

Hamas Leaflet During the First Intifada: No Peace with Israel

The following pages are declassified State Department cables during the [intifada](#) in 1988. At the time the leaders of the Palestinian uprising were said to be secular Arabs working under the umbrella of the Unified National Leadership of the Uprising (UNLU). The documents relate U.S. diplomats' views from Israel that Hamas has tried unsuccessfully to reconcile with the UNLU leadership.

While the UNLU distributed leaflets that called for negotiations with Israel based on the 1967 border. [Hamas](#), however, refused "to give up an atom of our beloved homeland." In the same Hamas leaflet (No. 30 dated October 5, 1988), the Palestinians are told: "The Jews killed the prophets. They killed the innocent. They imprisoned the pious. There shall be no peace with the killers."

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PAGE 01 JERUSA 03341 01 OF 04 111325Z
ACTION NEA-11

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01
IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00
PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 RP-10 USIE-00 SP-02
SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 DS-01 SCT-02 P-02 T-01
/086 W

-----075275 111338Z /47

O 111321Z OCT 88
FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3676
INFO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
AMEMBASSY AMMAN
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

[REDACTED] SECTION 01 OF 04 JERUSALEM 03341

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, KPAL, ASEC, IS
SUBJECT: HAMAS LEAFLET NO. 30

1. (U) SUMMARY AND COMMENT. HAMAS LEAFLET NO. 30, DATED OCTOBER 5, WAS DISTRIBUTED THROUGHOUT THE WEST BANK ON OCTOBER 7. (CONGEN TRANSLATION IS PROVIDED PARA 5.). IT CONTAINS A PLEA FOR UNITY, CALLS FOR THE LIBERATION OF ALL OF PALESTINE, AND URGES EFFORTS TO REOPEN THE SCHOOLS. THE PAMPHLET CALLS FOR GENERAL STRIKES ON OCTOBER 9, 14, AND 29.

*Hamas
leaflet - liberate
Palestine*

2. [REDACTED] HAMAS LEAFLET NO. 30 STRONGLY INDICATES THAT HAMAS AND THE SECULAR UNIFIED NATIONAL LEADERSHIP OF THE UPRISING (UNLU) HAVE NOT RECONCILED, DESPITE PERSISTENT RUMORS OF A HIGH LEVEL AGREEMENT. ALTHOUGH THE LEAFLET CALLS FOR "A COMPREHENSIVE UNITY OF ALL OUR PEOPLE,

*Disagreement
with UNLU*

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

PAGE 02 JERUSA 03341 01 OF 04 111325Z

IRRESPECTIVE OF THEIR NAMES OR LOCATIONS," IT ALSO REITERATES HAMAS' REFUSAL "TO GIVE UP AN ATOM OF OUR BELOVED HOMELAND." THIS REMAINS A FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCE WITH THE UNLU LEADERSHIP, WHICH IN LEAFLET NO. 26 HAD CALLED FOR

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NEGOTIATIONS BASED ON THE PRE-JUNE 1967 BORDERS.

3. UNLU LEAFLET NO. 27 WAS ISSUED OCTOBER 9, TWO DAYS AFTER THE HAMAS LEAFLET APPEARED. IT CALLS FOR GENERAL STRIKES ON OCTOBER 14, 19, AND 26. (OCTOBER 9 HAD BEEN DECLARED A STRIKE DAY IN LEAFLET NO. 26.) IT IS AS YET UNCLEAR WHETHER THE DISCREPANCY IN THE THIRD STRIKE DAY IS THE RESULT OF POOR COORDINATION OR REPRESENTS A RENEWED HAMAS CHALLENGE TO THE UNLU, THEREBY INDICATING THE BREAKDOWN OF THE AGREEMENT.

4. CONGEN CONTACTS HAVE EXPRESSED CONCERN AT THE DISCREPANCY IN STRIKE DATES.

B-1

S[REDACTED] SAID PEOPLE WERE "UPSET AND CONFUSED" BY THE DISCREPANCY IN THE STRIKE DATES. THE WAQF'S CHIEF ENGINEER [REDACTED] EXPRESSED HIS CONCERN THAT THE IMAMS AND PREACHERS IN THE MOSQUE COULD NO LONGER BE CONTROLLED BY THE WAQF, WHICH EMPLOYS THEM. HE SAID THE WAQF WAS UNHAPPY WITH THE RADICAL CONTENT OF MANY SERMONS, BUT WAS UNABLE TO DISCIPLINE THE PREACHERS INVOLVED FOR FEAR OF ALIENATING THE WORSHIPPERS.

B-1

5. THUS FAR, HOWEVER, MOST MUSLIMS REMAIN

[REDACTED]

Rise of Hamas

PAGE 03 JERUSA 03341 01 OF 04 111325Z

LOYAL TO THE SECULAR NATIONALIST LEADERSHIP. ALTHOUGH RADICAL IMAMS AND PREACHERS ARE BEING HEARD, AND HAMAS SEEMS TO BE MORE AGGRESSIVE, IT IS NOT YET A MAJOR CHALLENGE TO UNLU.

6. THE PROMINENCE GIVEN EDUCATION IN A HAMAS LEAFLET OTHERWISE LIGHT ON POLICY PRONOUNCEMENTS UNDERSCORES THE INCREASING CONCERN FELT BY WEST BANKERS AS THE SCHOOLS REMAIN CLOSED. ITS CALL TO "DEPRIVE THE ENEMY OF FINDING JUSTIFICATION FOR MORE CLOSURES" IS THE CLOSEST APPROACH YET TO URGING RESTRAINT IN THE SCHOOLS AS A WAY OF REOPENING THEM. THIS IS LIKELY TO STRIKE A RESPONSIVE CHORD AMONG PALESTINIAN PARENTS. END SUMMARY AND COMMENT.

7. (U) FOLLOWING IS CONGEN TRANSLATION OF HAMAS

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LEAFLET NO. 30.

BEGIN TEXT. IN THE NAME OF GOD THE MERCIFUL,
THE COMPASSIONATE

"THIS IS A STATEMENT OF WARNING TO THE PEOPLE"
(QUOTE FROM THE KORAN)
ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE MASSACRES IN QIBYA AND
KUF QASEM
(COMMENT. THESE ARE INCIDENTS FROM THE 1947-48
WAR. END COMMENT.)

*Harris promises
no peace with Jews*

THE JEWS KILLED THE PROPHETS. THEY KILLED THE
INNOCENT. THEY IMPRISONED THE PIOUS. THERE
SHALL BE NO PEACE WITH THE KILLERS.

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

PAGE 01 JERUSA 03341 02 OF 04 111329Z
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SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 DS-01 SCT-02 P-02 T-01
/086 W

-----075430 111338Z /47

O 111321Z OCT 88
FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3677
INFO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
AMEMBASSY AMMAN
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

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SECTION 02 OF 04 JERUSALEM 03341

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
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THANKS BE TO GOD WHO PUNISHES THE UNJUST AND HELPS THE OPPRESSED TO BE VICTORIOUS. PRAYERS AND PEACE BE UPON THE PROPHET MUHAMMAD AND ALL HIS FRIENDS, FOLLOWERS, THE MUJAHIDIN, UNTIL ETERNITY, AND UPON THOSE WHO FOUGHT AGAINST THE INFIDELS AND THEIR OPPRESSION UNTIL THEY SUBDUED THEM.

O STEADFAST PALESTINIANS: ALL INDICATIONS DEMONSTRATE THAT THE OPPRESSIVE ENEMY HAS LOST HIS NERVE BECAUSE OF THE CONTINUING BLESSED INTIFADA. THE ENEMY ESCALATED HIS WILD ATTACK AGAINST OUR BODIES AND OUR SOULS, AGAINST OUR INTEGRITY AND OUR MINDS, OUR FREEDOM AND OUR PROPERTY, BY USING ALL MEANS TO QUELL THE

*Hamas praises
intifada*

...

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

PAGE 02 JERUSA 03341 02 OF 04 111329Z

INTIFADA, SUCH AS:

- RAIDING TOWNS, CITIES, VILLAGES, AND CAMPS. THEY BESIEGE THEM, DEPRIVE THE RESIDENTS OF WATER, ELECTRICITY, AND CLOSE OFF THE ROADS LEADING TO THEM.
- THEY INVADE HOMES DAY AND NIGHT; THEY BEAT UP THE OLD, THE WOMEN, AND CHILDREN.
- THEY SURROUND AND SEARCH THE MOSQUES AND CONFISCATE LOUDSPEAKERS. THEY ARREST HUNDREDS OF PREACHERS, IMAMS, AND YOUTHS IN THE MOSQUES.
- THEY FORCE PEOPLE OUT OF THEIR HOMES AND GATHER THEM IN PUBLIC SQUARES. THEY USE UNCIVILIZED METHODS, WHICH ONLY THE UGLY JEWISH PEOPLE COULD PERFORM.
- THEY INCREASE THE NUMBER OF GAS BOMBS, MIXED WITH ALL SORTS OF CHEMICALS WHICH INFLICT DANGEROUS EFFECTS FOR A LONG TIME, WHILE ARAB COUNTRIES AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS STAND AS ONLOOKERS.
- THEY INTENSIFY THE SHOOTING LIVE AMMUNITION,

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RUBBER AND PLASTIC BULLETS. THE INJURED, THE MARTYRS, THE WOUNDED AND MAIMED ARE INCREASING. THE EYES OF SUCKLING CHILDREN HAVE NOT ESCAPED THE SHOOTING; SEVERAL HAVE LOST THEIR SIGHT.

- THE INTELLIGENCE AGENTS HARRASS, INTERROGATE, AND THREATEN OUR PEOPLE. THEY USE ARAB CARS, IN

PAGE 03 JERUSA 03341 02 OF 04 111329Z

SPITE OF THE OWNERS' OBJECTIONS, TO SUPERVISE THE ACTIVITIES OF YOUTHS AND SPY ON THE PEOPLE DAY AND NIGHT.

O PATIENT PEOPLE: AFTER TEN MONTHS OF INTIFADA, WHICH HAS SO TIRED THE ENEMY FINANCIALLY AND MORALLY THAT THEY HAVE DECLARED THAT THE INTIFADA HAD ACHIEVED WHAT ALL THE ARAB ARMIES TOGETHER COULD NOT DO IN THE PAST DECADES. OUR PEOPLE REMAIN STEADFAST, WITH GOD'S GRACE, SACRIFICING MARTYRS, WOUNDED, DETAINED, AND MAIMED.

THE COMMEMORATION OF KHAIBAR DAY, ANNOUNCED BY HAMAS MOVEMENT, WAS HELD ON SEPTEMBER 26 AS A DAY OF COMPREHENSIVE CHALLENGES AND CONFRONTATION. IT WAS THE BEST EVIDENCE THAT OUR PEOPLE REJECT OCCUPATION. THERE WAS A RECORD NUMBER OF INCIDENTS, MARTYRS, AND WOUNDED ON THAT DAY.

Khaibar Day

WE SALUTE THE PEOPLE IN THE VILLAGES, CAMPS, AND CITIES FOR THEIR PATIENCE AND GREAT EFFORTS, AS WELL AS THEIR OUTSTANDING GIVING AND THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST THE CRUEL OCCUPATION. "WHATEVER THEY INFLICT ON THE ENEMY IS REGISTERED BY GOD AS A GOOD DEED IN THEIR FAVOR. (QUOTE FROM THE KORAN)

O PEOPLE OF INTEGRITY: THE JEWS AND THEIR AGENTS SPREAD RUMORS ATTEMPTING TO SPLIT THE LINES AND PROMOTE DIVISION, BUT HAMAS HAS COME TO COMPETE WITH THESE PARTIES AND ACTS AS THEIR ALTERNATIVE. WE HAVE A SOLID REPLY TO THESE POISONOUS RUMORS AND CALL ON THE PEOPLE TO READ

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PAGE 01 JERUSA 03341 03 OF 04 111331Z
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[REDACTED] SECTION 03 OF 04 JERUSALEM 03341

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THE COVENANT OF THE ISLAMIC RESISTANCE MOVEMENT
(HAMAS) SO THEY CAN SEE ITS AIMS FOR
THEMSELVES. LET THE CHALLENGE BE TO THE ENEMY,
TO HURT IT AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE. WE REITERATE
THAT BY UNITY OF THE LINES WE CAN AVOID A
SPLIT. WE WILL SUPPORT EVERYONE WHO ACTS
SINCERELY TO LIBERATE PALESTINE, ALL OF
PALESTINE, BUT WE REFUSE TO GIVE UP AN ATOM OF
OUR BELOVED HOMELEAND, WHICH HAS BEEN KNEADED
WITH THE BLOOD OF THE PROPHET'S COMPANIONS AND
FOLLOWERS. WE EMPHASIZE THAT WE WILL NOT
DEVIATE FROM OUR PATH OF COMBATING OCCUPATION
AND WE SHALL CONTINUE CONFIDENT IN GOD'S
OMNIPOTENCE. WE RELY ON THE SUPPORT OF EVERY
TRUE MUSLIM IN THE WORLD. THESE ARE OUR

*Hammas
leaflet -
Contd.*

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

PAGE 02 JERUSA 03341 03 OF 04 111331Z

PRECEPTS, WE ARE CONFIDENT OF VICTORY, WITH
GOD'S WILL. "GOD IS VERY CAPABLE" (QUOTE FROM
THE KORAN) WE AIM AT INTEGRITY, KNEADED WITH
BLOOD.

DEAR PEOPLE: AS THE VALIANT INTIFADA CONTINUES
WITH ESCALATING NUMBERS OF SACRIFICES, YOUR
MOVEMENT, HAMAS, URGES YOU TO ADHERE TO THE

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*** Current Classification * [REDACTED]
*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

EXCISE

<<<**** OASYS DOCUMENT HEADER ****>>>

DOC_NBR= 88JERUSA03341

FILM= D880903-0324

DATE= 11 OCT 88

TYPE= TE

FROM= JERUSALEM

DRAFTER= n/a

OFFICE= ACTION NEA

TO= STATE
TEL AVIV

CHANNEL= n/a

ORIGHAND= n/a

ORIGPHAND= n/a

ORIGCLASS [REDACTED]

ORIGPCLASS= n/a

EO= OA

SUBJECT= HAMAS LEAFLET NO. 30

REFERENCE= n/a

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

ENCLOSURE= n/a

LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= PUBLICATION, PALESTINIANS, ALLEGATION, RECONCILIATION, AGREEMENT
DRAFT, SECURITY

TAGS= KPAL, PREL, ASEC, IS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

IS/FPC/CDR

FEB 12 1997
Date:

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 EXCISE
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FOIA Exemptions _____
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TS authority to:
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 DOWNGRADE TS to B or

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THE COUNTRY AND TO THE WORLD PUBLIC OPINION AND TO ALL ITS SOCIETIES AND ORGANIZATIONS, DEMANDING THEM TO INTERVENE AND LIFT OFF THIS POLICY OF KEEPING THE PEOPLE IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES IGNORANT. THE COUNCIL HOPES THAT ALL THE BENEVOLENT FORCES EVERYWHERE WILL POOL THEIR EFFORTS AND LIFT OFF THIS GREAT INJUSTICE. WE PLACE ALL THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE NON-IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS HUMANITARIAN DUTY ON THE WHOLE WORLD. HISTORY WILL REORD THIS AND WOE TO THOSE WHO WILL NOT ACT. WOE TO THE UNJUST FROM THE JUDGEMENT OF HISTORY AND THE CURSE OF THE GENERATIONS.

*Petition
Centel.*

SIGNED BY SHEIKH SAAD EDDIN EL ALAMI
PRESIDENT OF THE SUPREME ISLAMIC COUNCIL
END TEXT.
WILCOX

[REDACTED]

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

*** Current Classification *** [REDACTED]

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