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*[Portion redacted by the government]*

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful  
Islamic Committee of Palestine  
Second Annual Conference

Palestine, the Intifada and  
the Horizons of Islamic Resurgence

Chicago, Illinois, 22-25 December 1989/  
24-27 Jamadi Awwal, ? H

Fourth Symposium

Moderator: Dr. Sami Al-Arian

Dr. Khalil Al-Shikaki      Prof. Fahmi Huwaidi  
Walid Nuwahid              Dr. Bashir Nafi

**Mazen Al-Najjar:** Peace be upon you, and may God's blessings and salvation be upon you. Brothers and sisters, (UT). I hope everyone is faring well. The topic of tonight's symposium, God willing, will be "Recent Developments in the Palestinian Situation." Our guests for the symposium are His Eminence, Sheik Abd Al Aziz Awda; Prof. Walid Nuwaihidi; Prof. Fahmi Huwaidi; Dr. Bashir Nafi, and the symposium will be moderated, God willing, by brother Dr. Sami Al-Arian. Please come forward.

**Sami Al-Arian:** In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Praise be to God, Lord of Creation, and prayers and peace be upon our master, Mohammed, and all his family and Companions. Brothers and sisters, peace be upon you, and God's benediction and blessings. Tonight's symposium will consist of an open dialogue between the symposium moderator and the audience, on the one hand, and the brother panelists who are in front of you, on the other. The brother panelists facing us are: Sheik Abd Al Aziz Awda, former imam of Izzeldin Al-Qassam Mosque in the Gaza Strip, instructor in the College of Sharia', Islamic University, and the first to

be deported as a result of the blessed Intifada in April, 1987; Dr. Bashir Nafi, an Islamic Movement of Palestine intellectual who has published extensively;

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**Al-Arian:** The three areas of discussion - and in which dialogue will be, God willing and hopefully - friendly, respectful, advisory in nature, and low-key, are the Palestinian, Arab and international domains. The moderator will ask one of the brother panelists a question. Responses should not exceed five minutes, God willing. After that, the brothers will ask their questions in the same train-of-thought as the question, and not in a different direction. I would hope that the brothers cooperate in the manner indicated, that I do not feel compelled to interrupt them.

*[Portion redacted by the government]*

**Abd Al Aziz Awda:** When I contemplate the true date for the start of the Intifada, or the date for the beginning of the flare-up of this event, I perceive a date that is different from the date expounded in the official and non-official media, December 8, '87. It is an earlier date; specifically, October 6, '87. This I present to you for informational purposes only, and it must not be understood as a bias or partiality, if I may. In truth, December 8 was an important turning point for the Intifada, and an important phase in the bursting forth of this event. However, the true beginning of the Intifada was on October 6, '87, in the wake of the martyrdom of the mujahideen youth in the battle that came to be known as the "Al-Shuja'iyyah Battle."

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**Al-Arian:** (UI) certain operations carried out by the mujahideen, operations that (UI).

**Awda:** It is, as I have stated, from October '86 to October '87... Palestine witnessed a marked escalation in jihadist... Specifically, there occurred the stabbing operation which was executed

by a student from the Islamic University, a student who was studying sharia', who stabbed four Jews. He is now in prison, serving a life sentence. There was also the "Bab Al-Magharibah" operation, and an incomplete operation with significant indications, that being the operation executed by sister Itaf Illayan and Sulaiman Zihayl. Also, arrests took place in the Gaza Strip in the wake of operations executed in '84 by abiding Muslims. Of course, at this point there is an essential development in the matter. We acknowledge that Islamists were absent from the arena of jihad for a long while. This is not the time to examine the causes of that absence. But this was their return with an unflagging spirit, determined to do battle and to confront.... an important development. Then occurred the fleeing operation, executed by six mujahideen towards the middle of the fifth month of '87. This was followed by specific operations executed by these youth, one of the most important of which was the killing of the Military Police chief in Gaza. In other words, the events rekindled the spirit of hope and the spirit of self-confidence in the people. The common man came to believe that indeed, we are able to achieve a victory over this enemy; we are able to inflict defeat on him; we are able to inflict harm and injury on him. Then occurred the decisive event of October 6, '87, wherein four mujahideen were martyred after they had killed Victor Uruguan, the senior Israeli intelligence officer in the Gaza Strip. From that day on, Gaza has never quieted. From that day on, Gaza has never quieted. This was followed by the revenge operation in response to the martyrdom of the youth, which took place on 6 December in a Gaza plaza. This was followed by an event (UI) revenge for the Israeli settler who was killed in a Gaza plaza. This was the "Maktoura" operation of December 8, which spread the Intifada throughout the Gaza Strip and the West Bank.

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**UM:** In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Sheik Abd Al Aziz said that the "Islamic solution" was the annihilation of Israel, and the path to such was armed jihad. The question now is: Who readies these armies and provides them with arms, with the cognizance that, as Mr. Walid Nuwaihidi has stated, such armies already exist, armed and in numbers, in Islamic countries, but are now utilized for the protection of thrones and regimes? The regimes

extant in the facing countries - Jordan, Egypt and Syria - these regimes are the ones protecting this entity from the Muslims who want to break through and fight with weapons. These Islamic countries, (UI) the countries facing Israel, have recognized Israel, (UI) by their recognition of Israel. In my opinion, the solution to the problem of Palestine is the establishment of the Caliphate state which would be able to... it would have the fundamentals of a state.

Accordingly, such a state would be capable of readying armies that are currently in existence for entry into Palestine and the annihilation of the Jews. If any of the brothers has any dissenting opinion or method as a solution, I would hope that such a method, along with its foundations, is expounded... If the method is to be something other than the establishment of the Caliphate state and break through of the Muslim armies, rather than these armies be utilized to (UI) the Muslims themselves.

**Bashir Nafi:** The Palestinian people are in the diaspora. What are they to do, between now and the time the Caliphate state is established?

**UM:** Okay, brother... The Muslim state in Palestine... The Muslims do not suffer solely in Palestine. Indeed, Muslims suffer in all countries of the world. Why do we take Palestine as a problem, saying that we will find a solution that is such-and-such, other than the Caliphate state? The Muslims suffer everywhere. The Muslims suffer...

**Nafi:** Brother, brother, brother... If you will! I asked you a specific and simple question. There are Muslims in Egypt. I would agree that they work towards the establishment of the Muslim Caliphate in Egypt. And it were to be established in Egypt, we will pray to God, to Whom be ascribed all perfection and majesty, that Muslims everywhere join in. Muslims in Turkey should do this work. Muslims in Syria should do this work, etc., etc. What should the Muslims in Palestine do?

**UM:** (UI).

**Nafi:** The brother at the microphone?

**UM:** (UI) what should they (UI)?

**Nafi:** Yes. Should they wait until the Caliphate is established, and not bear weapons in the face of this atheist, oppressive, occupying enemy?

**UM:** Brother, this is a good idea, and I would not disagree! And I would not ask that...

**Nafi:** What do you mean, "good idea?" Is this a movie script? What do you mean by "good idea," brother?

**UM:** No, no. This is, this... If this was the answer or solution to this problem, God willing, then clarify it after I'm through. But if your answer is that they should bear arms, who is to bear the arms? Let's be practical; the conference will end tomorrow. We are asked to... Tomorrow, we will go home. What are we to do? We came here, we spoke and, God willing, we understood the problem and we understood the solution. Okay...

**Nafi:** If... if... if, if there's a problem, listen! Listen, listen if you will! If the problem, as far as you are concerned, is the problem of weapons... how would weapons reach the Occupied Territories, then meet me outside the conference... Meet me outside the conference, if you want to do this.

**UM:** Brother, the problem is...

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**Fawaz Abu Damra:** Now to our topic. Your brother, Fawaz Abu Damra. In point of fact, I would like to establish certain principles, from which to extrapolate my question. The first principle in which I believe, one that has as its point of departure God, the Great and Almighty's, words in the Holy Qur'an. The first principle is that terrorism, and terrorism alone, is the path to liberation. This has its point of departure God, the Great and Almighty's, words: "And make for them whatever you can of fighting men and horses, to terrify thereby the enemies of God and your enemy." The second principle is that "settlement is decided by the sword." That which finalizes the matter - struggle for the cause of Palestine - is the military solution. On this premise, I would say that the experience of the sheik, sheik of the mujahideen Abdallah Azzam, may God rest his soul in peace - is one that we should carefully scrutinize at this point. This being that he, verily, was able to gather all those who believed in jihad - not through (sic) the liberation of Palestine, but Afghanistan. Unfortunately, - perhaps I should not say "unfortunately" because it is also jihad - we have observed those who uphold and support this jihad, to the extent that hundred of young men, Muslims from every corner of the earth, have

sprung up, come to the region, sacrificed themselves and sold themselves to God, to Whom be ascribed all perfection and majesty. They martyred themselves, and their reward was Heaven, God willing. However, our struggle with the Israeli enemy is "a struggle from the heart," as depicted by Sheik Abd Al Aziz Awda, and it must proceed from Palestine. I say: Why don't we contact those young men who went to Afghanistan and ask them to open a breach to Palestine? By "breach," I don't mean that we open a door; rather, such would proceed from God, the Great and Almighty's, words: "Enter the gate and [fall upon them]; if you enter it you will be victorious." "Two men of those who feared [God] and whom God favored said: "Enter the gate and [fall upon them]."" It is imperative to fall upon the Israelites, who fear death. And, as also expressed by Sheik Abd Al Aziz Awda, if men who love death are to be found, then the problem is solved. We would like to transfer these young men, who love death, and there are many of them... I mean, the Palestinians in Afghanistan... to the borders, and establish (sic) military bases in Jordan, Egypt and everywhere else possible. This is our main principle, and this is my humble and simple conviction. I would hope that Sheik Abd Al Aziz Awda responds to it... it being the "military solution." Should we...?

**Al-Arian:** Understood, understood, understood!

**Abu Damra:** Should we continue to wager on the Intifada a stone (sic) - this being the weapon allowed by our enemy, including America - to the effect that: Heed not! Let the Children of the Stones continue to throw stones, while at the same time we urge our sons to suicide? Why don't other Muslims do something of a military nature to liberate them?

**Al-Arian:** [Your] question is understood, Sheik Fawaz.

**Abu Damra:** May God reward you.

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**Awda:** With respect to Sheik Fawaz's words, I would like to draw his attention to... I mean, "(UI) of fighting men and horses, to terrify thereby the enemies of God and your enemy." I mean, I don't believe that it is permissible to deduce from this Qur'anic verse that we are mongers to terror!... I mean..., and that we turn to the world and say, We are terrorists in accordance with

the text of the Qur'an! I mean... it is not permissible, under any circumstances, that... we undertake jihad against an enemy that has occupied our land. I believe that this has been basically approached within Islamic thought... I mean, is impiety - the atheism of the impious - the origin or the reason for combat, or is it the aggression of the impious? I mean, I would go along with those who believe the answer to be "the aggression of the impious." There are acts of aggression against us and we want these acts of aggression to stop. We categorically refuse the label of "terrorism" for those protective measure in which we have taken part.

**Abu Damra:** My intent was that, if what they mean by jihad is terrorism, then we are terrorists! At the political level, I was the first to... talk to the group.

**Awda:** Never mind... What is important is that we agree with the notion that brothers from Afghanistan and other places should come; that all Muslims head for Palestine.

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