

HOLY LAND FOUNDATION
FOR RELIEF AND DEVELOPMENT

Exhibit 28

Date: Oct. 1, '93

Omar LNU to UM¹ - Room 307:

Omar identified himself by his first name, gave his telephone number and asked UM to call him

Omar LNU to Haitham LNU:

Omar mentioned he has been trying to reach Haitham but was getting a busy signal. Haitham replied all the youth are calling him to inquire about the program.

Omar mentioned he was stuck with Sheikh Muhouvam

They discussed the food arrangements and mentioned that Hassan is supposed to cover food expenses. ~~However, Hassan changed his mind and will not pay for it.~~

~~Haitham mentioned the number of those who arrived is 17 and only New Jersey people didn't arrive.~~

Date: 10/1/93:

No activities on this tape.

Date: 10/1/93:

Omar mentioned that people from Canada and New Jersey are coming by vans.

Haitham said Shukri and Abdula-Jabbar are staying in Room 345, and Abu-Bassim and Ghassan El-Ashri are staying with me.

Date: 10/1/93:

There is no recording on this tape.

Date: 10/1/93:

Attendance include Abu Aymon, Abu-Muhamed and unknown others.

UM explained that we have to tell him that nothing secret goes on, even on the phones without our knowledge; specially if involves any one who works for us.

¹FBI note: UM = Unidentified Male

UM ment: ed we are the ones who founded the call 17 years ago.

The end of the tape.

Date: 10/5/93: LS Analysis:

The following information and analysis are based on listening, live, to approximately 16 hours meetings which took place in Philadelphia during the period from October 1, 1993 to Sunday October 3, 1993. There were 25 in attendance. Mostly arrived in Philadelphia on the night of Friday October 1, 1993. The participants came from Oxford, Mississippi, New Jersey, Canada, Washington, Virginia and other parts of the country. They had 4 sessions. Each lasted on average of 4 hours. They read a number of position papers - some brief and some detailed, discussed it in great length, reached conclusions, voted on these conclusions and promised follow up.

All the participants without exception are Muslim fundamentalists. They believe on in Islamic solution to the Palestinian-Israel problem. They believe, the problem is not the land of Palestine, not Jerusalem, but it is more than that. They believe that the Palestinian cause is only a small part of the Islamic cause. They believe that somehow, their cause are connected with the Islamists causes in Egypt, Algeria and Tunisia. They believe that the trust of the new world order which was promoted by the Bush administration is to destroy Islam.

During their approximate 16 hours meetings they were very cautious not mentioning the word " Hamas." In fact, it was mentioned only two times. One of the two times was a mistake. One of the speakers referred to his group by the name Hamas than corrected himself and said the Movement. The second time came when they mentioned an article about Hamas and their comment was this that the writer said not what we said. At one point a speaker said the whole world is against Hamas and every body laughed. I have no doubt that all attendees of this meeting are Hamas members, active ones, support Hamas, follow Hamas line. All these people are very religious, very articulate, and very educated. They know their legal rights in this country as well as the limits. At one point they discussed consulting a lawyer to tell them what is legal and what is not legal. They mentioned they were restrained by the American laws and regulations. They know that Hamas is designated as a terrorist organization and know what that entails. They mentioned that they, according to American laws, should not engage in illegal activities, and should not receive/obey instructions from foreign powers. A question that was raised several times during these meetings relating to the future activities in the United States. The question was do we need to have confrontation on the American theater and by confrontation they meant, confrontation between their forces in this country and Fatah future forces in this country, not a confrontation with the American government and American people.

The simple words, "this country is too important for them to lose. They believe that once the self rule was established in Gaza Strip and Jericho, Fatah presence in this country will increase. Fatah will open diplomatic, or official offices in this Country; will establish institutions and organizations in America to achieve their political goals and to collect funds, therefore, it will be directly competing with them and they have to be prepared for this situation.

Three issues they focused on in these meetings which included the following:

First: The financial aspects. They have a fund raising organization named Al-Aqsa Fund. This is an American non for profit organization that should adhere to American laws; the laws under which they registered and their own by-laws. Their very major function is to raise funds from this country, send these funds to the holy land, that is Gaza Strip and the West Bank. These funds are spent on charitable objectives, health services, social services and educational services it includes hospitals, orphan houses, universities, schools and extra. Some of the money go to the poor, the needy and the refugee camps. All the projects they fund without exception are Islamic ones that advocate Islamic line, Islamic ideology and look at the Palestinian Israel conflicts with an Islamic eyes. Some of the money collected in this country, a very small percentage is spent here; on the Islamic Palestinian community. The Fund activities in this country, as they see it will face tremendous problems. They have to be prepared for first, Fatah will compete with them, and even may try to take over their organizations. Fatah may insist on centralizing fund raising activities and direct the money collected to other projects that are non Islamic. Fatah may desire laws and regulations that may make life difficult for these institutions in the home land.

In addition to all the above problems, the contributors will ask them what do they need the contributions for, the problem has been solved and the countries are taking care of the Palestinian people in the Occupied and non Occupied Territories. They also discussed the future allocations of contributions. They don't, in the future, want to contribute funds to certain activities that will enhance economic position of the self rule administration such as the needy, the poor, the refugees, the camps and the like, let the self rule administration take care of that. The objective is to weaken the self rule administration, not to strengthen it. Therefore the funds should be directed towards the Islamic projects that follow, enhance, promote the Islamic cause such as Islamic universities and Islamic schools. At one point it was mentioned that an organization collected two million and seventy thousand dollars. A fund raising organization, an Islamic organization, in Canada collected \$214,000 in six months, ending June 1993. It was also mentioned, they, in Canada collected \$167,000 during the year of 1992. Another Islamic organization (probably the Holy Land Fund) collected \$189,000.

They discussed in great details : ways and means by which they increase their future contributions.

They mentioned that the main contributors are the Palestinians, Indians and Pakistanis. Other Arabs, such as the Egyptians, Syrians, are not really contributors. They want to widen this target population and at least maintain their current level. They said they will arrange for fairs in this country to collect contributions. They will establish ties with other Islamic organizations in this country. They will bring guest speakers both from this country and from the holy land to speak at their mosques, in the Islamic centers to collect contributions. They will sharpen the methods in collecting contributions.

At some point they discussed the issue of how much should be spent here, in USA and how much they should send to the home land in the final analysis they have to adhere to this by-laws, the American laws. Since they are non for profit organization. But it was stated clearly that the role is to assist the people in the home land. The only justification of spending any money in the United States is if it contribute to strengthening their position here which will lead to more contributions to the home land. They are spending 25% of the contributions here and 75% over there may be proper. They also mentioned that there are other Arabic/Muslim organizations in this country, such as the ADC, which provide services to the Arabic/Islamic communities and there is no point in duplicating their efforts.

It was also mentioned that in their efforts those in the home land need their support.

At other point it was mentioned that the "Movement" is in a very difficult situation and needs any support it can get.

It was also mentioned they need to provide some services to the population in the home land.

They also encouraged more fund raising activities in Canada. They talked about opening an Al-Aqsa Fund office in Canada. It was mentioned that an application to open such an office was submitted to the Canadian government three times and isn't approved yet.

Since this is a genuine fear that the self rule administration will try to encroach, confiscate or take over Islamic institutions in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. It was suggested to tie these institutions legally with American institutions and organizations to make it difficult for the self rule administration to absorb it.

Second: The Islamic Union of Palestine² This Union is an American non for profit organization; organized and incorporate under the American laws. Its functions are political. It advocate the Palestinian cause and follow the Islamists line. Its functions include explaining to the American people, American news media and American organization, the Palestinian cause. In performing its activities, it organize marches, demonstration, hold conferences and meetings like the one in Philadelphia, contact American news media, including TV states and newspaper. It's target population include the Islamic, Arabic and Palestinian communities. Among its target also in the Arab and Muslim organizations in North America such as ESNA, MAYA, and ADC. It also communicate its activities to the leadership in the Occupied Territories and the Islamic institutions in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Is has a loose relationship with the Aqsa Fund organization. The source of funding of the Union may come from contributions or from the Aqsa Fund.

However, this point isn't clear and for legal reasons, the Union is eager to distance itself from the Fund. It has be suggested during those meetings to strengthen the ties between the Union and the Fund but the suggestion wasn't actually discussed. Both the Union and the Funds don't want the non for profit status be affected and they fear if any associations was made it will effect their legal status. They mentioned that during the past few years, when the relationship between the United States government and Fatah organization deteriorated the United States government closed the Fatah offices in this country. In contrast, because they were careful to follow the American laws and not violate it they were able to function all these years without interruption. In their eyes, this is a major achievement they should retain.

Part of their activities including bringing guest speakers from the homeland and the Middle Eastern countries and arrange tours for them in the United States to promote their Palestinian Islamic cause and collect contributions. They _____ those guest speakers to mosques, Islamic centers, and Islamic organizations in this country.

In addition, they obtain information from the Occupied Territories and disseminate it among the Islamic and non Islamic groups and organizations in this country. In addition they provide advise and information to the leadership in the Occupied Territories.

At the present time they face a dilemma in this country. And this is why they hold this meeting. A peace accord between the PLO and Israel was signed with the approval and blessing of the USA government. The Arab and Muslim countries, and the international community. This situation places them in a difficult position in USA. Should they declare they are against peace and antagonize the American government and American people; and

²FBI analysis indicates the Islamic Union of Palestine is also known as the Islamic Association For Palestine (IAP).

the American media. Are they ready to create energy in this country. What cause of action they should follow. They realize, they will be irrelevant and non effective if they followed this course of the action. They will be discredited _____ ineffective and will not serve the interest of the Movement.

In order to surmount this problem, a number of participants suggested the establishment of another organization that has much less Islamic appearance to deal with _____ the Americans and Fatah leadership. Although this suggestion was presented by a number of participants it was shot down and defeated, by what may be called Islamic hardliners who were present in the meeting.

The rationale is that we are Islamists, and this is our Koran, our ideology, our policy and our goals. We, in fact, is not a political organization but we are mainly a religious one. Our goals and our cause is based on Islamic religion and not political considerations. If we tone down our image and position we are betraying our position and our goals are lost.

A watered down suggestion was made. And that is, to establish an office within the Union with the purpose of interfacing with the American people, American news media and American organizations. The objective of this office is to explain to these infidels the Palestinian problem in such a way not to alienate them and win their support. If we told them we don't accept 1967 or 1948 borders, and we oppose the peace accord they will label us as terrorists. And we don't want this. We want to

(Note: this page only partially present)

_____ from our presence in this _____ they said
_____ of one position paper _____ during the meeting was
_____ coordination between Americans. _____ the inside (the
Occupied Territories) _____ idea of the paper is to form _____
public opinion, and not let _____ public opinion influence us.
_____ The PLO/Israel peace accord. _____ goal of
Philadelphia meeting is _____ the current events, how they
_____ affect their activities in the _____ States, and how to
adjust and _____ This new situation. This _____ stated several
times during _____ meeting. _____ issue of the meetings is that
_____ Movement completely oppose the peace _____ and the
issue to be discussed is _____ defeat the accord and frustrate
_____ implementation. _____ all is should be kept in _____
_____ struggle will continue. When _____ the participants
mentioned that _____ world is against us, he was _____ corrected.
Our enemy, it was said is clear, it is Arafat forces and Israel. However, they were cautious

not to identify themselves with the holy war. When one of the participants, listing the goals, included their support to the holy war they shot him down. It was indicated that their goals are in their minds and heart, but shouldn't be put down on papers. In other words, it shouldn't be mentioned in the minutes of the meeting that they support the holy war.

They discussed in great detail how to frustrate the efforts of the expected self rule administration in the Occupied Territories and during the discussions the following items were discussed in details.

They evaluated the Palestinian reactions to the accord. They talked about the celebrations the fairs, and the demonstrations that took place in the Occupied Territories, in support of the accord. But they said the accord came mainly from the teenagers and the elderly. This is because of the general ignorance of the accord and because they didn't read it, it was not explained to them. And they were jubilant to see the Palestinian flags rising in the home land. However, the youth, the educated, the Islamists and some other organizations members opposed the accord.

To change this situation, it was suggested to carry a campaign to explain the accord to these people and make them aware of its shortcomings. This campaign should be directed primarily towards those who will be affected negatively by the accord. Such as the refugees, who, under the accord will not be allowed to return to the homes and properties.

To enhance the awareness of the population the Union and the Fund should sponsor youth from inside to come to this country on scholarship to study law, political science, mass communication information and public relations. Those people will go back in the future and become the backbone of any Movement to liberate the land.

However, at one point in the meeting it was mentioned that they are not dealing with future long term plans, they are dealing with now, with the current events and how to confront it.

It was also mentioned that the peace accord in any way, is fragile. This is because Israel is not sincere, it shouldn't be trusted and will not actually withdraw from the Occupied Territories which will make it easier for them.

It was also mentioned that PLO leadership should not be trusted. There is no way the Movement can deal with the PLO. The past history show they are corrupt; non Islamic, can't be trusted, don't trust any one, listens to no one. Therefore future dealings with the PLO is impossible.

They discussed at great length the strategy of how to frustrate and defeat the peace accord. They shouldn't say they are against peace. In order to defeat the peace process they have to

discredit the PLO leadership. They should show the Palestinian how the leadership is corrupt, are dictators. They should, show that they signed the accord without taking the vote of the Palestinians.

In addition they will press the human rights issue. This is because the human rights issue is a hot issue now a days. They should show the Palestinian people, the American people, and the international community, how the Palestinian human rights are violated by both the Israelis and the self rule administration. They mentioned that the method used by Omar Abdul-Rahman to spread the Islamic call was wrong, unsophisticated. It resulted in labeling him as a terrorist. And they shouldn't fall in the same situation.

They mentioned that they shouldn't wait for the events to take place and then respond to it. One of the things they can do now is to tell the Palestinian population that the Palestinian cause isn't a political one, but a religious and ideological one. Those who were offered, or will be offered compensation for their homes and properties shouldn't accept any compensation because this isn't Islamic. Therefor, taking compensation is an un-Islamic act.

They have to explain to the Palestinian population that to sign an accord with the infidels/enemy runs against Islamic laws. They discussed obtaining Fatwa's (Islamic Decrees) which prohibit the Palestinians from accepting compensations an which show that signing an accord with the infidels is unIslamic. They also mentioned that signing an agreement when all are under occupation is illegal under international laws.

They talked about mobilizing the masses both in the United States and in the Occupied Territories to defeat the accord.

They mentioned that the accord didn't change the situation very much. The Israeli armed forces will be every where with and without the approval of the self rule approval. The Palestinian police will have very limited authority and the occupation will continue.

They expressed fear from the future they said the PLO is bent on humiliating, harassing and destroying them. Some of the Fatah elements, in the Occupied Territories has already started threatening them.

They mentioned that for the Palestinians to live as a second class citizens in Israel is better than living under the dictatorship of Arafat.

They mentioned that one of the reasons Israel agreed to the accord is that they needed a third party, in this case, the PLO, to carry the _____ of dealing with the Islamists. And that is why Fatah is there to handle the Islamists. They like to call themselves Islamists.

They expressed their disappointment that the government of Sudan has endorsed the accord. They mentioned that the government of Iraq is the only government which didn't endorse the accord.

They mentioned that the accord was archived with the cooperation between Arafat group and the Israeli intelligence services.

They said the American and the Israelis are absorbing the Palestinian anger, desperation, revolution by raising the standards of living of the Palestinians. By infusing money and investments in the Occupied Territories. They mentioned the intention of building a port city, and an airport in Gaza strip to raise the standard of living of Gaza population. They considered those actions is a threat to their plans.

They mentioned that the failure of the self rule administration to solve the problems of the Palestinian population and providing the needed services to them will be detrimental to the peace accord.

Under the self rule administration human rights violations will be committed. However, it will be de-emphasized in the news media and will be treated as internal troubles they said.

They also mentioned that the Arab/Muslim community in America will be in bad situation if they opposed to the peace accord. They will be considered by the American government and population as terrorists or supporting terrorism.

It was also urged that the Islamists in this country should not shy in using their rights. In the final analysis they are American citizens and belong to American organization. They have every right to express their views ___ the way they find fit. Even they have the right to tell President Clinton that he did wrong when he endorsed the peace accord.

They mentioned that the Jewish organizations in the countries are trying to contain the Islamists and the Islamic organizations in this country. Some of the Jewish organizations invited prominent Muslims in this country to attend their meetings and have dialogue with them. Actually some of the accepted the invitations, participated in it and of course, found it fit to be conciliatory with the Jews. A Jewish organization invited one of the Muslims in Washington (the name was mentioned) to meet with of Shimon Perez, in Israel, Foreign Minister, in California. This man called us and informed us of the invitation and asked us if he should attend. We told him we, should not attend.

They mentioned not only Jerusalem is a holy land, in fact all of Palestine as a holy land. To defeat this accord we must undermine the trust between the self rule administration and the Palestinian population.

To defeat the accord we should make services available to the population, to provide financial support, to encourage investment in the Occupied Territories and the Union should lead the arabic/Islamic communities in America.

It was indicated a number of time that they approached ESNA and MAYA (North America Muslim organizations) to coordinate with them but these organization receive their approach with no interest.

A course of action to promote the Palestinian/Islamic cause, both in the United States and the Occupied Territories was summarized by one of the participants include the following:

1. Should advocate the idea that we are not opposing peace. We just want peace that is based on justice.
2. To raise the awareness of the population, we have to explain to it that the Islamic cause and the Palestinian cause is one cause.
3. To hold an Islamic conference in America to study the situation and make decisions about it.
4. To mobilize the educated students in the universities and increase political actions.
5. To contact the news media, disseminate information, distribute copies of the accord, make films, have a mobile Muslim videos, and write articles for the news papers.
6. Make investments in the Occupied Territories.
7. Arrange celebrations, marches, demonstrations, ____.

They discussed the idea of convening an Islamic conference and America. This conference should include Muslim scholars, Mosques Imams (preachers), directors of Islamic centers, prominent Muslim community lenders. The purpose of the conference is to discuss the Palestinian cause from the Islamic view point, and possibly issue Fatwa's (Islamic decrees) relating to the subject.

It was agreed to hold such a conference.

In the fourth session of those meetings the above issues were discussed, articulated, put in a form of motions, voted and accepted. It was also stipulated that the meetings decisions has to be implemented and follow up should take place. Those decisions included enlarging the role of the Union, open an office to interface with American people.

Abdul Haleem Ashqar:

Concerning our subject he was active not only during the meeting but even before the meeting. Although the meeting was sponsored by the Union and the Fund, and the cost of the meeting was paid for by the Fund, Ashqar was the one who made the contacts and the invitations. In fact Ashqar was the one who suggested the agenda and the objective of the meetings. He suggested the issues to be covered and communicated it to the participants. In fact he did almost every thing except paying the cost.

During the meeting he was very active. He read a position paper, relating the Movement activities in America and the Occupied Territories in the light of the current events. He participated in all discussions, expressed opinions.

Ashqar indicated that they should confront the situation and not avoid it. He said they should formulate a strategy to frustrate and defeat the peace accord. He mentioned that "we" as an Islamic Movement should defeat the accord.

As residents of American, he said, we should control and use our resources. We can't live with the accord. The Movement goal, he said, is to defeat the accord and benefit from it.

He advised to raise the issue of the human rights; that the accord is illegal under the international laws. He suggested that in order to defeat the accord the PLO leadership should be discredited. Their sins should be exposed, and their corruption should be shown to the Palestinian people.

The title of the paper he read in the meeting was "The coordination between America and the inside."

He criticized Sudan for endorsing the accord.

He said based on the accord, America will treat the freedom fighters as terrorists.

He mentioned that no one of the Islamic community in America want to visit the deportees. No one will visit the Islamic institutions in the Occupied Territories.

He indicated, with disapproval, that Israel treats the Palestinian Americans, who carry American passports, as they treat other Palestinians, and mentioned the case of Muhamed Salah.

He also indicated that activities to be performed in America should be legal and said activities in the future should be institutional activities as opposed to individuals activities.

He mentioned the effects of the Jewish lobby in USA and indicated that "our" activities in USA should be directed at helping "our" people in the home land and that emergency need should be met immediately.

At one point it was stated that it was a mistake to arrange for this meeting through the telephone lines and the selection of the meeting location involved elements of security.

An informal meeting:

The meeting was concluded on Sunday October 3, 1993 at 12:30. Some of the members left the conference room and some stayed.

Something like an informal meeting took place. Our subject Ashqar left before the official meeting ended.

~~During the informal meeting there was only one speaker. They called him Sheikh, and I suspect that his name is Sheikh Muhmud El Honouti. He is probably from New York, or New Jersey areas. He mentioned his travel to Pakistan and the Middle East. He described the support and the opposition to the accord. He talked for a while about Syria position. He indicated that, the fact Syria is against the accord. Arafat met Assad, the Syrian President, after signing the accord. It was a stormy meeting. The two men disagreed. However the Syrian president managed to say to Arafat, this is your (plural) cause and it is up to you. But the reality is Syria is against the accord.~~

Syria, in the eyes of the world, in any way isn't innocent. For Syria harbor some Palestinian organizations, such as the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Popular Front.

He also said Syria supports, or close its eyes, on The Party of God activities in Lebanon. Without the Syrian support The Party of God will be in a difficult position.

Sheikh gave the news re Syria position as good news for the meeting participants

Concerning Lebanon, the Sheikh said President Hariri is for normalizing the relations with Israel, however normalization with Israel will never materialize as long as Syria has influence over Lebanon and as long as The Party of God has any power there.

Going back to Syria, the Sheikh said Syrian position isn't about of love for Palestine and the Palestinian. Rather, is based on Syria national interest. The reason that Syria has any weight in the Middle East is because of its influence on Lebanon and the Palestinians. Once the Palestinians solve their problems with Israel, Syria will lose them as a national asset. This is why Syria will never approve the PLO/Israel accord.

Personal assessment

1. I believe that all participants in the meeting are Hamas members or at least Hamas supporters. Their major functions in this Country is to help Hamas, financially and politically.
2. They disguise under legality to achieve their goals and they will keep this legality status as long as it serve their, and Hamas, interests.
3. Their number in this Country, their influence, and infrastructure, is much larger than many people think and their danger or non danger to this Country depends on the future events.
4. Our subject, Abdul Holecem Ashqar, is a major member of Hamas organization, and all his time and efforts are dedicated to support Hamas politically and financially, both in USA and the Occupied Territories.

Note: I must emphasize that the above information re Philadelphia meeting, is based on live coverage. If the actual tapes are available, this summary will be more comprehensive and even more accurate. However, I believe that this summary reflects correctly and comprehensively what transpired during the meeting.

TRANSLATION

SESSION INFO: 93-10-02
SESSION ID MTGB_19931002_1

TIME: 0000 OCT. 2nd
PHILADELPHIA

SPEAKER #1: Shukri (LNU)
SPEAKER #2: Abdudsalam (UNU)

[This is the first session of the meeting in Philadelphia]

- They talked about the elections. They mentioned the Labor party spent two million shekels for its supporters and collaborators to stand against the Islamists. (It wasn't clear what elections they were talking about, but) they said the election results aren't known yet. However, they mentioned that "our brothers" are strong.
- They criticized ARAFAT's speech during one of his meetings, in which he described the Palestinian democracy as having "more sugar in the coffee." They criticized Mohammed ABBASS, and described ARAFAT and (Gamal Abdel) NASSER [LS: a former president of Egypt who died in Sept. 1970] as traitors.
- They mentioned that the Sudanese government supported the accord reached during the Arab Foreign Ministers' Summit that was held in Cairo. The Iraqi government was the only one that didn't support the accord.
- Abdelhalim ASHQAR said that the Guidance Office met with ARAFAT, and they came out neither supporting or opposing the accord.
- They mentioned the Americans deal with ARAFAT because he is a strong man, and everybody usually deals with those who are strong.
- They summarized a 13-page article that was written by an Israeli. The article said that now the Jews will give ARAFAT what he wants because he has become like King Hussein, a dictator. The article said the accord was not good for the Palestinians because there would be no elections and the Palestinians would fall under ARAFAT's dictatorship. The article also mentioned that the deportation of two Fundamentalists took place as a result of cooperation between Israeli intelligence and ARAFAT's organization.
- They mentioned that the meeting was sponsored by the Palestine Committee, and the objective was to study current developments and its impact on "our work in America."
- They mentioned their activities, fairs, started last week and would continue to the end of the year.
- They mentioned that the people are looking for new leadership, as Islamic leadership, after the collapse of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

- The meeting would consist of four sessions: three on Saturday and one on Sunday.
- The Saturday sessions would be from 10a to 1, 2p to 5p, and 7p to 11p. The Sunday session would be from 8a to 12 noon.
- The first session would deal with the general political situation and its impact on "our actions in America," the second session with Charitable activities in light of the new developments; the third, with political action/information/news media and public relations, and the fourth (on Sunday, October 3rd) would be used to discuss the above issues, articulate them and make decisions on them. Minutes would be taken on all the above activities.
- Speakers for the first session would include: Sheikh Sherif (LNU), brother Abdulsalam (UNU), Jawad (LNU) and Abu-Hasan (Abdelhalim ASHAR).
- Speakers for the second session would include: Osama (LNU), Muin (LNU) and Abu Bakr (NU).
- Speakers for the third session would include: Jawad (LNU), Abdulrahman (LNU), Ghassan (LNU), Saleh (LNU), Nihad (LNU) and Akram (LNU).
- Shukri (LNU) would chair the first session; Dr. Isam (LNU) would chair the second and third sessions.

-Shukri then began to speak, mentioning that two guests present had just arrived from the homeland [LS: Palestine]. Each of them would be given 10 minutes to address the meeting.

-The first guest (Abdulsalam, LNU) started by saying he had arrived here the day before yesterday. He had spent 5 weeks in the homeland [LS: probably Gaza Strip].

-He said Gaza, before the accord, was under self-rule. They didn't need the accord for self-rule. The army was there, and there were curfews. Most of the operations, he said, took place during the curfew hours.

-According to him, the economic situation was zero. All the services, including social, economic, housing, sewage, etc., were very, very bad.

[end of tape] (2 typed pages)

[Arabic]

1 - (S) A

document Name: ag01115b:nsv

Tape #1 - Conference Room

Date: 10/2/93: This is the first session of the conference.

They talked about the elections. They mentioned the Labor Party spent two million shekels on its supporters and collaborators to stand against the Islamists. It is not clear what elections. They are talking about but said the results of the elections aren't known yet. However they mentioned that "our Brothers are strong.

They criticized Arafat speech during one of his meeting when he described the Palestinian democracy to have "more sugar in the coffee." They criticized Mohamad Abass. They described Arafat and Nasser as traitors. (Nasser was the president of Egypt who died on Sept. 1970).

They mentioned that the Sudanese government supported the accord and the Iraqi government is the only one that didn't support the accord is the Iraqi government.

They mentioned the American deal with Arafat because Arafat is a strong man and everybody usually deal with the strong.

They summarized 13 pages article which was written by an Israeli. In the article the writer said now the terms will give Arafat what he wants because he has become like King Hussain, a dictator. The article says the accord is not good for the Palestinian, because there will be no elections and the Palestinians will fall under Arafat dictatorship. That article also mentioned the deportation of the Fundamentalists took place as a result of cooperation between the Israeli Intelligence and Arafat's organization.

They mentioned that the meeting is sponsored by the Palestine Committee and its objective is to study the current developments and its impact on "our work in America."

They mentioned their activities, fairs, has started last week and will continue until the end of the year.

They mentioned that people are looking for a new leadership. An Islamic leadership, after the collapse of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The meeting will consist of four sessions. Three on Saturday, and one on Sunday.

The Saturday sessions will be from 10 to 1, from 2 to 5, and from 7 to 11.

Sunday session will be from 8 to 12 noon.

The first session will deal with the general political situation and its impact on "our actions in America." The second session will deal with charitable activities in the light of the new developments.

The third session will deal with political action/information/news media and public relations.

The fourth session (on Sunday Oct. 3) will be used to discuss above issues, articulate them and make decisions on them.

Minutes will be taken at all above activities.

Speakers of the first session include: Sheikh Sharif, brother Abdul-Salam, Jawwad and Ashqar.

Speakers of the second session include Muin, Shukri, Abul Basim, and Ashqar.

The speakers of the third session include Gawwad, Abdul-Rahman, Ghasson, Saleh, Nihad, and Akram.

Shukri will chair the first session.

Dr. Isam will chair the second and third sessions.

Shukri then started to speak and mentioned that two present guests have just arrived from the homeland. Each one of them will be given 10 minutes to address the meeting.

First guest (Abdula-Salam) started by say he arrived here the day before yesterday. He spent 5 weeks in the homeland (probably Gaza).

He said Gaza, before the accord were self-ruled - they didn't need the accord to self rule themselves. The army was there and there were curfews. Most of the operations took place during the curfew hours, he said.

According to him, the Economic situation is zero. All the service, including social, economics, housing, sewage system etc. are very very bad.

The end of tape.

Tape 2 - Conference Room

Date: 10/2/93: This is the continuation of the meeting.

Abdul Salam continued to discuss the situation in the homeland. He said to quell the worries of the population rumors spread all over. They talked about establishing a very large post and an airport, and the unemployment will disappear. Only the teenagers (less than 15 years) and the very old support the accord. The cultured and the youth didn't support. The young are happy to see the Palestinian flags

and no one inquire about the real contents of the accord.

They also mentioned that allowing the Jews to leave Gaza is in fact a favor given to them.

The ladies and the supporters of Fatah are threatening whom they consider to be their enemies. This include the Islamists and the communists (PFLP)

A question arose in what we should do in these circumstances.

What we shouldn't do is to oppose the accord without explanation. People ask about the alternative. What can we do to improve the living conditions. The economic situation in Gaza is zero. There is no base for any economic development.

There are two kinds of populations in Gaza, those who live in the Camps and the original residents of Gaza. The first category forms 80% of the population. The original residents form only 20%. The camps are built on the original citizens properties. And now the issue of compensation has been raised - it will cause serious problems. The original residents didn't want the Palestinian problem to be solved at their expense. They consider the refugees as temporary guests.

We have to retain/keep our achievements. The Islamists shouldn't withdraw from the field. They should stop limiting their support to charitable purposes because this will enhance the self rule administration positions. They should devote their efforts to support their institutions. They have to continue the information on economic activities. They should build an economic foundation. That will help them in the future.

Some question were raised relating to the Palestinians reaction to the accord and Abdul-Salam gave them some information and some analysis. In general the supporters are prevailing at the present time, the deportees are forgotten, people don't have time to absorb the accord.

Concerning the assassinations in the homeland, it was described as an internal struggle within Hamas.

The deportees are appreciative for what the American residents are doing for them.

A present member intervened to instruct the present not to mention Hamas name explicitly. He referred to Hamas by the name Samah.

New speaker: Abu Usama. Abu Usama has just returned from the homeland and his speech relates to what happening over there after signing the accord. He was clear when he said the supporters of the accord among the Palestinians are more than the opposers.

A question was raised re how the population feels about Hamas. But UM (LS: unidentified

male) intervened again to remind them not to use Hamas name. They mentioned using the word "Movement."

He said to private talk of "our Brothers" over there is to keep quite at this stage. They live there, and they know what they should do under this circumstances. Their private talk now is about keeping it quite now. However, then public statements are the same, to oppose the accord.

Talking about the future police force he said they will not have much authorities, the police usually have. The Israeli security forces will continue to have the dominant role. They have the right to go any where in the territories, to pursue any one, and if the police force prevented them they will consider their position an obstacle to security. The Israelis are very clear about that.

New speaker: Gawwad LNU

Gawwad said the consequences of the accord will be far reaching. More than political impact. It will affect our supporters, our work, our institutions, our boys, our girls, our Masques, our policies, our strategies. It will affect our relations with our brothers in the other Arab countries and it will affect the entire region. What happening now in transitional, Fatah, the Americans and the Israelis are calculating their steps. The final situation has not crystalized yet. We should participate actively to influence the out come of the situation.

The end of the tape.

Tape 3 - Conference Room

Date: 10/2/93: This is a continuation of the meeting.

Then the situation was analyzed; and the populations were classified as follows:

1 - The Common uneducated people. They didn't need the accord. They don't know what it is all about. How can this kind of people support this Movement in its opposition to it. We have to educate them, explain to them and guide them.

2 - The Arab/Islamic community. This section of the population are affected by the public opinion/the news media, the propaganda. Some of them will listen to us. Some will listen to the others. They deal with the Palestinian leadership as they deal with the government in their countries. Those who were born or raised in this country are shaped by the public opinion. They are against violence. The American media has been used effectively to create this kind of environment.

3 - The third section consists of the cultured and educated people. Arabs and Muslims. This is a small section of the population. This is an effective section of the population whom we should target and win. They will be our tools and we can mold the situation if we can reach an understanding with them.

4 - The American people. Most of them n't even know where Palestine is. They support the accord. Because their news media supports the accord. They look at the Palestinian cause through the PLO eyes - except those cultured people within the American security. Those people we have to deal and interact with.

Some steps has to be taken. Our current financial policies. Methods and ways and rules should be changed inside the homeland. Arafat's people will interfere in everything. They will try to control everything. At the present time no Palestinian can go to Tunisia without permission from PLO. Until a short time ago no Palestinian was allowed into Yemen without permission from the PLO. Do you think they will allow funds to enter Palestine and distributed without their interference? Any funds that comes from America, Europe, Saudi Arabia, or from any where else will be control by them. They ~~may create a center that will receive these funds and then distribute in the way they want.~~ They will receive billions of dollars from the international community during the next 5 years. How much do you think Hamas will be able to collect. A million - 50 dollars, \$100 - is insignificant. That can't change anything.

What will happen is the political campaign for the Palestinian cause will discontinue. America used to call it the Israeli occupation. There were demands to implement international laws/Geneva agreement. Now there is no more occupation to condemn, there is an internal government. There is an understanding. There is no more suffering. Anything that happens will be called terrorism . . . how can you, in this environment, fight a holy war, you have to concentrate you focus on the human rights issue. You have to expose the ills of the self-rule administration. You have to say the Israelis are delaying, they aren't serious. These are the only options that we have now.

We have to support the resistance to the occupation. The resistance will continue to exist. As a matter of fact a final decision has been made to continue the struggle indefinitely, whatever the circumstance are. . . it will continue . . . even against the autonomy. This has to be backed by the Islamic public opinion in America. We also has to avoid being labeled as terrorists, or terrorism supporters.

This struggle inside Palestine is inevitable and infinite. The current position of the Islamic Movement is characterized by hesitation. You have to stand with the Islamists - but you have to do this as an American institution.

It is suggested to establish a reconciliation committee with members of American residents and members from the Occupied Territories. This committee to be activated when a confrontation occur.

Ashqar inquired why we magnify what they will do to us. Gawwad explained Ashqar's question. The question really is, are we suppose to base our strategy on what we assume they will do to us when they receive the authority. Is it in our interest to raise these issues in advance as a strategy? Will this benefit us.

The answer was we are not inventing this. First this was mentioned by the Israelis themselves. There is information that Abu-Ammar said he will erect the gallows for the Movement in Gaza. We aren't dealing with assumptions, but with facts. Their history, their dealing with us in the past tells us how they will deal with us in the future. They will become murderous animal. Even their doctors have criminal mentality. Confrontation with them is inevitable within a year after they form the self rule government. Therefore we have to options: 1. to secure our position within a year and prepare ourselves. They will do the same and more. During this year, the struggle will form the out come. If we prepare now we will contribute to the out come.

Ashqar said we should over come these events. We have to look for the next step and define our goals closely. What is our goal? Do we really object to the Israeli withdrawal from Gaza or Jericho. No, we want the Israelis to withdraw from all areas. Do we really object to economic improvements in the Occupied Territories. What is really our goal. What shall we do next?

~~The answer is to adhere to a strategy that can make the accord fail. It is not the point of withdrawing from Gaza and Jericho. But to destroy this attempt to disintegrate our alliances. The Arab/Islamic world should form a clear strategic line. I, as a Movement should evaluate my resources, my goals and for the strategy that can make me, with these resources, achieve these goals. The goals that you and I know. That is to make the accord fail. And based on our studies we can achieve that. However, how to achieve our goals is not the subject of this meeting. The objective is how can we act in the American theater.~~

Making the accord fail is not the goal of the Movement only, but the goal of the Islamic currents.

When I asked some one about the alternative he gave me two.

1 - He said target the Palestinian cause as a political cause. Talk about the Palestinian human rights. Don't raise any other issues. This one is enough. This will not deprive you from the right to struggle.

2 - Let the people under occupation deal and agree with the occupier, even if it is Gaza and Jericho, without you intervention. You don't have to do anything at all since holding an agreement under occupation isn't recognized by international laws. Your intervention gives these agreement a level of legitimacy. The whole thing now is about choice.

The real question is what should we do now.

Another speaker said that our work in the American theater is based on two points, to make the accord fail and to find an alternative.

Then they discussed how to make the accord fail. By emphasizing that Arafat group is a corrupt one, not a national authority. They are agents who don't defend Palestinian human rights, they become part

of the occupation authority, without saying we are against Israel's withdrawal from Gaza/Jericho, without saying we are against foreign money and investment – we have to make the self rule administration lose the trust of the people.

Abu-Rahman said the tool of the Movement is to defeat the accord. The principle of establishing an administration is unacceptable.

The American theater on the Arab, Islamic, general Americans level doesn't tolerate confrontation. We should strip the accord from its meaning without confrontation.

To the Palestinian people we should say yes, we need an administration to do so and so, and achieve so and so... but can this administration can actually do that.

To the Arabs and to Muslims we should raise the issue of the holy places and the like.

To Americans we should talk about the human rights.

On this American theater we can't talk about alternatives, the self rule administration discrediting individuals or institutions. In the present time, people aren't prepared to listen to this kind of talk.

End of this tape.

Tape 4 - Conference Room

Date: 10/2/93: Continuation of the meeting

Ashqar made the following presentation. The title of his paper is organizing the relationship between American (the Palestinian/Arab community in America) and the inside (the occupied lands). In addition based on my experience I would like to make comments on statements made by both Abu-Usama and brother Abdul-Salam, Ashqar said:

In Madrid conference people supported the conference, when the conference didn't produce any results people turned them back to it. Therefore, we shouldn't bet on people's attitude. We should shape the public opinion and shouldn't wait for the news media and events to shape it. The most important thing is that we should be strong, information wise, economically, politically... in some of these fields, we are weak. For example the entire world is against them (in the inside). Even those whom we hoped they will stand by us, became part of the conspiracy. Sudan, for example, in the Arab Foreign Ministries Conference, they supported the accord. No one dares to say no. Even the guidance office (This is the name of the leadership of the Muslim brotherhood in Egypt) they met Arafat.

To concentrate on informing the people not only through the papers and radio, but through the TV.

We have to understand the issue of the police force, who will be between 30,000 and 50,000. It mainly consists of Fatah people who spent some time in jail. They are trained to worship Abu-Ammar and hate the Islamists. Even more than the Jews - the Islamic Movement is their enemy number one. This opinion is based on experience. Those people are uneducated, they are the one who will be implementing the goals of the accord.

The problem is that even the returnees from deportation has no effect on the people. No one has effect on the people. Those from Ramallah/Jerusalem area hasn't returned. I don't think we will be able to adjust to the self rule stage.

It has been said that events move us, that we have no strength. Who started the uprising, who is guiding the uprising until now. The united leadership role is limited to issuing the announcements. They don't even distribute it. It is broadcasted through Monte Carlo Broadcasting System. Since the beginning of the uprising the Islamists are the one who is directing it effectively.

I wrote about rearranging the relationship between the American and the inside for a number of reasons.

1 - Muhamed Salah incident proved that inside the occupied lands, the American passport/American citizenship means nothing. They are treated like all other nationalities. It is needed to be more cautious in the inside more than when you are in America.

The signing of the peace accord ended the legitimacy of resisting the Israeli occupation. In the past America didn't condemn operations against the military targets. **After the peace accord any operations will be considered acts of terrorism.** When the Israeli weren't able to encounter the opposition (resistance) they brought some one else to do the job in their behalf to stand in their side against the opposition (the resistance). And the same thing will take place in the future if they fail to contain the opposition. They will ask someone else to eliminate the remaining pockets of resistance, where ever it may exist. We have many institutions that support actions in the inside. Since December no one from here went to visit the deportees because we don't have resources to do that. No one from America went to visit the families of the martyrs, the prisoners, the injured in the hospitals. Such visits has great effect on their morals, but no one does it. In addition, they, in the inside, do not have the capabilities to receive official delegations.

What the inside need from America include the following:

1. Charitable activities. The future of the institutions isn't known. We need to support the families of the martyrs. This efforts has to continue.

2. Studies of the graduate level is important. We need people to control the institutions, and who form a political force for our brothers in the inside. Because the coming administration will close the news papers, magazines. We have institutions and announcements that can be issued in America, this way it will be difficult for the coming authority to prohibit from entering (the homeland). If they confiscate the news that are published in the inside they can't prevent the American magazines from entering. Even if they tried to do that you can raise the issue with the Americans. Some times the inside make research to be made for them, and some times they request this information. We have to be able to do such things. Examples, studies re Zionist Movement, the Zionist lobby in America extra.

Issues we have to adopt include the human rights, we have to strengthen our relations with the human rights organizations. We have to raise issues - such as Sheilkh Ahmad (Yasin) case . . were it raised in the American circles. Same people who were arrested were injured before their arrest and didn't receive medical treatment _____ the arrest. This subject could be raised.

Such things will take place as a result of future events, we should be able to raise those issues in America.

Sending official delegations to the homeland will be very important particularly during the coming phase. You have to make the people inside feel they aren't alone. That they have extensions - delegations to be sent for the purpose of providing moral support. For information purposes, also suggest keeping a record system so we don't start from scratch every time we do something.

Investment: We need to encourage investment during the coming period; to get dividend and to employ the unemployed youth.

Further relations can be summarized as follows:

1. Legality of action: We shouldn't get involved in any work that isn't legal; this is because of the negative probable consequences - I don't think we work behind the eyes of the people (he meant our actions are watched by the American authorities.) They have the ability to know everything we do. Therefore, every thing we do should be legal.
2. To avoid troubles, relations should only be between institutions.
3. Continuation; our actions should continue with greater vigor.

End of Ashqar's presentation

There were some questions/comments relating to Ashqar's presentation.

There are the organizations in the American theater that do same functions - in the same time of

increasing our efforts, our relations with these other organizations, in America, should be studied and strengthened.

Concerning security matters it was said at the present time you are opposing the whole world. All the world is against you and you must expect legal troubles . . . years ago we said Oh Brothers, in the day when Sister Samah (He meant Hamas. This entire statement are made in code.) Get divorced, and every body discard her, and say about her she is a terrorist. They said this will never happen. America is a country of laws and constitutions and this is what happened - you are trying to get her married again; will you really continue to be respected in the eyes of the law, or there will be another talk. I beg of you O Brothers to think about this issue.

LS comment: The meaning of the above relates to the fact that Hamas was considered a legal organization in the past. At present Hamas is classified as a terrorist organization by the American authorities and therefore, they should be careful in functioning in this country so they will not be treated as terrorist which will jeopardize their efforts in this country.

Abu-Muhamed has a comment to make. He said we, at the present time spend 75% of our efforts providing assistance and services to the inside and 25% of the efforts spent on the community here. Should we do the opposite. Should our work focus on the community here. Should we work to enlarge and strengthen our community in America. Like what the Jews did. Then, say, after 20 years we can use our power to benefit those inside. It was mentioned that brothers Akram and Ghassen will address this issue.

In respond to the above inquiry Ashqar said - if you look at the Jewish community in this country we will find that all their efforts are directed to serve Israel. To achieve and build the Zionist dream. The dream of the international Zionist Movement.

This point was debated for some time. It was said if you studied the Jewish history you will find they concentrated on building this economic/political base in this country. And when they reached their goals they started, specially in 1967 to concentrate their efforts on Israel, and gave Israel everything it needs. Even some of the American Jews rejected Israel and Zionism. They said the building of Israel will destroy us in America.

Ashqar replied: The point I am trying to make is that we should use all our resources to support the inside. There are urgent needs such as helping the prisoners' families. Should we let them die . . . The un-urgent needs can be delayed but the urgent needs should be met. The Islamic acts in Palestine doesn't have the resources to grow. There is a need for journalists/lawyers who will defend the Islamists. We have to have people who think in the American way - and who understand the American system.

UM replied in fact we need those who can assist the inside, not the ones who understand the American system. Our interest isn't to understand the American system but to understand the Palestinian people. More to understand their situation and their suffering. Should we change our way in working in America?

Akram:

It is dangerous to oppose the accord per se, to talk (to the West) about democracy is a waste of time, in fact the West supports the dictators . . . Many dictators are supported by the West. Our strategy should be maximizing the benefits of the accord. For example if you said we are fighting for our own State - suppose in a year or two the Jews said okay, here is your State . . . you can say the accord didn't achieve anything for the Palestinians abroad. The Israelis will say okay, let us form a committee to look into the matter . . . and this could take for ever.

We are talking about our work in America. Should we say we are the alternative leadership. There is a political leadership vacancy in America. ~~Specially among the Islamists. Everyday we receive~~ telephone calls from the Democratic (Front) and the Popular (Front) asking us what we are going to do. . . They have no plans . . . therefore we should not be hesitant in our decisions. We have to make it very clear that we oppose this thing 100% and we, the Islamists has a different position. Throw this to the Palestinian people - we are the leadership of the opposition.

In response to the above point UM said what do you mean we are the alternative. Are we the alternative ideologically or physically? This talk can cost us . . . the people will come to you and say we repent . . . we are with you . . . we want to work with you . . . are you ready for that . . . I am talking from experience we were in Brazil. People who belong to the Popular Front came to us and said we are with you - we want to enter and work with you . . . Are we ready for that?

Another speaker:

We should acknowledge that we lost this round. The ball is ours now. I believe whatever we do we will achieve nothing. In one or two years people will look, by that time, the accord will be failing and the people will look for those who oppose it and we have to be there.

Ashqar said: Meanwhile in the short run, we should initiate activities such as demonstrations . . . with other parties as a first step . . . But the Movement strategy doesn't call for extensions abroad.

Akram said the self rule administration will be in the homeland and will not have extensions over here.

Another speaker mentioned that he observed that all the talk pertain to Gaza/West Bank, and inquired what about the 1948 borders. If the Israelis said okay, you can take Gaza and the West Bank what else you want, that means we are trapped at that point. What our demands will be? Will we ask for 1948 borders. We can't say it publicly. Call what I am trying to say our demands should be made clear . . . If I used to live in Haifa, I should be able to return to Haifa.

The second point is we can't stop the self rule authorities from materializing. America and Europe are behind it. Once it takes place it will establish institutions in America which we have to compete with, in this case, will relationships and coordination will take place between us and the government institutions?

New speaker: Abdul-Jabbar LNU

Jabbar mentioned the conflict will come sooner than expected.

The end of this tape.

TRANSLATION

SESSION INFO: 93-10-02 Saturday TIME: 000000
SESSION ID : mtgb_19931992_5

SPEAKER #1: Abdel Jabbar (LNU)
SPEAKER #2: Akram (LNU, aka Abu Mohamed)
SPEAKER #3: Abu-Ahmed (NU)
SPEAKER #4: Nasser (LNU)
SPEAKER #5: Gawwad (or Murad? LNU)

Speaker 1 (Abdel Jabbar, LNU):

We do not want to go through the experience of other liberation Movements in some Arab countries, such as Sudan, Egypt and Algeria. Go through the struggle, hand the fruits to Arafat, then start the struggle again. We should have confidence in ourselves, we have to direct events and not let events direct us. As brother Gawwad said, we have the capability of making the accord fail.

In the American arena we have get involved to instill hope in the Islamic community, which provides us with most of the assistance. The Fund feels the situation now, more than the Union.

Contributions started to decline, people started to ask, what do you need the money for? Billions of dollars will be coming to you. I disagree with those who say these Funds will be spent the same way it was spent in Egypt (corruption). The Americans and the Israelis will make sure it will reach the Palestinian population, so the population will become submissive. This is because it is the only way to make Arafat's experiment succeed, to make the money reach the people. Therefore I assure you, distributing these funds will be monitored by the Jews and the Americans. The companies investing them over there are American. The moment the distribution of these funds fail, Arafat will be finished. We have to watch this issue carefully.

I am afraid in our attempts to win those people, we might lose what we already have. I heard the statements issued by Islamists and thought they were weak and vague. We must remember our sister Samah won its beauty because of its truthfulness and clarity in the Palestinian streets.

This clarity should continue. If we do not stick to it we will lose a lot, and will postpone the struggle.

[LS comment: When the speaker said Samah he meant Hamas. He is saying that Hamas won its position because it was clear in its objectives and goals. He failed to talk in a coded manner. When he said "our sister Samah won its beauty because of its truthfulness in the Palestinian streets" others commented laughingly that she as a woman should not be in the streets, but in her mother's house. The issue is that all those present are cautious not to imply in any way that they are associated with Hamas.]

We should raise the issue of Jerusalem. As for our informational activities we should not expect much from the non-Muslims. Do we have to relocate our efforts and assistance and place more emphasis on the community here. Do we expect America to stand by the Palestinians in the future as it does now with the Jews?

Speaker 2 (Akram, LNU, aka Abu Mohamed):

Concerning alternatives to the current leadership, I would like to say, last week an announcement was distributed in the central area of inside [LS: Palestine] that was signed by three parties, the Islamic Movement, and the left, including the Popular Front and others. But what effect it has, it is an attempt, I am foresighted and exchanging ideas. Now we have the Yemen thing, which is a good thing, but I am afraid it will end like all other attempts. What we should do is before we make our strategy, and hopes, we should first determine the foundations based on which these hopes will be achieved, we should develop a practical program, as simple as one plus one is two. We have to be clear about our goals, and our methods of achieving our goals. My opinion is that we should, in the first place, build ourselves here, and still keep our relations with the [LS: Institutions] inside [LS: Palestine].

Speaker 3: (Abu-Ahmad, NU):

He said he supports Ashqar's points relating to the legality of their work, that relations should be between institutions (not individuals) and they should continue to form relations between institutions here in the U.S. and those inside [LS: Palestine]. He reminded them of a similar experience that happened in the past and caused negative consequences. He recommended that relations between their institutions in America and those inside [LS: Palestine] should be studied and strengthened. Our institutions now are threatened by the autonomy authority, and they will be merged into and taken over by the government institutions. We have to continue to support our institutions inside [LS: Palestine].

Speaker 4: (Nasser, LNU):

Building ourselves in this country is a waste of time. If we follow the same steps as the Jews to achieve power in this country, we will be limited by Islamic ethics and laws. Infidels (both Jews and others) are sent to slaughter Moslems. This is an issue in itself. We should not think a lot about concentrating on strengthening ourselves here. We will never attain our goals; they will not allow us. One way to discredit the accord is to approach the issue in an Islamic way. The issue is not only economic and political, but has to be examined in terms of Islamic law and ethics.

Speaker 5: (Gawwad, LNU):

It was mentioned that all the issues discussed above will be summarized and voted on in the last session. They (the Fatah Movement) said Hamas' Movement will flourish under the autonomy administration; they are smart and will treat Moslem families like they treat all other families. What else would they say? People keep saying the whole world is against us, but in fact we have to clearly define our enemies, and our enemies are Arafat and Rabin. That's it.

We have to look into how to support the Movement inside [LS: Hamas, in Palestine], and how to adjust ourselves to the present situation. I agree with Abu-Mohamed on the issue of legality. We have to redefine Palestinian activities in America, and I suggest the following choices:

1. The institutions here should be at the service of the Movement over there, according to the circumstances in the country. This should include financial, information, political, everything.

2. ~~As for saying we should strengthen ourselves here then support the Movement over there, I say the following:~~ At present, the Movement is going through the most difficult time, only hesitation, any decline in our support will weaken the Movement. The Movement needs our support right now. We do not have an option; assistance is needed right now. The position of the brotherhood in Egypt is shameful. This is the leadership, and the man who met with him (Arafat) is the man who knows our cause more than anyone else. We have to combine both in our activities. We have to keep some institutions, and create sections within them. These sections should have specialized functions. I think the American arena plays five [sic] roles:

1. It is a secure place for the Movement, Europe also can play the same role, and we have to keep it this way as it is now.

2. We have to concentrate our efforts to culture and educate the community here.

3. We can be a pressure point on the inside [Palestine], to shape the public opinion, to enlighten the upper class, the rich, the doctors, and the educated class.

4. a. To offer our services, including humanitarian services, which are available.
b. Encourage investments.

5. Our institutions here, the Union, and the other institutions, should play the leading role and express the point of view of the recent currents.

[Arabic]

Tape 5 - Conference Room

Date: 10/2/93: Continuation of the first session of October 2, 1993

Speaker: Abdula Jabbar LNU

We don't want to go through the experience of the other Islamic movements in other Arab countries such as Sudan, Egypt and Algeria. Go through the struggle and then hand the fruits to Arafat and then start the struggle anew. We should have confidence in ourselves. We have to direct events and not let it direct us. And as brother Gawwad said we have the capability of making the accord fail.

In the American field we should sink in the hope in the Islamic community, which provides us with most of the assistance.

The Fund feels the situation now more than the Union. Contributions started to decline. People started to ask, what do you need the money for, billion of dollars will be coming to you. I disagree with those who say those funds will be spent the same way it spent in Egypt (corruption). The American and the Israelis will make sure it will reach the Palestinian population; so the population will kneel down. This is because this is the only way to make Arafat's experiment succeed. To make the money reach the people. Therefore, I assure you distributing those funds will be monitored by the Jews and the Americans. The companies which will invest over there too is American. The moment the distribution of those funds fail Arafat will be finished. We have to watch this issue carefully.

I am afraid that in our attempts to win other people, we lose what we actually have. I observe the statements issued by Islamists and find it to be weak and vague. **We must remember that our Sister Samah won its beauty because of its truthfulness and her clarity in the Palestinian streets.** This clarity should continue if we didn't stick to it we will lose a lot and will postpone the struggle:

LS comment:

When the speaker said Samah he meant Hamas. He is saying that Hamas won its position because it was clear in its objectives and goals. He failed to continue to talk in a coded way when he said (our Sister Samah won its beauty because of its truthfulness in the Palestinian streets. Others commented laughingly that she (as a woman) shouldn't be in the streets. She should be in her mothers house. The issue is that all attendance are cautious not to imply by any mean that they are associated with Hamas.)

We should raise the issue of Jerusalem. And in our information activities we shouldn't expect much from the non Muslims.

Do we have to reallocate our efforts, assistance and place emphasis on the community here. Do we expect that American, in some time in the future, will stand by the Palestinians as it stands now by the Jews.

New speaker: Abu-Muhamed (Akram) LNU:

Concerning alternative to the current leadership. I would like to say last week an announcement, which was distributed in the central area of the inside was signed by three parties, the Islamic Movement, and the left, including the Popular Front and others . . . but what effect it has – it is an attempt . . . I am for thinking and exchange (of ideas).

Now we have the Yemen thing. It is good thing, but I am afraid that it will end like all other attempts - what we should do is before we raise slogans and dreams we should first find the foundations based on which those dreams will be achieved. We should develop a practical program. Like one plus one is two.

When have to be clear about our goals and our methods of achieving these goals.

My opinion is that we should, in the first place, build ourselves here, and still keep our nations with the inside.

New speaker: Abu-Ahmad:

He said he supports Ashqar points relating to the legality of this work, that relations should be between institutions (not individuals), and continuation of the relations between the institutions here (in USA) and the institutions in the inside. He reminded the presence of a similar experience that took place in the past and caused negative consequences.

He recommended that relations between American institutions (considering the Union - and the Fund as American institutions) and the institutions in the inside should be studied and strengthened. Our institutions now, he said, is threatened by the self rule authority and it will be melted into and taken over by the government institutions. We have to continue to support our institutions in the inside.

New Speaker (Name isn't clear).

To build ourselves in this country is a waste of time. If you follow the Jews path to achieve power in this country you will be restrained by Islamic ethics and laws. **Infidels (both Jews and Christians) are bent on slaughtering the Muslims.** This is an issue in itself. To concentrate on strengthening yourself here . . . we shouldn't think much about this . . . You will never attain your goals. They will not allow you to.

One way to discredit the accord is to approach the issue in an Islamic way. The issue isn't only economic and political but has to be looked at through Islamic ethics and ideology.

New speaker: Gawward LNU:

It has been mentioned that all issues that were discussed above will be summarized, articulated and voted on in the last session.

They (Fatah people) said Hamas . . . the Movement will flourish under the self rule administration. They are smart . . . they said they will treat the Islamists families as they treat all other families . . . what else can they say.

People keep saying all the world is against us . . . but in fact we have to clearly define our enemies, and our enemies are Arafat and Rabin. That is it.

We have to look into how to support the Movement in the inside; and how to adjust ourselves to the present situation.

I agree with Ashqar concerning the issues of legality. We have to redefine the Palestinian activities in America and I suggest the following points.

-
1. The institutions here should be at the service of the Movement over there, according to the country circumstances. ~~This should include finance, information, political and everything.~~
 2. Concerning saying we should strengthen ourselves here then support the Movement over there I say the following: At present the Movement goes through the most difficult time; any hesitation, any decline in our support will weaken the Movement. The Movement needs our support right now. We don't have the option. The assistance is needed right now. The position of the Brotherhood (in Egypt) is shameful. This is the leadership . . . and the man who met with him (Arafat) is the man who knows our cause more than any one else - we have to combine both here and there in our activities. We have to keep some institutions, but create sections within these institutions. These section will have specialized functions.

I think the American theater plays 5 roles:

1. It is a secure place for the Movement. Europe also can play some role. We have to keep it this way - as it is now.
2. We have to concentrate our affairs on the cultured and the educated of the community over here.
3. We can be a point of pressure on the inside. To shape the public opinion, to enlighten the upper class, the rich, the doctors, the educated.
4. To avail our services, including human services which is available here, or coming to here.
5. Encourage investment.
6. Our institutions here, the Union and the other institutions, should play the leadership role and express the point of view of the recent currents.

End of the tape and the first session

Tape 6 - Conference Room.

Date: 10/2/93: This is the second session

The subject of this session is the charitable activities and its future in the light of the current changes.

Speaker: Abu-Basim (from Canada)

Abu-Basim said this paper was developed as a result of the meeting of Al-Aqsa Mosque Committee of Human Services. It includes the recommendations of the Committee.

Al-Aqsa Fund, the Holy Land Fund, and other charitable organizations should widen the scope of its activities to include serving the refugees camps and Lebanon, Jordan and every where else. These camps did not get its share of information in the Canadian theater. In addition, investment should be encouraged in the inside.

Since information/political activities will be focused on Gaza during the coming period therefore we shall focus our efforts on the West Bank.

One of the ways of increasing charitable activities is to bring guests from the occupied lands. These will come deliver sermons on Friday in the Mosque and Islamic centers, give information and describe the situation in the homeland. There is a lot of talk that many millions of dollars will be contributed to Gaza and the West Bank by the international community. We hope this is true and hope it will contribute to raising the standard of living in Gaza. But it is important when these guests come they can explain the impact of those monies and who actually received it.

It is important to study statements and announcements that will be made by both the Israelis and the Palestinians. So we can use this information in the future. We shouldn't just sit and wait for the events to shape our actions.

We have to find new ways to deal with the people. And we have to find the suitable individuals we can perform this task. There is a lot of need for information by the Mosques and those who come to these Mosques (in Canada).

We have to give much attention to the association meeting which will be held in Detroit next month. Many Palestinians will be attending this meeting.

I would like to talk a little about the Islamic Community in Canada, and then about the Palestinian Community.

The Islamic Community in Canada is not active with us at all. We did as much as we can but we weren't successful. They don't support or oppose, either the organization (Fatah) or the Islamists. They aren't interested in the Palestinian cause. The only communities who contribute are the Indian and Pakistani communities. The other Muslim/Arab communities such as the Egyptian and the Lebanese ask us; you Palestinians solved your problems with the Jews, what do you want from us.

We as Al-Quds Islamic services organization, are trying to register ourselves in Canada. That process will be completed soon.

Shukri LNU: (From Al-Aqsa Fund in USA)
My paper consists of 4 points:

1. Describing the worst scenario.
2. How this will affect the contributor.
3. The nature of the new methodology.
4. Broad lines which can be applied to any charitable organization.

1. I assume that Gaza, under the new situation will witness a relative calmness- escalation and confrontations will decline – international bodies will work hard to make the self rule a success – To convince the Palestinians and the world community that the relationship between the Jews and the Palestinians is no more a relation between occupiers and occupees. The self rule authority will only show the positive changes and will hide the negative consequences. Even it will cover up the practices of the Israelis. With the result that the contributors will not hear very much about the occupier bad practices or about the continuous sufferings of the Palestinian people. They will try to remove the psychological barriers between the Jews and the Palestinians. For example, the Jews in philanthropist (Ph) network will hold a meeting next month in New York. The purpose of the meeting is to look into the possibility of helping the Palestinian people and to award them for reaching an agreement with Israel. Look how much effect something like this will have. I expect a dramatic change. Dramatic decline of contribution for the next year in America.

I cautions the charitable organization not to divert its attention to trivial activities, such as Bosnia and Somalia. This will give a signal to the contributor that there is not more need in Palestine. Last year we collected two millions and seventy thousands. I don't think we will be able to reach two millions this year.

2. The nature of the new method of collecting contributions. In the past we used to say our objective to meet the need, and treat the suffering which resulted from the occupation. In the coming phase we can't continue to say that. We have to sustain our roles and grow.

We have to reorient the mind of the contributor. This requires education and information.

To concentrate on the suffering of the refugees. To raise issues such as Jerusalem.

To concentrate on human needs which aren't affected by the changing political climate, such as the orphans, the needy children, the students, fighting poverty projects and so on.

Stress the religious sides of the cause.

Stress supporting Islamic institutions during the next phase. Say if we don't support Islamic institutions they will be destroyed, absorbed by other non Islamic institutions.

We have to open a dialogue with the American public asking them to contribute the rebuilding of Gaza and Jericho.

To open a dialogue with American/international charitable organizations such as UN organizations and ask them to opinion joint projects in Palestine. The only positive impact the accord has is that it make it easier for us to ask the American public for contributions. If we approached them in a narrow minded way we will achieve nothing. To tell them we demand 1948 borders. No way on earth. The approach should concentrate on human rights, refugees rights. These are the issues the Americans agree with us about.

Broad strategies

In charitable activities we can't attack the accord. Because as a charitable organization we can't make a political opinion or judgement about such issue. Ours isn't a political organization. There is a new reality which I have to deal with. I have to keep good relations with all sides in Palestine. And as an organization registered in America we shouldn't be associated with this party and that. Should not be the charitable arm of this or that. I think this is wrong - and we should behave in such a way - **we have to behave as an American organization - and take care of the Palestinian people and not a particular population. Our relation has to be good with everyone . . but we can give the Islamists 100,000 and 5,000 to the others.**

We have to be cautious with spending. We can't get involved in transactions that can violate our status . . We are an organization that has to look after its own interests - not to spend any money on any project before carefully studying it. We shouldn't do any thing that is contrary to the law.

The end of tape 6

Tape 7 - Conference Room

Date: 10/02/93: Continuation of second session:

The only thing which we shouldn't do is illegal transactions. This we shouldn't do if any one framed you it will become a disaster. We shouldn't participate in any illegal transactions.

Shukri Finished his presentation.

New speaker - Muin Shabib

The presentation concerns the situation of the institutions in Palestine.

The Islamic works, during the past two decades, was based on what can be called the Superman. That is, a person who take charge of everything. If any thing happen to such person, projects collapse. However, before the uprising there were very few Islamic foundations. This has changed after the uprising.

Gaza is almost free of any institutions. This is because it was under military rule and emergency laws for many years. The other reasons include the lack of human and other resources and because it was tied to the Israeli economy.

The situation in the West Bank was better for many reasons. However, both the Strip and the Bank lacked needed foundations.

The institutions mentioned by Muin are classified as follows:

1. Educational. Such as schools, universities.
2. Social and charitable, relating to social ills such as refugees, orphans, relieve etc.
3. Cultural. Such as research centers.
4. Health institutions, such as clinics and medical centers.
5. Public syndicates.
6. Technical institutions.
7. Sports
8. Informational, such as news paper.
9. Religion - teaching institutes.
10. Women institutions

Our institutions, said Muin, in the Strip include:

1. The Islamic University.

2. The Islamic Complex. Founded in 1975, registered in 1976.
3. The Islamic Association, founded in 1976.
4. Al-Salah Association.
5. The Young Woman Association.
6. Al-WAFA Association for the elderly.
7. The Orphans Center.
8. Some of Al-Zakah (Islamic tax that represents 2.5% of annual saving) committees.
9. Some of general service committees received new licenses, such as the organization of the Truth and The Law.

In the West Bank the following organization were mentioned. (That included the towns of Qalqelia, Nablus, Jenine and Ab-BeQaa' Valley

1. Al-Zakah Committee, founded in 1976.

This committee is in charge of more than 1000 orphans, 2200 families get monthly assistance from it. It has investments and other activities. In reality we, the Islamist, do have much presence in this committee.

Al-Tadoman AL-Eslami Committee founded in 1984 and it has the largest medical center in the West Bank, it serves north of the West Bank approximately 300,000 people.

Al Tadoman Charitable Association, founded by Islamic scholars in the area. At present our presence in this association is weak.

In Jenine, Al-Zakah Committee, established a hospital. Controlled by the Islamists.

Al-Aqsa institutions should have a big role and we can benefit from controlling these institutions.

In Jerusalem, we have the Association of Islamic Studies and Cultures. It has research centers.

The Christians has over 100 Christian foundations in Beit Lahem only.

We have active institutions in Ramallah, such as Al-Zakah Committee.

If the Movement functions interfered in institutions obligations, this causes trouble. The physician who founded the Center who was in charge with almost everything, and who was active and efficient, get mixed up and was arrested and charged with organizational work (presumably has to do with Hamas), and was investigated and imprisoned. What happened to him affected the institution drastically. There should be no mix of the two works.

In Ramallah the Islamic syndicate was founded and registered; it has a lot of influence in the area. The name of its director is Hussien. He has a lot of influence. Even Yassir Arafat met him. He, now, has 2500 members in his syndicate.

The director of the Islamic Youth Association was deported.

Future situation:

The relation with the self rule authority will be a hostile one. Because, historically, we opposed them.

They will encourage the Arabs and the Israelis to act against us.

The possibility that the holy struggle will continue against the Jews. The self rule authority will not like this.

Expected problems:

They may suspend the institutions' licenses.

They will try to control the institutions through forfeited elections or through nationalization. They mentioned that the previous elections are null and void.

They will prevent funds from reaching our institutions.

They will issue laws and regulations that limits freedom of movement.

Suggestions and general recommendations:

The deportees should have a role in our institutions in order to form a political block.

Should form a committee for possible dialogue with other countries.

To form a committee to solve the disputes and deal with abroad.

To develop a role for the 1948 people. These people can play an important role in the future; use their human rights organization in order to receive official recognition. So they can perform functions in Gaza/Jericho, and to spare the Movement the need to get involved directly.

We should afford them the flexibility of dealing with the self rule authority.

We have to use the issue of Jerusalem and open institutions in it.

To protect the current existing foundations by registering them under the names of trusted people rather than keeping them public foundations. This will make it difficult for the rule authority to nationalize them. The people whom we register these institutions under their names should not be connected with the organization. (LS: probably Hamas).

To keep the achievements we achieved in the past. By tying these institutions with the Islamic institutions in America, such as the Fund and other institutions - to sign contracts with these institutions saying that its assets belong to the American side, and they can show these contracts whenever they need to. This is a very important issue that we have to consider.

To establish a general union for those institutions and open extensions for them abroad.

Other recommendations:

~~Not to establish any new institutions, to run the existing ones, and support 48 people institutions.~~

LS comment:

48 people are those people who were expelled from their lands/homes as a result of 1948 war between the Arabs and the Israelis.

Two recommendations relating to the American theater.

To form an economic committee - a number of people approached me and said they can establish risk free enterprises . . why not benefit from this.

We can develop computer enterprises that we can generate income from, in a scientific way.

Shukri presentation is completed.

Another speaker UM (from the Holy Land Foundation)

UM said he agrees with what Shukri said.

To avail an official American cover for the Islamic community. What he meant is that the Islamic community in US should be able to form official delegation goes to the homeland, Gaza in particular, discuss the situation with the institutions over there, provide them with assistance, and by doing so, we will achieve two goals:

1. To make it known that the Islamic community is interested in them.

2. To avail an official cover for their institutions and be able to provide them with assistance in the future.

Speakers said when we go there we should not identify ourselves as the Holy Land Association because we are already stamped with (didn't complete the sentence).

We have to provide this institutions of a legal cover so it will become difficult to dissolve them; by tying them with large institutions as the one in Chicago and Paterson New Jersey.

New Speaker: Abdula Holeem Ashqar.

His presentation relates to the establishment of an education fund. He discussed the issue, in advance with Al Aqsa Fund.

He said the future struggle and the capital asset of the Movement will be based on education. Most of the youth in Gaza work for Israeli factories, he said. There is much need for information specialists, lawyers, journalists, and political scientists.

We have to support graduate studies in the Arab countries; the cost over there is little. We allocate \$100 a year (per student) in the Arab countries the allocation is (\$1500) per student. We can't afford spending on students in this country. The cost in this country is between \$15,000 and \$20,000 annually. But we can bring students here and enroll them in the colleges with the assistance of those who are here already. (Scholarships).

The Fund intends to allocate some funds for our Brothers to study here, in the fields which are mentioned above.

We arranged for one of the Brothers to come here. He will recommended by those in Jerusalem and he is a teacher at the college of the call and religion foundations. His name is Ahmad Mustafa Waffaqa, he will arrive on Wednesday; and with the Fund we will arrange a program for him hoping that we will raise some funds.

A question was directed to Shukri concerning the possible problems that may face the institutions in USA if they joined their efforts.

Shukri replied "there will be no problems if the Union joined efforts with the Fund. As long as they aren't involved in any illegal transactions. According to the American laws the American institutions can deal with each other. The Union is as important as the Fund. And if the Union said, or did anything that resulted in its closure, the Fund shouldn't do the same thing. Therefore, the Fund and the Union can joint projects as long as that is done within the boundaries of the American laws.

End of the tape

Tape 8 - Conference Room

Date: 10/2/93: Continuation of the Second Session

The relationship between the Union and the Fund is limited to holding fairs and some fund raising activities, out of more two millions we raised only between 200,000 and 250,000 were raised through joint activities between the Union and the Fund.

We brought three brothers from the inside in a private tour and collected \$250,000 out of their visits. However, as long as the financial aspect of the relationship is under control there is no problem. The Union is only a target population for us, like any other group and we have no financial ties with the Union.

UM speaker.

The problem is that we don't function underground anymore. Any message . . . its source will be known. The media will know that you are sending two messages, one to the Americans and one to the Muslims. The Muslims will say he tells us Islam say so and so . . . and in the same time he is dealing with the Americans differently. Therefore, we should establish a new independent institution, which no one will know it is connected with as (the Holy Land Foundation).

Another commentator:

We have to stress the Islamic side of the cause.

The Association meeting is coming. We will have two conferences, one in Los Angeles and one in Detroit, where large communities reside.

Ashqar inquired from Abul-Qassim how much Funds they were able to raise.

Abu-Qasim replied that during the first 6 months of 1993, they collected \$214,000; in 1992 (for all the year) it was \$167,000. There is another organization (in Canada) which name is the United Holy Land Fund, its headquarters are in the states, with a branch in Canada, (non-Islamic organization which is located in Chicago) They raised between 60,000 and 70,000.

We are trying to register our organization (in Canada). The government returned our application to us three times. Although we used other similar organizations by-laws. But now they promised to look into our application in the coming weeks.

There are also other Islamic organization that were able to collect between 80,000 and 90,000. Their best year was \$139,000. But their expenses during that year reached \$93,000. They sponsor other projects such as Kashmir (ph) and Sudan . . Last year they raised \$81,000 for Palestine.

Ashqar: Inquired about the possibility of holding a meeting for the Islamic notables in America.

A new speaker (Probably Muin LNU)

I agree that charitable activities are separate from political activities.

Our objective should be concentrating our efforts on the occupied lands, not Jordan, not Lebanon, not any where else.

Fatah will not be willing to share anything. They will try to take over the Islamic institutions. Like what they tried to do in Kuwait.

We should act immediately to establish committees to coordinate these institutions.

We have to disassociate these institutions from the Movement.

We have to deal with the current international campaign.

We have to legalize an entity in the inside that will receive Funds from abroad.

Another speakers: UM

The second day, after signing the accord, Arafat met with Dr. Waheed Al-Shami, a Palestinian from Ramallah, who currently resides in America, and discussed with him establishing an American university in the occupied lands, like the one's in Beirut and Cairo. In this case there will be no need for an Islamic university. In additions, the UN institutions in the occupied lands, that gives a diploma after 2 years, has converted this programs to four years. We should not ask when they will start. They already started.

Another speaker:

Our current activities aren't effective. We transferred to the homeland \$1.25 million out of these 900,000 went to relief activities. Fatah don't like to share anything with any one. If the Movement agreed to be under their wing it will be fine with them, but if is wanted to stand next to him it will not be acceptable to them.

Shukri:

You people should remember we are only a fund raising agency. Our only interest is to increase the fund raising results. You come and ask me about Gaza, Jerusalem, the university and all this stuff, it is not our business. If you want to ask these questions go ahead and ask the big guys; not us.

Our strategy should be helping the population of the Strip and the Bank. This can be done through helping the Palestinian population to form joint ventures with large American companies. We can also help them get franchises authorizations with large American companies. This will help us employ many of our brothers. Those brothers whom you help doing these things will ultimately be loyal to you politically.

Next week we will sign a contract with an American lady - Based on this contract should will contribute, in her will, a piece of land, 4 acres to medically serve the people of the uprising. This is one thing we never thought about.

A question was raised relating to the institution relations with MASS(ph), ESNA, and MAYA.

UM replied that not much relations - a seasonal relations. However, we met with the new chairman of MASS and he agreed to voice our cause in their program.

There is no hope in ESNA. They placed the Palestinian cause in the back of their minds. Not important to them.

End of this tape.

LS Abderrazzak Kouar
Washington Field
April 26, 2001

TRANSLATION

SESSION INFO: 93-10-02 Saturday TIME: 0000
SESSION ID MTGB_19931002_9

SPEAKER #1: Abdul Rahman (LNU)

Abdul Rahman's comments:

"...Frankly, I feel that the most important thing we can offer at this stage is to support the Jihad. I think that is the only way that can finish the objectives of the agreement; this way, we keep working within the spirit (UI)...At least we should concentrate on the issues related to this problem; I mean the issue of the wounded. Everybody knows there are around 100,000 wounded persons, the issue of the families of martyrs, and the issue of prisoners... Maybe now we don't have institutions, or maybe there are institutions which support hospitals and other [facilities]. However, I think there should be an emphasis on these people more than [those] others who may benefit from the money that will get to them from the United Nations, the United States and others. People who are directly connected to the Jihad should get more assistance. We should also send letters to people reiterating ... reminding them of martyrs, prisoners, orphans, the families of injured people, etc...

This is one suggestion. The second thing I suggest is to do a simple trick. The Fund has already had permanent ads in "Al-Zeitouna" [magazine] and "The Monitor." Let's put a kind of appeal³ for people, Moslems, in Al-Zeitouna", The Monitor, and the other Islamic magazines, telling them the suffering is not over and that the situation has not changed. The situation...I mean...(UI) and so on. [Our ads] should not be worded in political language. They should be formulated as a humanitarian dialogue that says the people's suffering has not ended. A simple thing we can do is read a magazine from the Occupied Territories [O.T.] and have a look at the ads. We should come up with something written instead of the picture of that girl...

The question I have for brother Muin is, I may not be aware of the laws in effect inside the O.T., but what is the possibility of transferring some of the institutions which are presently located in the West Bank and Gaza to Jerusalem, out of reach from the

³English words used by speaker

[Palestinian Liberation] Organization....to have the headquarters there, I mean. They [the institutions] will have projects run through channels...persons, I mean.”

[Arabic]

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Tape 9 - Conference Room

Date: 10/2/93: Continuation of the second session:

It was indicated that the Union, the Masques and Islamic centers all over the United States are the main source of contributions.

Mr. Abdul Rahman LNU made the following comments and asked the following questions:

He said we should concentrate our efforts on supporting Jihad (holy war) in the occupied lands. This can be done, he said, through concentrating our financial resources on those directly connected with Jihad, such as two injured, the martyrs, their families and the prisoners. Other needed services can be provided by other organizations. Those who receive assistance from the United States and UN agencies. But we should focus on those people who are directly connected with Jihad.

He suggested making an appeal to all Muslims to contribute, and to tell them the situation is still the same. The suffering is still there, nothing has changed.

He asked Muin if it is possible to transfer the institution (legally) from Gaza and the West Bank to Jerusalem to save them from the self rule administration, since Jerusalem will not be included in the self rule area.

In response to the above question Muin said it is difficult to transfer the legal status of the Gaza/West Bank institution to Jerusalem. In order to establish a project in Jerusalem you have to have an Israeli identification card, a Jerusalem ID card. However, it is easier to establish a project in Jerusalem and open branches for it in Gaza and the West Bank. He mentioned that this has been done before. Established projects in Jerusalem and then spread its branches in West Bank and Gaza.

They talked about establishing a human rights organization. They said it will cost \$10,000 and that a Jewish lawyer who is a member in the Israeli Knesset promised to assist them in this endeavor.

It was mentioned that they have an office in Gaza, there is a Holy Land Branch in Jerusalem, is thinking about opening an office in Al-Nasra town, which will be registered under the Israeli laws.

UM inquired which Islamic institutions will be hit first and hard under the self rule administration.

This subject was discussed at length during the meeting, and many organizations, committees, associations were mentioned. However the major mentioned ones included the Islamic University in Gaza, El Eslah Association, the Islamic Youth Association, Al-Zakah Committees in the West Bank, students Unions (which is completely controlled by us) commerce syndicates, and other institutions. It was mentioned, however, they don't have much weight in any way in the West Bank.

They continued to talk about this subject for a while.

End of this tape

Tape 10 - Conference Room

Date: 10/2/93: No pertinent information

Tape 11 - Conference Room

Date: 10/2/93:

This is the third session. The topic of discussion as specified is the future of political, informational, and public relations activities in the United States.

UM speaker

UM mentioned that the Union budget is limited and is not enough to achieve the goals and should be increased.

UM kept repeating the ideas that were discussed many times before, that is, making the people here aware of the cause, how to raise the new generations, how to arrange the fairs, how to select speakers, how to talk about Jerusalem, etc ...

He suggested establishing an organization independent of them, a neutral one, to deal with the new authority in the homeland. He said they know who we are, we are marked and this new neutral organization will deal with them without involving ourselves.

We should say we aren't opposed to peace - we are opposed to what took place - what took place may achieve peace but where is justice. You can't have peace without justice. This is what the Americans themselves say.

Ghasson repeated the same above rhetoric and added that a survey should be made among the pertinent population to see if they approve/disapprove the accord.

UM criticized the tone of the dialogue and accused the presenter of being defeatists, thinking in the terms of 10 years planning and saying very little about supporting the Palestinian people.

UM again suggested establishing a neutral organization to deal with the new authority.

Ashqar asked the speaker to specify clearly the functions of this suggested new neutral organization. UM replied that "we" still has to perform political activities, information, charitable activities. This organization will do these things in our behalf. We shouldn't take a 100% hostile position against a reality.

UM criticized the above dialogue. He said, as far as our goals is concerned, we should make it very clear, resistance against occupation will continue for ever, even in Jericho and Gaza.

UM replied that we can't put on paper that our goal is to resist the occupation. This is an American organization, we can't say this, we can't put it officially in writing.

UM said he wasn't talking about officially or not officially, I am just asking, do you support the resistance or not?

But this will specify our role in America.

We have to sponsor the Palestinian people historical/national rights.

When you suggest the establishment of a new organization, do you mean here in America?

Yes, the goals you are talking about are in our hearts, we can't put it down. To support our brothers we can't say that. The Union is on Islamic organization, when we talk about the Islamic side of the cause, what does this mean, is it just words, it means inclusively, Jihad. The important thing is that how you say it.

Abu Muhamed criticized the tone of the above dialogue.

He said we have to ask ourselves, do we want America to be a confrontation theater. What do we want from the readers of our literature and magazines; do we want them to go to the homeland and fight? Or do we want them to contribute. We have to know what exactly from these people. What do we want from the Americans? Do we want to convert them to Islam? Or do you want them to be on your side? Every thing is possible in the future. Will a Palestinian State be worse than Saudi Arabia? The Saudis take care of Israeli interest more than the Israelis take care of their own interest. What are you (plural) talking about.

Your brother just suggested to establish an organization. Do we have to raise the huge Islamic flag and we become front. If happened what will happen then we can benefit of it. The proposal is to establish new institutions to deal with the new reality and these new institutions shouldn't have a strong Islamic colors. Do we want to stand in front of the university and demand the 1948 borders. Even if we make those demands will the American army bring back these lands to you?

It was mentioned Fatah requested, in the past, to open a mission in this county, but the American government turned down this request. However, they will approve that request in the future.

The end of this tape

Tape 12 - Conference Room

Date: 10/2/93: Continuation of the Third Session

They talked at length about establishing a new neutral organization that has new faces and not strong Islamic color to deal with other Palestinian organizations such as Fatah and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. But the idea was attacked by others on many grounds. It was said that whatever color you take you will be recognized; whatever mask you put they will know who you are and will know you work for the Islamic cause. Unless you actually change, and in this case we are finished. In additional, if you did so you will confuse your supporters.

A question was directed to Omar relating to the actions that are illegal and which can result, if the Union followed it, lead to its closure.

Omar said two things you can't do, to involve the Union in any illegal financial matters, or if the Union received any instructions from abroad. Like if you work for someone abroad and he instructed you to do things over here. If you did any or both of these things you will be hit by the American law. The Union is an American organization which can do anything it wants as long as it didn't do one of these two things. However, you can be destroyed informationally even if you didn't do anything against the law. For example the news media can destroy you by labeling you as a terrorist. So you are destroyed even if the law didn't touch you. This is what happened to Sheikh Omar Abdul-Rahman. Omar Abdul-Rahman didn't commit crimes, and he was not able to defend himself against the media.

The problem with the Union is that he had to deal with two contradicting populations, the Americans and the Muslims; whatever you say to the Americans are not accepted by the Muslims, what you say to the Muslims you can't say the Americans.

A question was raised concerning what is wrong with forming, registering, other institutions, that have the same political line, that we can use in the future, in case of need or if anything happened to the Union. The answer was there is nothing wrong with that. We can register hundreds of institutions in one day. However, this is not feasible since we don't have the resources to run these institutions.

Another speaker predicted that the peace accord may succeed, a new administration will take place in the homeland, and that they have to deal with the new situation. Samah (Hamas) itself may decide to befriend the new authority, and that we have to keep this in mind when we develop our strategy. Our position now makes other Islamists scared to identify with us. For example, there are many Islamist in Saudi Arabia hate the Saudi government. ~~But they fear the government and has interests in dealing with the government.~~ Those people will get scared of you and you will lose them.

Another speaker disagreed with all the above.

If we decided to hide our Islamic face, and formed a new neutral organization what is the objective, what are we going to gain. If I am in Palestine and is fighting for survival I might have to do that. But I am here, in America, and don't have to do that.

Ashqar mentioned that "we" have to have clear goals, make the people aware of the cause, raise Jerusalem issue, form a public opinion, pursue fund raising vigorously.

Another speaker disagree with above issues. He said the world is fighting Islam. The main target of the new order in America is the Islamic Movement. Therefore how can you hide part of your work with the excuse you are fooling so and so... okay... try to fool them. But what slogans will you raise. We have causes and I am wondering how we are going to change it. As a Muslim, what am I going to say about the Palestinian cause? Our ideology is not to yield one inch of the Palestinian land, will we change this goal? Will we accept 48 division? 67 solution? As a Muslim, will I accept any of these?

Our greatest cause is Islam, Palestine is only one part of this cause. We have to stick to the fundamentals, the basics, the foundations of Islam. Do we want to replace the Islamic cause by a political cause. What I am hearing here. Shukri says we send delegations to the homeland under the pretext of so and so. Well those people (our enemies) do you think they don't think? don't spy, don't watch, don't read. I have no problems with establishing new institutions, which has difficult names or colors, but we should not compromise the fundamentals of the Islamic Union of Palestine. We can't change our foundations.

Arafat in particular, no one lie worse than him, no one is more criminal than him, I swear to God, and 1968 he had a reconciliation meeting with Saleh Serreya at Dr. Qandil Shbear

house. The meeting continued from midnight until the morning, he spent three days with him on the basis; he, Arafat never prayed one time and his pork, he is a criminal; a witness says he eliminates his opponents. Like Abdul-Fattah Isa Humaud. What I am saying I am not against taking precautionary measures that is suitable to our presence in America. But brothers . . . we can't charge the foundations of our ideology, that is based on Islamic laws . . . and whatever you do, once you open your mouth, they know you work for the Islamic cause. Like what the Egyptian fundamentalists says, I went to the tavern, they still sent a spy behind me, I cut my beard, but they know who I am... it is in no veil.

Nihad LNU talked about information strategy, most of what he said was mentioned many times before and this in no reason to repeated.

~~Among the things he said, he said the Union received an invitation from N(ph) Triple A, conference to give the Islamic point of view. Invited also is James Baker, Dennis Ross and chairmen of arms negotiating teams.~~

End of the tape

Tape 13 - Conference Room

Date: 10/2/93: Continuation of the Third Session

They talked in detail about their information strategy in great detail. This include finance, information, and political objectives.

They stressed strengthening their relations we the Muslim community in America. They said, even the Jews are trying to go closer to the Islamic community in the United States. The Chairman of the Jewish Congress in America called and invited the Chairman of the Islamic Center in Los Angeles to attend a conference. To attend the White House according signing celebration. But refused to attend. Alamaudi attended it, but he, the Chairman of Los Angeles Islamic Center refused to attend. In fact the Chairman of the largest Jewish organization in United States invited him to meet with a very prominent Israeli personality . . . with Shimon Perez, he called me and asked me if he should accept the invitation representing the Islamists. I told him he shouldn't. Therefore he turned down the invitation. In fact everyone should call Abdul-Rahman Al-Arnaudi and shame him for attending the ceremony. They should tell him even Haider Abdul-Shafi, who is a communist declined to attend. He, Al-Arnaudi shouldn't appease the Americans at our cause expense.

Another speaker said he attended a speech made by Muhamed Siam. After that he researched what the Islamic scholars write about the subject and found no one support such

kind of accord. Islam say reconciliation can take place between Muslims and infidels. Not between infidels and infidels; implying that Arafat's group are infidels. Also, Islam does not accept people that is not based on justice.

He said I can't say to the Americans I have the right to your daughters and America is a _____ as Sheikh Abdul-Rahman said, although he is right (all laughs), as he said that in Detroit.

A new speaker said we have to be clear and honest with Americans and to address them nicely, not in arbitrary way like Dr. Abdul-Rahman, Omar.

In this world might is right. To be only right will not take you any where. Look what happened to the Bosnian president who have every night. He came to America, begged Clinton for help and what did the Americans do, they sent him back to his country. They told him the only path he has is negotiations. We will not shoot one bullet in your behalf. He returned home empty handed.

Look at the Iranians information. Our problem is that we want to address every body. This is impossible. In America there is specialization in the field of information. They create supply for needed information.

Clinton said he supports the accord, and told Arafat he has to do his part of the accord; and Arafat said he will - unless Samah (Hamas) is strong in the field and was able to impose itself on the organization (Fatah). In this case, the Americans will have no option but to negotiate with it.

We don't depend on the American people for financial fund raising. Most of the contributions came from the Islamic community. If you disguised yourself they will recognize you fast. The Jewish news media focus on you. They will expose you. What should we do with the American people. In my opinion we should tell them the truth, in a nice way, we are people of a call. We have rights. The accord didn't give the Palestinian people their rights. Arafat recognized all of the Israelis rights re security, honor, sovernty and everything, and what did the Palestinian people receive in return . . nothing. Look at what Reyad Malki said, he said the truth and the Americans deal with him. There is oppression against the Palestinian people. We shouldn't attack Arafat. We shouldn't appear as divided people, fighting among ourselves, radicals.

End of the tape

Tape 15 - Conference Room

Date: 10/2/93: Continuation of the Third Session

They talked about the future possible events and developments, specially as related to political development and informational development. They expect all news media and information services will focus on them and will be hostile to them.

They brought an example relating to what they expect in see and talked about how to deal with these development. They said a conference took place in Washington University and was attended by terrorism experts from (unintelligible) of strategic studies and from the Near East politics. It was also attended, they said, by the Military Attache of Israel in Washington. The purpose of the conference is to discuss terrorism. Some of the people in present tried to give excuses and tried to express Israel point of view re this subject. The speaker articulated the conclusions reached by the conference.

1. They defined terrorism as any act conducted against the accord. If you are against the accord, then, consequently, you are against peace, and therefore, it is okay to slaughter you. The conference attendees discussed how to introduce and use this definition, in the media, in the future, in order to discredit any one who opposes the accord. Their position towards this subject was clear. They did not try to disguise under any mask. **When they talked about Hamas they mention it by name. Not like us, who say Samah, and try to disguise our identity.**

UM - This is what they said, not you.

UM - Yes this is what they said.

UM - He says this what they said not what he said (laughs).

2. In the conference they predicated there will be terrorism in the future against the Palestinians. They said the Jews accustomed to terrorism. The United States knows how to encounter terrorism, but the new self role authority don't know how to deal with terrorism. They have no experience.

This is what we should prepare ourselves to handle in the future. Starting now we have to know how to address the American people. We have to inform them that those who signed the accord weren't authorized by the Palestinian people to do that. So it will give us credibility right now we shouldn't wait.

3. They, in the conference, said they should raise the standard of living of the Palestinian people in order to make the self rule a success. This is why we should concentrate on the Palestinian people rights, which more than economic rights. The Palestinian people don't have to sign an accord in order to improve their quality of living. Why should we tie this issue to the occupation.

Comment by one of the present:

Those Muslims who fight in Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, Iraq, and Syria . . . aren't fighting for lands - what I am saying is that we should concentrate on the ideological aspect of the Palestinian cause. If the Palestinians are fed properly, if this quality of living get improved - this will not prevent the Islamists, and the faithfuls from continuing the struggle for the cause.

We, in Palestine, are confronting the worst enemy of Islam.

We have to issue articles, in the news papers, to explain the Islamic view point.

We should discredit Arafat in the eyes of the Palestinians as well as the American peoples. We should talk about the way he runs his organization, and the assassination he committed. We aren't against him because he is seeking peace, but because he is a criminal.

Another point of view:

We shouldn't over emphasize the Islamic aspect of the cause. There are also nationalistic aspects. There are lands that are lost, there a population that are oppressed, there are rights that are taken away. There is no difference between the Islamic struggle in Palestine and the Islamic struggle, in Egypt, Algeria, Tunisia. This is an Islamic Movement that seeks imposing Islamic fundamentalism on the region, like in Egypt, Algeria, and Tunisia.

We have to fight for our national rights too. Each human being should be able to live in a county when he can say this is my country. Of course there is an Islamic aspect for the cause, but to keep emphasizing it will not benefit us.

Another point of view:

Palestine isn't a holy land, only Jerusalem is holy. If we look at it re a broader why, we could say all of the Islamic world, is holy places Palestinian cause isn't a nationalist one. It is the center of struggle of the entire Islamic world; just go back to history . . . Palestine fell only after the Osmon empire collapsed. Palestine will not be liberated before all other

Islamic countries are liberated from those dictatorial regimes which impose itself on their nations.

There will be no solution for the Islamic cause. We have to confirm this fact and focus on Jerusalem, and there is still oppression, and this oppression will not be removed before liberation. I went to Pakistan and found the people over there, in 1967, crying because Jerusalem fell to the Jews. And the Jews will not give up Jerusalem as long as they exist in Palestine.

In 1980, Senator Patrick Moynihan (ph) of New York, commented: Now the first world war come to an end with the final collapse of the Osman Empire. Do you believe that . . . now Arafat signature affirm this . . . he gave it to the Jews.

The Senator is a Jew, said one of the participants. He is a gay, said another participant and every one present laughed.

New Speaker

Said he disagrees with was said about the Islamic aspect of the cause, and said the Movement (Hamas) doesn't go in this direction .. The Movement has another direction (Non Islamic - but nationalistic), and I want to make this very clear. The world recognize the cause as a political one and this is what we have to deal with and liberate Palestine.

When he was asked how Palestine could be liberated his answer was through the holy war.

Another speaker made the following points:

This isn't the first meeting in which we discussed the future Palestinian activities in this country. We had a meeting on July 14 and we came up with the following recommendations.

He listed a number of recommendations. Most of which his already been listed in the above conversation and which I am not going to repeat. However, the following point can be added:

The Islamic point of view should be the prevailing one. It should be adopted by the Palestinians and the Islamists.

It should be adopted by the Islamic institutions in North America, including the Union.

The Islamic community/Palestinian community in North America should be mobilized to support the Islamic project in Palestine and in North America.

To support financially the family in the home land.

To put pressure on the Palestinian policy makers abroad.

In order to be effective in America we have to be strong.

We have to work with other Muslim organizations in North America, such as the American Muslim Alliance, the United Muslims of America and others. At present, these organizations are attempting to encourage the Islamic community to be involved in the political life in this country. We should assist them in this task. This will be an entrance for us to put, through the Islamic community, pressure on the Congress and the decision makers in America.

End of the tape

Tape 16 - Conference Room

Date: 10/2/93: This is a continuation of the Third Session

They continued to talk about their political activities and the methods they should use to accomplish these objectives. There are complains here and in Canada, that people are not interested very much in these activities. They talked about using the messages and the Islamic centers in USA in spreading there cause and raising funds. They talked about raising and mobilizing the new generations of Islamic community in USA to serve their cause. The said the should visit these Mosques/Islamical centers instead of sending letters or making telephone calls. The sited an example, of the Palestinian day in San Francisco, which is usually attended by around 2000 people, half of them are Muslims. They said they should participate in such activities.

They said they should maintain legal cover. They talked about establishing new Islamic institutions and schools in this country.

They talked about educating the community about the Islamic part of the Palestinian cause.

They talked about establishing Islamic clubs/social clubs.

They said their duty is to explain and defend the Palestinian people rights.

They talked about the establishment of a committee for a general council that consists of between 15 and 20 persons, assisted with one secretary and assistant and act as an umbrella for the Union and propagate the Palestinian/Islamic action in America.

Gawwad said the objective is to explain and justify the Movement actions.

We talked about getting prepared for the future confrontation with the Zionist entity.

They mentioned that their struggle isn't for an autonomy or Palestinian State, but for the land they stole from us.

It was indicated that the programs of the institutions in America should conform with the direction of the Movement; which means should support the goals/activities of the "Movement." These institutions should provide the Movement with advise/and information. He told the people in attendance they can put down their opinions on paper, send it to either Brother Omar or Brother Ibrahim, and those brothers will fax these opinions to the people in charge.

Ashqar made the following points:

1. To send protest letter to Ahmad Yousef and Yaser Saleh because they promised to attend this meeting but didn't come.

One attendance Said Yaser will be coming tomorrow.

2. He asked the brothers from Canada to talk in detail about this activities and problems in Canada.

Evaluation of today meeting activities:

They agreed they achieve their objectives and the meetings were a success.

They hoped to implement whatever they talked about.

They criticized some of the mistakes they made in managing and calling and _____ for these meetings and hoped to avoid those mistakes in the future.

Ashqar made a brief evaluation and praised Brother Shukri performance

End of the tape

Tape 17 - Conference Room

Date: 10/2/93: Continuation of the Third Session

UM mentioned they have a "Brain storm" meeting in July of this year; where they discussed subjects similar to what they are discussing now. He hopes that this meeting will not be another brain storm meeting. He hope that they articulate their ideas, make decisions on these ideas and form a committee to implement/and follow up on these decisions.

Another speaker mentioned that the way the attendees approached the Palestinian problem has disbursed him. He asked the attendees to read the Koran carefully for they can draw their positions from the Koran. He said the Koran mentioned that for the nations to achieve their goals, are tested, tortured, suffered and even killed what is happening now is exactly what the holy Koran said. Therefore, what we see now is one of these phenomenons mentioned by the Koran. The whole world is against us, fights us, and antagonize us. Those, all, are indications that they weak, the meek are right. Those made presentation didn't think in this way . . we don't need the help of anyone. Help of God will suffice.

Another speaker mentioned almost the above argument and added that they have to be security conscious.

It was mentioned that they consider the current situation is a declared war by the Crusaders and the Jews against Islamic.

End of the tape

Tape 18 - Conference Room

Date: 10/2/93:

The meeting ended, most of the attendance including Ashqar left and few people stayed. One of these people, probably coming from Amman, mentioned he received two visas but didn't use them.

They mentioned offering him an invitation so he can obtain a visa, and also advise him to see a lawyer to facilitate obtaining a visa for him.

They briefly discussed the peace accord and how to defeat it.

The end of the meeting

Tape 1 - Conference Room

Date: 10/3/93: The meeting was held an individual was assigned to take the minutes.

The purpose of the meeting was explained and it was to discuss the points/the items which were raised in the two previous meetings, articulate it, formulate wording on it, and vote on it.

The general goal of all the meetings is to guide the action in America, by the Palestinian entities in the light of the current developments.

To establish of at least general guidelines for these institutions relating to its objectives, methods of dealing with the people and its performance.

~~The following are the points which were raised by some brothers and achieved general consensus. These points were discussed, mostly approved and need no more debate about it. The words of these papers will be made, tabled, put in motion and voted on.~~

Then the attendance started by discussing the first meeting issues. These issues related to political analysis of the current situation and its impact on the American theater: the following conclusions were mentioned:

1. The need to make the peace accord fail. The reasons for that are: (1) The establishment, at the present time, of an administrative structure in the Occupied Territories is unacceptable because it strips struggle from its concept. One of the ways to discredit those who sponsored it and who will implement it.

Another point is to avoid making the American theater a confrontation one. There should be no direct confrontations, with other groups, on the American soil.

It was mentioned that the Union isn't an opposition front. It is an institution that function in America, but expresses the point of view of its people.

The external struggle, is inevitable and we should prepare ourselves for it. The struggle didn't take a final shape yet and we have to have a hand in shaping the outcome of this struggle, it was said.

The objectives of actions on the American soil should be reconsidered.

The issue now is whatever we should concentrate our efforts to build and strengthen the Arabic/Palestinian community in this country, or to focus our efforts on providing

assistance to the inside (in the Occupied Territories). They discussed this point extensively.

Examples were given relating when activities they should get involved in on which they should not get involved in. They mentioned other Palestinian/Arabic/Muslim organizations that function in this country. They mentioned ADC, MAYA and ESNA. They mentioned the objectives of this organization and how it differs from their objectives.

For example, ADC, provide legal services to those who are harassed, discriminated against and so fourth.

They shouldn't duplicate the efforts of these organizations.

It was mentioned that their institutions, such as the Fund and the Union were established in the first place to provide assistance to the Movement inside the Occupied Territories and they should not deviate from this objective. It was also mentioned the function of these institutions is to act like a liaison/link between the inside and the Palestinian community in the United States.

It was also mentioned you can't separate the services provided by these institutions to the community in USA from that provided to the inside.

It was also mentioned that these institution the Union and the Fund were established under particular laws, regulations and by-laws. In performing their duties they should confine themselves to these laws and regulations.

It was also mentioned they could shift their focus toward reallocating there resources without violating these laws and regulations. For example, they spend a lot of resources in charitable activities in the homeland, such as assisting the orphans and charitable organizations. Now, they should stop funding such activities. Let the coming self rule administration carry that burden. This will weaken the self rule administration, and release their funds to be directed to other direction. The other direction is to invest in projects which will provide employment opportunities to the Islamists, which will create an Islamic Economic power in the Occupied Territories.

They also mentioned one of the ways to defeat the peace accord is to announce that it runs contrary to Islamic laws. Reconciliation is unacceptable under Islamic laws. People in the home land may be happy for getting financial compensation, or better standard of level, and may accept the accord based on these considerations.

But once you tell them that the accord is a violation of the Islamic law they will not be able to accept it.

They said the Palestinian institutions in the United States has three options:

- (1) To serve the Movement inside the Occupied Territories.
- (2) To concentrate on serving the Palestinian community in the United states, or
- (3) To mix the activities and to find a balance to serve both communities.

It was mentioned that America represents five axes to them:

- (1) To serve as a secure place for the Movement.
- (2) To exploit the community resources in America to assist those inside the Occupied Territories.
- (3) To use the American theater as a point of pressure on the inside.
- (4) To avail human services.
- (5) To lead the Palestine political struggle in United States. This should be directed promoting the Islamic point of view re the Palestinian cause.

The above issues were discussed during the first meeting, articulated during this meeting and achieved general consensus.

Then they, again, discussed the ways and means by which to defeat the peace accord. First, the accord empty the struggle form its concept.

To concentrate on hot issues such as human rights, the human rights of the refugees, and how the self rule administrative leaders are corrupt. The accord doesn't meet Islamic laws, and the PLO leadership don't represent the Palestinian people.

Jerusalem issue should be also brought up and focused on.

It was also mentioned that all activities they are talking about pertain to the activities within the United States. They also mentioned it is not to this best interest to cause troubles in the American theater.

At the end of the meeting they agreed that both the Union and the Fund doesn't have to drastically change their functions and methods in order to adjust to the new realities.

However, those institutions can establish sections to handle particular functions. Such as establishing a section to serve the Palestinian community in the United States.

That they should establish links and communications with other Arabic/Palestinian Islamic Movement in USA, such as ADC, MAYA, and ESNA; and the American media, American people and the Congress of the United States.

Tape 2 - Conference Room

Date: 10/3/93:

They continued to discuss the functions of the Islamic Union of Palestine; and tried to reach conclusions and vote on it.

They voted that the Union should not change its objectives/and methods dramatically.

They also mentioned that people get scare to deal with them because they think that FBI is after them.

One of the attendance said they sold tickets for Philadelphia fair doubled the number of people who actually come to the fair. The people say take the \$10, but they don't want to come.

When the FBI, they said, come to your house, the people will be afraid to come to the fair. The Jews will say the Islamic Union of Palestine is doing so and so. Therefore we have to be careful in performing our activities.

Another objective is: The institutions should work to avail certain specialities for the Movement, such as journalists, lawyers, political scientists, education and investment. Details to be worked out in the future, they said.

The information activities should be geared toward promoting the Islamists as the only alternative.

To think about the establishment of specialized institutions to handle the new realities.

To raise the morals of the people, and to build a human bridge between here (USA) and Palestine. Such as reviewing and sending delegations to the home land.

The above proposal was approved.

The Jerusalem issue should be adopted/explained in terms of Islamic laws.

Ashqar suggested that the actions taken in USA should parallel actions in the homeland; and complement each other. For example if a news paper was confiscated in the homeland, it should be replaced by another one. Should be published here if they published news paper over there, it should be distributed abroad and so and so . .

It was mentioned that spending efforts on non Muslims is waste of time.

A new speaker came and read a paper titled: The Charitable Activities in the Light of the Current Changes.

1. He mentioned that the current events may contribute the rising the standard of living in the Occupied Territories - this will result in the decline of the level of contributions in America. Contributors will incline to think there is no need no more to their contributions.
2. The Islamic institutions in the Occupied Territories will be targeted by the self rule administration and by the Jews. This will take place in the West Bank, Gaza and the 48 areas. Beside the fact that there are few Islamic institutions in Palestine.

Positive developments are:

1. The new situation may cover the needs of same families in Palestine. These needs were met by the Fund before. In fact 80% of the Fund spending went to cover families needs in Palestine. This money will be redirected toward the Islamic institutions.
2. The new situation will allow for foreign investment by foreign countries, people, and international organizations.

The suggested solutions:

1. To separate the charitable activities from the political activities.
2. To shift spending targets. Since the holy struggle will continue more funds will be spent on the injured. The martyrs and the prisoners (families).
3. To open the door to the American society. Americans will participate in the development that will take place in the homeland. So, our institutions will be in the fore front of these activities.

4. Should encourage investors to invest over there and try to obtain governmental support. To form economic committees to benefit from such changing environment.

5. To protect Islamic institution/organizations in the homeland by providing it with legal coverage. Such as tying it to our organizations here in the States, giving it different names, membership, and register it here too. This will make it difficult for the people over there to confiscate it or take it over or whatever.

6. To drive a media campaign to quantify the cause and show that economic aide can not by itself solve the Palestine problem and can't solve the problems of the Palestinian people. This can be done by bring people from the homeland to explain the situation to the people here, and collect contributions.

To focus our funding on institutions other than individuals - To open offices in Gaza, the West Bank and the 48 areas, to distribute funds.

To educate the contributions through the Union or any other institutions in order to limit the effects of the rumors and to be able to collect contributions in the future.

The above points were approved.

They mentioned bringing people from the Occupied Territories to America on scholarships.

A new speaker:

The new speaker will deal with the issues discussed yesterday in the third session. The topic is information and political actions in the United States in the future.

Some realities has to be considered. Those realities include the fact that the American government support the accord and that the Jews has great influence in the information and news media field. All this will affect the Islamic community in this country. Therefore, the situation should be analyzed and objectives should be developed.

Objectives:

1. To continue to support the Palestinian cause, and defend and explain the Movement objectives in a suitable way on the Palestinian/Arab/Islamic and American people levels, with the objective of building a public opinion that sponsors the Movement position and its political goals by all means.

The above point was approved.

2. To strengthen the Islamic institutions through legal means so it can continue to perform its functions.

3. To strengthen our presence within the Palestinian/Arab/Islamic communities by all means, and protect our achievements and make it grow by all means. Strengthen our alliances with other Islamic and Arab organizations in the American field.

4. To work towards making the Islamic Union of Palestine the main source of information representing the Movement position. To avoid making the Union appear to be an opposition front and that is tied to the inside (of the Occupied Territories). We shouldn't say we represent so and so.

5. Our informational/political position should be based on our Islamic and Movement principles.

6. To work towards the establishment of a strong economic base to benefit the political base. Should concentrate on investment as will be explained later.

7. Our priority is the other Islamic groups (in USA) such as ESNA. This is because these groups look at the Palestinian cause in an Islamic light as we do. They are supposed to carry some responsibility toward the cause as we do. We have to activate these organizations so they can share some responsibility in carrying the message.

The Islamic/Arab/Palestinian communities and its institutions.

The American people. As we said before, we don't expect much of the American people but we still have to talk with them.

Recommendations

1. The political message: Our political line should be based on our Islamic creed. Should express our Movement position and its political program. Language vary when talking to different groups of people.

1. When talking to Arabic and Muslim people our message should be clear. It should be based on the Islamic law, which represent the Movement position.

2. The (Muslim) brotherhood and the Islamic groups. We have to work toward activating these groups in a positive and constructive way to win her which will benefit our cause. (The above point were approved.)

3. The American people. This has to do with the news media. The American people don't understand the Palestinian cause as the Islamic communities understand it; for many reasons. Therefore, we must explain to them our ideas, in a way that doesn't contradict with our religion. We should concentrate on issues such as human rights, and that peace can only be achieved through bringing justice and removing oppression. We have also to explain them our historical rights to Palestine, and the oppression and terrorism. That is practiced against the Palestinians, refute the truthfulness of the organization (PLO), and refute its ability and its legitimacy to lead the Palestinian people. We have to use the decisions of the United Nations when needed. We have to refute the Jews claims and to assert our right to resist occupation.

If the organization (PLO) failed to meet its responsibility . . . They have to find an alternative.

At the present time the American government and the American people recognize the PLO and its leaders as the legitimate representative to the Palestinian people. The only alternative - But some day they might have to deal with Samah. (Samah is Hamas pronounced from the opposite direction. They are trying to avoid using the name Hamas and to mislead whoever is listening to their conversation.) For the time being they see the organization is the only power that can impose itself on the Palestinian people as the Arab rules do to their people.

Same one objected to the above point. He said we shouldn't bring our Palestinian differences to the American theater. We have no business talking about the Americans. We shouldn't, in talking with the Americans, attack the organization (PLO). We will only look bad. If we talked to the American this way they will say you are extremists, terrorists. They used to say Arafat and the PLO are terrorists. How this benefitted us. We have no interest in discrediting the organization (PLO) in the American field.

Another person said the American government only recognizes the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people. Arafat and his associates such as Abbass and Hanan Sheaivawy keep saying they represent the majority. We should not keep silent in the face of these lies.

Abu-Ayyub said they said they hold the majority and that Hamas is in the minority. Arafat wasn't elect. Why there was no elections.

They will tell you Hamas wasn't elected too, and how do you know that the organization wasn't elected. What is the possibility of having a neutral organization to conduct a survey. To see who supports who.

The American people, at the present time, like Arafat and if you said something they will say you are an extremist, a fundamentalist. But when you talk in the official institutions, if you talk for example, to the Department of State you will tell them the Palestinian people are behind us.

End of the tape

Tape 3 - Conference Room

Dated: 10/3/93: This is a continuation of October 3 meeting.

They talked about rejecting the accord without attacking Abu-Ammar (Yasir Arafat) personally.

~~They said they should mention, to the American people, that the accord will not benefit the Palestinian people. They should talk to the American people about democracy, representation. They have to tell them he (Arafat) wasn't elected, he is creating and dictatorship. Like the ones in the other Arab countries, bring the name of Saddam Hussein next to his name. What will be saying is simply the truth; the American people know that. The ordinary people in the street may not know but the American officials know. All the institutions of the organization (PLO) including the parliament, was not elected. All were appointed. We have to talk about the corruption in his administration. They are thieves.~~

They debated the above issues for a while, about democracy, about opposing the accord.

They said the organization (PLO) doesn't represent the Palestinian people. The organization has no right to sign the accord in behalf of the Palestinian people.

It was indicated that Abu-Ammar (Arafat) has allied himself with "them" against us . . . publicly. They made a motion, voted on it and it was passed. The motion says to refute the idea that the organization represent the Palestinian people. And our position towards the accord should be explained to the American people in a suitable way.

Another member said we (the Union) can't, as an American organization say we represent Samah (pronouncing Hamas from the rear to the front). Can we go to the Congressman and tell him, I am Omar Yehya, Chairman of the Union, Yassir Arafat doesn't represent me but Ahmad Yasin does?'

⁴FBI note: The reference to Ahmad Yasin, is Sheikh Yassin, the spiritual leader of HAMAS.

Another speaker said what I am trying to say is that we the Union, doesn't represent the Movement (Hamas) . . . all we have to say. The accord isn't just. Many Palestinian people weren't consulted, many Palestinians will not get their rights. We shouldn't say the organization doesn't represent us, and Arafat isn't our leader. This isn't our business.

Our President is Clinton, one attendee said. (Laughs)

We shouldn't make the American theater a confrontation arena. We will not be only fighting other Palestinians, but it will be also difficult to deal with the American authorities. What is our interest in creating additional enemies. This isn't in our best interest. We will be labeled as anti-establishment terrorists.

Another member said: As an American citizen I don't want my President (Clinton) to put his hand in the hand of the wrong person. (Laughs).

Another motion: To establish a political/public relations office. This office will be supervised with a Board of Directors, or Board of Trustees, which will direct and supervise the activities of the office. The objective of such an office can be summarized as follows:

To enlarge the current target population by using all available methods of information, such as the news media. This kind of activities are performed now by the Union. Under this proposal this office will perform political as well as informational and public relations activities under a Board of Trustees guidance.

The question is, do we need now, this kind of office to achieve our goals.

The above mentioned was discussed and approved.

Another suggestion:

To hold a conference for the leaders of the Mosques and centers in the United States. The purpose is to develop a unified, Islamic position towards the accord. And activate, and mobilize these people to the benefit of our cause. They talk about the management and paper work required to convene such a conference, the financial cost, who will make the invitations and who will receive the invitations, he will contact the people. Areas mentioned for possible invitations included New Jersey and New York. They also mentioned depending on their local people in such states to make to contacts and the invitations.

Then they discussed forming a preparatory committee to prepare for the conference and to make the necessary arrangements. They placed Shiekh El-Muthanna and Omar Yehya, of the Union, to be in charge of the conference.

Abdul-Haleen Ashqar, said he has to leave but wants to make some points before he leaves. (1) He suggested including and training women to be involved in political and charitable activities. The proposal was met with laughs from the presence.

(2) A black Muslim has a program to recruit students (minorities to study law at Georgia University, School of Law. He wants to know if any Muslim brothers like to study law through this program. If any one made an application, he will be assisted in the enrolling process and financial wise.

One of the attendee asked to put his name in this program.

Ashqar left the meeting

Another suggestion:

It was suggested to invite prominent Muslim scholars from the Islamic countries (between 5-10 scholars or more) to attend a conference in this country. The purpose of the conference is to take a unified Islamic position relating to the accord. This proposal could be forwarded to the Movement inside and should be sponsored by the Movement. Our people of the Movement inside will then contact these prominent scholars and convince them to attend such a conference; and the Movement may also contribute to the financial cost of having such a conference. This conference should be held in a known large city such as New York and it is not for the public to attend. Sheiks may attend such a conference and present papers.

They discussed the above issue at length.

There were questions relating to who will make the invitations, what agency in USA will sponsor the conference, we can't say we represent Samah (Hamas).

It was mentioned that Abu-Ayub is the one who submitted this proposal. It was also indicated that it might be difficult to convince the prominent scholars to come to USA and attend such a conference.

It was also mentioned that such a conference should have the widest information and medial coverage.

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The above idea was attacked. It was said the American news media will say there are only a bunch of fundamentalists who oppose the peace process. This is because the Americans don't really understand the cause the way we understand it. If you want to address the Islamic community, then the Islamic community is in the East and not here. The results of the conference will not be worth the cost of holding it.

The above idea of holding a conference was defeated.

It was also mentioned that the Movement (Hamas) is very interested in a conference that is held in Malaysia.

Another suggestion: To hold a conference for the Islamic scholars who live in the American continent; for informational and political purposes.

One of the attendees mentioned there is a Council for Islamic Scholars in America, which can be used. However, another attendee who is familiar with such a Council mentioned that Council is useless . . . it defeats any idea for meetings. The Council was founded by the late Ahmad Zaki. Now the Council is chaired by Taha Jabir who talks much and does little.

The end of the tape

Tape 4 - Conference Room

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Date: 10/3/93: This is a continuation of 10/3/93 meeting of the courtyard by Marriott Hotel.

A motion was made that read as follows: "To invite the Islamic scholars and thinkers in America to a meeting to study the latest developments relating to the Palestinian cause.

This subject was discussed and it was suggested to invite the scholars and the thinkers to the first suggested conference to which the mosques and Islamic centers, ministers/preachers will be invited. And instead of holding two conferences make it one only.

They also decided that Abu-Muthanna will be in charge of making such invitations - and the above suggestion was approved.

It was mentioned that an Islamic scholar with the name Abdul-Fattah was approached by them and was asked to issue a Fatwa (an Islamic formal legal opinion) relating to the accord but he refused to do that. Mr. Abdul-Fattah resides in Canada.

Another proposal:

It was suggested that the Union form a delegation, go to Chairman of ESNA organization's Chairman Taha Jaber. Meet the Board of Directors of ESNA and ask them to pronounce their position re the Palestinian cause.

It was said since you don't trust the ESNA people, you don't ask them to issue a Fatwa. If you want to talk to them, you should demand they issue a Fatwa saying the accord is nil and void and illegal.

The proposal to send a delegation to ESNA was consequently defeated and instead they decided that Mr. Abul-Muthanna communicate this decision to ESNA people.

Two more points were mentioned before ending the meeting.

1. To encourage investment in American and in the inside to support the institutions with the purpose of strengthening the political action.
2. To establish specialized institutions as needed so the Union will stay as it is and the new institutions take care of the new needs of the community.

After the official meeting ended they held unofficial meeting during which one person (name wasn't mentioned) did all the talking in a form of a report. The following is a summary of the report.

The man reported about the situation re Saida (South Lebanon) and said there were many demonstrations, marches, which involved very large number of people, which took place denouncing the accord. During one of these marches/demonstrations some people were killed. The demonstrations were attended by Munir Manbah "ph". The military Fattah leader in the area who demanded Arafat resignation. It was also attended by the Chairman of the Party of God, Dr. Ali Ammar, the person in charge of the political affairs of the Islamic University.

The speaker mentioned he wasn't in Lebanon during the time such events. He "thinks" was in Afghanistan during that time.

Then he spoke at length concerning the Syrians position. He mentioned that the Syrians oppose peace with the Jews. They oppose normalizing relations with the Jews. They think once you normalize relations with the Jews they will take over (dominate) the region. He said, in 1985, he heard that from Hafez Al-Assad personally. He also related that the Syrian position isn't based on Morah, religious base, but on the Syrians interests as perceived by

them. To them, the influence of their country on the regional and international level is based on this central of the Lebanese and Palestinians. If the Palestinian issue and the Lebanese issue were solved their influence will shrink dramatically. This is why they will never agree to normalizing the relations. He said no one can do business in Lebanon without going through Damascus first. Examples for that were given. Long time ago the foreign ministers of France went to Lebanon directly. They meet him at the airport but didn't deal with him, didn't negotiate with him, didn't do any business with him and he returned to France empty handed. After he repented, and six months later he went to Syria and from Syria he went to Lebanon where he was able to conduct business. Another example when Christopher (US Secretary of State) wanted to go to Lebanon he went to Syria first then he was drove to Lebanon.

He said the Iranians understood this situation very well so they, in cooperation with the Syrians arranged the Party of God. There is no good feelings between the Iranians and the Syrians. If you sit with the Iranians they will tell you the same thing. Also, if you sit with the Party of God people they will tell you the same thing. The Party of God people are afraid if severe pressure were placed on the Syrians they will change their position toward the Party of God which will put a lot of pressure on their activities in Lebanon. However, at the present time the Syrians support Islamic struggle in the south and against normalizing relations with the Jews.

If it is up to Lebanon, Lebanon would have normalized the relations with the Jews since long time ago. Al-Hariri (The Prime Minister of Lebanon) is the American/Saudis man. He came in basically for the purpose of normalizing the relations with the Jews. Normalizations include information and economic. He, Al-Hariri, purchased vast amounts of land if he normalized relations with the Jews he may sell them some of these lands or form industrial/other projects in cooperation with them.

However, he, Al-Hariri, and consequently Lebanon, can't normalize the relations with the Jews for two reasons; the Syrians position, and the Islamic forces in Lebanon. The Lebanese know that Islamic forces in Lebanon are so strong that it can't be ignored and any normalization with the Jews will bring severe repercussions inside Lebanon.

When Al-Hariri sent the army to South Lebanon, he was harassed badly by the Syrians. This is because the Syrians support Islamic resistance.

The end of this tape

Tape 5 - Conference Room

Date: 10/3/93: This is a continuation of October 3, meeting at Courtyard of Marriott Hotel.

The Sheikh speaker continued to talk about the position/policies of Syria. The Syrians explain their policies in the terms of the fact that the Soviet Union has collapsed, the Arab regimes are very much under American control, that America is not willing to have a dialogue at this time and is pressuring (The Syrians) too hard. They Syrians also say as a State, with trade, commercial interest and population can't act like an organization, a group or as a party. So, if you want to act, then act, without saying we are supported by the Syrians. ~~We aren't going to stand in your way and this is exactly what is happening with the Party of God.~~ The Syrians know that the Americans and the Jews know that this is their policy; but neither you, or them should confirm this.

Their position is very clear to everyone. In the final analysis they host Ahmad Jebril and other groups, and these groups can't act without their approval. Hafez Al-Assad, regardless of the facts that he is a tyrant, a dictator he make many statements that make sense. His statements can be interpreted in many ways. He always advocate caution and coordination. Before the announcement of the peace accord he (Assad) had a violent meeting with Arafat. He told Arafat if it is up to me I would have burned down all of you. This is because he knew that they (Fatah group) mad concessions they don't have to make. After the accord he had a meeting with Arafat and told him I am not supporting and I am not against; it is a Palestinian and it is up to the Palestinian people and their institutions - look at what he said. Institutions, what did he mean by that. You can say based on this statements you can say Syria supports the accord and you can also say they don't support the accord.

It was also mentioned the situation is larger than Arafat/Hussein/Assad. It is an international conspiracy.

Then one of the attendance paused a question to the speaker. And the question was related to Gaza/Jericho accord. There were leaks at the time of the accord announcements, that it may involve normalizing the relations between Israel and Lebanon, and that Syria will get the Golan back, withdraw its forces form Lebanon. The question is if all these leaks were true what will be the position of the Islamists and the resistance in general.

In response the Sheikh said it appears that they Syrians are look for something more than the Golan. If they wanted the Golan they could have got it even at the beginning of the negotiations. America offered them the Golan several times but they declined.

In 1985 Assad said, as long as the Arabs are divided it is impossible to have a solution to the Palestine problem. He still says this until now. If you can't liberate Palestine at least don't normalize the relations with the enemy.

A question was posed to the speaker relating to the fact that Assad really wants to liberate Palestine.

The speaker said not necessarily. However, interests wise, it is to his benefit to liberate Palestine. Once you do that you will be the hero of the Arab world. All the Arab leaders want to liberate Palestine to become the heroes of the Arab world. Even Khomeini of Iran, if he liberates Palestine he will become the hero of the Arab/Islamic world.

Assad sometimes take positions which you benefit from. Take the Party of God as an example. Although the Party of God has his Islamic beliefs that diverge from that of the Syrian, he (the Party of God) does its best to please the Syrians. He always makes statements that make the Syrians happy.

In 1980 the Party of God wasn't even in the Lebanese theater. At that time our Islamic group was spread all over Lebanon. Party of God got the financial support from the Iranians and the political cover from the Syrians. And the Syrians gave him the freedom to act. Look how the Party of God became now. Because they were able to find a balance between their goals and the reality of life. The fact that we have to sit with them (the Syrians) although he is a dictator . . . This matter should be studied more. At least the Syrians position until now . . .

There were intelligence secrets which were received by the Hariri people about meetings between the Syrians and the Americans, in an intelligence language. When the Syrians know of it they reprimanded Hariri. This is because Hariri can't become Prime Minister with the approval of the Syrians.

Sometimes the Syrians put pressure on Hariri through the Party of God. When he was appointed as Prime Minister, the understanding was that he will be the Prime Minister of economic development and similar functions. But quickly he started to get involved in politics. Hundreds of thousands of demonstrators asked for his resignation, the Party of God escalated the situation against him to a certain degree. But the Syrians were not seeking his resignations. They just wanted to put pressure on him. They like all the Lebanese leaders to continuously feel uncomfortable and worry. Hariri had some secret meetings with the Jews; the Syrians leaked such agreements to Al-Safir news paper. That Hariri wants to normalize the relations with the Jews. The Syrians leaked it to Talal Salmon. And Talal Salmon is known to be anti American/Saudi/Hariri policies. It was published in Al-Safir and Hariri took the news paper/Talal to court. But all forces in

Lebanon, the parties, the journalists, the thinkers, all were against Hariri act against Al-Safir. Even the day of the trial they transformed the court into a demonstration. Later Hariri wanted to have reconciliation with the press. Therefore he invited the news paper to his palace but Al-Safir declined to attend. Talol is a good man, he likes the Islamists and always write positive articles re the Palestinian cause.

At this point, the attendance started to leave signaling the end of the meeting while others stayed in the room.

One of the attendance told the speaker they need him to go to Europe or South America for a month and half, mentioning Denmark by name.

Sheikh said he can't do it for a month and half. The reasons for his inability has to do with his visas and the like, but he can do it for few days only.

The end of the tape

Tape 6 - Conference Room

Date: 10/3/93: No pertinent information on this tape. The meeting ended.

Tape 2 - Room 223

Date: 10/3/93:

The present read some articles relating to the PLO/Israel peace accord. The concentrated on the following items;

During the White House celebration, re peace accord, Rabin mentioned to the Jews suffering and rights. Arafat/Abbas didn't mention the Palestinian people suffering and rights they were first class beggars.

Arafat recognized the State of Israel, change a number of items of the Palestinian charter abandoned violence, terrorism and all forms of resistance in return for the Israel recognition of the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people. A document of humiliation, treason and shame.

Arafat mentioned, during Larry King Live Show that he supported Sadat Camp David accord with Israel. He is lying. He was first out to oppose the agreement and accused Sadat with treason.

They mentioned a conference that will take place on the 30th. (Perhaps October 30), which will be attended by Christopher, James Baker, Clouvis MsQsud, Amr Musa and Nihad (LNU).

UM said he will take to Abul-Rum.

UM said tell him to tell his uncle Fahd Abul-Roum (Abul-Fateh) that the Union invites him to a political debate.

End of the meeting
