strip](#)

⁶ For further information, see the October 2025 ITIC report, [Arrest of Hamas Terrorist Cells in Europe: Hamas May Carry Out Attacks Abroad](#)

Hebron and Beit Ummar (Quds Agency, November 18, 2025). Hamas welcomed the attack (Hamas website, November 18, 2025).

Counterterrorism Activities

► Israeli security forces continued counterterrorism operations in various areas of Judea and Samaria in an effort to prevent escalation after the ceasefire in the Gaza Strip. The forces detained dozens of wanted persons and Palestinians suspected of terrorist activity, including at least 18 Hamas operatives, terrorists who planned to carry out attacks and Palestinians who threw Molotov cocktails; weapons and two lathes for manufacturing weapons were confiscated. The forces eliminated a terrorist operative who served in the Palestinian police and wounded an IDF soldier in the Nablus area, and detained three terrorist operatives who also served in the PA police. In an operation in Nablus, a terrorist who carried out a vehicular ramming attack in which two IDF soldiers were killed in May 2024 was eliminated, and in an operation in Jenin, a terrorist who carried out a stabbing attack in which an Israeli civilian was killed in August 2024 was eliminated (IDF spokesperson, November 18–25, 2025).

Friction between Palestinians and Settlers

► The PA foreign ministry condemned Israeli settler attacks in Judea and Samaria, which include assaults on civilians, arson and destruction of property. According to the Palestinians, their activities are part of a deliberate policy to sow fear and push for the "forcible transfer" of the population. The foreign ministry placed direct responsibility on the Israeli government, which it claimed encouraged the violence, and called on the UN Security Council to act immediately to establish an international protection force, grant the Palestinians legal and diplomatic protection and bring the perpetrators to justice (X account of the PA foreign ministry, November 22, 2025).

The Palestinian Authority (PA)

International Activity

► A Fatah delegation led by the deputy chairman of the movement, Mahmoud al-Aloul, and including the secretary of the PLO Executive Committee, Azzam al-Ahmed, met in Beijing with Zhai Jun, the Chinese government's special envoy to the Middle East. They discussed ways to strengthen the partnership between the PA and China, the latest political developments, foremost among them the efforts to stabilize the ceasefire in the Gaza Strip and the need to prevent its collapse "in view of Israel's [alleged] attempts to return to confrontation." Zhi Jun reiterated his country's support for Palestinian rights and its commitment to continue playing

an active role to end the humanitarian distress in the Gaza Strip and to advance a political solution based on ending Israeli control and establishing "an independent Palestinian state" (Wafa, November 19, 2025).

Implementing Reforms

► On the sidelines of the donors' conference in Brussels, Muhammad Mustafa, PA prime minister, said the PA government's time frame for implementing reforms was about two and a half years, while a large part was expected to be implemented in the coming year. He said the program had been presented to Arab and international partners to prove that the PA was not only committed to donor demands, but also to the will and needs of the local residents (Sada Agency, November 20, 2025). The European Union promised €88 million as assistance to the PA for the implementation of the reforms, in addition to €6 million previously promised (al-Akhbar, November 20, 2025).

► Mahmoud al-Habbash, advisor to the PA chairman for religious affairs, said the reforms were an ongoing and multi-system process, with administrative, financial, security and political aspects, and were not a one-time action. According to him, they did not want to blame the "occupation" for mistakes, and whatever fell within the PA's direct capabilities had to be done without delay, since it was a Palestinian interest and not only an international demand (Radio Alam, November 20, 2025).

► Despite the statements of the PA and its commitment to implementing the reforms and stopping payments to terrorists, a journalistic investigation found that the PA had established a new mechanism called the Palestinian National Economic Empowerment Institution, PNEEI, "an NGO in Ramallah," for distributing allowances, which in practice continues to transfer payments to prisoners and their families, to families of terrorists who were killed and to Hamas terrorists. The payments are carried out by falsely registering them as PA employees, as needy or as housing beneficiaries (Euronews, November 18, 2025).