

[UM] Unidentified Male.
[UI] Unintelligible.
[NFI] Not Further Identified.
[Italics] Translator's comments.

Sh = Shukri Abu Baker
Om = Omar Ahmad
Ha = Haitham Maghawri
Gh = Ghassan Elashi
Ss = Sheik Sharif
Ga = Gawad
Ab = Abdel Salam

Om: ...it is from 8-12, four hours.

Sh: You mean we could start early on?

Om: Yes.

Sh: The total is 14 hours.

Om: UI. How are you?

UM1: Good, by God.

Om: By the way, you had elections...

UM1: Yes, we're busy. We're busy. I came over here in the middle of the elections.

Om: Until when is the elections?

UM1: It is over.

Om: Is it over?

UM1: I believe [*it ended*] two days ago.

Om: I mean, were the results announced or what?

UM1: No, not yet. No, not yet.

Om: No, it is not possible. Not yet. I would have heard it on the news.

UM1: No, not yet. Maybe in two weeks. Yes, right, right. But, I mean, the Labor Party paid 2 million shekels to some parties which are, of course, affiliated with it and some other parties in order to coordinate together to stand against the Islamists in the city. But, thanks be to God, the brothers..., their position is strong.

Om: They're working.

UM1: Yes, their position is strong [*static*]. They're strong..., world media is giving us...

Om: Is giving us a large role..., is giving us a large role and I don't know if we measure up to it or not.

UM1: Yes, I mean, this story about...UI, this could be a blessing or it could be a catastrophe, you see? But, if we sought the help of God the Almighty and worked very hard, we could make a difference, God's willing.

Om: God's willing.

UM1: By God, I knew some people over there, some of them...UI. I was happy with the kind of people I see...UI. But then, praise be to God, there is a collapse of the other side from God while we, praised be God the Almighty, we calculate every step in a material way more than we ought to.

[*Ghassan Elashi walks into the room and greets the others*].

UM1: Peace, God's mercy and blessings.

UM2: Yesterday, the Christian fundamentalists were...UI.

UM1: They had a conference two days ago about the issue of "Hopes and fears about the issue of peace" in...

Om: Oh, yeah. I know about it. The conference which was broadcasted by the Protestants in San Diego.

Sh: Did you put your...UI, the room number?

Om: No, by God. No.

Sh: The room number? You didn't put it?

Om: No.

UM1: This professor, John Halaqa, was the one who was in charge of the interpretation, in the Catholic College, university of...UI.

Om: Yes.

UM1: A Greek priest attended. He said very good things, by God.

UM2: Yes, him. It is true. They invited us to attend...

Om: But we declined.

UM2: We declined

UM1: By God, my brother, while they were speaking, a Zionist person who seems to be from the Meir Kahane group told the Jewish professors who were present, told them: You are servants to America. You're agents of America, you don't serve Judaism.

Om: No!

UM2: Yes, by God. A guy who showed a slide film was in the Israeli army.

UM3: Was he speaking about Rabin?

UM2: No, he was talking about the lecturers who were there at the....

[A period of low-volume discussions ensues between the men in the room. The following statements were heard, though].

Gh: ...in this manner, you become bigger than the...

UM2: UNRWA?

Gh: UNRWA. The UNRWA is 1.5, 1.5 or 1.6...

Sh: A reputation, talk and a fuss...

Gh: Yeah, but they don't have 2 millions. They could raise 10 million.

Om: But, my brother, they establish connections to some organizations...

Gh: And then they pool their resources together.

Om: They establish connections so not everything will come through them. They make visits, for instance, to organizations affiliated with the Christians and stuff. They donate directly to them and not...

Gh: Oh. You mean that it [*donation*] would come directly from the church to a hospital without passing by them.

Om: A shame. A shame. Even some Palestinians thank it [*the organization*].

Sh: So, the financing is...UI. For education; 51,000 [*dollars*], 40,000 [*dollars*] for I don't know what... 15,000 [*dollars*] for something else...UI. Public information 86,000 [*dollars*] which means that they pay their expenses and their mail campaigns and stuff.

[*Another period of low-volume side-talks by the men*].

Om: Whoever wants to copy his paper and distribute them to the people can do so, those who didn't make copies. Those who will discuss their papers and want people to have a copy, the hotel permitted us to make copies. Around 30-70 copies, that is. Do you want to copy it?

Sh: I want to copy this.

UM2: How many are in attendance?

Om: What?

UM2: How many are attending?

Om: Er... 25. Make 25 [*copies*]. It is better to have one person go at a time.

[A short period of silence and sounds of men moving around the room].

UM2: ...UI there used to be dictatorship. But, now, dictatorship is gone and they will be gone as well.

Sh: Ok, well, what is the meaning of democracy. Democracy is more sugar the tea [Laughter], more sugar in the coffee, more sugar in the coffee, more sugar in the coffee. We have no..., we have democracy just like Israel.

Ha: [Laughs] He is someone who wants to make his speech sweeter and he is not a politician. He is someone who wants...UI in the coffee shops of Washington, of Cairo, in order to know what he is talking about.

Om: This Omar Issa is a...

UM2: One of the supporters of peace. He used to...

Om: Th Sudanese ambassador.

UM2: The former [ambassador].

UM1: What is this statement which was issued by Sudan in support to the [peaceful] resolution?

Ha: That's right.

UM1: What?

Ha: They supported it.

UM1: Yes, did they give reasons for that or just supported it?

Om: They supported it in the summit meeting for the Arab foreign ministers which was held in Cairo. A support.

UM1: The only member to reject it was Iraq, maybe.

Om: Iraq was the only country which rejected it. As for Sudan, the media is assaulting the [Oslo] agreement. So, the Sudanese government keeps trying to justify..., or is trying to take a stand..., not a stand, but that we support the choice of the Palestinian people. The Palestinian state can only be...UI. All just talk without any principles. Even what is called

the Office of Guidance went secretive [*about Oslo*].

UM1: What Guidance?

Om: The Office of Guidance.

UM2: Take it easy on [*The Office of*] Guidance, may God keep you.

UM1: But, what did the [*Office of*] Guidance say?

Om: They met with Arafat, with Chairman Arafat and...

UM1: Yes, they met with him. Yes.

Om: Yes, and the statement which was issued afterwards doesn't include a rejection or a support.

UM1: The statement which was issued after the visit?

Om: Yes.

UM2: They issued a statement following the visit.

Sh: There is no..., no reference to the issue of the agreement itself. There are general talk.

Om: Yes, general stuff.

Sh: Yes, just general talk. Yes, I'm with you. I'm against those who sell the land. He who sells the land is a traitor. We're with you 100% and affirm the national unity. They said..., and they said that Arafat stressed the national unity and the importance of this and that and, regardless of the religion and the creed, and they said: and this is what we stress. It is over. The issue is over.

Om: But, if you take the language of the address, there is positivity..., he met with Chairman Arafat to discuss the issues... There is positivity. It is true that, at the end, it says that the Muslim Brotherhood reaffirm their principles. Their principles are known.

Sh: It is a simple matter, Sheik. Our Cause is that of...

Om: Yes, but when you put all these factors together..., there is no hope, even the people who

have principles don't have them anymore. May God help us. May God help us.

Sh: Abou Mohamed, it is now 10 O'clock now.

Om: Yes, but...

Sh: I think we should begin with whoever is here.

Om: I will read for you... There is a guy who wrote an article about his issue. He is saying, "Let's raise another glass so that we can ignore the fact that everyone..., everything looks like the Chairman's...UI, a part Kufiyya, the Palestinian headdress, worn in a...UI manner and a matching scarf, but hiding behind all of this a big bald head. The president is now acting like a mayor who just got his sewage budget and his eyes are gleaming with great joy. Sewage first. There is something to it and maybe he knows something we don't know". And they said, "The man who every time he insists on speaking English on American television struck another eternal blow to the Palestinian image. the man who is in his state for the past years has managed to bring several pretty impressive disasters down upon the...UI". This is a Christian [*journalist*] who wrote that.

Ha: He is [*Laughs*].

Om: He is saying, he is saying "Arafat promises to his people for years turned out to be replaced at the last moment by the whore of Jericho who greeted the Israeli spies".

Sh: This analogy is reasonable.

UM1: Arafat's contribution is similar to that of Abdel Nasser in '67. It is a contribution of a collaborator. It is not a contribution of a collaborator, it is that of a pure Jew.

Gh: What did Abdel Nasser give?

UM1: What?

Gh: What did Abdel Nasser give?

UM1: The Jews conquered him...UI.

Gh: But his position was a little bit more honorable.

UM1: What?

Gh: His position was a little bit more honorable.

UM1: All, all are traitors. All of is treason...

UM2: But Arafat did...

UM1: But it was long ago. Arafat, you have the time factor, my brother. The time factor and not only that... I mean, if Abdel Nasser was alive in '93, he would have called for surrendering the entire Islamic nation to the Jews. What is important is that the contribution of these people is not a contribution of collaborators.

Sh: But, let me tell you something. If you want to talk about a person who is a traitor or whatever, I will tell you that the Palestinian people is...UI doesn't want anyone other than Arafat. He is a strong man. He is the strongest. This is the logical conclusion. He silenced the opposition and Hamas has 70 or 90 [people] in Gaza and 60 [people] in the [West] Bank who are placed there...UI and they couldn't stop Yasser Arafat's project. That means he is the strongest man on the arena, my brother. And they will bid with him and people will go with the strong. People don't go with the weak even if his logic is strong. The fact that he is being supported is a strong factor...

UM1: Shukri, do you think that this is a logic?

Sh: I'm telling you that this is not my logic. It is the logic of...UI. This is how people think.

UM1: Is this a logic? This is not a logic.

Sh: They tell you that the Palestinians cannot feed their children.

UM2: Ok, what strengthened Arafat other than their support for him. This is their way in strengthening this support, to provide him with financial strength. Without money and outside support, he wouldn't...

Sh: The fact that there was a support [for Arafat]... This is politics, that he was able to get money and support.

UM2: Ok, how many..., how many honest persons have made projects?

Sh: We were going along with him to the last minute. They got us implicated us with them and they saw that there was no way out, they brought an agreed-upon solution and...UI. They're accomplice in the crime as much as he [Arafat] is. This is nonsense.

UM2: It is over, they now go to the [West] Bank, the...UI.

Sh: It is over, isn't it?

UM2: ...UI in Washington and could go to the [West] Bank.

Sh: But now they tell you that, during Christmas, we will celebrate in...UI, God's willing.

UM1: [Laughs] Go ahead and celebrate over there. Become a Christian and go celebrate over there.

Sh: [Laughs] God's willing.

UM1: Mahmoud Abbas. Who?

UM2: ...UI.

Om: There is an article... Someone wrote about the facts of the agreement. An Israeli. Dr. Israel Shihab. you know him...UI. He wrote a 13-page article in which he analyzes the issue. I read it. He is saying that the current situation... the signed agreement is the worst thing to happen to the Palestinians. The Jews now will give Arafat what he wants since he has now become like King Hussein or...UI. They're not planning to hold elections. The whole thing is all lies, the elections thing. They don't want to have elections in the first place. They want Arafat to remain...UI. Then he is saying that the deportation was conducted by a joint operation between the Israeli intelligence and Arafat and the [Palestinian Liberation] Organization. There were intelligence meetings and the first aspect to have coordination between the Jews and Arafat was through the intelligence.

Sh: Really!

Om: It is an incredible article.

UM2: ...UI.

Om: No, before that. He is saying that this was before the deportation process. I mean, he is saying that the deportation was planned by both sides. Or, at least, it was approved by the two sides.

UM2: Oh, you mean the [Palestinian Liberation] Organization approved it.

Om: The [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization approved it along with Israel. He calls this agreement...UI.

UM2: ...UI.

Om: Yes. This is similar to the...UI. Let's distribute those later. He who has a paper should distribute it later. This is better.

Sh: No, in order to...

Om: No, when he comes because he will waste time this way. He will distribute [*papers*] to everyone.

UM2: Let's start with the ready papers.

[*Sounds of papers and chairs being moved around in the room. UM3 walks into the room.*]

UM3: Peace be with you.

Om: Peace be with you. [*Pause*]. Praise be to God. Prayers and peace be to God's messenger, to his entire family and friends. God's willing, we shall begin with verses from the noble Quran by Sheik Sharif.

Ss: [*Recites Quran for few minutes*].

Om: May God reward you well. Brother Abou Ibrahim should have been with us, but may God heal him. He is at the hospital for those who don't know. He had a surgery yesterday. So, we ask God the Almighty to heal him. This meeting was called for by the Palestine Committee in order to have a seminar or a meeting to the brothers present here today in order to study the situation in light of the latest developments on the Palestinian arena, its effects and impact on our work here in America. We wanted this program to be a quick one so that we could implement what we get out from this meeting in our upcoming festivals and in our activities which will begin, or which have begun last week and which will continue until the end of the year. Also, we wanted to present some strategies for work in the future. So, we found some points which we asked all the brothers to look at some or all of them. They are: Political activism and public relations, popular activism, charity work, media work. ...UI some papers which I have and brought them. I think that our work at the Association [*Islamic Association for Palestine*] or what we did at the Association is a responsibility which falls on all of our shoulders and we wanted to distribute this responsibility on all the brothers who are here today to bear the burden of what is going

on. I say that it is our responsibility that these historic changes regarding our Cause and the cause of Islam in Palestine as many people look forward to a new leadership for Palestinian national activism, Islamic activism. They look forward to..., even the East and the West look forward to Islamic movements which lead the opposition and the masses after the collapse of the [Palestinian] Liberation Organization in the national sense. We wanted the brother to take part with us in this seminar in order to come up with some specific visions and strategies and in order to know how to proceed with the work, God's willing. I have a 3-page paper to be read in the beginning of the seminar in order to emerge with specific details. We will discuss it, God's willing. If we agree on it we will implement it and, if we didn't agree on it, we could modify it. Basically, the seminar is divided into four sessions; 3 sessions today and 1 session tomorrow, Sunday. Suggested time of the sessions are as follows: from 10-1, from 2-5, from 7-11 and, tomorrow, from 8-12. The first session will discuss the general political atmosphere and its impact on work in America. We have some papers. Those who wrote some papers could present them up in this session and...UI, could be presented at this time. We need to assign a moderator for this session. The second session will be about charity work and its future in light of the changes, it will be in the afternoon. There are papers to be presented and we will assign a moderator for this session. The third session is about political activism, media and popular activism and public relation in North America, the future and the challenges. It will be in the evening, God's willing, and we have papers to be presented...UI. Tomorrow, God's willing, the moderators of the three sessions today will be tomorrow's panel and will present... I mean, the session's moderator is responsible for taking the session's minutes, determine the papers and come up with a final paper for the session. This paper will be presented to us and approved by us and, after he present this paper to us tomorrow, we will have 3 papers, not 1 page but 3 pages. Each one will present it and then we take action plan from it on what to do, visions and modify it then we approve it, that this what we came up with in that meeting. I imagine that we could meet the entire two days and come up with nothing and we could also meet and, God's willing and God bless our time, come up with some visions. I see that..., this is a suggestion I present. If you approve it or if you have any modifications or anything regarding the points of discussion of the sessions, we would 10 minutes to the topic. This way, we would count papers in all aspects. The brothers who will submit papers should come here and will have a moderator with them and someone to take the minutes of the session and the points [discussed]. When discussion is over, he will present to us what he got out of the discussions. We approve it and then we end the first session and so forth. Tomorrow, God's willing, these three people will be in charge of the final session and they will the ones to present to us what we came up with. We would leave with work visions or action plan.

UM2: We could also have an introduction about the general...UI political atmosphere.

UM3: The general political situation we could...UI.

UM1: ...UI should have a discussion regarding America's position.

Om: Yes, right. In the first [session]. The first [session] is the general one and its impact on work in America.

UM1: I prepared a paper about the relationship of the charity work to...UI and the institutional work here.

Om: It will have an impact on it. It will be discussed in the second session. It could be the first paper to be discussed in the second session. Yes, the relationship of the charity work because it is relevant [to the discussion topic]. Are there any other suggestions?

UM1: ...UI.

Om: This is how the majority of it will be. For instance, the majority of it will be...UI. It will be up to the presenter of the paper. Who has...?

UM2: A part of the paper is...UI.

Om: Fine. And the second part is...

UM2: There is no sense in...UI.

Om: Fine. The majority of the paper. If the majority of is political, it will be a political [discussion] and it will be the same points discussed in the other topic.

UM2: That is everything. All the points. Someone will bring up all the points.

Om: But the majority of it, for instance, is... He who has a paper, where is the majority of it, of the paper, going to be?

UM2: It will a part of the seminar.

Sh: Discussion is open as well.

Om: There will be discussion.

Sh: It is not limited to the presenter of the paper.

Om: Yes, right. It doesn't have to be the person who presents the paper.

UM3: ...UI [*heavy static*].

Om: They will be in the first session, yes. Ok, do you agree on this point before we start? Is there any disagreement?

UM2: There is no disagreement.

Om: The first Philadelphia session, we have brother Abdel Salam and Sheik Sharif in the..., in the introduction. Could you...UI someone in the first session? Sheik Sharif and brother Abdel Salam. Who has papers for the first session. Brother..., in the first session? [*response inaudible*]. Who has papers for the second [*session*], charity work.

UM2: Is it about charity work exclusively?

Om: Yes. Charity work is by itself. No, those who have points and doesn't want to present a paper, we will take them as discussion [*points*].

UM1: I have a paper but I didn't distribute it.

Om: You don't have to distribute it. If there is a paper, that's it. You don't have to. Distribution is not a must now.

UM2: The points should be...UI

Om: Discussion [*periods*]. If there is no written paper, he who wants to talk will be allowed to during discussion [*periods*]. Shukri, do you have a paper?

UM3: Yes, we have one.

Om: About charity work. Gawad, do you have one about charity work?

Ga: Yes, but later.

Om: It will be a point of discussion. Ok, we have [*papers*] with Osama, Mo'een and Shukri. Anybody else about charity work.

UM2: The donations door is open. [*Laughter*].

Om: The first point, my brother, says "The general atmosphere", the general political atmosphere. Do you have one [paper] relating to charity work? Should we take you off the second one?

UM2: ...UI.

Om: The third session, who has papers? Gawad. The third session, who has papers for it? [response inaudible]. From the beginning, the first session we have Sheik Sharif and brother Abdel Salam, brother Gawad and Aboul Hasan, Abdel Halim. Anyone else? Did you write them down? The second session... Guys, stay with me so that we could finish. The second session we have Osama, Mo'een and Shukri Abu Baker and it will be about charity work. Anyone else? The third session which will be about political, media and popular activism and PR, we have Ghassan, Saleh, Gawad and Abdel Rahman, Nihad and Akram. Anyone else? Who is going to be moderator of the 1st session?

UM1: How about Gawad?

Om: Gawad is presenting a paper and those who present papers cannot be moderators.

Sh: He who is presenting papers...

Om: He who has a paper should be taking notes. The one who moderates the session should be the one giving us the finalization of the points we agreed upon.

Gh: Regarding the 1st [session], Shukri should be [moderator].

Om: There is no objection. Is there is another vote with Shukri...UI. he who feels he can do it, let him do it. The 1st [session] will be headed by Shukri, are we agreed on it? The 2nd one..., about charity work. How about brother Akram?

Sh: ...UI.

Om: Dr. Isam...UI. Ok, the 2nd and the 3rd ones. The 2nd one is Dr. Isam and the 3rd one is Dr. Isam. How about the 4th?

UM: ...UI. [A long period of heavy static].

Om: Brother Abdel Salam, come over here.

Sh: Again, my brothers, the moderators of the session, they are three. Right?

Om: Didn't you write it down? You were talking. You were talking.

Sh: I wasn't..., I wasn't sitting here.

Om: O Shukri, they are Sheik Sharif, brother Abdel Salam, Gawad and Aboul Hasan, Brother Abdel Halim. Come over here.

Sh: Am I going to take notes as well?

Om: What? Oh, yes. You will take notes and then present them to us. Make a page and...UI.

Sh: Praised be God the Lord of the Two Worlds. Prayers and peace be on our master, Mohamed, on his family and friends. During the next half an hour, God's willing, we will have a presentation by two of our brothers who were in the homeland. A brother just came from Al Aqsa mosque and took a tour outside...[heavy static], Abdel Salam. We will give him ten minutes to speak...UI and the other ten minutes is for questions and answers. After that, we will meet with brother Gawad, God's willing.

Ab: In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Honestly, I prepared some stuff, just some general remarks.

Om: Tell us about...UI. When did you come back?

Ab: I came back the day before yesterday. I was there for five weeks. I mean, I was there before and after the [peace] agreement. What you notice is that, before the agreement, one would walk in Gaza Sector and would feel that it is truly autonomous without a need for anything, to this agreement which took place. I mean, it didn't need the agreement as people there have self-rule. The [Israeli] army didn't dare to go inside the Gaza Sector. During daylight and during curfew..., most of the operations used to take place during curfews. They would take place during curfews. Why, in order to minimize injuries among the public. Some people used to work on certain things before the agreement - I mean certain people who are affiliated with those who signed the agreement - which was to take advantage of the needs of the people to serve the [peaceful] solution. In reality, Gaza Sector is very bad economically. I mean, there are none of the fundamentals of an economy there. There is nothing. I mean, services, the educational aspect, the health aspect, humanitarian aspect, municipal services, any..., unemployment. All of that exist in Gaza Sector in a very obvious manner. I mean, sewage, for example, sewage in Khan Younis is like a flood in the streets...

END OF RECORDING.

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 Ak = Akram (LNU)
 Au = Abou Usama (NFI)
 As = Abdel Halim Al Ashqar (Aboul Hasan)
 Aa = Abou Ahmad (NFI)
 Aj = Abdel Jabbar
 Ab2 = Abou Bassem (NFI)
 Mu = Muin (LNU)
 Ar = Abdel Rahman
 Ni = Nihad (LNU)
 Os = Osama (NFI)

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UM3: ...two mosques. If any of the brothers spoke and asked "What is your position?", you tell him "I don't know. This is your own position. We are here, we are Muslims in America we have to take care..., take care of our own people". You told me that people are over-scared in Washington. If we retreat and didn't insist on own initial position people won't have someone as a role model. Therefore, we must remain steadfast on our Islamic position and work under pressure in order to strengthen the Islamic voice for Palestine and also to emerge as a entity which is capable of withstanding pressures and maintaining the initial position. Thus, we will be able to demonstrate our position in a practical way, not just in newspapers and magazine, but we will demonstrate our position in a practical way. We shouldn't retreat from our position even if we come under attack by the media

and their allies. In this manner, we will gain credibility with people. This will also be a motive and an incentive for Muslims to support us in this position. As for the last issue..., the issue before last which is the issue of public activism. I believe that it is an outcome of the work we perform, media activism and others namely, mobilizing the Palestinian and the Muslim community to support the Islamic project in Palestine. Not only here but also in Palestine and also Islamic activism in North America. This will be done..., I mean, we must bring to the surface speakers, leaders and writers in America who tour the different Palestinian and the Islamic gatherings to propagate our position and to encourage people to support it. It is not enough that we issue statements and we send them via faxes and stuff. We must visit the communities at the mosques, at their gathering spots, debate them and explain this position to them. We must bring speakers and leaders to the surface so that they can say "My name is so and so. I represent this specific name", in the same manner when Aboul..., Aboul..., brother Aboul Hasan was speaking. We should bring leaders from America to the surface instead of continuing to rely on people from abroad. The second thing is winning the Islamic centers and the imams of the mosques and those who are in charge at these mosques. I believe that this is a very important issue because our work location is the Islamic centers. If we are unable to win them and we lost them... And this Gaza-Jericho agreement showed us that we didn't gain much from these centers, neither from the imams nor from those in charge. I mean, a brother in Chicago is saying that Palestine is being sold while the speaker keeps talking about moon-sighting. What did you gain from them? Another brother tells you "I'm afraid" and another says "I am supportive". You didn't win them and they are not going to listen to you and they will tell you that this is your position. Ayman in Canada is complaining and all of us have the same complaint. Therefore, we must win these centers and encourage them to adopt the revival of the issue of Palestine as an Islamic issue and to hold different activities at the centers. It is not enough to make requests over the phone when something happens. No, he must revive the issue by, for instance, forming blocs, having Ramadan gatherings and stuff. He must continuously revive this issue in the minds of the Muslims, on the occasion of the Night Journey and the Ascension, for instance. The third issue relating to mobilization is winning the Muslim and Palestinian youths to attract them to Islamic activism as they are the ones who can..., I mean, deal with the surroundings better than us. The other issue regarding popular activism is reaching the Palestinian and the Muslim community in their common places. This can be achieved by participating in their activities and clubs by holding general Islamic activities. I will give you an example; I participated in San Francisco in a program called "Palestine Day". This was held by..., they invite 50% Muslims and 50% Christians. So, it was attended by about 2,000 people. We were present over there and, when we are there, you find that Muslims come to our table on their own. They start asking us questions, what do you have, they buy Qurans and stuff like that. Last year, they were visited by Al Sakhra Band. We didn't put too much effort in this thing. But, if we create these activities

in some of the large cities the whole community will come even those who don't fast and don't pray. It is a door for ministry and a pillar of Islam. We win them for the Afterlife and it is also a win for the Islamic position of Palestine in America. We must also establish organizations and support them to educate their children and preserve their Arab and Muslim identity. I mean, you go to Islamic schools and you find many of the people who bring their kids there are non-observants; unveiled women, the father might not pray. But, it is just so that he learns Arabic and stuff. These communities..., there are large Palestinian communities and we should attempt to open schools near them to secure these services for them. In this manner, we will win them. The form of the address to the community must be determined according to its different Islamic levels. For instance, Muslim beginners or deep-rooted Muslims...UI, they should have people to cater to them while keeping in mind not to retreat from the fact that all of Palestine is Islamic...etc. The last issue is strengthening the organizations. Our goal from that is to strengthen the organizations from the financial aspect. Also, when you examine this aspect from the angle of investment in small projects and taking advantage from governmental grants if possible. There are governmental grants which are given to the organizations which conduct research and stuff like that. We can take advantage of it. The other issue is administrative stability through hiring dedicated and qualified personnel for these organizations and not relying on volunteers only. The presence of the informed leadership which directs work and holds people accountable for dereliction. This means that it is not enough to have dedicated people, but that there must be an informed leadership knowing what is going on, is directing work and also holds people accountable for dereliction. The other issue is providing the legal cover. The brothers spoke about this issue. The last issue is forming alliance with Arab and American organizations which are sympathetic to us such as the ADC and others. This will protect our organizations with the official circles. I believe that..., I mean..., by looking at what is happening right now with the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine], I believe and God knows best that the future of the Islamic activism for Palestine, the near and the far future, must serve these goals through these means. And also the issues brother Nihad spoke about which is media activism and brother Akram spoke about which is the issue of the form of the address the positions..., all of these complete the issue we spoke about. Thanks to God, there was no redundancy in what was said but rather a completion to it. May God reward you well.

UM1: May God reward you well. Akram, do you have something?

Ak: What?

Ga: ...UI. May God reward you well. We will have an opportunity for discuss...

Ni: It is 10:15 now. So, we will give you five minutes.

Ga: Five minutes.

Om: Five minutes...

[UI brief group talk].

Ga: What do you think? Should we begin...UI.

UM1: Go ahead, go ahead.

Ga: In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful...

Sh: ...UI. We honestly cannot focus. [UI brief group talk].

UM2: We will give you 7 minutes and no more.

UM1: Five minutes.

Ga: Of course, in light of what the brothers said, there are several...UI there are five axes. What are the axes of activism? In light of the ramifications the brothers spoke about now and in the past, I saw that it is possible to achieve the goals we spoke about, direct the project and achieve the goals of the Movement through six axes. The first axis is the planning axis. This focuses on connecting the children of the cause, and the Palestinians in particular, to it and to Jerusalem based on Islamic grounds. This is the basis in addition to the Islamic and the Arab community living in America as well. Booklets and things for children like that in a style you deem fit. The second axis is the missionary one. This includes paying attention to the community and establishing an Islamic entity for missionary and Islamic call. I have a small suggestion which was suggested in Washington during a discussion; we will not be able to reach the majority of the...UI through the mosque. I mean, they are not going to come to the mosque to listen to your words. I mean, you can reach the community in their homes and stuff but, I call for the formation of cultural clubs under the name of "The Palestinian Cultural-Social Club". It is your footstep to attract the community in general terms for those who pray and those who don't and he can go to the mosque in the next stage.

UM1: Give us a tangible example for that.

Ga: ...UI, my brother. The community has 100,000 people.

Sh: ...UI.

Ga: Ok, our brothers. Let's stay together. This is a cultural-social club and not..., not anything else. The third axis is the political axis which is the most sensitive issue and which opens many venues for discussions. I see that we must be the one through which we explain the rights of the Palestinian people and defending them, forming a public opinion which adopts and supports programs for these rights, political support for the Islamic-Palestinian political current and the national stand. This is a national issue which is the Palestinian cause and its different developments. Based on that, I approve brother Omar's and brother Ghassan's idea who said different but close ideas to form a general committee or council made up of 15, 18 or 20 persons, an honorary council...UI. It would have a...UI and another person as an assistant and no more. Its composition should include Arab-Americans, Palestinians and Muslims. Its composition should be compound. It should be the political front for Palestinian activism in America. It is ...UI and the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] is a fundamental part of it. I mean, the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] will be represented in it by two or three people...UI. This council is to become the political authority for the community itself and the U.S. media and the gateway in America for dealing with the Palestinian cause. This is the suggestion and God knows best. The fourth axis is the media axis and the brothers said good and positive things to a big extent in that regards. But, it is very important to note the positions of the Islamic Movement. ...UI, everyone has his style but you must propagate the positions of the Movement and justify the positions of the Movement. If you want to maintain a solid position, it is your business as a member of this council to justify, ...UI and to psychologically convince people with it. How? This is your own issue. You get creative with it and you work on it. Ok. This [council] will, of course, adopt certain causes which serve the people and prove the lack of credibility of the enemy and those who deal with it from the self-rule in regards to this cause. This is the position of the Movement in addition to [providing] a detailed presentation for the reality of the occupation and its violations against the Palestinians and the Israeli democracy will be exposed in front of the U.S. media as well. Also, we must prepare for the future which will bring a new movement of complete change which includes a confrontation with the Zionist entity as a whole. Like brother Akram said that the conflict is not about self-rule or an independent state or not or two states. It is a conflict ...UI. You talk about this idea, this philosophy with the community at the least and then with the entire society. It is a preparation for the change we expect will happen in few years so that the...UI is more inclusive...UI. Then, the fifth axis is the financial axis and we spoke about it in the morning which is enough. The sixth axis is the human axis. Regarding this axis, I see that the freedom of expression should be a characteristic you enjoy. Our brothers who were banned from the pulpit, from giving speeches or writing in newspapers and so forth. You defend the right to expression. The right to demand the stolen rights by the...UI, the groups's or the individual's right to express...UI. The right to form opposition gatherings and newspapers...etc. I don't...UI while it is important to have them included in the sixth axis,

the human axis. This will include, of course, rights groups and things like that which operate on this basis. I believe that the biggest problem which will face the cause in the West will be redefining what they work for which is the Palestinian cause. What is the Palestinian cause? Is it...UI, a struggle or a fighting? Is it the stronghold of the Islamists and the Jews...UI. What will the approach of the cause be? I truly believe that this will be the biggest problem. It is my hope, God's willing, that we march towards bringing the self-rule or the arrangement which will take place to failure. But, we might not succeed in making it fail. Therefore, there is going to be a...UI during which activism will suffer some problems relating to media and the media circles. Therefore, I caution against being over-mindful to the U.S. logic in activism as the main target is the Arab and the Palestinian communities in particular. Therefore, we must not be gobbled up by the language of the U.S. media which talks about peace, negotiations, concessions, compromise and so forth. Your problem is that the mentality you're dealing with is...UI. We must not deal with it unless to the extent which facilitates activism and does not affect the fundamentals. This is everything in that regards. The relationship between the different active organizations must be re-examined in light of the new directions in order to be truly organized, effective, wholesome, complete and in a legal form as they...UI. They must remain separate and don't bear responsibility for each other. In addition to the direction in place, the following should be noted: determining organizations which can contribute to dealing with the new reality based on the previous approaches such as the Fund, the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] or a large organization in one of the forms which were mentioned, determining the role assigned to each organization and its relationships with the other organizations, both formal and informal relationships, the available capabilities for activism ...UI for each organization. What are its capabilities and can it continue working in the long or the short term, to what extent. The challenges which face each organization and how to counter them from the practical aspect. An internal challenge, a challenge with the community, a challenge with the Movement, a challenge with the...UI, a challenge with the media. The programs of the organizations overall should be in complete harmony with the general directions of the Movement. I say that once again because this is very important. By "harmony" I mean that they ought to serve it in a direct or an indirect manner. But, the format is the flexible part. The...UI in the West should be taken into consideration and the available capabilities. But, what is important is that all the programs and the lines are serving the general direction on the short and the long term. This requires reviewing the general directions...UI. God's willing, they will be available for review. It must be noted that it is important that the organizations provide opinion and information the Islamic Movement. I tell you simply, how many brothers are here? Twenty-five brothers. All of you, praised be God, speak very fluently. Which one among you wrote a paper and gave it to brother Omar or to another one, Abou Ibrahim, saying that this is my opinion in the so and so issue. Deliver it to our brothers.

Gh: I always do that.

Ga: Nothing was received according to my humble information. *[Laughter]*.

Ni: We always write and...UI.

Ga: According to my humble information, in truth, nothing *[was received]*. The truth is that...UI and this is not convincing. Everyone must..., I heard opinions here now which were not mentioned during very long discussions about this issue. They were not mentioned before. And they deserve...UI. One shouldn't be frugal with his opinion and think that our brothers are experts, praised be God. Our brothers are...UI, praised be God.

As: This is an assumption, my brother.

Ga: My brother, nothing was received over there. We don't get any news, we don't get an article, I don't hear anything...UI. You are a Movement, my brother. You're not an employee...UI. I want you to write a page, half a page or a page and a half and give it to brother Omar or brother Abou Ibrahim and he will deliver it to the brothers in charge. They are always in contact. How do you think the world operates? *[UI brief group talk]*. Anyway, the comprehensive approach when working for the cause is a basis...UI. May God reward you well.

UM1: May God reward you well.

Ni: Problems came anew and, at the end, everybody approves.

[UI brief group talk].

Om: ...UI. For instance, people, we didn't count our money, how much money there is in our pockets.

UM1: This is not our business, Sheik.

Om: He who makes a plan or provides a concept must know the reality. Must be standing on the reality he lives in. For instance, I remember one thing. I could have been asleep and woke up while someone was saying that brother Abdel...UI is building schools...*[Laughter]*. So, I said "Ok, so the people are in situation where they can build schools". I mean, people who can't... Are we going to build schools? And *[someone said]* "You should open clubs". I said "We are working on the newspaper and...UI.

Ni: And you want to form....., you want to form a new organization in Washington.

Om: Osama..., Osama, how much is our budget? Fifty-five, sixty or seventy thousands. That's it.

Ga: And how much will the club cost?

Om: What?

Ga: How about the club?

Om: The club..., you have ten clubs...UI.

Ga: It is [*financed by*] the community and not by you.

Om: Fine, fine. The community, my brother... One of the problems of the Palestinian community and the Arab community in general here is that they are overlapping each other. This is the reason behind the failure of the existing Arab organizations. The community is not committed, it is divided and they are in disagreement. Each one is claiming to be a leader. You gather them together and you find 20 leaders out of 19 people. Twenty leaders. That's it and it is known. They don't agree with each other in Washington everyday because they are all leaders. So, you're coming to build the club at their expense?

Ni: They will open an orphanage for you.

Om: ...UI. If there was something good in them, it would have been apparent in the eighties and the seventies when they were in their glory. This is not how things are.

UM2: My brother, they are Muslims. They need a leader...UI.

Om: What I believe is that... Let's be realistic. Let's know our reality and know where to go. We leave from here, before we leave from here tomorrow, let's leave with suggestions which are within reach.

UM1: For three months?

Om: Oh, yeah. Suggestions, of course. Not everything Abdel Rahman said is not realistic. No, there are some things...

Ni: Yeah. But, a lot of the things we call long-term suggestions are...UI. If you are going to tell yourself that everything you have is for the long-range, you will keep postponing it. If it is for the long-range you will not work for it from now. These are things you must think about beginning today. Otherwise, when are you going to start thinking about them. I mean, you say that you want to establish an organization in Washington. How long have you been thinking about it? It is not since July. You have been thinking about it over a year ago.

Om: Yes, right.

Ni: It is the same thing for these matters. When you think about the future of activism, it is in two parts; one deals with the current reality and another pertains to what you want to be in the future. You don't...

Om: Yes. But, what I mean that you shouldn't..., that we shouldn't take on the educational role, the awareness role, the role of forming a generation. I mean, we keep telling the community that...UI.

Ni: No. We didn't say that. You're saying that because you were sleeping. What I said is that wherever there are community concentrations... [laughter].

UM2: What are you saying, Omar?

Om: ...UI.

Ni: What I said is that wherever there are gatherings for the Palestinian community..., they are looking for people to teach Arabic to their children. They look for people to teach their children something about culture and heritage. We don't have to open a school for them. Why should I open schools for them. I just tell them "Here is the school", you know. I tell them "Try. Bring your kids". I send someone to them, for instance. That's what I'm saying. I'm not saying that I will open schools and open universities for them. But, if you don't provide services for them, how are you going to bring them over? You're just going to tell them come and visit me?

Om: I believe..., I believe that there is an important step which we must take now. Let's say it clearly, we have 300-400 people from the countries of Syria, Lebanon and Palestine and you don't see 50 people out of them. Where are the 350 people? We need at least 200 people who are sympathetic to the cause and who interact with the news as soon as they hear it. As for those who remain asleep, we alone will not be able to perform these duties. We need those 200 people. We should make a target to get those 200 people to work in

the same manner on this cause, for instance. No matter what happens even if the Group gets agitated we must achieve our goals.

Ni: You see, this is not the job of the executive committee for the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine]. It is the job of the Palestine Committee.

[UI brief group talk].

Om: My opinion is that this is the duty of all of us because it is not... Because there are brothers who...UI. They must be convinced. My brothers, we should come to a brother and we tell him "Come here. What is your duty? What do you do?". Each one of us should convince 3, 4 or five people. Each one in his region can influence 3 or 4 people. It is not possible unless we influence 5 or 6 people. If we exert our effort and energy and tried to increase the number of the observant activist..., just to try to increase their number. If we increase their number, we increase our gateway to the communities. If we specify the goal we will be able to spread more. This is a step. The second step is very necessary which is the issue of ...UI. For instance, we spoke about money and stuff. It is important to do even if from our personal investments. We should allocate a sum of money and invest it in order to bring us [revenue] for a project. For instance, projects...UI. half of which is from us and the other half should go, for instance, to the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] or to this activism on which we agree even if it is a small amount; 40,000, 50,000, 100,000 or 70,000 no matter what. We must start because he who starts now will reach the goal in ten years. He who thinks about the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] and other things must.... I mean, this [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] and other things... I will give you an example. When we started Al Zaytouna, we started it with 4 pages and now it is 16 pages. Had we started with 16 pages we would not have been able to finish it within a week. Impossible. Because we were not used to that. Things can happen gradually. Hadn't we started with 4 pages two years ago we wouldn't have reached 16 pages. If we start with a 10,000 investment it will become 100,000, for instance, in five years. But, if we start with a zero and waited for the million to come, neither the million or anything else will come after five years. All of our work must start this way. We must start small and then grow. I believe that there is an influence on us from the Group, a negative influence, as there is a state of laxity and stuff. This has influenced us as we lost hope that this method will work. On the contrary, I believe that it is a strong method and it is also the best one but the circumstances surrounding us are bad. So, you think that this Movement or this thing has stopped to function. Therefore, we must restore its power to it again as it is the origin to restore power to us. Think that we meet some people and we might be seeing them for the first time and we talk honestly and with all confidence. But, if this Group that binds us does not exist you will find one person suspicious of another and God knows where he is from. One person speaks while

looking around him. So, this is a blessing, a big blessing for us which we shouldn't forget.

UM2: There is a question.

Om: Go ahead.

UM2: Have you tried one day to invite representatives of the Islamic centers who are in leadership positions, whether they are with us or not, and make a conference for them. Some of the ideas mentioned by Gawad and others are good. I mean, we at the center in...UI, Abou Mohamed knows, we have a project to work with the youths. A committee stemming from the executive committee is formed to work with the youths to create the atmosphere mentioned by brother Gawad and others at the level of sports, entertainment, swimming...etc.

Om: Activities.

UM2: Yes. I say that there is no doubt, based on all that happened from beginning to end, that the Group is in a state which is... We thank God for the good and the bad.

Om: We are...UI.

UM2: Yes. I'm telling you. We keep trying to fill vacuums which are..., or are keen to fill vacuums which are not really our jobs, really.

Om: We must be dedicated to do our job.

UM2: It is not the job of the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine]. But, due to the vacuum left by others, brother Gawad comes and tells you that we should open clubs and then comes another brother and tells him what are you talking about [Laughter]. I say that... I don't like too much theorization. I mean, I heard a lot of theories, theories...etc. Let's..., I mean, it is not practical stuff to do. Dreams... No, not even dreams because some dreams come true [Laughter and UI talk]. Anyway... The practical side is... I really speak through my practice. Have we tried to...

Om: Call for a conference...

UM2: ...call the imams or the representatives of the centers and those who have the ability and leverage. Let 50 of them attend if the need arises. Make a practical presentation in which we participate, you see? And present a lot of ideas. By God the Almighty this would be one of the most blessed deeds we can do to the work field in America. I mean...

Om: By God, the idea is good. The problem is the money.

UM2: What?

Om: The main problem is the money.

UM2: The money will be borne by the centers, my brother. You just..., you just formulate the idea and ask the centers...

Ni: It serves their ideas. I mean, when the imams are convinced with...

Sh: If you can't get money for that...UI.

Ni: No, no. We can get it.

UM2: My brother, the centers..., my brother... You..., you...

Sh: No, each center takes care of itself.

UM2: Don't you have..., don't you have...UI who are cooperating with you?

Om: Yes, there are. There are centers which would pitch in. There are centers which are community centers and there are centers which cooperate with us not through the person in charge of the center but a young man from that center who donates money to the center.

UM2: My friend, I want the element with influence.

Sh: Meaning board member and people like that.

UM2: Board members. If the imam..., if the imam... In some centers, the imam is the main... In other centers, members of the Shura or... If we hold such meetings and these presentations were debated...

Om: Yes.

UM2: You see, by God it will bring a lot of fruit.

Om: This is a good idea.

[UI brief group talk].

UM2: These ideas... You keep suggesting things but these are things which are a little bit outside the Palestine cause.

Om: Not just "a little".

UM2: This...UI will get us where? [Laughter]

Om: To paradise, God's willing.

UM2: Not to hell, I don't think. [group laughter].

As: There are a couple of things...

UM1: Go ahead, go ahead.

As: There are two or three points...

UM2: Or four or five.

As: As for the 1st point, we need to write a strong-worded letter of protest...

UM2: God is great!

As: And send it. It is the absence of the two from the Islamic organizations..., the organizations working for Palestine. Particularly to Ahmad Yousef and Yasser Saleh even though he called..., I called them and Dr. Issam called them...

UM1: He is coming.

As: What?

UM1: Yasser is coming tomorrow night.

Sh: There is no time for that...UI. Seriously, by God. I'm being serious.

UM1: No, he said he is coming tomorrow.

Sh: No. Call him and told him not to bother...UI. [UI group talk].

Om: Let him talk, Abou Mohamed.

UM2: Go ahead. Go ahead.

As: I really ask the people of Washington, Virginia, to pass along our protest on my behalf...

Ni: On behalf of myself and...UI. [UI brief group talk].

As: Really, there is not a... Unless there is an excuse.

Om: I believe these should be handled individually.

Ni: It is a volunteer basis. It is on volunteer basis.

Om: Individually. He who wants to pass along his protest should go ahead.

UM2: No. Ahmad has an excuse. His wife just had a baby and had a surgery and her condition is not good.

As: I spoke with him, my brother. I spoke with him and he agreed to come. Abou Ammar said I have an appointment but I will make a compromise.

UM2: What is the problem?

As: What?

UM2: ...UI.

As: So that criticism is constructive...UI. [UI brief group talk]. The second point..., the second point, my brothers, which I really want to point out is the issue of personal relationships. I mean, we might be able to get acquainted with people. But, is there a follow-up to the relationship we start? You would really notice that what is known about Abou Ammar is...UI. This is didn't come from a vacuum as we are creating an atmosphere which enables him to...UI. I mean, every time someone with a grudge against him comes, they arrest him and...UI. [UI brief group talk].

UM3: Peace be with you.

Group: Peace be with you, God's mercy and blessings.

UM1: A revolution, a revolution against the occupier, right? [*laughter and UI group talk*].

UM1: Go ahead, Aboul Hasan.

As: Let me finish my point.

UM1: Yes, go Ahead, go ahead.

UM3: Yes. March on your hands and your wills. March with the blessing of God [*laughter and UI group talk*].

Sh: Looks like the festival has really impacted you...UI.

UM3: We really scored in it. [*Laughter*].

UM1: Aboul Hasan.

As: Yes. The point I was speaking about is the issue of the personal relationship. I mean, if we start or engage in a relationship we should follow-up on it. We should cast a personal touch to it. We gave an example when Arafat when you see Arafat is holding someone, tugging him behind him and is kissing him. We don't...

UM1: ...UI [*group laughter*]. Let's not hold him by the hand.

As: I mean, let me quote a saying from our end; He who wants to be a camel herder...

UM1: Must enlarge the door to his house.

As: He who wants to be a camel herder must enlarge the door to his house. I mean, the issue is not personal. I mean, to give you an example, I might be going to the brother's city and all I say is "Welcome" and "Ok, bye. See you". Really, I believe that this is a prudent thing to do in regards to a relationship [*UI brief group talk*]. I say that you must keep the relationship between you and him strong and not like "Ok. See you, bye". It is true that ...UI deals with this in this manner. So, how can we handle this? The matter remains personal but I believe that there should be a minimum level of follow-up and he who works in the public activism field and everyone who works in the public activism must bear this expense if he wants to perform his role as a trustee the best way possible. The last point is about our brothers in Canada. We heard about Jerusalem for Human Services but we didn't hear from our brothers at the [*Islamic*] Association [*for Palestine*] about what they do. So, I hope that media and public activism in Canada is mentioned if there is

something prepared. It might be first opportunity for some of the brothers to meet people from Canada.

Ni: No doubt that...UI.

As: We are now members in the NAFTA [*laughter*].

UM1: May God reward you well. Are we going to listen to the brothers from Canada... [*UI brief group talk*]. Are there any questions so that we...

Sh: Are you going to talk about the activity in Canada or...

Om: If you can prepare a 10-minute speech it will be good. [*UI brief group talk*].

Ni: You can talk about the status of the [*Islamic*] Association [*for Palestine*] in Canada.

UM3: No, tomorrow. Tomorrow is better.

Ni: We will leave it until tomorrow.

UM2: I have a suggestion, man...

[*UI group talk and laughter*].

Ni: A suggestion to the brothers who are in charge of the sessions; give us resolutions as we spoke about many things and some of us...UI. They should pass the resolutions on to us. The things they should pass on to us are: the resolutions...

Om: Stay with us, brothers.

Ni: The resolutions, the execution party, the means for execution and the follow-up party in order to... I have a suggestion...UI.

Om: I suggest that they meet tonight for an hour after we leave or tomorrow morning before 8:00 o'clock. The three of them should get together and put down what they have in the form of a proposal. I mean, in a form that "By God, there was an agreement on the so and so subject".

Ni: There was an inclination to do this and that.

Om: There was an inclination and then you provide it to us for voting and reaching a resolution in it. Later on, we will determine all that is going to be executed if it was agreed on.

Ni: The most important thing is that there should be a schedule.

Om: Yes, right.

Ni: So, in the next session...UI.

Om: We should then put the proposal with a schedule. I mean it should be carried on this and that date. It is favorable if it is...UI.

Sh: This should come from the executive entities.

Om: No, this will be in the bigger matters.

Ni: Only for the important issues in which we discussed our inclination, i.e. the issue of shape of the political address, establishing an alternative organization. These fundamental issues.

Om: Yes, right.

Ni: As for an issue of inclination...UI. And execution will be done by all the organizations.

Om: Yes, right.

Ni: Go ahead.

Ga: I wrote a full paper here regarding the topic of discussion which will be presented tomorrow. Its schedule and what its format ought to be.

Om: Give it to... *[UI brief group talk]*.

Ga: First, there are the ramifications..., the impact of the ramifications on activism in America...UI which is I believe what brother Akram mentioned lately...UI. And also the addendum I wrote in the morning...UI. Goals of activism in America, brother Abdel Rahman mentioned it in details and brother Ghassan mentioned some details and brother Nihad. So, now we are finished with this topic...UI. Attempting to...*[UI group talk]*.

Om: I just want to pass quickly on the day and see how it was.

Ni: An evaluation, that is.

Om: An evaluation of the day. Are you satisfied?

UM1: Brother,...UI.

Om: It is not a plan of his. That's why I'm saying it is better done at the end of the talk. It is better at the end of the talk. And we will have a prayer at the end, God's willing.

Om: What do you have, Abou Mohamed? What do you think? What is your evaluation of the day?

UM1: By God, I believe that it was good. We discussed most of the issues at hand. We expanded the discussion and what is important is tomorrow, what kind of resolutions, recommendations and inclinations we will reach. Of course, we got tired because of the long duration and some of us fell asleep and stuff. This is normal because it was a long time. But, God's willing, we will find good in all that, God's willing.

UM2: ...UI good and those who made presentations should have more control.

UM3: There is a remark which might be negative which is the numerous time when people deviated from the main points for which sake the sessions were held. Like what Abou Ayoub said, some of the sessions which were discussed need additional sessions and, of course, there was a certain idea but there was a deviation from what we wanted to discuss which is what relates to America. A lot of issues were presented which were out of the question, I mean.

UM4: God's willing, I will say my remarks later. Let's leave it until later.

Sh: I believe the meeting was unique and was enriching. We need more of that but I believe that, in the future, the papers need screening, centralized screening a while before and...

Ni: To have them distributed to people.

Sh: This should happen because there are two incompatible types of people. There are people who adhered to the subject and there are people who wrote work plans and very precise details and stuff. Therefore, it is good to have a certain standard so that all benefit. You see? Also, I saw that some of the brothers didn't speak at all at this meeting. I'm hoping

that, tomorrow, they will make up for this silence with their feedback, God's willing.

UM2: With a prayer, you mean?

Sh: ...UI. *[Laughter]*.

UM3: In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Of course, the meeting was good and fruitful. But, I was hoping that... There were some of the specialized issues which were discussed. We should have assigned them to some of the brothers who have a bigger experience and should have been given more time. For instance, in the topic of brother Aboul Hasan, he just mentioned the issues and there was no chance for us to discuss it more than that. Also, some of the issues mentioned by brother Gawad were the same thing. So, what is supposed to happen, and God's knows best, is that the issues which have a bigger impact on the success of activism and which might bear a bigger fruit should have a certain presentation or a specific person to discuss them and should be expanded upon in the future so that it benefits us in a better way other than just mentioning points without even the time to discuss them and stuff like that. But, generally speaking, it was good and what is more important than that is execution because we always fall short in. I mean, we always...UI good but, when it comes to the execution state...UI. No, this is our nature. So, we hope that, God's willing, we really carry out what we say.

Gh: I believe that it was a good and a fruitful meeting. I probably didn't say much...

Om: Didn't talk at all *[Laughter and UI group talk]*.

Gh: I believe..., I believe that the brothers discussed many points, a lot of points and they were beneficial and I believe that a meeting like that is necessary.

As: I see that the meeting was good even though it was a short notice. People didn't have enough time to write the papers and some people got news a week ago and didn't have time to write. Despite that, thanks be to God, I believe that we benefitted from it. It wasn't a loss, that is.

UM4: I truly agree with the brothers about its success and it really achieved a lot of the goals for which the meeting was held. But, I have some administrative and technical remarks. The two lectures or the two sections in the first and the second session were somewhat concentrated. But, the third session was somewhat lacking concentration with most people and I'm among them as there was some sort of...UI. If the program had some kind of confusion. Had it started...UI today and the afternoon was left for lunch, rest or a walk,

it would have been better so that one would have some sort of concentration. God's willing, we will benefit from that in the future. The second remark is that the arrangements for a meeting like that include many security loopholes. I noticed that. I didn't expect that things will happen in that manner even though I'm just one of those people who were invited to this meeting. But, If I had known that this is how the issue is going to be, had I known that it has this magnitude, I would have had remarks about its arrangements. So, I hope that in future that no meeting is held in this manner because you are speaking about strategies and you gathered all the people from the entire continent. The phone has been...UI several times. Some of the brothers knew about it and some didn't. Some were clear and some were not clear about the matter. The matter is very important and two things ought to be taken into consideration when preparing for it. The first thing is that it should be held in a place that is known because it is easy to have..., something like that. The second thing is that preparations for it should be done in a manner which gives a brother the impression of seriousness towards the topic. I am taking the topic seriously because it is important to us and is a part of us. But, I noticed that with other people - without mentioning names - that they were not taking the topic seriously and some of them didn't even come, for instance. If this person were taking the topic seriously in light of this stage, there would have been some sort of attention given to it. Therefore, the communication and follow-up method gives a person the impression on how to deal with this topic. So, I hope that these two points are taken into consideration in the future, God's willing, for more success, more seriousness and more attention.

Om: May God reward you well.

UM5: The issue of preparation in regards to the presentations is a mistake we always commit. That is notifying the brothers in the last minute about the agenda. The papers which are presented to them directly are...UI. There should be a prepared agenda that is clear and obvious stating the goal of the meeting, what are we going to discuss, the papers which have been prepared a while back should have been made available to every brother who attended and they should include a concept, a practical concept more than just talk the brother is saying or words repeated by someone else and so on. So, I hope that the brothers pay attention to this point in other meetings even though we commit the same mistake. Preparation for the meeting before we meet. A brother should come knowing what is being presented and the papers, the program and goal behind it are all clear.

As: This is generally speaking. In reality, the picture is not complete in my head. I mean, we...UI several goals. What brother Shukri said is correct that this [meeting] created convictions, concern and joint zeal more than with those working directly on...UI. We open new horizons, new views...

Om: Shukri, go ahead.

Sh: I have donated my name to you, my brother...UI [laughter]. May God reward you....

END OF RECORDING.

[UM] Unidentified Male.
 [UI] Unintelligible.
 [NFI] Not Further Identified.
 (LNU) Last name unknown.
 [*Italics*] Translator's comments.
 [...] Incomplete sentence.

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 Om = Omar Ahmad
 Gh = Ghassan Elashi
 Gh2 = Ghassan (LNU)
 Ss = Sheik Sharif
 Ga = Gawad (LNU)
 Ab = Abdel Salam (LNU)
 Ak = Akram (LNU)
 Au = Abou Usama (NFI)
 As = Abdel Halim Al Ashqar (Aboul Hasan)
 Aa = Abou Ahmad (NFI)
 Aj = Abdel Jabbar
 Ab2 = Abou Bassem (NFI)
 Mu = Muin (LNU)
 Ar = Abdel Rahman
 Ni = Nihad (LNU)
 Os = Osama (NFI)

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Ga: ... What will the approach of the cause be? I truly believe that this will be the biggest problem. It is my hope, God's willing, that we march towards bringing the self-rule or the arrangement which will take place to failure. But, we might not succeed in making it fail. Therefore, there is going to be a...UI during which activism will suffer some problems relating to media and the media circles. Therefore, I caution against being over-mindful to the U.S. logic in activism as the main target is the Arab and the Palestinian communities in particular. Therefore, we must not be gobbled up by the language of the U.S. media which talks about peace, negotiations, concessions, compromise and so forth. Your problem is that the mentality you're dealing with is...UI. We must not deal with it unless to the extent which facilitates activism and does not affect the fundamentals. This is everything in that regards. The relationship between the

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different active organizations must be re-examined in light of the new directions in order to be truly organized, effective, wholesome, complete and in a legal form as they...UI. They must remain separate and don't bear responsibility for each other. In addition to the direction in place, the following should be noted: determining organizations which can contribute to dealing with the new reality based on the previous approaches such as the Fund, the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] or a large organization in one of the forms which were mentioned, determining the role assigned to each organization and its relationships with the other organizations, both formal and informal relationships, the available capabilities for activism ...UI for each organization. What are its capabilities and can it continue working in the long or the short term, to what extent. The challenges which face each organization and how to counter them from the practical aspect. An internal challenge, a challenge with the community, a challenge with the Movement, a challenge with the...UI, a challenge with the media. The programs of the organizations overall should be in complete harmony with the general directions of the Movement. I say that once again because this is very important. By "harmony" I mean that they ought to serve it in a direct or an indirect manner. But, the format is the flexible part. The...UI in the West should be taken into consideration and the available capabilities. But, what is important is that all the programs and the lines are serving the general direction on the short and the long term. This requires reviewing the general directions...UI. God's willing, they will be available for review. It must be noted that it is important that the organizations provide opinion and information the Islamic Movement. I tell you simply, how many brothers are here? Twenty-five brothers. All of you, praised be God, speak very fluently. Which one among you wrote a paper and gave it to brother Omar or to another one, Abou Ibrahim, saying that this is my opinion in the so and so issue. Deliver it to our brothers.

Gh: I always do that.

Ga: Nothing was received according to my humble information. [Laughter].

Ni: We always write and...UI.

Ga: According to my humble information, in truth, nothing [was received]. The truth is that...UI and this is not convincing. Everyone must..., I heard opinions here now which were not mentioned during very long discussions about this issue. They were not mentioned before. And they deserve...UI. One shouldn't be frugal with his opinion and think that our brothers are experts, praised be God. Our brothers are...UI, praised be God.

As: This is an assumption, my brother.

Gz: My brother, nothing was received over there. We don't get any news, we don't get an article, I don't hear anything...UL You are a Movement, my brother. You're not an employee...UL I want you to write a page, half a page or a page and a half and give it to brother Omar or brother Abou Ibrahim and he will deliver it to the brothers in charge. They are always in contact. How do you think the world operates?

UM4: ... The second remark is that the arrangements for a meeting like that include many security loopholes. I noticed that. I didn't expect that things will happen in that manner even though I'm just one of those people who were invited to this meeting. But, If I had known that this is how the issue is going to be, had I known that it has this magnitude, I would have had remarks about its arrangements. So, I hope that in future that no meeting is held in this manner because you are speaking about strategies and you gathered all the people from the entire continent.

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Ab: ...tempting people to invest. For instance, there were two very strong rumors in the Gaza Sector. The first one is that Japan will take 12 km in the Sector along the sea to make the largest port in the Middle East so that there will be commercial trade from this port. There is another rumor circulating in the Sector is France will build one of the largest airports in the Gaza Sector. These things are being sold to the people without..., of course, people in our locality hear these things and they don't try to verify it or do not analyze these things. So [*they think*] all of our problems will be solved and we won't have one unemployed person in the Gaza Sector. In these matters, they depend on the public and on people who have no imaginations. For instance, if you see their festivals to celebrate this..., this..., this agreement, you'll find that the majority of them [*audience*] are kids below 15-year-old, senior people but you don't find educated people in these festivals. All they care about is that people are happy to see the flag of Palestine which they can legally place on their homes. To them, this is something which compensates them psychologically as they have been deprived from that for years. They take advantage of this matter psychologically. But, those who understand, realize that, without the Islamists..., they ask you: What did we gain? For instance, even very simple seniors see the agreement and say - in their dialect - if I were in this cursed guy's place [*Arafat*] - I would have said..., God forbid..., God forbid that you leave Gaza. As a punishment for you, you won't leave Gaza. You remain there. We want you [*the Israelis*] to remain in

Gaza. It is as if..., as if you did the Jews a favor by agreeing to let them to leave Gaza. The other side is the role we ought to play. There are two things, two problems in Gaza...

UM1: Excuse me. You talked about temptation. You didn't talk about threats.

Ab: Threats! Excuse me my brother. You did good because I was planning to talk about it. Right. May God give you light.

UM1: I was writing the word [*threats*] for you.

Sh: ...UI, [*Laughter*].

Ab: On top of the rumors which... On top of the propaganda for them, propaganda which tempts people, there are increased calls such as "The police is coming" and "We will straighten out those who don't like it". "The police is coming and we will straighten out those who don't like it", specially to those who are known to be their enemies or the Islamists, the seculars who are affiliated with...UI, and the communists who are affiliated with the Popular Front. I mean, I mean, some lowlife people among them approach people now in plain light and tell them "We will show you tomorrow". You see, what the Jews do is not one tenth of what they do. So, now they threaten people that police is coming. We now move on to the role we ought to observe and stuff like that. In front of people, we shouldn't oppose the agreement as an agreement. We ought to oppose the agreement and explain to people why we oppose it because when you oppose the agreement, you're standing in the way of their dreams to have solutions. So, what are you..., what are you going to do for our economic status? What are going to do for us? What is the alternative? They keep asking this question. The population density in the Gaza Sector blocks any economic development in the manner you want. Why? Because, in order to have economic development you need land, workers and stuff. The population density in the Sector blocks any establishments. Another point, the compensations on the table and their dangers. Now, they're spreading rumors in the camps that they will be compensating them for their properties and stuff like that. This evokes a very sensitive side for people of the homeland. As serious as it can get. In Gaza Sector. It is a problem....UI and they wrestle together to the point that someone from the ...UI had two sons who were martyred during the Intifada.

UM1: From Al Akhtal family.

Ab: From Al Akhtal family. [*His two sons*] were martyred in the Intifada. So, he tells them that I sacrificed two sons so that Palestine would be liberated and I can sacrifice my other 8 sons so that no one would come and share my land with me. Pay attention to the point

and its danger, regarding the issue of the compensations and that a lot of people babble a lot [saying] Yes, we get compensations.

Sh: I didn't understand this point. What kind of compensations...

Ab: The population make-up of Gaza Sector, my brother, has indigenous people and there are camps. [Residents of] the camps constitute approximately four times the number of the indigenous people. The camps are built on the properties of indigenous people, mostly. So, we could say that this guy would like to get compensated for his property of '48 or whatever. So, what right does he have to live in Gaza? The indigenous people ask this question. I mean, you're guest here, you're a guest here in order to fight and I will fight alongside of you the war of Palestine but not for you to come here, sit here and take compensations and away my land as well. I mean, the Cause of Palestine should not be resolved at the expense of the Gaza Sector's indigenous people. This is a very serious point. It has now become to the point that..., that many families in the Gaza Sector worry very much about this issue. Preserving our accomplishments, this is one of the important issues. I don't think that quitting the economic and media fronts for the Islamists under the excuse of the rejection of the [peaceful] solution is the right path. I mean, we must have some activities on the economic arena, activities on the media arena even under totally un-Islamic names...UI, but we must have a presence. We shouldn't reject the solution and stay outside the game and that's it because, if the solution is adopted and it works, you want to have a firm ground to resist it in the long range. I mean, maybe now we don't want to do anything, for instance. But, after a while, some changeable factors come and we can invest what we build now. I mean, we shouldn't..., we shouldn't waste our efforts on purely charitable endeavors which lead to strengthening the agreement. No, we should waste our time on an economic infrastructure which will help in resisting the agreement later. When is that? In a future stage. May God reward you good.

UM2: ...UI.

Ab: This was all after the agreement.

Sh: We will have five minutes, my brothers, to discuss our Abdel Salam in what he said.

Om: We need to hear from Sheik Sharif.

Sh: I don't think that Sharif will touch on the issues Abdel Salam mentioned because brother Sharif...UI in Gaza. Let's finish the topic presented by our brother. Go ahead. We will come back to you. We will come back to you.

UM1: My brother, in an objective way, we want you to give us your impression, not your personal impression as an Islamist, about the status of the public right now. A comparison of the festivals which support the agreement with the festivals which oppose [*the agreement*] and the general climate on the street. Is there a support to this or that.

Ab: The support..., the support is much bigger than the opposition but, like I told you, they depend to tempting people with minor stuff.

Sh: How many? How many?

Ab: What do you mean?

Sh: How many are supportive and how many feel that...?

Ab: In Khan Younis, for instance, 50,000 people met at Al Qal'a square...

Sh: In support?

Ab: In support. You see?

UM: How many met before them?

Ab: Hundreds.

Sh: 30,000. Most of the opposition [*totaled*] 30,000.

Ab: Hundreds. Hundreds.

Sh: Most of them are Arabs and they...

UM: How do they count 50,000 and not 40,000 and not 30,000.

Ab: Yes, I will tell you something. This is an estimation. Al Qal'a was packed with people, roof of the large mosque, roofs of the municipality and Al Qal'a, all had people. See, keep in mind that not all of those are supporters. You must have a real analysis. Some people came to just watch, came to see what is going on. So, you cannot say that everyone there was in support. Some people came to watch.

UM: But, they're not opposition.

Ab: Not opposition.

Gh: The fact that they were there...

Ab: Some people in opposition also came to watch.

UM: There was a day of strike on 8/1.

Ab: Yes.

UM: Did you attend it?

Ab: Yes.

UM: Can you tell us what happened...UI Hamas.

Ab: See, about the strike, they agreed to announce to the people that the strike will be until 3 o'clock and that it will be over after 3 O'clock, to make it end at 3 O'clock. But it was one of the most successful strikes which I experienced. Even people in Gaza say so and add that people adhered to Hamas' strike even after 3 O'clock. It was a total strike and it was very successful and an indication that people are not pleased.

UM: Did [*the strike*] go on after 3 o'clock? It continued on after 3 o'clock.

Ab: The strike..., the strike continued on past 3 o'clock.

UM: But the TV broadcasted footage of people in the streets, visits and stuff.

Ab: There were some marches which came out to the streets, but they were probably after 5 o'clock.

UM: How many people [*took part*] in them?

Ab: The number varied. You would see a demonstration 4 or 5 trucks full of people, surrounded by vehicles, noise and drums. All are infants, kids.

Om: But there were no marches in the streets?

Ab: You might find 10-15 people in this alley, 10-15 people in that alley, all beating drums and playing trumpets. But, there were no large marches in the manner it was...

UM: The day of the signing [*of the peace agreement*]. How was the Sector on the day of the signing [*of the peace agreement*]?

Ab: Before the signing, people were waiting to see what was going to happen. Pay attention, the whole matter was done hastily in manner which didn't give people enough time to react to the event. I mean, announcing the agreement and signing the agreement was all done within a week. Not even that. Maybe even five days, within a week which didn't give people a chance to react to the event. It was so quickly to the point that people were shocked wondering what is going to happen. Is this true or lies? They're still in a state of shock.

UM: Ok. How was the mood the day of the signing?

Ab: They were watching TV.

UM: Were people pleased with the signing or did they say: How come, How come?

Ab: The reaction immediately after that was that the Palestinian flags appeared. Every house had a large flag. All newspapers affiliated with those benefitting [*from the agreement*] all [*wrote about*] the inspired leader.

UM: Abou Ammar's pictures were everywhere?

Ab: Praised be God. They were printed and distributed free of charge.

UM: How about the deportees, the demonstration which was supposed to happen at midnight?

Ab: No one agreed expect their families and the people who...UI.

UM: Even when you came...UI.

Ab: No one at all. Even my cousin went and... When it came to the agreement, people forgot all about the deportees. But the deportees, honestly, thank the people of America for the efforts they exerted. Truly, they're very pleased with the Union [*Islamic Association for Palestine*]...UI.

[*Laughter*].

Ab: No, really.

UM: I have a question. Now, you say that the supporters were more than the opponents. Does

that mean...? This happened after the agreement [*was signed*], after they signed. But, before it was signed, were people, the average person on the street, were they against the agreement? Were they stunned and just decided to go along or what?

Ab: You see, no one saw the [*text of*] the agreement until now. People don't know anything about the agreement until now. People see the flag of Palestine and you're now permitted to go the...UI while you have the flag of Palestine, so people felt that..., that something happened. But, what is it? You know the drowning person who clings to a straw...

UM: Yes.

Ab: So, as far as the people are concerned, the flag of Palestine is now in front of them. Ok, yesterday, I was unable to raise the flag and but now I can raise it today. So, something must have happened. But, are they, like they say, going to sit down after the initial shock and review the matter over with a clear head? For instance, one woman who was walking between Gaza and Khan Younis. I was riding in the car and the flags are fluttering. She is old and she was saying... She has two sons, one was martyred and the other one is sentenced to life in prison. She was saying to them "This is wrong. When a Jew was killed, that used to cool my fire. When a Jew was killed, that used to cool my fire. And now? What..., what will calm my fire?"

Sh: She wants to relieve her anger.

Ab: [*She said*] "If I lay my hands on you, Arafat, I'd eat you with my teeth".

Gh: O God.

Ab: This woman is not educated or anything. Another man saw them celebrating. He told them "What? Did they release the prisoners or not yet?", a way of... People who laugh [*i.e. who are happy*] are the boys who are 12-year-old, the 13-year-old and the 14-year-old, the ones who used to throw stones a little while ago. What can you say. So, you need to take into consideration that you shouldn't say that the events surrounding the agreement are real things. You have to analyze them. You need to analyze them.

Sh: Ok, our brothers. All of them is good talk. There are papers presented which need to be analyzed. Let's move on quickly taking questions without making political analysis. This is good talk. Quickly...

UM: Have there been any objections to the agreement? Do you have a feeling that there have been cooperation with the...UI Authority?

Ab: Betting is on whether the [*Palestinian National*] Authority would be able to solve their economic problems. If it solves their economic problems, they will deal with it.

UM: Are there concrete evidence that there will be a confrontation between Hamas and the Authority?

Ab: Er...

UM: Through your experience...

Ab: When the Authority comes to office, it might happen. Because it is the Authority which doesn't want to...UI. They don't want to have clashes with Hamas or the Islamists now so that won't stir people against them. No, they want their police forces and [*say*] "We don't have a disagreement, we're democratic, we're this and that..." until they take hold of everything and then they will...UI.

UM: Ok, is this the conviction of the brothers?

Ab: This is a personal conviction but some brothers share it with us.

Sh: In the mosques, what was the situation...UI.

Ab: The mosques are full of... The Friday sermons vary, between a very radical and another logical speaker. And there is another speaker who talks about prayers and fasting.

Sh: ...UI.

Ab: Yes, there are people to bring the subject up with extreme radicalism and there are people who speak in a logical way, there are people who speak....

UM: ...UI. Do some people say "Let's calm down. There is no need for this kind of talk..."

Ab: There are..., listen, listen. There are some people who are happy and who say "Should we worry about this or that...". Even the worshipers don't have the education and the understanding to...

UM: They are used to...UI and loud voices and that's it.

Ab: Yes, loud voices...

Sh: When we raise our voices we...UI.

UM: ...UI... as long as people are ignorant about the agreement...UI.

Ab: See, they take advantage of people's ignorance of the agreement and occupy people very rapidly with economic development and stuff like that which doesn't give people the time to think about the agreement. They don't care about the text of the agreement, they care about their lives..., their daily lives and the material standard of living.

UM: So, there is no prospect for change?

Ab: Of course, there is a prospect for change, but...UI. What is our strategy for change? People won't change by themselves and what did the agreement give to the people? What can we provide to the people? And, does our opposition to the agreement solve people's problems?

UM: If we look at the...UI. The second question is: selecting the...UI.

Ab: Rumors on the streets say that this is a settling of old grudges between them and...UI. His funeral totally dominated the...UI.

UM: Do you mean that...UI.

Ab: I don't understand the question.

UM: ...UI.

Ab: It is very important to make people aware of it. And that is the point we're talking about. We must have an economic and a media presence in the...UI.

Sh: This is the last one. Akram...UI.

Ak: My brother, regarding the secret...UI, does it exist in the [West] Bank and...UI.

Ab: The problem is not that it exists, the problem is in the way you communicate it to the masses, the way you communicate it to the people. Listen, do you think that the majority of the people of Rafah, Khan Younis or Gaza are going to read and analyze an agreement? They won't pay attention to it.

Ak: But..., but the secret...UI is clear.

Ab: They won't do it. We have to communicate it...

Sh: This is outside the topic. This is outside the topic. UI.

UM: Can we say that...UI resistance to the self-autonomy?

Ab: I..., I don't have information about that. It might be that...UI.

UM: People's reaction...UI.

Ab: You know something. Even the fighters of Fatah themselves..., the fighters of Fatah themselves are now walking around telling people that "We're entitled to positions more than anyone else...". There is an internal conflict between them now.

Sh: My brothers, this talk is to be continued, God's willing. There are remarks now. Please don't mention the name Samah in an explicit manner. We agree on saying it as "sister Samah". We will talk about her honor and the session is..., the session here is a joint workshop between the Holy Land Foundation and the IAP. This is the official form. I mean, please, in case some inquired. So, please, we...UI. There is no need that we...UI. Brother Abou Osama just came back from the homeland...UI. We told him to change his date of birth to be the day..., really, the day you landed on the land of Palestine is your true birthday. He will tell us, God's willing, about his experience in this field.

UM: Born again...[Laughter].

Au: In the name of the God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Thanks be to God, prayers and peace be on God's prophet...UI. Dear brothers, peace be with you, God's mercy and blessings. The date of the visit is the...UI of the month, [possibly] 1993. During the visit, I visited almost the entire region of the [West] Bank, the [Gaza] Sector and ...UI. The visit was really...UI charitable work. Visiting the [charitable] organizations. I, of course, was here during the signing of the agreement in...UI. Generally, and as an introduction to the topic which I want to talk about, people have truly faced,...UI, or lived the moment of...UI, and the moment of the [signing of] the agreement. But, this drove people to a state of despair. People generally are suffering patiently. The Movement, whether it is in support or opposition [to the peace agreement], supports people's hopes and...UI. In the past, work was done in the manner you all know. Er..., people now in this stage in particular, the issue of despair they live in and the second issue which helped give the agreement this thrust is that the authorities have already given a permit to one party and not the other one. Already, some of the areas in which support festivals were held [for the agreement] were military areas. Consequently, they would lose the push forward and...UI. There were little action at the mosques and people would attend. The issue of the flags is...UI. The owner of the flags factory is Jewish. He opened a factory..., I went and saw

the factory and it is the one which makes the flags which are distributed. So, the issue of the flag as the brothers mentioned is a psychological issue. The truth is that people, generally, are...UI in '48. They defend the Cause now. I met some people who say "I don't want the new regime to come to power...UI like '48 to govern me in the dictatorial Arab manner. I live in Israel, yes, but...UI. If a regime comes to power and is going to restore our freedom and dignity, I will be...UI. Another person says that we couldn't raise our heads [*i.e. be proud*] until this agreement was signed. Now, we have an existence and an actual name in the world. If I move on to the organizations, the organizations are suffering, of course. the organizations are suffering a great deal. Wherever you go there is a suffering and there is a shortage in...UI, specially in regards to the issue of deportation and the financial side. People also talk about the issues of investment. ...UI investments as in the Gulf region and the Arab countries. Therefore, ...UI. That's it and the financial issue [*is of concern*]. As for the festivals which took place, the reaction of the people who attended them was good. I mean, I attended one of the festivals in Jerusalem and...UI were there. A debate took place. Of course, the opponents were...UI, while the other people [*i.e. supporters*] were discussing it discretely. But, people in general...UI, if you started to debate them, they will...UI. The media issue shows that if you have the right approaches with people and was able to...UI. And if you were able to reach their minds and their hearts, you will find out that the issue is...UI. There is nothing after that, just a straw. As they say...UI. That's it. There is nothing else. But, in reality, there is a lot of exaggeration meant to show that the overall number of the supporters is larger than the opponents. Now, regarding the organizations, brothers, the brothers are watchful and cautious, at least with the organizations which...UI. They are either...UI run by honorable people or social organizations which...UI. Of course, the brothers - our brothers - are asking "What is the solution?". Truly, the brothers rely a lot on the stand taken by the youths in America and they believe that we see the whole matter in a more wholesome and more complete manner. I believe that our...UI and I now ask if there is anything...UI.

Sh: Our brothers, God's willing, if anyone has a question...

UM: ...UI

Sh: Go ahead...UI.

Au: I decided that...UI.

[*Collective laughter followed by a short period of unintelligible group talk*].

UM: The police issue, what do people say about it? What do...UI and what are the expectations of our brothers?

Au: As far as the police is concerned, there is a good reaction to it. Expectations are that...UI.

[Several people ask questions and Abou Usama responds amid heavy static. Unintelligible]

Au: ...it depends on the media. If we managed to reach the people...UI.

UM: What about people's opinions...UI.

Au: That depends...UI.

UM: Is this against Hamas...UI.

Sh: Didn't we say not to mention that term...

UM: Is it against the Movement...

Sh: ...UI you should expect people will cuss this party and that party. This is people's nature.

UM: People might accept that something happen...

Au: People don't need any...UI.

Sh: People don't need it (NFI). I mean, we won't earn any new friends if we...UI.

Ab: We will gain a lot if we manage to build an economic infrastructure for ourselves even without Islamic names over there.

Sh: Hum. Hum. Ok, who raised his hands?

Gh: I did.

UM: I just have some to add about the issue of...

Sh: Go ahead.

UM: After the brothers finish, I ask brother Gawad to talk to us for five minutes about Jordan. The Jordanian arena is very important.

Sh: When is brother Gawad's presentation, my brother?

UM: Is it going to be in the same topic?

Sh: It is part of the presentation which he...UI.

UM: This one, you mean?

Sh: Yes. Just make a note over there that one of the brother would like to speak. But, brothers, without making mistakes regarding the names, please.

UM2: But, Clinton is...not a problem.

Sh: What?

UM2: Clinton's position is...

Sh: Ok...UI. This guy...UI. Who raised his hands, guys?

UM2: I have a question. Actually, two [questions]. You spoke about Gaza and Gaza's situation is known to be tragic and people's emotion might overcome them and take them to that direction. How about the [West] Bank, none of you spoke about the [West] Bank.

Ab: The situation in the [West] Bank is probably wavering. I visited Jericho and the [West] Bank, Jerusalem and... Jericho, as I felt, has the same factors as Gaza as far as the low standard of services and stuff like that. People are very happy and are posting flags outside and stuff. The rest of the [West] Bank, I mean, Jerusalem and the area of Ramallah, you don't feel that there is anything called, excuse me, Intifada or something... Markets are full, people buy and sell, there are no curfews on the street. In Gaza, curfew is at 8 o'clock and that's it. There is no... There is fence around Gaza, entry and exit is through gates only. The economic situation in the West Bank..., there are economic resources at the level of the cities in it. You could even feel that each city has economic resources which is sufficient to it as a city. ...UI.

Sh: ...UI. Go ahead, my brother.

UM2: The first question is: You mentioned that people's interest in joining the police varies. Those who don't have a job and those who are affiliated with..., join until they get their issues taken care of. Do you believe that - based on your presence there - there are people who think about joining [the police] from now?

Ab: By God, I heard about this inclination. As an inclination but I have no knowledge of...UI.

UM2: It doesn't have to be in public, but...UI.

Ab: As I mentioned; only as an inclination.

UM2: There is also another question: In the [*West*] Bank, are there any known indicators of the Intifada other than strikes or the clashes? And what..., what is the people's stand in the [*West*] Bank and is their stand stronger than that of the Gaza people since the [*West*] Bank is not included in the agreement. Or, at least, its situation is still undetermined.

Sh: ...UI. Did you stay about six days in the [*West*] Bank?

Ab: ...UI.

Sh: But, what is the general situation as you felt it?

Ab: By God, no. Life is normal and routine. ...UI at 12 o'clock or 1 a.m. and...UI.

Sh: Hum. What do you mean by "affiliated"? These..., these are fluid terms. You can think about them for five days. Is there anything else?

As: There is a question.

Sh: Go ahead, Aboul Hasan.

As: Ok, people on the inside. What is their impression? People inside the '48 area. You talked for a while about the other cities.

Ab: Let me give you my personal opinion. People now think they should let this be a time of quiet, you see, and we try to gain better positions, you see. This is the vision of the...

As: Movement, you mean?

Ab: Yes, those special people. I mean, this is time of quiet in order for us to rearrange our papers, be able to gain better positions. In reality and my personal humble view is that they're the ones who can through their long existence over there, from growing up over there, their entry and the ease of penetrating the entity... If you have money, you could do whatever you want over there. They see that there is a benefit gained from the Movement but a person who is far, you see, doesn't see a result for the Movement. This vision comes from over there, from the people who could see. They tell you that there is no objection for keeping matters quiet for now. Let's really try to organize ourselves and rearrange our

- papers. But, this doesn't mean that this is a support for the...
- As: But, this stand... The public over there might get the wrong impression as long as you didn't object [*to the agreement*] and say "This might mean that you're supportive". The public on the inside might consider that you didn't...
- Ab: No, no, no. Their..., their public stand is..., is..., is no different from... We're talking about private talks. Their public positions haven't deviated from the general outline regarding the opposition to the agreement. But, we need to ask what is the benefit from the overt opposition to the agreement.
- As: As far as they're concerned?
- Ab: As far as we're concerned. What is the benefit to be gained from it? What is the benefit from the overt opposition to the...?
- As: They're known to have a certain inclination. If they don't show explicit opposition, people around them will think that they're supportive [*of the agreement*]. So, this might have an impact on the rest of the people who...UI, whether they're 800 or 700. This point is...
- Ab: This is a new thing for all of us. Opposition to what extent?
- As: Yes.
- Ab: And the opposition should have a in proportion to reality, the reality we live in. Saying, "No, no, no" without giving alternatives..., without...UI in reality. How is that going to happen? What are the channels? Is that going to be through ads or...UI? Is it going to be by giving a green light to certain sectors to move here and there. These are matters which are still being discussed and examined. That's it.
- Sh: Ok...UI. Go ahead.
- UM2: The police..., it was mentioned in one of the translated Jewish newspapers that the Jews have several reservations and must supervise the police for fear that some people have penetrated the Palestinian police sector. This is on the Jews' mind.
- Ab: The commander of the army made a statement about ten days ago. What is his understanding of the authority of the police according to the army and what is the authority of... The Palestinian police have no authority like police forces. Its authority doesn't exceed the public, but the [*Israeli*] army is required to handle the security issue. I mean, they say that, without a permission from the [*Palestinian*] police, without anything

- it was a clear message - they say that we have the right to enter... Even chasing the fugitives, chasing the fugitives will continue. The same person said that, said that it is our right to reach any area without a permission from the [*Palestinian*] police. And, if the police tried to stop us, it will be a...er, an obstacle to security. He was speaking very clearly. It doesn't need...er.

Sh: Go ahead, my brother, go ahead.

UM3: A question to the Sheik about the charitable organizations. You said that, if they're religious, they will be under the Ministry of Endowments and, if they're charitable, they will be under the [*Ministry of*] Social Services. This will be in Gaza and Jericho. Right?

Sh: Yes, of course.

UM3: How about the [*West*] Bank?

Ab: The same thing.

UM3: Will the same thing happen to them?

Ab: Yes, of course. They will be subjected to the same system. Now..., now..., this is the feeling of the people in charge of these organizations.

UM3: Yes. But, in reality, people who have organizations in the [*West*] Bank, are they going to be in the hands of the...UI.

Ab: The feeling of the people...

Sh: Abou Mohamed has a paper to be presented regarding the organizations and stuff. God's willing, when his turn comes, we will address this point if it is not a part of his paper, what is the expected future of these organizations. We thank you for the good presentation. We now move on to brother Gawad's presentation. Do you need a camera, brother Gawad... [*Laughter*]. You don't want it? And brother Aboul Hasan, of course, is...UI.

Ga: In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Of course...

Sh: Do we have...UI? Go ahead, my brother. Finish.

Ga: In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. ...UI political analysis of what has

been written about it [*the peace agreement*] from our side and from the brothers with us...UI. This might be our personal interpretation or...UI. Anyway, the paper is about the circles which will be affected by this process and how do we deal with it here in America. Also, the...UI which will be affected and the problems which they might face. But, as an introduction to the topic, cooperation with the agreement which took place must be based on a strategy of...UI which is the issue of the continuous conflict in the region, a conflict of existence and a conflict of destiny between us and this..., this enemy entity. This agreement did not come as a mere small changeable political event relating to a change in Palestinian activism method, the way to deal with occupation or the Zionist entity. No, it is my belief at least that this agreement - and it could be studied - is a coalition between a party which is holding the Palestinian people by the neck politically and financially and between this occupier in order to resist any opportunities for it to rise up, whether through resistance or...UI or through the Islamists or otherwise in the occupied land and to cooperate with it as well to strike the Islamic movement in the other Arab countries as well. This is will according to information...UI five years ago. He has different Arab maps. Attention should be payed to this matter. Out of that, we should deal with the agreement on the basis that it will change the definition, the principle and the fundamentals of the conflict and not as a limited political change. It is a revolt in reality or an attempted revolt against our entire strategic program. I mean, there is an attempt to cross you out from the political map in the region entirely. If this doesn't work, they will limit you in way which renders you ineffective or...UI. It is based on that understanding that we should deal with the agreement whether as far as America is regarded or not. Of course, the inside is number one, then Jordan and Lebanon. ...UI, the community abroad, but dealing [*with the agreement*] should be based on that. Regarding of the circumstances, this is what we should base our opinion on. After that, how to deal with each country, each arena and each circumstance - based on that approach - will be different.

UM: ...UI.

Ga: The basis should remain the same which is that the current change is a strategic one relating to our intellectual structure, strategic structure and our even our skeletal structure. Therefore, retaliation will be widespread against our individuals, our organizations, our supporters, our mosques, our presentations, our media, our boys, our girls, our women, our relationships with our brothers in the other Arab countries. All of these will be affected, unfortunately, in a negative way at least in the first phase. The...UI is that we ought to look at the matters keeping in mind that we are at a historical crossroads. This crossroads is still being formulated in my opinion. It hasn't formulated until now. I mean, the straight path won't be formulated - even for years - for this crossroads. This crossroads is still at the one to two days level, truly. In my opinion, at least, the road is not chartered

in an accurate way, neither for the Jews, the Palestinians nor for America. Everyone is now planning, working, working, planning for four months, six months and a year at a maximum. But, the vast majority are still formulating their preliminary positions and how their general policies will be like because no one knows what kind of reaction to expect from the other party and how to deal with it. All what is happening is a matter of a test...UI, like what Abd Rabou said, like what the Jews said, ...UI with Rabin. It is an experimental matter, like a test tube, something like that. Consequently, we need to act on that basis. The first thing is that it is dangerous for us and is targeting this, that and that, but it hasn't reached its final stage. I mean, it is still in the first stage. They're trying to formulate this path which destroys what we talked about in the beginning. But, they haven't succeeded yet. This is my opinion. Based on that, we need to look at the needed role, not as dealing with a status quo, but dealing with what would be the status quo. This is what...UI is different from us. Dealing with the status quo is the status quo of the Islamic Movement in the Arab countries. If this feeling spread to the Islamic Palestinian Movement, I bring to you the news of a massive diversion...UI, a massive one, not a small one. I mean...UI, there won't be a nation, liberation or independence. Why can't they...UI the region until now? They even...UI, you let them in. How is their position going to be. What is the precise role of the police? The police forces...UI. Police officers are going to be...UI. All of that is talk. The Palestinian street, the public, until now they don't know what is the role of a [*Palestinian*] policeman. Are they going to kill me? Are they going to lock me up with the Jews? Or, are they going to be policemen to serve us? All of that is being formulated. All of that is being formulated. Your presence on the arena now with weight and with might is what is needed now in order for you to participate in formulating the crossroads in which you might have a larger share than them if you succeed, or a certain share if...

END OF RECORDING.

[UM] Unidentified Male.
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[NFI] Not Further Identified.
(LNU) Last name unknown
[Italics] Translator's comments.

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Gh = Ghassan Elashi
Ss = Sheik Sharif
Ga = Gawad (LNU)
Ab = Abdel Salam (LNU)
Ak = Akram (LNU)
Au = Abou Usama (NFI)
As = Abdel Halim Al Ashqar (Aboul Hasan)

Ab: ... On top of the propaganda for them, propaganda which tempts people, there are increased calls such as "The police is coming" and "We will straighten out those who don't like it". "The police is coming and we will straighten out those who don't like it", specially to those who are known to be their enemies or the Islamists, the seculars who are affiliated with...UI, and the communists who are affiliated with the Popular Front. I mean, I mean, some lowlife people among them approach people now in plain light and tell them "We will show you tomorrow". You see, what the Jews do is not one tenth of what they do. So, now they threaten people that police is coming. We now move on to the role we ought to observe and stuff like that. In front of people, we shouldn't oppose the agreement as an agreement.

Ab: So, as far as the people are concerned, the flag of Palestine is now in front of them. Ok, yesterday, I was unable to raise the flag and but now I can raise it today. So, something must have happened. But, are they, like they say, going to sit down after the initial shock and review the matter over with a clear head? For instance, one woman who was walking between Gaza and Khan Younis. I was riding in the car and the flags are fluttering. She is old and she was saying... She has two sons, one was martyred and the other one is sentenced to life in prison. She was saying to them "This is wrong . When a Jew was killed, that used to cool my fire. When a Jew was killed, that used to cool my fire. And now? What..., what will calm my fire?"

Sh: She wants to relieve her anger.

Ab: [*She said*] "If I lay my hands on you, Arafat, I'd eat you with my teeth".

Gh: O God.

UM: Are there concrete evidence that there will be a confrontation between Hamas and the Authority?

Ab: Er...

UM: Through your experience...

Ab: When the Authority comes to office, it might happen. Because it is the Authority which doesn't want to...UI. They don't want to have clashes with Hamas or the Islamists now so that won't stir people against them. No, they want their police forces and [*say*] "We don't have a disagreement, we're democratic, we're this and that..." until they take hold of everything and then they will...UI.

UM: Ok, is this the conviction of the brothers?

Ab: See, they take advantage of people's ignorance of the agreement and occupy people very rapidly with economic development and stuff like that which doesn't give people the time to think about the agreement. They don't care about the text of the agreement, they care about their lives..., their daily lives and the material standard of living.

Sh: My brothers, this talk is to be continued, God's willing. There are remarks now. Please don't mention the name Samah in an explicit manner. We agree on saying it as "sister Samah". We will talk about her honor and the session is..., the session here is a joint workshop between the Holy Land Foundation and the IAP. This is the official form. I mean, please, in case some inquired.

Au: As far as the police is concerned, there is a good reaction to it. Expectations are that...UI.

[Several people ask questions and Abou Usama responds amid heavy static. Unintelligible]

Au: ...it depends on the media. If we managed to reach the people...UI.

UM: What about people's opinions...UI.

Au: That depends...UI.

UM: Is this against Hamas...UI

Sh: Didn't we say not to mention that term...

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Ab: The situation in the [West] Bank is probably wavering. I visited Jericho and the [West] Bank, Jerusalem and... Jericho, as I felt, has the same factors as Gaza as far as the low standard of services and stuff like that. People are very happy and are posting flags outside and stuff. The rest of the [West] Bank, I mean, Jerusalem and the area of Ramallah, you don't feel that there is anything called, excuse me, Intifada or something... Markets are full, people buy and sell, there are no curfews on the street. In Gaza, curfew is at 8 o'clock and that's it. There is no... There is fence around Gaza, entry and exit is through gates only. The economic situation in the West Bank..., there are economic resources at the level of the cities in it. You could even feel that each city has economic resources which is sufficient to it as a city. ...UI.

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- As: But, this stand... The public over there might get the wrong impression as long as you didn't object [*to the agreement*] and say "This might mean that you're supportive". The public on the inside might consider that you didn't...
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- Ab: This is a new thing for all of us. Opposition to what extent?
- As: Yes.

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- Ga: ... It is based on that understanding that we should deal with the agreement whether as far as America is regarded or not. Of course, the inside is number one, then Jordan and Lebanon. ...UI, the community abroad, but dealing [*with the agreement*] should be based on that. Regarding of the circumstances, this is what we should base our opinion on. After that, how to deal with each country, each arena and each circumstance - based on that approach - will be different.
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 Ar = Abdel Rahman
 Ni = Nihad (LNU)
 Os = Osama (NFI)

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Ak: ...over night. In the near future, he might surprise you with something new which leaves unable to determine what to do. That would happen if you adopt a point of view which is hostile to the agreement only because it didn't bring about a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza...UI in the [*West*] Bank and Gaza. And what are you going to say? We stick to the fundamentals of our cause which is our complete rights in the entire land of Palestine. How are we going to present them is something different but, we don't have to abandon them and sell out in the same way as the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization was thinking a while back, for instance. Let's remain..., we know that they are not going to give up anything. We just keep saying the West Bank and Gaza and we will win the media war because they are not going to give us anything. Let them give you something.

You had to make concessions after concessions until you got the minimum. We shouldn't commit mistake and say that they won't give us a state. Ok, what if they did? Are we going to look for a different justification why we oppose the agreement? No. We should be clear in our position regarding Palestine, either with an American person, a Palestinian person, an Arab person or a Muslim person. We might give one of them more details than the other but, we shouldn't abandon our right in '48 Palestine because, by God, America won't accept it. On the contrary, the Americans respect someone who has a point of view which he holds on to and don't respect someone who wears a different color everyday and who doesn't take a position. The second thing is that we must know the future media strategy of the Jews in regards to the media campaign they will launch against us in America and even in Palestine itself. It is clear that the main enemy of the agreement right now is the Islamists. The other people don't have a public..., a weight like the Islamists and it is clear that the attack will be on the Islamists. In their minds, they have no one else to focus on other than the Islamists. Not only do they want a Jew to attack the Islamists, but also the entire world to march behind them to attack the Islamists as well. This will reflect on us here in America because, at the end, we will see that the American media - with the Jewish media in America and Palestine implied in it - discuss these issues and we will be forced to respond to an issue whenever one is raised. All of our positions will be reactions and they won't have...UI what are we expecting to happen, how to prepare for it so that we are not surprised with the unexpected every time. For example, there was a seminar at George Washington University a week ago about the Middle East process and terrorism, this was its title. They brought experts from...er, from the Center of Strategic International Studies, from the Near East Policies, from the Israeli embassy, the military attache and his deputy. I mean there were some people who were trying to present the Israeli point of view, mostly, about how the coming stage will be like. I just wanted to mention some of the points which they unanimously agreed on as these will be the points we will work on in the future. For example, instead of saying that terrorism now is... So that all of you are in the picture, they defined terrorism as anyone who is opposed to the agreement. You are against peace and a terrorist if you oppose the agreement. The issue of being opposed to the agreement as a point of view is no longer there with them. You are against peace. If you are opposed to peace, it means that it is Ok to slaughter you in any suitable manner they deem fit. They're trying to discuss this issue and how they are going to present it to the media in the future in order to discredit those who are opposed to peace. And the most important party they talk about is..., they didn't mask it like us and say Hossam and stuff. They were saying Hamas is our main goal in the next stage. [laughter]. So,...

UM1: You're quoting them.

Ak: Yes, that is what they said.

Sh: Quote unquote. He is quoting them. Don't you hear him?

Ak: They came up with some points some of which is that the near future will witness terrorism against the Palestinians. There was almost a complete accord that, in the next stage, the Jews are used to terrorism. It is not something strange to them. And the Americans are...UI and they deal with it. But, the Palestinian people..., the new arriving government is not used to terrorism and doesn't know how to deal with terrorism. It still doesn't have the experiences to deal with terrorism. [UI brief group talk]... against the agreement in Palestine. Therefore, this is something we ought to be ready for from now. There is always...UI how to address even the Americans and tell them that those who oppose the agreement do not oppose peace, for instance. We should address the American mentality which is one of their convictions they always preach saying that, for instance, the people who accepted the agreement and signed the agreement didn't get an authorization from the people, nor did they get an authorization from its organizations. I mean, some things like that in order to give credibility to people who oppose the agreement from now. You don't wait until the self-rule takes place and then you say, "By God, we are against the self-rule because it is not legal and stuff". No, you work on it from now in your media so that you give..., so that you prepare for the future opposition of the self rule which is about to take effect. You have to defend it as the real target is the Islamic Movement over there. This is the first thing. The second thing which must be focused on is that we must attempt to improve the living conditions of the Palestinians. This was unanimously agreed on by the Jews and the Americans. They're concerned with...UI over there. This is the only solution which might make the self rule successful. Therefore, we must focus on our rights in Palestine. Not only our economic rights. The people of Palestine don't have to sign an agreement so that their living conditions improve. Why is the entire infrastructure of the Palestinian people in tatters and its condition is that bad? Why don't we tie this condition..., why don't we tie this to the occupation? Why don't we say that this is a normal thing and that now because there is peace the living conditions of the Palestinians must improve. We try to bring to the surface not only the economic rights of the Palestinians. This is one thing. The...

UM1: Now, brothers...

Ak: Go ahead.

UM1: So, now the Algerian who is fighting in Algeria, the Egyptian who is fighting in Egypt, the Tunisian who is fighting in Tunisia, the Iraqi in Iraq and the Syrian in Syria and everywhere..., the legal status of their fighting is..., What? What I really want to say is that if we don't focus on the doctrinal and the Sharia issue we are not really presenting any new legitimacy for our work. If I clothe or feed a Palestinian or stuff this will not

silence the people of Islam and the people of faith from pursuing the cause.

Ak: This is what I mentioned at the beginning. Our undisputable rights.

UM1: I mean....

Ak: I said that at the beginning. Our rights in Palestine don't have anything to do with any living conditions. We have undisputable rights in Palestine as Islamists. They don't change with the changing of the events.

UM1: But, our issue now is..., it is even a fundamental issue that blocking the Sharia of God, fighting Islam and confronting God the Almighty..., this is a grand issue. May it be good, God's willing.

Om: We are confronting the biggest enemy for Islam.

UM1: What?

Om: We in Palestine are confronting the biggest enemy of Islam. It is..., it is a two-sided enemy, an enemy of Islam and an enemy of...UI.

UM1: I'm not denying the partial rights. But, the grand issue we must focus on and the one we must teach people its aspects is the issue of belief and disbelief.

Om: Yes.

Sh: But, please allow me...

UM1: You taught us interruptions and objections. Why did you teach us that? *[laughter]*.

Ak: There remains two points, two or three points. We must take advantage of the current situation. The media sees that we adopt the point of view of the Islamic Movement as I mentioned in the beginning. Therefore, we should try to publish some articles by representatives of the Islamic Movement in the U.S. papers. This is not something simple. Some believe that this is a marginal thing to do. Maybe so in the Orient. But, if we manage to reach the Western media, you reach a large audience through it even in the Orient itself. For example, Prince Hassan can publish an article as Prince Hassan, for instance. I believe that there is big desire in the American media, the famous outlets in America, to understand a point of view representing the Islamic Movement, or to read an article representing the Islamic Movement. Something about your opinion regarding the

agreement, for instance, or regarding any new developments which might occur. Why do we wait for people to ask us for an article in English when we know what they think? Why can't we write this article, show it to them, for instance, and if they approve it we send it in the person's name, in this person's name. We have the deportees, for instance, some of them are key figures and they..., for instance, ...UI in establishing the Movement here. Why can't we have them - being doctors and stuff - write the articles they want somehow and give them to the media to publish and say that this article represents the point of view of people who represent the Movement and not a personal point of view. This is just like when a researcher in American sends an article which they might or might not publish. This is what I'm thinking. The second thing is that we are approaching events we must be ready for like I mentioned. For instance, a little later Arafat will supposedly go back to the [West] Bank and take over. We are approaching events which will..., the media is interested in the issue and it will make new contacts and find out the opinion of those who are opposed. So, a day later or later on we will be thinking what are we supposed to do. I mean, ...UI the agreement. We need to be ready for the day the media is interested again in the cause..., we must be ready to contact people in the media today, who...UI, who represents us, what are the organizations the media might contact in case...UI so that we are ready for these events. The other thing; there are preparations under way to compensate the refugees of '48 or '67 for their rights meaning, to forsake their land, sell their land in compensation for money. This is a decision which might be reached. So, why are we waiting for this decision to be made before we publish legal edicts, before we warn people that it is not permissible? Why can't we issue a statement now that any resolution reached by the United Nations or a joint Israeli-Palestinian committee to compensate the Palestinians for their rights is legally not permissible, that selling the land is a treason. Why are waiting for...UI before we take action. By then, those who want to consent will have consented and those who want to fill out applications will have filled out applications. Right now, you have time to mobilize the public and manage your affairs in anticipation of what is going to happen in the future. Therefore, I believe there are a lot of expectations. We can expect two or three options to happen in the future; ...UI at the media level at least if not at the public level. Like our brother Shukri mentioned, I would like to stress that we should discredit Arafat in the eyes of the Palestinian people and in the eyes of the American people and we have a good case. We must know that. We should ...UI about him; about his management of the [Palestinian Liberation] Organization during the time it was an organization, about political assassinations which they used to commit. Of course, these things are not going to result in people changing their view of him but, they will give you some credit in the future as an opposing party to the agreement. We don't oppose the person who is democratic. We don't oppose a person who is peace-loving, we oppose a person who is a criminal. This is what I have...[UI brief group talk]. Opposition can also be done by writing about some of its figures, by writing about their personal biographies and

educational levels so that people get an idea about the opposition that it is not a primitive movement. It is a sophisticated thing. This issue is important not only to...UI, but also to the Palestinian people and public activism and media activism.

Sh: May God reward you well. May God reward you well. May God reward you well. Regarding the media doctrinal address, I believe that it requires caution. What is the shape and the form of the address. Our address in the doctrinal aspect might be a rock. We climb atop the rock and say "Save Jerusalem". Jerusalem in particular appeals to the Muslims and I don't think it appeals to the Muslims as much as it appeals to an infidel. When there is a..., allow me,... When there is a reference regarding..., regarding a mosque..., I mean, how much does the Kaaba's pulpit appeal to you? As a pulpit? Too much focus on Jerusalem and overlooking the sanctity of the rest of Palestine brings about, in my opinion, a negative result with people [*thinking that*] it is Ok that the remainder of Palestine is lost as long as Jerusalem has a special status. We must focus on the sanctity of all of Palestine, all of Palestine including Jerusalem. I believe that Muslims generally are not going to feel the credibility..., the Islamic aspect of the cause of Palestine until we see an Pakistani brother raising the Palestinian banner and defending it, or the Algerian, the Libyan or the non-Palestinian. This thing must come to the surface of the earth. We must find non-Palestinians spearheading Palestinian activism. Otherwise, it won't materialize meaning that it will not be convincing. People will still see us within a certain nationalistic circle. I believe that the role of the [*Islamic*] Association [*for Palestine*] is that we must try to make Islamic leaders who adopt the cause of Palestine with the same force we adopted it with. They adopt it from a very clear Islamic aspect as their countrymen would believe this talk. I believe a segment of Muslims believe that we are commercialize the Islamic aspect of the Palestinian cause for our nationalist interest. We tell them that Jerusalem is lost and stuff and they tell you lost it..., who lost it? You lost Palestine. And you want me to bring it back to you? This is one. The second thing is: why do we want to discuss the Islamic aspect of the cause in a very narrow sense. I fear that if we keep saying that our struggle is Islamic, our struggle Islamic, our struggle is doctrinal we void the... There is a nationalistic aspect for the Palestinian cause. There is a certain characteristic. There is a land that is lost, rights that are lost. Even if it weren't Jews who violated them, even if they were Barbarians, if they were Arabs and Muslims, certain rights still remain outside the scope of the religious conflict. Let me be clear. In this manner you are showing - as Israel claims- that your conflict with Israel is no different from the conflict of the Islamists in Algeria, in Tunisia or in Egypt. It is the same conflict. It is an attempt to impose fundamentalism in the region and that there are no nationalistic rights there. It is just a conflict of Islamists trying to impose the Islamic state by force and among those [*countries*] is Israel. Of course, this no different from Egypt, Libya and Algeria. I say, no. We must defend nationalistic rights as nationalistic rights, as any human who has a right to live in the shadow of a homeland and it is true

there is an Islamic aspect to this cause but, too much talking about an Islamic aspect is not going to do us good as long as we are unable to recruit the children of the Islamic community for our cause, for instance. As long you find yourself in a certain situation where a Pakistani brother tells you "O brother, yesterday you collected money for Palestine. Why didn't you collect money for the Indians?". This means that he doesn't understand the dimension at all. He doesn't understand why do I focus on the Palestinian cause. He will tell you "Yes, you're taking advantage of the religion just for what...". Like they sometimes say..., these guys take advantage of the Palestinian brothers, sometimes they say that, when they want something, they go up to the pulpit and talk about Islam and stuff just because they want money or something. This means that the Islamic dimension hasn't taken its scope on the field and he doesn't believe that... *[break in recording]*... that the Palestinians speak... *[break in recording]*... and that I live for him. But, he must carry the same religious aspect with the same zeal I do otherwise, it will remain words on paper.

UM1: Allow me a question *[break in recording]*...

Om: Are you going to discuss the subject...

UM1: No, by God. *[Break in recording]*... I don't want to talk. *[Break in recording]*... I'm amazed, amazed... The issue of Palestine is..., Jerusalem is an issue, the issue of Palestine as a holy land I don't believe this thing. I speak as one of us, a Muslim.

UM2: What is that talk, Sheik?

UM1: I will explain this to you and...UI. The Quran also spoke about Mecca *[saying]* "And warn the Mother of Villages and its surroundings", meaning that the call of prophet, God's prayers and peace be upon him, reached where? "Its surroundings" is where the call of Islam is the surroundings.

Sh: Fine.

UM1: So, the issue then is not an issue of land. The issue is where the call reaches.

Ni: It is still a holy land because...UI.

UM1: Yes, I say it is known where the holy land is, "The one God has assigned to you...".

Ni: Palestine.

UM1: No. It is not true. The holy land is Jerusalem.

Ni: Only?

UM1: Yes, my brother. And also the word "holy"..., there is another point, the word "holy" means holy in regards to revelations, messengers and the call. I don't have..., this is not the issue but, when someone comes to me and tells me "All of the land of Palestine is a holy land and all Muslims must go out to fight for it". I say that this slogan is not clear. I agree with you that all Muslims are responsible for any injustice befalls Muslims. Therefore, I tell the Indian, the Pakistani and so forth "You must support me in my cause just like he supports any Muslim brother in a Muslim cause". This is one issue. The second issue is that..., that if we stand up to address people in a way which they perceive as a nationalistic or stuff..., this is not correct. We must stress that our problem..., our problem will be there if we discuss the cause from pure political angles. As long as we focus on the Islamic aspect of the cause, the Indian, the Pakistani, the Malaysian and others will react to it.

Ni: How do you point out the Islamic aspect of the cause.

UM1: What?

Ni: How do you point out the Islamic aspect of the cause if you say that the holy land is not all of Palestine but just Jerusalem and that this cause is not a cause of land and that people will say that this is a nationalistic cause...

UM1: I really believe..., I really think..., by God my belief is that...

Ni: It is a question. I'm asking how could you explain the...

UM1: I'm answering you. My brother, my creed is..., the cause of Palestine, the cause of Palestine with its dimension and status is a central cause for the entire Islamic nation. Study history and you will see that the Ottoman empire collapsed and then the Palestinian cause began. Now, the solution to the Palestinian cause won't happen unless the other countries surrounding it are liberated. As long as these regimes are existing and lying heavily, there won't be a solution to the cause of Palestine. By God, this is my creed. Therefore, we must adopt the Islamic cause in its collective dimension and stress this issue by saying that it pertains to Jerusalem and that it pertains to an injustice for the nation. There is no doubt. Other than that, I have nothing. The cause of..., I never discussed the cause of Palestine one day from the land angle alone. Land is a part of the injustice and man fights in defense of his property and etc. But, the grand issue is the

issue of a nation. Yes. And I went to Pakistan in '67 and I found that people were crying when whatever part of Palestine fell including Jerusalem. Also, the issue of Jerusalem is not an issue the Jews will not abandon by any means as long as they have existence and entity on the land of Palestine. That's it.

Om: There is a quick word.

UM2: Go ahead.

Om: Senator Patrick Leahy..., Moyenharn said on the day the agreement was signed..., he said "Now, World War I has ended". He said "Now, World War I has ended..."

UM1: Moyenharn?

Om: Patrick Moyenharn.

UM1: Patrick what? Moyenharn, this is New York.

Om: New York. He is a Senator from New York.

UM1: Oh, yeah. He is Jewish.

Om: I don't know if he is Jewish. I don't think so.

UM1: I think he is gay [laughter].

Om: He says, "Now, after we signed the agreement...", he says "Now, World War I has ended". By "now" he is referring to the Ottoman empire and stuff".

Ni: Because it carried out the Belfore's Pledge.

[UI group talk].

Ga: I have two things. First, I hope we don't start discussing issues which lead us to other points [laughter]... because...UI and I believe we need to finish. I mean I don't believe there is a...UI we don't agree on and the path of the Movement is one and there is no other. Just to be in the picture.

Ni: The path of the Movement...UI.

Ga: It is a different path from what he talked about. This is just the issue is bright as the sun.

UM2: What Movement?

Ga: Hamas..., the Samah Movement [*laughter*]. I mean Samah. Anyway, the path is really somewhat different. There is no disagreement over the fundamentals but, as far as the second thing, the nationalistic aspect, there is no doubt that the system of the Movement is very...UI. Therefore, from the latest events, it was proven very clearly to us that the effective circle in world politics as far as the Palestinian cause is concerned is the Palestinian circle. The truth is now final. Work on the Palestinian front. Hold on to the Palestinian front and they will deal with you even if he doesn't want to. It is not his choice. It is yours.

Om: What is the goal from the war? Isn't it the liberation of Palestine? Come on. How are you going to liberate Palestine?

UM2: Through Jihad.

Om: Who is going to carry out Jihad? The Palestinians only are the ones who will go to Jihad against a national occupation. Do you think that...UI

Ga: Yes, it is possible that...UI. Nothing is taken for granted. The issue of impossible and impossible factors is...

Sh: This is political talk.

Ga: Anyway, this is what I meant. This way we won't go into many side issues.

UM2: Yes, yes. Fine.

Ga: But to talk about impossibilities and absolute assumptions..., I used to speak in this manner and the experience taught me that I was wrong. Politics taught me that it is not right to say such stuff. These are absolutes we learned just from books but, in reality, things are different on the ground...

UM1: I will talk the political talk.

Ga: They were proven..., they were proven wrong. Therefore, these things are subject to discussion. That's it.

Om: Is what you say really the point of view of the Movement?

Ga: No. The Sheikh is saying that the Movement...

UM1: Let's stay on our point because things are drifting away.

Om: The point of view of the Movement mentioned by brother Abou Ayoub is not accurate. The Movement still talks about the Islamic aspect of the cause and we must...

Ga: No, this is not the issue...UI. The Sheikh is saying that all of Palestine is holy, the Movement is saying that the entire land is holy. On the contrary, we say that it is an endowment and not just holy. There is a Saying that goes...[UI followed by UI comment and laughter]. This is...UI and the Movement is going on that direction. The other direction which is saying that we can liberate Palestine by the Islamic nations only is not agreed upon....UI.

Om: But, the Movement has not made a decision that the nationalistic current is the one which will liberate Palestine and that the Islamic current is not...UI.

[Brief UI group talk].

Sh: This is not the topic, our brothers.

[Brief UI group talk].

Ga: ...I say that establishing the Islamic state is not...UI its current shape. This is just so that we are clear...UI.

UM2: Is this the last point?

Ga: I mean, on condition that the Islamic leadership...UI in order to liberate Palestine...UI neither internal or external.

Ni: The matters needs clarification. This is his opinion. Yes, right.

[Brief UI group talk].

Gh: You have a presentation to make.

Ga: Something other than the presentation. Other than the presentation.

UM2: There is just a remark about what our brother Abou Ratib said. Go ahead.

Ni: This is in regards to remaining steadfast to the principles and...UI in regards to remaining steadfast on the principles and the fact that people always look... I mean, the reason the situation changed is that, during the first part of the year when the incident of the World Trade Center happened and people were looking at..., looking at the Islamic organizations. We were holding onto principles, Islamic principles as an Islamic organization. After the signing of the agreement we remained steadfast to the principles in the statements and the releases we made. This gave credibility to the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine], it gave popularity to the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine]. I mean, the ADC..., I will give you an example. The ADC..., one of the things which increased its [Membership] numbers is during the Gulf war because it sided with the Arab community against the FBI and...UI. During the Gulf war, no one was able to open his mouth. Everyone was worried about himself. Then the ADC was mobilized because this was an issue for it as an organization to handle. It was then that Zoghby stood up very proudly and said "We came a long way, baby" as it appeared on all the networks. That was because they adopted an issue and moved with it even though they were the only ones on the front. The same thing applies to the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine]; remaining steadfast to the doctrinal principles we follow is the one thing which gives it credibility with the public.

UM2: Are there any other remarks? Ok, we will listen to the second presentation by... Is it by Abdel Rahman or Nihad?

Om: In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Thanks be to God, prayers and peace be upon God's messenger and upon all of his family and supporters. To proceed, I was..., this is not the first meeting to take place to study the future of Islamic activism for Palestine in North America. A meeting was held before in August...

Ni: In July.

Om: In July?

Ni: July 14.

Om: July 14, before all of these problems happened. I had prepared a paper I didn't submit. I was supposed to discuss it. I had two things in my mind; in order to strengthen the Islamic activism for Palestine in North America we must do the two things; widening the Muslims' circle of influence and reducing the Jews' circle of influence. Based on that, I placed a lot of..., a lot of... I said that in order to strengthen Islamic activism for Palestine

in North America we must do the two things. They are, first of all, widening the Muslims' circle of influence and reducing the Jews' circle of influence. I assumed that Islamic activism for Palestine in North America won't get stronger unless Muslims are strong. The nature of this country is that you cannot work unless you are strong; have money, relationships and certain tools for pressure. If you know how to talk but don't have tools for pressure your words are futile. Based on this study I concluded three things and they were almost discussed. They are: having organizations which include media and research department, another for politics and public relations and the third department is concerned with money and law. Each one of these [*departments*] has certain goals. But, after what happened, we changed the title to "The future of Islamic activism for Palestine in North America in light of the peace developments". I repeat here that any organization which seeks to do activism here in America must be very strong. Its main goal should to become strong. This is the... The goals sought by the Islamic activism for Palestine are six goals, I believe. First, making the Islamic position regarding Palestine the strongest position and the most supported between Muslims in general and Palestinians in particular. I mean, for Muslims in general and Palestinian the Islamic position should be the one they adopt and stick to. The second thing is to have the position of the Islamic Association for Palestine in regards to anything that has to do with Palestine the position which is adopted by Muslims and Islamic organizations. It should also be the position heard by non-Muslims. I mean, when a Muslim person or an Islamic organization adopt a position regarding the Gaza-Jericho agreement, for instance, the position of the [*Islamic*] Association [*for Palestine*] should be the adopted one. Here is the organization which represents the point of view of Muslims in regards to Palestine. The other thing is that should the outside media or any foreign organization want to find out the point of view of Muslims, they would ask us and not any other entity. This is my second goal. The third goal is mobilizing the Palestinian and the Islamic community to support the Islamic project in Palestine and Islamic activism for Palestine in North America. This means that it is not enough that we provide awareness to the community. We must mobilize it to support the Islamic project in Palestine over there and then support Islamic activism for Palestine also in North America. These are the ones which we..., which we must pay a lot of attention to. This is one of the results of awareness of media activism. The fourth issue is increasing financial support for the kinsmen in the Occupied Territories in Palestine in general or even as we said today for Palestinians living elsewhere such as Lebanon, Syria and Jordan or wherever. I am not going to speak about this issue in this presentation because I believe it was discussed extensively. There were special sessions dedicated for it. The fifth goal is to form a lobby to pressure the Palestinian decision-makers abroad. This is a long-term goal. I mean, we must really be strong and have a large base but I believe it is a reasonable goal for us to adopt for the long-run. The last goal is enhancing and developing methods of activism. This one relates to the organizations. These are six goals. How are we going to carry them out? There are five fields; the first way is the

media. The second field is the field of politics and public relations, public activism, our financial strength and strengthening our organizations. God's willing, I will be talking briefly about each one of these fields. In regards to the media field...er, this form of activism seeks to make the tools of the Islamic Association for Palestine such as Al Zaytouna and the Muslim World Monitor or other researches which we make and public the main and the popular source of information about Palestine among the Palestinian and the Muslim community. I mean, we don't want us to be the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] while we see Muslims read papers from other people. It is possible that there will be [other papers] but they are not going to be the dominant or the ones which are widespread between the people. The main reason for that is to wipe illiteracy among Muslims in regards to the political reality and the conspiracies against Palestine. The biggest catastrophe we learned from this agreement is that Muslims totally ignore what happened. They didn't read the agreement or listened to news. They saw some headlines and they cheered and celebrated like other people did. So, if we don't reach them, this deeply-rooted ignorance will rule them and they will become our enemies and we start working on them instead of us working on the Americans and others. This will happen by enhancing both newspapers, boosting their distribution and propagating them, and by making sure our researchers and news reach the audience and the influential people like people who are the imams of mosques and those in charge of mosque, those who can receive the news and distribute it. We have to make sure that he received our research and our news. I believe this is on going on now but we must make it stronger. The second goal for media activism is broadcasting the Islamic point of view in U.S. media. The first goal was relating to activism among Muslims and Palestinians but we must broadcast our point of view in U.S. media. There is a very good reason for that which is bringing the voice of the Islamists to the surface, keeping them informed and explaining their positions in order to ease the severity of allegations of radicalism and other things. This will also make our position known to Muslims and sympathizers whom we cannot reach via our media tools. So, the first thing is that if we don't go out and talk about our position people like Thomas Friedman and others will rise to attack the Islamists. This will happen if we don't stand up and speak about our positions. So, we must take this initiative and express our position. This will limit the allegations of radicalism. I mean, when Nihad appeared on CNN and talked in the way he spoke, this greatly reduces the severity of allegations of radicalism. The other thing which is the same thing brother Akram said is that when Muslims see these things they will be encouraged. For instance, we were conducting interviews for local TV in our locality, these were not for the Americans but for the Muslims in or locality who don't understand. When they see that there are Muslims like you who stand up you become a sort of a supporter for them and a motive for them to stand up. This can be achieved by being open to the various media outlets..., media outlets, and broadcasting news such as INN organization which is already part of the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine], the Islamic News Network...er.

We can also use the people who agree with our opinion. I mean, if you have someone like Edward Said and someone like that... We have a brother in our region whose name Sabri Kaoush, a member of the National Assembly. He is very light Islamist. But he is a man who has a lot of information; he is retired and understands. Bring him on and let him demonstrate and explain things. There is no problem with that. He will assist you, help you out. So, we must not be shy and timid. Any newspaper or any radio which seek your opinion you should stand up and talk but learn how to talk. And I believe if you stand up and talk is what benefits you. But if you kept silent in this country they will toss you any way they want. The third goal of the media is producing researches, collecting information and providing them to those concerned and publishing them in order to make scholarly research and information which support our position available to those concerned with our cause. Also, preparing studies which define a method for dealing and address which suits the American political and media atmosphere. We now have a research organization which is UASR, for instance. But UASR organization does not help us in Palestinian activism in America unless with very little. We don't have an organization which conducts research for us on how to address the American society, how to deal with the U.S. organizations. So, I believe research is a very important thing. Also, people in the studies and research centers don't benefit a lot from a newspaper alone. He wants to see if you wrote an analysis or something like that for him. And I believe that the brothers..., the existing organizations, Dr. Yousef, do not negate the need for a research or a research center which we direct for activism in America. The fourth and the last goal of media activism is strengthening our influence in the educational organizations and particularly universities and studies centers. This is also a long-term goal but a plan must be put in place by the concerned brothers to specify the means through which we have a heard voice in these universities. This might begin by holding seminars to which we invite teachers in... Most prominent universities have teachers and have college for political science, Middle Eastern studies. You have research centers specialized in Palestine. You can invite them and hold a seminar or a conference for them and engage them, at least, through your opinion and show them that you really adopt an opinion based on a scientific things, that you are not a radical, that you are balanced and have research and stuff like that. The problem and the catastrophe here in America is that the majority of the people who go to work for the U.S. government graduate from these universities from under professors who are under very strong Jewish influence. I mean you won't find one professor speaking in a classroom in a way which might harm Israel or praise the Palestinians unless the Jewish students in the university make an issue of him and bring a person from the Consulate or a Jewish person to respond. Therefore, our goal is to be... But this is a..., a long-term goal. Regarding the second issue which is political activism and public relations, the goal of this activism is to make the position of the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] in regards of issues relating to Palestine the adopted position. This is one of the general goals... Of the Muslims and the Islamic organizations.

There is a very good reason for that. It is in order to unify the forces..., the position of the Islamic forces in a unified activism program for Palestine. If the positions of the Islamic organizations started to contradict, which is what is currently happening as the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] is saying one thing, the AMC is saying one thing, MAS is saying another thing and they say that the Pakistanis are talking about moon sighting and everyone is saying something different, when there is such a contradiction in the positions of the different Islamic organizations it will weaken the Islamic position in regards to Palestine a great deal. Then we as the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine], as people who are responsible for Islamic activism for Palestine that there is a state of great weakness and acute frailty in our position because we then...UI our position with Muslims. Therefore, we must be careful that the positions of Muslims remain the same. This unified program should mobilize Muslims for the Islamic project through the unity of logic and direction. If the thinking of Muslims is unified with you their mobilization will be easy. You tell them "Coordinate with me. All of Palestine is for Muslims. You coordinate with me that our position regarding Gaza-Jericho is so and so. How about you and me hold this seminar, this conference, this donation". This can be done through notifying the organizations of our position in a continuous and clear manner and establishing official and personal with them and giving them a role in determining the Islamic position in regards to Palestine and the appropriate method of address in America. This is the outcome of experience. You must first tell them what is our position. It is not enough that we wait for someone to call us and ask us "By God, what is your position in the issue", or wait for us. No, we go to him, make the initiative and tell him "Our position is like that; one, two, three, four". And we should make sure, make sure that he got the message and understands it so that when he stands up to talk he wouldn't say stuff we didn't mean by our statements. There should also be personal and official relationships between us and them. This means that we should a personal relationship between us and the guy who is in charge of that organization. And also an official relationship in our capacity as the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine], we should have mutual positions where we supported him in positions. This is America all over; organizations with interests. They should also be partners in determining the Islamic position for Palestine. It is not enough that we say "By God, my position is so and so. Go ahead, adopt this position and go on". You must make him a partner in the decision, present to him and discuss it. You then stay with them to write the final wording of the position. And I believe that this work must be done. This might not be a fast way to do it but, in the future, there could be certain mechanism to unify the Islamic position in all of America. As for the organizations which want to dissent from the Islamic position for personal interests or out of fear... I mean, there are Islamic organizations such as the AMC and others which want to dissent from the Islamic position, either for personal interests, to promote itself, or for fear. We must pressure them and embarrass them by various means until they adhere to our position or, at least, remain neutral. This is something..., Maher

Hathout said that thing when we were at the...UI. He said "If the Palestinians say this and that we are with them". If the Palestinians abandoned Palestine you must speak up as an Islamist. He said "But you Palestinians say this and that and there are pressures on us and stuff". I told him "If you are under pressure then stay silent. You don't have to say yes or no. Just stay silent and remain neutral". We shouldn't let these people..., these people splinter the unity of the Islamic Palestinian front. Thus, we should pressure them by various means until they either adhere to our position or remain neutral. Also, forming a lobby for the decision-makers abroad. This is also a very important thing. It is a long-term goal. This can be achieved through our popular, political, financial and media strength in America. I mean, when we are strong like I said in the beginning, I can be a means for pressure on them but if we are weak and we don't have an Islamic community, we don't have influence over the Congress or the organizations such as the ADC, ...UI and others people won't pay attention to us. This will also bolster our position in America with the U.S. Administration and other media and political organizations. If we are strong we can influence what they decide over there, for instance. If Yasser Arafat were to think twice before he does something in America because he worries about the Islamic community in America it would give us some sort of credit with the U.S. Administration or media outlets...UI in addition to the fact that it reinforces the position of the pro-Islamic solution for Palestine abroad and lessens the danger those who surrendered. When we are strong, people who are against surrender will see that they have a large community in America which supports them financially and stands with them. It pressures the other people which reinforces their position. This is the thing..., the thing brother Gawad spoke about. He said that it won't be achieved unless we are strong in this country. The other thing is in regards to political activism is lessening the animosity of America and the West to Muslims and to Palestinians, in particular because pressure now is not only on Muslims but they focus on the term Palestinian-Islamic such as Mohamed Salam and others. I mean they focus on the fact that this guy is Palestinian and an Islamist because the Jews' target is the Palestinian individual. Also, strengthening the influence with Congress or other than the Congress. This is also one of the long-term goals but we have started to do some things about it. This can be achieved by infiltrating the American media outlets, universities and research centers as we previously said. It is also achieved by working with Islamic political organizations and the sympathetic ones such as..., you have now many emerging Islamic organizations, such as the American Muslim Alliance, such as the United Muslims of America, MPAC and AIPAC and others. All of those try to...UI and recruit Muslims to engage in political activism in America and I think that it is our mission to assist them because if Muslims engage in political activism in America and started to be concerned with Congress and public relations we will have an entry point to use them to pressure Congress and the decision-makers in America.

END OF RECORDING.

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 [UI] Unintelligible.
 [NFI] Not Further Identified.
 (LNU) Last name unknown.
 [*Italics*] Translator's comments.
 [...] Incomplete sentence.

Sh = Shukri Abu Baker
 Om = Omar Ahmad
 Gh = Ghassan Elashi
 Gh2 = Ghassan (LNU)
 Ss = Sheik Sharif
 Ga = Gawad (LNU)
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 Au = Abou Usama (NFI)
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 Aa = Abou Ahmad (NFI)
 Aj = Abdel Jabbar
 Ab2 = Abou Bassem (NFI)
 Mu = Muin (LNU)
 Ar = Abdel Rahman
 Ni = Nihad (LNU)
 Os = Osama (NFI)

Audio file: MTGB 19931002 15.WAV

Ni: The path of the Movement...UI.

Ga: It is a different path from what he talked about. This is just the issue is bright as the sun.

UM2: What Movement?

**GOVERNMENT
 EXHIBIT**
Philly Meeting-4E
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 U.S. v. HLF, et al.

Ga: Hamas..., the Samah Movement [laughter]. I mean Samah. Anyway, the path is really somewhat different. There is no disagreement over the fundamentals but, as far as the second thing, the nationalistic aspect, there is no doubt that the system of the Movement is very...UI. Therefore, from the latest events, it was proven very clearly to us that the effective circle in world politics as far as the Palestinian cause is concerned is the Palestinian circle. The truth is now final. Work on the Palestinian front. Hold on to the Palestinian front and they will deal with you even if he doesn't want to. It is not his choice. It is yours.

Om: What is the goal from the war? Isn't it the liberation of Palestine? Come on. How are you going to liberate Palestine?

UM2: Through Jihad.

Om: Who is going to carry out Jihad? The Palestinians only are the ones who will go to Jihad against a national occupation. Do you think that...UI

Om: In regards to the media field...er, this form of activism seeks to make the tools of the Islamic Association for Palestine such as Al Zaytouna and the Muslim World Monitor or other researches which we make and public the main and the popular source of information about Palestine among the Palestinian and the Muslim community.

Om: Also, preparing studies which define a method for dealing and address which suits the American political and media atmosphere. We now have a research organization which is UASR, for instance. But UASR organization does not help us in Palestinian activism in America unless with very little. We don't have an organization which conducts research for us on how to address the American society, how to deal with the U.S. organizations. So, I believe research is a very important thing. Also, people in the studies and research centers don't benefit a lot from a newspaper alone. He wants to see if you wrote an analysis or something like that for him. And I believe that the brothers..., the existing organizations, Dr. Yousef, do not negate the need for a research or a research center which we direct for activism in America.

Om:

Also, forming a lobby for the decision-makers abroad. This is also a very important thing. It is a long-term goal. This can be achieved through our popular, political, financial and media strength in America. I mean, when we are strong like I said in the beginning, I can be a means for pressure on them but if we are weak and we don't have an Islamic community, we don't have influence over the Congress or the organizations such as the ADC, ...UI and others people won't pay attention to us. This will also bolster our position in America with the U.S. Administration and other media and political organizations. If we are strong we can influence what they decide over there, for instance. If Yasser Arafat were to think twice before he does something in America because he worries about the Islamic community in America it would give us some sort of credit with the U.S. Administration or media outlets...UI in addition to the fact that it reinforces the position of the pro-Islamic solution for Palestine abroad and lessens the danger those who surrendered.

Om:

This is also one of the long-term goals but we have started to do some things about it. This can be achieved by infiltrating the American media outlets, universities and research centers as we previously said.

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Audio file: MTGB 19931002 11.WAV

Sh: ...UI. That's what we really want. We want smiling faces [*laughter*]. I mean...UI...

Om: You know, they made Jim Zoghby and a Jewish man chairmen of the committee to provide investments in Gaza..., in Gaza and Jericho.

Sh: By God?

Om: Jim Zoghby is a chairman and they gave him a Jewish man...

Sh: No, no. He probably will get the commission and the thing will be over.

Om: And the target is 500 millions...UI. So, they have been contacting people. One of them talked to us. He told him that he donated some dollars long ago. So, he called him. He

told him: "Dr. Sabri...", he used to be a member of the National Council, he told him "We're raising money for Gaza and Jericho". He told him "Ok. So, you and the AIPAC are one". He told him: "Yes. Kind of. We work together". He told him "Congratulations to you"...UI.

UM1: The AIPAC..., one of them wrote an article and said that: "It is time that we put our hands together and, meaning, we don't fight each other. We have one goal".

Gh: Even the Jews are discussing the issue now. What to do now? What should we do?...UI.

Om: It is now 10:30. We will finish by 11:00. We will go rest and, tomorrow, we will...UI.

[UI group talk]

Om: Come on. People who have papers, Nihad, Mohamed Maaly. We will have a long talk.

Sh: Come on, our brothers. We still have an evaluation session.

[UI brief group talk]

Om: Let's go, people of Political Activism. You will be quizzed. So, work hard.

UM2: In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Prayers and peace be on the gracious prophet. We begin this 3rd session, God's willing, by talking about the future of the political, media and public activism, and the public relations...UI, the future and the challenges. In the same manner, God's willing, we will listen to material presented by the brothers and then we will open the door to discussion and comments, God's willing. Anything, Ghassan?

Gh: Is there anyone who doesn't have this paper? The brothers who don't have it.

Om: I don't have it. Prayers and peace be on God's prophet. Thanks be to God, prayers and peace be on God's prophet. Usually...

[Interrupted by UI group talk]

UM1: Omar. There are some people who went home, looks like.

Om: No, no. ...UI Aboul Hasan went to get...UI. Abou Ahmad, brother Yousif and brother Haitham went to the festival. And Sheik Sharif. Four of them went to the festival.

UM1: So, should we begin or wait for them?

Om: By God, if you want to wait for brother Muin and Aboul Hasan...

[UI brief group talk].

Sh: This presentation is about political activism, does it have anything new?

Om: There are other presentations. There are other presentations which haven't been made yet.

Sh: Ok, fine. So, we should be fine.

[UI brief group talk].

Om: Ok, go ahead.

UM2: Thanks be to God, Lord of the Two Worlds. Prayers and peace be on our master Mohamed. Regarding this presentation, maybe most of what is in it has been presented before, beginning with the concept for political activism. My view now is that work has increased and the challenges..., the challenge has become bigger than before. We took out all the copies.... We were supposed to make more because...UI.

UM1: Fine, God's willing. Go ahead.

UM2: So, my view is that the challenge and the work will require more effort particularly in the coming period. If we were to carry out our duty, this would require a bigger budget. I mean, the situation of the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] and its resources are limited and what limits them is the budget. This, of course, is an obstacle..., a fundamental obstacle which must be solved as it stands in the way of the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine]. It must make its decision now. If this obstacle is to be removed, or if the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] were to play a role in America, it must have a budget and its budget must be increased. There are, of course, questions... the reason I didn't want to..., I put them in the form of questions so that the politicians... or the political segment we had at the beginning discussed these questions in a way or another. We hope that we receive official answers regarding the inclinations of the policies of activism..., things which answer these questions. As for the goals, the concept of the goals - as you put it - is to make Muslims in America aware. The main goal we should follow while doing media activism is awareness. Making people aware of the sanctity of Al Aqsa [mosque] and making charitable work tangible so that people don't feel that work for the cause is over. I mean, charitable work ought to double so that

people... The same thing which was said before. I will mention it quickly. Of course, there are..., there are... In my opinion, we must form a new organization for activism which will be neutral because we are placed in a corner, we are place in a corner. It is known who we are, we are marked and I believe that there should be a new neutral organization which works on both sides so that..., because this state is coming no matter what and this is a new existing order. This suggestion ought to be discussed. Of course..., I threw in some radical ideas so that. We have the opportunity to discuss them. Of course, some of the policies..., our approach or our policies in the arena are: non-opposition to peace as a statement. I mean, someone will ask you: "Are you against peace?" Tell him "No. We are not opposed to peace as a peace but we are against hypocrisy because this peace is not just. We are with all just peace. Justice with peace". Without justice... Even the African-Americans have this title, that there is not justice without peace...

UM1 & several voices: No peace without...

UM2: No peace without justice. It is always a principle of peace with justice. Islamic Palestinian unity meaning, tying the Palestinian cause with its Islamic aspect, that it is just an issue called Palestine that was resolved, it is Islamic...UI and that Jerusalem is a matter of creed and not a matter of Palestine and then transferring this [view] to the Muslim public. The second page, regarding the motto, what I mentioned is that the motto is awareness. We must work on awareness on a very high level, an awareness on the level of imams and Sheiks because, of course, there are many imams and Sheiks and there are Islamic leaders, both Arabs and non-Arabs who are still unaware of..., really don't know these dimensions and positions. So, I believe if we don't carry out this [awareness] no one else will. To make them aware, make the educated segments and the students aware..., this will be done at the universities and the schools' levels, an awareness at the level of the general public, the masses, and an awareness at the level of the young generations. Awareness at the..., the... Of course, there are suggestions for each axis. The first axis is the leaders' levels, to have a conference for the imams...UI in America to discuss the problem and its dimensions and to emerge with a unified concept. The second thing is issuing their private statement. We should always feed them with the points of the Friday sermons and speeches they give about the cause of Palestine. What feeds them shouldn't always be the U.S. media and the non-Islamic media. Building a network of faxes for quick initiatives. Of course, brother Nihad has some items to be added about this subject. Brother Nihad will present them, God's willing. For the educated level, there are some educated people such as engineers, doctors and businessmen. We need to tally them so that we can deal with them and make them aware of this matter. Carrying out student activism in universities has almost decreased at our end. On the contrary, we must bring it back as the children of the communities are the ones who will go to universities. Therefore, the work of the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] and Palestinian activism

must become active in universities like the days when we were in universities. Activism moved with us. When we were students, it [IAP] was active in universities and now that we have become a community, it is active in the community and not in the universities even universities still have people and this side is now somewhat weak with us. Calling for different political dialogues with other organizations. Adding parts in the educational curricula of MAS and ICNA to explain the meaning of the accord which took place and its secret articles. Of course, awareness at a general level, inviting speakers, conducting conference-calls with mosques like the ones we did with the deportees, conducting seminars... Of course, all of these are suggested activities. As for the young people's level, an educational material ought to be prepared to be taught in Islamic curricula. We don't want the children of the community who are raised here in schools and in Islamic schools and non-Islamic schools to grow up surrendering to the issue of peace with Jews and... I mean, we don't see in ten years the growing generations in America surrendering to peace with Jews. Therefore, there must be curricula and teaching materials which spread in Islamic schools and in weekend schools, the ones which teach children who attend American schools. Curricula ought to be put together to prepare them. Another thing is making teachers aware. We can arrange courses and arrange for cultural and political seminars for teachers who attend the conferences. Instead of bearing the expense of inviting the teachers and making a course for teachers and educators, we could have sessions for them during the ISNA, MAYA and ICNA conferences and things like that. We can request to have such a course to make teachers aware of this angle. Regarding the media aspect..., of course a statement or an issue of Al Zaytouna could be published, like the supplement we put out during the time of the deportees, a light coverage which won't cost much. One could be in English and another one in Arabic and a large number could be printed to explain the articles, the negative aspect of the accord and the secret articles. This should be distributed in the largest quantity possible. Of course, ...UI in Arabic and English languages are available, God's willing. Brother Mohamed has written some articles to be published on some Arabic and Islamic magazines. Of course, making a documentary showing the continuation of suffering. A film must be quickly made and we must try to circulate it in the festivals, I mean, to be shown in the festivals. Collecting cassettes for speeches and lectures about the issue and publishing them. We should try to make a library for the tapes in audio for every speaker who delivers a speech on the subject for every brother who had spoken about the subject. They ought to be collected, made available and..., like they say, feed them to people until they get full. Another thing is preparing a historical museum, a museum ought to be put together..., we have a museum but it needs to be developed so that it can go on a tour because this would really be a part of public awareness so that we can renew for them the meaning of Palestine and Jerusalem. Of course, things which brother Nihad will speak in are to be added to the above. Of course, the charity aspect has had the most discussion and, therefore, there is no need to go over it. That's it. Regarding the issue of the foreign exchange students, this

is something for the next stage. Charity work can focus on this aspect which is bringing people from the inside to America so that...UI. We also ought to focus on the issue of investment and I believe it is very important. The issue of investment on the inside [*is important*] as the issue of money and its availability on the inside is an indication that there will be an economic boom on the inside. As for the festivals, it is suggested to have a 30-minute segment for the participants to come on the stage and express their opinions. I mean, they hand over the microphone to people to come and express their views, whether he is in support or opposition. Let people express their views and have them registered so that the festival is not only for people to listen to you. Let people express themselves which would be a variety in the festival. Now, in particular, many people have views and suggestions. After that, the guest sheik can comment and add to them. A letter could also be prepared and is signed and then sent either to the [*Palestinian Liberation*] or to Yasser Arafat according to the inclination. There should be a segment in the festival for a discount in Al Zaytouna membership. Regarding the band, we agreed on certain policies. The band is looking for certain policies to follow in its performance and product. So, if we agree on certain policies they will be provided to the band so that its segments are based on them. The video film we spoke about in the beginning ought to be shown. In other words, making a video film. This, quickly, is what...UI.

Gh: Is the system still going to be...UI or each person will discuss his papers?

UM3: The topics overlap. We can discuss a topic now and it is repeated by our brother later.

[*UI brief group talk*].

Sh: Please allow me. Considering the atmosphere in place, if we run this session in the same manner the charity activism session, people will fall asleep, my brother. My opinion is to allow as many action...

UM1: ...UI everybody will sit, listen to the speeches.

Sh: If there is no discussion, we will fall asleep, specially after lunch.

UM1: There is coffee. Drink some.

Sh: So, if there is a chance to... We can determine how long it is. If you want 15 minutes for discussion that will be fine because people will listen and this will energize people. This is my opinion.

[*UI brief group talk*].

UM1: We will take 15-minutes to comment on these issues and then we will move on to... We can open the door to discussion and comment on what was said. Ghassan will go after that.

Om: The elections, of course, my brother. No one commented on them.

UM1: Don't worry about that...UI.

Gh: How about some of the brothers whose voices we didn't hear. The honorable Sheik and the honorable...UI.

Sh: The issue of the festivals..., I believe it is a matter of coordination. I believe they would be a great opportunity to be exposed to a large crowd. There are about 15 festivals and each festival has a large number of people in it. I see that we shouldn't follow the same old methods by making the song the main show. We should benefit from our presence by making awareness the main show; we give more time to the speaker and give him instructions that it shouldn't be like a Friday sermon. There is no need for the Friday sermons, my brothers, please. The festival is not a Friday sermon. Let's be a little bit objective and present issues and numbers to people which will shock people and make them know what is going on. Let them get out of the festival educated and...

UM3: Do you have a problem with the sheiks? *[laughter and a brief UI group talk]*.

Sh: My point...UI, my brothers, because we need to face people with reality. Let them come to the festival and benefit more than listening to a certain tune. This is one idea. The second thing is very intelligent which is to involve people. I suggest a third idea which is to conduct a very quick survey, it can be designed now, to let the people in attendance participate in a survey made up of three to four questions: Do you approve of the accord...

UM1: A questionnaire.

Sh: Let them...UI. At least we would have a poll from the field. We will know how people think. How people think. This will benefit us as we will know the nature of our public and how they think. You might be surprised that maybe 70% of your public doesn't know or is not educated. Let's do this so that it help us with the awareness issue.

UM2: We will conduct a survey after the songs and everything.

Sh: By God, I say..., you want to make it a main focus for the song. I believe that you are going to lose so much potential that you could benefit from. People are coming to you,

my brother, and they are right there.

UM2: In support of what our brother Shukri said, people will... In the beginning, let's say that we should let them sing the songs because people are...UI and people don't want to listen to speeches. But, now, people are coming because you know that you are a voice of opposition. So, you're coming to listen to that opinion. Therefore, there is no need for emotional aspects, there should be a focus on points; one, two, three, stuff like that and not just words of enthusiasm.

[UI brief group talk].

Ga: In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Ghassan and I have papers to present which have some ideas which might cross our minds sometimes and they have important details. One might not have details during the registration process but they are very important in my opinion. May God reward him well. I have two remarks; regarding the goals..., regarding the goals, I was very surprised. There is a 180-degree change in customary threatening language of the organizations regarding the Palestinian cause. I personally have a quick comment as I don't want to talk too much...UI. This is my feeling, honestly speaking. You feel that it is over, that's it, we must deal with the reality and we surrendered and the matter is over. My feeling is that the future...UI, honestly speaking. ...UI that you have surrendered and you now work with...UI. This is my feeling and this is the first point. Issues such as steadfastness, struggle, keeping people in the inside stabilized, direct support to the people of Palestine and supporting the Jihad in Palestine are now absent. Where are they? I'm really surprised...UI. Really.

Sh: Also, awareness and informing...

Ga: As for the motto of this phase is..., I agree with the principle of...UI in activism but what is important is the motto. I propose that the motto should be "A wholesome solution" or there is no need for it ...UI. This is also a media goal, it is not a political or charity goal. Awareness and education is not a media [goal]. This is an important issue. ...UI. The issue of the education material for the Islamic community in America..., you presented some ideas. Are you acting up on it or they're only..., just thinking?

UM2: I thought that this is one of the women committee's activities, the Women's Union will do...

UM1: If you examine the introduction, this is..., this point is one of the issues which should be re-examined by writers and thinkers. One of them is preparing curricula material for the schools. Of course, if you look at points 1 and 2...UI, [it says]: "Preparing the following

material: written media material for films, educational material for schools, material for exhibits and banners". These are points which should be studied by people, writers and thinkers. If this stops, of course,...

As: But, are these for Palestinian activism in America? I mean, this is for Islamic activism. Why should we limit ourselves to it?

UM1: You mean Palestinian activism in schools?

As: Yes, ideas for the future of Palestinian activism in North America.

Om: This is only a typo, my brother.

[UI brief group talk].

Sh: The media material is the source which provides schools with material relating to the cause because such material doesn't exist in schools. As a source of information.

UM1: Oh, yes, yes.

As: A part [of the material] about Palestine should be provided by the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] to the existing schools.

UM1: Of course, the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] ought to make sure there are curricula in schools which teach about Palestine and Jerusalem. It shouldn't be...er, be... a lesson in geography without mentioning Palestine.

Sh: Yes.

UM1: The point is making sure if this stuff is being taught, particularly in Islamic schools, of course, and that we have materials to support them. As for...UI point,

UM2: Yes, sir.

UM1: Regarding your point I wanted to just throw some ideas but I still have more ideas than that. I just wanted to throw the idea that when we really examine our history we find that when a state is formed, we immediately take up the opposition spot and we continue as opposition to this state until the end of times. We remain in the opposition, why? As long as the state exists and this structure exists, why don't we try to... I mean, before Arafat signed the document we said we are against the agreement, against the state. But, now,

what happened right now? This is a reality and we cannot ignore it. Why do we have to be against this and against that? It is true that you are saying that you are in opposition in order to take a historical stand. We are not in disagreement. I'm just throwing a wild-idea. Ok? In order to really be able to deal, comprehend... and benefit from the resources and the influence of this state or this structure, we must have an organization which is affiliated with us to deal with this state. This is the...

Om: What is the form of dealing? What is the shape of the dealing?

UM1: Of course..., of course, I'm not going to defend this point...

Om: I mean, what are you going to do? This is what I mean. Explain this to us.

UM1: I believe that the Palestinian state will begin handling donations, collection of donations and handle foreign exchanges. You can benefit from this. If you want to join the opposition, it is known that you are an Islamist and if you speak with them no one will grant you a foreign exchange or do anything [*favorable*] to you. They might start media organizations abroad, they might start a media organization in America as America now is a front for them. Why don't you have an organization which can be adopted by this Palestinian state? As a media organization, you could issue a newspaper or a magazine which could be...

Om: How is that?

UM1: Or you could be an educational institution sending people on foreign exchanges. I mean..., I believe that the idea should be discussed so that we are not always taking a 100% hostile side to something realistic. I want to give you an example from the time the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization started, the brothers..., until now I hear that there are some people who blame the brothers [*saying*] "Why did you leave the Organization? We were a part of the leadership of the Organization. Why did you leave it? You took a neutral stand and now the Organization is on one side and you are on a different side, you became two different paths". Of course, this might be criticized but it is realistic. Some people criticize the brothers [*saying*] "Why did you leave the Organization as soon as it was formed? Because you found that they took a different direction? As soon as you saw that one of them doesn't pray and a few of them cuss the religion and now they're leaders of Palestinian activism. So, this is the point; if we are to get a lesson from that we can benefit from this point in regards to our reality.

Sh: Are there remarks?

Ga: By the way, the Movement now doesn't represent...UI. So, this mentality is out. I didn't hear it from anyone. I didn't hear it from one person.

UM1: Yes.

Ga: And all those concerned are..., not one person has individually spoke about that. And this is...UI, it is a huge development of the stand. And we apply our stand as our stand is not just for history. We don't oppose just for history. This is an old talk and is over with...UI. The direction which is agreed upon is to make the [peace] project fail and it is not...UI. And what happened so far with the agreement is that it is just a paper and nothing has been executed until now. It is in the formation stage. So, why so you want to...UI on a whole stage which will take the next four or five months? It will take six months to materialize. When it is complete you can come and give your feedback. The...UI... Originally, there was independence, there was a warning and there was a total withdrawal, even a withdrawal of the multi-national forces from...UI Palestine and all of Israel. There must be a doubt in the peaceful solution. It is something different. We agree on the correct analysis. Here is the project and here are our recommendations. Dealing with it is different but...UI. And how can the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] be in harmony given the general atmosphere? Therefore, my opinion regarding the goals is very clear: supporting the resistance to the occupation because the occupation will continue. It won't end. I don't know how many of you think that the occupation will end or not? It won't end, it is not possible. There is only...UI and that's it, even in Gaza and Jericho by the way. Barak confirmed this twice.

UM1: I don't think you could put this kind of stuff with the Foundation or the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine], support to the resistance to the occupation...

UM2: This is the point. As an American organization, we cannot adopt this stuff or add it to our goals. This stuff..., in the eighties, we at the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] wrote that...UI. I mean..., we cannot include this kind of stuff officially in our papers.

Om: ...UI.

Ga: We are speaking from a practical point of view. I don't want to get into that issue. I'm saying: Practically speaking, do you support the resistance or not? This is the question.

UM1: ...UI.

Ga: Huh?...UI.

UM2: As far as the people are concerned, we must specify role in America, that we...

Ga: Number one, two, making people in the Occupied Territories steadfast. Where is that? Adopting the rights of the Palestinian people or the historical rights, that all of Palestine is ours, historically. Where is that?

Om: I just feel that these..., these goals...

UM1: I have them... I have the points.

Om: He has the points and more.

UM2: Allow me. As you explained in this thing..., you talk about the Organization. Do you mean that the organization should be in America and deal with the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization in America?

Ga: Yes.

UM1: Whether it is in America or outside of America, when we talk about these goals..., the first thing is that I, as an official American organization..., I'm telling you about things in the heart..., the goals you're talking about are in the heart but, can I write them down or can I support our brothers. We cannot write them down.

Ga: ...UI. Now, what can you do at the [*Islamic*] Association [*for Palestine*]?

UM1: Fine. But,...

Ga: You practice it. You know how to practice it? This is my question to you. You set some goals. Now, begin working on the programs. What does that mean?...UI. I'm working on Jihad, support the Jihad, support the Jihad, support the resistance to the occupation. You're working with all of your media and all of your political address is like that.

UM1: Ah.

Ga: Even supporting Hamas. The [*Islamic*] Association [*for Palestine*] met with the FBI in defense of Hamas. It was a clear talk then. Support to the Movement. Henceforth, do these goals mean anything?

UM2: Keep your voice down. May God be pleased with you.

[Laughter].

Sh: You Virginia guys got us trouble. This is the talk we will...

[Brief UI group talk].

Ga: So,...UI.

UM1: No, no. I believe that the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] must take that direction meaning that we don't have this experience. In order to really be an Islamic- American organization in America things must be..., some things which were practiced must be determined. In a way or another, when we deliver the meanings of the sanctity of Palestine, when we deliver the meanings of the Islamic aspect of Palestine, what do we mean? Do we mean just talk? No. The context means that...UI. It means...

Ga: ...UI.

UM1: The point is that talk should be worded in a manner which is not spontaneous...

Ga: It is not spontaneous.

UM1: I'm telling you what you're saying and which is what we have.

UM2: OK. Fine. Just wait as Abou Mohamed will say a comment and then we will...

Sh: May God pray on our master, Mohamed and...UI on all the prophets, God's willing. I say that...[laughter]... the brother is saying that Jerusalem is still under occupation. He says..., he is even leaving the matter to charity work. So, it is more worthy that political activism is...UI. [Laughter]...UI, if he says it is under occupation, tell him there are some specific programs. Before..., before all of that talk we should ask ourselves a question; Is America a confrontation front? And what do we want from..., from the reader of Al Zaytouna and the reader of the Monitor and from the guy who owns a store in Chicago? Do I want him to go fight or do I want to earn his sympathy so that he could donate to me or do I want him to have a knowledgeable political culture? We have to specify what we want from people, honestly, otherwise we keep working and publishing a newspaper becomes a goal in itself without finding out what effect does the newspaper have on people. I believe before this session is over we should come up with a clear statement regarding what do we want from people. This is one. And what do we want from the Americans? Do we want to convert them to Muslims, to become Muslims, because the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] often does activities which sound like that of mosques; pure Islamic

things. Do you want to convert people to Islam, to proselytize to people or do you want them to sympathize with your cause as a high ceiling? We must find out these things. This is another one. The second thing -we were talking about that in the morning- is that our brothers in the Occupied Territories will be pretend to go along with the self-rule and none of their societies will be shut down and this is a matter that hasn't been settled yet. Then enter our brothers who talk to us about politics and tell you: "It is impossible that there will be a self-rule. It is impossible that America will classify Samah as a terrorist organization. It is impossible that Israel will withdraw from one inch. Impossible, impossible....". My brothers, they say that there are no absolutes in politics to start with, there is nothing impossible in politics, everything is possible. It is possible that Israel withdraw tomorrow and forms a Palestinian state the way it wants. What is that? Is the Palestinian state going to be worse than Saudi Arabia, for instance? Saudi Arabia is serving Israel's interests more than Israel serving its own interests. What are you talking about? So, our brother is telling you "Instead of being taken by surprise and then, five months later, begin to wail..", he said: "We will form an organization for you to show the Americans that you are...UI. It will be made up of some of our people, our beloved ones, and let's not hoist a large Islamic flag and let's not be barbaric-talking. We will remain a front so that if the thing happens, we will benefit from the new happenings instead of having all of our organizations classified and exposed". I was telling our brother Aboul Hassan about Al Aqsa Organization. Why "Al Aqsa Educational"? When you go to Oxford they will ask you: "Sir, what is Aqsa?". Make it "The Palestinian General Education Academy". Make yourself a big name like that and give it a media twinkle and there is no need for Al Aqsa, Al Quds, Al Sakhra and all that stuff. Huh? This is for example. And let's stay ahead of the events, our brothers. We will find out later on that Fatah has 50 organizations here in America and offices named "Fatah offices" affiliated with Fatah here in America like they like to affiliate them, charity, educational and schools and everything while we are sitting unable to work because all of us have become burned, all of our organizations are purely Islamic organizations and we don't know how we are going to be dealt with. So, our brother had a suggestion to form an organization - the format he suggested was somewhat controversial, I didn't discuss it with him but I believe its concept is sound - that we should start right now, my brothers, begin thinking about establishing alternative organizations which can benefit from a new atmosphere, ones whose Islamic hue is not very conspicuous.

Gh: Neutral.

Sh: Meaning that we should benefit from..., from...

UM1: When did he say that, excuse me?

Sh: My brother, say what you want to say. The door to politics is big. Did God tell you that you must stand in front of the university and tell them: "We have to..., we have to claim the 1948 land"? It is just talk. This is an impossible address, my brothers. It is not our goal to demand the '48 land. Even if we demanded, neither the U.S. army will return it to you nor the store-owner in Chicago will return it to you. We already talked about that, about the most we could offer in America. What is the address which should be in harmony with our realistic strength. The brother is telling you "Jihad". I can't...er, follow the...

Ga: I didn't say "Jihad".

Sh: Samah..., Samah is classified as a terrorist [organization]. By constitution, by law, if I wanted to adopt its work, they kick me out, they kick me out of this country, my brother. By God, they would take away my U.S. citizenship and tell me "Go away". I'm telling you....

Ga: We are not classified, my brother. Who said we are classified?

Sh: Huh?

Ga: Who classified it?

Sh: ...er. I'm saying..., I'm saying that even...

Ga: ...UI that the Movement is a terrorist organization.

Om: No, no, no.

Sh: ...UI, my brother. What did the Congress do?

Ga: There isn't a proposition to... What did it do?

Om: ...UI. The bill didn't pass.

Ga: Huh?

Om: It didn't come yet. The Congress bill didn't...

Ga: It is proposed.

Sh: You mean they won't classify it?

Om: God knows. Basically, let's stay with the..., let's stay on the media topic.

Sh: I was bringing it up in a sarcastic way because every time our problem is that we are reactive, reactive, reactive. Let's be - just one time in our lives - expect the worst case scenario and be proactive so that when an event takes place we would have a blanket to fall on instead of falling to the ground. That's all I mean. That's it.

UM2: Ok. Just a second... Go ahead, Omar.

Om: Fine. I just have a point about the..., about the establishment of a new neutral organization to deal with the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization or the self-rule or the new state. I don't believe that there won't be a lot of contacts on the American arena between us and between the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization. I mean the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization won't have that big of a presence which we must deal with. The fact that it was formed is something for people to see. It is supposed to be like a diplomatic mission like they asked for and the Americans refused. Of course, they made a request to form a diplomatic mission and the Americans refused to grant the agreement. But, they will grant it to them in the future, they will grant it to them. I mean, there will be something like a consulate and not more, not more. Ok, here is the Jordanian consulate or the Jordanian embassy, what is the meaning of the Jordanian embassy or the...

Sh: Or the Jewish consulate.

Om: Or the Jewish one. Nothing. The official is different from the public. The official is different. It is very hard to infiltrate people or the community and work.

Sh: They have already infiltrated the communities.

UM1: Don't forget that America is a front. America has a Palestinian community...

END OF RECORDING.

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Ab2 = Abou Bassem (NFI)
Mu = Muin (LNU)
Ar = Abdel Rahman

Audio file: MTGB 19931002 11.WAV

UM2: In my opinion, we must form a new organization for activism which will be neutral because we are placed in a corner, we are place in a corner. It is known who we are, we are marked and I believe that there should be a new neutral organization which works on both sides so that..., because this state is coming no matter what and this is a new existing order.

GOVERNMENT
EXHIBIT
Philly Meeting-5E
3:04-CR-240-G
U.S. v. HLF, et al.

UM2: We don't want the children of the community who are raised here in schools and in Islamic schools and non-Islamic schools to grow up surrendering to the issue of peace with Jews and... I mean, we don't see in ten years the growing generations in America surrendering to peace with Jews. Therefore, there must be curricula and teaching materials which spread in Islamic schools and in weekend schools, the ones which teach children who attend American schools.

UM2: Regarding the band, we agreed on certain policies. The band is looking for certain policies to follow in its performance and product. So, if we agree on certain policies they will be provided to the band so that its segments are based on them.

UM2: In support of what our brother Shukri said, people will... In the beginning, let's say that we should let them sing the songs because people are... UI and people don't want to listen to speeches. But, now, people are coming because you know that you are a voice of opposition. So, you're coming to listen to that opinion. Therefore, there is no need for emotional aspects, there should be a focus on points; one, two, three, stuff like that and not just words of enthusiasm.

UM1: I believe that the Palestinian state will begin handling donations, collection of donations and handle foreign exchanges. You can benefit from this. If you want to join the opposition, it is known that you are an Islamist and if you speak with them no one will grant you a foreign exchange or do anything [favorable] to you.

Ga: The direction which is agreed upon is to make the [peace] project fail and it is not...UI. And what happened so far with the agreement is that it is just a paper and nothing has been executed until now. It is in the formation stage. So, why so you want to...UI on a whole stage which will take the next four or five months? It will take six months to materialize. When it is complete you can come and give your feedback. The...UI.. Originally, there was independence, there was a warning and there was a total withdrawal, even a withdrawal of the multi-national forces from...UI Palestine and all of Israel. There must be a doubt in the peaceful solution. It is something different. We agree on the correct analysis. Here is the project and here are our recommendations. Dealing with it is different but...UI. And how can the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] be in harmony given the general atmosphere? Therefore, my opinion regarding the goals is very clear: supporting the resistance to the occupation because the occupation will continue. It won't end. I don't know how many of you think that the occupation will end or not? It won't end, it is not possible. There is only...UI and that's it, even in Gaza and Jericho by the way. Barak confirmed this twice.

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[*Laughter*].

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Sh: Before..., before all of that talk we should ask ourselves a question; Is America a confrontation front? And what do we want from..., from the reader of Al Zaytouna and the reader of the Monitor and from the guy who owns a store in Chicago? Do I want him to go fight or do I want to earn his sympathy so that he could donate to me or do I want him to have a knowledgeable political culture? We have to specify what we want from people, honestly, otherwise we keep working and publishing a newspaper becomes a goal in itself without finding out what effect does the newspaper have on people. I believe before this session is over we should come up with a clear statement regarding what do we want from people. This is one. And what do we want from the Americans? Do we want to convert them to Muslims, to become Muslims, because the [*Islamic*] Association [*for Palestine*] often does activities which sound like that of mosques; pure Islamic things. ... The second thing -we were talking about that in the morning- is that our brothers in the Occupied Territories will be pretend to go along with the self-rule and none of their societies will be shut down and this is a matter that hasn't been settled yet. Then enter our brothers who talk to us about politics and tell you: "It is impossible that there will be a self-rule. It is impossible that America will classify Samah as a terrorist organization. It is impossible that Israel will withdraw from one inch. Impossible, impossible....". My brothers, they say that there are no absolutes in politics to start with, there is nothing impossible in politics, everything is possible. It is possible that Israel withdraw tomorrow and forms a Palestinian state the way it wants. What is that? Is the Palestinian state going to be worse than Saudi Arabia. for instance? Saudi Arabia is serving Israel's interests more than Israel serving its own interests. What are you talking about? So, our brother is telling you "Instead of being taken by surprise and then, five months later, begin to wail..", he said: "We will form an organization for you to show the Americans that you are...UI. It will be made up of some of our people, our beloved ones, and let's not hoist a large Islamic flag and let's not be barbaric-talking. We will remain a front so that if the thing happens, we will benefit from the new happenings instead of

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Audio file: MTGB 19931002 4.WAV

Sh: ...then the second session will be about charity work, in details. Charity work and then the third session [*is about*] "Political, media and popular [*activism*], public relations". The shape of activism in America. As for the political [*activism*], our brother Gawad gave an evaluation of the general political status, and he probably summarized it when it comes to the issue of...UI which is the same approach we have been making since the days of El Banna, even before that, regarding the conflict, the shape of the conflict and stuff like that. So, the ramifications of the current political situation on activism on America..., I imagine, my brothers, that if we examine our work in America to the light..., that is; sum it as organizational activism, we exist in the shape of organizations in America. LAP works as an organization and we have the Fund. You could probably put the LAP and the Fund together and everything else that is in the paper, i.e. ...UI, the relationship with the Fund...UI. So, if you have noticed, in the past time, we used to focus on..., or the address was directed to the Palestinian and Islamic public, truly, in particular. We used to have an approach which probably had a glaring color, I mean the Jihadist [*address*] and this and that, focus on activism even through our lectures, conferences and seminars. And maybe this address was in harmony with the current, the general current was marching in that direction. Therefore, we were marching in that direction. We used to tell the Islamic and the Palestinian communities about the heroism of the youths in the inside. They used to be happy and we encouraged them...

Om: [i.e.] Military upbringing.

Sh: What?

Om: Military breeding.

Sh: Military breeding, it was going in that direction. Now, truly, what happened is a turning point. In general, people - regardless if they're convinced or not - even he who was marching with that current, now feels that its speed stopped, slowed down or something. And there are those who were going in the opposite direction and was previously going in the opposite direction as well. So, what is happening now is that, yes, we're still walking on the correct path, but we're going in an opposite or counter to the general current which exists even on the American front among the Islamic, the Arab and the Palestinian communities. So, how is our address should be now through our organizations? Really? The formation of this address through these organizations? The detailed answer for that might be in the upcoming sessions. Then, the address..., each one of us should have a discussion and we should come up with resolutions, God's willing, by tomorrow. From now, we should be thinking about the media field, how is the address going to be in a way which is in harmony and is suitable for the stage on the American front. This address, my brothers, should be even in harmony with the general strategic approach. I mean, if the general strategic approach is according to what our brother Gawad said, how can we then be in harmony with this general strategic approach. You're in America. It could be in a way that is suitable to the American front but, also in accordance with the general strategic line in way... We're supposed to be...UI and explain this line. Also, "derailment", even our approach in the general direction should be "derailment". How can we achieve this derailment. This derailment might be with a logic, a concept and practices that are different from those of the people of America, different from the those of the people of Jordan, or those of the Palestinians living in Egypt, the Gulf or elsewhere. We are saying all of that, our brothers,... Of course, I didn't mention a religion, but it is a mission we ought to focus on in order to enrich the discussion. Yes, please.

As: The...er,...

Sh: Just a remark; let's have the discussion in what time remains. There is an hour and our brother Aboul Hasan has a paper and I hope he has the...UI with him so that he could talk about the ramifications on the American front he wanted to. I believe title of the session is not accurate, really. We really need to have 90% of the discussion around the general political atmosphere. Ok? Now, the remaining papers to be presented such as "Charitable Activism, Popular Activism and Media Activism"..., they have been informed previously that we need you to present to what we can do in this stage based on what happened. Ok?

They will discuss the ramifications in a precise manner. The goal of the session is not that we keep...UI and examine every section or every part of every organization and what it should do because all of this is presented. But, it is good to give the brothers a general idea about what is happening. this is one. Another thing is that I see that the brothers are not discussing. I mean, the brother who mentioned more than one point in front of Sheik Sharif, I believe that they ought to be brought up in this presentation. From what is being said, we might be able to conclude broad lines so that we do not...UI, but present them to all the organizations in a general way. General lines to all the organizations such as the issue of the conflict. Our brother is saying "We don't want a conflict. The American front does not bear a conflict. On the contrary, make as many alliances as you can and it is not our goal here to bare, attack and strike...UI, that is". This is...UI Sheik Sharif. Then the brothers, during the last session of the...UI, it means that we should try to ...UI or advise all the organizations; charitable, media and all. Fine? I...er, as a general strategy. So, we try to use discussion points to formulate four to five points and consider it a general strategy to adopt on the American front. Fine? It is necessary for the brothers to understand how things work so that they know what helps them reach some visions. My brothers, I see that..., forgive us, we don't want to take our brother Aboul Hasan's share in... I think we let Aboul Hasan present his point and we are still on the same topic, anyway. If half an hour remains after the brother, we come back and continue the discussion, whether with our brother, brother Gawad, or general points in light of the things I presented now.

UM1: How about Akram...UI.

Ak: No, no. Let Aboul Hasan go.

Sh: It doesn't matter. Akram..., Akram...UI.

Ak: After Aboul Hasan. It is not a problem.

Sh: After Aboul Hasan? Ok, fine. It doesn't matter. We still have time. We didn't go to side issues. But, we don't want to take Aboul Hasan's entire time.

As: Oh, yes.

Sh: ...UI. Go ahead.

As: I seek God away from the Devil, the pelted one. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Praise be to God, the Lord of the two worlds. Prayers and peace be upon His honorable prophet. God, we ask you to make it easy for us. If you wish, you could make a difficult matter easy for us. God, fill my chest with joy, render my matters easy and...UI.

In reality,...UI organizing the relationship between America and the inside in light of my experience in this field. But, before I begin speaking about this paper and that paper, I would like to comment on some of the things which were said, particularly the things brother Osama and brother Abdel Salam mentioned. Sometimes, we're greatly affected with media. We bet a lot on people's direction. I mean, during the peace process in Madrid conference, people were very supportive of the conference. When there were no results, people turned against the conference. Now, there is a breakthrough and people returned to... My brother, we bet too much on people's inclination and we form the public opinion in the manner we want. It is not expected that..., I mean, the media and the events are the ones which form the public opinion. The biggest factor or the most important factor is that we are strong. By strong, I mean in all aspects of strength; concrete strength and abstract strength, media strength, economic strength, political strength. Really, during the events which take place, some weak ones come to the surface. Take, for instance, the political strength. The brothers inside we ask that..., we ask God the Almighty to help them, but see how the entire world clamped down on them and those who were supposed to be an aspiration and hope, they became a part of the conspiracy. Take Sudan, for instance, during the conference of the Arab Countries' Foreign Ministers which was held. It supported the agreement.

Ga: ...UI.

As: I mean, it was a political action, but...UI. Regardless. Even the Office of Guidance [took] the wrong position, to be honest,... I mean, they met with Chairman Arafat and issued a statement and what is right cannot be bought. It is like that. Two, the media. As I mentioned before, we're used to a pen, a paper and writing, my brothers. But, not all people read. Not even the radio and the television which could truly be a second voice. I mean, very scarce effort but not an approach. Another point is about the issue of the police. I want to clarify something. Now, the police [force] is 30,000-50,000. My brothers, the police is like that; these were prisoners from Fatah and they must pay them money. They must employ them. Because they got something, they opened the police doors to be an venue for the prisoners of Fatah in particular. Here is what a Fatah prisoner is; he was jailed, was released and benefitted nothing from the prison other than the worship of..., what's his name, Abou Ammar, and the animosity to the Islamic Movement. I mean, he doesn't see anyone on the face of the earth - even the Jews - he doesn't see them as his archenemy. In Fatah, he considers his first and last enemy is the Islamic Movement. This is not an exaggeration, by God. It is based on an experience and this their educational path in prisons, in this form: the worship of Abou Ammar and the animosity to the Islamists. Therefore, the natural place for unqualified people like them is the police. They will be implementing one of the goals of the agreement. there is another issue relating to the public opinion and the demonstrations. The problem is that even

those who returned from the deportees are not from the public leaders or speakers who influence people. Few of those who returned are imams of mosques, speakers or public leaders who move people. For instance, the closest area which is affected by the events, for instance, is Ramallah due to its closeness to Jerusalem and the media. I mean, the center of media and political weight is the area of Ramallah and Jerusalem. Not one brother from the brothers who are known to be leaders and speakers from the area of Ramallah and Jerusalem has returned. Not at all. Take for instance..., all of them. There is..., I expect events to go rapidly and pour into..., we shouldn't blame ourselves and try to adjust with a self-rule. I don't expect that...UI which is destroying everything in its path...UI. Therefore, the issue of adjusting and the issue of infiltrating the police..., the direction of the people inside the police are known. It is not like there are some people whose direction is unknown. No. The elections which take place in universities and in schools, it is known that everyone is classified and what is the direction of every person. So, the issue of infiltrating the police, infiltrating the intelligence or infiltrating..., I don't imagine that is possible. I imagine that the issue is that, very much, we imagine that events are the ones which move us and that we have no strength or power. This might be true sometimes, but look at the Intifada generally, who is the one which started it? Who is the one who is moving it until now? What is the role of the united leadership in leading the organization during the Intifada other than issuing a statement. They didn't even distribute statements. They were broadcasted in Monte Carlo radio and they weren't distributed. And since the beginning of the Intifada, it used to be distributed in some areas on a very limited scale. So, even until now, it is the Islamists who are directing the events in a practical manner. Truly, the relationship..., let's go back to prepared paper which is the relationship of America to the inside or rearranging America's relationship with the inside. What pushed me to this topic, really, is three considerations and several incidents. First of all, the incident of Mohamed Salah. I won't linger on it in a narrative way, but all of you are aware of it and the media has exaggerated it. The first result, conclusion or lesson from the incident of Mohamed Salah is that bearers of U.S. passports are not above the reach of the law. But, if the issue has to do with...UI, they're the same as those who carry an Egyptian [travel] document or those who carry an Israeli [travel] document. It is the same thing in front of the Israeli law. This is something which ought to be taken into consideration. The second thing is precision and caution. My brothers, with great respect for the people of America, like the Sudanese people say, America's and Canada's brothers, they see themselves as a distinctive style. They have a distinctive style in America and Canada, but the inside has its circumstances and its precautions. Therefore, precision and caution should come to play when dealing with it. Not like we deal in America where we have a legal slack or an atmosphere of freedom. This..., the matter calls for more precision and caution in the inside than the precision and the caution which is in America. The third point which brother Gawad mentioned is the peace accord which ended the legitimacy of the resistance of the Israelis as an occupation. This might be one of the most

important results as America didn't use to condemn action against military personnel. But, now that the agreement is in place, you prevented him from..., your actions now are terrorism and not a resistance. Also, the peace agreement..., now, when the Israelis were unable to quell resistance, opposition, they started to incite the West to stand behind them against the resistance. The same thing will happen in the future if they fail to contain the opposition, they will...UI to end the efforts of the opposition anywhere it exists...UI the opposition. Some of the factors are that we, praised be God, have successful work, we have several institutions which support work on the inside, but still a lot remains. I will give you an example; the deportees, since December until now, not even one official delegation went [to see them] from America, not because we didn't think about it, but because there are no resources.

Ab: From December until now?

As: From December until now, any official delegations went to see the deportees from America? Didn't happen until today. Official delegations visiting the inside in order to lift the spirits of the inside? As an official delegation from the Islamic community in America to go visit the families of the deportees, the prisoners, the martyrs, the wounded in the hospitals, visit the Islamic organizations. But, people in the inside, our brothers, have..., I mean, anything which happens affects them either negatively or positively. Also, this..., I mean, this incident might be a simple thing for you. But, its effect on the morale is very big in the inside. It hasn't happened until now, not because we're not thinking about it, but because the possibility is..., it is difficult. The inability to receive official delegations. I mean, the Ramallah Chamber of Commerce, these are our brothers in the region. Those people have all the pressure which God created on their heads in order to make them fail. They tried to convince them that they have no extension and no connections in the world. They tried to go to..., they were trying to arrange an official visit by an official delegation. Where is that? Which American institutions do we know? What is our relationship... What are the institutions they could visit which reflect on..., have a work relationship [with them]?

Ab: There are people who are concerned with that. This is a specialization. It has specific people to work on.

As: Yes. These are the motivations for..., at least the fields of work the inside needs from America and which..., which America could partake in. First of all, charitable work. It is true that there are presented papers in this field but, I wanted to say that the future of the institutions might not be known. We need to discuss it but, I imagine that there is a dire need and that there will be a daily list you cannot overlook... When you bring sustenance to your children and you want to follow up on sustenance for our imprisoned brothers and

the families of the martyrs. At any price, we must keep bringing it up in the minds of..., even in our address and should not overlook it a single instance. The educational issue. I mean, providing Palestine with...UI. Most of the college professors are graduates from America. Most of them are...UI. The issue of education and the higher studies in America is an essential issue and an important issue for the inside in order to control the institutions and in order to give political might to our brothers in the inside. Media and research, the authority on the way might come and close all of our newspapers and magazines. We have...UI institutions issuing statements from America in order to make it difficult for the coming [*Palestinian National*] Authority to block their entry [*into Palestine*]. Even if the Authority blocked the newspapers and magazines which are published here, it cannot block the U.S. magazines which are published from entering [*Palestine*]. Even if they blocked them, you could..., you could take up the issue with the Americans. Also, there are some research and it is true that, until now, not one party does it in a correct manner. The inside has some needs for some studies they keep asking for but, until now, these needs haven't been fulfilled. Another area of research is human rights.

Ab: What is the reason and what...UI. My brother, a study about the Organization, for instance. An evaluation for the experiment of the Organization..., we asked them a hundred times for that. I personally know that this was requested more than once. I mean, this is one of the issues.

Sh: We will discuss it. Fine.

As: The Israeli...UI, for instance, there are a lot of books about it. But, a research about the Zionist movement, for instance, about the Zionist lobby in America. Human rights. Human rights organizations. Human rights organizations were founded. One of the organizations..., I mean, it still exists but, I imagine there is a need to develop it and support it to be fit for... Until now, it hasn't been able to raise one issue or maybe on a limited scale. Nowadays, there are issues which need to be raised but the need might multiply with future developments. For instance, the issue of Sheik Ahmad, has it been raised in the U.S. circles? This is one of the issues. Some issues relating to the prisoners who are injured..., who were arrested while they were injured and they were not treated. Have we really been able to raise it in front of the human [*rights*] circles? Other issues which might really come to light as a part of future developments, do we have the ability to raise them in America? The effect of visiting delegations, this is really an important issue, particularly in the upcoming stage. We must make people in the inside that they're not cut out like a limb from a tree, but that they have their extensions. Delegations which go from here should not only be to...UI like the brother mentioned, but also to support..., moral support and..., media [*support*]. Receiving delegations as well. Keeping an archive.

The entire archive in the inside might be confiscated entirely. If there was really no duplicate for it, the Movement will really become without a heritage and every movement will begin from the zero. ...UI. Questions? [*Group talk. UI*].

Sh: ...UI, there is no discipline [*group laughter and UI talk*].

As: The last point in the needs is the issue of investment. I personally encourage he who has an ability to invest to take advantage of the coming stage. A true benefit. And there will be room..., I mean, high dividend for any investment in the inside and it is also an opportunity to employ our youths who are without work even though that I believe that, just like the other Arab counties used to resist their employment, the same will be used against them. I truly hope that if someone has the intention to invest from the beginning, or if you know someone who has the intention to invest to take advantage of the environmental opportunities or the investment opportunities..., that should happen. Anyway, the future relationship..., I imagine that the future relationship can be summarized in three guidelines. First of all, the legality of work. We shouldn't be involved in anything that is illegal because of the negative probable consequences. I don't think that we work away from people's eyes. No. We..., I mean, they have the ability to know everything we do. Therefore, anything we undertake must be a studied legal work. The second item is the institutional relationship, to have the relationship between organizations so that we avoid bumps. The third item is the continuity, that the level of work should not be affected at any stage...UI. Work continues in order to..., I mean, and it needs more efforts to be exerted than the efforts which were exerted in the past. I say that and I ask God forgiveness.

UM1: May God reward you.

Sh: We will have a room for discussion, God's willing. But, there is a point I would like for people to think about as we passed on it during the past half an hour. It was discussed. I see that..., we were discussing what to do on the American front and finding greater common grounds between us and the other organizations. I examine a lot the public relations issue and I think it covers might cover the issue. But, we still need a broader reply, a broader...UI as now and others are now..., this new political situation..., what is the nature of the relationship which will form between me and the other American organizations on the American front. Abou Mohamed in particular will agree with me on that issue. The second point is..., there are relationships between IAP and other organizations which needs some light [*to be shed*]. The other issue..., not necessarily now, the other issue my brother is the legal and security situation. I mean, now you don't resist only..., only..., you resist the entire world, the whole world now. The entire world is against you, the whole world is against you. No doubt, there will be legal obstacles. Three

years ago, we were visited by some of our brothers ...UI and we said "Our brothers, think about the day Sister Samah will get divorced, when everybody rejects her and say about her that she is a terrorist". They were saying that this will never happen. This a country of laws and a country of constitution and it did happen. So, you work and you try to protect. You are trying to get her married again. Are you really going to remain respected in the eyes of the law or there will be another talk? I hope that the brothers..., we can talk about that for half an hour. I hope the brothers think about this issue...UI. Go ahead, Abou Mohamad. There will also be a discussion...UI.

Om: I have a point. Do you believe that our Palestinian activism, our activism for Palestine in the past was centered... Now, I imagine that we do three things, we're an agent for the inside. I mean...UI [*Group interruption*]. We're not an agent, we provide services to these people, either by sending monies, spreading their news or by informing them with this and that. I imagine that 75% of our work is for relief and 25% concern with the American [*front*]. Should we now work 75% for America and 25% for...UI, because I imagine that our relationship with the inside, our relationship with Palestine, our relationship with the Cause as a whole..., because we are greatly associated with it. In the future, this association will lessen with the next generation. Should our strategy become that we change our policy, work and..., I mean, work on having a Palestinian community here, among the American people, in the Islamic community here? Should we work on strengthening the community in America, have...UI like the Jewish who are building strength in the community? Then, after this long-term investment which might take 5-10 years, we invest that in efforts for the ...UI.

Ab: How many years exactly?

Sh: ...UI. There is a question...UI because of our brother, Akram then Ghassan, who wants to discuss...UI?

UM1: Here is Ghassan.

Sh: Please...UI Akram, Ghassan and Abdel Jabbar. Maybe Abou Mohamed might like to...UI. Now, we either...UI the subject presented by Aboul Hasan or the session's topic in general.

As: ...UI this will have priority on Sunday, God's willing, and then we will finish. Go ahead.

Om: It is necessary to study the motivations of the Jewish community. What the Jewish community do, everything, their strengthening of the [*Jewish*] community, everything they do is to serve Israel. But, this wasn't in the beginning.

UM1 ...UI.

As: No, no. Long ago, when they...UI, when they built it, they were not attached to Israel. They built it on...

UM1: ...a Zionist dream. The International Zionist Movement.

Om: No, no. If you study the Jewish history, they built their strength based on a strong Jewish community, economically, politically. When they arrived [*Israel*], they started to give it what they wanted. When they reached Israel, they gave it what it wanted. I mean, when the Jews...UI, they didn't recognize Israel until the 1967 war. Only. Before 1967 they were building their power...

Sh: To preserve their existence...

Om: Yes, to preserve their existence. Do you know that Jews rejected Zionism when it was formed here in [19] 40? They rejected it. They said that it will destroy Jews in America. It will disperse us. They rejected it. Then one who was a Supreme Court justice who was..., what is his name...?

Sh: ...UI Shaw.

Om: He was the one who brought up Zionism and convinced the Jews with it in [19] 45. After the World War, after the Holocaust. But, the beginning, they were building [*their community*].

As: Now,...UI.

Om: No, no. There is no comparison with nowadays.

As: I imagine now that the comparison is that we should enlist the resources here to serve the inside, to the dire need in the inside. By God, children of a prisoner, what is their crime ...UI. I mean, you notice that Islamic activism for Palestine is...UI. Some try to...UI. No, really...UI. Do you want to wait 20 years or 30 years in order to build your strength and support the inside? I imagine that there are urgent needs that cannot...UI. But, the fields which can wait, you can postpone them now. But, Islamic activism for Palestine doesn't have resources for growth in the current shape. I want to give an example. It is good and is growing but, I don't expect that its growth will have an impact on...UI. Where are the journalists? Where are the journalists among the Islamists in general and among the Palestinians, or those working for Palestine, in particular? Where are the lawyers? For instance, we needed a study about the legality of... I didn't find anyone. Where are the

politicians who come out to analyze and where is the one who has the American mentality. Don't tell me about this person who came from the [Middle] East and that person who came from the West. We are people from America and we understand the American system. You come from America, you think with the American mentality. Or, really, where are the ones sent on scholarships to study these fields?

Om: But,..., you're asking for something and our line now is need the people who serve over there and not the ones which serve the American system. Don't ask for... I mean, don't go in one direction and ask for something in a different direction. I mean, we didn't enlist our efforts in America in order to please the Palestinian community in America and to deal with the American political system, the American law...,no. All of our efforts, services and abilities are directed towards how to serve Palestine more, how to understand the suffering of the people of Gaza more. I'm not saying that this is wrong, but I'm just saying that we have a direction towards which we march. Is this direction right or should we change or what? This is the question.

Sh: Ok, we could make this a general discussion now. This is an essential issue which has an impact on the entire work. Akram.

Ak: In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. It is dangerous that we stand in face of this agreement based on the agreement itself, I mean, by looking at the agreement and seeing what it has accomplished and saying that we will evaluate this agreement according to what is available now. As Omar said, we should show people the extent of people's accusation to the [Palestinian Liberation] Organization of [stealing] people's money, that they're dictators and that they will never deal in a democratic way. If this method was successful, it would have already succeeded with the other Arab countries. There are people who are unjust, dictators and the West supports them, the media praises them and we know this stuff. I think this method will fail. But, our strategy ought to be built on what is the maximum this agreement could achieve. I mean, I tell people that this agreement won't produce a state. In two to three years, the Jews will come up and surprise you by saying "Ok. You have a state in the West Bank and Gaza". ...UI, it could be and they could refuse to give you this. If we say that the agreement didn't accomplish anything for the people abroad, outside Palestine living abroad, they will form a committee to study these rights and long live until it finishes! This will drug up people abroad who will say we will wait to see what resolutions this committee will reach. I believe that our platform should to be the maximum this agreement can achieve, even if it is a state. We then build our opposition to the agreement on that basis. This thing is one of the staples of Islamic activism. I will speak about work in America. Our work in America should be based on a general strategy that we are the alternative leadership. There is a large political vacuum on the American front in particular, even on the Islamic and the Arab fronts, as

an alternative. And are those who oppose the agreement? Nobody other than the Islamists. We get telephone [calls] every day from The Democratic [Front] and the Popular [Front asking] "What are you going to do?". They don't have any plans or even a...er, an ability to debate this thing. They see the Islamists as the alternative. Therefore, we shouldn't be hesitant about our convictions and in our positions. We must be clear that we oppose this thing 100% and that we, the Islamists,...UI different from what is being suggested for Palestinian activism. This should be presented to the Palestinians as well.

UM1: An intellectual or a physical leadership?

Ak: A political leadership.

Sh: So, am I ready to pay them salaries, give them stuff and pensions, to the people who were deported...

Ak: No, no. I'm talking about America.

Sh: I want you to understand me. It is about America. It is about America. Some youths..., some youths came and told you: We're unemployed. Can you give us salaries and we will work with you? This...UI. You're the alternative, you're the alternative. Are we an intellectual alternative? Everybody is convinced with the idea but, I would like to understand this point as this point is...UI. This is the stuff we should be saying. We should be saying that there is no alternative other than Islam. Islam is the solution and Islam is the alternative. Is it an intellectual or a physical alternative? Come over here, man. We're ready to take over. We're ready. Then, if this talk...UI, has anyone in the {Middle} East declared himself to be the alternative for the Organization until now?

Ak: I did not mean an alternative to the Organization. I meant that our position should indicate that we are against this agreement and that we..., that we are the entire leaders of the opposition. The Islamists themselves....UI.

Sh: This..., this talk will cost me. This talk, if I declare it, will cost me. It will bring me people who say: Guys, hire us. How can we work with you?

Ak: Ok, this is another point...UI.

Sh: It doesn't matter. This..., you will now enter into a new test. Are we ready for that or not? Ah, because you will get..., you will get stuff and there has been more than a situation where people tell you: Man, we stopped. We repented to God and stopped. We were working with the youths from the ...UI Front, youths from the Popular Front. They told us: Guys, you're not kidding us...UI. We are liberators. We need to be within a frame. We

need to join and pay allegiance and work with you. Are you ready for us or not? I tell him: Man, am I ready? I beg you and I came here to carry out orders. So many people brought others but, it is a legitimate concern. People are falling down and they want a cushion, they want a cushion to embrace them. Now, theories in Islam tell you that, if you want me to pray, I will pray, I will fast, I will give Zakat. I have already left my home. Do you have a shelter for me or not? You start to respond slowly and say: I don't know, by God and stuff like that.

UM1: You will open a door for you in a little bit. Really.

Ak: Yes, but in return...UI, because we really lost this battle or this round, we have to admit it. Now, the ball is in our field. The [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization is already considered a state and an authority and we remain. I believe that, now, no matter what we do we will not achieve anything any time soon. But, in a year or two years people will look and, the agreement is likely marching to a failure, they will look for those who were opposed to and who stood against the agreement and who have a principle. If you don't take a stand [*now*], no one will look at you if you take a stand two years later.

Sh: Fine. Is there a comment or something.

As: The comment is regarding the moderator of the session. He spoke more than those who gave the presentations.

Sh: It is my right to run this session, or is it not? Is it my right or not? I direct the session and I help...UI.

UM1: No, no. You're the one in charge of it. It is Ok.

Sh: I believe that it is my right to direct the session and I see that we want to serve a certain purpose and, until now, we didn't reach to a formula. If by the time we reach the end of the session and we don't have 1-2-3-4-5, I believe that we didn't achieve the goals of the session.

Om: ...UI, if you please, Abdel Salam.

As: I believe that, on the short run, dealing with other parties will require an initiative in the...UI. We exaggerate the political initiatives [*such as*] sit-ins, demonstrations, stuff like that with the other parties as an initial stage. But, the point Abou Mohamed brought up about "enlist me", The Movement doesn't really have...UI abroad to enlist people. I mean, I imagine that this is one of the strategies it adopted; not to have...UI abroad. I mean, it is

not a principle.

UM1: Well..., a position like might..., might change.

Ab: I have a comment on the point he mentioned. It is relevant to the topic.

Sh: Go ahead, my brother. It doesn't matter.

Ab: I would like to say that the alternative for the self-rule will be in the occupied territories and will not have extensions in America. We're alone on the front right now but America..., America and Israel will assist it [PNA] to be a...UI. It is as if we will be watching...UI and we will not be able to control its rulings and talk.

Sh: Ok. I'm writing the names.

UM2: There are some points. A historical point is that we as IAP or Islamists call for our right, or the rights of Palestine. Most of the talk revolves around Gaza and the occupied land, Gaza and the West Bank. No one talks about the 1948 territories. I mean, here in America no one will accept it from you, to say the 1948 territories...

Sh: They don't care.

UM2: Therefore, we're limited to the occupied West Bank and Gaza. Ok, you gave us Gaza and the West Bank, what do you want? This is a point I believe we've become besieged in. Now, if we say: No, you must give them the [West] Bank, that is if they give the entire [West] Bank to Yasser Arafat. What are we going to say to...UI? Are we going to say that we demand the 1948 territories? I believe that we....UI.

Om: We've always demanded the 1948 territories. I mean, we demanded...UI.

UM2: Yes, but we don't say that publicly. You cannot say it publicly. In front of the Americans...

Om: No, we didn't say that to the Americans.

Sh: ...UI.

UM2: I'm just trying to say that our demands should expand, should be clear and including the 1948 territories. Should be publicly clear that we demand our rights. I'm a guy who lives in Haifa, I want to return to Haifa, not just return to... This is a point which should also be

in the approach, that we shouldn't..., that we will be restricted to the West Bank and Gaza and we will be restricted to them. The second point is the issue is state or..., or..., the authority which is supposed to materialize will materialize. I believe that, other than the might of Lord of the two worlds, no other power will be able to stop it. I mean, America and all the countries are behind it. Therefore, we must... *[addressing a person who just walked into the room]*... peace be with you, God's peace, mercy and blessings....*[resuming his point]*... there must be a strategy to resist the participation and..., and the..., I mean, opening new organizations or a new organization to be neutral and not the...UI since we are always in the opposing camp. You oppose and you oppose until when? How long will you continue? At the end, like our brother Akram mentioned, you will be like any other Arab countries. I mean, people know that..., it is known how much the *[Palestinian Liberation]* Organization steal, how much they embezzle, but people will walk along with them and everybody will overlook that. I mean, they know that they steal and that they...UI. The last point is the issue of IAP and its leadership to the community. Yes, like the Sheik assumed that the Organization will extend to America and all the countries of the world in order to open organizations and mobilize among the community...UI. I imagine that IAP's role or the role of the Islamic organizations is to really have bridges to the community so that..., I mean, the competition now coming our way is greater than before because we will now have organizations. Now, I imagine that our situation will be that we will be competing with...er, governmental organizations, financed by the government. So, the upcoming stage which we will face is the competition with governmental organizations on the front. Will the IAP and the other organizations be the alternative, reaching a level of coordination and mutual cooperation between us and these organizations which represent the Palestinian government? The last point I want to stress is the issue of investment which is an approach we should look at with a great deal of priority because it is the one thing which will really benefit our brothers in the inside. This is one, another thing is that we will be collecting capital..., from now on we embark on that because the *[Palestinian Liberation]* Organization will come and collect whatever it can just like Israel does. It bring Jewish capital from America and build hospital over there *[with it]*. Therefore, we ought to embark on this initiative before someone else takes it away from us.

Sh: Abdel Jabbar.

Aj: In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Generally speaking, it is true that those present have been thinking about strategies and stuff. But, the general feeling in all the presentations is some sort of despair or like as if we have some sort of frustration. In reality, we must pay attention to something; our battle is getting closer and closer everyday and not the opposite. We are not getting further but closer to the conflict. This is a real matter which I almost feel that we're not paying too much attention to. I mean, we

should feel that even this agreement and stuff is a stage which brings the conflict closer and not further. Therefore, we affirm the issue of not postponing the conflict just like brother Gawad mentioned a little while ago. ...UI brother Abou Osama and Wissam...

Sh: Abdel Salam.

Aj: Abdel Salam mentioned a point that everyone is betting on this. Surprise attacks will land on us....

END OF RECORDING

[UM] Unidentified Male.
[UI] Unintelligible.
[NFI] Not Further Identified.
(LNU) Last name unknown.
[Italics] Translator's comments.
... Incomplete sentence.

Sh = Shukri Abu Baker
Om = Omar Ahmad
Gh = Ghassan Elashi
Ss = Sheik Sharif
Ga = Gawad (LNU)
Ab = Abdel Salam (LNU)
Ak = Akram (LNU)
Au = Abou Usama (NFI)
As = Abdel Halim Al Ashqar (Aboul Hasan)
Aa = Abou Ahmad (NFI)
Aj = Abdel Jabbar

Audio file: MTGB 19931002 4.WAV

Sh: ... So, the ramifications of the current political situation on activism on America..., I imagine, my brothers, that if we examine our work in America to the light..., that is; sum it as organizational activism, we exist in the shape of organizations in America. IAP works as an organization and we have the Fund. You could probably put the IAP and the Fund together and everything else that is in the paper, i.e. ...UI, the relationship with the Fund...UI. So, if you have noticed, in the past time, we used to focus on..., or the address was directed to the Palestinian and Islamic public, truly, in particular. We used to have an approach which probably had a glaring color, I mean the Jihadist [address] and this and that, focus on activism even through our lectures, conferences and seminars. And maybe this address was in harmony with the current, the general current was marching in that direction. Therefore, we were marching in that direction. We used to tell the Islamic and the Palestinian communities about the heroism of the youths in the inside. They used to be happy and we encouraged them...

Om: [i.e.] Military upbringing.

Sh: What?

Om: Military breeding.

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Sh: Military breeding, it was going in that direction. Now, truly, what happened is a turning point. In general, people - regardless if they're convinced or not - even he who was marching with that current, now feels that its speed stopped, slowed down or something. And there are those who were going in the opposite direction and was previously going in the opposite direction as well. So, what is happening now is that, yes, we're still walking on the correct path, but we're going in an opposite or counter to the general current which exists even on the American front among the Islamic, the Arab and the Palestinian communities. So, how is our address should be now through our organizations? Really? The formation of this address through these organizations? The detailed answer for that might be in the upcoming sessions. Then, the address..., each one of us should have a discussion and we should come up with resolutions, God's willing, by tomorrow. From now, we should be thinking about the media field, how is the address going to be in a way which is in harmony and is suitable for the stage on the American front. This address, my brothers, should be even in harmony with the general strategic approach. I mean, if the general strategic approach is according to what our brother Gawad said, how can we then be in harmony with this general strategic approach. You're in America. It could be in a way that is suitable to the American front but, also in accordance with the general strategic line in way... We're supposed to be...UI and explain this line. Also, "derailment", even our approach in the general direction should be "derailment". How can we achieve this derailment. This derailment might be with a logic, a concept and practices that are different from those of the people of America, different from the those of the people of Jordan, or those of the Palestinians living in Egypt, the Gulf or elsewhere. We are saying all of that, our brothers,... Of course, I didn't mention a religion, but it is a mission we ought to focus on in order to enrich the discussion. Yes, please.

As: ... Therefore, the issue of adjusting and the issue of infiltrating the police..., the direction of the people inside the police are known. It is not like there are some people whose direction is unknown. No. The elections which take place in universities and in schools, it is known that everyone is classified and what is the direction of every person. So, the issue of infiltrating the police, infiltrating the intelligence or infiltrating..., I don't imagine that is possible. I imagine that the issue is that, very much, we imagine that events are the ones which move us and that we have no strength or power. This might be true sometimes, but look at the Intifada generally, who is the one which started it? Who is the one who is moving it until now? What is the role of the united leadership in leading the organization during the Intifada other than issuing a statement. They didn't even distribute statements. They were broadcasted in Monte Carlo radio and they weren't distributed. And since the beginning of the Intifada, it used to be distributed in some areas on a very limited scale. So, even until now, it is the Islamists who are directing the events in a practical manner. Truly, the relationship..., let's go back to prepared paper which is the relationship of America to the inside or rearranging America's relationship with the

inside. What pushed me to this topic, really, is three considerations and several incidents. First of all, the incident of Mohamed Salah. I won't linger on it in a narrative way, but all of you are aware of it and the media has exaggerated it. The first result, conclusion or lesson from the incident of Mohamed Salah is that bearers of U.S. passports are not above the reach of the law. But, if the issue has to do with...UI, they're the same as those who carry an Egyptian [*travel*] document or those who carry an Israeli [*travel*] document. It is the same thing in front of the Israeli law. This is something which ought to be taken into consideration. The second thing is precision and caution. My brothers, with great respect for the people of America, like the Sudanese people say, America's and Canada's brothers, they see themselves as a distinctive style. They have a distinctive style in America and Canada, but the inside has its circumstances and its precautions. Therefore, precision and caution should come to play when dealing with it. Not like we deal in America where we have a legal slack or an atmosphere of freedom. This..., the matter calls for more precision and caution in the inside than the precision and the caution which is in America. The third point which brother Gawad mentioned is the peace accord which ended the legitimacy of the resistance of the Israelis as an occupation. This might be one of the most important results as America didn't use to condemn action against military personnel. But, now that the agreement is in place, you prevented him from..., your actions now are terrorism and not a resistance.

As: ... The issue of education and the higher studies in America is an essential issue and an important issue for the inside in order to control the institutions and in order to give political might to our brothers in the inside. Media and research, the authority on the way might come and close all of our newspapers and magazines. We have...UI institutions issuing statements from America in order to make it difficult for the coming [*Palestinian National*] Authority to block their entry [*into Palestine*].

Sh: The other issue..., not necessarily now, the other issue my brother is the legal and security situation. I mean, now you don't resist only..., only..., you resist the entire world, the whole world now. The entire world is against you, the whole world is against you. No doubt, there will be legal obstacles. Three years ago, we were visited by some of our brothers ...UI and we said "Our brothers, think about the day Sister Samah will get divorced, when everybody rejects her and say about her that she is a terrorist". They were saying that this will never happen. This a country of laws and a country of constitution and it did happen. So, you work and you try to protect. You are trying to get her married again. Are you really going to remain respected in the eyes of the law or there will be another talk? I hope that the brothers..., we can talk about that for half an hour. I hope the brothers think about this issue...UI. Go ahead, Abou Mohamad. There will also be a discussion...UI.

Om: I have a point. Do you believe that our Palestinian activism, our activism for Palestine in the past was centered... Now, I imagine that we do three things, we're an agent for the inside. I mean...UI [*Group interruption*]. We're not an agent, we provide services to these people, either by sending monies, spreading their news or by informing them with this and that. I imagine that 75% of our work is for relief and 25% concern with the American [*front*].

UM2: There are some points. A historical point is that we as IAP or Islamists call for our right, or the rights of Palestine. Most of the talk revolves around Gaza and the occupied land, Gaza and the West Bank. No one talks about the 1948 territories. I mean, here in America no one will accept it from you, to say the 1948 territories...

Sh: They don't care.

UM2: Therefore, we're limited to the occupied West Bank and Gaza. Ok, you gave us Gaza and the West Bank, what do you want? This is a point I believe we've become besieged in. Now, if we say: No, you must give them the [*West*] Bank, that is if they give the entire [*West*] Bank to Yasser Arafat. What are we going to say to...UI? Are we going to say that we demand the 1948 territories? I believe that we....UI.

Om: We've always demanded the 1948 territories. I mean, we demanded...UI.

UM2: Yes, but we don't say that publicly. You cannot say it publicly. In front of the Americans...

Om: No, we didn't say that to the Americans.

[UM] Unidentified Male.
 [UI] Unintelligible.
 [NFI] Not Further Identified.
 (LNU) Last name unknown.
 [*Italics*] Translator's comments.
 [...] Incomplete sentence.

Sh = Shukri Abu Baker
 Om = Omar Ahmad
 Gh = Ghassan
 Ss = Sheik Sharif
 Ga = Gawad (LNU)
 Ab = Abdel Salam (LNU)
 Ak = Akram (LNU)
 Au = Abou Usama (NFI)
 As = Abdel Halim Al Ashqar (Aboul Hasan)
 Aa = Abou Ahmad (NFI)
 Aj = Abdel Jabbar
 Ab2 = Abou Bassem (NFI)
 Mu = Muin (LNU)
 Ar = Abdel Rahman
 Ni = Nihad (LNU)

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Om: ...because there is a self-rule. I believe that if you want to form an organization to match the organizations..., the Popular Front or Fatah or the..., the ones which already..., already exist on the front and deal with them...., I personally believe that anybody's secret will be revealed right now. I mean, no matter what names you will use they will be revealed because, my brother, you cannot hide a Muslim. A Muslim wants to pray. What are you going to do about him. Or is he not going to pray and....er, go attend dance parties in order to prove that he is not a Muslim. This is not possible. We tried and you cannot hide him.

UM1: So, this is a legal edict, you mean. [*Laughter and a brief UI group talk*].

Om: You want to deal with people and from the first minute you deal with people you...

UM1: So, you tried this plan [*Laughter*].

Om: We tried and found out that if you try to hide yourself behind people...

UM2: Tell the brother that you tried that.

Om: ...if we try to hide our Islamic identity..., it is not possible. You can do it for 2, 3 or 4 days, a year, maybe, but they will know. From the moment you begin talking they will recognize you. Unless you really change and it is a problem if we do change. It would be over for us then. If we start speaking in their language I'm afraid we might stick to it and we don't return to who we were or...

Sh: I mean, someone who works in medical health field, what is the need for him to say "Praised by God the Almighty" or "Thanks be to God" in everything he says? My brother, I'm a professional, you are an engineer, be professional. The brother is a professional in the educational field, let him be professional in his field, in his specialization. Meet with presidents of universities and stuff like that...

UM1: But this is your nature to speak like...

UM2: This is a different issue. [*UI group talk*].

Om: ...unless the profession is...UI. If we have the ability to be creative...UI.

UM1: This principle was mentioned in the previous sessions relating to organizational activism and others. Let's stay with brother...UI.

UM2: I studied the topic and I hope we get something out of it.

UM1: Go ahead.

UM2: In reality... I resort to God from the pelted Satan. Shukri,...UI. Our brothers, may God reward you well. Establishing a new neutral organization to deal with the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization...er, with the...

Om: The new state.

UM2: ...with the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization or the new state between brackets. What are the features of this new organization? One of the brothers a short while ago said that it is like..., it is like we feel that everything has collapsed. Excuse me. And we also feel that

in America..., I mean if we fail in this country it means that our entire cause will fail. I started to get this feeling, really. This new organization..., brother Shukri is discussing it in a way while brother Ghassan looks at it in a different way. But, there is one conclusion we will get out of this organization which is confusing the Islamic mentality here in America. The Islamic mentality in America will be confused. It is already confused. A lot of you will say "Confused? How come? They are already confused". But, you have to understand that in case it wanted to win the general public opinion here in America..., in case the other organization was hit or stuff, it can issue a statement saying "By God, we are in agreement. We are in agreement on this and in agreement on that". And those who read your stuff..., who reads your stuff? This is a question we must ask ourselves. Who is going to read your ads and your statements? The only thing people will see is that there is a new organization - and it is not known what it is - which writes articles about the issue of the new Palestinian state. And you could try to convince people from behind [saying] "Tone it down a little". Thus, you want to address the enemy while you are speaking to your friend and this friend of yours doesn't...UI. Our brothers, my opinion is - and God knows best - that we don't discuss the goals but focus very much on what we have in the discussion, arrange our priorities in a good way and go on with that and there is no need for new organizations or stuff. Let's be distinguished, God's willing, in a way which will get us out of this crisis, God's willing.

Sh: ...UI. [Laughter].

UM1: God's willing we will...UI. I would like to ask brother Omar about two points in that regards.

Om: Go ahead.

UM1: The first point is: Have you studied the legal status of the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] in light of its address and found there are real dangers such as closing the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] soon, for instance, any time soon?

Om: By God, I will tell you where the danger is. The danger is two-fold, either a financial connection or orders.

UM1: Hum.

Om: I mean if you work for someone overseas and he gives you orders to carry out. These are the only two dangers.

UM1: Yes.

- Om: The issue is that if you cover these two bases, you will find that you, as an American organization, can do whatever you want. This is from legal point of view. As for the media, it is possible that you could be destroyed by the media without the law touching you.
- Sh: Aha.
- Om: For instance, newspapers and magazines can say that you are a terrorist because you are an Islamic organization...
- UM1: Yes, I understand.
- Om: I mean, they could hold things against you and destroy you on the media front before you're destroyed by the government and the law. This is like Sheik Omar, for instance.
- UM1: Yes.
- Om: Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman, there are no..., what you call crimes against him, you see?
- UM1: Yes.
- Om: Other than they kept digging around him and stuff like that. But, it was the media which accused him before he was legally charged and he wasn't able to..., because he didn't have a support system. He couldn't defend himself in face of the media. The media is overwhelming, that is. So, what I can say is that our problem at the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] is the following: the problem is the address; if you want to the Americans, you lose the Muslims. If you address the Muslims, it means that you cannot reveal your address to the Americans. Frankly speaking.
- UM1: Yes.
- Om: This is the thing. Like when you're talking opposition to peace. It is possible that..., people are telling us that we have become peace-loving, for instance. Some people are telling you that you're peace-loving, that you have become peace-loving. Ok, it is true that we are peace-loving. But, one could interpret peace-loving that we have surrendered and another would interpret it that we keep use diplomatic terms in order to...UI. I mean, for instance, if someone asked you if you want to destroy Israel, what are you going to say on TV? Destroy it meaning...UI
- Sh: ...are you going to forsake your belief...

Om: For instance. If you say "Destroy it" on TV, it means...UI.

Sh: Is this what our Islam says?

UM1: You don't have to answer him.

Om: I understand. I know. But, if you give an inconclusive response which is like you didn't answer the question, someone will come to you and tell you that you have forsaken your principles.

UM1: Yes.

Om: Someone will do that. So, you will be in a problem. But, legally, I see that we don't have any..., I mean I'm personally comfortable that we don't have a problem with the law if we covered these two things.

UM1: Ok, the other point is: Is it wrong if we wanted to form an organization from a precautionary point of view? I mean, just in case...

Om: Let me tell you...

UM1: ...just in case something happened to the *[Islamic] Association [for Palestine]*, God forbid. And I'm not saying it will be a...UI organization. No, we will give the same input. We will not change as it is a matter of principle.

Om: *[You mean]* as a quick alternative.

UM1: But, suppose they cornered us regarding this point we would have another way out. Is this wrong to think about?

Om: No, it is not. But, where is the problem? It is that there are no available people to work. I mean, you say...

UM1: Let it get registered and....

Om: ...UI. Registering an organization is easy. I can register 100 organizations in 100 cities in one day. Registration is not important. Here in America you begin working first and then you then go register. It is not a problem here.

UM1: Yes.

Om: The problem is where? We don't have available people to work in the existing organization. Where do we go to find these people? Like I told you, go ahead start a new organization but you won't be able to find new faces. Do we have hidden faces we now bring up to light? We have what we have. I mean, we don't really have available people whom we could dedicate for the work we want to hide. We don't have available people to work right now. This is one. The idea which we can discuss in more details is whether we should drop our Islamic identity or keep it.

UM1: Yes.

UM2: Let us discuss this point after we listen to brother Nihad regarding the issue of political and media address and how it should be for the American people for members of the Islamic and Arabic community, and how do we handle our issues with the brothers.

UM1: I just have a remark.

UM2: Hum. Go ahead.

UM1: The idea behind the goal which was discussed is meant to stir discussion around it and not for..., by God... First of all, I don't adopt it as an idea but as an idea to be discussed on the table. Every brother is supposed to give his ideas around it and not block it.

UM2: You mean tweak it.

UM1: I mean all the ideas which were suggested to destroy this goal. But, suggesting a goal like that and points like these are meant for discussion to see if this thing is applicable, can this thing benefit us in the future. We now jump to conclusions so fast. Our inclination might not be to go mingle with people, drink and dance and stuff like that. The idea..., the idea is to create an organization and we need to discuss it in a scientific manner and not in a discussion in which we jump into conclusions. I'm not going to keep defending it...

Om: What benefit could be gained from it?

UM1: My..., my..., my point is that I would really like everyone to discuss it in a logical way. I'm not going to keep defending it. It is not a matter for debate, between you and I...

Om: What is its benefit? What is its benefit? Tell me about the hoped benefit from the [creation of] this organization.

UM1: I believe that its benefit in the future is that... I mean, my view and God knows best is

that...

Om: that the self-rule will succeed.

UM1: that the self-rule will succeed.

Om: Ok, fine. Assuming that it will succeed, what are you saying?

UM1: Assuming that it will succeed, there must be a method and a line for dealing with them. God knows what agreements will be made in the future between sister Samah and the [Palestinian Liberation] Organization. In the future, they might make agreements and become friends. God knows. God knows.

Om: Ok, assuming that they remain enemies. Assuming that they remain enemies.

UM1: Assuming that they remain enemies, huh... I work on the American front and the [Palestinian Liberation] Organization has some Palestinian community that it won't ignore. I'm telling you from now, anyone who will think that the [Palestinian Liberation] Organization will...UI is not correct.

Om: Fine. Yes.

UM1: It will come and compete with you in educational work, in charitable work, in media work. So, if you are labeled as an Islamist with the community and with the people there will be a large segment of Palestinians which have interests with the Palestinian state and they will stand behind it. This will happen regardless of..., of the Islamic... I will give you an example; Saudi Arabia..., I will give you Saudi Arabia as an example. There are a lot of Islamists in Saudi Arabia who don't like..., who don't like the state in their hearts but they...

Om: Deal with it.

UM1: but you find them deal with the Saudi government because he is afraid, he goes along and he has interests with the government and he cannot oppose it. So, if you are an Islamist and an Islamic movement, he won't deal with you. You won't be able to win him. Therefore, there must be a... I'm telling you I don't have a full concept on its structure, what it should do and...

Om: ...UI. Let me tell you something else.

UM2: We need to hurry up, our brothers.

Om: ...UI. I just have a quick point. If we don't want to show the Islamic identity, if we want to portray it as a neutral body and the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization has a neutral organization similar to it and we deal with it what is the benefit? What are going to get at last? What is goal? Are we going to be just on the arena without a goal? Or do we need a goal? This is the point. Ok, I've become a neutral organization and I'm accepted by the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization and I deal with it, I send stuff, I bring stuff over and do things and my matters are flowing smoothly like you are saying. What is the benefit? What am I going to get at the end?

UM1: It might be..., it might be...

Om: For instance, if I'm in Palestine, fine. I want to survive. Yes, I can. I want to survive for at least five years until things change. But, I'm here in America. This is different. I'm here in America and not in Palestine.

UM2: There might be some benefit in some of the auxiliary issues such as the educational matters. There is no need to tie them with the Islamic Association for Palestine.

Om: Right, right.

UM1: So, if the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization is giving grants for self-rule and stuff like that, for instance, it will get a share.

Om: Yes, this is something else.

UM1: An economic organization. There is no need to tie it the issue of the [*Islamic*] Association [*for Palestine*] and stuff like that.

Om: Yes, yes. That's right.

UM2: This is the conclusion we reach, my brother. We could now arrive to a conclusion that it is possible that this [*new organization*] be an economic organization from which we benefit and from which our foreign exchange students brothers can benefit, or a charitable organization, why not?

Om: ...UI if it is not political, neither charitable or...UI.

Um2: Not an alternate organization.

Sh: Allow me. Allow me, my brother. Let's listen to each other. By the way, one of us talks while the other is not... We didn't hear each other, my brother. No one said that the goal of this organization be... UI that I get a mirror and reflect myself in it. It is a only a stupid person, a person who is digging his own grave that suggests the formation of an organization that is parallel to the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] but with a secular mentality, for instance. I would be destroying myself. This is not the idea. The idea is to take advantage of certain opportunities. For instance, for instance, for instance, we can form an organization for youths, a friendship..., Palestinian-American Friendship Association. What is the problem of doing that. This will be done in order to send them on tourist trips to the land of Palestine and put some honey a little bit at a time with the poison they're given. But, if from the first night you want to call it "The Islamic Society for Youths Welfare", they will shut the door in your face. Work on the level of the new community and don't have a bold color, for instance. You raise a community at your convenience, a little bit at a time. When they see you for four years...

Om: I don't see a problem with that.

Sh: This is for example, for example.

[UI brief group talk].

UM2: I don't think we will disagree on that issue.

Om: I'll tell you something. Even if you have an economic organization right now while there is no self-rule, you still must make it non-Islamic. It is not reasonable that you go deal with the House of Muslims Bank and stuff like that [and tell them] "Come invest with me". It is impossible. [UI brief group talk].

UM1: Regarding the presented paper, this might have been the most discussion-generating point. But, there are some other points in the papers..., I don't know.

As: ...UI. Organizational motto.

UM1: Huh?

Sh: The organization's motto.

UM1: Is it regarding the motto...UI. You might not accept the motto but..., I believe [you might accept] the direction.

Om: A part of the direction is ok.

UM1: The direction is to make people aware because people are ignorant. The public is ignorant of [the contents of] the agreement.

Om: Fine. Right.

UM2: Ok. We will listen to Aboul Hassan and then...

UM1: But, there is a point in our brother Abdel Jabbar's speech regarding the...UI will confuse the people who are with him. I will give you an example from our end...UI and our brother, one person from the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] used to go tour with Dr. Ahmad. People were saying "See, the Fund's people are now forming other organizations" and this must be for fear that their organization might be exposed or hit or stuff like that. People think like that.

Sh: Oh, yes. There are some people who say "Agent. Our brothers at the Fund are...UI... want to go to Madrid to...UI". Therefore, if you have an organization working in the same field it will be...UI.

[UI brief group talk].

UM1: Ok. Are there any other comments? Let us listen to our brother...

UM2: I want to say..., it looks like..., I know the [Palestinian Liberation] Organization and its method. First of all, you have Yasser Arafat. If you are not with me you are against me. This is the law with him. There is no other..., you're either with me or against me. If you oppose him you're out the question. You're either with me or against me. All of us are supposed to know these things when talking about implementing any project or any organization, that you're either with him or against him...UI. This is their method over there. You're either with me or against me.

Om: Let's go, people.

UM1: But the idea is..., I suppose all of these remarks can be discussed if the idea is clear. I mean, the brothers are asking questions and discuss the details of such an organization. But, I believe that organizations will be formed..., organizations will be formed in America and then they will be adopted by the [Palestinian Liberation] Organization and by the state of Palestine. Organizations will open, I mean this will take place. You can now open organizations and, by the time to come to you...er. It is possible..., this is the

direction of a lot of organizations but you are already labeled. It is over. You as the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] is labeled. Another point, a final point is that in order for activism in the field to expand and get better it should..., it is going to expand and get bigger since the Palestinians now have a state. So, work will get bigger and will expand. Therefore, we must get bigger and expand the organizational work in addition to the work performed by the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine]. Not everything should be grouped in one organization for charity work and one organization for public work. We must expand and there must be..., I mean you must have other choices...

UM2: ...UI. If you have a goal to..., if you have a goal to form one or ten organizations we must have a unified goal.

UM1: Yes.

UM2: If it is one organization or ten organizations.

UM3: Not necessarily, my brother. Not necessarily.

UM2: My brother, the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] can make available those who work with the youths, the schools and stuff and don't show themselves as Islamists. That's true. But for an organization such as the Islamic Association for Palestine to take a secular path or a near-secular path it is not going to be compatible with our creed and we cannot go on with it. And if we go along with them, we are like them.

UM2: And this also depends on the nature of the organization. If you want to form a public organization such as the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] and then one of your brothers speaks at the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] and then tries to speak at a different organization, he won't be able to speak with a double face. And the leaders and the persons whom you want are limited. But, if it is a specialized auxiliary organizations there won't be a problem. And God's knows better.

UM1: If the idea is available on the table, it can be solved through..., it needs a study. I mean all the ideas presented are not.... The idea was just tossed in a manner which...

Om: We're still working to see what ideas we can suggest.

UM2: This paper really needs a state to implement it and not the Islamic Association for Palestine.

UM1: Why?

UM2: No, I'm talking about this paper and see the things required for it, they are more than what the Islamic Association for Palestine can undertake. We should be practical. The issue of having specialized bodies overseeing sub-issues and all of them are built-up together is bigger than saying this is an issue for the Islamic Association for Palestine to handle. The Islamic Association for Palestine cannot tackle that.

UM2: The goal..., the goal of the paper, I wrote these ideas to make them available on the table and people can think them over and the brothers might find things in them they could recommend. I don't say that we should make a decision right now to open an organization, nor do I say that we ought to make a decision right now to do this or that, but an idea it should be put on the table for discussion and it can be assigned to one or two brothers to discuss it from all aspects. I mean, there is nothing to further identify it, whether it is a political, a specialized or a media organization or whatever. It is just an idea on the table, that's all.

UM1: Ok, my brothers. We will...UI in these few minutes. After the discussion, after the paper which was presented by our brothers and our discussion of the political address and the other problems, it is fine if another idea is brought up to further clarify this idea. We will discuss it anyway.

Sh: It is not the topic of the session anyway.

UM1: Yes, yes. May God reward you well. Is there any other final comment before we move on to...

UM3: I see that we move on now and then...UI.

As: My brother, regarding the goals...UI but we should really specify the goals. I believe it should be the future of the Palestinian activism..., the Palestinian activism in North America. We really shouldn't end the presentation until we have identified the goals we wish to accomplish in the upcoming stage. Making Muslims in America aware of the danger of this event which is targeting the Islamists. It is goal of a stage. Introducing the meanings of the sanctity of Al Aqsa to educational curricula, making charitable work effective, forming the public opinion or coming up with a policy to influence the..., the way the Americans deal with the Islamists, for instance. I believe these should be the goals of this stage. ...UI.... The paper was good and specific. May God reward you well.

UM1: I put the questions so that the brothers..., I mean, my goal is that the brother will go through them and that they open the door for discussion if the brothers could answer them. This is just to scratch your head. These questions..., really, we ask them at the

[Islamic] Association [for Palestine] and we want to know them, want them to be clarified either officially or they could be agreed on here. I mean, they need to be very specific. Now, is the new Palestinian state going to....

UM2: The self-rule authority.

UM1: The new self-rule authority..., Ok, the new self-rule authority..., are we going to fight it, totally boycott it or take a neutral stand or adopt a stand which supports two solutions or exactly what? These are..., these are... We need answers which can be either provided now or be presented to the researchers so that they can give us replies to them. That's it. I left them unanswered because I don't want to answer them as I don't have enough power to answer them.

UM2: You as what? The [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] or as a Movement or what?

UM1: I'm speaking as the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine], as an individual or regarding the presentation I'm making. But, it is difficult for me to reply to these questions as they need brothers who are researchers who work on these answers.

UM2: Ok, let's move on to brother Nihad and keep in mind that - like brother Aboul Hasan mentioned - the issue of specifying goals for the future of the Palestinian activism in America is an important issue we should get out of this session like the issue of the political address for the Americans or the Islamic communities.

[UI brief group talk].

Sh: I swear by your God that war is deception. War is deception. We are fighting our enemy with a kind heart and we never thought of deceiving it. War is deception. Deceive, camouflage, pretend that you're leaving while you're walking that way. Or do we have to be...UI. Deceive your enemy.

Om: ...UI. This is like one who plays basketball; he makes a player believe that he is doing this while he does something else...UI. I agree with you. Like they say; politics is a completion of war.

Sh: Yes, politics - like war - is a deception.

UM1: So, are you going to play basketball in order to camouflage yourselves from the Organization, you mean? [Laughter].

Sh: For instance. We should have a...UI and play basketball. We play and become professional players.

UM2: The reality is that the entire world is not resisting us due to our connections to Palestine. The Palestinian cause came to existence - and I believe you know the history - as a war on Islam and Muslims. If this was not the whole issue, it is a big part of the issue. Now, regarding the world strategy or what is called the New American Order, isn't its most prominent aspects is how to strike Islamic activism? How can you now change any of your work aspects under the excuse of camouflaging myself from this or that person? Ok, I don't have an objection. Camouflage, but what are the slogans you will be raising? We have issues I wonder how are we going to change them. I as a Muslim, what can I say about the Palestinian cause? Do you have anything to change or alter regarding this cause since I as a Muslim cannot forsake any part of Palestine, even one flea. I mean, *[like saying]* "We accept the division of '47. We accept the '67 solution. Accept this and that". Can I say any of that as a Muslim? The other issue is that crying over these fundamentals is a display of the Islamic call which is our grand cause. We took up the cause of Palestine out of our desire to call to Islam or is it not? We shouldn't let all of our causes pour into the cause of Palestine and then come back and present Islam or ideas..., ideas about our issues in a frame which, instead of being an Islamic Sharia perspective, becomes a political matter which might be mixed with some Islamic hue. So, what I was hearing... This is what I understood: that our enemies..., forget about them. Brother Shukri mentioned that we send people to Palestine under this excuse or under that name. This is as if people over there don't understand, read, spy or are informed or anything. What I say is that I don't have a problem with us forming organizations whose names and colors are chosen with any sort of caution. There is no problem with that. But, we shouldn't forget that the fundamentals we spoke about - specially regarding the Islamic Association for Palestine - are fundamentals which have no change or alteration. This is one point. Another point is that Arafat in particular..., I don't there is anyone else who lies more than him and I don't think there is anyone who is more criminal than him. By God, in '68, Saleh Sirryah told me that he sat with him in a reconciliation session at the house of Dr. Kandil Shbeir in '68. The session lasted from midnight until morning. And he stayed with Arafat for three days with the basics. He said I didn't see him perform one prayer and I saw him eating pork. This is what Saleh Sirryah said. And I asked Qandil about the session when he came to America and he said "Yes, the session took place at my house". The witness told me that Saleh Sirryah and...UI to my God, he told me that this man *[Arafat]* eliminates his opponents. He is a criminal. See all of those he killed...

UM1: Abdel Fattah Issa Humoud and...

UM2: Yes, all of those. So, what I wanted to say... And you know that Arafat was appointed by

force by Abdel Nasser. He was supported by Abdel Nasser who was the one who brought him on board and protected him for the cause as Al Shokeiri didn't..., didn't succeed and didn't do. In fact, we must take some precaution which suits our presence in America but, my brothers, we cannot change the fundamentals of our creed. We cannot change whatever relates to a Sharia aspect. I just wanted to draw attention to these fundamentals because I see that the talk is gradually wearing political hues which might be dominant in presenting the issue to the point of making us a different entity. I say once more, if you get drunk and woke up and did whatever, it is known that you work for Islamic activism. Like the Muslim Brothers said before, they said "I went inside the bar and this spy following me and it still didn't work". He shaved his beard and it didn't work. Did whatever and it didn't work. He is a Muslim Brotherhood [member] and that's it. You see? "Jews and Christians won't be pleased with you until you follow their religion". What does "...until you follow their religion" mean? It is like what Arafat did. Arafat followed their religion and he became a Jew.

UM1: Is this an edict, sheik?

UM2: I'm not saying someone became an infidel or...UI. [Laughter]

UM1: Go ahead.

Ni: Peace be with you and God's mercy. Praise be to God, prayers and peace be on God's prophet. God's willing, I will read the paper I wrote and which was distributed to the brothers. Many of them...UI. I hope that you write down your remarks, suggestions or objections because this talk will be the implementation of all what I understood from you. All that was said before are theories and this is the application. I will read to you what will be said by us at the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] or what will be put in our writing or our work curriculum until the end of the year or until God wishes. Of course, we are the primary entity doing media activism and it seems that, based on our appearance on CNN, people have started to contact us. Americans, Muslims, non-Muslims, Jews, Zionists, Arabs, branches of Islamic communities and all of them are asking us for the conclusion, the conclusion of our opinion and our direction. They want us to display all we have. This is one thing. On the other hand, organizations such as NAAA invited us to participate in their conference to deliver a lecture about the Islamic view regarding it. So, the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] will be attended by James Baker, Dennis Ross from the U.S. delegation and all the chairmen of Arab negotiation delegations. This is on one aspect. So, I hope that at the end..., the conference is at the end of the month. So, I hope that you take notes, listen to what I'm going to say, remind us and advise us on how our address should be.

UM1: Nihad, this means that this paper contains what you are going to say?

Ni: No, this one is... The last..., the last page I will say...

UM2: ...UI are you going to say something else? [Laughter]

UM1: No, no... I mean, the format you're talking about now..., are they new formats or..., a summary of what was said before?

Ni: In fact, I will speak about the media aspect in the beginning as mentioned in the paper. At the end..., the end of the session, I will speak about the sensitive points which they always bring up to us, or the points which we are supposed to present. It is clear from the latest events as well as the ones prior to them that the media is stronger than politics. On the contrary,...UI that politics might not measure up to the media level and the agreement was a media round. It sacred people through media marketing to the point that politicians weren't able to confront the media campaign, I mean those who are opposed to the agreement in general terms. Five goals are clear in this paper. These five goals include establishing some media means and developing some of the existing outlets. As for the third goal, it is a continuation of what was asked of us in the morning. May brothers in the media field remember these points and...UI. The first goal is increasing the awareness and the attention of those working for Palestine to media at the local level, meaning in the cities, or on the U.S. level because we normally ask where are the people who work in the media field and we don't think that we could personally work in the media field. For instance, we have about 20 brothers, maybe only brother Nihad or Ghassan who work in media. But it could be that none of us perform that [media] role when he expresses the view of the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] and the Islamic view to the media outlets. In order to achieve this level of awareness, I have four points I mentioned; the first thing is training and qualifying individuals in the branches and the communities on media activism through holding special courses on media. Also, we could have internships for students, either in institutions or universities. They would get a credit and then come to us at the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] to write or assist us in activism. This would be a part of their program. Second, encouraging the...UI of activism between students and directing them to study media and political sciences through meeting with them and encouraging them to do so. The brothers in the morning mentioned that students must be directed to study media. Brother Aboul Hasan mentioned that we must direct people to study journalism, political sciences and stuff like that. How can that be accomplished? I mean through which way? It is right there and this should be mentioned to the company (NFI) or we should be asking about the students when we meet with the community. Or you could ask about the students in the community and direct them in that regards. Otherwise, they are not going to study media or politics on

their own if they don't find someone to encourage them to. The 3rd aspect is providing branches and communities with materials, statements and information needed to help them cooperate with media outlets. This is like what is going on right now. People contact us [asking] "What is the view of the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] so that we can adopt it with the media outlets? Issue statements for us, positions", or it could be that they want information. "What do you say? Why don't you hold a press conference, a statement...". All of these are things the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] is trying to make available. Four, supplying lecturers and speakers with academic materials and information to facilitate their job. Many of the brothers now would like to give a lecture either to the communities or to the universities but they don't have information. We will try to group it and give it to them, God's willing. The second goal which is making the Palestinian public aware of the nature of the Islamic solution and its validity and also the dangers of the current events and incidents first through making sure Al Zaytouna reaches as many people as possible. Second, cooperating with Arab media. There are Arab media outlets. There are organizations which own TV's, radio, magazines and newspapers. We don't reach them. We need to reach these people and ask them for a statement or to open the door for the Islamic current to present its view. Three, holding political seminars with other opposing parties present, meaning building coalitions and holding seminars to make the community aware of the Islamic voice. Four, field visits and meeting with branches and communities in order to speak with them. This is a very important point. We have the largest public while the leaders, you at the communities or the brothers at the executive committee of the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] are supposed to visit the community and meet people. I mean, they shouldn't just see the newspaper or see some of the statements but, they want to see some individuals from the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] to come to visit. The [Palestinian Liberation] Organization was doing this for 15 years. This was the only connection between the leaders of the [Palestinian Liberation] Organization in America and the communities. They used to visit them, do...UI for them and work according to a plan.

UM1: Worked according to a plan?

Ni: They knew whom to go to and which individuals to pay attention to. Therefore, they would be affiliated with the [Palestinian Liberation] Organization. Five, focusing on the common national rights for all opposition figures when giving an input. The third goal now is the Islamic community in addition to the Palestinian public. Informing the Islamic public with the importance of the Palestinian cause from the Islamic aspect and the necessity of supporting it. Of course, some of this stuff was mentioned but, I have to mention here eight points quickly. Means: first, contacting and cooperating with Islamic non-Arab media outlets such as ISNA and ICNA and all the other existing non-Arab organizations and exchanging articles and subscriptions with them. Second, giving an

opportunity to the largest number of non-Arab writers to adopt, write about and speaking about the Palestinian cause and developing a list of these people. This means that, in order to reach the Pakistani or the Indian community, it is better to get a Pakistani person or an Afro-American to speak about your cause. This will be better than if you speak. Brothers, we are already doing some of these things at the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine]. For instance, I started to compile a list of people who like to..., I provide them with information so that they speak to their public. Three, making sure that the Muslim World Monitor reaches the centers and the organizations which don't receive it. This issue needs a survey. Four, inviting non-Arabic speakers to attend The Return Festivals so that they see that Palestine has a certain cultural and artistic characteristic. Let them come and attend even if they don't understand Arabic. We can make ...UI for them. Also, inviting them to attend the MAYA conferences and its forums. We normally don't think about that because we don't provide translation to them. You can bring the Muslim non-Arab activists and leaders of activism and have them attend the conferences where they meet the scholars and see for themselves the sensitivity of the Palestinian cause with its people and with the Arab public and they will be more touched. Five, re-writing some leaflets and media issues relating to the Palestinian cause in English. Six, publishing short leaflets and booklets about the importance of Palestine and the existing solutions. That means issuing quick brochures. For instance, the issue of the agreement, we put together a full package and it is possible that we can now improve it and put it in the form of question and answer. A question-and-answer format and present it to the public. Seven, attending the conferences of the non-Arabic speakers. I mean, participate in them and deliver lectures or we could participate in the seminars. Finally, in order to familiarize people with the Islamic view, we must hold meeting with Dr. Jamal Badawi, for instance...

Om: There is no need to mention the details as we won't finish this way.

Ni: Why do I tell you about these things, brothers? Because this is a practical... Everything you said is theoretical in my opinion while this is what the action the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] will tackle.

UM1: What kind of accusations are these?

Ni: No, excuse me... I mean, how are you going to implement all what you said, all what you said unless through the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine]?

Om: You wrote it down. You read it to us and we decide.

Ni: I will read it and he who is opposed can raise his hand.

Om: We can summarize them.

Sh: No. The goal of this seminar, my brother, is for us to reach certain convictions and then the organizations are to format these convictions into action plan and stuff like that. But, for us to discuss the action plan now in details..., this is not the purpose unless there are main, main, broad strategies in media, politics or stuff like that, the brothers can reach a consensus regarding them. If they are accepted, they will be turned over to the organizations to discuss them as an action plan. And every organization has its board of directors and its board and private public.

[UI brief group talk].

Sh: Focus on the goals.

UM1: The only goal which needs discussion is the sixth goal. As for the rest of the goals...UI.

Ni: Ok, for those people who have the papers, I will quickly read the goals for them. The fourth goal is becoming open to the media in the U.S. and the Western society to ease the intensity of the campaign and to explain the legality of the opposition led by the Islamists. This is the work of the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine]. Five, developing and strengthening the media department of the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine]. This needs..., needs attention and I urge the brothers to understand that the administrative media department of the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] is very weak and that if brother Mohamed or myself are absent, this would mean that no newspaper or media work will be done. Therefore, we need to speak about the necessity of finding reporters to do media work because we only have two individuals or even one and a half. We need someone at the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] to handle the secretarial issues.

UM1: ...UI a secretary.

Ni: There are..., there are options...UI.

[UI brief group talk].

UM2: What is the goal of...UI.

Ni: Huh?

UM2: It is not written here.

Ni: ...UI I asked him last time and he didn't have an objection.

UM1: On what?

Ni: A young man named Ahmad, a good-looking man. [*Laughter*].

UM1: To handle secretarial issues? [*Laughter*].

Ni: Let's discuss the last goal which is the third goal. A media attempt to deal with the agreement and its ramifications. The first thing, there are four axes; the first axis....

END OF RECORDING.

[UM] Unidentified Male.
 [UI] Unintelligible.
 [NFI] Not Further Identified.
 (LNU) Last name unknown.
 [*Italics*] Translator's comments.
 [...] Incomplete sentence.

Sh = Shukri Abu Baker
 Om = Omar Ahmad
 Gh = Ghassan
 Ss = Sheik Sharif
 Ga = Gawad (LNU)
 Ab = Abdel Salam (LNU)
 Ak = Akram (LNU)
 Au = Abou Usama (NFI)
 As = Abdel Halim Al Ashqar (Aboul Hasan)
 Aa = Abou Ahmad (NFI)
 Aj = Abdel Jabbar
 Ab2 = Abou Bassem (NFI)
 Mu = Muin (LNU)
 Ar = Abdel Rahman
 Ni = Nihad (LNU)

Audio file: MTGB_19931002_12.WAV

UM2: In reality... I resort to God from the pelted Satan. Shukri,...UI. Our brothers, may God reward you well. Establishing a new neutral organization to deal with the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization...er, with the...

Om: The new state.

UM2: ...with the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization or the new state between brackets. What are the features of this new organization? One of the brothers a short while ago said that it is like..., it is like we feel that everything has collapsed. Excuse me. And we also feel that

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 U.S. v. HLF, et al.

UM2: ... I mean if we fail in this country it means that our entire cause will fail. I started to get this feeling, really. This new organization..., brother Shukri is discussing it in a way while brother Ghassan looks at it in a different way. But, there is one conclusion we will get out of this organization which is confusing the Islamic mentality here in America. The Islamic mentality in America will be confused. It is already confused. A lot of you will say "Confused? How come? They are already confused". But, you have to understand that in case it wanted to win the general public opinion here in America..., in case the other organization was hit or stuff, it can issue a statement saying "By God, we are in agreement. We are in agreement on this and in agreement on that". And those who read your stuff..., who reads your stuff? This is a question we must ask ourselves. Who is going to read your ads and your statements? The only thing people will see is that there is a new organization - and it is not known what it is - which writes articles about the issue of the new Palestinian state. And you could try to convince people from behind [*saying*] "Tone it down a little". Thus, you want to address the enemy while you are speaking to your friend and this friend of yours doesn't...UI. Our brothers, my opinion is - and God knows best - that we don't discuss the goals but focus very much on what we have in the discussion, arrange our priorities in a good way and go on with that and there is no need for new organizations or stuff. Let's be distinguished, God's willing, in a way which will get us out of this crisis, God's willing.

Sh: ...UI. [*Laughter*].

UM1: God's willing we will...UI. I would like to ask brother Omar about two points in that regards.

Om: Go ahead.

UM1: The first point is: Have you studied the legal status of the [*Islamic*] Association [*for Palestine*] in light of its address and found there are real dangers such as closing the [*Islamic*] Association [*for Palestine*] soon, for instance, any time soon?

Om: By God, I will tell you where the danger is. The danger is two-fold, either a financial connection or orders.

UM1: Hum.

Om: I mean if you work for someone overseas and he gives you orders to carry out. These are the only two dangers.

UM1: Yes.

Om: The issue is that if you cover these two bases, you will find that you, as an American organization, can do whatever you want. This is from legal point of view. As for the media, it is possible that you could be destroyed by the media without the law touching you.

Sh: Aha.

Om: For instance, newspapers and magazines can say that you are a terrorist because you are an Islamic organization...

UM1: Yes, I understand.

Om: I mean, they could hold things against you and destroy you on the media front before you're destroyed by the government and the law. This is like Sheik Omar, for instance.

UM1: Yes.

Om: Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman, there are no..., what you call crimes against him, you see?

UM1: Yes.

Om: Other than they kept digging around him and stuff like that. But, it was the media which accused him before he was legally charged and he wasn't able to..., because he didn't have a support system. He couldn't defend himself in face of the media. The media is overwhelming, that is. So, what I can say is that our problem at the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] is the following: the problem is the address; if you want to the Americans, you lose the Muslims. If you address the Muslims, it means that you cannot reveal your address to the Americans. Frankly speaking.

UM1: Yes.

Om: The problem is where? We don't have available people to work in the existing organization. Where do we go to find these people? Like I told you, go ahead start a new organization but you won't be able to find new faces. Do we have hidden faces we now bring up to light? We have what we have. I mean, we don't really have available people whom we could dedicate for the work we want to hide. We don't have available people to work right now. This is one. The idea which we can discuss in more details is whether we should drop our Islamic identity or keep it.

UM1: Yes.

UM2: Let us discuss this point after we listen to brother Nihad regarding the issue of political and media address and how it should be for the American people for members of the Islamic and Arabic community, and how do we handle our issues with the brothers.

UM1: Assuming that it will succeed, there must be a method and a line for dealing with them. God knows what agreements will be made in the future between sister Samah and the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization. In the future, they might make agreements and become friends. God knows. God knows.

Om: ...UI. I just have a quick point. If we don't want to show the Islamic identity, if we want to portray it as a neutral body and the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization has a neutral organization similar to it and we deal with it what is the benefit? What are going to get at last? What is goal? Are we going to be just on the arena without a goal? Or do we need a goal? This is the point. Ok, I've become a neutral organization and I'm accepted by the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization and I deal with it, I send stuff, I bring stuff over and do things and my matters are flowing smoothly like you are saying. What is the benefit? What am I going to get at the end?

UM2: And this also depends on the nature of the organization. If you want to form a public organization such as the [*Islamic*] Association [*for Palestine*] and then one of your brothers speaks at the [*Islamic*] Association [*for Palestine*] and then tries to speak at a different organization, he won't be able to speak with a double face. And the leaders and the persons whom you want are limited. But, if it is a specialized auxiliary organizations there won't be a problem. And God's knows better.

As: My brother, regarding the goals...UI but we should really specify the goals. I believe it should be the future of the Palestinian activism..., the Palestinian activism in North America. We really shouldn't end the presentation until we have identified the goals we wish to accomplish in the upcoming stage. Making Muslims in America aware of the danger of this event which is targeting the Islamists. It is goal of a stage. Introducing the meanings of the sanctity of Al Aqsa to educational curricula, making charitable work effective, forming the public opinion or coming up with a policy to influence the..., the way the Americans deal with the Islamists, for instance. I believe these should be the goals of this stage. ...UI.... The paper was good and specific. May God reward you well.

Sh: I swear by your God that war is deception. War is deception. We are fighting our enemy with a kind heart and we never thought of deceiving it. War is deception. Deceive, camouflage, pretend that you're leaving while you're walking that way. Or do we have to be...UI. Deceive your enemy.

Om: ...UI. This is like one who plays basketball; he makes a player believe that he is doing this while he does something else...UI. I agree with you. Like they say; politics is a completion of war.

Sh: Yes, politics - like war - is a deception.

UM2: ... Now, regarding the world strategy or what is called the New American Order, isn't its most prominent aspects is how to strike Islamic activism? How can you now change any of your work aspects under the excuse of camouflaging myself from this or that person? Ok, I don't have an objection. Camouflage, but what are the slogans you will be raising? We have issues I wonder how are we going to change them. I as a Muslim, what can I say about the Palestinian cause? Do you have anything to change or alter regarding this cause since I as a Muslim cannot forsake any part of Palestine, even one flea.

Sh: No. The goal of this seminar, my brother, is for us to reach certain convictions and then the organizations are to format these convictions into action plan and stuff like that. But, for us to discuss the action plan now in details..., this is not the purpose unless there are main, main, broad strategies in media, politics or stuff like that, the brothers can reach a consensus regarding them. If they are accepted, they will be turned over to the organizations to discuss them as an action plan. And every organization has its board of directors and its board and private public.

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 Ab2 = Abou Bassem (NFI)
 Mu = Muin (LNU)
 Ar = Abdel Rahman
 Ni = Nihad (LNU)
 Os = Osama (NFI)
 Ay = Ayman Sharawi
 Ha = Haitham Maghawri
 Yo = Yousif (LNU)

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Sh: ...there is a difference in America, I'm talking about our work, there is a difference between when I say "A specific decision is not legitimate. I don't agree with it" and when I say "The leadership itself is not legitimate".

Om: Good point.

Sh: Wait. It does not benefit me to show to the American people that we are a people in conflict and stuff, and that I am against the accord because I hate Abou Ammar and hate the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization. But, it is very possible that you speak out of

objectivity, democracy and freedom of expression and say that this decision was made without this and that, show reasons but, without being forced to attack the Organization in a personal and direct manner. And I say that...UI.

UM: But, in the future, how are you going to...UI.

Gh2: That's it. We agreed on that before.

Sh: It is possible. It is possible for you to speak about a certain reason, about a certain decision...

UM: But, you want to prove it...

Sh: ...about a certain decision.

UM2: You're talking about an attack, a personal attack.

Sh: About a certain decision. For example, when they demand [*the implementation of*] resolution 242, are you going say, "By God, they don't...". They don't represent [*us*] to start with. Why are you marching behind him in the first place? You cannot...

Gh2: They claim that they represent me. So, I'm proving to them that they represent people other than me but not me.

Sh: Providing a specific reason.

UM: ...UI. It is a different inclination.

Sh: By God, I'm against this inclination.

[*Brief UI group talk*].

Sh: The Americans have no business in our own internal affairs. No business.

UM: How about all of your internal affairs. They're the ones who decide all of it.

[*Brief UI group talk*].

UM: Our brothers, let's just stay within the subject. Go ahead, Abou...

UM2: In my belief, when we spoke about bringing failure...

Sh: Ah...

UM2: ...bringing failure..., bringing failure, I believe that we are not going to make them fail here on the American front...UI. In my belief, bringing failure means bringing failure to the organization which adopted this project, causing the project itself to fail through the principle that it does not achieve the minimum we want for our people. In addition to playing a very important tune to the average American which is the issue of democracy, the issue of representation. When you tell an American individual that, "By God, this person is not elected. He is an oppressor. He is appointed. This is a dictatorial regime like any other regimes...UI". Bring up Saddam Hussein's name, for instance, and he will understand it. He will understand it easily. And, the stuff we're saying has credibility and the Americans know. The politicians know. The average person on the street might not know. But, I mean that our point has credibility. I mean, we're not talking about issues we invented, for instance, or about issues we heard about such as the secret accords and stuff like that. No, these are things we live through, that is that all of the Organization's institutions are not elected. All of them, even the parliament is appointed. Of course, they will not be happy that this and that happened, here are the reasons ...etc. But, they know that they are appointed. We know and they know why they were appointed and on what bases. We should be saying... If we want to defeat the accord, defeat its symbols, we must talk to them about the administrative corruption at their end as well, that these people are thieves and they should not be entrusted with the money which reach our people, that they have stolen them and will steal them. What is our gain from that? Not showing that we as Palestinians are in disaccord, no, but you're destroying these people who carry this project because, without them, the project will fail as they're the ones who carry it.

UM: Ok, anyone who wants to say something about causing the project to fail.

Ak: There are two points: the first one is that we are against this project. This is a good point as no democratic decision has been reached about it [*the project*] or anything. But, they might bring up another point to counter this point which is that elections are coming, they will take place in nine months. You will be able to elect your representatives and stuff. The main point is that this is a major turn in the history of Palestine and that the resolution was made without taking our opinion and anything that comes after this resolution, as far as we're concerned, is an application of that accord, whether it is elections in Palestine or... It is true, democracy will take place in the future but, you have already put us in a tight corner which we don't agree with. You placed the cause in a road the Palestinian people don't agree with. Henceforth, we want to bring everything back to the original accord which is a historical turn in the history of the Palestinian people. It

remains that the resolution was made without democracy and without a referendum. Even if the Organization later obtained a majority in the Palestinian street, this is not an objection as the resolution which was reached is null in the first place.

UM: I can repeat the text if that is going to solve the problem. We can say, "Attacking the..., the credibility of the representation of the Organization..., the Organization's right to sign an accord on behalf of the Palestinian people".

Ga: No, he didn't sign as "The Organization". He signed as "Abou Ammar". He didn't sign as the Organization.

UM: No, he signed "The Palestinian People". What's his name..., Abou Abbas, signed as "The Palestinian Delegation".

Ga: But, not even one major democratic Palestine organization until now has...

UM: This is the point. This is the point.

[*Brief UI group talk*].

Sh: This is what they understand, Abou..., Abou... This is what they understand; currently Abou Ammar is the chairman of the PLO. Our brothers, we cannot use the same poetic Arabic style when addressing the American mentality. Our brother, the Americans will not understand it... [*UI interruptions by others*]. Please allow me, they will tell you, "If he doesn't represent you, why the hell don't you get rid of him?". He will tell you, "If he doesn't represent you, who represents the Palestinian people?".

UM: We should drop the Arafat issue now. We're talking about the Organization.

Sh: These are very critical questions. We're replying to the question. It is very critical.

UM: ...UI if he is democratic.

Sh: I cannot say to him that I'm Hamas...UI.

[*UI brief group talk*].

UM2: Just a second. Go ahead.

UM: I see that we disagree over more than one point because we are in agreement over each of

them separately.

Sh: Ah.

UM: They are three issues; the first issue is the injustice of the accord, the injustice of the accord itself to the Palestinian people. No one will disagree with you over that if you indicate to him why.

UM2: We're not in disagreement about this point. We are now talking about the issue of the representation of the Organization.

UM: The second point..., the second point is that the entire set-up is illegal.

Sh: Fine.

UM: And the weakest point is talking about the Organization, its institutions and their corruption.

UM2: It is not related. We can then attack the legality of the Organization's signing of the accord. Does it have the right to sign a paper that is...

Sh: About a specific issue.

UM2: Yes. That's it. It doesn't have the right.

Ga: If it were a representative for the Palestinian people, it would have had the right to...

UM: This is what is meant. But, I didn't want to delve into the representation issue. Had it represented the Palestinian people, it would have had the right to sign. But, does it represent it or not?

Om: They say, yes.

UM: We debate that and we say, no. That's it. That is what is meant.

Om: Then, we should be talking about the authenticity of representation.

UM: The authenticity of representation.

Om: But, I believe that we are afraid of something. I believe that the American people are the

most people who accept contradiction, opposition and the fact that there are some people who don't agree with others and others... Really. I mean, the Americans are the most people who accept these things because they have their own system and it is a system where opposition is clearly permissible.

Aa: I disagree with Shukri.

UM: What?

[UI brief group talk].

Ga: Listen to me a little bit. Now, there is..., and it is a serious inclination and Sheik Mohamed Siam told me that personally, it is not...UI. There are three options and everybody is talking about these options until now; An Islamic National Front, the same Organization or an alternative organization...UI. It doesn't matter what name it bears. And he claimed that he represents the Palestinian people and that he leads the Palestinian national resistance. Am I going to shy away from telling the American people that this guy doesn't represent me?

Sh: When the alternative person is available, I will...UI.

Ga: ...UI.

Sh: My brother, it will be available, Abou Ayyoub.

Ga: It doesn't matter. What I was saying..., I was talking about the administrative aspect...

[UI brief interruption].

Ga: I'm talking about the administrative aspect. I mean from the administrative aspect, this internal dispute between us and them, isn't it a dispute between us and the Organization? Abou Ammar allied with them against us...

Sh: The Jews...

Ga: ...UI. This is an old stuff. This is an old stuff. Stuff which we used to...UI but not now...UI. They're lazy people just like Sheik Riyad told us. Really. The example of Saddam Hussein must be brought up. Abou Ammar's airplanes are...UI exactly like Saddam Hussein does.

UM: Ok, we will say..., listen. We will add to it, "...while this matter is not to...". Gawad, people... We can add to the following to the text: "...while this matter is not to be presented to the American people in a way which makes them resent the Palestinian people". This way, we don't make the Palestinian people's reputation bad.

[UI brief group talk].

Om: That's not right.

[UI brief group talk].

Om: Meaning that..., meaning that I tie Arafat's image to Saddam's image and I leave the judgement to the Americans...

Ga: That's it.

Om: ...in a suitable way.

Gh2: Ok. Why do you bring another country such as Iraq in order to serve your cause.

[UI brief group talk].

UM: Ok. People, whoever sees that we should write this point in this manner: "attacking the credibility of the Organization as far as representation of the Palestinian people" should raise his hand.

Ga: And presenting it in a suitable manner to the American people?

UM: In a suitable manner. Yes.

Sh: ...UI this for the Americans?

UM: Right, in a suitable manner. Yes.

Om: Yes, in a suitable manner.

UM: That means that there is a majority.

Om: It is a unanimity.

Sh: This is a democracy [*laughter*].

Om: It looks like the minority is 1%.

[*UI brief group talk*].

Gh2: O doctor, I had my hand raised, my brother, as I object to the issue of...UI.

[*UI brief group talk and laughter*].

Gh2: I still believe that we should oppose and combat this accord using its humanitarian aspects, its aspect relating to the Palestinians' national rights and not by criticizing this person and that person. I mean, in order for us to be practical and logical in our address, we shouldn't keep saying that, "Ooh, by God, this is not a fair deal because this guy doesn't represent us and he is not the right person to do it", because we are...

Om: Good point.

Gh2: ...because, my brother, people look at you..., look at you as what? I'm the Association...

Sh: You are an American organization.

Gh2: I'm the Association, an American organization. I'm not sister Samah. This means that I..., I represent this Group, this Movement...

UM: You represent the Palestinian's public opinion...

Gh2: Which I'm not. Which I'm not. I don't represent the..., the... Movement officially in front of people. Neither do I try to impose...

UM: Let me answer him, my brothers...

Sh: I have more than one point... [*UI brief group interruption*]

UM: Let him..., let him... and I will reply to him. Go ahead, yes.

Sh: There is more than one point...UI.

Gh2: Therefore, the Association's address shouldn't be the address which criticizes the Organization or an address that..., I mean in the same style as Samah's. We..., we cannot

do it. As an American organization, we present an approach that this is a right..., I mean, it is a retrieval of national rights.

[UI brief group interruption].

Om: ...UI they wrote an article in Al-Zaytouna...

UM: Ah.

[UI brief group talk and laughter].

Sh: ...I would do it again and again. There is a difference between me writing an article in the newspaper or publish a caricature, and between an official position.

Gh2: It is possible that one...UI.

UM: People...

Sh: You can go meet a congressman in your name, in Omar Yehya's name, in the name of the Association's present and tell him, "...UI doesn't represent us. Mr. Ahmad Yasin represents us".

Gh2: You cannot say that...

[UI brief group talk].

UM: Our brothers..., not like that. Let's keep the session organized. There is no need for us to drift into a side discussion. O Sheik.

Gh2: I'm not finished yet.

UM: But, I want to...

Gh2: But, I'm not finished yet. If you want to open the door for...UI.

UM: Go ahead. Go ahead.

Gh2: This shouldn't happen. One is talking, I'm not finished yet and you don't understand what I'm saying. Ok, let me shut up.

UM: No, go ahead. Go ahead.

Sh: We're sorry.

Gh2: The point, my brother, is that we shouldn't see the Association as a representative of the Movement. This is what I want to say.

Ak: There is an agreement. Yes.

Gh2: I mean, when we go to meet Americans, what are you agreeing on as you will go in that direction...

Om: There is no disagreement.

Gh2: We make..., make the approach that this thing which happened is against the religion, that it is unjust and that it is..., I mean, that there are many Palestinians over there who were not consulted and their opinion was not taken. There are a lot of Palestinians who will not get their rights. All the rights they will get are in Gaza and Jericho.

Group: That's what we're saying.

Gh2: But, the method of the approach shouldn't be that this Organization is not our representative, that this Arafat guy is not our president as this is not our business, I believe.

Om: And he is not our president. Our president is Clinton, man.
[laughter].

UM: ...UI. You spoke before. Let's just stay on the subject. Brother Gawad, Gawad. Our brothers, by God, let's stay together so that we can finish. It's alright. Let's just explain this point. Now, they asked... You spoke about the rights of our..., the rights in Palestine in the manner you want to speak to them. Right, Ghassan?

Gh2: Yes.

UM: Ok. They will tell you that Arafat, for instance, has relinquished these rights. What is your position? What are you going to say to him? The Organization which represents you has relinquished these rights. What are you going to say?

Gh2: That's his problem. But, we as Palestinians living in America still have rights which

Arafat has relinquished. But, I shouldn't go Arafat and tear him up...

Om: No, we didn't say so.

Gh2: Maybe not a media attack but a political attack through debates and stuff.

UM: Political attacks are accepted by the American mind. I mean, only if it is purely political and not just an attack on his person or his manners.

[UI brief group talk].

UM2: See what they're saying about Clinton, what they're saying about his father and what they say about...

Sh: The point you presented which is..., which is withdrawing..., attacking his credibility as a representative and a leader of the Palestinian people. But, I tell you that we don't want the American front to become a front for direct conflict. These things will put us in direct conflict, not only with the Palestinians, even with the official government circles. What is our benefit, what is our interest? As Palestinian action organizations in America, what is our benefit in creating more enemies than necessary? What is the interest that... Are you going to win the Palestinian cause if this guy who works at McDonald's, the worker who works there for \$4.00/hour, understands whether Abou Ammar represents us or not? Or the congressman, if you explain this situation to him that he is...UI and doesn't represent the Palestinian people, is he going to tell you, "Yes, by God, you convinced me"? Despite that, everything goes as planned. The point is that we are not going to expose ourselves to another wave and be anti-establishment, anti-establishment. Ok? Because, for the American organizations, if you're against peace, you're a terrorist. When you start attacking Abou Ammar, his leadership, the people who signed and attended and arranged their affairs with..., such as a Saudi person who attacks the Saud family and say that he is not a ruler. My brother, let him...

UM: Ok. Amazing. But, brother, please finish.

[UI brief group talk].

Ga: There are organizations which work in America. They're legal and...UI.

Om: If you please, if you please, if you please...

[UI brief group talk].

UM: Brother Sharif and then...

Sh: You voted, my brother, we are just opening the door for discussion once more...UI.

UM: Yes, yes. Brother Sharif, yes.

Ss: We..., I mean, I, as an American organization here don't want my government and my president to put his hand and sign a deal with the wrong people. Consequently, I speak up out of that reason which is being keen on my country, my president and its dignity with the people he claimed to represent.

Om: [Laughter] You...UI the American president and then comes Sheik Sharif to say...UI this is your president. "Oh, are you American?" [Laughter].

Sh: Because he wants him to face reality. He wants him to face reality [Laughter]. Don't they know that Asaad is hated by his people? Why don't they heed his example, my brother?

UM2: It is a different country, my brother.

UM: Ok. We mentioned..., we mentioned...UI Abou Ammar. We will add it in the suitable manner which doesn't bring harm to..., which doesn't bring harm to the Palestinian people's reputation. Ok, the second point which is opening a political office and public relations in Washington. Its goals are: One, presenting our point of view to the American political and media organizations and winning friends and supporters. Two, coordinating..., coordination in political alliances. You want someone who is active with these people as the Association is busy with many other tasks and stuff like that. Three, it represents... Yeah, we mentioned it. It should represent the point of view of...

Ss: It expresses the point of view...

UM: Yes, yes. It passes along our suitable point of view to this segment, just to give an example. I mean, this office is... If the AMC serves goals, it also achieves the goals. We want one like it, the same function, but one which achieves our goals.

UM2: Strengthens..., strengthens.

UM: Yes.

Gh: What is going to happen?

UM: We will present it to you and you will vote on it. I don't make decision and I'm not an executive side. We will recommend...

Sh: And Juhayna has the sure news [*Arab saying*]. Does this one require a resolution?

UM: Yes. We will recommend it and see...

Ak: But, it is going to be established under a different name or is it already...

UM: We will discuss the details now. We will discuss the details now. Let's just wait until...

UM2: A Palestinian Action Committee.

UM: We're now talking about... Brothers, we're now talking about our need for this office and its goals. If we're convinced that there is a need, we will send it to the executive body and it is the one which decides...

Sh: Right. That's better.

UM: We're not going to delve into these details. The fourth point is enlarging the circle of..., the circle of the addressed population by using available media outlets. Because, if you have an office, the media outlets will come to you continuously just like the point one of the brothers mentioned; that you will even be talking to the Islamic community in a better way. See? I mean, when you appear on CNN, the entire community in America will see you which is different from holding a conference in Philadelphia, for instance, or in New York. Who is going to see you and stuff like that. So, in reality, this serves our media and political goal, God the Almighty's willing, in a manner..., I mean, these goals we mentioned in that regards. So, the point is..., is are we in need for such an office and does it achieve the goals? We will present it for discussion.

Ga: There is one remark...

Om: It constitutes an opposition [*block*], that is [*Laughter*].

UM: Listen to the brother.

Ga: There should be two forms. They're one party. I will give them one name. I mean, two levels of work; an office at the executive level...UI. The higher authority will be called the Board of Trustees or call it whatever you want. This will be considering the suggestion to form a council for Arab and American Muslims and Palestinians...

UM: Hum.

Ga: ...made up of ten, fifteen or twenty [*people*] and it meets once every six months, one every year or...

Om: The Board of Trustees will...UI.

UM: When the office is formed, we will form a board for it and it meets...

Om: What kind..., what kind of board?

Ga: This..., this..., this council is to become the authority on the Palestinian issue for the Arab and the Islamic community as it is for the Americans.

UM: Yes, good, yes, yes, yes.

Ga: For the Americans. An office with authority and it has its..UI.

UM: Yes, yes, yes. For us, the authority is the [*Islamic*] Association [*for Palestine*].

Ga: No, the Association is doing more than one thing. Don't over-burden it. There is no way.

UM: But, the practical authority, the decision which forms the position and stuff like that. You guys form the position...

Ga: And this is because..., this is because of the problem you had a little while ago. But, when this council is established, it will be the one forming the position. It will assist the Association in its positions among Muslims, among the Palestinians...

UM: Yes, they will write the details in the bylaws and the constitution.

Om: Yes. who are those responsible, the Board of Directors.

UM: Yes. So that they would have a Board of Directors, Board of Trustees and they will be in the form you mentioned.

Sh: The same people, huh?

Ga: ...UI.

UM: Ok. So, this is approved, primarily. The other point is a suggestion which brother Yousef - may God reward him well - to hold a meeting for...UI, holding a meeting for the heads of the main Islamic centers in America to reach unified methods of explanation...

Sh: This was suggested by...

UM: By Aboul Muthana, yes, may God reward him well. ...for our cause and activating them to work with us on that issue. And I mentioned that..., I mean, even if... *[UI group interruption]*.

Aa: These words are theorization.

UM: No, no, no. This is a practical suggestion.

Aa: My brother, by God, these words, "Activation", "credibility" and stuff like that are...

Sh: No, I didn't say "activation". But, the idea was...UI.

Aa: Not even "credibility" or anything like that *[Laughter and UI group talk]*. "Mobilization" instead of "Activation". "Mobilization".

UM: "Mobilization", yes.

Aa: "Mobilization"...UI.

UM: It is like Shukri told you, we were not keen on the exact meaning, that is.

Aa: Also, instead of "Credibility", it should be "Honesty", my brother.

Sh: "Honesty".

UM: Yes.

Aa: "Honesty".

UM: Yes. May God reward you well. So, what is your opinion? The idea is to implement this within a month because the matter requires speed in..., in implementation.

UM2: This is my opinion. Yes.

Gh2: I suggest that the suggestion is...UI, that these people are invited to the conferences and the MAYA conference, in particular.

Aa: It will be aborted. Their invitation will be aborted. There are previous experiences.

UM: Calling them up.

UM2: Meaning that the idea should be aborted.

Sh: Calling them up.

Aa: UI...the idea will be aborted. You must put together a conference you advertise for. But, to go to MAYA or to one of the ISNA's meetings or stuff like that, you won't accomplish anything.

Sh: That's it. Are you going to ask them to attend the lectures?

Aa: You have to send a special invitation and, from the financial aspect, we said that the centers should finance at least 70% or 60%.

Om: We can call it, "The Islamic Conference to Support..., to make the Palestinian people victorious".

Aa: You could give it any name [*such as*] "Examining the legality of this and that...". I mean..., you can give it a name that is religious [*laughter and UI group talk*].

UM: Is there..., is there an approval to the idea? There is no opposition.

Om: Just don't...UI. You can invite people from the Islamic centers. I mean, for instance, I believe that we are going to embark on a project. We need several brothers such as Aboul Muthana, Osama, those who are known in America, or ten people, for instance, to adopt the idea for the project and...

UM2: A preparatory committee...

Om: ...to prepare a letter and send it to all those we know - 50-100 people - in which they explain its goals in it and we call it, "The Islamic Conference to make the Palestinian people victorious", or "...for Solidarity with the Palestinian people", something like that...

UM: Yes.

Om: And they meet at a certain place, we will determine the location. And I believe that some people can take care of the hotels and location expenses and each center would bear the travel expenses.

UM: Oh, yes.

Om: They can be shared. It is possible.

UM2: The problem is that the situation of the centers is in decline in regards to the financial situation.

Om: But, all of the expenses will be a \$100.00. I mean, this can be solved. We can think about it at a later session.

Gh: Let's do...

Om: Let's form a committee...

Gh: We can form it. We can form it.

UM: A preparatory committee, yes.

Om: A preparatory committee whose job is to...

Gh: From the Association..., the Association.

UM: Aboul Muthana, yes.

Gh: The Association should be in charge of it.

UM2: Is it an issue of a Sheik attending an Islamic conference or is it going to be initiating contacts with the imams of the mosques in order to build bridges and a relationship for the future with them in case you wanted to...

UM: No, no. It is an Islamic conference.

Aa: It is an invitation to... Holding a conference to study the new happenings from Sharia and jurisprudence point.

UM: There is another point that is coming. We mentioned it. Another conference but this one

will be..., will be on a larger scale. We mentioned it. But this one has to do with the American front. It has only to do with the American front.

Om: And imams and heads of centers.

UM: Imams and head of centers. So, what do you think? Should we form committee from the Association or what?

As: Forming a committee... I would really like for this idea to be implemented. As far as the implementation is concerned, a committee should be formed which begins preparations for the conference.

UM: Yes.

Sh: Put a deadline, as well.

As: Yes.

Om: Canadian as well.

UM: Canadian as well, yes.

[UI brief group talk].

UM: Ok, should we suggest three names for the committee?

UM2: No, no. Let's leave it to the Association's executive committee.

UM: Ok. Fine. And the executive committee is going to suggest the names.

Om: But, listen to me, my brother. It is fine. It is true that we can adopt it and work on it. But, in order to reach the Islamic centers, we must rely on the local people. For instance, in the areas of New York and New Jersey, we must have someone over there to make contacts because the personal contact is what brings people and not the letter.

UM2: Of course. There is no doubt.

Om: You will need a dedicated team.

Aa: In regards to..., in regards to the tri-states; Connecticut, New Jersey and New York, these

are on us.

UM: God's willing.

Aa: On Passaic Center. Fine? Elmezain, myself. We're available.

UM: So, you're taking care of the expenses?

Ak: But, this is not enough... We need people who contact the other sheiks.

Om: No, this will be done at a level...

UM: No. You form a committee.

UM2: Form a committee. I suggest that Aboul Muthana is in the committee and you can suggest two other people, from the sheiks, people who have a weight at America's level.

UM: Does America have 50 sheiks?

Om: About twenty. You have mosques and heads of centers.

[UI brief group talk].

Aa: If the issue is an issue of weight, you have Elmezain and you have Sheik Sharif *[laughter and UI group talk]*.

Om: Also, our brother Hathout and...

UM: Ok, Sheik Muthana will be in the committee.

Sh: What did you call it?

UM: The preparatory committee...

Sh: No, no. Is it going to be a scholars' conference or what?

UM: No, no. It is for imams and heads of the Islamic centers.

[UI brief group talk].

UM: Ok, let's finish with it. Do you have a suggestion for the names?

UM2: ...UI.

Om: Fine. Let me say something. Let us have it this way; there will be a work preparatory committee which works..., which sends the letter and stuff, and there is a committee for communications and to give..., let's say the Sharia color, to it who are the sheiks. These are the ones who are going to contact the other sheiks and tell them, "Come over. We're going and stuff". So, we can do the work, send the letters, determine where the place is going to be, what kind of food, these logistics, while they take care of inviting people, contacting them and encouraging the idea as an idea.

UM: Yes.

Om: Also, determining the location and then, "Come over this or that man" and they are done. They don't interfere in the problems...

UM: The administrative..., the administrative.

Om: I mean, details such as the location, the food, where to sleep and stuff like that. We will take care of it.

UM: Right, right. I mean, the Sheik, Aboul Muthana, will be in charge in of the issue of communications, inviting the sheiks and the heads as well as the intellectual aspect of the..., the issue, and our brothers will take care of the administrative aspect such as means of communications and issues like that.

Aa: I hope that we agree on a action agenda for later on.

UM: Hum. Ok. Yes, yes. You and Mohamed sit down after this and organize it. But...UI.

Om: So, the committee should be made up of two.

Sh: We delegate... We delegate our authority to...

UM: Yes. Ok, so we will commission brother Omar and Aboul Muthana to take the necessary steps to determine this...

Aa: My brother, the Association should take care of the matter and that's it.

UM: Ok, that's it. If you two take care...

Aa: The Association, my brother. When we say "The Association"... That takes care of it.

UM: Ok, whatever you agree on. They have delegated it, yes.

As: Brother Abou Mohamed, I want to leave. So, there are two things and that's it.

UM: Go ahead.

As: First of all, it is true that all the topics were excellent, but I believe there is an aspect that was not discussed which is the women. It is women's action.

UM: Aha. *[Laughter]*.

Aa: ...UI like they say, "The beard and the women". I said that yesterday but you forgot *[Laughter]*.

As: Really, we should be opening the women's subject.

UM: The woman.

As: The community and its women. It is true that...UI. First of all, our women, our sisters...

Aa: May God have mercy on Dr. Bishtaqi's soul.

UM: Amen.

As: ...UI. The right thing to do is to give them political representation in a manner which gives the ability to..., to give something, that is. In addition to their role in organizing activities and attempting to highlight their role in the activities of the Association, charity work or anything else. The second thing I want to talk about is the issue of the *[Muslim Arab Youth]* Association. Of course, it was mentioned but I'm just wanted to draw the attention to an issue; we demand a lecture about Palestine or an activity about Palestine and the *[Muslim Arab Youth]* Association agrees sometimes. But, when you attend the activity, you find it pale and meaningless. Why? Because no one of our brothers is...UI. ...with all respect, which might not be suitable. Our goal is to look..., is to succeed when we have an activity in order to encourage others. It should look successful so that, the next time, the *[Muslim Arab Youth]* Association brings..., makes the activity successful. I mean, I remember...UI, he told me that this was a bankrupt conference. A lecture was

delivered by Ishak..., by Dr. Ishak al-Farhan about the Palestinian Intifada. I went to it and there weren't even 20 people attending it. When a man comes, we should invite a lot of people for him. He stood at the door and looked and there were some youths sitting. There was another lecture about Sudan and all the brothers were from Sudan. All the brothers from El Shamm countries and others were in the Sudan lecture. Honestly, we are not...UI but, we will make the activity successful so that our activity and so that, next time, when we say there is a lecture about Palestine at the [Muslim Arab Youth] Association or the ISNA... When brother Nihad made a presentation about the Palestinian cause, maybe all those who were in the hall... How many were there, Nihad, at the ISNA?

Ni: They were seventeen.

As: Seventeen people.

UM: They say there were seventy [laughter].

As: No, I even think that seventeen is an exaggeration

[Laughter and UI group talk].

As: The number of attendees, honestly, I went over there and people there were to be counted on one hand.

UM: ...UI [Laughter].

As: This is the second point of what I wanted to say. A last point is an announcement. I have a black Muslim brother who formed a society or a committee to recruit minorities for a school of law, school of law. I mean, they admit minorities and I believe we are minorities in the schools of law. He told me to bring him requests from Muslim brothers who want to study law in the Georgia School of Law at Georgia University, he can help him or manage to get him enrolled and an exemption from the installation in this thing. So, whom do you know among those present or those our brothers who wish to study law. Of course, law enrollment procedures are not easy. There are exams and stuff like that. But, it is geared towards minorities and they try to give them a special status. So, please make contacts. We're trying and God the Almighty is the one who grants...

UM: Success.

As: At the end, please forgive us

UM: No, may God bless you.

Sh: Good bye, Aboul Hasan.

Group: Good bye. May God reward you well.

Ar: By God, put me down, by God.

As: What?

Ar: Put me down in the school of law.

As: I don't hear you.

Ar: Put me down.

As: On this thing?

Ar: Yes. Your name is not a problem. But, I want...

Sh: Put Omar Yehya's name on the first name so that you leave to Georgia.

Ak: The Association is not agreeing to that.

Sh: Let's have Omar go to Georgia.

As: There is an idea which is why doesn't the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] move to Washington?

Sh: Aboul Hasan, they will relieve us very much [Laughter]. We would be the only ones in Texas.

Aa: ...UI the women subject didn't last long. That's good. [laughter and UI group talk].

As: Ok, Abdel Rahman.

Group: May God reward you well. Good bye.

Sh: Good bye. May you be successful, Aboul Hasan.

UM: Ok. Let's finish. We have two points remaining. ...UI. There is that other suggestion...UI and I believe that this might be even presented to the Movement, Samah. It is constructive and I believe that it serves its goals. It is inviting a group of major Islamic scholars to meet at one of the American cities...UI, if possible...

Aa: It is doable.

UM: Maybe. This will be discussed. ...in order to adopt a Sharia and a political position from the accord while providing media coverage for the meeting. The Americans will be interested in an issue like that as a media and as a country, specially if you invite known names and the topic is known, you see? And those who adopt these positions are not shy, anyway. They come to America and stuff. So, if a good number of them come..., I mean, a big number, 5, 7 or 10 people, you see?

[UI brief group talk].

UM: What?

Ga: An international conference for solidarity with the Palestinian people will be held, an international Islamic conference, most probably in Malaysia.

UM: Over here is more important than Malaysia.

Ga: Here is more important. I know.

UM: Over here will serve them and serve us.

Ga: ...UI an international one. It won't be local...UI.

UM: I know. We're saying that. But, if they adopt it and contribute in sending the invitations out... I mean, if they adopt it...

Ga: The issue of sending the invitations out is not... It is an administrative issue.

UM: No, it is not an administrative issue, my brother. I mean, when you..., when you go to the Sheik and tell him, "So and so person is inviting you" is different from telling him that...

UM2: He will decline just to...UI.

Sh: Who is going to adopt it?

Gh: I admire the idea very much.

Sh: He is saying, "Samah should adopt it". We..., what is our relationship with Samah?

UM2: We are not going to tell the other people that is held in Samah's name.

Sh: Are you going to tell them that Samah is holding it? And invite the scholars in Samah's name.

[UI brief group talk].

UM: ...because this will serve them indirectly.

Gh: They're having an international conference, men.

Sh: Who is going to be the hosting agency in America?

UM2: Samah. Samah.

Sh: The invitations, then, are going out in Samah's name. They will say that they came to America in order to...

[UI brief group talk and laughter].

Sh: The idea is very nice. But, I'm worried they will get an idea that...

UM: Our brothers. Group. Our brothers. By God, let's stay in one discussion. Let brother Yousif explain the idea...UI. Go ahead.

Yo: Our brothers, one of the important things about this conference... If it is held in America and the media in particular was directed to it -this is very important- they will know that the issue..., that the issue is not in the hands of..., I mean...UI and Abou Ammar, separately. This is a point of view of that..., I mean, I don't think the American people ever heard it. The issue to them is Palestinians and Jews and stuff like that. But, if the issue had a bigger dimension than that, if it includes Muslim scholars at a high level, it will have a very enormous media dimension. The issue of how it is done? I have some ideas to have a push..., I mean, the *[Islamic] Association [for Palestine]* should send out invitations from here. But, there should be an agreement to have a push from sheiks or people we have over there in the Movement who convince these people with that issue because it is possible that they will go just like the sheik said and it is possible that they

won't agree. It is possible that each one of them finds an excuse like saying, "I have work. I have a college. I have this or I have that". But, if matters are explained and pushed through internally, ... I mean, even adopting the issue financially. It is possible that certain people over there are addressed in order to adopt this issue so that it is financed and its expenses are taken care of and stuff like that. It should be in a large, known city such as Washington, for instance, since all the pressure is on it, media and political presence is there, or in New York. It can be held in more than one place as long as they come. But, generally speaking, the cause will garner a very huge media dimension whose impact might not be felt now. But, in the future, when we will have another Organization other than the [*Palestinian*] Liberation Organization, people will understand this dimension. Why is there another organization? Because if Muslims as Muslims are not in agreement, the Palestinians might as well not agree.

UM: Now, how are we going to determine the scholars to attend?

Yo: They are to be chosen. Yousif al-Qaradawi, for instance, offered something...

UM: Oh, you mean from the Islamic world?

Yo: Yes, for the Islamic world, not from Palestine. I mean, they come from Jordan, from Egypt, from...UL

Gh2: Leaders of Islamic work.

Yo: What?

Gh2: Leaders of Islamic work and thought.

Yo: Yes. I mean, they might be ten, for instance, nine, eight or seven.

UM: Their arrival could be further taken advantage of by holding the MAYA conference and holding the...

UM2: We said before that the [*Muslim Arab Youth*] Association's conference is..., not all of these people will come. I mean, the [*Muslim Arab Youth*] Association's conference is formed by a group of people. We don't know who is going to come. They might not be at that level.

Om: I believe that it is hard to implement that. I mean, a sheik like al-Qaradawi is hard to bring him. The [*Muslim Arab Youth*] Association itself has been inviting him and not the

Movement...all the people of Egypt and they determine who comes. He doesn't agree to come.

UM: He will come in a historical stand like that.

Om: He won't.

UM: Believe me. At least it is worth it.

Om: Fine. You don't know anything. I will tell you something. The Movement itself, why isn't... This conference Abou Ayyoub is talking about was supposed to have been held last year.

Sh: Yeah.

Om: And it was supposed to have been held the beginning of the year. I was supposed to have been held in the summer. Why is it being postponed until now? Because it is hard to implement. If the people here are unable to meet at a one place and all of them are...

[UI brief group talk].

Aa: Our brothers, I have a firm belief that you cannot get more than one or one and a half sheik [*Laughter and UI group talk*].

UM: Who is the half, Abou Mohamed?

[UI group talk and laughter].

Sh: Who is the half? Me?

UM: Ok, ok, yes. Let's just listen to brother Ghassan.

Sh: The sheiks' war you're fighting...

Gh2: My point was that there should be a session during the MAYA convention which is parallel to...

UM2: Let's leave the MAYA convention aside, brothers. We said that we should not...UI.

Gh: ...UI.

Gh2: I mean, there could be a session at the end of the conference. It can be agreed from now with the sheiks and with the MAYA...

Sh: People will leave by then.

Gh2: No. We don't want a public presence. We want sheiks only. It is not a public conference.

UM: In order to issue a Fatwa?

Gh2: Yes. It is not..., it is not a presence....

UM: It is a public conference and a Fatwa.

Gh2: No, no, no. You advertise for it..., you advertise for it and hold a press conference. But, it is possible..., it is possible that the sheiks are present during the press conference and issue a statement. But, as far as the attendance is concerned, you don't open the attendance to individuals. You let the leaders, the sheiks and the media attend.

UM2: The media.

Gh2: Yes.

Sh: Allow me. Allow me.

Ak: Why not -which is a lesser step than that- have them issue a Fatwa they all sign without coming over, I mean.

UM: There are many Fatwas out. They will get the media attention when they come.

Ak: No. A Fatwa to reject the accord. It hasn't been published. One by Sheik al-Qaradawi and all the sheiks.

UM: It won't have a media resonance like when you have a meeting, and people come and talk with them, face to face.

UM2: Is there someone working on the Fatwa?

UM: So, a Fatwa is possible. But, it won't have the media resonance and credibility.

Om: There is this conference which is scheduled to be held in the city of...

Ga: ...UI.

Sh: Our brothers.... I'm saying..., I'm saying that regardless of the obstacles which are..., which are in front of us, what is our target out of this meeting? If our target is the U.S. media..., for the U.S. media, they are nothing more than a bunch of fundamentalists who came out and stuff. We said that already. For them, Who is Qardawi, Who is Qardawi? For them, it nothing but a bunch of terrorists and fundamentalists who oppose the peace process. That is all. There is nothing...

UM: ...UI About Muthana...

Sh: They won't grant them legitimacy or....

[UI brief group interruption and talk].

Sh: Yes, Hajj, yes.

Om: Specially, if they wrote about you opposing Salman Rushdi after Arafat.

Sh: That's it. For instance. This is the thing. These are the Americans. If you want the Americans, I see that you're hurting the cause instead of helping it because the Americans..., they are people who don't really realize the dimension we're speaking about. If you want the Islamic community, the weight of the Islamic community is not in America but in the Orient. Therefore, if this conference was held in the Orient, its psychological and Islamic impact will much deeper than its impact at the community's level in America. This is what I see. If you want to go through the expenses the trouble anyway, do it in the Orient...

[UI group talk].

UM: A conference will be held in Malaysia. I believe that if the important part was played on video during the [Muslim Arab Youth] Association's conference, it will be... I mean, according to what you mentioned, 250 scholars from Pakistan, Malaysia and all over the world will attend.

Sh: But, I believe that the Americans are not going to be impressed. This is something about the Americans...UI in the Movement are more objective. But, the American people is not an objective people at all when it comes to...

UM2: Unless there are a number of rabbis in the picture. They reached accords, they made deals

and what is the result? I mean, you will come out with the same picture as what you have now. There is not going to be more than getting a group of sheiks together and this is the end of it. What's after that?

UM3: All of this should be handled by the Islamic community...

[UI brief group talk].

UM: Our brothers... Group, that is enough. Group, enough discussion now. He who thinks that the idea is reasonable and applicable should raise his hand.

Gh2: An Islamic conference abroad, right?

UM: Yes, abroad.

Gh2: And not Aboul Muthana's idea which is...

UM: No, no.

Gh2: The one you mentioned.

UM: No, no, no. A different one. He who sees that the idea is reasonable and can be implemented should raise his hand.

UM2: It can be applied at the community level.

Gh2: Specially in New Jersey.

UM: But, by God, the Malaysia conference is not like any other conference and should be covered by the media. Some of its portions should be taped or we should send a brother American reporter or a Muslim or so who goes to tape it and come back to us here.

UM2: What I understood, my brother, what I understood is that the media committee of Samih, Samah or whatever you call it, are very interested in that subject.

[UI brief group talk].

Gh: UI... from the Washington Monitor. Take a photographer with you and...

UM2: Ok.

UM: Ok, our brothers. Let's move on to another point.

UM2: My brothers, this..., this trip will save a conference for you. By God.

[UI brief group talk].

UM: Ok, our brothers. There is another idea... Our brothers, there is... [UI brief group talk and laughter] Nihad, Nihad... There is an idea for a similar invitation for the preachers, scholars and thinkers in the U.S. continent, that is. The same idea for people who live in America to discuss the same idea and to provide media coverage...

[UI brief group interruption].

UM: This is to study the issue and not..., not relating to media and political action. This is an internal invitation for study and to find out how we work and what to do and stuff like that. But, this would have a media and a political goal.

Om: ...UI for the Americans.

UM For the Americans and the community.

Om: No, you should specify. The Americans are the community.

UM2: Both of them, man.

UM: What not?

Sh: There are several points... I heard that there is a council for scholars for America. Did they issue a statement?

UM: And they will talk to you about Palestine and stuff.

Sh: My brother, it didn't issue a statement?

UM2: I'm a member of it [Group laughter and UI talk].

Sh: He is saying he is a member of it. So, by God, ...UI.

[UI brief group talk].

Aa: This council..., this council..., if it said that having bad faith of something is a sign of prudence *[laughter]*... I have some prudence, therefore, I have bad faith in it. This *[council]* was made to kill any meeting which might be fruitful or beneficial in the...UI.

UM2: Ok. Who is behind it, Abou...

Aa: And the one who took it over then was Ahmad Zaki.

UM: May God have mercy on him.

Aa: After Ahmad Zaki, they gave its presidency to Taha Jaber. Taha Jaber..., when you talk to him he tells you, "Yes. Good ideas. God's willing, we will begin and do this and do that" and nothing happens.

UM2: So, he won't do anything.

Sh: So, you have a council...

UM2: It meets just once a year.

Aa: But, the issue, my brother, is that it is possible to hold work sessions. It is possible that this council really play many roles. But, Taha didn't move and didn't move anything and it looks that everybody wants to have things that way; to have no one move as a scholars organization or something in the country.

UM: So, they meet just to...

Aa: And..., part of the bad faith is that Saudi Arabia...,

UM: They meet for representation purposes, so that they are the legitimate representative for Muslims in America.

Aa: ...Saudi Arabia is behind the curtain. This is a part of the bad faith. And some of the thoughts are sins while some are...

Om: Don't they have elections once every three months or something...?

Sh: Let's stay in the theory of..., the theory of bad faith just in order to establish a reason. *[UI group talk]*.

7-4 11/11

END OF RECORDING.

[UM] Unidentified Male.
[UI] Unintelligible.
[NFI] Not Further Identified.
(LNU) Last name unknown.
[*Italics*] Translator's comments.
[...] Incomplete sentence.

Sh = Shukri Abu Baker
Om = Omar Ahmad Yehya
Gh = Ghassan Elashi
Gh2 = Ghassan Saleh
Ss = Sheikh Sharif
Ga = Gawad (Abou Ayyoub, LNU)
Ab = Abdel Salam (LNU)
Ak = Akram (LNU)
Au = Abou Usama (NFI)
As = Abdel Halim Al Ashqar (Aboul Hasan)
Aa = Abou Ahmad (NFI)
Aj = Abdel Jabbar Hamdan
Ab2 = Abou Bassem (NFI)
Mu = Muin (LNU)
Ar = Abdel Rahman
Ni = Nihad (LNU)
Os = Osama (NFI)
Ay = Ayman Sharawi
Ha = Haitham Maghawri
Yo = Yousif (LNU)

Audio file: MTGB 19931003 3.WAV

Sh: The Americans have no business in our own internal affairs. No business.

UM: How about all of your internal affairs. They're the ones who decide all of it.

[*Brief UI group talk*].

UM: Our brothers, let's just stay within the subject. Go ahead, Abou...

GOVERNMENT
EXHIBIT

Philly Meeting-8E
3:04-CR-240-G
U.S. v. HLF, et al.

UM2: In my belief, when we spoke about bringing failure...

Sh: Ah...

UM2: ...bringing failure..., bringing failure, I believe that we are not going to make them fail here on the American front...UI. In my belief, bringing failure means bringing failure to the organization which adopted this project, causing the project itself to fail through the principle that it does not achieve the minimum we want for our people. In addition to playing a very important tune to the average American which is the issue of democracy, the issue of representation. When you tell an American individual that, "By God, this person is not elected. He is an oppressor. He is appointed. This is a dictatorial regime like any other regimes...UI". Bring up Saddam Hussain's name, for instance, and he will understand it. He will understand it easily. And, the stuff we're saying has credibility and the Americans know. The politicians know. The average person on the street might not know. But, I mean that our point has credibility. I mean, we're not talking about issues we invented, for instance, or about issues we heard about such as the secret accords and stuff like that. No, these are things we live through, that is that all of the Organization's institutions are not elected. All of them, even the parliament is appointed. Of course, they will not be happy that this and that happened, here are the reasons ...etc. But, they know that they are appointed. We know and they know why they were appointed and on what bases. We should be saying... If we want to defeat the accord, defeat its symbols, we must talk to them about the administrative corruption at their end as well, that these people are thieves and they should not be entrusted with the money which reach our people, that they have stolen them and will steal them. What is our gain from that? Not showing that we as Palestinians are in disaccord, no, but you're destroying these people who carry this project because, without them, the project will fail as they're the ones who carry it.

UM: Ok, anyone who wants to say something about causing the project to fail.

Ak: There are two points: the first one is that we are against this project. This is a good point as no democratic decision has been reached about it [*the project*] or anything. But, they might bring up another point to counter this point which is that elections are coming, they will take place in nine months. You will be able to elect your representatives and stuff. The main point is that this is a major turn in the history of Palestine and that the resolution was made without taking our opinion and anything that comes after this resolution, as far as we're concerned, is an application of that accord, whether it is elections in Palestine or... It is true, democracy will take place in the future but, you have already put us in a tight corner which we don't agree with. You placed the cause in a road the Palestinian people don't agree with. Henceforth, we want to bring everything back to the original accord which is a historical turn in the history of the Palestinian people. It

remains that the resolution was made without democracy and without a referendum. Even if the Organization later obtained a majority in the Palestinian street, this is not an objection as the resolution which was reached is null in the first place.

UM: I can repeat the text if that is going to solve the problem. We can say, "Attacking the..., the credibility of the representation of the Organization..., the Organization's right to sign an accord on behalf of the Palestinian people".

Ga: No, he didn't sign as "The Organization". He signed as "Abou Ammar". He didn't sign as the Organization.

UM: No, he signed "The Palestinian People". What's his name..., Abou Abbas, signed as "The Palestinian Delegation".

Ga: But, not even one major democratic Palestine organization until now has...

UM: This is the point. This is the point.

[Brief UI group talk].

Sh: This is what they understand, Abou..., Abou... This is what they understand; currently Abou Ammar is the chairman of the PLO. Our brothers, we cannot use the same poetic Arabic style when addressing the American mentality. Our brother, the Americans will not understand it... *[UI interruptions by others]*. Please allow me, they will tell you, "If he doesn't represent you, why the hell don't you get rid of him?". He will tell you, "If he doesn't represent you, who represents the Palestinian people?".

UM: We should drop the Arafat issue now. We're talking about the Organization.

Sh: These are very critical questions. We're replying to the question. It is very critical.

UM: ...UI if he is democratic.

Sh: I cannot say to him that I'm Hamas...UI

Gh2: I still believe that we should oppose and combat this accord using its humanitarian aspects, its aspect relating to the Palestinians' national rights and not by criticizing this person and that person. I mean, in order for us to be practical and logical in our address, we shouldn't keep saying that, "Ooh, by God, this is not a fair deal because this guy doesn't represent us and he is not the right person to do it", because we are...

Om: Good point.

Gh2: ...because, my brother, people look at you..., look at you as what? I'm the Association...

Sh: You are an American organization.

Gh2: I'm the Association, an American organization. I'm not sister Samah. This means that I..., I represent this Group, this Movement...

UM: You represent the Palestinian's public opinion...

Gh2: Which I'm not. Which I'm not. I don't represent the..., the... Movement officially in front of people. Neither do I try to impose...

UM: Let me answer him, my brothers...

Sh: I have more than one point... [UI brief group interruption]

UM: Let him..., let him... and I will reply to him. Go ahead, yes.

Sh: There is more than one point...UI.

Gh2: Therefore, the Association's address shouldn't be the address which criticizes the Organization or an address that..., I mean in the same style as Samah's. We..., we cannot do it. As an American organization, we present an approach that this is a right..., I mean, it is a retrieval of national rights.

[UI brief group interruption].

Om: ...UI they wrote an article in Al-Zaytouna...

UM: Ah.

[UI brief group talk and laughter].

Sh: ...I would do it again and again. There is a difference between me writing an article in the newspaper or publish a caricature, and between an official position.

Gh2: It is possible that one...UI.

UM: People...

Sh: You can go meet a congressman in your name, in Omar Yehya's name, in the name of the Association's present and tell him, "...UI doesn't represent us. Mr. Ahmad Yasin represents us".

Gh2: You cannot say that...

UM2: See what they're saying about Clinton, what they're saying about his father and what they say about...

Sh: The point you presented which is..., which is withdrawing..., attacking his credibility as a representative and a leader of the Palestinian people. But, I tell you that we don't want the American front to become a front for direct conflict. These things will put us in direct conflict, not only with the Palestinians, even with the official government circles. What is our benefit, what is our interest? As Palestinian action organizations in America, what is our benefit in creating more enemies than necessary? What is the interest that... Are you going to win the Palestinian cause if this guy who works at McDonald's, the worker who works there for \$4.00/hour, understands whether Abou Ammar represents us or not? Or the congressman, if you explain this situation to him that he is...UI and doesn't represent the Palestinian people, is he going to tell you, "Yes, by God, you convinced me"? Despite that, everything goes as planned. The point is that we are not going to expose ourselves to another wave and be anti-establishment, anti-establishment. Ok? Because, for the American organizations, if you're against peace, you're a terrorist. When you start attacking Abou Ammar, his leadership, the people who signed and attended and arranged their affairs with..., such as a Saudi person who attacks the Saud family and say that he is not a ruler. My brother, let him...

UM: Ok. Amazing. But, brother, please finish.

[UI brief group talk].

Ga: There are organizations which work in America. They're legal and...UI.

Om: If you please, if you please, if you please...

[UI brief group talk].

UM: Brother Sharif and then...

Sh: You voted, my brother, we are just opening the door for discussion once more...UI.

UM: Yes, yes. Brother Sharif, yes.

Ss: We..., I mean, I, as an American organization here don't want my government and my president to put his hand and sign a deal with the wrong people. Consequently, I speak up out of that reason which is being keen on my country, my president and its dignity with the people he claimed to represent.

Om: *[Laughter]* You...UI the American president and then comes Sheik Sharif to say...UI this is your president. "Oh, are you American?" *[Laughter]*.

Sh: Because he wants him to face reality. He wants him to face reality [Laughter]. Don't they know that Assad is hated by his people? Why don't they heed his example, my brother?

UM2: It is a different country, my brother.

UM: Ok. We mentioned..., we mentioned...UI Abou Ammar. We will add it in the suitable manner which doesn't bring harm to..., which doesn't bring harm to the Palestinian people's reputation. Ok, the second point which is opening a political office and public relations in Washington. Its goals are: One, presenting our point of view to the American political and media organizations and winning friends and supporters. Two, coordinating..., coordination in political alliances. You want someone who is active with these people as the Association is busy with many other tasks and stuff like that. Three, it represents... Yeah, we mentioned it. It should represent the point of view of...

Ss: It expresses the point of view...

UM: Yes, yes. It passes along our suitable point of view to this segment, just to give an example. I mean, this office is... If the AMC serves goals, it also achieves the goals. We want one like it, the same function, but one which achieves our goals.

Ga: An international conference for solidarity with the Palestinian people will be held, an international Islamic conference, most probably in Malaysia.

UM: Over here is more important than Malaysia.

Ga: Here is more important. I know.

UM: Over here will serve them and serve us.

Ga: ...UI an international one. It won't be local...UI.

UM: I know. We're saying that. But, if they adopt it and contribute in sending the invitations out... I mean, if they adopt it...

Ga: The issue of sending the invitations out is not... It is an administrative issue.

UM: No, it is not an administrative issue, my brother. I mean, when you..., when you go to the Sheik and tell him, "So and so person is inviting you" is different from telling him that...

UM2: He will decline just to...UI.

Sh: Who is going to adopt it?

Gh: I admire the idea very much.

Sh: He is saying, "Samah should adopt it". We..., what is our relationship with Samah?

UM2: We are not going to tell the other people that is held in Samah's name.

Sh: Are you going to tell them that Samah is holding it? And invite the scholars in Samah's name.

[UI brief group talk].

UM: ...because this will serve them indirectly.

Gh: They're having an international conference, men.

Sh: Who is going to be the hosting agency in America? ..

UM2: Samah. Samah.

Sh: The invitations, then, are going out in Samah's name. They will say that they came to America in order to...

[UI brief group talk and laughter].

Sh: That's it. For instance. This is the thing. These are the Americans. If you want the Americans, I see that you're hurting the cause instead of helping it because the Americans..., they are people who don't really realize the dimension we're speaking about. If you want the Islamic community, the weight of the Islamic community is not in America but in the Orient. Therefore, if this conference was held in the Orient, its psychological and Islamic impact will much deeper than its impact at the community's level in America. This is what I see. If you want to go through the expenses the trouble anyway, do it in the Orient...

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 Os = Osama (NFI)
 Ay = Ayman Sharawi
 Ha = Haitham Maghawri

Audio file: MTGB 19931003 1.WAV

Sh: ...He told me to apologize on his behalf to the brothers in case anyone misunderstood his sermon yesterday. Some of the brothers got upset and thought that the Sheik meant them with his talk. He did not mean anyone among you. He was just giving a sermon and no more. He is apologizing in advance. May God have mercy on a time when one has to apologize for his sermon. Now, our brothers, the purpose of this session...

UM: ...One of the speakers....UI [*Laughter*] We need..., we need an objective side who takes down the notes so that we can..., we can make corrections and modifications and stuff like that. Would you like to be the one taking down the...

UM2: No. One from the...UI.

Mu: I'll do it if you like.

Sh: Yes, by God. You are an honest writer... [Laughter].

UM: O' brother Muin [laughter].

Sh: Our brothers, let us be very, very clear regarding the goals of this session in order not to get off course. This session is not necessarily the summary of what was said in the previous sessions, meaning that it is not the summary of the meeting notes, but rather it is a summary of what was mentioned in these sessions in service to the main purpose for which we met, i.e. guiding the organizational work in America in light of the latest developments and, henceforth, trying to conclude to draw strategies or - at least - general guidelines, guidelines for these organizations in their inputs, addresses to the people and their methods of work. This is the goal. Based on that, the brothers who presented papers and mentioned many points in them..., not every point mentioned will be brought up here. There are points which will not be brought up at all. As much as possible, we tried to mention the issues on which there is a near unanimous agreement, while the issues which have not been discussed yet and which were still being debated will be brought up in the form of a question or an inquiry in order to vote on them and reach recommendations. We then expect from this session that there will be a discussion of some of the issues which have not been scheduled yet. But, we don't want a debate on every issue. This is very important. We start, God's willing, with the conclusions of the first session. What title did the first session have, Ghassan? Please allow me to moderate the session in a manner which keeps people awake with me. Ghassan Saleh, what was the title of the first session, my brother?

Gh2: Er..., analysis of the political..., the political reality...

Sh: ...and its ramifications...

Gh2: On the reality in America.

Sh: Ok, the points which were mentioned, our brothers, are as follows. The summary of the issues is... What is needed is points, bullets, all of it.
- It is needed to work towards bringing the goals of the agreement to failure. This will be done by focusing on the principle that forming the infrastructure of the [Palestinian National] Authority is refused as this will move the conflict circle from its true core, or brings the conflict out of the true core which is the traditional one. Therefore, goals of the project are the one we should work to bring to failure. This is one point. Another point is that the credibility of those overseeing the project must be attacked. Three, avoiding any kind of conflict on the

American arena as this arena is not an arena for direct conflict.

-The [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] is not an opposition party, but rather an organization which works in America and expresses its point of view and that of its public.

- Internal conflict is inevitable and we must prepare ourselves for that, for that.

- The conflict hasn't been formatted yet and we have to work diligently in order to formulate its final shape or form.

- Goals of work must be re-examined..., in the form of questions....: Should most of the effort be focused on firmly establishing the organizations in America and focusing on the U.S. front or should the focus be mainly on the domestic front with a 50/50 ratio, or 75% and so forth?

- In the coming period, the organizations must work to fulfil basic needs of the Movement in the areas of specializations such as journalism, law, politics, media, education and investment.

- Our strategy in combating the peace project must be based on the utmost the project can accomplish so that we are not surprised with developments and are unprepared.

- The Islamists must be highlighted as the alternatives, the alternative option.

- Thinking about opening new specialized organizations which are capable of dealing with any new reality, or with the new reality.

- Working to elevate people's morales by forming a human bridge from and to Palestine, meaning through visits and delegations.

- The issue of Jerusalem must remain fundamental through the old creedal and Sharia address .

- Work must be done to make America a support for the inside by organizing relationships between the organizations. America and the inside.

- Building a community first and big focus on non-Muslims is a waste of time.

UM2: Excuse me, excuse me... what was the last phrase, by God?

UM3: We didn't agree on that one.

Sh: Not an agreement. This was one of the issues... One of them was building the community first. I believe it is a part of the issue of whether the focus should be on America or not America. It is a secondary item. Building a community first and large focus on non-Muslims in a waste of time. I don't say that we have agreed on this one. We will vote in a little bit.

UM2: Yes, we will vote.

Sh: Er... There are three options which were presented as far as the organizations are concerned; one, the first option is serving the Movement on the inside. Two, building the strength of the community, focusing on work in America. Three, marrying the two while keeping the departments separate and specialized. America represents five axes for work; to be a safe place for the Movement, utilizing the capabilities of the community for work on the inside, not only on the American front, using the front as a pressure element on the inside front, securing the human services we mentioned before, five; leading the Palestinian political current in America. Our Islamic action organizations should be the ones which lead the action and they are the ones which cast credibility on themselves and make themselves the credible authority in regards to the Islamic point of view of the cause of Palestine. These are almost all the issues which were mentioned. There might be some issues which were mentioned by the brothers in a different format but this is the core of the first session. Er..., now, would you like to say a point and then vote on it, Abou Mohamed, or should we proceed? Or is there another point of view and we should open the door for discussing them. Most of the issues mentioned had near unanimity. I will give you an example. What is needed is to work to bring the goals of the agreement to failure on the basis that beginning to form the infrastructure for the Authority is rejected as a principle and that the agreement takes the conflict out of its true core. Is everybody agreeing to this understanding?

UM: I see that it is not clear. I see that there are words which are...

Sh: Fine. Its practical application, my brother, will be done through the work of the organizations, through the political and the media address. It will come later. But, as an idea, there is an inclination that the project should not pass without us trying as much as possible to bring it and its goals to failure and highlight the issues which were mentioned..., mentioned as examples. We don't need to detail them, but issues such as focusing on human rights, focusing on refugees rights, camps and stuff like that, that these are issues...

UM: ...which render the agreement weak.

Sh: ...the right to resist the occupation, all of these issues will be dropped by the agreement. It takes the cause out of its traditional essence, the essence we are accustomed to.

As: I see that there is a contradiction in the order of the sentence, between work and the result. You speak about bringing failure and then the result you speak about..., *[there is contradiction]* between the result and the method. The result is the failure but the method we are talking about is the principle of building the infrastructure. There is a contradiction; if you're ...UI about bringing failure, we tried to avoid the word "bringing failure" during our talk yesterday because we don't work on that basis. Thus, we can think

of another word to be in harmony with meaning of this sentence. For example it could be "hindering or opposing or..." or something of the sort.

Sh: Fine. Our brothers, the wording..., these wordings are... Let us stay within the general spirit. As for these wordings..., this issue is not... We are not writing bylaws right now.

UM2: The words "bringing failure" are serious words to say.

Sh: Fine, fine. I agree with you. There was a discussion around the expression "bringing failure" and some of the brothers said that we cannot bring failure, but that the issue is that we should try to cast doubt on the credibility of the project.

UM: In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Regarding the issue, please just let me say something small.

Sh: Fine.

UM: The issue of opposing it, no doubt that it will be through our public. I mean, it is not going to be with... because the agreement...er, because endorsement took place. I mean, for us to tell them to void the endorsement or...UI is not... But, the issue will be that our public will reject it and, consequently, they will not be able to claim democracy and stuff like that. This, at least, is my understanding. I mean, this will happen more with our public or our people who won't grant them confidence and, consequently, they won't be able to accomplish anything and their efforts will go in vain. I believe that yesterday's presentation..., one of the ideas which were discussed, was the issue of addressing it, not based on the fact that we won't approve it as long as there is no plan there is no..., but from its Sharia aspect of it which is the...UI. I mean, this is not lawful from the Sharia point of view. Therefore, there must be a stress on this meaning with our public in order to really be able to withdraw the carpet 100% from under their feet leading to their failure.

Sh: There is..., there is..., our brothers, there is a reference to the creedal and the Sharia aspects to the issue. It is there.

UM: The issue of Jerusalem, if you want to specify it...

Sh: If we are going to delve into the final wording we won't..., we won't... We are talking about the spirit of the understanding, that is. When I say "Jerusalem address", it is not reasonable that...

UM: But, I..., I'm talking about the original aspect in its way...

Sh: Ok, fine.

UM: I mean, when I address my public..., I mean that now I am a Palestinian, a refugee who believe in the principle and stuff like that, I might be deceived if the money started to come in tomorrow and go along with them as they wish. But, if I know that the Sharia aspect originally forbids me to reconcile with them, it will make me more..., I mean I won't make me more agreeable if I see the money.

Sh: Our brothers, in the media paper there...

UM2: The political address.

Sh: The political address. Our brothers, remember..., remember the title of the first session. I'm summarizing the first session for those who were not here. The ramifications on the...

UM2: The ramifications on the U.S. front.

Sh: The summary of the discussion. So, they are all..., they are all big cliches, that is. As for the practical applications in media and press..., in charity work, I believe that you will find more elaborate talk. But, we are talking about the essence. Yes.

UM3: If we continue in this manner, my brother,... it is not right...UI. For instance, we can say "Working to bring this project to failure". This is the headline. You then explain its contents and that's it. There is no need to go into details at the same time.

Sh: Fine. Im explaining one thing to the brother. Anyway, let's proceed in this manner because, really,... Brothers, let's bear each other and let's not speak about wording. Let's talk about the essence of the cause. I didn't even try to proof-read the grammar or the linguistic rules or anything. Only the essence of it. Fine. This..., this is just in order to show you that there was a unanimity on the issue. No one objected to the idca as an idea.

UM2: Abou Mohamed, you are talking about the ramifications. But, you started talking about actions and stuff like that. The wording indicate...UI. It is as if you're criticizing the point they're talking about. Each time a brother interjects you tell him that this will come in the next point. We're at the ramifications, the impact. Let's stay on that. I mean, you're talk is about the ramifications and not actions.

Sh: Fine, fine. But..., but, still bear me. I feel that we're talking about the format now. All the talk, if you remember the talk in the first session, the brothers objected and said "Man, all you talk about is the situation. You didn't talk about the U.S. front and what we can...". So, all of this talk, by the way, is pertaining to the U.S. front. So, you interpret it the way

you want. When we say "Avoiding any kind of direct confrontation on the U.S. front", this is our understanding of the ramifications of the situation. When we had a discussion, we understood that if we escalate the situation on the U.S. front, there will be big problems which are not in our favor. So, anyway you look at it, we will understand that within a certain frame at the end. As far as the practical applications, each organization will program this talk. Ok. Fine. This means that we record this [remark], right? I will record it and we will...UI at the final meeting minutes. Ok, there was another inclination, our brothers, which is that we must attack or..., that it is recommended to attack the credibility of those overseeing the project...UI in their personal credibility, their loyalty to Islam, their loyalty to the homeland or others. There was an inclination for that, an inclination.

UM: ...UI to the brothers that it should not be written, but if there is going to be any sort of attack it should not be by...UI talk. I mean, the issue of the secret agreements which are being published are...

UM2: This is related to the political address.

Sh: No, keep this..., keep this for later.

UM: It is an example the brothers want to publicize and publish but, who is sure of its authenticity? I mean, the word came of the Popular Front and the Democratic who said that the Russian delegation team in Russia had...UI. But, who is sure of its authenticity while we're publishing it. This will lessen our credibility as we keep publishing stuff that no one is sure of. Tomorrow, they will tell you that all of your talk is of that kind.

Sh: Clear. Our brothers..., our brothers... Clear.

UM: You want to attack the credibility, you shouldn't make up stuff and shouldn't say that his wife bought this and did that.

Sh: The best of talk is what is short and informative. Clear. Because we are not opening the discussion door once again. This is generally speaking, generally speaking. Is there an acceptance from our brothers that the media apparatus take charge of..., or start exposing the vices of those people using documents, evidences and proofs?

UM: Please allow me.

Sh: Yes.

UM: if the media apparatus focused on Sharia issues in nullifying the project, its lack of

credibility or the objection to accepting it, and focused on the other side which is the illegality of representation of the Palestinian people without mentioning names, it will be better. I mean, keep these two points a basis without mentioning names as it is not Islamic mannerism to mention names.

UM2: We have two good points.

Sh: Let's vote on them because this is clear.

UM2: There is just a small remark...

Sh: Ah, Ah, Ah.

Ga: We started a new stage of cooperation between the different...UI we would know the reason for the cooperation. If things are to be given their proper names, you are making people ignorant, practically. You're contributing to a campaign to make people ignorant. Now, you should be giving something its proper name and not a different name unless this naming creates a political problem. I don't think we will be less courageous than the children of Fatah themselves who cuss Abou Ammar and calling him bad names. It is not reasonable. We don't cuss and call bad names. We provide criticism to names and positions and stuff like that and do that directly. The chairman, the Arafat clan and the non-Arafat clan, the things which are known.

UM: I didn't mean this stuff when I spoke. I mean that you can tear Arafat apart from the Sharia aspect and tear him apart from the aspect of his representation of the Palestinian people. But, if I say, "By God, his wife is this or his wife is that. This guy is drunk and this one is alcoholic...", these things are not fit..., are not fit for an Islamic media to say.

Sh: Ok, fine, fine. I mean, let's stay on our talk, our brothers, please. Let's assume that there is a minimum..., that there is a minimum understanding with our working brothers, and that there is a minimum line of Sharia understanding. In every point let's not keep stressing the alphabets of issues which people have agreed on. Ok? What we say, let's repeat the wording, attacking the credibility of those overseeing the project if we avoid what the Sharia prohibits us from and other things.

UM: Yes.

Sh: Is there a discussion in that point? Ok. A sensitive point; shielding the U.S. front any forms of confrontation...

UM: direct...

Sh: ...direct confrontation with the other groups. Confrontation, of course, some people will say what is the meaning of confrontation? What is the meaning of confrontation? Is it clear?

UM: Clear.

Sh: We attach it to another point which is that the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] as a political and a media organization is not an opposition party in America, but it is an organization which works in America as an American organization and expresses the point of view of its public. But, it should not be a political opposition party. Is there an agreement on that? Stay with me...

[Brief UI group talk].

UM: An important point; Nabil Shaath is coming..., coming to deliver lectures in New Jersey and stuff. Attending the lectures..., in order for him to feel that there are people who are opposed to him..., definitely some of the people who attend will be...UI. So, attending a lecture of a guy like that, he must get the notion that some of the attendees are opposed to his words, to the agreement. So, this is the confrontation, this is considered a confrontation.

UM2: It is not a strong confrontation.

UM1: What do you mean "strong confrontation"?

UM2: ...UI.

Sh: No. We know. It is clear. We live in a democratic atmosphere, don't we? We express our point of view. But, if..., if..., if this group...UI from Texas came up and, instead of expressing his point of view, carried a chair or carried a table and hit Nabil Shaath with it, this is not acceptable. So, there are..., there are...

UM2: ...UI but it is not acceptable [Group laughter].

Sh: It is good, it is good but not acceptable. That is what is meant, my brother. But, if... I believe the talk is clear; internal conflict is inevitable, this is a difficult talk to format but, anyway, conflict in this concept is understandable. Internal conflict is inevitable and we must prepare ourselves for that. Some said that it is a matter of time and..., in other words, we must not delay the conflict.

UM: ...UI.

Om: There is no place for that.

Sh: There is no place for that. We just say that it is a certain conviction.

UM: It serves one purpose which is that we should prepare ourselves on the media front as the conflict is coming. That's it.

Sh: Ok. The same issue; the conflict hasn't been formulated yet and we must work diligently to contribute to the final formation..., all of these are general understandings. Ok. Goals of work must be re-examined but this is a point with no debate. Should most of the effort be focused on stabilizing the organizations in America and focusing on the U.S. front or should focus be on the domestic front? This refers to the talk that we just mentioned; should the organizations exist to serve the Movement inside or they should be - in the first place - exist for building a strong community, a politically active one, one which we use and establish our roots in America, or should we marry the two aspects to maintain balance between this and that in a manner which does not threaten the strength of the...UI organizations and, at the same time, does not take away from the inside Movement's right to benefit.

Om: The third solution is the...

Gh: Combining...

Sh: Huh?

Om: The third solution is the easiest one. Everyone will pick it. Combining both which means that you will remain in the middle. You won't be here or there.

UM: But, there is no contradiction between your work here and your work over there.

Om: Yes, there is a contradiction.

UM2: You adopt their causes over there to defend them and to prove the credibility of your work in America.

Sh: One suggested a point saying; "...keeping in mind that they maintain different departments", and this will solve the contradiction issue. For instance, I have a community department, Americans department. This brother has no relationship at all with the person who works at the community department, for instance, this brother..., and it can be kept that way. And this is just in order to solve the problem.

UM: Allow me... I believe that, with respect to the point of view, you are somewhat limited. If you are going to be present on the U.S. front, you are not going to be present at the community's level only. Expect yourself to be present at the community's level, at the American people's level, at the official organizations' level...

Sh: This is what I'm saying.

UM: Yes, that is it.

Sh: We were just giving an example that you are serving the American reality you're in and, at the same time, the needs of our brothers in the inside. The U.S. reality with all its circumstances. Some people even suggested that when the reality gets bigger we should be establishing specialized organizations.

UM: This is a...

Sh: Yeah, this was mentioned. So, the brother said *[form]* specialized departments and even specialized organizations.
...UI *[Laughter]*. So, our brothers, should we give ten more minutes to discuss the issue or is it clear?

Om: Let's see who is for and who is against and then we do...UI.

UM: And then we fight, right?

Sh: Who is for..., let me say it in the way it was presented. Who is for, let's say, having the organizations in America focus the majority of its attention, 75% of it, to supply the needs of our the inside? 75% of our efforts at the expense of the growth of the organizations in America, its contacts and expansion among the American communities and others and the Islamic ones. This was the question, one of the options presented, that the basis for our work is to serve the inside. We don't have a relationship with the American public and neither are we working to settle the Dawa, settle the Association or the Fund.

UM2: But, I don't understand the question. What do you mean?

Sh: I'm summarizing the words which were said. Do you want me to repeat all that was said before?

UM2: No, when you say "75% to serve the inside...".

Sh: This is what was mentioned, my brother.

UM2: If you're supporting like you say..., if you're supporting the inside directly. I mean, the fact that you collect money and give it to them, this is the only direct thing you do. Everything else will be indirectly.

Sh: I will give you an example. Abou Mohamed, in your belief, how do you describe the way the Association is going now? Yesterday, our brothers,... Even the brother who submitted a request of 50/50 and 75, how do you divide work? Do I now..., just so that the brothers are aware and we have a measurement..., a tool of measurement. What are the percentages of work for the cause in regards to the Association?

Om: I believe that we are a service organization for the inside. All of our work is for Palestine. All of the work for Palestine is 75-25, 75% for the inside...

Sh: 75% service for the inside. Yes.

Om: Directly and indirectly. But, what is important is our plan or our path we're following, the line we're taking is that we are influenced with the inside. We're influenced by it directly, secondly, we react with its events everyday. Consequently, we don't have time to make events in America and react with them.

Sh: Ok. Our brother, Abou Ahmad.

Aa: Our brothers, I don't know how we are going to separate between serving the community and serving the inside. When we established these organizations, we wanted to mobilize the community to serve the inside. So, when we follow up the news of the homeland everyday, the goal is to make the community follow up news of the homeland every day in order for it to be engaged with it in regards to the media, political and financial aspect, the donations. So, I don't know that there is a separation between the two issues. We exist to serve the inside. How do we serve the inside? We connect people to the inside through news, through an event, through what is going on. There is no separation between us. I mean, the inside cannot be served without us living with the community. Where do we get the money? Whom are we going to work with?

Om: The point I wanted to say is that the community here doesn't want to just serve the inside. It has problems. It has some inclinations. Are you going to serve it or you're going to tell them, "I just want you to serve the inside. I bring you news, donate money to me. I bring you this, you send your son to visit".

Aa: I don't think that the community expects the Holy Land Fund will open a school for it.

Om: Not the Fund.

Aa: The Association, for instance. I don't believe...

Sh: ...UL

Aa: Let me finish... I mean, for any aspect or any project, I expect that the community will ask that from the Islamic centers which exist around them to serve them in their needs. But, for you to expect that the community... And this is already there, that the community never said that the Association wants a donation or that the Fund wants a donation and never gave us anything because they know..., that is it..., they know..., they are..., that this Association or these organizations working for Palestine are organizations from them to Palestine. They are not going to serve them on the land of America. He expects the Islamic center or the mosque to serve them in this field.

Sh: Ok. Could we try to get out of this deadlock by saying that..., that in order not to add more to this and in order to be practical that..., to keep the balance while..., let's add a point to it, while forming specialized departments if needed. I mean, either in the form of future specialized organizations or in the form of specialized departments.

UM: Allow me.

Sh: I'm just marking this in order to...

Om: I believe that the idea is not clear now.

UM2: Yes, I was going to say the same thing.

UM: Give it some time. It is not clear.

Sh: You need more time?

UM2: I expect that brother Abou Mohamed explain to us what are the things which we are expected to cover in the community because the vision represented by brother Abou Ahmad is correct. The Association was originally formed to support Palestinian work on the inside and to connect the community with the inside. So, we will look at anything which helps the community in this direction because it achieves our long-term goal. So, you give us examples you're talking about and, in light of that, we determine the things we will do.

Om: Yes. I will give you...

UM2: Give us examples on what we need.

Om: Ok, an example, I will give you one example. An example from the current situations and the previous situations, should we have an organization, or should it be among our services to make available to the community an attorney, two or three in case there is something on you..., if you get into a problem in your house here, you can call us to send you the attorney to defend you. If, for example, there is a problem with a Palestinian group in X city and the media keeps attacking them, are we going to defend them, or the Muslims, that is. Of course, it will be in the form of Muslims while the majority of them could be Palestinians. Is it our job to go defend them and to direct them how to defend themselves against the media? Or is all we do is to come to you, hold a festival, collect the money and leave and you let the Islamic center handle this kind of work. So, I will give you an example, the ADC serves the Arab community in America. How? They tell you that anyone is harassed or discriminated against, racial discrimination or anything of the sort, call us and we will defend you. A person who has a problem with the immigration can call them and he goes to them and they solve the problem for him. A person against whom there is a certain case, they interfere and take care of it for him. Two, they inform him of his rights and duties in this country and they tell him, "You're a citizen here. You have this and that right. This and that is charged against you. Beware of this person and that person". We don't do that now. This is what I mean, are we supposed to develop and do things like that so that the community feels that we're defending them, that the Association is an extension to the community and say that it serves the community in addition to over there, or are going to remain as we are, for instance, and expect the Islamic centers to perform these services or the Arabic organizations now. We now need them and we're only..., we only do the activities..., like they say we are the platform to support Palestine through. I mean, if someone wanted to support Palestine, all he needs to do is to contact the Fund to send the money to it or purchase our newspaper and, consequently, read our news and Palestine's news. We are a liaison between them and Palestine. This is what I suppose.

UM: You're saying that the ADC is...UI

UM2: It is true that there is a contradiction between the first point you spoke about, the issue about working to abort the agreement and this point about working for the inside. What is right is that we should be working for the inside with very high intensity but change our understanding of working for the inside. What is supposed to happen is that the orphans, the charitable organizations, this and that..., the ones which are..., become a burden on the shoulders of those who wish to govern over there. Our direction in the inside ought to be very specific. It should be an economic direction which creates work opportunities for the Islamists on the inside and an economic might on the inside. We should not be spending money on orphans and this and that and assist the self-rule to succeed.

Sh: But, you're straying away for the subject.

UM2: No, no. You're talking about work on the inside in the assistance issue.

UM: No, no. We're talking about political action, media action.

Sh: We're talking about your effort in America and how you should distribute it.

Om: And most of it is done through the Association and not as a charity organization, not as an organization which raises money for Palestine... *[Brief UI group talk]*.

Sh: There is a point which came up relating to the issue of being a synonymous to...

Aa: As long as we have organizations, my brother, the organizations..., the organizations has their bylaws and regulations which determine their goals and means. So, that's it. We go along with the bylaws, goals and means and that's it. Now, for example, I have the Fund, it is clear what is the goal of the Fund. Good? If I want to give more emphasis on serving the Occupied Territories over another issue, this is something that is up to the bylaws and those overseeing the Fund. But, for me to...

Om: The Fund is an example and not a... The Association is a better example.

Aa: I referred to it... The Association or...

Sh: No, there is a talk, there is a talk that the Fund might start serving the Islamic communities. There is a talk going on.

Aa: My brother, I must say that, generally speaking and regardless of what these organizations are, I say that these matters must be controlled by the bylaws and the laws because even others when they hold you accountable, they will hold you accountable through them.

UM: We can change the laws and the bylaws.

Aa: What?

UM: We can change them.

Aa: If you want to change them, I want then to say something. In truth, we must pay attention to..., I mean, we have a priority to work for the inside here in America. This priority is very important in order for us to dart and move forward in regards to any beneficial thing relating to the outside, to stabilize work on the inside...

UM: By "the inside", you mean...

Aa: In America, my brother, yes.

UM: America or inside Palestine?

Aa: No, America. That means we must have a prestige and a strength at America's level. Through this strength and this prestige we can take action in any situation and in any movement we present to the people outside America. But, I still see that these matters need to be made official.

Om: But, how about the idea itself as an idea...

Aa: What is important for me in the organizations is for them to be strong on the inside.

Om: Say "in America" and not "the inside" because we take "the inside" to mean Palestine.

Aa: In America, that is, in America. Also, also, we must see the communities residing here as a priority.

Om: Meaning that our priority should be the community and not the...UI.

Aa: Yes.

Aa: There are two reasons for that...

UM: Why don't you say 50/50?

Aa: It is possible...

Om: It is a compromise...

UM: We work here because we live in this country and, if we lose this community, people will not trust us.

Sh: Ok, our brothers, just in order..., just so that we give every brother his turn... There are people who have their hands raised. Ghassan, let's hear your voice.

Gh: I believe that we must have strong organizations; the Association will not be able to pay its expenses at the end of the month or pay for Al Zaytouna...

Sh: ...UI.

Gh: It won't support the inside but you still don't want it to turn into a specialized organization like the ADC. The ADC is already existing and its name is the Anti-Discrimination Committee and stuff like that...

Om: ...UI

Gh: Yes. So, this is their goal; the cases and stuff like that. The Association should not turn into... So, you want strong organizations in America and the Association must be a strong organization and its strength will come from its connection with the Arab, Muslim and Palestinian community in America and the strength of the relationship with it and stuff like that. But, I believe that the main goal is to serve the Palestinian cause over there. But, how are you going to serve it if there isn't a strong organization. I don't see a contradiction or... We can phrase it this way: "We must strengthen our organizations as much as possible in order to serve the Palestinian cause and the people inside as much as possible".

Om: If the issue is a financial issue, there is another way out. Why would you work in America? Go to the Gulf, get donations, for instance, or find millions and keep working and keep serving the outside without you changing your direction. This is a direction. Change your direction without changing... If the issue is the financial strength of the organization. This like what ISNA and the [Muslim Arab Youth] Association used to do. Go now and see what happened when the money stopped.

Sh: Our brothers, is it possible..., few minutes so that we can finish this point. Allow me to rephrase the question so that we understand this point. It looks like there is a misunderstanding in the phrasing.

UM: Abou Mohamed, Shukri. The issue is not phrasing. In truth, excuse me, as an organization here, we have several Islamic organizations as synonyms for this organization. So, in my belief, these organizations ought to play different role. For instance, you don't go to the Kashmiri Fund and ask it to work on a harassment case in America, but you come to the AIPAC which is in New Jersey to work on a case of harassment of Muslims and others. So, in my belief, the issue is specialization for these organizations. It is a very important issue and, based on it, we now have..., the work of the Group now encompasses six or seven organizations because each organization has a purpose to fulfil. So, really, if we have a direction..., it doesn't mean we're against serving the community in this country. But, I don't believe we were formed for this purpose in the first place. And, the purpose you're fulfilling to serve the Palestinian cause..., if you don't do it, no other person will do it. I mean, there are no other organizations among the existing ones will carry the banner of the Palestinian cause and adopt it. So, if you really deviate from your line and your goal for which this organization was formed, I expect that

you won't find a person who has the same way of thinking and who will serve your cause based on his program which is there to serve the Arabic community, for instance, such as the MAYA, or the Islamic community such as the ISNA.

Sh: Ok, quickly, my brother, so that we can finish.

Gh2: Yes. From the history of the Association in the past period of time it was very clear that anything happened in the inside was reflected on the reaction of the people and the community with the Association. Even before the Intifada, the Association was near dead. There was no hot issue to mobilize people for. The Intifada came and people reacted. We used to wait for any operation or any hot event to happen in the inside to issue statements, mobilize people and take advantage of it. But, I believe that the Association cannot continue to live like that. Let's suppose, God forbid, the state started, things quieted down...

Group: God forbid.

Gh2: ...and self-rule started...

Sh: Ghassan..., Ghassan. Brothers, pay attention and make your point as we need to finish this point.

Gh2: And I'm making my point that if things quieted down and the community's morale is down or calmed down. People won't react to the Association.

Gh: You will find work. Don't worry.

Gh2: The point is..., this is the point we want to..., should the Association go towards organizational work to serve the community in America because people check with you just in order to get news of the inside. They don't check with you for anything else, only when they want information about Palestine, only if they want to find out what happened inside, or what is your analysis for what happened. That's it. But, if nothing happens, nobody will look at you and nobody will call you. This is a reality we felt lately, during the Intifada. when the Intifada rises, we work, and when it calms down, we don't work much. These days, this is what has been going on with us. So, I imagine the point is that, yes, our work reflects on the inside and we must serve our people in the inside, but, for the Association's work to settle down in America, it must engage in organizational work to serve the community in America like the point Omar mentioned in regards to their rights, serving the community in regards to their children, serving the community in regards to their education. There are a lot of issues the Association must look at in order for people to see it as an organization which serves them. Otherwise, we won't be able to

receive support from them. We would have to continue to live on donations...

UM2: ...UI duplication of assignments.

Sh: Our brothers...

Gh2: L..., L..., my suggestion..., my suggestion is to increase the work ratio in America more than work which is a reflection of what happens inside.

Sh: Ok, Ok, Ok, fine, my brother. Stay with me. It looks like with the current phrasing we will have to stay here until the morning because there are a lot of issues which are not resolved. Let me ask you a question; how many of the brothers here see that the Association must now undergo a change, a major re-direction of its work mission. Our brother explained the nature of the current work. Who sees now a necessity for the Association to change the course of its work in a major way? Change its work, change the method of work and now we need to change the way the Association is working as the Association is not convincing to us. The Association must change its work method, its work axis in a fundamental way.

[UI group talk].

Sh: Brothers, how many? Is it satisfactory or not?

UM: Brother Shukri, just a point, by God, if you please.

Sh: Yes.

UM: My dear brother, in reality the issue is the work method and the direction..., the direction in itself. This is one point. The second point is the issue of strength and also the issue of direction based on the speeches we listened to. So, if the issue is the method and strength, this does not affect the direction.

UM2: Yes.

Sh: Ok. The Association's direction now, who sees that there is a need for change, that it must change the direction?

[UI group talk].

Sh: Our brothers...

UM: Just a second..., is discussion of the Association's issue independent from the Holy Land Fund in the...UI.

Sh: I will..., I will ask the same question...

UM: Please hear me out. Or does it mean Palestinian activism in America.

UM3: I think it is a good point.

UM: Right. Yes, yes.

Aa: You guys work independently. You're a one of the countries working for Palestine, no more.

Sh: Fine, fine. But, figuratively speaking...

Aa: You're like Saudi Arabia, like Kuwait, like the Emirates...

Sh: ...UI. What is Palestinian activism? Let's say..., our brothers, speaking figuratively and metaphorically is good...UI. I will ask the same question; who thinks that the Occupied Land Fund and Jerusalem need to have a very major change in its interests..., what is the word you said?

UM: Direction.

Sh: Direction. Later on, let every executive committee manage its business separately...

UM2: I can modify your suggestion to a gradual change to respond to the emergency needs of the community...UI.

Sh: Fine, fine.

UM2: No. There is a major difference between changing the direction and...

UM: Why? Because there are practical things such as tackling the community's problems due to a security or a political situation or respond to them through one of the Association's departments without changing the Association's fundamental nature, or through another organization like what our brother Ghassan suggested, an organization which is affiliated with the Association or synonymous to the Association like we said, this one will handle the political aspect while the other one handles the legal aspect. You see? People will know that it has a relationship with the Association but it is not directly from the

Association. The same thing...

UM2: The ADC is there.

UM: What?

UM2: The ADC is there.

UM: This is for example. This is subject to debate but it does not..., it does not..., it does not change the nature of the Association's approved goals...UI.

[UI brief group talk].

Om: I will cite another example.

UM: Yes, I'm saying there are a lot of examples.

Om: The media, for instance. At Al Zaytouna, do we write about the community in Chicago, its situation, what does it do and its work and the business it does? This is not our work. Our work is to report Gaza's news only and we knew about this guy in Chicago and we are not interested in his problems. His problems are...UI. This is one direction.

UM: This will bring us to the point our brother mentioned...UI.

Om: This is another example...

UM: No, no. We shouldn't approach the issue as a ratio for this and a ratio for that. This is wrong because you won't even be able to reach an accurate percentage. Work is the one which imposes itself and determines the percentage. Sometimes, there might be a need to give 75% to the community at some point in the future, give it 75%. But, the goal is to serve people over there because that is why the Association was formed. Just like our brother said, if you don't do it, no one else will.

Om: But, this is not ..., it is not a reason.

UM: It is not a reason. That's why I'm telling you we should have flexibility in regards to the ratios. Right now, the practical ratio might not exceed 25%, 30 or 40. But, your plan should include supplying the needs of the community to serve the fundamental goal you're working for. What do you... Why do all of us work for the community, the issue of the community and the issues they bring? Why is that? Because we want to unify this community over an issue, provide awareness to it and mobilize to serve the cause over

there. Otherwise, what do we want from the community in the first place?

UM2: And what do you want from over here, my brother?

Sh: By God, our brothers, I think that the issue is purely argumentative and that all this talk is meaningless. The Association is Ok...UI. Anyone of you would mind if the Association opens a section for the community tomorrow? Nobody. Anybody objected yesterday that the Association is initiating political and diplomatic relationships with the ADC, with the Americans, with the Congress and with the churches? Nobody did, our brothers. ...UI. Fine, there isn't an inclination with us for the Association does a swift change in its policies. That's what is important, our brothers.

Om: It should be done according to need.

Sh: That's it.

[UI brief group talk].

Sh: I knocked a little bit too hard so that the door...UI.

Gh: My brother, he is saying "That's wrong". Ok, what is his point of view? I don't understand.

Sh: Our brothers, we will not ever finish this way.

[UI brief group talk].

Sh: Whoever has convictions..., whoever has convictions, they should be outside the frame of this discussion. That's what I mean.

UM2: What..., what is the result of that, my brother?

Sh: The result is that this is the direction of the Association..., this is the direction of the Association and there is no need for it now to make any dramatic change in its philosophy or directions as a result or a reaction to the latest circumstances. That's what we're discussing.

UM: Good.

Sh: There is no need...

UM: This is the reaction...

Sh: Allow me to tell you something... *[phone ringing]*. The self-rule period..., when talk about self-rule started, we made a decision at the Fund that we must change our name. That was a dramatic change to change our name as a result as there was talk....

END OF RECORDING.

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 Mu = Muin (LNU)
 Ar = Abdel Rahman
 Ni = Nihad (LNU)
 Os = Osama (NFI)
 Ay = Ayman Sharawi
 Ha = Haitham Maghawri

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Sh: ... This session is not necessarily the summary of what was said in the previous sessions, meaning that it is not the summary of the meeting notes, but rather it is a summary of what was mentioned in these sessions in service to the main purpose for which we met, i.e. guiding the organizational work in America in light of the latest developments and, henceforth, trying to conclude to draw strategies or - at least - general guidelines, guidelines for these organizations in their inputs, addresses to the people and their methods of work. This is the goal.

...

Please allow me to moderate the session in a manner which keeps people awake with me. Ghassan Saleh, what was the title of the first session, my brother?

**GOVERNMENT
 EXHIBIT
 Philly Meeting-9E
 3:04-CR-240-G
 U.S. v. HLF, et al.**

Gh2: Er..., analysis of the political..., the political reality...

Sh: ...and its ramifications...

Gh2: On the reality in America.

Sh: Ok, the points which were mentioned, our brothers, are as follows. The summary of the issues is... What is needed is points, bullets, all of it.

- It is needed to work towards bringing the goals of the agreement to failure. This will be done by focusing on the principle that forming the infrastructure of the [*Palestinian National*] Authority is refused as this will move the conflict circle from its true core, or brings the conflict out of the true core which is the traditional one. Therefore, goals of the project are the one we should work to bring to failure. This is one point. Another point is that the credibility of those overseeing the project must be attacked. Three, avoiding any kind of conflict on the American arena as this arena is not an arena for direct conflict.
- The [*Islamic*] Association [*for Palestine*] is not an opposition party, but rather an organization which works in America and expresses its point of view and that of its public.
- Internal conflict is inevitable and we must prepare ourselves for that, for that.
- The conflict hasn't been formatted yet and we have to work diligently in order to formulate its final shape or form.
- Goals of work must be re-examined..., in the form of questions...: Should most of the effort be focused on firmly establishing the organizations in America and focusing on the U.S. front or should the focus be mainly on the domestic front with a 50/50 ratio, or 75% and so forth?
- In the coming period, the organizations must work to fulfil basic needs of the Movement in the areas of specializations such as journalism, law, politics, media, education and investment.
- Our strategy in combating the peace project must be based on the utmost the project can accomplish so that we are not surprised with developments and are unprepared.
- The Islamists must be highlighted as the alternatives, the alternative option.
- Thinking about opening new specialized organizations which are capable of dealing with any new reality, or with the new reality.
- Working to elevate people's morales by forming a human bridge from and to Palestine, meaning through visits and delegations.
- The issue of Jerusalem must remain fundamental through the the old creedal and Sharia address .
- Work must be done to make America a support for the inside by organizing relationships between the organizations. America and the inside.
- Building a community first and big focus on non-Muslims is a waste of time.

UM2: Excuse me, excuse me... what was the last phrase, by God?

UM3: We didn't agree on that one.

Sh: Not an agreement. This was one of the issues... One of them was building the community first. I believe it is a part of the issue of whether the focus should be on America or not America. It is a secondary item. Building a community first and large focus on non-Muslims in a waste of time. I don't say that we have agreed on this one. We will vote in a little bit.

UM2: Yes, we will vote.

Sh: Er... There are three options which were presented as far as the organizations are concerned; one, the first option is serving the Movement on the inside. Two, building the strength of the community, focusing on work in America. Three, marrying the two while keeping the departments separate and specialized. America represents five axes for work; to be a safe place for the Movement, utilizing the capabilities of the community for work on the inside, not only on the American front, using the front as a pressure element on the inside front, securing the human services we mentioned before, five; leading the Palestinian political current in America. Our Islamic action organizations should be the ones which lead the action and they are the ones which cast credibility on themselves and make themselves the credible authority in regards to the Islamic point of view of the cause of Palestine. These are almost all the issues which were mentioned. There might be some issues which were mentioned by the brothers in a different format but this is the core of the first session. Er..., now, would you like to say a point and then vote on it, Abou Mohamed, or should we proceed? Or is there another point of view and we should open the door for discussing them. Most of the issues mentioned had near unanimity. I will give you an example. What is needed is to work to bring the goals of the agreement to failure on the basis that beginning to form the infrastructure for the Authority is rejected as a principle and that the agreement takes the conflict out of its true core. Is everybody agreeing to this understanding?

UM: I see that it is not clear. I see that there are words which are...

Sh: Fine. Its practical application, my brother, will be done through the work of the organizations, through the political and the media address. It will come later. But, as an idea, there is an inclination that the project should not pass without us trying as much as possible to bring it and its goals to failure and highlight the issues which were mentioned..., mentioned as examples. We don't need to detail them, but issues such as focusing on human rights, focusing on refugees rights, camps and stuff like that, that these are issues...

Gh2: ... From the history of the Association in the past period of time it was very clear that anything happened in the inside was reflected on the reaction of the people and the community with the Association. Even before the Intifada, the Association was near dead. There was no hot issue to mobilize people for. The Intifada came and people reacted. We used to wait for any operation or any hot event to happen in the inside to issue statements, mobilize people and take advantage of it. But, I believe that the Association cannot continue to live like that. Let's suppose, God forbid, the state started, things quieted down...

Group: God forbid.

Gh2: ...and self-rule started...

Sh: Ghassan..., Ghassan. Brothers, pay attention and make your point as we need to finish this point.

Gh2: And I'm making my point that if things quieted down and the community's morale is down or calmed down. People won't react to the Association.

Gh: You will find work. Don't worry.

Sh: Allow me to tell you something... *[phone ringing]*. The self-rule period..., when talk about self-rule started, we made a decision at the Fund that we must change our name. That was a dramatic change to change our name as a result as there was talk....

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Ga: ...the agreement is disturbing, really. The most fronts which will be disturbed [*by it*] are the American and the European fronts. The majority of their work will be negatively affected until the identity is reformulated in America and Europe on that basis. It is important to note that activism for the Cause in America must be re-defined according to the changes. The current reality in the U.S. media and policy has changed. I'm talking about the formulation of the region and not the formulation of the Jews because that [*the agreement*] is in complete harmony with the American mentality, the logic and the address. And this is what happened over there...UI. So, you need to do something about the reality here and, based on this new thinking, we find that there are four principal points. The Palestinian community circle. It is the number one circle as far as activism for Palestine is concerned. I think that it will impatiently wait for concrete results to be achieved on the ground, in this stage. They will have questions and those among you who heard the talk shows about the Palestinians and...UI, have noticed that the community is doubting, some are supportive of the agreement and some are supportive of the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization, but they're in doubt about what could be achieved...etc. Then, waiting will be the factor in the...UI... and dominating tendencies in the Occupied Territories after they become clear...UI. For sure, there are...UI... in the point of view according to connection of the media in the [*Gaza*] Sector which is a

problem I hope we in America pay attention to now. People don't...UI much. The agreement is...UI. How many people have read it [*the agreement*]? One in every thousand? Very few minority did that. So, how do you expect these people to defend the future of the Movement and the Movement's position? If there was a rejection, how would he stand with the Movement? How? It is impossible. What is needed then is to have the Palestinian be aware of what is in the agreement. I said that an agreement written in five pages....UI. We barely read some of it. How about the general public?...UI. I imagine the media part plays a very important role in that issue. The second circle is the Arab and Islamic countries. It is, of course, the second circle for the Palestinian activism and...UI, adopting of positions first of all. Second, ...UI the Islamic current which is the dominant and the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization, which is the minor current and not a majority, and they [*The Arab peoples*] deal with it the same way like they deal with governments in their homelands. ...UI. They don't understand this or that, or know the difference between the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization and Hamas..., the Islamic Movement. What they understand is that this is a step towards...UI. They have two segments in my opinion; the first one is the generation which grew up and lived here, they are generally agreeable to the atmosphere now. They are against violence and...UI. The American media has been used and was employed to...UI, and God knows best. All of that is in favor of support to the agreement. The third circle includes the educated people; Palestinians, Arabs and Muslims. I'm not too worried about those as I believe that we are the most qualified to be...UI. Those are the ones who... stability and affirms our position in general terms. It is my opinion that this circle is the most important circle of activism for us. My opinion is that...UI, we should form alliances with them, form an agreement in opinion with them. They're the ones who...UI with the others. The fourth circle is the American people in general and it is a problem. This is a massive problem. I don't know what we are going to do with it, but... There are people who don't even know where Palestine is. I expect that he would support the project [*i.e. the agreement*] and call for it, use the media and legal...UI in order to show the different points of view to the American people. Consequently, these people understand the Palestinian Cause as a whole through the eyes of the [*Palestinian*] Liberation Organization and not through Hamas. The only sector which I believe will be educated and it is the small one in my opinion is the...UI sector which we could deal with. This the issue of the circles...UI. Work will be affected of course in my opinion in the same manner. In the beginning, you need a definition. Here are some examples for that. The...UI inside the Occupied Territories, it used to be "Take [*money*], spend and take for this and that". Now, all of that will change. Why is this going to change? Because..., first of all, what is going to happen inside the Occupied Territories? This is Arafat's method to interfere in everything relating to Palestinian activism. No Palestinian can enter Tunisia without a permission from the [*Palestinian*] Liberation Organization. What is the meaning of that? Also, the same thing was true before with Sudan and...UI. And the agreement is still in place until now. And [*the same*

thing with] Yemen until recently. They have a desire to control and dominate the whole human being, entirely, all of his character they want to control him in order to move and do whatever they want to him. How much more when it comes to money? Money coming to Palestine from America, from Saudi Arabia, from Europe or...UI, they want to control it in a very high level, in my opinion. This is one. Two, the change in the party which...UI. I'm saying that and I'm absolutely sure of it. The Arab governments now, do they allow unlimited financial assistance from foreign parties even to the poor and the needy? ...UI to Arafat and he [NFI] is more honorable than them. Much more. I saw Saddam Hussein and Arafat next to him is...UI, if he managed to rule and lasted. Based on that,...UI changes from a small scale to a full scale, from very small and limited things. This remains a possibility and is not for certain. I'm talking about possibilities we might face. The third thing is that the support allocated to alleviate the sufferings from the Palestinian people in all shapes in light of the existence of the international support will...UI, specially within the next five years. ...UI they pay a lot of money specially to a person who is not connected to the Islamic current or to ...UI. God knows best. The Palestinian tendencies will be towards the improvement of the [living] conditions. Every two to three weeks at the best estimate, they will talk about improvement in the unemployment, improvement for the students, economic improvement, the opening of a factory, the opening of a project, unemployment is down. This is the method they will use and America will give them an enormous help in that regards, in my opinion.

Sh: Yes.

Ga: America and the American...UI, in order to convince the people because everybody is convinced; the Americans are convinced and the Jews. People must...UI on the ground. They're happy, with the flag now, but the flag will last one week, two weeks or a month and what is after that? We need bread. This will be... The propaganda which will be spread will affect Hamas...UI in the meanwhile....UI. Are you going to collect a million? Not a million, for instance. The media and political support for the Cause in general terms, and to the rights of the Palestinian people specifically will be negatively affected in my opinion. Why? First, the organizations which work on these issues are American and they deal from the..., from America's mentality. A prominent example for that is the occupation. The U.S. government used to call it "occupation" and...UI, used to reject its measures and rejects this and that and used to call to the implementation of the Geneva agreement. This was the official America..., State Department and otherwise. It tried to...UI, because all became a United Nations so,...UI. You're no longer have the right to resist the occupation. All of that will be classified according to the American concept. There is no occupation now. There is an understanding and there are no weapons to be carried because there is no occupation to be fought. There is no more suffering because of the occupation. Suffering now is on the hands of the local government. This will be

classified as terrorism according to America. How are you going to do it? How are going to perform Jihad? How are you...UI? I believe we will face all of that and...UI. Following up on the issues of the self-rule should be on two axes. This is a problem in itself. And any role you play, you're an American-Palestinian organization in America...UI. You have the support, this and that from the Islamic current. The first axis you have to work on is the institutions of the self-rule as far as human rights and democracy are concerned in order to show that it is an undemocratic Authority. This is an open line for you, for instance. Also, analyzing the American sympathy and the sympathy of the...UI with it [The PNA]...UI, unfortunately, our approach will be the same in dealing with the Israeli government in America. You will notice. The second one relates to the final stage negotiations which is you trying to say that Israel is maneuvering, wants to postpone, plays the mouse game and is... UI from the Palestinians their legitimate rights. These are the options you have right now but, if you take a hostile stand towards the self-rule, I believe that there should be a harmony between the two approaches. I'm speaking in general terms until now and...UI. My expectations are...UI. The fourth matter is the support for the resistance to the occupation. As long as there is an occupation, there is no problem with the resistance. But, the resistance will remain. The option of resistance is determined; it will continue, without an end, with no going back, no matter how the circumstances, in all conditions and despite all options even the option of taking part in the self-rule. The resistance will continue...UI. This will be a true problem if you deal with the resistance which will continue to fight on even against the self-rule and they are in dire need for sympathy and dealing with them...UI and to form a segment of supporters for it. Because there is a problem. There are accumulations. You must formulate the position of the Palestinians and the Muslims here in America to support the resistance. Work must be in that direction. Ok. That's a problem by itself. In the same time, not falling under the accusations of terrorism and those who harbor terrorism or tend to according to the American...UI. How can we carry two...UI at the same time? This, really, is a true problem. The fifth and the last issue is the ongoing struggle inside Palestine. Of course, my personal opinion at least, is that the struggle is inevitable and postponement [of the struggle] is postponement and nothing more. And those who postpone [the struggle]...UI will be in a position of struggle and would be able to govern the struggle and protect his home, not to postpone. Those who postpone are the ones who...UI so that, when the struggle begins, they will...UI. The current position of the Islamic Movement is hesitant just like the brothers inside mentioned. There is fear, this and that and their position is hesitant. This is what will weaken it in the coming stage, but this is the only stage which...UI, while creating institutions,...UI, everything, factories, a seaport, building structures, camps, roads and sewer system, all of this is...UI. But, when Fatah does all that...UI, the issue is over. We don't go on strike or go out in demonstrations or fill the streets...UI. Out of that, this struggle is inevitable and will always face the Islamic activism to deal with. This vision will...UI. Now, the Islamists have retreated, I mean,

they marched backwards. If they advance...UI, the struggle is natural in the region...UI. Right now, the atmosphere in the region forces you to...UI. I believe that this is something which will solve a lot of the problems when it comes to the support of the people of truth, but based on the foundation of the national rights. I mean, we have to stand with the Islamists,...UI, but what is the problem? It is how to deal with this issue in your media, your official policy as an American organization. I believe it should be according to the foundation of the national rights of Palestine and their convictions and stuff like that, and through the West's political pluralism..., through political pluralism, intellectual pluralism and multiple program, specially...UI. In this occasion, a committee should be formed to intervene between the two sides should a confrontation occur. This is my personal opinion and I don't know...UI. My opinion

is that this will be a very important and positive initiative which has to do with forming a committee to intervene between the two sides to prevent a confrontation from occurring and to participate in a general national reconciliation inside the...UI. The reconciliation would be a national one and people on the inside will...UI, they will represent the truthful stand and they will say "No, nothing happened. This is a trivial [matter]" in front of the American public view, the Palestinian public view and the Islamic public view inside America. Of course, there are going to be some problems, some specific policies to deal with them; the bigger parts before the smaller part. In my opinion...UI. God the Almighty knows best. May God reward you.

Sh: God's willing, we will... May God reward you well. We have half an hour and we will finish at 1 o'clock. The program is as follows: Half an hour until 12 o'clock, then an intellectual ...UI with a discussion from 12-1, a break from 1-1:15 and...UI, [Laughter]. The second presentation...UI, it will be about charity work. So, discussion and dialogue is half an hour to an hour, my brothers, and let's go around from one [person] to another, each person a question in order to give a chance to the other brothers who... We want to guarantee... I want to... [Group laughter and talk. UI]. There is no legal violation in this method. I'm the one running the session [group laughter and talk. UI]. My brothers, there is a special break for tea. In an hour, God's willing.

As: ...UI as if they're about to come tomorrow and get us. I mean, I feel we incite this kind of talk. We, the media people, are the ones who..., our media is the one which give rise to this kind of talk among the people. I don't how dangerous this is. I feel that we're the ones who bring this up among the people. We say that we exist on the field. Yes, we're present...UI. Didn't they say that Hamas is this people [The Palestinians]. We are, then, a part of the people. Why are we...UI? I don't know why. We assist in spreading this kind of

ideas. I mean, we should not commit this mistake and say...er. They're the ones who are currently spreading these things now.

Sh: What Aboul Hasan is saying that we're giving them clues, that is. Even if they're not thinking about the matter, we're...UI. Let's see what our brother, Gawad, wants to say.

Ga: I think we should differentiate between the two issues; the media approach and the wrong approach. The things I spoke about are all facts and are all based on media tactics. I wouldn't say the stuff I said today...UI because you have to think the reaction of the people in the streets...UI. Some of the brothers who are on my side are afraid. Yes, some of the brothers are on my side. But, during the stage where we're establishing programs and plans, we shouldn't take matters...UI. Number one is the reality and it will be. There are available information...UI, that Abou Ammar has authorized his special forces to erect the gallows for the Movement in Gaza. This is one. Two, Fatah...UI, they used to be persecuted, on the run and locked up like you, I mean, in jails. That is what...UI, in the jails there just like you. How about when they have authority, an...UI, a flag, an army, money and a job, jobs and ID's. What do you expect will happen? They will be murderous criminals, my brother. Even the doctors among them. Doctors among them have criminal mentalities. The first thing...UI. I'm telling you the truth. This is not something they could hide in order to...UI. My personal opinion is that confrontation is inevitable within no more than a year of the Authority [*i.e. self-rule*]. No more than one year. We have one of two options; we either take a stand of caution and work according to it as a program, a method, a way and a system, and the other [*party*] will also prepare himself at the same level, even stronger and the struggle which will happen during this year will...UI, or we prepare for the struggle from now and finalize the matter from now. All of this is...UI.

Sh: The point our brother Aboul Hasan presented might be directed to the brothers in the media [*field*]. The question presented by our brother Aboul Hasan should be rephrased in order to come up with the conclusion. Do you think it is wise to have our private media begin to circulate and go ahead of the events and discuss the possibility of police harassment, the arrest of the honorable people and...UI and stuff? As a media strategy, are we supposed to move ahead of the events and use this assumption or is it better not to do that and...UI, unless we have specific information that something will happen. We need a word from volunteering brothers to tell us...UI from the pure media point of view. Go ahead, my brother.

As: This thing...UI, either from Israeli sources or from sources within the [*Palestinian Liberation*] organization, there is nothing new. We make this presentation to the people in order to derail the agreement. This the Muslims' program, originally, in order to cause the alternatives in front of them to fail and in order to make people aware of the facts

mentioned by brother Gawad. This is a reality and these are the statements issued by these people and not speculations, my brothers. Plain statements.

Sh: Yes.

As: And this is the first program which Israel present, always, destroying the...

UM1: Ok. Is it to our advantage to say to the Palestinian people that...UI. They don't know this matter as long as the other party intends to keep people in the dark. Good? Is it to our advantage now to work on these things in case...UI to have people stand by us and support us, or to have our identity...UI? We as a certain current are...UI.

UM2: If there is a surprise...UI, we will reconcile with them. The agreement itself didn't come as a surprise...UI.

Sh: We need to tell the people, my brother, that...UI people reconcile with one another.

UM2: My brother, ...UI it might happen after three months or six months. People will then be supportive then...

Sh: Fine, fine, fine. This is the point which will be discussed in the media paper. Please, focus on it. But, because the topic is hot, we need a second reply regarding this issue. The brother who will speak about the media, please focus on this point and put it among the discussion points. There are points for discussion which are not specialized. The specialized brothers, please try to respond to them during your programs. Go ahead, brother...UI.

As: It is true that our general direction inside the Group as a whole is to direct the brothers to...UI the assaults and coping with the crises, not how to overcome crises and catastrophes which... I imagine how to overcome the crisis is...UI, and not how to be patient and bear it for the sake of God the Almighty like our brothers in Egypt during the days of...UI.

UM2: Without mentioning the... [*Group laughter and a brief UI small talk*].

As: It is true that if all we deal with is how to overcome the crisis and...UI, the Movement would come to an end during the first year of the Intifada. But, there should be talk on how to bypass the crisis and deal with its negatives. The second point is: What is the goal of the upcoming stage? It is to derail the agreement. Is our goal to derail the agreement? Is our goal really to have Israel withdraw from Jericho and Gaza? Is this our goal? What

is our goal in the coming stage? I imagine..., let's ask this question about the goal of the next stage. I mean, how to take advantage of the agreement in the next stage. I imagine that... What is the goal?

Ga: ...UI, to adopt opposition to the agreement in order to derail it and not for...UI or Jericho, but to derail the attempt to disband the alliance between the segments of the Palestinian people.

As: But, this should be done at a general strategic level.

Ga: Of course.

As: I mean, you would be talking that there is strategic...UI on a worldwide level by all the people of the world, not only the Western nations, Gaza or this and that.

Ga: Everybody, everybody.

As: Not only in the Middle East region and the Islamic world ought to have a very clear strategic line. The question is, I, as a Movement, what are my abilities, my goal and the strategies I will follow to achieve this goal. Now, am I capable, as an Islamic Movement, to reach my goal which you and I know? That is to derail *[the agreement]*?

Ga: Yes, according to the studies which were prepared.

As: I can derail it?

Ga: The studies which were prepared say "Yes".

As: Ok, excuse me. Could I...UI. This is not...UI because it determines a whole path.

Ga: No, just in order to focus on America in this presentation. Otherwise, I have no objections. We will talk about it.

[A short period of UI group talk].

Sh: ...the issue is not at the level which authorizes us to act on the American front. I believe it is not the time for any solution which is deeper than that. The purpose of this session is not to discuss these specialized issues. The bottom line between our hands is what to do on the American front. I believe that this is... Anything more than that, I believe that we need an opportunity to listen according to the

scientific...UI.

Ga: Even on the American front, your resources control you.

Sh: ...UI the brother is telling you...

Gh: But, the general tendency is important as you are on the American front and you're governed by the general directions which...UI.

Ga: I'm saying "The general tendency". The general tendency is to defeat the agreement. Coexistence with it is not an option and changing to a normal political opposition is not an option. The...UI is not an option and turning your back to it - like saying let's keep to ourselves and they keep to themselves - is not an option.

As: The goal of derailing the agreement is not the Movement's goal alone. There are other currents in the Arab world whose goal is to derail the agreement. It is not clever to put your hands in their hands. See, an expert in international politics was asked a question by one of those who are happy with the agreement. He asked him: What is the alternative? He told him: I will give you two alternatives, not one alternatives but two alternatives. The first alternative is to forget about the Palestinian Cause as a political cause altogether and speak about the Palestinian human rights at the global level. Don't discuss any issues of occupation or anything else. Speak about it as a case of Palestinian human rights, that he [*i.e. a Palestinian*] was deported. You see? This is an approach. And it is an approach which doesn't revoke your right to struggle. At the same time, it gets a positive reaction from the Western world and individuals as human rights is an issue or, like they say, a hot topic in the world nowadays. In the New World Order. This is one. The second thing is to let people who are under occupation in the West Bank and the Gaza Sector reach an agreement even for Gaza-Jericho [*only*] with the occupation authorities, but you don't intervene. Why? Because any agreement under occupation is invalid under international law. So, what did you exactly do? You are walking on a path which..., those under occupation were negotiating and you left them and jumped in it and gave it a legitimacy without a need. You're not required to do what you did. So, there are available alternatives but, they... See, how can he...UI the chair? It is all about chairs [*i.e. positions*]. He just wants to sit on a chair, no more or less.

Sh: ...UI get him a chair.

As: There are other things on the front. Yes, he could..., he could engage in a battle with you. You will be harmed economically and...

UM2: America has its interests... We could meet with it on certain points like we did with the other organizations.

Ga: That's right. But, if you're talking about the general direction, we...UI.

As: At the level of..., at the level of the agreement, what are our abilities? What can we do in this country?

Ga: A lot at this time. A lot.

As: Yes. This must be clear. Must be clear and...UI.

It must be clear. If the goal is to derail the agreement, it shouldn't..., it shouldn't be interpreted as anything else. That's it. It should be very explicit that the goal is to derail the agreement. But, do we have the ability to derail it? This is another question.

Sh: Ok, Are you going to talk about the issue of the agreement now?

Ga: No, we will bypass it.

Sh: ...UI the agreement is a very small detail of the...

[Group laughter].

Sh: ...and I'm kind of shocked from the strategy. Ok, before the agreement, what was our strategy? Ok, so this means that every time we get a new...UI, we try to... This talk..., this talk needs a long session.

UM1: ...UI

Sh: Yes, it needs time because it really needs... It is getting confusing. Let's now keep talking about...

As: Let's keep the talk limited to the American front.

Sh: Yes, that's what I'm saying. Let's not..., let's not keep talking about...UI.

UM2: The political situation is...UI.

Sh: Guys, can you hear anything? ...UI, can you hear? Yes.

UM2: ...we shouldn't mix in the two directions. I mean, we should finish one and then we begin the other one and see it through to the end. The first is to make the agreement fail and this is a public policy and all of us are opposing it. It is the just the media which exaggerated the issue. Second, finding the alternatives. The first step should be taken advantage of by the brothers in...UI, how to make the agreement fail. The national rights, huma rights, stuff which will be exploited in order to make you look legitimate while you call on the annulment of the agreement. I mean, there should legitimacy to everything we do so that they won't...UI. They should always be in...UI. This is one aspect. The other aspect is working to find the alternatives. Create programs in order to target the agreement.

UM1: Alternatives like what?

UM2: Or alternatives to the general plan, for before and after the agreement so that we won't forget, that is, and we don't change...UI..., political, charitable and media activism.

UM1: ...UI.

Sh: If you please in order to... The term "derailment" should include resistance, you see? "Derailment" scares me a lot as we work in organizations meant to...UI. It is better to use the method of, yes, an agreement happened and that's it. We didn't lose anything. There is a resistance, there is a counter-push, there is a strong counter-push. So, when we say "derailment", it puts us in a platform bigger than what the U.S. atmosphere would tolerate. We won't get out with anything in America. We barely run our organizations and pay our employees at the end of the months.

Ga: ...UI. I believe that the issue of the ramifications of the new political reality on activism is an issue. Regardless of the...UI. I don't know about that....UI. Now, we have this political reality. How are we going to deal with it? As for the programs...UI. God knows best.

Sh: It is also through the presented papers. Originally, every presented paper is supposed to deal with this issue. If you're talking about political activism or popular activism, the main reply you should provide is how to shape my activism now based on the new happenings. Therefore, we're still trying to make the goal... Brothers, by God, at the end we should have a 1-2-3-4-5..., I mean, we don't want to go back to our homes while forums are still dark and even more complicated than before. This is what I mean; to direct the discussion and try to build our vision on a brother who speaks and say we ought to do this on the American front, for instance. Let the other issues of people who want to do other things..., let them do it. We can hear them later. We try to answer purely practical lessons. Why do we...UI? [Group laughter]. Ok, fine. We have time anyway. We have...UI an hour.

UM1: We need to talk about the address in America.

Sh: Yes.

UM1: I have a question which is: We in America, regardless of the practical political address or - whatever do you call it - ...UI, for us as Muslims we should see what happened as an end of a stage beginning from the sixties, the seventies until now. Now, the produced result is the Palestinians' recognition of the state of Israel. I consider this a turning point, it is the turning point in the conflict, the conflict which they tried to turn from an Islamic conflict to a Palestinian conflict. Now, we see a turn from a Palestinian conflict to an Islamic one. Now, how can formulate the Islamic address in America to the Islamic community, particularly the Palestinian community? If the Palestinian community embraced the Islamic address regarding Jerusalem and Al Aqsa mosque, [saying that] Palestine is the land of Muslims and stuff, I think all the other Islamic organizations and the Arab community, even the Americans themselves due to their belief in democracy and these people [i.e. *The Palestinians*] have a right. Of course, the address ought to be in a reasonable way, without tension and illogical talk. But, this is what is going to happen. Do you see that this could be the kind of address or one of the method with the Islamic community at large and the Palestinian community in particular. Strongly, I mean, that now Palestine should be returned to those who have a right..., to those who liberated it are the ones [who have a right]...UI. The rest of the questions.

Ga: We should present recommendations on how we should work...UI
The second question which I tried hard to answer it and they said try to answer it later during the discussion. The questions is: What are the ramifications of the political developments which will be imposed by the political order on our work in America...UI. This is the question which - God knows best - is the one as the rest of the questions so far have been kind of far from the subject.

Sh: If we clarify the ramifications, it will be...UI.

Ga: This is what...UI so that we stick to the session, no more.

UM1: Brother Gawad should tell us what...UI.

Sh: Yes, yes. This is better. This way, you give the brothers who have papers to present a hint to present them in points. Our discussion will then be...UI.

Om: ...UI, the first thing which will happen in the future. I imagine that it is almost impossible

that this agreement will fail because the agreement has Israel behind it with all its weight and America with all its weight. The Western world stands with the Arab world. Saudi Arabia and the Gulf are all supportive and...UI. All that we could do from the inside is to discredit the [*Palestinian National*] Authority. For instance, I liken this agreement to what happened in ...UI, when it happened, no one was able to assassinate...UI. No one was able to stand in the face of...UI but, in their view, they were traitors. They were collaborators in people's view. These are people we shouldn't deal with. Some people benefitted from them. Some people went to them through an intercessory and they facilitated their affairs...UI. But, now on a much larger scope, we...UI, have we been able to make people view the [*Palestinian National*] Authority as collaborators? An Authority which doesn't care for people's interests and the interests of the national rights and the people's...UI. This is the best success we could reach. I imagine that the second ramification on us will be that, yes we are a Palestinian Authority, but we could prove to the Islamic peoples and the Islamic public, even to the American public, that it is a...UI Authority and that we need a national authority which defends the true interests of the people. Consequently, we point out many failure in it [*i.e. the PNA*] such as ceding Jerusalem, such as dealing with the occupation...

UM1: Dealing with the opposition.

Om: Yes, dealing with..., dealing with the occupation forces as... It is a part of the occupation forces, meaning that we were ruled by Jews yesterday and now we're ruled by Palestinians. We shouldn't say that we're against an Israeli withdrawal from Gaza and Jericho, but that we wish for a total Israeli withdrawal from all the areas. Instead of saying, by God, we're against economic revival..., because if we say that, no one would agree with us, if we tell someone that, by God, we're against all these money which came in. We should say that these people [*PNA*] are thieves and will steal it like the Egyptians stole it, the Palestinians will steal it. By the Egyptians I mean the government.

Sh: The government, Mubarak and his clan.

Om: I mean, we should give people examples how much money is gone [*i.e. stolen*] and Egypt's situation now is...

Sh: ...that, after the agreement, the situation is much worse than before the agreement.

Om: These examples show people that this talk is lies, I mean, that we strip confidence from this Authority. If we gradually take the confidence away from this Authority, I imagine that it will fail or, in reality, it will remain as just an image... In reality, people's confidence in it, people's cooperation with it will be less and people won't feel that this Authority represents us and suddenly... Of course, this should be an experiment. The Jews

will be watching Gaza and it will be an experiment and, if Arafat manages to rule the people in Gaza, they will hand over the rest of the people in the [West] Bank. And he will...UI and the settlers will be left alone. Now, instead of Israel using 100,000 soldiers to rule the Palestinian people, Arafat will do it with 20,000 [soldiers]. Even if he wanted 100,000, they will give him if he succeeds in ruling it securely. We need to spoil this confidence. If we remove the confidence, Israel won't be able to give more to Arafat. This will make him look like a big...UI.

Ga: Ok, I wanted to ask something; is the...UI?

Om: Derailment will annul the...UI.

Ga: Fine.

Sh: It is a derailment of the status quo, that is.

Ga: An annulment which happened by itself...UI. When the goals of the derailment happen, I should hold papers in the street and tear them...UI. The agreement would be over, practically. The Movement has a goal to derail the goals of the agreement. Their principle of establishing an authority to rule the people is rejected. I'm saying that the stuff you're saying is not in harmony with their convictions. The principle of establishing the [Palestinian National] Authority, forming of the police, building the infrastructure for the Palestinian self-rule for Abou Ammar should be defeated from its beginnings, from the start. If the National Conference will convene in...UI. Out of these political powers, only this one is trying to form a plan to rule. We shouldn't wait until it gets a grip, forms a state and then issue a statement... No, no, no. This is not a derailment. This would be called an opposition. What is an opposition? This was not a good choice. The right choice would have been confrontations with all of its true meanings; political and non-political...UI. We want to defeat the goals of the project to begin with, starting with the formation of the Authority and ending with the...UI the situation, spreading security and protecting the Jews. I mean, all of that happen between them. There is a problem, a psychological problem with people and...UI. This is the soil of the homeland...UI. The success of the issue is subject to criticism and agreement, of course....UI. It is a general situation, but it is open for developments with the advancement of the stage. God knows best.

Sh: The media..., so that we could switch this to the media connection. The media should work on derailing this project in more than a way. We have probably served the agreement which is my personal belief, not necessarily by praising the agreement, but when you read the average [media coverage], it is supportive [of the agreement]. Things which serve the agreement such as the economic revival, the infrastructure, this and that.

The average reader will say, "It is good. What is wrong about it?". But, according to the suggestion of our brother, Abou Mohamed, of attacking the credibility of those overseeing the..., he used the word "Discredit" which means to discredit the people. I don't know how to say it in Arabic. So, the question for those presenting the media paper to discuss is as follows: Is it wise for us to attack the credibility the agreement..., those overseeing the project as individuals, as names such as this and that. We should bring up their secret files to the public eye. There was talk in the public circles that we must disgrace these characters in order to expose them to the Palestinian people and wonder what dignity and what credibility *[they have]*. So, please, the brothers who are presenting the media paper try to reach a decision in that regards. Now, prepare to this answer. Ok, we will take the last three *[questions]* and we will close, God's willing. Abou..., Akram, did you raise your hands?

Ak: As you wish *[Laughs]*.

Sh: We will come back to you. I just wanted to...UI.

UM2: To be honest, the question raised on the American front is the broader approach. It is our duty, in order to put their *[PNA]* in a crisis, to...UI. The American front does not tolerate, in this stage in particular,...UI or any kind of confrontations, neither on the national level or the Islamic level nor on the general American public. The American front truly needs us to empty the core *[of the agreement]*, saying that this agreement did not...UI. For instance, on the Palestinian level, yes, we need to have an authority in place and stuff, to achieve this and that for us, but will this happen...? We should plant doubt within people about this honorable Authority. With Arabs, it should be the issue of the sanctuaries and stuff. With Americans, it should be the issue of human rights, justice and stuff. These, my brother, are the issues which we can bring up to the American front. We cannot tackle the issue of finding the alternative authority, finding this and that, discrediting individuals, discrediting certain institutions, for instance. I mean, in this stage, it is my opinion that people are not prepared to pay attention to these kind of issues.

Ga: But...UI.

Sh: This confirms the...

Ga: This is just a clarification for what Abou Omar said...UI. But, I'm with the need to focus on what are the ramifications on the American front. And, until now...UI.

Sh: Ok, Abou Ahmad and then Akram. You will be the last one so that we...

Aa: It seems that we're straying somewhat from the topic. I mean, I hope the brother who will present the other sessions is very clear and explain the goal of the session from the start. Because I felt we went to side issues during discussion and I was looking at the paper and I noticed that [*it said*] "The General Political Atmosphere and...UT".

END OF RECORDING.

[UM] Unidentified Male.
 [UI] Unintelligible.
 [NFI] Not Further Identified.
 (LNU) Last name unknown.
 [Italics] Translator's comments.
 ... Incomplete sentence.

Sh = Shukri Abu Baker
 Om = Omar Ahmad
 Ha = Haitham Maghawri
 Gh = Ghassan Elashi
 Ss = Sheik Sharif
 Ga = Gawad (LNU)
 Ab = Abdel Salam (LNU)
 Ak = Akram (LNU)
 Au = Abou Usama (NFI)
 As = Abdel Halim Al Ashqar (Aboul Hasan)
 Aa = Abou Ahmad (NFI)

Audio file: MTGB 19931002 3.WAV

Ga: ... How many people have read it [*the agreement*]? One in every thousand? Very few minority did that. So, how do you expect these people to defend the future of the Movement and the Movement's position? If there was a rejection, how would be stand with the Movement? How? It is impossible. What is needed then is to have the Palestinian be aware of what is in the agreement. I said that an agreement written in five pages....UI. We barely read some of it. How about the general public?...UI. I imagine the media part plays a very important role in that issue. The second circle is the Arab and Islamic countries. It is, of course, the second circle for the Palestinian activism and...UI, adopting of positions first of all. Second, ...UI the Islamic current which is the dominant and the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization, which is the minor current and not a majority, and they [*The Arab peoples*] deal with it the same way like they deal with governments in their homelands. ...UI. They don't understand this or that, or know the difference between the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization and Hamas..., the Islamic Movement. What they understand is that this is a step towards...UI. They have two

segments in my opinion; the first one is the generation which grew up and lived here, they are generally agreeable to the atmosphere now. They are against violence and...UI. The American media has been used and was employed to...UI, and God knows best. All of that is in favor of support to the agreement. The third circle includes the educated people; Palestinians, Arabs and Muslims. I'm not too worried about those as I believe that we are the most qualified to be...UI. Those are the ones who... stability and affirms our position in general terms. It is my opinion that this circle is the most important circle of activism for us. My opinion is that...UI, we should form alliances with them, form an agreement in opinion with them. They're the ones who...UI with the others. The fourth circle is the American people in general and it is a problem. This is a massive problem. I don't know what we are going to do with it, but... There are people who don't even know where Palestine is. I expect that he would support the project [*i.e. the agreement*] and call for it, use the media and legal...UI in order to show the different points of view to the American people. Consequently, these people understand the Palestinian Cause as a whole through the eyes of the [*Palestinian*] Liberation Organization and not through Hamas.

... The third thing is that the support allocated to alleviate the sufferings from the Palestinian people in all shapes in light of the existence of the international support will...UI, specially within the next five years. ...UI they pay a lot of money specially to a person who is not connected to the Islamic current or to ...UI. God knows best. The Palestinian tendencies will be towards the improvement of the [*living*] conditions. Every two to three weeks at the best estimate, they will talk about improvement in the unemployment, improvement for the students, economic improvement, the opening of a factory, the opening of a project, unemployment is down. This is the method they will use and America will give them an enormous help in that regards, in my opinion.

Sh: Yes.

Ga: America and the American...UI, in order to convince the people because everybody is convinced; the Americans are convinced and the Jews. People must...UI on the ground. They're happy, with the flag now, but the flag will last one week, two weeks or a month and what is after that? We need bread. This will be... The propaganda which will be spread will affect Hamas...UI in the meanwhile....UI. Are you going to collect a million? Not a million, for instance. The media and political support for the Cause in general terms, and to the rights of the Palestinian people specifically will be negatively affected in my opinion. Why? First, the organizations which work on these issues are American and they deal from the..., from America's mentality. A prominent example for that is the occupation. The U.S. government used to call it "occupation" and...UI, used to reject its measures and rejects this and that and used to call to the implementation of the Geneva agreement. This was the official America..., State Department and otherwise. It tried to...UI, because all became a United Nations so,...UI. You're no longer have the right to resist the occupation. All of that will be classified according to the American concept. There is no occupation now. There is an understanding and there are no weapons to be carried because there is no occupation to be fought. There is no more suffering because of the occupation. Suffering now is on the hands of the local government. This will be classified as terrorism according to America. How are you going to do it? How are going to perform Jihad?

As: ... We, the media people, are the ones who..., our media is the one which give rise to this kind of talk among the people. I don't how dangerous this is. I feel that we're the ones who bring this up among the people. We say that we exist on the field. Yes, we're present...UI. Didn't they say that Hamas is this people [*The Palestinians*]. We are, then, a part of the people. Why are we...UI? I don't know why. We assist in spreading this kind of ideas. I mean, we should not commit this mistake and say...er. They're the ones who are currently spreading these things now.

Sh: What About Hasan is saying that we're giving them clues, that is. Even if they're not thinking about the matter, we're...UI. Let's see what our brother, Gawad, wants to say.

Ga: ... What do you expect will happen? They will be murderous criminals, my brother. Even the doctors among them. Doctors among them have criminal mentalities. The first thing...UI. I'm telling you the truth. This is not something they could hide in order to...UI. My personal opinion is that confrontation is inevitable within no more than a year of the Authority [*i.e. self-rule*]. No more than one year. We have one of two options; we either take a stand of caution and work according to it as a program, a method, a way and a system, and the other [*party*] will also prepare himself at the same level, even stronger and the struggle which will happen during this year will...UI, or we prepare for the struggle from now and finalize the matter from now. All of this is...UI.

As: ... We make this presentation to the people in order to derail the agreement. This the Muslims' program, originally, in order to cause the alternatives in front of them to fail and in order to make people aware of the facts

As: ... The second point is: What is the goal of the upcoming stage? It is to derail the agreement. Is our goal to derail the agreement? Is our goal really to have Israel withdraw from Jericho and Gaza? Is this our goal? What is our goal in the coming stage? I imagine..., let's ask this question about the goal of the next stage. I mean, how to take advantage of the agreement in the next stage. I imagine that... What is the goal?

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Ga: Of course.

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[*A short period of UI group talk*].

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As: At the level of..., at the level of the agreement, what are our abilities? What can we do in this country?

Ga: A lot at this time. A lot.

As: Yes. This must be clear. Must be clear and...UI.
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Sh: If you please in order to... The term "derailment" should include resistance, you see? "Derailment" scares me a lot as we work in organizations meant to...UI. It is better to use the method of, yes, an agreement happened and that's it. We didn't lose anything. There is a resistance, there is a counter-push, there is a strong counter-push. So, when we say "derailment", it puts us in a platform bigger than what the U.S. atmosphere would tolerate. We won't get out with anything in America. We barely run our organizations and pay our employees at the end of the months.

UM1: ... Now, we see a turn from a Palestinian conflict to an Islamic one. Now, how can formulate the Islamic address in America to the Islamic community, particularly the Palestinian community? If the Palestinian community embraced the Islamic address regarding Jerusalem and Al Aqsa mosque, [saying that] Palestine is the land of Muslims and stuff, I think all the other Islamic organizations and the Arab community, even the Americans themselves due to their belief in democracy and these people [i.e. *The Palestinians*] have a right. Of course, the address ought to be in a reasonable way, without tension and illogical talk. But, this is what is going to happen. Do you see that this could be the kind of address or one of the method with the Islamic community at large and the Palestinian community in particular. Strongly, I mean, that now Palestine should be returned to those who have a right..., to those who liberated it are the ones [who have a right]...UI. The rest of the questions.

Om: Yes, dealing with..., dealing with the occupation forces as... It is a part of the occupation forces, meaning that we were ruled by Jews yesterday and now we're ruled by Palestinians. We shouldn't say that we're against an Israeli withdrawal from Gaza and Jericho, but that we wish for a total Israeli withdrawal from all the areas. Instead of saying, by God, we're against economic revival..., because if we say that, no one would agree with us, if we tell someone that, by God, we're against all these money which came in. We should say that these people [PNA] are thieves and will steal it like the Egyptians stole it, the Palestinians will steal it. By the Egyptians I mean the government.

Sh: The government, Mubarak and his clan.

Om: I mean, we should give people examples how much money is gone [i.e. *stolen*] and Egypt's situation now is...

Sh: ...that, after the agreement, the situation is much worse than before the agreement.

Om: These examples show people that this talk is lies, I mean, that we strip confidence from this Authority. If we gradually take the confidence away from this Authority, I imagine that it will fail or, in reality, it will remain as just an image... In reality, people's confidence in it, people's cooperation with it will be less and people won't feel that this Authority represents us and suddenly... Of course, this should be an experiment. The Jews

will be watching Gaza and it will be an experiment and, if Arafat manages to rule the people in Gaza, they will hand over the rest of the people in the [West] Bank. And he will...UI and the settlers will be left alone. Now, instead of Israel using 100,000 soldiers to rule the Palestinian people, Arafat will do it with 20,000 [soldiers]. Even if he wanted 100,000, they will give him if he succeeds in ruling it securely. We need to spoil this confidence. If we remove the confidence, Israel won't be able to give more to Arafat. This will make him look like a big...UI.

Ga: Ok, I wanted to ask something; is the...UI?

Om: Derailment will annul the...UI.

Ga: Fine.

Sh: It is a derailment of the status quo, that is.

Ga: An annulment which happened by itself...UI. When the goals of the derailment happen, I should hold papers in the street and tear them...UI. The agreement would be over, practically. The Movement has a goal to derail the goals of the agreement. Their principle of establishing an authority to rule the people is rejected. I'm saying that the stuff you're saying is not in harmony with their convictions. The principle of establishing the [Palestinian National] Authority, forming of the police, building the infrastructure for the Palestinian self-rule for Abou Ammar should be defeated from its beginnings, from the start. If the National Conference will convene in...UI. Out of these political powers, only this one is trying to form a plan to rule. We shouldn't wait until it gets a grip, forms a state and then issue a statement... No, no, no. This is not a derailment. This would be called an opposition. What is an opposition? This was not a good choice. The right choice would have been confrontations with all of its true meanings; political and non-political...UI. We want to defeat the goals of the project to begin with, starting with the formation of the Authority and ending with the...UI the situation, spreading security and protecting the Jews. I mean, all of that happen between them. There is a problem, a psychological problem with people and...UI. This is the soil of the homeland...UI. The success of the issue is subject to criticism and agreement, of course....UI. It is a general situation, but it is open for developments with the advancement of the stage. God knows best.

Sh: The media..., so that we could switch this to the media connection. The media should work on derailing this project in more than a way. We have probably served the agreement which is my personal belief, not necessarily by praising the agreement, but when you read the average [media coverage], it is supportive [of the agreement]. Things which serve the agreement such as the economic revival, the infrastructure, this and that.

The average reader will say, "It is good. What is wrong about it?". But, according to the suggestion of our brother, Abou Mohamed, of attacking the credibility of those overseeing the..., he used the word "Discredit" which means to discredit the people. I don't know how to say it in Arabic. So, the question for those presenting the media paper to discuss is as follows: Is it wise for us to attack the credibility the agreement..., those overseeing the project as individuals, as names such as this and that. We should bring up their secret files to the public eye. There was talk in the public circles that we must disgrace these characters in order to expose them to the Palestinian people and wonder what dignity and what credibility [*they have*]. So, please, the brothers who are presenting the media paper try to reach a decision in that regards. Now, prepare to this answer. Ok,

[UM] Unidentified Male.
[UI] Unintelligible.
[NFI] Not Further Identified.
(LNU) Last name unknown.
[Italics] Translator's comments.
[...] Incomplete sentence.

Sh = Shukri Abu Baker
Om = Omar Ahmad
Gh = Ghassan Elashi
Ss = Sheik Sharif
Ga = Gawad (LNU)
Ab = Abdel Salam (LNU)
Ak = Akram (LNU)
Au = Abou Usama (NFI)
As = Abdel Halim Al Ashqar (Aboul Hasan)
Aa = Abou Ahmad (NFI)
Aj = Abdel Jabbar
Ab2 = Abou Bassem (NFI)
Mu = Muin (LNU)
Ar = Abdel Rahman

Audio file: MTGB 19931002 9.WAV

Sh: ... brother Eweida is there and Abou Ibrahim went and stuff. But, frankly speaking, our work...UI in the field started to decrease. So, we are not reaping real fruit from..., from that. The one thing we reap the most fruit from is our brothers in the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] and our own activities. So, there are no organizations, my brother, we don't cooperate with if we can even if it were just to spread the idea and to take advantage of this stage. At the mosques' levels, our relationship is very good with the mosques in America and, all year round, Abdel Jabbar, myself or Abou Ibrahim or others travel, give sermons and do fundraising. All year round. God's willing, more than that is on the way as we mentioned.

UM1: May God reward you well....UI.

UM2: Thanks be to God, we have a..., a very good relationship with the...UI. What is collected is very little but, everything is collected is transferred to...UI. We gave them some projects inside [of Palestine] so that they can present them to the government but they

haven't responded to us. A project for a hospital or health clinic and stuff like that. If that succeeds, they will pay full sums of money through the government's institutions. But, we will present two projects to them and one project to IDRF. IDRF deals with us sheepishly, I mean, we told them that they have fellow Muslim brothers of yours who need your assistance. Not everybody is Fatah, not everybody is [Palestinian] Liberation Organization, you must take a look at the other party. So, they accepted some projects from us...UI but, we are still waiting for them to fulfill their promises. What was collected recently was transferred to...er...UI. We checked with them in that regards as the whole amount was \$7,000 and we told them that 5 million Muslims are waiting for this 7,000 [Dollars]. Anyhow, our relationship with them is very, very good and with all. The Islamic centers also...er, we take part in their activities. On the contrary, because of our relationship [with them] they oblige us to assist them in management and in other matters. But, thank God, things are good.

UM1: May God reward you well. Abdel Rahman then Omar. Go ahead. Abdel Rahman is...UI.

Ar: I just have a question. This suggestion comes out of my feeling that, in the coming stage, the most important thing we can provide in this stage is to support Jihad In Palestine. I believe it is the only way if we want to bring the goals of the [peace] accord to fail. We would, at least, keep within the people's spirit...UI. We as a organization - as a non-profit organization - are not able to do that. But, at least, we can focus on the issues relating to that matter which is emphasizing the relationship between the...UI. Everyone knows that there is about 100,000..., 100,000 wounded persons. For instance, you have the issue of sponsoring the families of the martyrs, you have the prisoners..., these are the issues that I believe we should... Maybe now we don't have organizations or maybe we have organizations to support hospitals and other things. But, I believe that there must be more emphasis on these people than others who might benefit from the money they receive from the United Nations, from America and elsewhere. But, those people have a direct relationship with Jihad and they must get more money and more thought [from us]. In our letters we sent to people, we ought to place emphasis on the families of the martyrs, the prisoners, the orphans and the families of the wounded. This is one suggestion. The second thing I suggest to do is maybe something simple. The Fund already has permanent ads in Al Zaytouna and the Monitor. Let's place something in Al Zaytouna and The Monitor and some of the other Islamic magazines, some sort of appeal to the people, to Muslims, that the suffering hasn't ended and that the situation hasn't changed, the situation which... makes the peace accord...UI, which is different from speaking in political language. You will be speaking in humanitarian language saying that people's suffering hasn't been alleviated. And this is a very simple thing we can do; [placing] ads in the newspapers and the magazines as people read them and...UI in the Occupied Territories. These are written things instead of the picture of this girl which...er. The

question I have for brother Muin is: I might not be aware of the laws governing the inside. But, what is the possibility of transferring some of the organizations which are currently in the [West] Bank or Gaza to Jerusalem, to areas which are not under the authority of the [Palestinian Liberation] Organization, to have the headquarters over there, to have projects to channel [money] through people, that is.

Mu: Well, the issue is not easy as the core point in the projects over there is that the person who applies to get a project must be a bearer of an Israeli ID in Jerusalem. It takes time to establish an organization but, the issue of the transfer from Jerusalem to [West] Bank is easy. This means that, if an organization opens in Jerusalem with a Jerusalem ID, it will be easy for it to go to the West Bank. This experiment succeeded and it was some sort of...er, let me call it a spread for our organization meaning that the headquarters was in Jerusalem and it had branches in the West Bank. There are some other organizations which were established by our brothers in '89, I believe. It is the main organization and, thank God, it has opened some branches. But, if an organization is already in the West Bank right now and you want to move it, I expect that it is not going to be easy.

Ar: How about establishing new organizations in the [West] Bank?

Mu: That is possible but it needs time. For instance, The Truth And Law Organization was established in Gaza. It sailed through and obtained a license as a public service organization. Now, it is possible that this [organization] gets dissolved with the arrival of the self-rule. They will harass it. There was thinking to open an organization in Jerusalem. We discussed this issue specifically with some of the brothers in Jerusalem. They said it can be done if you make \$10,000 available. We asked how and they said there is no harassment or restrictions right now. Matters are flowing as you like it and the attorney is a Jewish man in the Knesset. He said I'm ready to get you a license and the organization will become a legal organization working for human rights. The matter needs money to be spent but, the situation in the Occupied Territories is... Of course, the matter deserves this money to be spent on, for this organization, because those who live in the [Gaza] Sector might die and no one will know about them. But, when they have a branch in Jerusalem, there will be an excuse for an employee to go to Jerusalem. They will give him a card, some sort of an ID and stuff like that. So, the situation now in the Occupied Territories, in the '48 and Jerusalem, the factors which play into the matter are the attorneys, how to approach the subject and the judicial system. I mean, there are many issues which you can take to the Supreme Court of Justice and you win. Therefore, the issue is legal and it is possible that it sails through. But, to move it from the [West] Bank to Jerusalem is somewhat difficult based on the old information. But, to establish them, the matter is in the hands of the judicial system.

UM1: Omar.

Om: I would like to remind the brothers, brother Abou Usama and the brothers with the issue of Syria and...UI. There are two issues I would like to comment on as news. The brothers..., there is a rumor being circulated with some people that people would like to form alternate organizations in place of the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] and the Fund and stuff. This is not true. There was a misunderstanding that...UI. There are no alternate organizations. The second point is that we asked them to work with the brothers, to work with the brothers from Palestine or the Muslims and they have agreed on that during their meeting. So, what Abou Usama is talking about is already here. Therefore, there is not going to be bypassing of the Organization now. We spoke with the people and, if the Fund wanted to...UI.

UM2: To continue this point and on the same issue is the notion that our brothers remember that some of the brothers in the field - whether in the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] or the Fund - they deal with..., what should we call it, with arrogance with other people. [They say] You don't understand. Who are you? You are sheiks and religious dervishes. What did you do? So, we're saying that the Palestinian cause from beginning to end is an Islamic cause. Therefore, our relationship with all Muslims ought to be good. This is a request from the brothers, from all the brothers, to have the brothers from all the branches and sub-branches deal with them Islamically. You try to deal nicely with the Christians. Henceforth, you should deal nicely with the people you're from, the people who are your natural extension, in a manner which doesn't have arrogance, pride or contempt or any thing demeaning thing.

UM1: Shukri has anything?

Sh: Regarding the issue of registration. The Foundation is in the final stages of obtaining, God's willing, a license in Jerusalem. We registered the Foundation in Jerusalem as a legitimate, I mean as a...UI organization; it has a board of directors and stuff in Jerusalem. We will call it "The Holy Land Society for Relief & Development". God's willing, it will be good because people can deal with it and it will be able to work in the [West] Bank. As for Gaza, we contacted the attorney over there and we started the process to register a branch, a branch for a U.S. organization. This means that...

UM2: You're opening a branch for...UI or for a U.S. organization?

Sh: Our own organization...UI. It is a Jerusalemite organization...UI. At the end, even some of the national or the local organizations will not be effective unless you form an outside organization to carry out the programs. And I'm really thinking now while I'm talking as

we want to open an office in Nazareth or...UI. That one will be registered under Israeli law. In this manner, we're trying to avoid whatever troubles we can avoid.

UM1: ...UI.

Om: What?

UM1: ...UI. *[Laughter]*.

Au: I would like to ask brother Omar a question. It is not true that there were rumors that we would like to start alternate organizations. I need a clarification for that.

Om: No. It is good, our brothers, to cover all the bases and it...UI cover all the bases. It is not fanaticism or..., what you call it, extremism to set things straight or...

UM1: ...to clarify things, that is.

Om: There was an idea, an intention and thinking to start alternate organizations for the Islamic organizations working for Palestine. Are they a failure?...

[Brief group talk. UI].

Au: I'm asking brother Omar a question as a clarification and I would like to ask brother About Hasan a question.

As: Go ahead.

Au: There is no one..., excuse me...

UM1: Omar answered the question and said that there wasn't a...

Om: ...UI. I can clarify that. I can clarify that in a different way.

UM1: Ok. In a couple of minutes so that...

Om: I will tell the story in order to clarify the issue.

Au: The second point is that leadership figures ought to be humble and the individuals ask the leadership for humility and listening *[to them]* and that they're humble when dealing with the individuals. Really. And specially when speaking about the issue of Palestine. When

someone speaks about the issue of Palestine in front of them, it is as if...UI. They are not even willing to listen. Frankly speaking.

UM2: There is an issue hanging or undetermined right now between the brothers in the...UI and those in the wing. This is at the level of the regions and the branches or at the higher level.

Sh: We are now taking from the time slot for charity work, by the way.

Om: Yes... The issue..., the issue has two sides; one issue is that the brothers working for Palestine...UI don't work for anything else. I mean not only for Palestine, for anything else. Therefore, the brothers are feeling kind like "We're making contributions and working and where are you?". The other brothers, what do they feel? They feel that you sometimes work..., first of all, you took the potentials from the other branches of work and used them for Palestine and, at the same time, you're being arrogant with us and say that you work and we don't. Also, there is the issue of those brothers in Chicago who traveled and went to Palestine. So, there was a talk from the government and stuff that..., there is a danger from that. So, they went over and requested a meeting. They requested a meeting and a suggestion was made during the meeting to coordinate the issue, a suggestion was made by a Jordanian person to start an alternative, meaning that they want the organizations to form a solidarity committee for the Palestinian people and the other organizations would dissolve in it within two years. It was a suggestion made by whom? By one or two people.

Gh: Meaning before the end of the self-rule.

Om: Yes. And a committee was formed to study the situation, Palestinian activism with the group...
[Brief group talk. UI].

UM1: It is forbidden to interrupt Omar and we will focus on this subject after...UI.

Om: A suggestion..., a suggestion... The committee which was formed rejected it because it is not practical and the brothers who submitted it realized that they cannot go on with their suggestion, that the suggestion was wrong. The brothers in the Shura Council met and said during the Shura Council that it is true that they don't want to form this committee but, they have the right to establish an organization..., that is how it was written, an organization representing the Group's view in a...UI manner. This is to sum it up. What raised our doubts is that...

UM2: And what is the Group's view?

Om: It is that we are radicals alone...UI. We checked with the brothers and they said "Let's be the ones to say that we are a political entity". I mean a political entity and not a people's entity, a political entity in Washington such as the Public Affairs Council which...UI. It is the one which gives an opinion. It is for the Americans and not for the Muslims.

UM2: Ah.

Om: ...UI. Of course, some people were upset with the issue. How can you do that? This is wrong. Where did we go?

UM2: This is a different issue.

Om: So, the Americans we met with said that our opinion is that you don't form it and the suggestion which was presented by one or two was not approved. It was approved by the committee before it made its way to the Shura Council. You see? But, the environment of the situation...UI and when the decision was formed in a moderate way...UI and some talk started. This talk reached some of the brothers in some of the regions. During one of the past camps which was held two or three weeks ago, a ranking person said we are doing this and that. They told him you're doing things...UI and they were very upset because people knew about it and they didn't. So, they were very upset and they requested that they tell people that this wasn't true, it is a rumor. The issue is...UI. But, the unresolved problem, the one I spoke about earlier, hasn't been solved. God knows best.

UM1: May God reward you well...UI. I just have a question for brother Muin. What are the kinds of organizations which you expect will be directly hit, during the initial phase and which will be hit strongly? Are they the charity organizations, for instance, or the other organizations?

Mu: By God, in the Gaza Sector, the Islamic University will be target number one. If we talk about the West Bank, there are some organizations which came to distinction and particularly...UI in the West Bank from which some organizations which now constitute some notable Islamic organizations. But, it is God's grace that the most important activity for the Zakat committees, notably the medical activity in the West Bank is in the form of the Medical Scientific Society which now encompasses most the medical activity in the West Bank and I believe it has a parallel abroad and have now started working on establishing relationships with [people] abroad which might be some sort of a cover. The cover is now in place but, God's willing, it started to work now..., and a medical society was formed following the example of the medical society in the West Bank and it will be

a form of a cover. Among the other organization...UI in the [Gaza] Sector, the Islamic University is possibly the first to be targeted. Among the organizations, Al Islah [Society] is one which they might think about dissolving or interfering in it. But, generally speaking, we don't have a noticeable weight in organizations in the [Gaza] Sector, a presence which we might fear an eminent danger in the coming stage. But, in nine months, there are tens of organizations in the West Bank, from north to south, which might be targeted directly. For instance, there are several organizations in Hebron which might be targeted directly such as the Young Men Muslim Association, possibly the Islamic Welfare Society which is one of the organizations with notable activity. These might be hit in their administration and not in their activity because they oversee schools and orphans...UI. It is possible that the government...

Gh: You mean they might change the administration?

Mu: They can hit the administration or make a law that..., make law to control administration or something like that. Now, they might try to mess with some of the organizations in which we have some sort of activity through a number of laws. For instance, for the Chamber of Commerce, they can make a law to nullify the previous elections. Nullifying the previous elections will affect us in the West Bank and Gaza first of all because of the students and, secondly, because there is...UI which might be hit. Regarding the Chamber of Commerce in the Gaza Sector we control the accountants and they might get dissolved in a direct way. In my view, I expect that there won't be brutality in the beginning. They will deal with some sort of intelligence and they might give us a chance. They will tamper with laws and pull the carpet from under our feet through making alternate organizations available. For instance, the endowments organizations..., the endowments organizations in the inside will play a large role in controlling many of the..., let me call them the organizations we consider...UI. And the people over there..., for instance, Akrama Sabri one of the characters of the new rule. This person is just an image in his office or elsewhere. His appearance is that he is a Muslim yet, he knows everything about the Islamists such as their affiliated organizations. Therefore, the game of the laws is the main gateway, in my opinion, to control many of the organizations through the firing of some people. Making alternatives available [*is important*] because if you don't make available a strong alternative character in all aspects, they will have tens of alternatives. If we speak as educated crews of people, they also have more educated crews. For instance, at Al Ahli hospital in Hebron, Al Ahli Hospital..., one of the specialists in premature children, one of our brothers, was chosen by the hospital to study for two additional years in this specialization at the Jordanian University. His name is Dr. Hatem Shehate returned to Hebron and left his clinic and stuff. Now, they threatened that they are going to fire him. Now, the problem is not whether they fire him or not but the fact that they have 10-15 doctors of their own who are being sent [*to study*] by the hospital itself and by the

[*Palestinian*] Liberation Organization. They keep working on getting their crews ready in order to fill out the vacancies on the inside. Now, here is a hospital and [*they say*] let's not change its administration or anything but, when I change its crews or...UI I'm then taking control of it. You have, for instance, Al Makased Charitable [*Hospital*], we established it, worked hard for it and worked in it and we now control the syndicate. The syndicate is now Islamist. The first step they [*the PLO*] took is that they stopped dealing with us as a syndicate and we are now talking about the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization which hasn't reached power yet. They didn't deal with us as a syndicate in its [*Islamist*] form and there was thinking to close the hospital. So, the decision of our brothers, regardless if it is right or wrong, was to dissolve the syndicate in the hospital and a new syndicate made up of us and them was formed making the leadership almost bi-partisan. Now, the brother..., the core person in the syndicate is from Tulkarem and works in Al Makased. Immediately, they barred him from entering Jerusalem and now he is barred from...UI. So, the problem is not only the laws, the problem is that you are dealing with people who know you, they know how things go and there is an old blood between you and them. This will be somewhat dangerous and God knows best.

UM2: How about the medical association affiliated with the coordination office...UI. Weren't they doing something in Bosnia, India or Afghanistan? They establish..., they establish clinics and work. They're called Doctors Without Borders...UI.

Sh: Yes, Doctors Without Borders.

Om: These people...UI. We have Muslim doctors.

Sh: We ought to have crews of doctors, even lawyers, engineers, laborers, stuff like that. But, doctors are the most important and they usually go to Mexico because doctors work with...UI. These are the kinds of projects organizations here in America and Canada work on. Assemble a team of Muslim doctors and they go and build clinics and stay there for a week, two weeks or one months. And its cost is not much, maybe \$50,000 or something. There are similar projects that go out from here which have nothing to do with...UI.

UM1: Ok. ...UI. May God reward you well and we apologize for...UI. We will give you until...UI.
[*UI group talk until end of recording*].

END OF RECORDING.

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Sh: At the mosques' levels, our relationship is very good with the mosques in America and, all year round, Abdel Jabbar, myself or Abou Ibrahim or others travel, give sermons and do fundraising. All year round. God's willing, more than that is on the way as we mentioned.

GOVERNMENT
EXHIBIT
Philly Meeting-11E
3:04-CR-240-G
U.S. v. HLF, et al.

Ar: This suggestion comes out of my feeling that, in the coming stage, the most important thing we can provide in this stage is to support Jihad In Palestine. I believe it is the only way if we want to bring the goals of the [peace] accord to fail. We would, at least, keep within the people's spirit...UI. We as a organization - as a non-profit organization - are not able to do that. But, at least, we can focus on the issues relating to that matter which is emphasizing the relationship between the...UI. Everyone knows that there is about 100,000..., 100,000 wounded persons. For instance, you have the issue of sponsoring the families of the martyrs, you have the prisoners..., these are the issues that I believe we should... Maybe now we don't have organizations or maybe we have organizations to support hospitals and other things. But, I believe that there must be more emphasis on these people than others who might benefit from the money they receive from the United Nations, from America and elsewhere. But, those people have a direct relationship with Jihad and they must get more money and more thought [from us]. In our letters we sent to people, we ought to place emphasis on the families of the martyrs, the prisoners, the orphans and the families of the wounded. This is one suggestion. The second thing I suggest to do is maybe something simple. The Fund already has permanent ads in Al Zaytouna and the Monitor. Let's place something in Al Zaytouna and The Monitor and some of the other Islamic magazines, some sort of appeal to the people, to Muslims, that the suffering hasn't ended and that the situation hasn't changed, the situation which... makes the peace accord...UI, which is different from speaking in political language. You will be speaking in humanitarian language saying that people's suffering hasn't been alleviated. And this is a very simple thing we can do; [placing] ads in the newspapers and the magazines as people read them and...UI in the Occupied Territories. These are written things instead of the picture of this girl which...er. The question I have for brother Muin is: I might not be aware of the laws governing the inside. But, what is the possibility of transferring some of the organizations which are currently in the [West] Bank or Gaza to Jerusalem, to areas which are not under the authority of the [Palestinian Liberation] Organization, to have the headquarters over there, to have projects to channel [money] through people, that is.

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Sh: Regarding the issue of registration. The Foundation is in the final stages of obtaining, God's willing, a license in Jerusalem. We registered the Foundation in Jerusalem as a legitimate, I mean as a...UI organization; it has a board of directors and stuff in Jerusalem. We will call it "The Holy Land Society for Relief & Development". God's willing, it will be good because people can deal with it and it will be able to work in the [West] Bank. As for Gaza, we contacted the attorney over there and we started the process to register a branch, a branch for a U.S. organization. This means that...

UM1: I just have a question for brother Muin. What are the kinds of organizations which you expect will be directly hit, during the initial phase and which will be hit strongly? Are they the charity organizations, for instance, or the other organizations?

Mu: By God, in the Gaza Sector, the Islamic University will be target number one. If we talk about the West Bank, there are some organizations which came to distinction and particularly...UI in the West Bank from which some organizations which now constitute some notable Islamic organizations. But, it is God's grace that the most important activity for the Zakat committees, notably the medical activity in the West Bank is in the form of the Medical Scientific Society which now encompasses most the medical activity in the West Bank and I believe it has a parallel abroad and have now started working on establishing relationships with *[people]* abroad which might be some sort of a cover. The cover is now in place but, God's willing, it started to work now..., and a medical society was formed following the example of the medical society in the West Bank and it will be a form of a cover. Among the other organization...UI in the *[Gaza]* Sector, the Islamic University is possibly the first to be targeted. Among the organizations, Al Islah *[Society]* is one which they might think about dissolving or interfering in it. But, generally speaking, we don't have a noticeable weight in organizations in the *[Gaza]* Sector, a presence which we might fear an eminent danger in the coming stage. But, in nine months, there are tens of organizations in the West Bank, from north to south, which might be targeted directly. For instance, there are several organizations in Hebron which might be targeted directly such as the Young Men Muslim Association, possibly the Islamic Welfare Society which is one of the organizations with notable activity. These might be hit in their administration and not in their activity because they oversee schools and orphans...UI. It is possible that the government...

Gh: You mean they might change the administration?

Mu: They can hit the administration or make a law that..., make law to control administration or something like that. Now, they might try to mess with some of the organizations in which we have some sort of activity through a number of laws. For instance, for the Chamber of Commerce, they can make a law to nullify the previous elections. Nullifying the previous elections will affect us in the West Bank and Gaza first of all because of the students and, secondly, because there is...UI which might be hit. Regarding the Chamber of Commerce in the Gaza Sector we control the accountants and they might get dissolved in a direct way. In my view, I expect that there won't be brutality in the beginning. They will deal with some sort of intelligence and they might give us a chance. They will tamper with laws and pull the carpet from under our feet through making alternate organizations available. For instance, the endowments organizations..., the endowments organizations

in the inside will play a large role in controlling many of the..., let me call them the organizations we consider...UI. And the people over there..., for instance, Akrama Sabri one of the characters of the new rule. This person is just an image in his office or elsewhere. His appearance is that he is a Muslim yet, he knows everything about the Islamists such as their affiliated organizations. Therefore, the game of the laws is the main gateway, in my opinion, to control many of the organizations through the firing of some people. Making alternatives available [*is important*] because if you don't make available a strong alternative character in all aspects, they will have tens of alternatives. If we speak as educated crews of people, they also have more educated crews. For instance, at Al Ahli hospital in Hebron, Al Ahli Hospital..., one of the specialists in premature children, one of our brothers, was chosen by the hospital to study for two additional years in this specialization at the Jordanian University. His name is Dr. Hatem Shehate returned to Hebron and left his clinic and stuff. Now, they threatened that they are going to fire him. Now, the problem is not whether they fire him or not but the fact that they have 10-15 doctors of their own who are being sent [*to study*] by the hospital itself and by the [*Palestinian*] Liberation Organization. They keep working on getting their crews ready in order to fill out the vacancies on the inside. Now, here is a hospital and [*they say*] let's not change its administration or anything but, when I change its crews or...UI I'm then taking control of it. You have, for instance, Al Makased Charitable [*Hospital*], we established it, worked hard for it and worked in it and we now control the syndicate. The syndicate is now Islamist. The first step they [*the PLO*] took is that they stopped dealing with us as a syndicate and we are now talking about the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization which hasn't reached power yet. They didn't deal with us as a syndicate in its [*Islamist*] form and there was thinking to close the hospital. So, the decision of our brothers, regardless if it is right or wrong, was to dissolve the syndicate in the hospital and a new syndicate made up of us and them was formed making the leadership almost bi-partisan. Now, the brother..., the core person in the syndicate is from Tulkarem and works in Al Makased. Immediately, they barred him from entering Jerusalem and now he is barred from...UI. So, the problem is not only the laws, the problem is that you are dealing with people who know you, they know how things go and there is an old blood between you and them. This will be somewhat dangerous and God knows best.

[UM] Unidentified Male.
[UI] Unintelligible.
[NFI] Not Further Identified.
(LNU) Last name unknown.
[*Italics*] Translator's comments.
[...] Incomplete sentence.

Sh = Shukri Abu Baker
Om = Omar Ahmad
Gh = Ghassan Elashi
Gh2 = Ghassan Saleh
Ss = Sheik Sharif
Ga = Gawad (Abou Ayyoub, LNU)
Ab = Abdel Salam (LNU)
Ak = Akram (LNU)
Au = Abou Usama (NFI)
As = Abdel Halim Al Ashqar (Aboul Hasan)
Aa = Abou Ahmad (NFI)
Aj = Abdel Jabbar Hamdan
Ab2 = Abou Bassem (NFI)
Mu = Muin (LNU)
Ar = Abdel Rahman
Ni = Nihad (LNU)
Os = Osama (NFI)
Ay = Ayman Sharawi
Ha = Haitham Maghawri

Audio file: MTGB 19931003 2.WAV

Gh2: ...the [*Islamic*] Association [*for Palestine*] issue hasn't been agreed on. I mean, you did not tell me. I disagree with what you said about the Association's issue.

Ak: Maybe we should discuss the issue...

Sh: Ah. Ok, our brothers. That's fine.

Gh2: I see that there should be a dramatic change in the Association...

Sh: Ok, fine.

Gh2: And that it should move in the community's direction. We shouldn't keep it as is.

Sh: Ok. Fine.

UM: He asked a question...

Gh2: What is supposed to happen is to have a vote on the matter.

Sh: My opinion, then, is to have an appeal by the Association's Shura Council or for the...UI.

Om: UI... Shukri, just like the other thing you said they are not going to approve it and they did approve it. Ask us. Take a vote. Let them raise their hands...UI.

Sh: Raise your hands, O youths. The brothers who see that there is a need for... Fine. Please be patient with us. I'm just trying to be practical. I'm just trying to be practical because... Our brothers, we won't finish today. Everyone will tell me a remark. I want to put this to a motion. Allow me.

Gh: ...UI you have two of the Association's pillars *[here]*.

Sh: Allow me. Hold on. This council, Abou Mohamed, isn't it a legislative council?

Om: No, my brother. I want to see the direction of the brothers. If we see that this is the direction of 98% of the brothers is no. That's it.

UM: 98...huh?

Sh: So, Ghassan, the issue is... We are not going to discuss it in details. I mean, there is no paper that you're presenting about changing the Association... This is not our topic.

Om: Shukri, Shukri, Shukri, Shukri.. There is..., there is a topic on the floor right now. You shouldn't let... We didn't hear from the other brothers. And you cannot make everyone talk. Right? At least he should vote. If he doesn't want to talk, he should at least say "Yes" or "No". That's it.

Sh: Our brothers... Ok, let's vote.

UM: Let's solve it...

Sh: No. We will vote. We solved it. We will vote.

UM: No, we didn't solve it.

UM2: With the media power...

Sh: Our brothers, please, please. Let's vote. Let's vote. A few at a time, a few at a time.

UM: My brother, you vote when..., I mean when you conclude the idea, voting takes place. When you...UI. People will be then voting on a clear matter

UM2: Brother Shukri...UI.

UM: Brothers, I don't see a need for voting and there is no problem. The whole issue is developing the Association's work. Should we work more on media, work more on the community, serve people more over there...UI.

Sh: Our brothers, by God, allow me. By God, I'm just trying to be practical. I don't think any of the attending brothers is against the idea of developing the Association's work. Our brothers, we're talking about issues, huge strategies which impact..., which lead to major changes. But no one among the brothers... Anyone here brothers have... I asked questions and no one..., no one said "No". I asked a specific question. Let's vote. Our brothers, please, we are not re-opening the discussion regarding yesterday. We're trying to reach conclusions. If each time we say a point..., please be patient, my brother. If every time a brother says a point we respond to it we will not finish.

UM: No, there is a point they say in the community. When you talk with the community they tell you, "My brother, this is not your job".

Sh: That brother cited an example about the community.

UM: Yes, an example. We ...UI the communities.

Gh2: The Palestinian community, specifically. Whenever you engage them, they tell you...

UM: They tell you that you do office work.

Sh: Pray on the prophet. Pray on the prophet. Pray on the prophet.

UM: May God pray on our master, Mohamed.

Sh: Our brothers, let's go back to our motion. We don't want to get into things. Who sees that

there is a need, in light of the recent developments, that the Association ought to think about is constitutional and organizational frames, think now and go back to its Shura Council, to the executive committee, and say that we need to make a dramatic change in our direction, attitude and everything. We need to evaluate what is the Association and its work. Let's be honest with each other. Be patient with me. What are you saying? Who, our brothers, see that there is a need. Let him raise his hand.

Gh: I just have a simple question for Omar or Ghassan..., before you allow voting.

Sh: Go ahead, my brother, go ahead. Raise your hands.

Gh2: Regarding us making a dramatic change...

Sh: That there is a need as a result of the new circumstances. This is the subject of our discussion.

Om: The issue is that we are changing the Association and it seems that you're consenting to the change, that is...

Sh: That's what I'm trying to say. That's what I'm trying to say.

Om: You're in agreement. Consequently, that's fine.

UM2: You're developing it.

Sh: Fine. Development. Development.

Om: Fine.

[UI group talk followed by laughter].

Om: The majority..., the majority *[laughter]*. May God give you strength.

UM2: So, if someone dies in Minnesota, they are going to call you and you're going to bury his body and wash it?

[Group laughter and UI talk].

Om: Your example is rejected.

UM2: Why?

Om: Because...UI. Aboul Hasan.

As: Yes.

Om: I tell you something...

As: Yes.

Om: When there is..., there is a media situation and a situation where the FBI comes to you at your house so that half of the people don't attend your festival and tell you, "I'm afraid to attend your festival because there is talk about you". This is the talk. Give me two years while the situation remains like that and the Jews will come and... Tomorrow, the Jews will use the media [*and say*], "The Islamic Association for Palestine and stuff. It does this and that". Not a single person will go to the festival.

UM2: Then, specify..., specify your points. Don't go around saying...UI in the community.

Om: I'm specifying points...

Sh: Be patient, our brothers. Let's finish. We're now in a position to specify points or cite examples...UI.

Om: My brother, just a minute. Today in Philadelphia... Yesterday, in the festival, the tickets sold were more than those who attended. Usually, when we sell tickets, double the number attend. Why? People tell you, "I will purchase a ticket but I don't want to come". This is what people say "I will purchase. I'm ready to give you the \$10, but I don't want to come. I don't want to attend with you". What is this catastrophe? Half of the people didn't attend because of that reason. They're afraid. They tell you, "You're..., you're scary. Let me... I will give you". Someone said, "I will give you \$1,000 cash.

Sh: Develop..., develop the Association all you want and then..UI. Brothers, now..., now...

Gh2: I mean, this should be our position; that we develop according to need.

Om: So, we are not going to go bury somebody in Minnesota. This is what is meant.

Sh: Fine. Even if you bury him and this took .01 out of your efforts, that's fine. Ok. [*UI group talk*] We, our brothers, we should..., we should stick to the minimum... Our brothers,

please, no one said that the Association will now bury the dead *[laughter]*. That means that we will be taking the imams out of their jobs *[laughter and UI]*.

Sh: When I said that, I imagined Sheik Yousif here with us but it looks like he was at a funeral.

[UI group talk and laughter].

UM: Ok, I mean, did someone tell him to do this job...UI.

UM2: He will form a front with Sheik al-Hanouti¹.

Sh: By God, I didn't mean his grandfather¹ *[laughter and UI group talk]*.

UM: The Sheik won't forgive you for that one *[laughter]*.

Sh: By God, you're negligent. No. We didn't mean that. Our brothers, let's not get...UI.
Enough, please. In the coming period, the organizations must work to supply fundamental needs of the Movement in the fields of specializations such as journalism, law, politics, education and investment.

UM: Yes, yes.

Sh: I mean, urgent issues.

UM: What are you saying, man. These are long-term issues. What are you going to do in the short term.

Om: As a practice, that is. As a practice.

¹ "Al-Hanoti" in Arabic means "the undertaker".

Sh: As a direction. We're not..., we're not putting the plan in place. As a direction. Is it Ok that from now on we start thinking that the children of the community should be steered towards media, journalism and law and then tell them to go live in the homeland. Very general talk which we didn't say four years ago. We say it now. As for how the plan is going to be and these details will come later. This is just the general direction. Is it acceptable?

Group: Yes.

Sh: More than one brother focused on it yesterday and we saw that it is good to... That's it. Ok, our brothers, there are things to say in regards to our strategy relating to the peace project that it must be focused on the most the project can achieve. For instance, the brother said that the most it can achieve is the Palestinian state. Based on that, we examine the facts relating to the Palestinian state so that when the Palestinian state takes form, huh, we are already ahead of it and we are not still talking about self-rule. The self-rule is finished. What's after that? So, this was... But, do you think this is going to be discussed?

Gh: No.

UM: This is a sub-item under the media aspect.

Sh: Let's leave it to the brothers who are called the Think Tank, our politicians who keep working on this issue.

UM: The Association.

Om: ...UI.

Sh: The idea that media should adopt that, the idea to highlight the notion that Islamists..., the Islamists - we know what we mean by the Islamists - are the alternative, the alternative with a definite article. This is my opinion and I think we should take a vote on it because there are our brothers who can write about these issues.

Gh: I believe so. The Islamists are...UI.

UM: What does that mean? Every time the Sheik is about to give a speech...UI.

Sh: Yesterday, you said things that..., that there are inclinations to have...UI.

UM: Said something about the legitimate representative...

Gh2: The Sheik was at our end few days ago...

Sh: Ah.

Gh2: He said that no one said about himself that he will be the alternative because we need a

policy..., a new leadership within the frame of the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization.

UM: This is a...UI talk.

Gh2: Or, the issue of meeting with the...UI, wasn't it for this sake and purpose?

UM: Yes.

Gh: Fine. Let's wait.

Om: Why don't we write to America, people. What do we have to do with...

UM: My brother, he asked...

UM2: This a piece of information on the side.

Sh: Fine. That's fine. He is talking about the part which serves the Occupied Territories, about twenty-five percent of our media which said "Our brave heros have conducted this and that operation and killed X number of Jews and Zionists and stuff like that. So, this is a part of it. They're asking, "Should we adopt an alternative to this or not..., in our lectures, our..."

Gh: ...UI.

Sh: Ok. Let's leave it. Let's leave it.

Ga: The thing is in his hands. It is an alternative or not...UI.

Sh: Ok. Fine. Thinking about opening new specialized organizations capable of dealing with any new reality or with the new reality. This is the issue we examined in details and which brother Ghassan mentioned and which produced...UI.

UM: ...UI brother Shukri.

Sh: That..., our brothers, these are the issues which caused disorder yesterday. Thinking of opening new specialized organizations capable of dealing with..., with the new reality.

Ak: But, our understanding of the idea when Omar presented the idea is that...

Sh: Wait so that we can take one person at a time.

Om: This was Abou Mohamed's idea and not mine. ...UI. We presented it during a session.

Sh: By God, it was from more than one person. When the brother said...

Om: Also, during Abou Mohamed's session as well. During his session with the brother.

UM: The idea was presented by Omar and then Ghassan.

[UI group talk and laughter].

Sh: Working to raise people's morale and this was a fundamental idea and a good one as far as its phrasing.

UM: ...UI [Laughter].

Sh: Had a good phrasing. The phrasing was "raising the morale in order to form a human bridge from and to Palestine". There was a recommendation in that direction as a strategy and not as a thought. We must always remain in contact with the Occupied Territories.

UM: And through an economic infrastructure.

Sh: No, and the delegations.

UM: Through an infrastructure. Meaning striking two birds with one stone.

Sh: The principle of delegations, meaning we receive delegations and send delegations and remain in contact with the Occupied Territories. Good? Should we vote on it? The issue of Jerusalem ought to remain fundamental with its creedal and Sharia axes and the Palestinian issue.

UM: ...UI.

Sh: All of it. All the meanings. Work in America must become supportive of the inside. Brother Aboul Hasan provided a special definition of that. He said that this will be done by organizing the relationships between the organizations and he cited examples. Some people said it is happening and some other people said: No, it is not happening.

UM: This is a part of the first point when we were talking about 75/25.

Sh: It doesn't matter. This is..., this a point about details and I don't believe Aboul Hasan will

insist on. He wants it. He has a certain goal in mind. Aboul Hasan...

UM2: But, he should explain it to us, tell us what he means by that.

Sh: Yes, yes. When you said "supportive..., to be supportive..." and you cited examples from media, law and stuff like that. We can explain to us the idea and then if someone wants to say an idea, let him say it and we will vote on it or we don't want to vote.

UM: You mean like "Back-up", for instance?

Gh: Fraternity, that is, between them.

UM: Back-up...UI.

As: ...UI. This is one. The second item is the media.

Sh: Yes.

As: I said that there must be a special relationship between the...UI entity and the American..UI. I don't think they read anything that is being published in America. But, inside, any magazine or newspaper can be suspended. So, it is possible here to publish some of the magazine which serve the inside in order to fill the existing vacuum and which might increase in the future. This is almost what I said or what I explained before.

Sh: Is there a certain organization in your mind to perform this thing or should it be left to the brothers in the media apparatus?

Gh2: Not the Association.

As: What?

Gh2: Not the Association.

As: I really wanted Ahmad Yousef to do that but, anyway... By God, my brother, there is a competition good things. So, any side which performs this thing is fine without naming certain names. But, it is better that the existing organizations are... For instance, Al-Zaytouna is better than...UI, for instance. ...UI.

Om: You get it, don't you?

As: Yes.

UM: And also "Muslim Palestine" [magazine].

As: "Muslim Palestine", by the way, is printed in the inside and is distributed.

UM: You print it in the inside.

As: More than its distribution in the outside. Thousands are printed and not hundreds. It is printed in all the areas and thousands of issues are distributed. This is the...

Sh: It is a full-color [magazine], Aboul Hasan.

UM: Full-color, full-color.

Sh: It is excellent, by God.

UM: Full-color. They print it in Russia and south Africa as well.

Om: My brother, when a book is issued outside, it costs \$20, for instance. When a copy of it reaches the inside, it sells for \$5 in the market.

Sh: [Laughter]. We will sue you as copyrights are reserved. Ok, our brothers, our brother Aboul Hasan's words are clear, our brothers. He doesn't want to name certain organizations. But, when we check what our brother said, we can say "Palestine action organizations". As a direction, you think it is doable? Anyone has an objection to the idea as an idea?

Group: No, no.

Om: Fine. Let's do it.

Sh: We're almost finished, God's willing. This is the last point. Thanks be to God, Lord of the Two Worlds. I believe we finished all of them. May God reward you well, our brothers. I crossed the part which says, "Building a community first and large focus on non-Muslims is a waste of time". We said that this is...

UM: A waste of time [Laughter].

Sh: ...that it is a waste of time. These issues are technical issues and...

Gh2: Regarding the axes we agreed on...

Sh: We voted on those first thing because we wanted to..., the fraternity and...UI.

Gh2: ...UI.

Sh: These are the axes and we..., we took the main ideas.

As: Shukri, Shukri...

Sh: Yes.

As: ...UI for Akram so that he can finish.

Sh: Be patient, Aboul Hasan. Be patient. I'm with you. I love you but, I mean... I'm not finished yet. Youths, it is now 10:30. We have until 12:00, God's willing, right?

Om: 1:00.

Sh: We're staying up late?

UM: Maybe until 12:00.

[Brief UI group talk].

Ak: I will take 20 minutes, at the most. In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful. We will speak about charitable work and its future in light of the changes. I believe that there was near unanimity over the closing of the Foundation, the Holy Land Foundation and the Fund [laughter and brief UI group talk]...

Om: Listen, ...UI. Al Aqsa project, a gift from the Holy Land Foundation.

UM: We will vote, we will vote.

Sh: Talking about closing the Foundation? By God, I will go and sell watermelons [laughter] and stay in the market. It is the best job.

UM: What watermelons?

Sh: During the summer [laughter].

UM: Work as an imam. Work as an imam.

Sh: Work as an imam! *[laughter]*. It is the most honorable job, sir, for those who don't know.

Aa: As long as it has nothing to do with the dead, it is good. *[laughter]*.

Sh: ...UI you're one of the stars to be guided with during the morning time *[laughter]*.
Enough, may God be pleased with you.

Aa: These are the stars of the tormented people which you see during the daylight *[laughter]*.

Sh: I did not want to be called a cruel person and steal the dreams from your eyes *[poetry]*.

Om: Wow *[UI brief group talk]*.

Sh: Let's go, our brothers.

As: It is almost 11 o'clock.

Sh: It doesn't matter, it doesn't matter, Aboul Hasan.

Ak: Ok, I divided the paper to..., what do you call it, what are the new developments which took place, the problems and the positive things of the coming period and the suggested solutions. The change which will take place in regards to charity work in America is that, as a result of the accord which took place and as a result of the situation and the economy which might change somewhat, it will necessarily reflect on charity work in America. Therefore, we must get acclimated to this new situation. What are the expected problems because of this work..., because of these developments? First, the morale of donors will be more negative in regards to donations. There is a near unanimity that donations will decrease as a result of some donors' conviction that there will be an economic revival, at least in the initial phase, the first one or two years. There was also a unanimity that the Islamic organizations in Palestine will be targeted by the self-rule and also by the Jews, whether in Gaza, the *[West]* Bank or in the '48 territories as well. Also, there was a conviction that the current organizations in Palestine are not sufficient, the Islamic organizations, specially in the Gaza, '48 and some parts of the *[West]* Bank, some parts of the...UI. Positive aspects of the new stage; First, the new economic situation might cover some of the families' needs in Palestine, the needs which the Fund used to spend almost 80% of its allocations on. So, this small break which might occur can cover some of the need and, consequently, a direction to provide more support to the organizations might emerge and with more vigor in the future. Also, the one other positive aspect is that there

will be an openness for new horizons for work, particularly in America, and particularly on the American people, international investments and organizations. I believe, I didn't feel there are more than two positive things in the coming stage. What are the suggested solutions and the future directions? First, avoiding the political approach in charity work. Let's have our brother Shukri stop his Friday sermons from now on.

Sh: By God, I just delivered a sermon last week.

Ak: There is an inclination to stay away from the political address in the charitable organization's name. Also, there is a direction towards all forms of address. They are already in place now. But, we now have a larger scope for the Americans..., to address all people in regards to things they are interested in. For instance, addressing Muslims now about the issue of Jerusalem, the issue of protecting the Islamic organizations in Palestine, the issue of maintaining the steadfastness of Muslims in Palestine and Jerusalem, for example. Also, issues relating to Jihad which will continue such as supporting the injured, the martyrs and prisoners, I mean, their families. These are directions for Muslims. As for the American society, opening the door to the American society through participating with them in building the infrastructure of Palestine, to have our charitable organizations become a front for that kind of work. And, there is more acceptance by the Americans now for this kind of work. Encouraging investors, attempting to get governmental support, if possible, for some projects. It is possible to form some economic committees which benefit from the changing situation. Securing protection for the Islamic organizations in Palestine and it can be done in America through fraternity, for instance, through registering some of the charitable organizations in Palestine under names of people living abroad in order to make it hard to hit them in the inside and closing them. Er...

UM: Register them in the name of some people who are out of the country?

Ak: No. If you, for instance, register them in the names of some people inside and outside, it is possible that... I don't know...UI.

UM2: He is just telling you...UI.

Ak: What?

UM2: Legally, are those who are absent allowed that?

Ak: It is possible now. I mean, getting acclimated to..., trying to protect the organizations using any possible legal means.

Sh: Yes, let's keep it like that. That is better.

Ak: Media campaigns and guests to expose the size of the problem and to show that the economic support which everybody is talking about has not solved most of the problems the Palestinian people suffer from. Also, the problem is bigger than an economic support and that won't be accomplished unless you bring people from the inside, people who live the problem and who tell people in America about the problem. You can encourage donors to...UI. Not telling donors about the change in our focus in work, + that our work focus has changed through turning to the other Islamic problems so that a donor doesn't feel that the situation in Palestine has improved. Even if the change is towards the Palestinian camps outside Palestine which is a point on which there was disagreement. There was an direction to turn to the camps and the other direction was, no, as this would be a signal to the people that Palestine is Ok. So, this might require voting regarding the direction.

UM: Please allow me. It is not an issue of a direction but an addition. I mean, it can become one of Holy Land Foundation's interests in the future.

Ak: Yes. This approach is...

UM: To add it on, that is.

Ak: Fine. The other approach is that, if I add it now, it will be interpreted that I have changed my focus; that you now have an interest in the outside as the inside is now fine. I mean, these two points were presented and I don't adopt a point of view, I say that the two points were presented and I believe that we might need just five minutes. If it is possible to postpone it now because it might be the only point which needs...

Sh: Good as there will be discussion over it.

Ak: There is a direction to focus on supporting the organizations now more than support for daily lives and also the means for distributing funds through opening offices in Palestine, particularly opening new organizations in the areas of Gaza and '48 areas which suffer a lot. There was also a direction to develop media work of the organization, the Fund and charity work to provide an awareness project for donors. This can be done through the charity organization directly, or through the Association or any other organization. This will be done to limit the spread of rumors and to find future justifications to collect donations. This is the general summary of the directions. I believe that there was a unanimity over them.

Om: There is a missing point.

UM: There is a point which is attempting to register everything HLF owns in HLF's name, the property, in order to protect it in the future from confiscation and...

Ak: I mentioned that registering charity organizations in Palestine should be through...

UM: In HLF's name.

Ak: Yes, yes. Registering them in the name of the [organization] abroad.

UM: Yes.

Om: The project to provide awareness for donors by the political media...

Ak: Yes. I mentioned that in the last point.

Om: Where is it?

Ak: Developing media work of the organization or the charity work in order to provide awareness project for donors, either through the organization directly, or through other people in the Association or whatever, and to limit the spread of rumors that everything is Ok and also to provide political awareness to them. It also should not be done through charity organizations.

Om: Yes.

UM: How about the issue of students delegations, I mean, allowing delegations of children of the inside to come to America?

Ak: Hum...

Gh: Or through the Education Fund.

Ak: No, no...

Gh2: It should be done...UI, not through the HLF, that is. Either by the Education Fund or...

Ak: Yes, right. We didn't mention the HLF. The issue wasn't relating to HLF.

Gh2: Yes, it is a general topic. But, adopting...

Ak: We said..., we said "supporting organizations in Palestine". I mean, supporting the organizations includes support for the organizations which have to do with education.

Sh: It is a program, Ghassan. It is a program.

Ak: Yes. We didn't exclude any work...UI. The exclusion..., not the exclusion, but the simple change we talked about is turning to organizations and not supporting the people's living conditions as these might improve somewhat in light of the new circumstances.

Gh2: And it can be focused on the issue of education and support for educational institutions as the issue of [*students*] delegations and stuff like that can be underlined.

Ak: It is mentioned.

Gh2: Where?

Sh: By God, I told Aboul Hasan about it.

Ak: It is mentioned. I mean, one of the problems which relate to the Islamic organizations in Gaza, '48 areas and some of areas of the [*West*] Bank and the lack of administrative stability, specially in the fields of research and education. Education is mentioned as a problem.

Gh2: But, the idea..., the idea..., the idea is that the approach should be that we take advantage of children of the community here or children of the inside. They can choose a brother or two in a certain format to be sent to America.

Ak: We can add it.

Gh2: And one of the organizations is to adopt them in the fields they need. We said that the need is in journalism, media, politics..., these fields.

Ak: I don't believe there is any disagreement on the subject. What remains is the issue of changing the directions to the Palestinian camps outside Palestine. I want the people who adopted the two opposing ideas.... Brother Shukri had adopted the idea of turning to the camps, I believe,...

Sh: Not turning...

Ak: I mean, I want two people to defend the two theories.

Sh: This is one of the issues we can discuss because it is not included in the... It serves the general direction which is bringing failure to the project you're talking about, the peace project, because when you feel the issue of these people, it exposes the self-rule and its...

Ak: But, I want the people who presented the opposing ideas...

Om: Abou Ayyoub and Shukri.

Ga: All I want to say is that it should not be done at the expense of support to the Occupied Territories. That's it. Because this is the most important...UI, right now.

Sh: Our brothers, allow me. This is..., this is a point of fact for the brothers. When we say "focus", what do we do in the organizations? We do campaigns. A campaign for this issue, a campaign for that issue. This year, we can do a campaign for the camps, you see? Then, we can say that 700,000 people in Gaza are staying in camps, this is not a small issue. It is a humanitarian issue, you see? So, this is the purpose. It is a good issue to approach and to focus on. We don't have to neglect it like we used to do in the past, we neglected it in the past, specially that now this will serve us in this issue. That's it. As for us to turn all of our efforts to..., no one is saying that.

Ga: That includes the [West] Bank and the [Gaza] Sector? Camps in the [West] Bank and the [Gaza] Sector?

Ak: No, no, no. He means outside Palestine.

Sh: The Palestinian camps as a subject.

Ak: ...UI Palestine.

Sh: No, my brother. No.

Gh: The ones in Lebanon and...

Ak: No, there is a direction..., there is a point of view which says that adopting...

Gh: Our brother is the one who...

UM: Osama is the one who requested that.

Sh: Inside and outside. Inside and outside.
[UI brief group talk].

Ak: Just a second. Just a second.

Os: Ok. I'm the one who presented this point. But, what is meant by it is not changing or turning work, but expanding the scope of work.

Gh2: ...UI.

Os: While not impacting the...UI.

Sh: Right, right. There is no disagreement.

Gh2: A point..., a point..., the reason is that this point is being brought up right now...

Ak: There is no disagreement.

UM: To draw attention.

Gh2: But, just to draw people's attention and tell them that there are Palestinians. What is going to happen to those refugees in Lebanon, refugees in Jordan.

Ak: What is important is the point that there should not be a change to address this problem at the expense of that other problem.

Sh: No, no, no. It is a re-direction, an expansion.

Ak: So that is not interpreted as...

Sh: Inclusion, inclusion.

Gh2: The media attention should come along with the charitable [attention].

Ak: Agreeing?

Group: Agreeing.

[UI brief group talk].

Om: Can you write it down so that I can copy it and distribute it to the youths in the booklet?

[UI brief group talk].

Ak: Is there..., is there anything to say?

UM: In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful [UI group talk continues].

UM: In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful. God's willing, I will begin with a summary of the 3rd session yesterday which was about political, media and public action in America which is the future and the challenges. In reality, I summarized it in three or four elements, a simple introduction and goals of the coming stage, priorities of action, axes of action and specific recommendations based on the stuff that was mentioned yesterday. In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful. It is expected that the last goals are a reflection for political, media and public action in America due to the U.S. Administration's complete support to the agreement and the Jewish influence on the media outlets with that is based on that such as the impact on the Islamic, Palestinian and Arab community. Therefore, goals of the Palestinian action must be explained in the coming stage on the U.S. front and determine possible means to achieve these goals. I wrote six goals and we can discuss them one by one based on what was presented yesterday. The first goal is to continue to support the Palestinian cause and defending the Movement's positions and explaining them in the suitable way at the Palestinian, Arab and Islamic community's level and the American people in order to form a public opinion which adopts the Movement's position and its political program using the available resources. Of course, through the address. By the way, we will be discussing the issue of the political address later. Would you like to present this point for discussion or continue?

Gh: It is agreed upon.

UM: Agreed upon. Ok. Two, working to stabilize Islamic organizations working for Palestine and protecting them under a legal cover to guarantee their continuity in conducting their mission. Agreed upon or...?

Om: Keep going.

UM: Yes. Three, strengthening..., strengthening our presence in the Palestinian, Arab and Islamic community and resorting to all possible means to maintain the current gains, developing them and strengthening the alliance with Arab and Islamic organizations in the field. Ok? Four, working to make the Islamic Association for Palestine the main source of information which represents the Movement's positions.

UM2: ...UI.

Om: The sole legal representative [*laughter and UI group talk*].

UM: Of course, regarding the point which was mentioned yesterday that when we fight with the other Islamic organizations, it weakens our position and our political address. ...about the Movement's position of the cause and this in order to make sure to continue to offer a clear Islamic position to the Islamic community. A special focus on the Islamic community while being careful not to show the Association as an opposition party with direct connections with the inside. It expresses its position. It expresses the Movement's position but it doesn't say I represent this side or anything like that.

Sh: It should lie, you mean.

UM: It shouldn't talk [*laughter*]. It shouldn't lie. It shouldn't talk [*laughter*].

Sh: War is deception.

Om: Learn from your masters in the Fund [*laughter*].

UM: Five, determining the political address of Palestinian political and media organizations based on our Islamic creed and our Movement's principles.

Aa: And this should be based on circumstantial conditions.

UM: It will come, God's willing.

UM2: Because this is supposed to be said in details.

UM: Six, working on building a strong economic infrastructure to support our political organizations because... And the media ones, too. The money issue is a political one. We said that we are talking about charity issues. But, the money issue has to do with political action and this is a known thing. Therefore, we must be keen on the investment issue as it will be mentioned later, God's willing. Priorities of mobilization: The first priority is our belief according to what was said is the issue of Ikhwan and the Islamic groups such as ISNA, ICNA, etc., because these people are..., let's suppose they're...

Om: [*knocking*] Let's not use the word "Islamic groups" in order not to...

UM: No. There are other groups.

Om: I mean the groups which are in Egypt lest they think...

Gh: The Islamic organizations.

UM: Aha. This is because these people are supposed to understand the same, or espouse the same creedal conviction which we espouse about the Palestinian cause and they are supposed to carry a responsibility like we carry a responsibility towards this cause even though we are the ones with the prime responsibility and initiative in regards to action. Therefore, we should be looking for suitable reasons... - of course, we will be mentioning this later in details - to mobilize these people to shoulder the cause with us and to share this mission with us. The second point is the Palestinian, Arab and Islamic community and its organizations. The third one is the American people because as it was mentioned in the discussion yesterday that we don't have very high hopes in the achievements of the American people even though we must address this category of people. Work axes are: the political axis, the media axis, the social one, the financial one and the investment one. Of course, issues of awareness and education are a part of the political and media [axes] because brother Gawad mentioned in details that it is not our business to detail that or to work in that frame. Recommendations: One, the political address: Our political address must be based on our Islamic creed and fundamentals of our straight religion, and it must express the positions of our Movement and its political program. The language of the address might differ according to the addressed public without touching the staples. One, to detail this point; One, address to the Islamic and Arab community: It must be a clear address and based on the Sharia fundamentals and the creedal staples and the principle of..., and expressing the Movement's position and its political program in a fruitful objective manner. This is a general talk but, it lays the fundamentals in regards to the issues of the political address to..., to..., Muslims, whether Arabs, Pakistanis or others. We address those using the Sharia aspect, the issue is clear. We give them the responsibility towards this cause but also in a fruitful and an objective manner which makes them accept our idea, accept our call. Details can be mentioned in the different committees. Two, the issue of Ikhwan and the Islamic groups. Working to mobilize the Ikhwan to carry the cause and to work for it in positive ways which brings benefit to our cause.

UM2: We should look then...

UM: What?

UM2: The Ikhwan of El Shamm countries in particular.

UM: They're more entitled to it, but we generalized it. Yes. In the discussion, El Shamm countries were mentioned. Yes, that's right.

Sh: Should we use positive work with them..., with the brothers?

UM: By "positive"..., what do you mean with the "positive"? Yes. Because..., because... In my belief - and God knows best and we didn't detail this during the discussion - there are causes from them and there are causes from us. This is what I mean by "positive"; we look inside ourselves for the causes of weakness and negligence and we treat them in our organizations and the rooms for details is not now. We can details them in the Association's committees, in our private meetings...etc. We can explain to them the causes which they are to be blamed for and we assist them in solving them. But, there are definitely causes from us and negligence from our end, whether at the level of our organization and institutions and the level of our personnel and symbols. There are mistakes from our end which led to phenomena such as these. Therefore, we must..., must treat them and there is no room to detail them now and God knows best. Is there an objection?

Group: No.

Sh: This is the work of other committees or...UI.

UM: Three, the American people. The American people and the media and the official media...UI, and the official and legal organizations. It must taken into consideration that this category of people doesn't understand our cause in the same manner our Islamic community understands it due to many accumulations. Therefore, we must get better at delivering our idea to them with what does not contradict the principles of our religion, while emphasizing the issue of human rights and that true peace cannot be achieved unless when accompanied by serving justice and removal of injustice and the following items..., we will mention the following items which are: our historical right in Palestine, injustice and terrorism befalling the Palestinian people, attacking the credibility of the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization and its ability to lead the Palestinian people, relying on UN resolutions according to need because, as I mentioned yesterday, some of the resolutions are old and can be modified according to..., attacking the credibility of the Jews and our right to fight occupation.

UM2: Even attacking the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization and its representation of the Palestinian people.

UM: And leading..., its ability to lead the Palestinian people.

UM2: No, its representation of the Palestinian people.

UM: Or, representation... Yes.

UM2: This is a legal issue.

Gh: On the contrary, it doesn't represent the Palestinian people...UI.

UM: What I mean by this point is what? It is that the Americans are running with this point, that the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization is now qualified or is delegated to negotiate..., regardless of the representation, that it has the power to lead the Palestinian people. That's why they deal with them, because the Americans are...UI. I mean, in the future, if they have to..., if the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization failed in its program and they have in the future to deal with Samah, for instance, they will deal with their conditions. Their mentality allows them to deal with any sides if they have to. So, they see that the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization is a better alternative right now to deal with. But, they see that it has the power to impose its control over the Palestinian people, at least like the Arab rulers. But,...UI.

Sh: I..., I have an objection over this point in particular. In my opinion, we should not be bringing the Palestinian conflict onto the American front. I believe that there is no business for us to speak with the Americans, to our address to the Americans include an attack on the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization and animosity towards the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization because we have no interest gained at all. Therefore, we are only going to be looking very bad on the American front when we hate each other. We have no benefit, that is. I mean, let all the Americans..., they used to label it a terrorist organization. What is that? What did that benefit us then? Let them say whatever they want to say about it everyday. We don't have a benefit in the U.S. front to slander the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization. This is my point of view. I have a major objection to that. I see that we don't adopt it at all.

Ga: Yes. It is a remark that is...

Sh: I mean, I'm in America... The Americans...

Ga: The remark you said is very correct. But, there is an ongoing problem right now that you must deal with. It is that the Americans consider the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization a legitimate one. Its leader is legitimate and it is...UI to the Palestinian public and that the majority of the Palestinian public is with it. You have a problem as an individual carries the same idea through the media and politically. It is the same idea.

How to deal with this issue? ...UI all of Abou Ammar's talk, Shaath's talk, Abbas' talk, Ashrawi's talk, all of their talk..., they are a minority people.

UM: Right.

Ga: They can't affect our people...UI, most of us. They're just a small majority. That's what they tell you. I will tell you how things are going to be. What is your stand? Are you going to stand and watch? No. They're a minority, that's true, and...., and Hamas and stuff. They are the mainstream.

Sh: ...UI. I'm with you.

Ga: ...UI. In addition to that, the second point for the Americans is that this current has not gained legality even its organizations here in place of Palestinian representation. An idea came up in London to have a public referendum about its right to determine its fate.

Sh: All of that is fine.

Ga: Arafat wasn't elected. ...UI wasn't elected. The National Council wasn't elected. I mean, issues like these need representations.

UM: Yes.

Ga: Consequently, I, as a Palestinian, say that he who took advantage of the situation and signed doesn't represent me. So, when I say "No" about the agreement, the problem rises regarding about the legality of...

UM: Abou Ayyoub, people are also telling you that Hamas is not elected. And, how do you know that the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization was not elected? There are people, representatives, who were elected. How do I rebut the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization?

UM2: Have a vote.

Ga: ...UI.

UM: No, no, no. From the other side.

Ga: Go to the Occupied Territories and find out...UI.

UM: Abou Ayyoub,... Let's just work on one issue.

UM2: Was Hamas elected?

Ga: Not Hamas, even. Did I say Hamas was the opposite? I didn't say the opposite.

Ab: What is the possibility..., what is the possibility to hire a neutral side to make a survey in the Occupied Territories about something?

UM: This is not our goal now. We're now...

Ab: I'm saying about a side..., a side..., a side which is an American legal side, for instance, a private business which has nothing to do with...

UM: Let's stay within the scope of discussion, our brothers. Let's stay within the scope of discussion. Just a moment. Allow me, by God. Brother Gawad...

Ab: They go and conduct a survey which is to be announced in the newspapers and the media.

UM: Abdel Salam..., Abdel Salam, but this is not the discussion topic. We're now saying, "Is it suitable to present this point to the American public opinion or not?".

UM2: Exactly. Exactly.

UM: I can reach a compromise between what the two parties suggested. The impact of that on the American people is negative, definitely, because the American people now accepts the [*Palestinian*] Liberation Organization and accepts Yasser Arafat despite all the past and some stuff here and there. The American people in general, the American public now accepts the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization. So, now when you're hostile to them, you're an extremist, a fundamentalist. But, if you address the official organizations, if you send to the State Department, you tell them, "I lead the Palestinian people and not them". You have to say this kind of thing at this point.

Gh2: But, my brother, if you have no grounds among the public opinion...

UM: This is another issue.

Gh2: No. The idea of the [*Palestinian*] Liberation Organization is not accepted by the American people and it is still stuck over here. They call him "A retired terrorist".

UM: So, what are you going to say? What are you going to say?

Gh2: No. You discuss in a democratic way. This was done through the legal ways...

UM: Aha.

Sh: Your mother, Samah, is the mother of democracy.

END OF RECORDING.

[UM] Unidentified Male.
[UI] Unintelligible.
[NFI] Not Further Identified.
(LNU) Last name unknown.
[*Italics*] Translator's comments.
[...] Incomplete sentence.

Sh = Shukri Abu Baker
Om = Omar Ahmad
Gh = Ghassan Elashi
Gh2 = Ghassan Saleh
Ss = Sheik Sharif
Ga = Gawad (Abou Ayyoub, LNU)
Ab = Abdel Salam (LNU)
Ak = Akram (LNU)
Au = Abou Usama (NFI)
As = Abdel Halim Al Ashqar (Aboul Hasan)
Aa = Abou Ahmad (NFI)
Aj = Abdel Jabbar Hamdan
Ab2 = Abou Bassem (NFI)
Mu = Muin (LNU)
Ar = Abdel Rahman
Ni = Nihad (LNU)
Os = Osama (NFI)
Ay = Ayman Sharawi
Ha = Haitham Maghawri

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Sh: By God, you're negligent. No. We didn't mean that. Our brothers, let's not get...UI.
Enough, please. In the coming period, the organizations must work to supply fundamental
needs of the Movement in the fields of specializations such as journalism, law, politics,
education and investment.

UM: Yes, yes.

Sh: I mean, urgent issues.

UM: What are you saying, man. These are long-term issues. What are you going to do in the
short term.

GOVERNMENT
EXHIBIT
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3:04-CR-240-G
U.S. v. HLF, et al.

Om: As a practice, that is. As a practice.

Sh: As a direction. We're not..., we're not putting the plan in place. As a direction. Is it Ok that from now on we start thinking that the children of the community should be steered towards media, journalism and law and then tell them to go live in the homeland. Very general talk which we didn't say four years ago. We say it now. As for how the plan is going to be and these details will come later. This is just the general direction. Is it acceptable?

Group: Yes.

Sh: More than one brother focused on it yesterday and we saw that it is good to... That's it. Ok, our brothers, there are things to say in regards to our strategy relating to the peace project that it must be focused on the most the project can achieve. For instance, the brother said that the most it can achieve is the Palestinian state. Based on that, we examine the facts relating to the Palestinian state so that when the Palestinian state takes form, huh, we are already ahead of it and we are not still talking about self-rule. The self-rule is finished. What's after that? So, this was... But, do you think this is going to be discussed?

Gh: No.

UM: This is a sub-item under the media aspect.

Sh: Let's leave it to the brothers who are called the Think Tank, our politicians who keep working on this issue.

UM: The Association.

Om: ...UI.

Sh: The idea that media should adopt that, the idea to highlight the notion that Islamists..., the Islamists - we know what we mean by the Islamists - are the alternative, the alternative with a definite article. This is my opinion and I think we should take a vote on it because there are our brothers who can write about these issues.

Sh: Fine. That's fine. He is talking about the part which serves the Occupied Territories, about twenty-five percent of our media which said "Our brave heros have conducted this and that operation and killed X number of Jews and Zionists and stuff like that. So, this is a part of it. They're asking, "Should we adopt an alternative to this or not..., in our lectures, our..."

Ak: Ok, I divided the paper to..., what do you call it, what are the new developments which took place, the problems and the positive things of the coming period and the suggested solutions. The change which will take place in regards to charity work in America is that, as a result of the accord which took place and as a result of the situation and the economy which might change somewhat, it will necessarily reflect on charity work in America. Therefore, we must get acclimated to this new situation. What are the expected problems because of this work..., because of these developments? First, the morale of donors will be more negative in regards to donations. There is a near unanimity that donations will decrease as a result of some donors' conviction that there will be an economic revival, at least in the initial phase, the first one or two years. There was also a unanimity that the Islamic organizations in Palestine will be targeted by the self-rule and also by the Jews, whether in Gaza, the [West] Bank or in the '48 territories as well. Also, there was a conviction that the current organizations in Palestine are not sufficient, the Islamic organizations, specially in the Gaza, '48 and some parts of the [West] Bank, some parts of the...UL. Positive aspects of the new stage; First, the new economic situation might cover some of the families' needs in Palestine, the needs which the Fund used to spend almost 80% of its allocations on. So, this small break which might occur can cover some of the need and, consequently, a direction to provide more support to the organizations might emerge and with more vigor in the future. Also, the one other positive aspect is that there will be an openness for new horizons for work, particularly in America, and particularly on the American people, international investments and organizations. I believe, I didn't feel there are more than two positive things in the coming stage. What are the suggested solutions and the future directions? First, avoiding the political approach in charity work. Let's have our brother Shukri stop his Friday sermons from now on.

Sh: By God, I just delivered a sermon last week.

Ak: There is an inclination to stay away from the political address in the charitable organization's name. Also, there is a direction towards all forms of address. They are already in place now. But, we now have a larger scope for the Americans..., to address all people in regards to things they are interested in. For instance, addressing Muslims now about the issue of Jerusalem, the issue of protecting the Islamic organizations in Palestine, the issue of maintaining the steadfastness of Muslims in Palestine and Jerusalem, for example. Also, issues relating to Jihad which will continue such as supporting the injured, the martyrs and prisoners, I mean, their families. These are directions for Muslims. As for the American society, opening the door to the American society through participating with them in building the infrastructure of Palestine, to have our charitable organizations become a front for that kind of work. And, there is more acceptance by the Americans now for this kind of work. Encouraging investors, attempting to get governmental support, if possible, for some projects. It is possible to form some economic committees which benefit from the changing situation. Securing protection for the Islamic organizations in Palestine and it can be done in America through fraternity, for instance, through registering some of the charitable organizations in Palestine under names of people living abroad in order to make it hard to hit them in the inside and closing them. Er...

- Ak: We said..., we said "supporting organizations in Palestine". I mean, supporting the organizations includes support for the organizations which have to do with education.
- Sh: It is a program, Ghassan. It is a program.
- Ak: Yes. We didn't exclude any work...UI. The exclusion..., not the exclusion, but the simple change we talked about is turning to organizations and not supporting the people's living conditions as these might improve somewhat in light of the new circumstances.
- Gh2: And it can be focused on the issue of education and support for educational institutions as the issue of [*students*] delegations and stuff like that can be underlined.
- Ak: It is mentioned.
- Gh2: Where?
- Sh: By God, I told Aboul Hasan about it.
- Ak: It is mentioned. I mean, one of the problems which relate to the Islamic organizations in Gaza, '48 areas and some of areas of the [*West*] Bank and the lack of administrative stability, specially in the fields of research and education. Education is mentioned as a problem.
- Gh2: But, the idea..., the idea..., the idea is that the approach should be that we take advantage of children of the community here or children of the inside. They can choose a brother or two in a certain format to be sent to America.
- Ak: We can add it.
- Gh2: And one of the organizations is to adopt them in the fields they need. We said that the need is in journalism, media, politics..., these fields.
- Ak: I don't believe there is any disagreement on the subject. What remains is the issue of changing the directions to the Palestinian camps outside Palestine. I want the people who adopted the two opposing ideas.... Brother Shukri had adopted the idea of turning to the camps, I believe,....
- Sh: Not turning...

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Sh: This is one of the issues we can discuss because it is not included in the... It serves the general direction which is bringing failure to the project you're talking about, the peace project, because when you feel the issue of these people, it exposes the self-rule and its...

Ak: But, I want the people who presented the opposing ideas...

Om: Abou Ayyoub and Shukri.

Ga: All I want to say is that it should not be done at the expense of support to the Occupied Territories. That's it. Because this is the most important...UI, right now.

Sh: Our brothers, allow me. This is..., this is a point of fact for the brothers. When we say "focus", what do we do in the organizations? We do campaigns. A campaign for this issue, a campaign for that issue. This year, we can do a campaign for the camps, you see? Then, we can say that 700,000 people in Gaza are staying in camps, this is not a small issue. It is a humanitarian issue, you see? So, this is the purpose. It is a good issue to approach and to focus on. We don't have to neglect it like we used to do in the past, we neglected it in the past, specially that now this will serve us in this issue. That's it. As for us to turn all of our efforts to..., no one is saying that.

UM: In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful. God's willing, I will begin with a summary of the 3rd session yesterday which was about political, media and public action in America which is the future and the challenges. In reality, I summarized it in three or four elements, a simple introduction and goals of the coming stage, priorities of action, axes of action and specific recommendations based on the stuff that was mentioned yesterday. In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful. It is expected that the last goals are a reflection for political, media and public action in America due to the U.S. Administration's complete support to the agreement and the Jewish influence on the media outlets with that is based on that such as the impact on the Islamic, Palestinian and Arab community. Therefore, goals of the Palestinian action must be explained in the coming stage on the U.S. front and determine possible means to achieve these goals. I wrote six goals and we can discuss them one by one based on what was presented yesterday. The first goal is to continue to support the Palestinian cause and defending the Movement's positions and explaining them in the suitable way at the Palestinian, Arab and Islamic community's level and the American people in order to form a public opinion which adopts the Movement's position and its political program using the available resources. Of course, through the address. By the way, we will be discussing the issue of the political address later. Would you like to present this point for discussion or continue?

Gh: It is agreed upon.

UM: Agreed upon. Ok. Two, working to stabilize Islamic organizations working for Palestine and protecting them under a legal cover to guarantee their continuity in conducting their mission. Agreed upon or...?

Om: Keep going.

UM: Yes. Three, strengthening..., strengthening our presence in the Palestinian, Arab and Islamic community and resorting to all possible means to maintain the current gains, developing them and strengthening the alliance with Arab and Islamic organizations in the field. Ok? Four, working to make the Islamic Association for Palestine the main source of information which represents the Movement's positions.

UM2: ...UI.

Om: The sole legal representative [*laughter and UI group talk*].

UM: Of course, regarding the point which was mentioned yesterday that when we fight with the other Islamic organizations, it weakens our position and our political address. ...about the Movement's position of the cause and this in order to make sure to continue to offer a clear Islamic position to the Islamic community. A special focus on the Islamic community while being careful not to show the Association as an opposition party with direct connections with the inside. It expresses its position. It expresses the Movement's position but it doesn't say I represent this side or anything like that.

Sh: It should lie, you mean.

UM: It shouldn't talk [laughter]. It shouldn't lie. It shouldn't talk [laughter].

Sh: War is deception.

Om: Learn from your masters in the Fund [laughter].

UM: ... Our political address must be based on our Islamic creed and fundamentals of our straight religion, and it must express the positions of our Movement and its political program. The language of the address might differ according to the addressed public without touching the staples. One, to detail this point; One, address to the Islamic and Arab community: It must be a clear address and based on the Sharia fundamentals and the creedal staples and the principle of..., and expressing the Movement's position and its political program in a fruitful objective manner.

UM: ... The American people and the media and the official media...UI, and the official and legal organizations. It must taken into consideration that this category of people doesn't understand our cause in the same manner our Islamic community understands it due to many accumulations. Therefore, we must get better at delivering our idea to them with what does not contradict the principles of our religion, while emphasizing the issue of human rights and that true peace cannot be achieved unless when accompanied by serving justice and removal of injustice and the following items..., we will mention the following items which are: our historical right in Palestine, injustice and terrorism befalling the Palestinian people, attacking the credibility of the [Palestinian Liberation] Organization and its ability to lead the Palestinian people, relying on UN resolutions according to need because, as I mentioned yesterday, some of the resolutions are old and can be modified according to..., attacking the credibility of the Jews and our right to fight occupation.

UM2: Even attacking the [Palestinian Liberation] Organization and its representation of the Palestinian people.

UM: And leading..., its ability to lead the Palestinian people.

UM2: No, its representation of the Palestinian people.

UM: Or, representation... Yes.

UM2: This is a legal issue.

Gh: On the contrary, it doesn't represent the Palestinian people...UI.

UM: What I mean by this point is what? It is that the Americans are running with this point, that the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization is now qualified or is delegated to negotiate..., regardless of the representation, that it has the power to lead the Palestinian people. That's why they deal with them, because the Americans are...UI. I mean, in the future, if they have to..., if the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization failed in its program and they have in the future to deal with Samah, for instance, they will deal with their conditions. Their mentality allows them to deal with any sides if they have to. So, they see that the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization is a better alternative right now to deal with.

Sh: Your mother, Samah, is the mother of democracy.

[UM] Unidentified Male.
 [UI] Unintelligible.
 [NFI] Not Further Identified.
 (LNU) Last name unknown.
 [Italics] Translator's comments.
 ... Incomplete sentence.

Sh = Shukri Abu Baker
 Om = Omar Ahmad
 Gh = Ghassan Elashi
 Ss = Sheik Sharif
 Ga = Gawad (LNU)
 Ab = Abdel Salam (LNU)
 Ak = Akram (LNU)
 Au = Abou Usama (NFI)
 As = Abdel Halim Al Ashqar (Aboul Hasan)
 Aa = Abou Ahmad (NFI)
 Aj = Abdel Jabbar
 Ab2 = Abou Basem (NFI)
 Mu = Muin (LNU)

Audio file: MTGB 19931002 7.WAV

Sh: ...And I say that the address doesn't necessarily have to be the same one for newspapers or correspondence. By "Address" I mean work methods. When speaking to the Islamic community, I use a certain address and I respond to certain needs. The American public has certain needs and the nationalist public has other certain needs and it is important that this Foundation does not..., I mean it should diversify its programs to absorb all the currents on the field. It does not represent the Foundation to have...UI. He who is going to give us money, is he going to provide it under conditions? Give me the money, whether it is from...UI, An Arab or a Jew, I don't care, just give me the money. Ok? The prohibited areas which we might face are not many, but caution remains important. I mean, someone might try to frame you to bring disaster upon you. This is regarding the charitable organizations. We shouldn't take part in any illegal transactions. Other than that, we can manage. That's it.

UM1: May God reward you well.

UM2: May God reward you well....UI [*Group laughter*].

UM1: ...UI regarding the media. He is a media specialist. We will listen to brother Muin giving an analysis of the situation of the organizations in Palestine.

Mu: In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful. First of all, it is not an analysis for the situation of the organizations because the analysis of the situation of the organizations needs a full lecture, taking two or three hours. At the same time, we must speak about the situation of the organizations on the inside but, I noticed that most of the talk is about America. Therefore, I ask your permission to speak about over there but, speaking about over there is separate from our organizations over here. In the beginning, I want to give a quick idea about the status of the organizations in general terms in the Occupied Territories. The history of Islamic activism in the twenty years prior to the Intifada was based on the Superman idea, or the man who oversees everything, a man who is an encyclopedia who was in charge of everything. This was an obstacle in our reality. We had no organizations of our own. Everything was in the hand of the man and, if the man died or deviated, his absence would mean a big loss. Therefore, this was an obstacle prior to the Intifada but, in order to be objective, there was a small presence for the organizations in the Occupied Territories at this time but they were not at the needed level. But, when the Intifada started, there was a noticeable change and the brothers began to feel the importance of organizational work in the Occupied Territories, whether it was a critical need for them as Islamists or because there was a competition from the other parties in the Occupied Territories since they have a lot of organizations. Second, the situation in the Gaza Sector during this time period - prior to and almost during the Intifada - is similar to a total absence for the role of the organizations in general terms and our organizations in particular for many reasons. One of these reason is the fact that the [Gaza] Sector, generally speaking, was under military and emergency rule during most of the past century or during this present century. The second reason is the lack of qualified resources due to the economic situation in the [Gaza] Sector. Number three is transfer of power from a small clan of profiteers and special-interests groups who dominated most of the activities. This was in the [Gaza] Sector as it was different from the West Bank. Number four is tying the [Gaza] Sector's economy directly to Israel's economy in a lesser degree than the West Bank, most people were traveling to Kuwait to shop there. They would leave from the [Gaza] Sector to inside the Green Line to work. But, generally speaking, the West Bank was better off for many reasons some of such as possessing some economic resources, whether agricultural or otherwise, the connection between the West Bank and many of residents abroad and elsewhere which made the economic situation in the West Bank better generally speaking. The core of the matter is that there was a noticeable absence for Islamic organizations in the West Bank and the Gaza Sector, whether before the Intifada until now... We could say that even during the Intifada the organizational presence in the Occupied Territories was not at the needed level. I tried to gather the types of organizations which exist in the Occupied Territories and I believe that

I classified them in 10 categories. We have the educational organizations such as kindergartens and schools; the social and charitable organizations such as Zakat committees, relief, the ones caring for the orphans, prisons and others; the intellectual organizations [such as] research centers; health institutions the majority of which are affiliated with Zakat committees; five, the public syndicates; six, the technical institutions relating to machines, factories and others; sport institutions and clubs; media organizations [such as] offices and newspapers; number nine is the educational such as Quran schools and [Mohamed's] Sayings schools and women organizations. Organizations in the [Gaza] Sector, generally speaking, are limited. If we speak in general terms about our organizations in the [Gaza] Sector, they are limited and I will try to mention them quickly. The main organization and which is known to belong to us is Islamic University in the Gaza Sector and we will speak later about the solutions we will mention it because it is really a wound in the heart. Number two, the Islamic Complex which was founded in 1973 and licensed in 1976. The Complex' activities at that time was more inclusive. The Islamic Society which was founded in 1976. Al Salah Society in the [Gaza] Sector which oversees the sacrifices and other things. The Young Muslim Women Association and then Al Wafa Society for Seniors Care, The Orphans House, some of the Zakat committees, some public services institutions which obtained new licenses such as Justice and Law Institution which cares for the prisoners. In the West Bank, in the north region which includes Nablus, Jenin, Qalqilia and Al Biqa'a [Valley], there was relatively old activity such as Nablus Zakat Committee in Nablus which was founded in 1976. It is very advanced in comparison with other committees. For instance, they have over 1,000 orphans, over 2,200 families which are sponsored monthly, they have investment activities and other activities. But, when we speak about it as a Zakat committee we tie it to us. In reality, we as Islamists have a weak presence in it. That is if we speak about reality but, I wanted to mention it quickly as times doesn't permit [more details]. In the north, there is also a clinic, the Islamic Solidarity clinic which was founded in 1984 and it is almost the largest medical centers in the West Bank as it includes 12 specialized doctors. It has an ophthalmology clinic, a dentistry clinic, an X-ray clinic and it covers the northern region, [serving] about 300,000 of the population there. There is also Solidarity Charitable Society. Our problem, brothers, is that we establish [organizations] and others reap the fruits. Solidarity Charitable Society was founded by the city's scholars and by Islam's scholars in this region from the Islamic Movement and others but, now, ask how is our presence and how is control over it. In reality, our presence is relatively weak. We then come to the main activity which is the Zakat committees in Jenin, for instance, and elsewhere. In Jenin, the Zakat Committee there has built a hospital which is really ours, for the Islamists either in management or in the teams working in it. In Jenin, there is a large Islamic school and there is an orphans' center. Tulkarem are now about to start building a hospital affiliated with the Zakat committee. In Qalqilia, we have the Legal Institute for Studies less than....graduate

studies..., two years of studying at the institution or what you call it...

Sh: ...UI.

Mu: Yes. An Intermediate Institution. Now, I believe that the central region which includes Jerusalem, Ramallah, Bethlehem and Jericho is the core or the main part in the West Bank because its proximity to the media, the presence of Al Aqsa and the presence of many other organizations in it. The main organization which we should pay the most attention to inside and outside is Al Aqsa Organization, Al Aqsa mosque as an organization like our brother mentioned as its location and impact is supposed to have a great dimension whether by playing a role in activities inside or by encouraging people outside to cooperate by providing assistance [to it]. There are some issues such as the heritage of Al Aqsa and our brothers really benefitted from in a good way but Al Aqsa Organization by itself deserves to be studied by our brothers now in order to benefit from it. In the future, should changes happen to Al Aqsa...UI we must benefit from it and its vicinity. In Jerusalem, there remains some organizations, particularly the Islamic Sciences and Culture Society which is directly counted with us. It used to have a research center but, unfortunately, it was a nucleus for the establishment of a major research center but, the strikes and the affiliation of... This is one of the problems which are not solved; the affiliation of the organization with exposed people so, when a problem happens with the man, a problem happens with the organization. I mean, the Islamic Sciences & Culture Society used to have a research center which was the nucleus for a huge research center until the person in charge [of it], Sheik Jamil Hamami, was arrested and this became an obstacle and a hindrance for the development of that project. We have a school and a kindergarten and some orphan sponsorships in that region. But, unfortunately, our institutions are very few because they have over 100 Christian institutions in the Bethlehem region alone. The Ramallah region really has some noticeable activity for our organizations and, particularly, the activity of the Zakat committee. We could say that the Ramallah Zakat Committee is ours, including its management and officers. Because of their efforts in the past, the brothers were able to establish some activities, particularly the medical aspect. Thanks be to God, the medical aspect has started to advance and to move forward in large steps, thanks be to God. But, unfortunately, when institutional and organizational work interfere - and this is an important point - chaos begins. I mean, the brother who was..., and I believe that he was one of the most capable people in syndicate, administrative and medical activism - he was a doctor - he founded this center and started to bring experienced people to it. This center became a hospital. This brother was also engaged in organizational activity, was arrested and is still under investigation and...UI. Thus, this interference brought about some crises for some of the organizations. But, we add that, until now, this organization still exists. At the same time, we have the Islamic Charitable Society which has a school, a kindergarten and a Deaf & Dumb institution.

But, in Ramallah, we need to speak quickly about a small experiment which is also something which we hope to be copied in other region. The Ramallah region..., in the Ramallah region, they established..., I was living inside during that time, they established the Islamic Syndicate. The Islamic Syndicate was established and it was a beginning. Now, its name settled at The Islamic Syndicate for Workers of Public Sector & Manufacturing Institutions. He applied for a license and the brother who is charge of it now is a known brother and now represents the inside, I mean he is not on a low level to the point that when King Hussein returned home from his operation abroad, he went to meet the brother the head of the syndicate. I mean, our brother is named Hussein, and Jordan's Hussein met him, Hussein met Hussein. Therefore, when the brother speaks in the name of an organization, he has a stature. This Syndicate, my brothers,... Of course, the brother the head of the Syndicate was with the deportees - you might have seen him in the car using walkers if you remember this scene - he is the brother the head of the Syndicate and now speaks with some boldness because he represents an organization and he now has about 2,500 members in the Ramallah region. This organization became one of our organizations. It speaks, it talks about the...UI which exist in the field. Many of our brothers in more than one position and particularly in the [Gaza] Sector were urged to act and copy it. [They replied saying] "Man, these are legal matters and other stuff and we don't think so and stuff". People, move! Anyway, they tried. There was an attempt and this attempt succeeded and it is possible that we repeat it at every site but, now, things could have changed. In Hebron..., Hebron as a city is a place where we consider that we have a good presence and weight as Islamic organizations such as the Islamic Charitable Society which was founded in 1962 and which has over 1,000 employees. The Patient's Friends Society has over 180 employees and it owns Al Ahli Hospital. Unfortunately, the board of trustees for Al Ahli Hospital has 3 affiliated with us and 3 of them but, the chairman is one of us and we are supposed to have a weight. But, because the chairman, my brothers..., the chairman's brother is a member of the negotiation delegation and he must consult with his brother. He must consult with his brother. At the end, he must... At the end, all the efforts which collaborated for the sake of building this [hospital] is our efforts and our hard work as Islamists abroad. God's willing, this organization will be ours at the end, particularly the hospital. Al Ahli Hospital in Hebron is considered one of the largest hospitals in the West Bank among governmental and non-governmental hospitals alike. God's willing, we will have a presence. The Young Men Muslim Association..., its chairman is deported. The Beni-Naem Society..., its chairman is deported...UI.

Sh: He returned.

Mu: He now returned? He returned with..., with..., with the last group of people who returned. The negative aspects of the past phase, our brothers are: number one, being run by

exposed persons. The Complex, Yasin; the Islamic Society, Al Koka; the center which was established in Nablus for research is directed by Mousa Al Akhtal; the Scientific Medical Society in Ramallah is directed by Dr....UI. All of these people, my brothers, are exposed characters. Therefore, even if the organization sailed for a while, it will be hit later. The non-inclusive nature of these organizations. I mean, managing organizations which address a very simple aspect [*of life*], my brothers, in contrast with other societies affiliated with other organizations which work more comprehensively, even though they're supposed to be limited to a certain frame, yet you see them moving on all frames and venues. For instance, The Family Revival Society..., The Family Revival Society in Al Bireh whose director is Samiha Khalil. It used to be like any of the other organizations, it is an old one, but Samiha Khalil works on a global level. she goes and comes, America, the inside, abroad, here and there....UI but, at the same time, we are supposed to show some agility when it comes to management, to move faster than that. Three, the dependence of our institutions on donations or financial instability. I mean, if donations stopped, God knows what would happen. Number four, our reliance on volunteers and the absence of full-timers. Five,... Let's not comment now because time is short...UI activism between the inside and the outside. Administrative instability. This brother is an attorney or..., or works in agriculture and you find him handling a technical position. People, choose someone who is specialized in his profession... Therefore, some administrative aspects led to the failure of many organizations on the inside and even here in America because we are not willing to hire someone who is specialized in administration and who would make work succeed. The women's aspect remains. Man, why is the women's aspect a goal of work for me?. The weakness of the media aspect...

UM1: Yes...UI.

Mu: what?

UM1: We will speak about media.

Mu: Our absence from occasions, even the Islamic ones. It is true that they are Islamic organizations but we, as a Movement, don't have effective presence and stuff like that. The issue of research centers, my brothers, see..., when talk started about the Gaza-Jericho project, we started to ask people. We asked a brother in the inside, for instance, what do you think? What does the public think of the issue? And he started to tell you what he thinks. We tried to conduct a study like the ones conducted by CNN and others. What kind....UI research center. At that time, they said "Man, we cannot conduct this research until we get the decision by Abou Husam, with the deportees, brother Mousa Al Akhtal"....UI. This organization..., this organization is capable of giving us a realistic picture as a research center. We don't have research centers. These are really the aspects

the research centers should be in charge of and which are almost non-existent in the Occupied Territories. The last point is the fear of many of our brothers of distinction. They tell you "Let's stay low". People, you need to become distinctive..., distinctive and give prominence and distinction to your organization. I mean now..., and this is an important point, many of the brothers who become exposed, being exposed becomes a cover and a curtain for them. Our brother, Ihsan Abou Qweik, speaks for the Chamber of Commerce in Ramallah. He speaks for the Islamic Syndicate. He had a green ID but they returned the normal ID to him because he became a prominent person. They returned the true ID to him. They told him "You can travel". My brothers, becoming a spokesman for an organization gives one a place of prominence in the real world. In reality, there is a fear with many of our brothers of being prominent...UI. Ok, my vision regarding the situation of the organizations in the coming stage under the self-rule. The relationship between us and the new Authority will be a hostile one due to the following reasons. The previous opposing positions to them. The state of competition and defiance we lived in previously. Inciting the other Arab, Israeli and Western forces against us. The possibility of the continuance of Jihad operations against the Jews, a matter which the self-rule authority won't accept. Expected problems: first, suspending licenses, controlling the organizations either by fraudulent elections or by nationalization. What I heard now..., and this might be just a rumor, is that most or all elections which took place in the past are null. This might give you an idea what we are going through. The other issue is the financial issue, banning the entry of money, non-payment of [financial] allocations meaning discriminating between one organization and another and the ones with the Islamic current will...UI. Administrative harassment, issuing laws which restrict movement. Suggestions and general recommendations: one, the role of the deportees. They might have an organizational role which would be a nucleus for political activism. Carrying out practical activities. Forming a committee for dialogue with the other domains. Forming a reform committee to solve disputes and forming a consultative body among them to coordinate with the outside. Number two, developing the role of 1948. These people can play an effective role in the coming stage. One, taking advantage of humanitarian organizations in order to gain the legal status to work in Gaza and Jericho. Two, avoiding any...UI in us, I mean in the Movement. Number three, allowing them to maneuver. We don't want to think one way. Allowing them to maneuver and the possibility of dialogue with the self-rule authority. They think they can..., I believe we ought to allow them to explore the possibility of forming a dialogue with the self-rule authority. Four, focusing on the media aspect...UI. Number three is emphasizing the role of Jerusalem. We don't have organizations in it. I still raise my voice and say that the Justice and Law Organization which exists in the [Gaza] Sector and which has a relationship with the Rights group in America should open an organization [*i.e., a branch*] for it in Jerusalem because Jerusalem now, people, might be far from the grip of the self-rule authority and there is a room for movement [*there*]. It might be somewhat

costly to us but...UI. Number four, protecting the organizations, registering them under trusted names. Registering the organizations under the names of trusted names and not letting them be public organizations which could be nationalized. Placing some people who have..., who don't have a relationship with the Movement such as the Chamber of Commerce & Industry in Ramallah. Strengthening the relationships with people. Number four or five is protecting achievements which we achieved in the past period. Existing organizations here should be tied to Islamic institutions abroad such as the Fund and others. Writing contracts..., writing contracts rendering the ownerships of these organizations to the organizations abroad and bringing these documents when needed. This is a very important and serious issue. I mean, the Islamic University..., the Islamic University keeps slipping from between our hands at a time when we were saying that..., if the Islamic University had been tied to any university in Saudi Arabia or elsewhere, or to Al Azhar or elsewhere, a relationship would have existed. What did our brothers say about that before? They said "Man, the curricula will be affected. The Islamic University might disappear". But, now, the opportunity didn't go away. There is still an opportunity to start some sort of relationship merging the University with any organization abroad. Otherwise, it is easy for the [Palestinian] Liberation Organization to ruin it. Then, a final point, forming a general union for the organizations which are not part of the syndicate and starting a sort of a relationship for them abroad such as our brothers in the [Gaza] Sector who have a membership in the Arab Lawyers Union, membership in the International Lawyers Syndicate, the human rights branch... This aspect is...UI I'm finished here but I will mention this quickly. Other recommendations: the media aspect is important...UI. The other thing I suggest for our brothers is not to form any new institutions. Running the existing organizations. Supporting the similar organizations in '48 [Territories]. The final two recommendations are for the U.S. arena. I suggest the following; in order to get out of the customary routine, we should form an economic committee..., form an economic committee, and I have a vision..., I can present to the brothers a vision on how it should be. An economic committee, my brothers, let's get out of the shops and the grocery stores. Some brothers who are here in America and I know some of them said that they are ready. There are no risks in projects and they told me about some projects which could bring a revenue. This is a continent. If there is a guy in New York or a second person elsewhere, America is abundant and one could present an idea to form an economic committee in the country and for investments here. Another point is the...UI and the computers. The issue of the computers is..., some of the organizations the Jews have..., the issue of the technological advancement in this country is way beyond the routine work aspect which brings a revenue. Some of the brothers now have a project to invest in America in the field of..., I don't understand about computers...UI but, we could present a project, God's willing, and that project will be ours to enable us to move above routine activism on the U.S. front so that we stay in pace with the developments and the changeable and bring money, not only from people, but also

through an advanced scientific method. I say that and I ask God forgiveness for me and you.

UM1: ...UI the brothers in particular are not used to adherence, that is. [*Short unintelligible group talk*].

Sh: Akram.

Ak: ...UI. God's willing, we will hear from the media people about the nature of the future address.

UM2: In fact I... In the name of God the Compassionate, the merciful. Prayers and peace be upon our master Mohamed, upon his family and companions. The speech I gave includes the fundamental points our brother Shukri mentioned even though there was no prior discussion or...

Gh: Or coordination.

UM2: Or coordination...UI but, I said it is better for one to write his own ideas.

Sh: This would...UI, Ghassan.

UM2: I re-present the media charitable address in America to focus on some fundamental issues. First, we must pay attention in the future and with the developments to the issue of Jerusalem and the other Islamic sanctuaries such as the Ibrahimian Sanctuary and their frame. Meaning, bringing this cause with its Islamic size and dimension to focus, whether through dialogue with the Arab or the Islamic communities. [*We should point out that*] the fact that the cause is not resolved and then adopt specific projects because our problem as far as the important causes are concerned in Islamic charity work is that we don't have - until now - a project which people remember. In America, if you ask about Holy Land Foundation and which project stands up in people's minds...

UM1: Orphans.

UM2: No, other than the orphans, we're talking about the kinds of activities.

Om: The right arm.

UM2: Yes, for the Palestinians. If there is an idea to adopt a specific project which earns Muslim people's sympathy in America, it is always the Jerusalem issue. This will be in

every generation. The second issue is..., through the media address of course, the future media address will have an impact both on the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] or others. It will have a direct impact on charity work particularly because there is duality in activities. I mean,...UI Holy Land Foundation. Therefore, the media address and charity work must be molded to a certain level. For instance, we cannot say "No convulsion" while the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] is peaking about..., not talking....UI. You must pay attention to this issue as well. The second point is to show that the problem is too big for the administration of the self-rule to solve. I mean, the problem of the Palestinian people..., Yasser Arafat or \$2 billions will never be able to solve. We can stress this issue through the charity address. Yasser Arafat and \$2 billions or \$400 millions can never solve the problem of the Palestinian people which has 4 million refugees. This is an issue we must stress. This leads to a third issue which is paying attention to the point made by our brother. There are people who are forgotten such as the '48 people in Lebanon and the camps which endure tragic conditions in the south, several camps in Jordan...UI and those among you who visited them or saw them, their conditions are really tragic in Jordan, Lebanon and even in Syria. This issue should be focused on because they are forgotten. They have no mention on the next political map. Our brothers, by adopting some projects and stuff like that, you will find a lot of support. The fourth issue is the stressing the fact the organization's goal is an Islamic one. Supporting the Islamic organizations operating in the Occupied Territories. Therefore, just like there are Islamic organizations in some parts of the world collecting funds for India..., the Indians and the Pakistanis collect money for Islamic organizations operating in India and Pakistan even though they are not under occupation, we have Zakat committees and existing organizations doing Dawa'a work in addition to relief work. Therefore, we must support them. What else? The last point or the point before last is that there must be coordination for the issue of our entry to the '48 territories for charity work. Is there a possibility to adopt some projects. I wrote about the Islamic educational means. I means, these are Muslims who are now exiled. So, as a U.S. organization working on the U.S. front, are we capable of adopting their issues and there are no objections, whether in Israeli or U.S. law, if you wanted to open a college for ministry and fundamentals of religion, a university or a Sharia college in the '48 territories. No one will object and the laws and the agreements [there] might be easier than in '67 territories. The last issue which needs a quick look is the issue our brother and some of the brothers spoke about is that we could use an official cover such...UI, insurance and stuff. Therefore, I wrote about a point which should be taken into consideration which is making available an official U.S. cover representing the Islamic community in general terms, you see? This way, we can visit Palestine not as Holy Land Foundation because the Holy Land Foundation is stamped already as...er, whatever. So, if we collected a group of representatives of Islamic organizations, one from ISNA, one from ICNA and one from here and there, and formed an official delegation representing the Islamic community in

America and announced in a studied format that we will be going to the Occupied Territories and Gaza in particular, you see, to provide assistance to Islamic foundations which are already established *[there]*. This will achieve more than one goal; first, we exhibit the existence of an Islamic concern for the cause even though it is...UI, secondly, we give an official cover for the existing organizations in case they got dissolved or if the *[Palestinian Liberation]* Organization wanted to dissolve these organizations or shut them down, they will take into account that there are some people abroad who show concern about these issues. It also gives a future cover to provide these organizations with money. When you have a problem tomorrow because you give them money and stuff, I deal with..., I mean when Yasser Arafat deals with the HLF, he doesn't give much importance to it like when he deals with another organization or, at least, with a board of trustees which does charity work in America, out of America or from Europe. This is what I suggest as a preparation in case they decided to shut down or not. Even in Europe, the formation of these organizations are...UI, some of them have this shape. Of course, HLF is everything for us and ...UI the existing organizations in order to give them...UI so that they won't be dissolved easily and so that they won't cooperate directly with the *[Palestinian Liberation]* Organization. So that there is a follow-up. These are the ideas which...er,... It is possible to adopt a new way relating to the second point or the last point I mentioned which is that HLF or the Holy Land Foundation, the charity work in general, work with some of the large Islamic organizations such as in New Jersey, Patterson or Chicago...etc, to adopt specific projects with the HLF to serve the issue of expanding the official cover in America, to have the Islamic Palestinian community in America and the Arabic *[community]* adopt a project, for instance, for a lab in the Islamic University...etc. This will be better than the Holy Land Foundation..., the Holy Land Foundation *[exclusively working]* and which will bring up the point our brother mentioned about giving 100,000 and the \$5,000 to this and not to that *[organization]* etc. The Islamic communities, particularly the large centers, will support that. These are some of the points I wanted to focus on regarding charity work which is based in America.

UM1: May God reward you good. *[A short period of unintelligible group as they were taking food orders]*. We will continue our topic, God' willing, and we will give an opportunity for brother Abdel Halim Al Ashqar about the...UI education because it is a work of charity as well. If you have a vision for the future of that issue.

As: I resort to God from the pelted Devil. As you know, of course, due to the bad situation of education in the inside, there was a need for specialized centers abroad. Education is the Movement's capital in the inside. The future of the struggle depends on education whether we like it or not. Also, due to the deterioration of..., or the bad level of education in...UI... are mostly laborers in Israeli factories. It was very hard to find a college graduate from the '48 *[Territories]*, maybe in the sixties. In the seventies, you wouldn't find one college

graduate. This is generally speaking. The reality is even worse in the Islamic surroundings and the Islamic Movement. College graduates are very few, college graduates are very few and a large segment of laborers support them. As for the educated ones, they're few in number. The danger is that..., this is like a building without columns especially when it comes to Sharia education. People send very few people to education. They built a college called College of Dawa'a and Islamic Sciences and they carried their papers to all parts of the world; America, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia and, until now, it still doesn't have a building or a college staff of its own. Their college staff is from the [West] Bank and Gaza, they come upon order from the Military Commander and return every day. The building is still housed in the Noble Quran House, made up of 4 or 5 rooms only. They had a project and they went to the municipality where they got a lot of land but the project is not completed. It seems that a donor from Britain or something had donated 100,000 to this project. Anyway, we at Al Aqsa Fund, briefly, had a fundraising campaign during the month of Ramadan which wasn't successful, it wasn't as we hoped but, we hope it will be a good start, God's willing. We set as goals for us the following; first of all, supporting the specializations which we need in the inside, particularly, Media, Journalism, Law, Political Sciences. Two, supporting higher education and higher studies in Arab countries as their cost is small and we are ready to support any specialized higher studies in Arab countries. It is true that we have allocated a humble budget; a specialization in the inside, \$1,000 annually; \$1,500 annually for higher studies in the Arab countries. Three, attempting to benefit from our brothers in colleges to get accepted for higher studies in America. We don't have an ability right now..., right now we don't have an ability to support any students for higher studies in America. A student costs between 15,000-20,000. But, it is possible that we have his...UI, and they prepare his file and we try through our brothers in colleges to get him accepted through a scholarship. This, of course, is applicable to higher studies in America. Talking about the future, if God renders things easy for the Fund, we can support some of the Islamist brothers who can come to America to do a specialized study in the three fields I mentioned before; Law, Advertising & Journalism and Political Sciences, if things go well. As for the near future, we have an upcoming visit by a brother from the Faculty of Dawa'a and Fundamentals of Religion, Jerusalem University. He was recommended by our brothers in Jerusalem. His name is Mr. Ahmad Moustafa Waffaqa. He will arrive next Wednesday and, God's willing, we will arrange with the Fund a tour in some in the cities hoping that we can raise as much as we can to achieve the goals we have. In addition to that, there is an attempt to sell the project for the college of Dawa'a and Islamic Sciences in Um El-Fahem and I speak from a position of someone who knows the current status of education and know that...UI 90% or 95% of the ranks of our Islamists brothers in the Islamic Movement do not...UI. There must be equality. This is it. They can carry out any project but,...UI. *[A short period of unintelligible group talk].*

UM1: A quick comment. The true blessings then comes from the laborers and the...UI. All those who have [College] degrees are the ones who are behind [group laughter].

As: As for the institutional activism, I don't disagree with the...er, the person who...UI. Part of the problem of our brothers...UI is that they are all educated. But, I'm saying that it is a matter of a balance. The other project which are trying to sell is the labs of the College of Engineering at the Islamic University. They opened a new College for Engineering. The entire number of students at the Islamic University was 5,000 students. Now, the students are less than 2,000. Of course, ...UI there is no time for details right now. Generally speaking, other universities where built to steal the show from the Islamic University. There is a competition between them and the Islamic University. Al Azhar University started new specializations which are needed in society such as pharmacy, agriculture..., things which people need. For the Islamic University, in order for it to exist, it had to change its specializations at least and start a college for engineering. But, the college of engineering right now has no labs or educational staff. We will try, God's willing, to sell these projects. May God reward you well.

UM1: Now, we give the stage for questions. I would like to find out from brother Omar and Shukri if they expect a change in the relationship of the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] with the HLF, especially with brother Osama's suggestion that we stay away from convulsed political positions and political matters in the future. ...UI us at the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] and elsewhere. We would like to hear from both about their future vision.

Om: I imagine that any agreement between us and the Fund, between the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] and the Fund, is very important as long as it is within a correct legal frame. According to U.S. laws, when two U.S. organizations deal with each other, the law is what governs them, what they do according to the law. That's it. The dangers are..., just like we fear for [the safety of] the Fund, we must also fear [for the safety of] the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] as well. I mean, if the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] said or did something which might lead to its closure or cause a problem for it, we shouldn't do it as well. Therefore, I imagine that we should protect the two organizations because the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] is not less important than the Fund as an organization. This is one. Two, we must deal..., if there is a joint product such as festivals, for instance, it should be based on a legal foundation. We consult an attorney about the way it should happen. In America now, there is...UI, there is a business for everything. This is regarding either taking part in joint projects, even selling the mailing lists or dealing among the non-profit organizations. All of that is within the law. I don't imagine that the joint projects will affect the relationship....

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 Aa = Abou Ahmad (NFI)
 Aj = Abdel Jabbar
 Ab2 = Abou Basem (NFI)
 Mu = Muin (LNU)

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Mu: ... At the same time, we must speak about the situation of the organizations on the inside but, I noticed that most of the talk is about America. Therefore, I ask your permission to speak about over there but, speaking about over there is separate from our organizations over here. In the beginning, I want to give a quick idea about the status of the organizations in general terms in the Occupied Territories. The history of Islamic activism in the twenty years prior to the Intifada was based on the Superman idea, or the man who oversees everything, a man who is an encyclopedia who was in charge of everything. This was an obstacle in our reality. We had no organizations of our own. Everything was in the hand of the man and, if the man died or deviated, his absence would mean a big loss. Therefore, this was an obstacle prior to the Intifada but, in order to be objective, there was a small presence for the organizations in the Occupied Territories at this time but they were not at the needed level. But, when the Intifada started, there was a noticeable change and the brothers began to feel the importance of organizational work in the Occupied Territories, whether it was a critical need for them as Islamists or because there was a competition from the other parties in the Occupied Territories since they have a lot of organizations.

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Mu:

I tried to

gather the types of organizations which exist in the Occupied Territories and I believe that I classified them in 10 categories. We have the educational organizations such as kindergartens and schools; the social and charitable organizations such as Zakat committees, relief, the ones caring for the orphans, prisons and others; the intellectual organizations [such as] research centers; health institutions the majority of which are affiliated with Zakat committees; five, the public syndicates; six, the technical institutions relating to machines, factories and others; sport institutions and clubs; media organizations [such as] offices and newspapers; number nine is the educational such as Quran schools and [Mohamed's] Sayings schools and women organizations. Organizations in the [Gaza] Sector, generally speaking, are limited. If we speak in general terms about our organizations in the [Gaza] Sector, they are limited and I will try to mention them quickly. The main organization and which is known to belong to us is Islamic University in the Gaza Sector and we will speak later about the solutions we will mention it because it is really a wound in the heart. Number two, the Islamic Complex which was founded in 1973 and licensed in 1976. The Complex' activities at that time was more inclusive. The Islamic Society which was founded in 1976. Al Salah Society in the [Gaza] Sector which oversees the sacrifices and other things. The Young Muslim Women Association and then Al Wafa Society for Seniors Care, The Orphans House, some of the Zakat committees, some public services institutions which obtained new licenses such as Justice and Law Institution which cares for the prisoners. In the West Bank, in the north region which includes Nablus, Jenin, Qalqilia and Al Biqa'a [Valley], there was relatively old activity such as Nablus Zakat Committee in Nablus which was founded in 1976. It is very advanced in comparison with other committees. For instance, they have over 1,000 orphans, over 2,200 families which are sponsored monthly, they have investment activities and other activities. But, when we speak about it as a Zakat committee we tie it to us. In reality, we as Islamists have a weak presence in it. That is if we speak about reality but, I wanted to mention it quickly as times doesn't permit [more details]. In the north, there is also a clinic, the Islamic Solidarity clinic which was founded in 1984 and it is almost the largest medical centers in the West Bank as it includes 12 specialized doctors. It has an ophthalmology clinic, a dentistry clinic, an X-ray clinic and it covers the northern region, [serving] about 300,000 of the population there. There is also Solidarity Charitable Society. Our problem, brothers, is that we establish [organizations] and others reap the fruits. Solidarity Charitable Society was founded by the city's scholars and by Islam's scholars in this region from the Islamic Movement and others but, now, ask how is our presence and how is control over it. In reality, our presence is relatively weak. We then come to the main activity which is the Zakat committees in Jenin, for instance, and elsewhere. In Jenin, the Zakat Committee there has built a hospital which is really ours, for the Islamists either in management or in the teams working in it. In Jenin, there is a large Islamic school and there is an orphans' center. Tulkarem are now about to start building a hospital affiliated with the Zakat committee. In Qalqilia, we have the Legal Institute for Studies less than....graduate

studies..., two years of studying at the institution or what you call it...

Sh: ...UI.

Mu: Yes. An Intermediate Institution. Now, I believe that the central region which includes Jerusalem, Ramallah, Bethlehem and Jericho is the core or the main part in the West Bank because its proximity to the media, the presence of Al Aqsa and the presence of many other organizations in it. The main organization which we should pay the most attention to inside and outside is Al Aqsa Organization, Al Aqsa mosque as an organization like our brother mentioned as its location and impact is supposed to have a great dimension whether by playing a role in activities inside or by encouraging people outside to cooperate by providing assistance [to it]. There are some issues such as the heritage of Al Aqsa and our brothers really benefitted from in a good way but Al Aqsa Organization by itself deserves to be studied by our brothers now in order to benefit from it. In the future, should changes happen to Al Aqsa...UI we must benefit from it and its vicinity. In Jerusalem, there remains some organizations, particularly the Islamic Sciences and Culture Society which is directly counted with us. It used to have a research center but, unfortunately, it was a nucleus for the establishment of a major research center but, the strikes and the affiliation of... This is one of the problems which are not solved; the affiliation of the organization with exposed people so, when a problem happens with the man, a problem happens with the organization. I mean, the Islamic Sciences & Culture Society used to have a research center which was the nucleus for a huge research center until the person in charge [of it], Sheik Jamil Hamami, was arrested and this became an obstacle and a hindrance for the development of that project. We have a school and a kindergarten and some orphan sponsorships in that region. But, unfortunately, our institutions are very few because they have over 100 Christian institutions in the Bethlehem region alone. The Ramallah region really has some noticeable activity for our organizations and, particularly, the activity of the Zakat committee. We could say that the Ramallah Zakat Committee is ours, including its management and officers. Because of their efforts in the past, the brothers were able to establish some activities, particularly the medical aspect. Thanks be to God, the medical aspect has started to advance and to move forward in large steps, thanks be to God. But, unfortunately, when institutional and organizational work interfere - and this is an important point - chaos begins. I mean, the brother who was..., and I believe that he was one of the most capable people in syndicate, administrative and medical activism - he was a doctor - he founded this center and started to bring experienced people to it. This center became a hospital. This brother was also engaged in organizational activity, was arrested and is still under investigation and...UI. Thus, this interference brought about some crises for some of the organizations. But, we add that, until now, this organization still exists. At the same time, we have the Islamic Charitable Society which has a school, a kindergarten and a Deaf & Dumb institution.

...
In Hebron..., Hebron as a city is a place where we consider that we have a good presence and weight as Islamic organizations such as the Islamic Charitable Society which was founded in 1962 and which has over 1,000 employees. The Patient's Friends Society has over 180 employees and it owns Al Ahli Hospital. Unfortunately, the board of trustees for Al Ahli Hospital has 3 affiliated with us and 3 of them but, the chairman is one of us and we are supposed to have a weight. But, because the chairman, my brothers..., the chairman's brother is a member of the negotiation delegation and he must consult with his brother. He must consult with his brother. At the end, he must... At the end, all the efforts which collaborated for the sake of building this [hospital] is our efforts and our hard work as Islamists abroad. God's willing, this organization will be ours at the end, particularly the hospital. Al Ahli Hospital in Hebron is considered one of the largest hospitals in the West Bank among governmental and non-governmental hospitals alike. God's willing, we will have a presence. The Young Men Muslim Association..., its chairman is deported. The Beni-Nasem Society..., its chairman is deported...UI.

Sh: He returned.

Mu: He now returned? He returned with..., with..., with the last group of people who returned. The negative aspects of the past phase, our brothers are: number one, being run by exposed persons. The Complex, Yasin; the Islamic Society, Al Koka; the center which was established in Nablus for research is directed by Mousa Al Akhtal; the Scientific Medical Society in Ramallah is directed by Dr....UI. All of these people, my brothers, are exposed characters.

Mu: ... The relationship between us and the new Authority will be a hostile one due to the following reasons. The previous opposing positions to them. The state of competition and defiance we lived in previously. Inciting the other Arab, Israeli and Western forces against us. The possibility of the continuance of Jihad operations against the Jews, a matter which the self-rule authority won't accept. Expected problems: first, suspending licenses, controlling the organizations either by fraudulent elections or by nationalization. What I heard now..., and this might be just a rumor, is that most or all elections which took place in the past are null. This might give you an idea what we are going through. The other issue is the financial issue, banning the entry of money, non-payment of [financial] allocations meaning discriminating between one organization and another and the ones with the Islamic current will...UI. Administrative harassment, issuing laws which restrict movement. Suggestions and general recommendations: one, the role of the deportees. They might have an organizational role which would be a nucleus for political activism. Carrying out practical activities. Forming a committee for dialogue with the other domains. Forming a reform committee to solve disputes and forming a consultive body among them to coordinate with the outside. Number two, developing the role of 1948.

These people can play an effective role in the coming stage. One, taking advantage of humanitarian organizations in order to gain the legal status to work in Gaza and Jericho. Two, avoiding any...UI in us, I mean in the Movement. Number three, allowing them to maneuver. We don't want to think one way. Allowing them to maneuver and the possibility of dialogue with the self-rule authority. They think they can..., I believe we ought to allow them to explore the possibility of forming a dialogue with the self-rule authority. Four, focusing on the media aspect...UI. Number three is emphasizing the role of Jerusalem. We don't have organizations in it. I still raise my voice and say that the Justice and Law Organization which exists in the [Gaza] Sector and which has a relationship with the Rights group in America should open an organization [*i.e., a branch*] for it in Jerusalem because Jerusalem now, people, might be far from the grip of the self-rule authority and there is a room for movement [*there*]. It might be somewhat costly to us but,...UI. Number four, protecting the organizations, registering them under trusted names. Registering the organizations under the names of trusted names and not letting them be public organizations which could be nationalized. Placing some people who have..., who don't have a relationship with the Movement such as the Chamber of Commerce & Industry in Ramallah. Strengthening the relationships with people. Number four or five is protecting achievements which we achieved in the past period. Existing organizations here should be tied to Islamic institutions abroad such as the Fund and others.

...

The final two recommendations are for the U.S. arena. I suggest the following; in order to get out of the customary routine, we should form an economic committee..., form an economic committee, and I have a vision..., I can present to the brothers a vision on how it should be. An economic committee, my brothers, let's get out of the shops and the grocery stores. Some brothers who are here in America and I know some of them said that they are ready. There are no risks in projects and they told me about some projects which could bring a revenue. This is a continent. If there is a guy in New York or a second person elsewhere, America is abundant and one could present an idea to form an economic committee in the country and for investments here. Another point is the...UI and the computers. The issue of the computers is..., some of the organizations the Jews have..., the issue of the technological advancement in this country is way beyond the routine work aspect which brings a revenue. Some of the brothers now have a project to invest in America in the field of..., I don't understand about computers...UI but, we could present a project, God's willing, and that project will be ours to enable us to move above routine activism on the U.S. front so that we stay in pace with the developments and the changeable and bring money, not only from people, but also through an advanced scientific method. I say that and I ask God forgiveness for me and you.

UM2: ... In America, if you ask about Holy Land Foundation and which project stands up in people's minds...

UM1: Orphans.

UM2: No, other than the orphans, we're talking about the kinds of activities.

Om: The right arm.

UM2: Yes, for the Palestinians. If there is an idea to adopt a specific project which earns Muslim people's sympathy in America, it is always the Jerusalem issue.

... The last issue which needs a quick look is the issue our brother and some of the brothers spoke about is that we could use an official cover such...UI, insurance and stuff. Therefore, I wrote about a point which should be taken into consideration which is making available an official U.S. cover representing the Islamic community in general terms, you see? This way, we can visit Palestine not as Holy Land Foundation because the Holy Land Foundation is stamped already as...er, whatever. So, if we collected a group of representatives of Islamic organizations, one from ISNA, one from ICNA and one from here and there, and formed an official delegation representing the Islamic community in America and announced in a studied format that we will be going to the Occupied Territories and Gaza in particular, you see, to provide assistance to Islamic foundations which are already established *[there]*. This will achieve more than one goal; first, we exhibit the existence of an Islamic concern for the cause even though it is...UI, secondly, we give an official cover for the existing organizations in case they got dissolved or if the *[Palestinian Liberation]* Organization wanted to dissolve these organizations or shut them down, they will take into account that there are some people abroad who show concern about these issues. It also gives a future cover to provide these organizations with money.

It is possible to adopt a new way relating to the second point or the last point I mentioned which is that HLF or the Holy Land Foundation, the charity work in general, work with some of the large Islamic organizations such as in New Jersey, Patterson or Chicago...etc, to adopt specific projects with the HLF to serve the issue of expanding the official cover in America, to have the Islamic Palestinian community in America and the Arabic *[community]* adopt a project, for instance, for a lab in the Islamic University...etc. This will be better than the Holy Land Foundation..., the Holy Land Foundation *[exclusively working]* and which will bring up the point our brother mentioned about giving 100,000 and the \$5,000 to this and not to that *[organization]* etc. The Islamic communities, particularly the large centers, will support that. These are some of the points I wanted to focus on regarding charity work which is based in America.

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[Group still in break the first 20 minutes of this recording].

Om: Are there any remarks? Did we benefit from it? Were the discussion points out of place? Quick remarks for a couple of minutes for anyone who has a remark so that we could end the subject.

As: I feel that the discussion was dominated by the political aspect. I feel that no meeting can be isolated from the pressures which are usually discussed in any topic, even if it is an academic one. I imagine that this is very normal, that the presented papers were not given their due right in discussions.

UM1: Which presented papers...UI?

As: I'm talking about the...UI. It didn't get its due right in discussion. That's it.

Ak: I just hope that we really leave this meeting with something different from the previous meetings, with very specific ideas and methods to achieve them.

Om: ...UI do you feel that we will get out with something, or do you feel that...?

Ak: ...it was a good beginning, but the...UI could be better. I mean, two hours for the discussion. We could listen to an idea and discuss it but, we need to get out with specific formulated ideas...

Om: I believe that this session will be the first session to give us something [*specific*] as it is concentrated on the charity work...UI. Go ahead.

Ak: In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Prayers and peace be upon the best of the messengers, on all of his family and companions. I imagine that the second session..., the discussion topic will be about charity work and its future in light of the changes. There will be four papers to be presented and we will then open the door for discussion. So, I hope that all papers are presented first then we will open the door for discussion to all the papers. We can begin with those in charge of the charity organizations in America and Canada. We begin with Sheik Abu Basem...UI.

Ab2: Thanks be to God, the Lord of the two worlds. Prayers and peace be upon the best of the messengers, our master Mohamed, and upon all of his family and companions. This paper has six points which were discussed in the meeting of Al Quds Committee for Human Services. I mean, before we learned about this meeting, we had a meeting in...UI. The goal of the meeting is to discuss the situation or the current situation or the changes which occurred in Palestine...UI. I have some suggestions which...UI charitable work for Palestine...UI. The first point is that it might be suitable for the charitable organizations working on the Palestinian field such as Al Quds Fund, The Holy Land [*Foundation*] and others to be open to other areas in the charitable work. We suggest that this new areas reach Palestinian camps in Lebanon and Jordan, for instance, and other areas. Lebanon didn't get its fair share of media attention in Canada at least. On the other hand, starting investment projects on the inside. The second point is as follows; as the media attention will focus on Gaza in the near future, specially that Gaza will become the political capital in the short term first and before the [*West*] Bank. It is our duty then to focus our media campaign on the [*West*] Bank, its problems and what economic crises it suffers from. These days, talk has been going around in regards to Gaza only as the situation in the [*West*] Bank cannot get any better, as if the situation in the [*West*] Bank cannot get any better. We probably know that it is better than Gaza. The third point is that one of the biggest factors for the success of media campaigns is bringing guests from inside the occupied territories. Media campaigns [*I mean*] are the ones which serve the cause in the charitable and the political fronts. Friday sermons must be arranged in the mosques and Islamic centers as it is known that the largest Muslim congregations is during the Friday prayers. We suggest that these guests should be invited here on stages. For instance, you

could bring guests from the [West] Bank in the short term since media will be focused on it. Six months later, a group should come from Gaza to explain the situation over there. There is a remark which is that media talks a lot about global material assistance which will pour into Gaza and we pray that this will be true if it leads to improving the economic situation. But it is still very important to bring guests from Gaza to explain to Muslims the effect this assistance have and to whom they are given. Also, media campaigns need to be general and not in specific centers or relating to specific activities. There are a lot of activities which garner no media coverage and these activities are usually conducted by the various Islamic communities. They get no media coverage...UI about the cause of Palestine at all. People there must be ready for questions and answers and...UI. We ask God the Almighty that there is a program to cover these programs at the Islamic organizations in...UI. The fourth point and it was covered before but I must mention it; on the political arena it is important to study the statements and the announcements issued by both the Israelis and the Palestinians, record them and work to utilize them in the right time instead of waiting for successive events which are met by us with an emotional and an ineffective reaction. As for the fifth point, it is finding new ways in addressing people, in debating them and resorting to quiet and objective analysis along with the sentimental religious method. It is worth mentioning that the most important factor in this matter is finding the right person to speak and we hope that we chose the most suitable person to speak in these issues. It is noted that too many places - as I said before - do not have any media material or any information about Palestine. Despite of that, people are thirsty for information...UI and, as of now, the front in Canada is now thirsty and people ask questions. Organizations or mosques are the ones which contact people to give them information or to take the lead in providing media material to mosques and Islamic centers in Canada. As for the sixth point, it is hoped that special attention is given to the League's conference this year as it is expected that many Palestinians will attend it which live in Detroit and the surrounding areas where the conference will be held. I would like to speak about the make-up of the Muslim community in Canada, taking just a minute and then the Palestinian community. As for the Palestinian community in Canada, it doesn't have any effectiveness in doing charity work with us. We tried everything but they're not either with this or that person. They don't support the Organization or Islamic activism. They have ostensibly dropped all Palestinian activism. No matter how we tried with them, they're busy with their daily lives and only a few of them inquire about those on the inside. Our support within the Islamic community and the most giving groups are the Indian and the Pakistani communities. We ask the brothers at the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] to focus on this matter because they are really the fundamental core for work, at least in Canada. As for the Arab communities either from Lebanon, Palestine..., I mean Lebanon, Egypt and other non-Palestinian countries began to be convinced with the notion that the Palestinian have reached a solution. This is what many of them say. You Palestinians have reached a

solution with the Jews. What do you want from us? This is in contradiction to an Indian or a Pakistani person. He [*a non-Palestinian Arab*] rejects and denounces..., I mean a person from the public rejects this activism, but they need awareness. Awareness should come from the angle of Al Aqsa mosque and the holy places, that is. There are some issues regarding the legal situation which are different in Canada from America. They could be used in Canada, for instance, if the organization..., the...UI organization was successful in obtaining the registration. Thanks be to God, we are about to obtain the registration soon, God's willing. If we manage to get all the sums of money which are raised over there, they will be used in charity projects, a dollar for a dollar or a dollar for two dollars. This means that if you raise 50 you will get 50, if you raise 70, you could get up to 100,000. This means that, if you raise 50,000, you could get up to 100,000 or 150,000. What is meant by that is that media material needed in the Canadian front ought to be made available. After attending the first session, I realize that there are many areas where...UI to serve the Palestinian community and stuff like that. I pray to God the Almighty that we address the Palestinian community without neglecting the Islamic community as a whole. May God reward you well.

Ak: May God reward you well. Now, we will open the stage to brother Shukri for about 15 minutes to talk to us about his vision for charity work in America. If there are some points which...UI. What do we expect to happen to charity work in the coming stage. After that, we will take suggestions about [*charity*] work.

Sh: Thanks be to God and prayers are upon God's prophet. I see that...UI. I believe that there is a...UI for charity work...UI. I mean, I have an idea...UI. Anyway, Anyway... In the name of God. I divided the topic to four sections. First, ...UI which is the worst case scenario that could happen as a result of the process. The second item is the effect of the above on the donor...UI. The third item is the nature of the new address to the donor. Finally, broad lines or we could call it new strategies which can be applied to all the charity organizations. The new status will lead to relative calmness in Gaza in the upcoming days during which most or all the elements of confrontation which we used to see in the past will disappear. Local and international effort will focus on finding monetary cover to revive the self-rule project. On the other hand, I expect that there will be an escalation in the West Bank because the occupation will come with its...UI and we might hear in the upcoming days about uncomfortable humanitarian cases there. Local and international media will do its best to convince the Palestinian people and the world that the relationship between Palestine and Israel is no longer an occupation relationship, but rather a marriage of civilizations relationship and the media will act as if the occupation is gone. This is what I expect. Even the official Palestinian address of the self-rule will try to stress the positive aspects of the experience and to hide the negative aspects, some of which might be covering up many of the Israeli practices against the citizens. The one

who reads a newspaper, the Pakistani brother or the brother who donates to you will not hear much about the problems of the occupation and the tragedies of the occupation. He will hear about...UI, that everything is going fine. There is no doubt that the international and the Palestinian address will focus on removing psychological barriers between the Israeli and the Palestinian societies. ...UI that Jewish...UI network convene its meeting next week, next month. This organization combines all the Jewish or the Zionist organizations and its ultimate goal is to serve Israel, to have a good relationship or network. It will meet in New York next month and the agenda is studying the possibility of providing assistance to the Palestinians, to serve the Palestinian people as a reward for peace and to contribute to building the Palestinian society. See how much effect this will have. This is my vision. This is my hypothesis for the situation that could develop. The effect on the donor? I believe that donors are in two kinds as we agreed that there are some who read. A donor will be forced to watch and wait ...UI he might keep the minimum obligation if he sponsors an orphan - I don't think that he will terminate the sponsorship - but he will think afterwards whether he should or shouldn't pay more than that. As the media focus here is to revive the economic situation in Gaza and elsewhere, this will bring about some sort of psychological rest to them and there will be no need - thankGod - as things started to get better. Therefore, I could direct a portion of my effort to...UI and others. I expect that there will be a dramatic change, a decline in the contributions collected in America from now and for a year, at least until the picture is clear. I believe that there will be a dramatic decline and a general weakness of morale with a lot of people or new convictions that the Palestinians are no longer in need. Therefore, I caution the charitable organizations not to get involved now with secondary charitable issues such as Bosnia, Somalia and India, for instance, because this will constitute an additional signal for the donor that there is no real need inside Palestine anymore. So, we have to pay attention not to engage on side issues. This is regarding getting money from the same donor. I believe I could give you a correct judgement after the end of the year about the media trend which is taking effect on the donors, but I do expect that there will be a decline. We collected 2,070,000 before but I doubt that we will be able to collect 2 millions [later]. The nature of the new address, our address as organizations, I mean. In the past, the whole address was about dealing with the suffering resulting from the occupation. That was mostly. The nature of...UI long-term philanthropy. They think "Here is a wounded person. Let me rescue him. That is better than building a school". You want to feed the hungry people, people whose home were demolished and stuff like that. In the upcoming phase, it will be very difficult to continue this same address. There might be crises in the West Bank from which you benefit, for instance. But, generally speaking, I believed that you will not be able to continue in this address and speak openly about occupation, the issues of the occupation and its nature. Therefore, our suggestions are as follows in order for the organization to continue marching with the same speed or to grow. First, to focus on the importance of building or

making an orientation for the donor's mentality. This needs education and information. Bringing up a generation which is able to remain steadfast on the land. The issue of holding onto the land and its importance. Engaging in projects relating to Jerusalem as a grand common grounds for all Muslims. This is a long-term issue. To him, Jerusalem whether it is the house of Caliphate, a part of an independent state or under occupation, to him...UI and he likes to invest in Jerusalem. Stressing the suffering in the Palestinians camps in Palestine and outside it. The camps program which is excluded in the agreement process..., the suffering still exists and we could benefit from the suffering in the camps from the angle of approaching the Palestinian cause from this angle at least. Inside Palestine and in all the camps all over the world. The third item is focusing on the humanitarian needs which are not much affected by the political changes to start with. An example is the orphan sponsorship program. It has no relationship with the changes...UI. Ok? The Needy or the Handicap Child Fund, The Student Fund, anti-poverty projects, these are projects which will remain even if there is a [*Palestinian*] state in place, how much more for a people without a leadership. The...UI always negates the religious sentiment at the donors. There is a religious sentiment at the donor. I tell him, come on, you will give your Zakat out anyway, give me your Zakat and I will send it to Palestine. He will give it anyway. It won't make a difference to him. Sacrifices, establishing endowments projects and drinking fountains and carrying out the legitimate will project. It is a long-term plan, that's fine. Now, if three or four people wrote their wills, we could get half a million dollars. It is a long-term but it is a legitimate will which he will carry out whether with you or with somebody else. Focusing on the importance of supporting the Islamic organizations in the upcoming stage. I will speak about a specific population which is the Islamic population. See, if we don't support the Islamic organizations, other organizations will come to destroy and crush them. The Islamic University, the...UI university. This is a very private address. I cannot place an ad in the newspapers saying "Save the Islamic institutions". Starting a dialogue with the American public to contribute to the new phase of rebuilding in Gaza and Jericho. This is an important issue...UI What happened happened, why should I rely on self-rule. No, come here. I go to the American public and tell him, that is excellent, good. We are going to build Gaza and we are going to build Jericho. I want you to help me. That is because I will be in a position of competition with the other Palestinian organizations which work with ...UI and which work with the American public. They will now have impetus, strong media and they will have strong credibility and legitimacy. we will find ourselves competing with the Americans. Why should I portray myself as...UI, saying that I'm an Islamist, only an Islamist and don't want..., don't want the Americans. No, I will open a new dialogue with the Americans and benefit from...UI and let them go to Jericho and Gaza. Yes, it is not wrong. Seven, start a dialogue with the U.S. and international charitable organizations, UN organizations and embarking on new joint projects in Palestine. Please note that if there is one advantage of this Palestinian-Israeli agreement to me, it is that your address

to American public about the Palestinian cause will be easier. The psychological barrier between the Americans and the Palestinian people has begun to erode or disappear. I can benefit from this point by...UI. But, I cannot approach them through my strict Islamic address. I can't tell him I demand the 48 borders. No way, no way on earth. Ok? No, I approach it through humanitarian suffering, refugees rights and issues which the Americans will agree with you on. An example of that is the UN organizations and the institutions which give grants and we could do various projects. Finally, the broad lines which you could call them "Strategies". One, the ...UI address should steer totally clear from any tension towards the issue of the self-rule. I believe that I as a charity organization should not give an opinion or a political judgement at all. I have no relationship with that. I'm not a political institution. I want to..., there is a new reality I'm dealing with now. It is not my job to attack the self-rule. This is my view...UI. Amicable relationship must be maintained with all parties inside Palestine. This goes without saying, my brothers. We must not put any factional or partisan influence on the Foundation in America as it is the charitable arm of this or that. No. I say that this is wrong and we must act out of a charitable stand. We must act as an American organization which is registered in America and which cares for the interests of the Palestinian people. It doesn't cater to the interests of a specific party. Our relationship with everyone must be good, regardless.

Gh: Including the Islamists, of course.

Sh: The Islamists..., of course... [group laughter and UI talk]. No, there is no problem, my brother. In the past, we gave the Islamists \$100,000 and we gave others 5,000. Just because they're...UI. We should never ever be agents of others but we should maintain a balance. Taking time before spending money during this time. What do I mean by "Taking time before spending money"? The Foundation must stay on its legal track as far as charitable projects are concerned without going after a sentiment which could harm the Foundation legally or which consume its budget with an objective reason. We must be careful. I know that there is a crisis now. I know that there is suffocation now. But, you are an organization and you must care about your interests, the long-term and the continuity. It doesn't help me if a party asks me to send \$100,000 and we send it to them and...UI. Our goal to follow must be objective, studied, every project ought to be documented, documented and studied and I can confront people with it without trying to conceal anything from them. This is very important as a time might come and you...UI which makes you deviate from the legal track in order to satisfy a certain issue an then.

END OF RECORDING.

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Audio file: MTGB 19931002 6.WAV

Ab2: ... The third point is that one of the biggest factors for the success of media campaigns is bringing guests from inside the occupied territories. Media campaigns [*i mean*] are the ones which serve the cause in the charitable and the political fronts. Friday sermons must be arranged in the mosques and Islamic centers as it is known that the largest Muslim congregations is during the Friday prayers. We suggest that these guests should be invited here on stages.

GOVERNMENT
 EXHIBIT
Philly Meeting-14E
 3:04-CR-240-G
 U.S. v. HLF, et al.

Sh:

...
Therefore, I caution the charitable organizations not to get involved now with secondary charitable issues such as Bosnia, Somalia and India, for instance, because this will constitute an additional signal for the donor that there is no real need inside Palestine anymore. So, we have to pay attention not to engage on side issues. This is regarding getting money from the same donor. I believe I could give you a correct judgement after the end of the year about the media trend which is taking effect on the donors, but I do expect that there will be a decline. We collected 2,070,000 before but I doubt that we will be able to collect 2 millions [later]. The nature of the new address, our address as organizations, I mean. In the past, the whole address was about dealing with the suffering resulting from the occupation. That was mostly. The nature of...UI long-term philanthropy. They think "Here is a wounded person. Let me rescue him. That is better than building a school". You want to feed the hungry people, people whose home were demolished and stuff like that. In the upcoming phase, it will be very difficult to continue this same address. There might be crises in the West Bank from which you benefit, for instance. But, generally speaking, I believed that you will not be able to continue in this address and speak openly about occupation, the issues of the occupation and its nature. Therefore, our suggestions are as follows in order for the organization to continue marching with the same speed or to grow. First, to focus on the importance of building or making an orientation for the donor's mentality. This needs education and information. Bringing up a generation which is able to remain steadfast on the land. The issue of holding onto the land and its importance. Engaging in projects relating to Jerusalem as a grand common grounds for all Muslims. This is a long-term issue. To him, Jerusalem whether it is the house of Caliphate, a part of an independent state or under occupation, to him...UI and he likes to invest in Jerusalem. Stressing the suffering in the Palestinians camps in Palestine and outside it. The camps program which is excluded in the agreement process..., the suffering still exists and we could benefit from the suffering in the camps from the angle of approaching the Palestinian cause from this angle at least. Inside Palestine and in all the camps all over the world. The third item is focusing on the humanitarian needs which are not much affected by the political changes to start with. An example is the orphan sponsorship program. It has no relationship with the changes...UI. Ok? The Needy or the Handicap Child Fund, The Student Fund, anti-poverty projects, these are projects which will remain even if there is a [Palestinian] state in place, how much more for a people without a leadership. The...UI always negates the religious sentiment at the donors. There is a religious sentiment at the donor. I tell him, come on, you will give your Zakat out anyway, give me your Zakat and I will send it to Palestine. He will give it anyway. It won't make a difference to him. Sacrifices, establishing endowments projects and drinking fountains and carrying out the legitimate will project. It is a long-term plan, that's fine. Now, if three or four people wrote their wills, we could get half a million dollars. It is a long-term but it is a legitimate will which he will carry out whether with you or with somebody else. Focusing on the importance of supporting the Islamic organizations in the upcoming stage. I will speak about a specific population which is the Islamic population. See, if we don't support the Islamic organizations, other

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Ak: ...political matters and his stand from the accord and the Fund is supposed to stay away from these things.

Sh: The way we are going to act is as follows: The first thing is that..., is that some of the brothers greatly exaggerate the relationship between the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] and the Fund and that is because it is not understood. In reality, the strongest..., the strongest relationship we have is during the conferences and the income from the conferences does not constitute more than one sixth of the total income. In other words, if we during our conferences we raised 200,000 or 250,000, for instance, this was out of over 2 millions. This is while we brought three brothers from the inside to do a special tour for the Foundation and we raised also quarter million dollars. So, the relationship is limited and it is a professional relationship. Er..., as long as the financial relationships is in order, everything is Ok. I..., my relationship with the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] is justified based on the fact that it gives me a market, a market segment. I have a relationship with the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine], a relationship with the [Muslim Arab Youth] Association, with ISNA. God's willing, I will have a relationship with the churches soon, with others. I will go to explain my cause and

collect money. So, it is a part of my audience. If anyone asks me I would tell him, "I have an interest because they have an audience I want. Bring me an audience and I will form a relationship with it". So, it is very professional from this aspect, believe me, I mean. This is just to calm your worries: the Foundation's financial situation is not based on our relationship with the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] in the first part as we said, but rather there are other sources from which we collect donations.

Ak: We will open the floor for anyone who has comments or questions. Go ahead.

Om: The picture is just like brother Shukri mentioned and I want to just emphasize it. What is important is do an awareness project for the Foundation's donors. I mean, we have people who have donated in the past years, they have donated for the past four or five years, for instance, since the beginning of the Intifada. We have a large group..., 20,000 names or 25,000 names of people who donated \$50 to us or more. Why can't there be an awareness project for those people? It would include first of all Islamic awareness, for instance, the religious and the creedal aspect as most of them are Muslims or all of them are Muslims. Second, for instance, a media and a political project whereby we explain to them the media and the political aspect. I mean, we explain to them what is going on so that these donors understand that what happened is not a solution to the cause and that the situation is still as is, that the problem has not been solved. On the contrary, it got more complicated and that we now need support. I mean, other organizations can undertake this..., this awareness. If the Fund cannot send a media/political bulletin or leaflet, the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] can take care of that and the names can come..., I mean we can buy the names from them and we send it to them. We can focus on them for three or four months where a bulletin is sent out every month including what is going on and the developments of the situation. This would be done in a good English language, the bulletin or the leaflet should be moderate and it would prepare these people to donate so that we don't lose these people. I believe that, if we are going to lose some people, let us lose 10% and not 50% of them and he who is going to reduce his donation by 50%, let him reduce it by 10% if we provide awareness to him. I believe that we have..., we have a very good base, I mean, we have a good Muslim base who if we explain to them the Islamic aspect..., if we explain the Muslims' situation on the inside, what is going to happen to Muslims' organizations, if we explain that this self-rule is nothing but a tool in the hands of the Jews or..., I mean, in a moderate way, of course. I believe donations won't be much impacted. And I believe we have time from now until the end of the year to get this project going. This is a suggestion. The second suggestion is that if we want to..., brother Shukri suggested the idea of having talks with the Americans about supporting the self-rule in Gaza and Jericho. I believe that our problem is that we stopped working underground. We will recognize the source of any message which comes out of us. I mean, if a message is publicized, we will know..., the media person among us will

recognize that you send two messages; one to the Americans and one to the Muslims. If they found out who said that - even four years later - it will cause a discredit to the Foundation as far as the Muslims are concerned as they will say "Look, he used to tell us about Islam and that it is a cause and stuff while he, at the same time, is shooting elsewhere". Then, if we want to do something like that it is better that it is an independent, separate and new organization and no one knows any connections it has with the Holy Land. The issue of Jerusalem..., let's study the issue of Jerusalem, Al Aqsa mosque, the Sanctuary, other issues and mosques of '48, that there are some mosques in Palestine which were turned into pubs and stuff. And I would like to inform you that the Indian Relief Fund which doesn't have a staff, or just one employee and which operates in our area, collects \$450,000 annually without...

UM1: How much?

Om: 450,000, or [*almost*] half a million dollars. It raises money for the Indian cause and for the Muslims in India. Of course, a lot of Indians are in America, a lot of sympathetic Pakistanis and Indians but, here is someone who raises half a million dollars. I believe that this is a group..., he has only one full-time person or even half a person and he raises half a million for the Indian cause which is...UI. As for Palestine, it is still in people's minds and Muslims' minds. So, I don't see a solution for us. We will die out. I don't believe we will be able to achieve all the expectations. We could also reach out to the refugees camps abroad. This is an excellent idea as we must enlarge the circle of the Foundation's beneficiaries, either Palestinians inside Palestine or outside Palestine such as in Lebanon and stuff. The issue is that I feel that there is something missing from the [*Islamic*] Association [*For Palestine*] and its relationship with the Fund. There is a lot missing which is the media aspect of the Fund. For instance, you meet with the community every year through the festivals. When you or Abou Ibrahim stand up with the multitudes and address them, if he raises \$5,000, that's fine, but there is a message for them during Ramadan at least or when the sheik who is affiliated with the Fund appears, they recognize that this is the same person they saw during the festival. You're then building direct relationship with the people. This is better than another organization which never saw Jericho and whose chairman is unknown [*to the community*]. I mean, now Abou Ibrahim is now known all over America. I don't think there is one Arab-Muslim who doesn't know him. Half the Pakistanis also know him. Brother Shukri is the same thing. When they receive a letter from him they realize that this is same person I saw in the region, he is the one who gave the Friday sermon, he came to the festival and stuff. So, the media aspect is very important even if a person doesn't raise [*money*]. Even if a future problem rises where he cannot raise money during the festivals, the point is that the Fund goes out to its public and remains a point of contact for the public when it holds activities or takes advantage of the activities of the [*Islamic*] Association [*For*

Palestine] to reach public even if they don't donate [money] on that day. This is what I have...UI.

UM1: I went outside for few minutes so I don't know if brother...UI.

UM2: Were you asleep?

UM1: No, I went outside [*Laughs*]. God's willing, I will focus on the media aspect, my brothers, regarding the Holy Land Foundation and the charitable organizations generally. In reality, I would like to direct my address to the Islamic communities more than the Americans and similar communities. Therefore,...UI with brother Shukri later, God's willing. We can speak about that later. The emphasis of the Islamic nature of the issue is a must, especially now. I liked an article which was published in Muslim World Monitor about...

Om: We're the ones who publish it, by the way.

UM1: What?

Om: We're the ones who publish it.

UM1: Thanks be to God...UI.

UM2: We shouldn't confuse charitable work for media work.

UM1: No, no. It relates to charitable work. I just wanted to bring this issue up regarding charity work. They cited an example that issue of...UI and the self-rule have removed the nationalistic masks making the issue now an Islamic one. We should take this positive aspect at least; to emphasize our reach to the Islamic communities. Out of that approach, we could focus on the impact of the self-rule on the Palestinian cause..., on the entire Muslim world. Therefore, we must hold our brothers inside steadfast from the economic point of view. Another matter is that there is no doubt that the support will pour into Gaza and Jericho. You might say that...UI regarding the self-rule or the Israeli-American inclination. In reality, we can...UI a little or address the West Bank in a better manner. The suffering in the West Bank will not cease. In Hebron, there are camps as well. Therefore, this is really our true opportunity. We have focused a lot on Gaza and now we have an opportunity for Islamic activism in other areas. Our brothers, there are other examples...UI no one knows the future shape of activism in America or how it will be. But, as far as the conferences of the [*Muslim Arab Youth*] Association and the ISNA are concerned, the closest upcoming one is the conference of the [*Muslim Arab Youth*] Association. In reality, we will have two conferences; one in Los Angeles and one in

Detroit and they will be very good opportunity to address the Arab community...UI our issue and the fundraising issue.

Gh: Is the Los Angeles conference held by...UI?

UM1: No, no. It is a conference for the Muslim Arab [Youth] Association.

Gh: Does it have two conferences at the same time?

UM1: There is a disagreement regarding the name but, we will talk about that later. At any case, there will be two conferences. My region is a region of density for the Arab community. If we manage to explain a big segment of the Palestinian cause..., because we have people who are from the Gulf and stuff, Egyptians and others to make them really feel that the Palestinian cause is now in a more dangerous position that it used to be in. Those will assist us when we go to their areas to present our point of view and to collect donations from the Islamic community. My brothers, I believe that the inclination of brothers Shukri, brother Ibrahim, brother...UI and brother Omar is to really try to move forward to managing conferences to make sure there are concentrated lectures on the issue of the self-rule and its impact on the Arab world in particular because it is the closest one. Therefore, these people can assist us, God's willing, in unifying the hearts in the future. This is my report. Thanks to you.

As: May God reward you well. By the way, an issue was mentioned and I would like to emphasize it, it is the issue of the visit of..., arranging for the visit of a delegation. I mentioned it in the morning and I will mention it now. This is live example where in Britain they arranged a visit for the eminent people in the Islamic community in Britain....UI. It is true that one could have some knowledge about Palestine or hear about Palestine but doesn't know the situation on the ground. They went over there and visited and they returned with a lot of enthusiasm and very moved because of the situation. They formed organizations all of what they collect in their respective regions..., an organization to support Al Aqsa and...UI. It was these kind of organizations which started to publicize the cause of Palestine. We, until now, still work with past forms which are not connected and...

Om: We had a delegation from...UI but, the problems in America started. So, we stopped the...UI.

UM1: But, the need remains dire to send such a delegation.

As: It is true that there is dire need to dispatch such a delegation. It is true that brother Muin

mentioned the active Islamic organizations. I hope we can get an idea about the...UI organizations in the inside. He mentioned the Samiha Khalil's organization but I hope we can get an idea about some of the organizations. It is true that the Islamic organizations had an impact despite their limited financial resources if compared with others. This is true and we might feel that in the American media...UI. Now, the second question, brother Abou Bassem, is for Canada: how much do you raise annually?

Ab2: ...UI. The first half of this year [*we raised*] 214,000.

As: [*How about*] last year?

Ab2: This is for '93. From now until June '93, we raised 214,000. In 1992 [*we raised*] 167 for the entire year.

As: Are there any other active Islamic organizations?

Ab2: One organization which is affiliated with you in America but it is a branch...UI. It is United...UI Holy Land, United Holy Land Fund.

As: What about this one?

Ab2: My knowledge of it is almost non-existent. They raised about 80,000 and...UI.

As: And do you they a presence and...UI?

Ab2: They raised between 60,000-70,000.

As: I heard from you or from the brothers who have a connection with Canada that, if you sponsored a project on the inside, the Canadian government might contribute up to half of it or something of the sort. Is that true?

Ab2: This is true but, it needs coordination. We have an obstacle as the government has returned the application over three times to us and we used the by-laws of organizations which got registered. But, they promised us that they would look into it in the coming weeks, God' willing. We got this promise from them. There is also IPRF which is Islamic and deals with the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization. It also raises between 80,000-90,000. In the past year, they raised 139,000 and they issued a statement that the expenses had reached 93,000. Their expenses, out of 139,000, was 93,000.

UM2: Is this an Islamic organization?

Ab2: It is an Islamic [organization] which operates in...UI, operates in Kashmir. It works in other regions. It started working in Sudan lately. I heard that they're lately trying to work in Sudan. In Palestine, of course,... UI, they raised less than 81,000. [A short period of UI group talk]. It raises 7,000 or 8,000 through us, I mean through us.

As: What is the possibility of holding a meeting for the eminent members of the Islamic community in America in order to discuss the situation and the latest agreement between...

UM2: ...UI.

As: What?

UM2: This has nothing to do with...UI

As: No, it doesn't.

UM2: ...UI. We will later listen to brother Muin and, God's willing,...UI activism by other organizations and, God's willing, we might be able to...UI.

Ga: In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. I'll speak about the leaning towards separating charitable work from political work.

Gh: Is there a contradiction between them?

Ga: Totally. Charity work is meant to be a humanitarian charity work...UI in their brochures, their statements and their...UI, all of that is a political position. Some side with...UI, some side with Hamas, whether they are Hamas or..., I mean... This is not the issue. This is one issue. As for the second issue, I felt that there was a leaning towards reconciliation between us and...UI. There is a mental attempt with us to shift, I mean we are trying to shift ourselves. It is as if we are...UI, meaning that we have to move from one place to another. No. And I believe this was there very early on...UI. It is going to be normal to focus on activism abroad at the expense of support to the inside. Don't tell me...UI. Focusing means that you will spend your human, mental and planning energy on certain directions. It is true that the [refugees] camps of Lebanon, Syria and Jordan are not part of the agreement but, they will bring about practical consequences on the ground now. Here is Amman making official statements saying that I will not accept that the Palestinians of...UI. This is an example...UI. Therefore, the Occupied Territories is the natural arena for support the most important one. It is not like the brother said...UI because some people are saying that support is not important right now...UI. Based on that, I see that

focus ought to be greatly on the Occupied Territories and then we move to Lebanon, Syria and Jordan later on.

UM1: This is the information you mentioned...UI.

Ga: What?

UM1: ...UI.

Ga: Anyway. My view is to continue with the support as is and without changing anything. This is one. A remark. The third point is that we need to turn to the issues which are...UI. The philosophy of abundant human support is that it is a matter of consumption...UI. Why sell goods in the market? And it doesn't have an end even if you pour millions [of dollars] into it, it won't end. And all of that is for a month and not a year. So the right course for this [organization] is for it to establish projects for an infrastructure, even it is...UI, and you will have people running them [the projects] for you; construction [workers], engineers and laborers. All of that employs hands, really. The infrastructure is..., infrastructure projects with long-term benefit are the projects with the top priority. Next, come the projects with the humanitarian nature and I believe that 20% of the year...UI. These [projects] will be examined at the proper time. So, it is important not to forget about the projects with the humanitarian nature because people interact with them and they are easier [to carry out] psychologically and emotionally. Is there something wrong?

UM1: No, no. Go ahead.

Ga: The issue of Jerusalem is a problematic one, to be honest. I would like to talk about something which has been on my mind for a while now. It is regarding the...UI whether in America or outside America. There is no precise idea about how to hold the people of Jerusalem steadfast...UI. There are no projects until now. An apartment over there costs half a million. An apartment sells for half a million dollars. So, the issue is...UI. Repairs are forbidden...UI, building is forbidden, they've tightened things for us. The issue of Al Aqsa, it is not being repaired, really.

UM2: It is being repaired.

Ga: What? A little bit.

UM1: [Tapping to quiet several simultaneous speakers]. Our brothers, we will give you an opportunity later.

Ga: These are problems. I believe these are problems on the inside. The problem with the issue of Jerusalem is that there are projects which are...UI. And they are independent projects. If this is a project which costs that much money, go around in America, Europe, the Islamic world and the Arab world to collect money for it. I mean, think about these people in the Occupied Territories. Preserving Jerusalem is for the future and preserving the land in it particular. Our brothers, brother Abou Mohamed mentioned that the arriving Palestinian [*National*] Authority - if it succeeds in really coming - is Fatah and Fatah doesn't agree to let anyone else share life with it. Everything is under its hand, all the employecs, all is affiliated [*with it*]. Nothing will be done except through it. So, you at the Movement...UI, there is no problem with that. It is possible that the Movement lives alongside Fatah. Therefore, any organization which they [*i.e. Fatah*] consider as affiliated with the Movement will come to an end. My brothers...UI, the government of Kuwait tried to do the same thing with the Movement. The government of Kuwait and not Fatah. They adopted the same line of thinking, the biased thinking. So, for instance, the house of..., the house of...

As: The House of Zakat.

Ga: The House of Zakat and which was for the Islamists. And I remember one of our brothers who said that this will be the beginning of the weakness of our influence. There were tens of popular charitable committees which were distributing [*aid*] but they were...UI. A man who didn't have the money for education was sent to America to get education...UI. Now, go the House of Zakat now and see it, it is a governmental agency affiliated with the Ministry of Endowments. It has a director and stuff...UI, the Kuwaiti government. So, this is how Arafat's thinking will be. On the contrary, he might try to befriend the Palestinian families and make a unified [*aid*] party for the entire [*West*] Bank. This is the mentality which will govern them. And, of course, regarding this organization..., what is it called? The Social Welfare Organization or something...

UMI: Family Welfare [*Society*]?

Ga: Yeah. Its main goal was to attempt to bring down the Zakat committees. There you will have a problem with charity work. The medical clinics will become a part of the Ministry of Health. It is not going to be up to you to oversee them. All mosques will be under the Ministry of Endowments and you won't have the choice to work in them as well. Schools will be under private education, the Ministry of Education...UI, they will have a big problem. Therefore, the matter is not as easy as some people think, that they [*Fatah*] will just compete with us. No, no, no. I believe that they will bring you in and ask you "What are you doing?...UI". And I believe that they will...UI. These guys are not easy [*to deal with*]. They seek to run the organizations and we have to know from now how to protect

our organizations. I'm ready to hear ideas. I hope the brothers have good ideas on how to protect our organizations...UI. The organizations on the inside and the outside...UI. But, whether they are inside or outside, in Kuwait, in America, in Europe or anywhere else... There is an idea now to...UI the inside right now. I suggest an idea to...UI form a committee to coordinate between all the organizations. Now, right away. The Zakat committees, the clinics, the services and stuff. Committees should be formed right now to coordinate matters between them but each committee shouldn't be separate from the others...UI. So, form committees right now and they will sum up all matters together. Issues relating to '48 and...UI will be handled. There will be negative aspects relating to work and tying charitable work with the political parties inside the Movement or its supporters. That means that there shouldn't be a political stand by the Movement or its representatives which will...UI. This would create a problem for us...UI. Outside funding is important. I believe that the problems we are facing are two problems; how to deal with the enormous international campaign facing people inside and outside which says that there is no need for support over there [*inside Palestine*]. Consequently, this issue needs concentration. For instance, there is a lot of talk about the 400,000 millions in aid which they will spend annually. Half of it..., half of it are non-guaranteed...,right?

Sh: Yeah, non-guaranteed.

Ga: Half of it is this and 25% of it is...UI, while 800 millions of it is technical aid. Where is the money then? ...UI how do you prove to the masses that people are not being told the truth. People who are working on this [*aid package*] are economic experts who have experience. The conference of...UI ended yesterday...UI. The International Monetary Fund and the United Nations are making statements in that regards. America made statements, Japan and Europe as well. All of them issues good statements. On top of all of that...UI. So, I believe that your problem in charity work is how to collect money, we should define that and get ready for it. Two, the receiving party in the inside which will have its laws. It should be operating legally so that the [*Palestinian National*] Authority won't lay its hands on it. God knows better.

UM1: We thank the brothers who participated. ...UI, do you have a comment?

As: I really have two comments; the first comment is that when I spoke about '48, I meant the '48 on the inside and not the [*refugees*] camps abroad. Another thing is the issue of the Palestinian Liberation [*Organization*]'s understanding of the change..., and how could we deal with intelligence and know how to take advantage of the opportunity. After Arafat signed [*the peace accord*] at the White House and after the signing ceremony was over, he met the next day with Dr. Waheed El Shami who is a Palestinian from Ramallah - he is originally from Ramallah but resides in America - to establish an American University

in the Occupied Territories in the manner of the American University in Beirut, Cairo and elsewhere. If such a University was established in the [Gaza] Sector, it means that there is no reason to have the Islamic University. Therefore, they might not resort to...UI method, but deal with matters with some sort of intelligence so that they have the pretexts. Why is the Islamic University operating when we have the American University? Here are the...UI. They will build large buildings for it and the secure specializations in it and all the aspects which can simply steal the show from you. This is one thing that requires a kind of..., of a quick initiative. Another thing which is happening right now as a way to show people that there is some sort of a life under the new rule; the United Nations' institutions in the Occupied Territories which usually give a two-year diploma have been now converted into universities which provide almost 4 years [of education]. Thus, the people have started to move and, therefore, we should stop saying that they will now stop working. They have already started, they have already begun working and collect things. They're making reports and God knows what else. Therefore, we must have the initiative. Thank you.

UM1: There is a point regarding the camps outside the Occupied Territories. I don't agree with the issue and I'm not with focusing on the inside. We need to discuss this but, there should be a new approach to the issue; the issue of the Palestinian people which is much bigger than the issue of the self-rule. Therefore, attention ought to be paid to the issue of the refugees and here is the Holy Land Foundation having a new plan to reach these refugees so that we can address it in the future if the problem of the refugees in the Gaza Sector is solved. I wanted to say that because you brought up the issue of focusing [on the inside] and stuff. The issue is...

Sh: I believe the issue..., the issue of the Palestinian camps, first of all, is part of our modified strategy. It touches a large segment of the Palestinian people and I believe that it was a part of our...UI in the past. And I believe it is about time to address the issue whether it is... The camps residents are over 700,000 whether in Gaza or outside Palestine. And it is also a very big key to open the Palestinian channel even with non-Arabs and non-Muslims. It is big issue we need to handle together for charity. The second thing is that I believe that all of what we do is worthless if the situation in the Occupied Territories is not organized. If our brothers...UI in all aspects of daily life, they won't be able to. You see? I agree with [the need to] focus now, aligning forces and..., and..., I mean, ...UI. There are no studies..., based on my many visits to the Occupied Territories, there is no result...er, study indicating that our consumer's services really benefit people... [break in recording]. Even children's daycare centers... [break in recording]...which is the criterion, we discover that their Dawa'a value is close to zero. This is an example. What do we want then? [break in recording]...UI. What have we benefitted from that? The same thing applies to orphans sponsorships; we spend hundreds of thousands of dollars over this

program but, there is no Dawa'a use for it. Ok? We are not re-evaluating our strategy in charity work in the first place, we want to act as a...UI [break in recording]... all the money we transferred to the Occupied Territories, about 1.25 million until now, 900,000 of it, out of the 1.25 million, went to relief to..., to...er, what you call it? To relief. Relief in a form or another. All of it for relief. There has not been one project for us. Of course, what I can do is to be careful because you never hear about a person who dies out of hunger. He takes care of his needs. But, when you want to...UI, don't you need salaries for employees at the end of the month? Otherwise, you will have to close the school...

As: True.

Sh: So, you have to plan ahead. So, this is what we are talking about; to support the organizations on the inside which is more difficult. Yet, we need to... What is your strategy? What do you want to do exactly? And the issue shouldn't be [addressed] because this person, by God, knows Shukri in America and knows Abou Mohamed. Let's call him and say "I need a grant for \$600,000 over a telephone call" and the one who doesn't know how to elaborate misses the boat. This is not how organizational work. This is grocery work and it doesn't serve anyone; neither us or them. So, what I mean is that we now need to...UI to organize our papers and to ask our brothers to think in a serious and a practical manner, to see our potentials, what we need to do and what we can... Regarding the issue of '48, by God, I have noticed...UI. Is it possible to tell our brothers to bring personnel from outside Palestine in the '48 territories. I asked..., I asked our brothers. Legally, it is possible...UI. There was no plan in the past to bring personnel to...UI. There was no plan, my brothers.

UM1: ...UI.

Sh: There was a possibility that you could take the citizenship... I mean that we have to think, we have to act. We must think about all the..., all the...er, primitive work methods and be more creative. Until now, we are not creative in the field of charity work at all. All of the seasonal projects are the same projects, the same issues, the same things over and over. Here we are sitting down...UI while we are still thinking about children's daycare centers and what you call it. This is a problem we face to help our brothers on the inside...

UM1: There are issues which were presented and which have more than one view. We don't want the brothers to defend one and try to show who is more right. I mean..., the ideas presented could be... As long there is a mid-way, the ideas presented could be discussed.

Om: Hum. At the end, I would like to say that...UI they speak to us as if we are the Higher Relief Committee which cares for the entire world. We here in America want to establish

the Fund which...UI. How can we be sure...UI. This is our work while this is a model. But, we want to speak about Jerusalem, this and that for Jerusalem, what is our strategy for Gaza and our strategy I don't know where and these organizations and that what is important is the university. This talk is not for us. You are addressing the wrong people, I think. Those who spoke to us about these issues, they should go and talk to the big guys. We are... *[Laughter followed by a short UI group talk]*.

Ga: In order to clarify this point. My honorable brother, we..., we... I explained that in the beginning. We paved the way..., we don't..., my brother Omar. It is a tragedy, it is a tragedy that the brothers don't know what is going on there, that you keep talking and talking. That you hear about the organizations and that we are a mere name. My brother, we didn't suggested solutions. We painted a reality. Ok? But, based on it..., so that the brothers have a clear picture they must know what we are talking about. At the beginning, I said that my topic doesn't have to do with...UI.

Om: I'm not speaking about the introduction, but about the first topic. *[I meant]* the last three comments which were... *[A short period of unintelligible group talk]*.

UM1: I have a comment on what our brother Shukri said. We always tell the brothers over there to present projects or bring studies and stuff. How can we ask them to be creative or...UI children daycare centers? We must do something regarding their education and guidance and that ought to come from you because you are bigger. You say there are so and so fields to help but you have to realize how hard it is to get blueprints for one project, whether it is for a children daycare center or some other facility for children. The problem is that when you present a plan like that... Anyway.

UM2: There is a point regarding what Abou Mohamed said concerning the diversity of the address. The most important point is that it should be contradictory. I mean, the point which our brother Omar mentioned is that there shouldn't be contradiction in the addresses to the Americans, to the Muslims or to the Palestinians. This is the most important thing. The address should be diverse and I believe this cannot be taken against you unless there is contradiction in the address. Only then it could be taken against you. The second point is...UI conference. I mean, if there is one person to speak..., to speak to the Muslims or the Arabs who attend this thing *[conference]* it must be fact-filled talk and not a fervent talk or just talk where people forget what he said after he gets down from the podium. Therefore, attention should be given to the speaker whether he is Palestinian or non-Palestinian. But, what is important is that he must deliver a good..., a very good speech to the people whether in the conference which will be held over here, the Salafists' conference or the Liberators' conference or at any conference. I mean you should utilize it *[the conference]* by having a speaker who could deliver a fact-filled speech, an educated

speech to the people so that he make them feel the responsibility or the big problem that exists.

UM1: May God reward you well. I would like to tell you that there are new suggestions, my brothers. We don't want comments on old talk. God ahead.

UM3: There is a point which is market...UI.

UM1: Yes.

UM3: We need to do a market research in the Occupied Territories. I mean, you need to do a full survey to determine the segments you are dealing with realistically. The second point is that there are means to guarantee your legal rights and, at the same time, your influence over the [Gaza] Sector meaning over the people or the citizens without being recognized by the self-rule [authority] or without it throwing blocks in your way. There is an economic or a marketing aspect called "Joint Venture" which they pay a lot of attention to at the moment. Our role is to assist the people of the [Gaza] Sector and the West Bank to get the largest number of joint ventures with large U.S. companies over here. Then comes the franchise aspect as our role is to assist them as much as possible to get as many franchises of large U.S. companies or global companies as possible. The self-rule [authority] cannot oppose them. Even if it wants to oppose them, it will have to worry about the mother company. This will strengthen your economic might over there because you employ your brothers you want to employ and the more people you employ, the more they are politically loyal to you. This point could...

UM2: The talk was based on the fact that...UI. I see that the...UI or the organization must launch an internal campaign. It includes meetings with the brothers to make them face their responsibilities directly and not through the organizational channels like in the past. Those in charge of the Fund should have a meeting and make people face the responsibilities, whether at the regions' level or at the different levels. This aspect is out of line as far as the new organization [called] MAS or ICNA are concerned...UI. This is one aspect. The other aspect is that we truly ought to benefit from the American reality. We have, for instance, a simple experiment in the city relating to the issue of the refugees. We managed through a Catholic organization to achieve a lot for the emigres at our end. We benefitted from them on financial and educational levels.

UM1: Were they Kurds or what kind of emigres were they?

UM2: Different nationalities of emigres; Somalis, Kurds and...UI. But, we have people who work with the Somalis, for instance, and there has been success. So, it is possible to

establish contacts with these parties. The third aspect is the issue of pairing with universities, for instance, whether they are in Gulf nations..., I mean, we shouldn't despair. Hope should always be with us and we should contact all people as long as we will place the political tone aside while engaging in charity work. Just one more thing is a comment on the issue of...UI. I think brother Shukri didn't mean the letter of the word but,...UI in the [Gaza] Sector. There are not enough children daycare centers in the [Gaza] Sector and they said it would be great if they allowed us to open more children daycare centers. But, in the West Bank, for instance,...UI there are daycare centers which can educate children and some of them now are in colleges. So this aspect - the educational aspect - is truly an important one but I really believe that...UI should come from the inside to our brothers abroad. God the Almighty knows better and may God reward you.

UM1: Can you just comment on the issue of coordination with the other organizations.

Sh: I think that this is an issue which we didn't discuss. It is a new aspect and...UI. I mean, we must double our efforts, my brother. If we achieve something for our brothers by going 1,000 calories fast, we must consume 2,000 calories. This means that you ought to expand work fields outside the U.S. continent to begin with. And, thank God, we started to work and we now have good activities...

UM1: ...UI.

Sh: Ah, yes. It is good. This is part of work expansion, work expansion on the geographic and human levels. Out of the existing organizations, I believe we are the leaders, we are the leaders. You won't have someone who forgot his cause come to you and tell you "Teach me about your cause". You have to take your program to him and try to educate him. So, as far as the MAYA, the ICNA or what they call MAS or any other organizations, and as far as the existing U.S. organizations, all of them present their causes and I believe we have to embark on this stage. We shouldn't leave any door unchecked. This is what we learned that..., what you said is very very precise and is right. I'll give you an example; next week, God's willing, the Foundation will sign the first contract of its kind with an American lady who is donating a piece of land that is 4 acres with buildings on it. This will be her legal will to us. This act will provide support for the medical aspect and to the people of the Intifada. This is what we want. This is an aspect we never thought about before, my brother, and didn't care about it before. So, it is more worthy that we focus on the Muslim communities and their existing organizations. I'm 100% certain that if you don't present your program to them, persisted, requested and used lobbying, no one will care..., care about your cause. I challenge you. Unless you follow up with them, [Muslim American Youth] Association and other [organizations], no one will look at you. This is

an advice to all of us and moreover to the youths of Syria. I can say with a legal certainty that..., is the Sheik here? The [prophet's] Saying which says that he..., he who neglects the issues of the orphans and the poor - according to the [prophet's] Saying - ...UI will be sinful. We face a very large cause and some of your brothers are busy with a meaningless cause while your cause is eroding and they don't feel any measure of responsibility, the youths of...UI, the people of the country. They don't feel the importance of the responsibility. I say that it is our duty now to..., forget about the media...UI. Let's have a very concentrated campaign to provide awareness to these people, to recruit them and to mobilize them for our cause. If they don't mobilize, you want find any other people. This is my personal belief.

UM1: May God reward you well. But, we didn't answer the question yet.

Sh: We answered it.

UM1: Ok, can you tell us now about the level of coordination between you and the MAYA, MAS and the ICNA. I mean, do you have a certain [level of] coordination or...

UM2: I really have a comment about the presentation, if you excuse me, regarding the issue of the MAYA. The issue of Syria is...UI, then the issue of MAS and the issue of ISNA and then we separate...UI.

Sh: ...UI, God's willing.

UM1: Is there some sort of coordination now? I mean,...UI, but our people are there.

Sh: It is a seasonal relationship with the Association and it was truly a good relationship until the last minute and until the last years. Now, we started to talk with the brother, the new chairman, and there are indications that relations will return to normalcy. It is good to see the Palestinian cause a fundamental part of their program. There is no argument over that. The ISNA is a hopeless case, almost a hopeless case because, for them, the cause of Palestine is in the back memory, on the back alleys of the American...UI...

END OF RECORDING.

[UM] Unidentified Male.
[UI] Unintelligible.
[NFI] Not Further Identified.
(LNU) Last name unknown.
[*Italics*] Translator's comments.
[...] Incomplete sentence.

Sh = Shukri Abu Baker
Om = Omar Ahmad
Gh = Ghassan Elashi
Ss = Sheik Sharif
Ga = Gawad (LNU)
Ab = Abdel Salam (LNU)
Ak = Akram (LNU)
Au = Abou Usama (NFI)
As = Abdel Halim Al Ashqar (Aboul Hasan)
Aa = Abou Ahmad (NFI)
Aj = Abdel Jabbar
Ab2 = Abou Bassem (NFI)
Mu = Muin (LNU)

Audio file: MTGB 19931002 8.WAV

Om: The picture is just like brother Shukri mentioned and I want to just emphasize it. What is important is do an awareness project for the Foundation's donors. I mean, we have people who have donated in the past years, they have donated for the past four or five years, for instance, since the beginning of the Intifada. We have a large group..., 20,000 names or 25,000 names of people who donated \$50 to us or more. Why can't there be an awareness project for those people? It would include first of all Islamic awareness, for instance, the religious and the creedal aspect as most of them are Muslims or all of them are Muslims. Second, for instance, a media and a political project whereby we explain to them the media and the political aspect. I mean, we explain to them what is going on so that these donors understand that what happened is not a solution to the cause and that the situation is still as is, that the problem has not been solved. On the contrary, it got more complicated and that we now need support. I mean, other organizations can undertake

this..., this awareness. If the Fund cannot send a media/political bulletin or leaflet, the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] can take care of that and the names can come..., I mean we can buy the names from them and we send it to them. We can focus on them for three or four months where a bulletin is sent out every month including what is going on and the developments of the situation. This would be done in a good English language, the bulletin or the leaflet should be moderate and it would prepare these people to donate so that we don't lose these people. I believe that, if we are going to lose some people, let us lose 10% and not 50% of them and he who is going to reduce his donation by 50%, let him reduce it by 10% if we provide awareness to him. I believe that we have..., we have a very good base, I mean, we have a good Muslim base who if we explain to them the Islamic aspect..., if we explain the Muslims' situation on the inside, what is going to happen to Muslims' organizations, if we explain that this self-rule is nothing but a tool in the hands of the Jews or..., I mean, in a moderate way, of course. I believe donations won't be much impacted. And I believe we have time from now until the end of the year to get this project going. This is a suggestion. The second suggestion is that if we want to..., brother Shukri suggested the idea of having talks with the Americans about supporting the self-rule in Gaza and Jericho. I believe that our problem is that we stopped working underground. We will recognize the source of any message which comes out of us. I mean, if a message is publicized, we will know..., the media person among us will recognize that you send two messages; one to the Americans and one to the Muslims.

Om: ... This is an excellent idea as we must enlarge the circle of the Foundation's beneficiaries, either Palestinians inside Palestine or outside Palestine such as in Lebanon and stuff. The issue is that I feel that there is something missing from the [Islamic] Association [For Palestine] and its relationship with the Fund. There is a lot missing which is the media aspect of the Fund. For instance, you meet with the community every year through the festivals. When you or Abou Ibrahim stand up with the multitudes and address them, if he raises \$5,000, that's fine, but there is a message for them during Ramadan at least or when the sheik who is affiliated with the Fund appears, they recognize that this is the same person they saw during the festival. You're then building direct relationship with the people. This is better than another organization which never saw Jericho and whose chairman is unknown [to the community]. I mean, now Abou Ibrahim is now known all over America. I don't think there is one Arab-Muslim who doesn't know him. Half the Pakistanis also know him. Brother Shukri is the same thing. When they receive a letter from him they realize that this is same person I saw in the region, he is the one who gave the Friday sermon, he came to the festival and stuff. So, the media aspect is very important even if a person doesn't raise [money]. Even if a future problem rises where he cannot raise money during the festivals, the point is that the Fund goes out to its public and remains a point of contact for the public when it holds activities or takes advantage of the activities of the [Islamic] Association [For Palestine] to reach public even if they don't donate [money] on that day. This is what I have...UI.

Ga: ... Everything is under its hand, all the employees, all is affiliated [*with it*]. Nothing will be done except through it. So, you at the Movement...UI, there is no problem with that. It is possible that the Movement lives alongside Fatah. Therefore, any organization which they [*i.e. Fatah*] consider as affiliated with the Movement will come to an end. My brothers...UI, the government of Kuwait tried to do the same thing with the Movement. The government of Kuwait and not Fatah. They adopted the same line of thinking, the biased thinking.

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There is an idea now to...UI the inside right now. I suggest an idea to...UI form a committee to coordinate between all the organizations. Now, right away. The Zakat committees, the clinics, the services and stuff. Committees should be formed right now to coordinate matters between them but each committee shouldn't be separate from the others...UI. So, form committees right now and they will sum up all matters together. Issues relating to '48 and...UI will be handled. There will be negative aspects relating to work and tying charitable work with the political parties inside the Movement or its supporters. That means that there shouldn't be a political stand by the Movement or its representatives which will...UI. This would create a problem for us...UI. Outside funding is important. I believe that the problems we are facing are two problems; how to deal with the enormous international campaign facing people inside and outside which says that there is no need for support over there [*inside Palestine*].

As:

... After Arafat

signed [*the peace accord*] at the White House and after the signing ceremony was over, he met the next day with Dr. Waheed El Shami who is a Palestinian from Ramallah - he is originally from Ramallah but resides in America - to establish an American University in the Occupied Territories in the manner of the American University in Beirut, Cairo and elsewhere. If such a University was established in the [*Gaza*] Sector, it means that there is no reason to have the Islamic University. Therefore, they might not resort to...UI method, but deal with matters with some sort of intelligence so that they have the pretexts. Why is the Islamic University operating when we have the American University? Here are the...UI. They will build large buildings for it and the secure specializations in it and all the aspects which can simply steal the show from you. This is one thing that requires a kind of..., of a quick initiative.

Sh:

... Even children's daycare centers... [*break in recording*]...which is the criterion, we discover that their Dawa'a value is close to zero. This is an example. What do we want then? [*break in recording*]...UI. What have we benefitted from that? The same thing applies to orphans sponsorships; we spend hundreds of thousands of dollars over this program but, there is no Dawa'a use for it. Ok? We are not re-evaluating our strategy in charity work in the first place, we want to act as a...UI [*break in recording*]... all the money we transferred to the Occupied Territories, about 1.25 million until now, 900,000 of it, out of the 1.25 million, went to relief to..., to...er, what you call it? To relief. Relief in a form or another. All of it for relief. There has not been one project for us.

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Sh: ... But, the question is..., allow me to pose a question. I still feel that all of that still doesn't answer the following question :What do you want? What do you want to get from the Muslim public through your media address. What are you exactly, exactly trying to do. And also from the non-Muslim public, Ok? What do you want from these people.

Ni: Yes. Now?

Sh: Yes.

GOVERNMENT
EXHIBIT
Philly Meeting 16E
3:04-CR-240-G
U.S. v. HLF, et al.

Ni: Responding..., responding to people's need over there on the media, political and financial levels. I will give you an example: people in Gaza have a problem. Your energy here is limited. If you hear of a false rumor, you want to discredit it, huh? If people need money, we would provide media coverage. We encourage people to donate to you. If there is a political issue, a Samah's input, for instance, about this or that, we inform people to contact their representatives, I mean the...UI and others, print circulations and send them to them.

Om: I know, regardless. But, when I stand up and tell him that Sharia says so and so, the Jews are God's enemy, for instance... I won't say "God's enemy". I will say it in a way..., citing the Islamic aspect, that the Islamic aspect prohibits that. Provide the edict of a particular sheik. Ten edicts won't leave a room for doubt with him.

Om: But, you still cannot show the legal position to the Americans...UI.

UM1: No, my brother. There are things I can warn against such as... I won't be naive to the point of telling the American "It is my right to enslave your daughter and...", like what Omar Abdel Rahman did in Detroit and said that "America will be a plunder for us". His words are correct [*Laughter and UI brief group comments*]. No, really. It was wrong.

UM2: So, the Americans..., we must address them from a position of right and justice and, at the same time, choose our words well. I mean we shouldn't mess up like Omar Abdel Rahman and fight and stuff like that.

Sh: When we reach the Americans there is always a disagreement. I have a feeling - please forgive me for that - that we avoid speaking with the Americans as we are not trained in talking with them and we are intimidated. We are scared to talk. We don't really have a clear policy in dealing with them.

Sh: ... I'm totally not convinced with what you said that we address the Palestinian, the Arab and the American using the same address. This, really, is...

Ni: I didn't say that.

UM1: Ok, let's..., let's... Listen...

Sh: It is impossible. It will fire back. Even the ordinary Muslim, we shouldn't address him in the same manner we address the Palestinians.

Sh: In light of the current crisis, I now see that addressing the American public in relation to the issue of the self-rule that we should not even mention the word PLO. We should not give the U.S. media the impression that our war is a partisan war, that these guys are PLO and we don't like them, or [mention] Yasser Arafat. It discredits us and them. Meanwhile, I can speak with the son of my homeland, I can discuss with him reasons he would understand. A Pakistani person would not understand anything. We ask a Pakistani "Where is Jericho?" and doesn't know where is Jericho in the first place. By God, by God, by God, there are Palestinian youths, Palestinian youths in...UI and they don't know. They ask me "Where is this Jericho? By God, I don't know it..." and they don't understand what I'm saying. I say that we cannot do the same thing for everybody. With the American people, we must focus with it in the next stage on the issues you brought up such as human suffering and the rights..., the issues which he understands, which suits the make-up of his brain. Once he understands that there is a personal friction between you and Abou Ammar or with...UI and there was some talk about PLO and stuff, I believe that he will change the issue from that of people's struggle regarding rights to that of a struggle of a faction with another. On the other hand, I say that we must discredit the legitimate Palestinian leadership with the Palestinian people in particular. We have to discredit them. We have to bring down this idol called Yasser Arafat, he must fall in the eyes of every Palestinian because he, until now, represents the symbol of the Palestinian cause. If he doesn't fall in the eyes of the people, people will still believe in him. This is an example, this is my understanding, see? So, the address will differ.

UM1: Ok, what do you want from the American people and... Let's ask what do we want from the American people and the U.S. Administration.

Sh: Answer this question.

UM1: Yes, yes. Let's discuss it. As for the U.S. Administration, Clinton said "I pledge full support for the accord". That's it. He told Arafat after he...UI him and Rabin, he told him "You have to do what you have to do", and Arafat said "Yeah, I'm ready to do what to be done...".

Ni: "I'm ready to do my part".

UM1: "My part", yes. So, the matter is over for the...UI, you see. They won't support you unless Samah is strong in the field and imposed itself on the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization. In this case, they will have no choice but to negotiate with it one way or another, you see? And what do you want from the American people? Money, you don't depend on it for your charitable economic projects in the first place. You can hide it and try to work...UI. As far as charity work, money comes mainly from the Islamic community. It won't give you much of anything, to you in particular because it is true you could deceive it with an assumed name but then it will recognize you. And the Jewish media now focuses on these things. It will expose you to it like it exposed other things, you see? So, what do you want from the American people? In reality, my belief is that you have to explain the truth to the American people but in a way the American people will accept.

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Ni: ...UI. Three, citing the international permanent rights in validating the legitimacy of resistance to the occupation and citing historical examples from the past of resistance to occupations in the West and the East.

UM1: There is a resolution from the UN.

Ni: What?

UM1: There is a UN General Assembly resolution..., an official resolution and the entire world has approved it.

Ni: Yes. This is in reply to...

UM1: ...UI. I mean that there is one already.

Ni: Four, stressing the democracy of the opposition and national coalitions to expose the national cover the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization currently relies on. Five, focusing on the struggle with Israel by showing the history and the continuity of the suffering at several levels. The second axis is supporting charity work and economic projects. We will speak about media coverage for charitable works. Making people aware of the extent of the human suffering such as in prisons, orphans, educational institutions and the means for their financial support. Second, propagating the work done by the Fund and its projects in an indirect manner meaning without telling people "Go ahead and donate to the Fund", but we should say "There is a need and stuff like that". The third axis is unifying the direction of media activism in America and the Orient in addressing the [*Palestinian National*] Authority. By that I mean that the brothers over there say stuff which Westerners don't try to understand. They talk about something and we might be talking about something else. Therefore, we should try to make them understand how people here think even the media people and how to address them. What are the terms they should focus on, the terminology and stuff like that...

UM1: Talking about whom you mean?

Ni: The leadership over there. Tell them about the sensitive points here to discuss them. That means we should omit the...UI style. We speak with the anchor man as if he is...UI.

Sh: The president of the state.

Ni: Yes. Attacking the media people is a very bad thing for the Americans. The same thing...UI, you're addressing all the people. The fourth and the last axis is keeping up with the internal events and incidents and breaking the Western black-out of them. First, putting out a video tape ...UI through brother Ghassan. Putting out a video tape, a study or a booklet about the main issues such as the refugees, Jerusalem, the neglected needs to make people familiar with them. I suggested something I called "The Forgotten Majority". We put out a tape, huh, about the forgotten majority and hold meetings in the inside about the suffering so that people know that the project has neglected them and, therefore, the Islamic duty of people is to support them. Second, noting incidents of violations of citizens' rights and Islamic rights. Meaning that if we feel there has been a violation of people over there under this agreement we present their case. We adopt..., we adopt people's suffering, people who suffered because of this agreement and present their case here. Finally, dispatching a delegation representing the Muslim community like the brothers mentioned to visit Jerusalem and Palestine. What concerns me here is..., is providing media coverage for it. I mean, they shouldn't go and benefit from the visit and

we get nothing. No, they take a camera with them, make a documentary and we distribute it to people over here so that they know...UI their presence and, therefore, we can get their support for the direction of the Movement. Finally, there is a suggestion to the Fund: if we couldn't make brotherhoods between the Islamic University, for instance, and other universities here before we can sponsor it, we can make brotherhoods between students. I mean, support the students over there. We can have a rich Muslim student over here - not even necessarily an Arab or a Muslim - adopt students over there. Brotherhood students program. And this will be..., will be done regardless there is or there is not a [Palestinian] Authority...

Om: This is dangerous [laughter] ...UI Brotherhood.

Ni: Ok. May God reward you well for your good listening and...

Sh: This..., this is a discussion now...

[UI brief group laughter and talk].

Sh: Brother...UI will answer the questions which were posed like he mentioned even though we surrounded him and didn't let him speak freely. But, the question is..., allow me to pose a question. I still feel that all of that still doesn't answer the following question :What do you want? What do you want to get from the Muslim public through your media address. What are you exactly, exactly trying to do. And also from the non-Muslim public, Ok? What do you want from these people.

Ni: Yes. Now?

Sh: Yes.

Ni: Responding..., responding to people's need over there on the media, political and financial levels. I will give you an example: people in Gaza have a problem. Your energy here is limited. If you hear of a false rumor, you want to discredit it, huh? If people need money, we would provide media coverage. We encourage people to donate to you. If there is a political issue, a Samah's input, for instance, about this or that, we inform people to contact their representatives, I mean the...UI and others, print circulations and send them to them. I have a long list of circulations which I didn't mention. Let's not get into details. If you, brothers, have questions or answers for the brothers we can send them via fax... There is a sample containing 15 questions...er, suggested questions and answers in case the media inquired or something. In my view we will be suggesting many things of this kind. The method of question and answer...UI.

[UI brief group talk].

UM1: I might be able to get out with a goal I already know through Shukri...UI.

Om: We should ask until how long can we..., to what extent we can address the Muslim community, the Palestinian community and the Americans with the same tone, the same address. Can we?

Ni: Yes.

Om: For instance, can we address a Muslim Palestinian who...UI with the same address we say to an American?

Ni: Yes.

Om: How?

Ni: I..., I... This is what I feel. I'm comfortable that when I address a Muslim or an observant or a non-observant Palestinian it will be one address. I don't say needless things, that's true, I can't say that over there, huh. But, I can speak about the legality of the occupation and cite examples from their history, huh,...

Sh: [You mean] the illegality of occupying Palestine.

Ni: It is possible.

Om: Ok, for instance, the statement we issued at the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine]... I speak now as if I'm outside the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine]..., the Fund and the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] and on which ten Islamic organizations signed..., I doubt that a lot of Muslims will read it and understand what is in it.

Ni: Really?

Om: They won't get an idea what the statement wants.

Ni: It is full of essay-type wording.

Om: Not essay-type...

Ni: Yes, it is long.

Om: No, not that. It is because we kept prolonging it, diluting it and making it like water, talked about the effect of the state, let's keep this sentence and this sentence will be rejected, let's take it out. At the end, a person must be very smart and either know that we are opposed and, consequently, understood from the statement that we are opposed, or he is intelligent and he understands that we are opposed but cannot speak.

Ni: Ok, fine.

Om: But, for a simple..., for a simple Muslim young man can read this statement and get out with 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. Even our faith, the religious aspect of the issue was not mentioned and you cannot...UI. Despite that, I believe that the best way, the easiest way and the most certain way to reach the Muslim community in regards to Palestine is the religious aspect. This is the most certain one. There is no..., there is no room for discussion. I don't debate him about a profit or a loss. I won't say "Give me an opportunity or give me Jerusalem or give me...". They might give a state tomorrow.

UM1: ...UI in the first place.

Om: I know, regardless. But, when I stand up and tell him that Sharia says so and so, the Jews are God's enemy, for instance... I won't say "God's enemy". I will say it in a way..., citing the Islamic aspect, that the Islamic aspect prohibits that. Provide the edict of a particular sheik. Ten edicts won't leave a room for doubt with him.

Ni: Ok.

Om: So, how can I apply that?...UI.

Ni: The first statement of the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] was clear.

Om: Ok, fine, fine. There is a double standard.

Ni: Just a second. And the second statement..., why did the brothers make it diluted? Because it was signed by twelve organizations and each one of them wanted to change something about it. Why was this statement issued in their name? Because we wanted to provide legality or cover for the bottom line, that this is a historical document and the entire Muslim community or its ranking people believe that. As for those who want to know the opinion of the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] shouldn't read this statement. Go and read the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine]'s first statement.

UM1: That one was clear.

Ni: Its language was clear.

Om: That's true. That's why I'm saying that the problem we're facing is that even Muslims who want to live in this country rejected our first statement. They found it strong so they, toned it down, toned it down and toned it down until it reached the lowest level which was agreeable by all and which turned out to be far different from the first original statement. How about if the Americans came on board as well?

Ni: Yes. Excuse me. Let me...

Om: I mean, if the Americans came on board... Also, there are even Islamic organizations which refused to sign. They said that this is still too much. They said that we must surrender even more.

Ni: You must understand.... Let's be honest. The weakness, my brothers,... Pray on the prophet. The weakness, by God, is not from the public. The weakness comes from the scared leaders.

Om: Regardless of that...

Ni: No. Stay with me. My brother, I see another thing. Did you see the programs which were aired after the signing and the interviews with the people, the children who are born here, who are non-observant, their statements sounded radical. People seek glory. Those who are scared are the leaders and let's not name names.

UM1: Regardless....UI.

Om: We don't want leaders other than the existing ones. They signed the statement.

Ni: And that's why they signed the statement. That's why we modified the language a bit. Unfortunately, people even...UI that our private language which we adopt and which we bear responsibility for is strong and clear.

UM1: If this tells you something, it tells you that the problem is..., the problem is not in the language of the address, not in media. Media is a tool to..., a tool to pass along what you have. The problem really is whether we reached a level of strength whereby we tell the Islamic organizations "This is the position of Islam in Palestine. Are you going to adhere to it or else...?". We didn't reach this stage. When we reach this stage the language of the address will be..., they will be looking for a way to manage his situation with.

Sh: What do you mean "...or else?". Are you going to close his center for him?

UM1: No. I won't close his center but you can use means..., legal means, legal means and legal reasons to use against him and tell him "Your position is either Islamic or non-Islamic. One or the other". As for the language of the address, everyone will tell you "By God, I'm scared of this guy. This guy is my neighbor and this guy is watching me".

UM2: You mean that they don't have an opinion in this issue, the Islamic organizations? I tell you, this is what I noticed, all the Islamic organizations such as ISNA, ICNA and others wish to see the day you issue a statement in your name and that's it. You are a specialized entity and you leave them alone.

Om: That's not what I mean.

UM2: But, there is no need for us to..., in order for us to cast legitimacy to... We represent the Islamic Palestinian legitimacy and end it at that. You see?

Om: Yes.

UM2: He will then come to you and tell you "I need to know your opinion regarding the Palestinian cause from the Muslim aspect". Here is the *[Islamic]* Association *[for Palestine]*.

Ni: Of course, they don't want that...

UM2: But, if you keep contacting ISNA and ICNA, you will be forced to modify the language of the address.

Om: But, there is danger in that.

UM2: Because the other guy won't agree and the...UI won't agree because each one of them has his own..., his own worship.

Om: I believe there is a danger from this aspect if they forsake... I tell you honestly that the Jews are working on Islamic organizations here. Really working. To the point that the American Jewish Congress chairman calls the chairman of the Islamic Center of Los Angeles and invites him to attend the meeting. He arranged for him to come to the attend the meeting at the White House, to come attend the ceremony.

UM2: Alamodi attended that one.

Om: Alamodi attended. Alamodi... Why are then keen on...

UM2: Alamodi attended the signing of the agreement.

Om: He did, yes. They are keen on...

UM1: Omar is talking about Maher Hathout being called to the meeting and he declined.

Om: He declined. He declined. Maher declined. Maher declined. But, who invited him? The chairman of the..., a person who is very high in the Jewish community.

UM1: ...UI.

Ni: No, what happened is that the person who invited him to attend is a person connected to Washington, D.C. The chairman of the American Jewish Congress invited him to meet a very high-ranking Israeli person. He told me and he asked me not to mention the name but I...UI. They asked him..., they asked him to attend a meeting with Shimon Perez. He was coming to Los Angeles and they told him "Come and attend a meeting with Shimon Perez". He asked me as we are in charge of the Islamic...UI, "Should we attend?". I told him "I wouldn't attend". So, he said "Ok, fine. I won't attend".

UM1: ...UI. But, like the sheik said; we are reference for the people to check with. We should indicate the facts and should remain in constant contacts with these Islamic organizations that we issued a statement and "If you want to join us in the statement here it is". If they want to toy with you, trying to downgrade it or tone down its language or anything like that, it is fine, we can issue another statement if it doesn't harm the general content, you see, in the name of the organizations. But, our position should remain clear and we remain the reference. If someone erred like Abdel Rahman Alamodi when he brought the Counsel and stuff, we would swarm his head through the media outlets we possess. "Here is the Islamic position regarding the Palestinian cause. You don't represent the..., you don't represent the Islamic position regarding this cause". You see? I mean, when I find out that Abdel Rahman Alamodi attended, everyone should pick up the phone and contact him, seriously, so that he feels that he cannot appease the Americans at the expense of our cause.

Sh: He appeased them and said....UI.

UM1: At least..., at least..., at least we should tell him "Your position should have been honorable like Haider Abdel Shafi - a communist - who declined to attend". That's it.

UM2: He tried to meet with Clinton and...UI.

Ni: We show him a proof from Islam and tell him "Haider Abdel Shafi declined to attend".

UM2: This is politics.

UM1: What?

UM2: This is politics.

UM1: I understand. It is politics.

[UI brief group talk].

Ni: Surrender brings about surrender. Alamodi started in a wrong way.

UM1: I'm totally comfortable with the suggestion mentioned by brother Nihad. If you want to present the issues, go ahead and present them to the American, to the Muslim and others because you have obvious and fundamental issues. The second thing is, unfortunately, many of the Islamists don't discuss the cause don't present it in the real Sharia aspect. They present it in a political aspect which might carry a hint of Islamic jurisprudence. There is a difference.

Ni: They inject some color in it.

UM1: No, I'm seriously speaking. I'm telling you, I asked the brothers when Mohamed Siyyam came and delivered a lecture..., I took the summary of the jurisprudence sayings written in all the...UI. I read them to people. There is no one jurisprudent who says this peace treaty is legal at all because peace must be between Muslims and infidels and there isn't one person among those who prays.

Om: It is between infidels and infidels.

UM1: Yes. The second thing is that peace shouldn't be endless.

Ni: This is correct.

UM1: Therefore, when I read these things, these are legal matters, people will have...UI. You see? So, we are trying to ignore the legal position in matters in favor for political hues. This is what is ruining things.

Om: But, you still cannot show the legal position to the Americans...UI.

UM1: No, my brother. There are things I can warn against such as... I won't be naive to the point of telling the American "It is my right to enslave your daughter and...", like what Omar Abdel Rahman did in Detroit and said that "America will be a plunder for us". His words are correct [*Laughter and UI brief group comments*]. No, really. It was wrong.

Ni: By God, by God, I don't see any embarrassment in speaking about Islamic Sharia because it is...UI. If we can make people...UI it should be convincing. If we don't like it..UI

UM1: Is this your faith in God and your faith in Islam?

UM2: Even some of..., some of the members of the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization when they used to rush to U.S. TV, before the peace treaty issue was presented and stuff like that, when they were opposed to it..., I remember Hatem Hussein in the beginning of 80's and stuff, he used to say "We want our share in it. We want El Lod, Ramallah and stuff like that". And they used to cite examples saying "If someone comes to your house and stole something. Would you accept that or not?". The Americans used to hear this kind of talk. They liked it or not..., but the input was similar. So, the Americans..., we must address them from a position of right and justice and, at the same time, choose our words well. I mean we shouldn't mess up like Omar Abdel Rahman and fight and stuff like that. The guy who opposes the treaty, Netanyahu, found a way to address the American public opinion. They accept him, that's true, because he is an Israeli and like him more than us, of course, he is Jewish, you see? But, he found a path that is different from Rabin's, you see? He stressed his convictions in Palestine and stuff like that and rejected the treaty and told them "I would like peace also but, people in Palestine will do this and that". Stuff like that. We could also...UI.

Ni: What is important is that the language of the address is there even for the American. But, the issue is how to use it.

Sh: When we reach the Americans there is always a disagreement. I have a feeling - please forgive me for that - that we avoid speaking with the Americans as we are not trained in talking with them and we are intimidated. We are scared to talk. We don't really have a clear policy in dealing with them. It is easy to speak with someone from your country and tell him..., tell him "We're from Haifa to Yafo". And Al Sakhra band sings from Haifa to Yafo. You cannot sit down with an American and..., that we didn't even take...UI until '48 and that we must...UI.

Ni: Please, I meet with...UI in California, a Jewish...UI. I told her this stuff. I told her "I'm a

Palestinian from the camps, from Borj El Barajna in Beirut...".

Sh: Fine, fine. This..., this..., this is a private conversation. But, as a banner...

Om: There is a difference between you saying "I want to restore the '48 land" and when you say "I want to destroy Israel".

Sh: Allow me, my brother, allow me. There are two logics: the logic of the powerful..., there is the logic of the powerful when the power person is like Netanyahu, say what you want and whatever you say will be right.

UM1: No doubt, sheik.

Sh: And when you have all right but distant like this guy, El Sayyed Ali..., what is his name, the guy from Bosnia, he came to Clinton, he had all the right in the world at his side but it didn't help him any. He returned..., he returned empty-handed. America told him "Go back and you have nothing other than peace negotiations. We won't stand with you and we won't fire one bullet for your sake", even though..., even though all right and logic are at his side, the UN is siding with him and stuff like that.

UM1: And he delivered a good speech. He clapped for them and then..UI. It still didn't work.

Sh: Fine. My brothers, I say look at the Iranian media, for instance. What is our problem? It is that one organization is attempting to address all people and this is impossible to do, especially in regards to media. Ok. You need more than one party to express.... I mean, how is the American..., the American media? It is a directed media. The person who cares about fishing is directed to publish a newspaper..., a magazine for fishing. He who cares about...UI. There is a very, very..., I mean market segmentation and everyone who cares about an issue will find a newspaper he wants. We don't have this thing right now and I'm totally not convinced with what you said that we address the Palestinian, the Arab and the American using the same address. This, really, is...

Ni: I didn't say that.

UM1: Ok, let's..., let's... Listen...

Sh: It is impossible. It will fire back. Even the ordinary Muslim, we shouldn't address him in the same manner we address the Palestinians.

UM1: Let's be practical. Sheik, sheik, let's be practical. You tell us what address you suggest

and we evaluate it. We discuss it. I mean, what would you say if you are addressing the U.S. media...UI.

Sh: Nihad's approach is right...

UM2: ...UI. This issue is very long and needs research. What is important is that everyone should give his opinion on how the address should be. How is the address divided. Is it going to be divided to five parts, four parts, three parts or two parts. How is it going to be? And, when you do speak, what should you say...UI. I believe that this is a very long subject and...

UM1: That's what I'm saying. That is why we should agree on it right now.

Sh: In light of the current crisis, I now see that addressing the American public in relation to the issue of the self-rule that we should not even mention the word PLO. We should not give the U.S. media the impression that our war is a partisan war, that these guys are PLO and we don't like them, or [mention] Yasser Arafat. It discredits us and them. Meanwhile, I can speak with the son of my homeland, I can discuss with him reasons he would understand. A Pakistani person would not understand anything. We ask a Pakistani "Where is Jericho?" and doesn't know where is Jericho in the first place. By God, by God, by God, there are Palestinian youths, Palestinian youths in...UI and they don't know. They ask me "Where is this Jericho? By God, I don't know it..." and they don't understand what I'm saying. I say that we cannot do the same thing for everybody. With the American people, we must focus with it in the next stage on the issues you brought up such as human suffering and the rights..., the issues which he understands, which suits the make-up of his brain. Once he understands that there is a personal friction between you and Abou Ammar or with...UI and there was some talk about PLO and stuff, I believe that he will change the issue from that of people's struggle regarding rights to that of a struggle of a faction with another. On the other hand, I say that we must discredit the legitimate Palestinian leadership with the Palestinian people in particular. We have to discredit them. We have to bring down this idol called Yasser Arafat, he must fall in the eyes of every Palestinian because he, until now, represents the symbol of the Palestinian cause. If he doesn't fall in the eyes of the people, people will still believe in him. This is an example, this is my understanding, see? So, the address will differ.

Ni: We're not in disagreement over this. Yes, there are different but parallel types of address. There shouldn't be contradiction. Address people according to their minds. When I speak with the American, I speak with someone who doesn't know anything. As for the Palestinian who has a martyr brother or something, I know how to address him, you see? But, if someone heard the two [addresses] he won't...UI.

UM1: There is no contradiction.

Ni: Yes. I mean he won't hold anything on me.

UM1: Regarding this point see, for instance, Talal El Malki from the opposition.

Sh: Riyad Malki.

UM1: Riyad Malki, yes. He is not an Islamist but he spoke in opposition to the agreement and the media until now has accepted it. They present it and they go and visit him and stuff like that. He speaks logically and in opposition. So, you could....

Ni: They accept it.

UM2: Yes, we will fight the self-rule like....UI.

UM1: They accepted it. See? So, you could say a word of truth and...UI. [UI brief group talk].
Ok, what do you want from the American people and... Let's ask what do we want from the American people and the U.S. Administration.

Sh: Answer this question.

UM1: Yes, yes. Let's discuss it. As for the U.S. Administration, Clinton said "I pledge full support for the accord". That's it. He told Arafat after he...UI him and Rabin, he told him "You have to do what you have to do", and Arafat said "Yeah, I'm ready to do what to be done...".

Ni: "I'm ready to do my part".

UM1: "My part", yes. So, the matter is over for the...UI, you see. They won't support you unless Samah is strong in the field and imposed itself on the [Palestinian Liberation] Organization. In this case, they will have no choice but to negotiate with it one way or another, you see? And what do you want from the American people? Money, you don't depend on it for your charitable economic projects in the first place. You can hide it and try to work...UI. As far as charity work, money comes mainly from the Islamic community. It won't give you much of anything, to you in particular because it is true you could deceive it with an assumed name but then it will recognize you. And the Jewish media now focuses on these things. It will expose you to it like it exposed other things, you see? So, what do you want from the American people? In reality, my belief is that you have to explain the truth to the American people but in a way the American people

will accept. We are callers..., we are people of Dawa'a and people of a right. I want to tell him that the agreement won't solve the Palestinian people's problem. It didn't promise anything in regards to the rights of the Palestinian people. You fooled Yasser Arafat and Israel has every right including Israel's right to live in security, sovereignty and dignity and stuff like that. Debate them politically using logic like Talal..., what is his name, Riyadh Malki. They gave him nothing in return. This is an injustice to the Palestinian people. I can easily say that on U.S. media and without any embarrassment. And I won't be a radical I will be radical if I became tense and attacked Yasser Arafat like you said. What you said is right. I don't have to attack Yasser Arafat because I want to appear as a Palestinian. I don't have to attack..., show the Palestinians in a divided and a radical form, people who attack one another and stuff like that. But, I also as a Muslim and a Palestinian...

Om: The entire world does that.

UM1: Yes, but it might....

Om: ...UI we are the only people who observe...UI. People in Israel do that and the Americans attack each other and...UI.

UM1: Yes, but what I mean is that the American mentality will accept things..., from anyone they like, you see? You can say your opinion and advocate your cause and you will be speaking in a correct and a positive way.

Ni: And logical.

UM1: And logical. So, why are we afraid of... And the other point is that the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] ..., the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] became prominent in the United States as an organization which has a certain characteristic and certain goals. Why should I hide the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine]? But, what is important is that the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] deliver a good address. Someone who knows how to speak should come forward. Someone who knows how to... Like brother Nihad, for instance, may God reward him well and people like him, something like that. We should choose people well and choose the manner in which they will speak. But, this people must hear the truth. Otherwise, when are going to present Islam to the American people if we are going to retreat and surrender in everything. Why do all of these problems happen, Sheik Omar and other things? Because the American people are not familiar with Islam. Islam must present itself to the world. Do you have anything to say?

Om: Me, no.

UM1: Go ahead, Aboul Hasan.

As: ...UI. Is our priority right now is to appease the Americans? ...UI. I believe that we should present the issue as an Islamic issue but, until now, it hasn't taken its Islamic dimension. We have not reached..., I mean those who are closest to us, our brothers...UI until now. I don't know what is needed in order to reach the brothers. I feel that we are in the same trench...UI at the end stressing to the Muslim Brotherhood that their principles are correct. Really, turning of these principles into a reality, not only in the Orient but also here in America. How can we put people in the same trench with us, share the same feeling with us, move from the media reality to an actual implementation of these principles, where we feel that they really share...UI.

UM1: ...UI.

Om: By God, it seems that there are no principles...UI. No one left to protect the principles and believe in the principles other than Samah. As for the rest...,

UM1: God is great.

Om: No one, by God.

As: I don't know how can we really reach the closest people to us, those who are in the first circle so that they can be with us and share with us. As for the bigger circle which is the Islamic Call, we haven't felt...UI in the past six or seven years. We didn't feel we have made an achievement. You see..., you find some of the Pakistani brothers contributing or some of our Indian brothers contributing. And it might be the outcome of the work of the [Palestinian] Liberation Organization with them. They used it donate to the [Palestinian] Liberation Organization and then they started to support the Islamists. We didn't really feel that we advanced the cause more than the advances it already had. This is one side. On the other side, the program is good, may God reward you well, my brother, and it is true that there is an advance in the work of the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] as, in the past, everything was...UI. I mean, the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] would distribute a statement to the public and this was the only means available to people to know what is the position of the Islamists towards the...UI. Also, yesterday, Friday, one of the imams delivered a speech, he is Lebanese, and he said that the Islamic Organization for Palestine in America is the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine]. He explained the situation saying that the situation is so and so. He read it...UI. It is true that the effort might be lacking depth but, it is clear and, God's willing, it will be...

Ni: But... *[UI brief group laughter and talk]*.

As: ...but, it will get bigger, God's willing. Al Zaytouna newspaper is developing. It is true that it was able - in its last two issues - to give the reader who follows it a picture about why we reject the agreement. It is to be thanked for that. May God reward you well. But, sometime I feel...

END OF RECORDING.

[*Italics*] Translator's comments
[UI] Unintelligible
[...] Incomplete sentence

Audio file: MTGB_19931002_10.WAV

[*UI group talk followed by prayers*].

Om: Peace be with you. Lunch and dinner. First of all, there is a...UI. Everyone can do what they want and then dinner will arrive.

UM1: Is it ...UI as well? Is it a collection of donations with...UI or what?

Om: ...UI. Let's exit the room, exit the room...UI. If we finish at 6:30...UI.

[*UI group talk until end of recording*].

END OF RECORDING.

GOVERNMENT
EXHIBIT
Philly Meeting - 17
3:04-CR-240-G
U.S. v. HLF, et al.

[UM] Unidentified Male.
 [UI] Unintelligible.
 [NFI] Not Further Identified.
 (LNU) Last name unknown.
 [Italics] Translator's comments.
 ... Incomplete sentence.

Sh = Shukri Abu Baker
 Om = Omar Ahmad
 Gh = Ghassan Elashi
 Ss = Sheik Sharif
 Ga = Gawad (LNU)
 Ab = Abdel Salam (LNU)
 Ak = Akram (LNU)
 Au = Abou Usama (NFI)
 As = Abdel Halim Al Ashqar (Aboul Hasan)
 Aa = Abou Ahmad (NFI)
 Aj = Abdel Jabbar

Audio file: MTGB 19931002 5.WAV

Aj: ...the Islamic Movement and the Islamic Liberation Movement, God's willing will not be in the enemy's favor. I don't want to go through the same experience as that of previous liberation movements either in Sudan, Egypt, Algeria or here and that, and then come people like Arafat and snatch these fruits. We need to go back to how to deal with this new order and...UI. We would be going backwards, as if our struggle has started anew with the events. I'm sorry if I'm re-discussing the issue of the general weakness a second time, but our approach should be that we shouldn't lose confidence in ourselves and consider that events must be the ones directing us. We are the ones who need to direct the events. "Do not worry and do not be sorrowful and you are the higher ones if you are believers" [*Quran quote*]. This is our direction. Therefore, God's willing, we move based on this platform and our confidence in ourselves is big and, God's willing, we will have the ability..., I believe brother Gawad when he said we have the ability, God's willing, or - at least - abilities to might resist this agreement. Of course, I spoke a lot about the feeling of despair and what ramifications it has on the American front. We don't want to ...UI America from Palestine. What is truly happening is that we should differentiate..., in reality, the whole cause is overlapping together. Despair which brother Abdel Salam spoke about and which he felt inside Palestine is the same despair felt within the Islamic communities first of all. I mean, see how we think. We reach across to the Arab communities which support Fatah and stuff and we forget the Islamic community which

has been a very strong proponent for us as far as material support is concerned. This is the community which started to be stricken with despair. Then, we must pay attention to the media aspect and here is the media paper we ought to pay attention to. The stress on the attempt to instill hope in the hearts and..., I mean, removing despair from of people' hearts. Another issue we ought to find a solution for in America is that there is no doubt that this despair, expectations and hesitation will affect financial resources. I don't know..., I felt it during my presence or dealing with the Fund. I began to feel it directly but the Fund might have felt it more than IAP and stuff like that..., that now people really started to ask: Why do you want money for? We don't have money to withdraw now and you have billions and we hear about the budgets. I disagree with some of the brothers who said that we will tell people that it [*money*] will be spent in a like manner as what happened in Egypt. Israel and America will guarantee that these monies reach people so that people will kneel. Because the only way, our brothers, for them to make sure their experiment with that Arafat succeed in that regards - the control issue - is to make sure that money reaches people. Therefore, be absolutely certain that even the observers during the distribution will be Jews and Americans. The companies which will do the investment are Americans because the instance the money distribution fails, Arafat's existence in Palestine fails. We have to pay attention to this issue carefully, God's willing. Another issue, our brothers, I want to go back to is the issue of the lukewarm positions which started to surface by some of the Islamists. I just discussed this issue with the brothers in a broad manner. Our brothers, this will make us lose our credibility on the front. What I'm afraid of is that, again, we reach out to the communities and to win people on the outside and forget the balance we already had and lose it. We try to take vague positions so that we could say, "It is Ok. Our stand is this and that", so our people will tell you that you started to walk in the same direction. What happened? They will form [*certain*] directions. On the contrary, the polarization issue which exists on the front, which happened in the past in the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization is happening in the Islamic Movement. Therefore, a lot of people from our end will take the direction of..., of Jihad and this Sheik who is New York and stuff. At the end, it will appear that we took a very indecisive stand. Therefore, we must..., my brothers, just as our sister Samah acquired her beauty and her fine wedding, God's willing, through her credibility On the Palestinian street... [*Laughter*]...

UM1: [*Laughs*] She married from the street?

Aj: No, in her father's house. How did she get her credibility? Through her presence...UI, through her position. So, my brothers, if we didn't prove our credibility today before tomorrow regarding the position we will lose a lot and this will be considered postponement of the struggle.

Sh: Abdel Jabbar.

Aj: Yes.

Sh: Make it short so that...UI. [Laughter].

Aj: Ok, but I know...UI.

UM1 It is an unavoidable conflict, he told you. It must happen.

Aj: My brother, so that I won't speak much, there is another issue which is the issue of Jerusalem. I know that in the paper..., in the presented papers it must be mentioned. We want to..., we expect much from non-Muslims and, as an example, I will refer to the creed part once more. This, our brothers, puts us or causes us a great loss. According to the Quran and to the sayings of God's prophet, peace be upon him, our conflict is the issue of Jerusalem. It is a religious and, therefore, we must stress it with the Islamic communities before anything else. As it was said [in the Bible] "I was only sent to the lost sheep of the children of Israel". Bring back your sheep first and then seek other people's sheep, God's willing. Of course, the last point is against...

Sh: ... those who have sheep.

Aj: [Laughs]. Yes. What do we really want from America? This the same issue as the issue of the sheep. Do we want..., brother Omar,...what do we need? Do we need 25 or 75%? We must really answer this question once and for all. The general strategy. Because, do we really expect that America one day will be standing behind the Palestinians' cause just like it is standing behind the Jews' cause? There is something in this equation we must answer: American-Jews, and they're with them. How about if there were Muslims and Americans, Muslims and Jews and Muslims and Muslims. May God reward you well.

Sh: Er..., Abou Mohamed then Abou Ahmad and then... Do you want more [time to speak]?

Ak: Just a question.

Sh: Go ahead...UI.

Ak: In reality, I have quick points so that the brothers...UI. Any difficult decision will cost a price. That's why the brothers sometimes avoid difficult decisions and lean towards a somewhat easy decision and which does not cost a price. We always speak about that the...UI rights and that we achieved some strategies which are...UI. Truly, this is not

correct. Now, when the brothers said that we need to have ten factions. We were driven to believe that the ten factions will be the true alternative to the Palestinians. But, experience showed that it is..., it didn't reveal that. The second part is that when there was an opinion to form the Palestine's Scholars Association. By God, my brothers, before I met the brothers in the inside, I imagined that it would have been the leadership running everything in the inside. But, my brothers, it became an ordinary paper [*i.e. organization*] which is no different than any other papers [*i.e. organizations*] affiliated with any other party. What is the brand of the alternative leadership which our brother Abou Mohamed spoke about? Truly, something was announced in the inside last week, something which is called the alternative leadership, it is called the Islamic National Leadership for the Palestinian Liberation Organization and it was distributed in the central cities in the inside and it was signed by three factions: The Islamic Movement and the Left, the Popular Front and others. But, what position does it have on the front? It is an attempt. I'm with the notion that you should make an offer and an initiative but, practically, it is not our method to present strategies and base on them a lot of activism. Now, the issue of Yemen. It is a good and an excellent thing. But, I'm afraid that the Yemen thing will end up like any other preceding experiment. Therefore, presenting any strategy or any hope we have..., we shouldn't rely on them much unless they have the practical program which you really have in place; 1 plus 1 equals 2. But, my brother, for you to just present hopes, I believe would cost us a high price. Therefore, I hope that we have some sort of clarity regarding any strategy we present, to really have a specification of the methods and the goals. A final point; I really hope that work here on this land [*i.e. The U.S.*] is 75% for here and even less than 25% for over there because if...UI over here and the infrastructure was done in a really good way, God's willing, it will be an alternative. But, our problem since we were here a long time ago is that we didn't organize [*our affairs*]. I mean, it is like the crow who tried to mimic the way a man walks. When..., when it couldn't copy it and it tried to go back to the way it used to walk, it had forgotten it. He didn't get this one or that one right. Praise be to God, we're not like that but, I hope we don't reach this level. It is my opinion that our infrastructure here must take a realistic dimension. I mean, some Islamists, unfortunately, have been here for twenty years and they don't know how to speak English. Some people here in this country don't know their ways around here. I'm speaking in general terms. I'm with the idea that we ought to build ourselves here but we shouldn't forget the one clear thing in our relationship with the inside; that is money. I mean, if this issue goes smoothly, God's willing things will... [*group laughter and small talk. UI*].

Sh: Ok, Abou Ahmad then brother Gawad. Abou Ahmad, go ahead, my brother.

Aa: First of all, I have a small comment on what our brother Akram said. He mentioned the leadership and there might have been a dialogue between you and him around the issue of

sovereignty. I believe that...UI leadership is uniting people and the masses around a specific idea. It is not paying salaries or... Their vision of leadership is that it is a salary or a pension but it is really an idea and uniting people on it. It is also leading them by ideology and goal. The second thing regarding the relationship..., we're speaking about past experiences. Really, our brother Aboul Hasan should have elaborated a lot on the three points he mentioned at the end of his presentation. They are: the legality of the work..., of course I realize that each point is separate. The legality of the work, an institutional relationship; a relationship between one institution and another between America and the inside and the...UI of this relationship. Now, I imagine that there was a previous experience and, hopefully, it is being discussed. I don't know if there has been an evaluation of this previous experiment in the relationship and what disadvantages it brought. This is on the one side. There must a study of the previous experience and its previous shape in order to be evaluated and studied and - based on that - there should be a correction for the relationship. The other thing is organizing this relationship between the institutions. I mean, we agreed that until now I feel that the relationships between the institutions, I don't feel that there is a certain system controlling these institutions together or a clear relationship between them. You get this feeling despite its importance as the institutions are our moving arm between our people. I mean, what shows on the ground from America in the occupied territories is our institutions. They're the criterion of our service to the people and the one thing by which we could judge how much we're serving the inside through America's front. So, we didn't speak about this relationship, really. I mean, we mentioned it as a point and I didn't feel that this point, this relationship, was discussed during the brothers' discussion, this relationship between America's institutions and the inside's institutions in particular, specially that we're speaking about the ramifications. I mean, the new political situation really has a lot of challenges and the future shape of this relationship is what? Really, our institutions inside are now threatened to be either closed or absorbed through banks and institutions of the proposed administrative self-autonomy, either in the educational field, the health field or the social field. Now, if this thing materializes, what is the nature of our relationship with these institutions? What is our look to these institutions? America might be the main front for the conflict with these institutions. Are we still going to support them or are we not going to support them? What is our vision for the future of this relationship in light of the political situation which will develop and form in the near future and not the far future.

Sh: May God reward you well, my brother. Brother Yousif.

Yo: In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. The first issue is the issue of America, which is the issue brother Omar and some of the brothers spoke about. In my mind, it is...UI the Jews as Muslims. I believe that too much is spent on it is a waste of time more than anything. It is another thing to put money and effort because it is an issue

which will take large sums of money from us on the long run and it will require you to take part with them and all that stuff. There are a lot of issues which might entail Sharia violations while you attempt to achieve what the Jews achieved. All the Jews have one religion and all infidels have one religion, regardless. I mean, they all agree on slaughtering Muslims. So, it is an issue we must really think about a lot. If out of this talk we wanted to build our community and stuff like that to reach high positions, there is no problem with that. As for adopting a line of thought like that, just like we discussed in our area, in the [Islamic] Center and elsewhere, which is focusing on America and leave the [Middle] East, or to make it 70% and 30% over there, in my opinion, this is an issue which we shouldn't give a lot to. In the long run, it is not in or favor. They're people who keep fighting you. How are they going to get you places? It is a logical issue. The other issue is the issue of opposing the agreement and working to derail it. There is an aspect which we found that it had a big effect in our area at least and in the communities surrounding us; it is the Sharia aspect, the Sharia's say in the issue. The issue is not only political, economic, practical or an issue which people live daily and the derailment [of the agreement], but presenting the issue from a Sharia angle so that we could really convince Muslims and Palestinians with the Sharia aspect of the issue. I imagine that this could be one of the solutions at a later time. It is an idea to be examined.

Sh: May God reward you well. Our brothers, we will listen to brother Gawad, but we would like to let the brothers know that we have not exceeded our time limit. I mean, I believe we started at 10:20 and this session is entitled to three hours. We began late and we have to make up this time in something else. I mean, during lunch or rest or whatever but, we will reach the 3 hours, God's willing, in ten minutes. So, brother Gawad and Aboul Hasan will finish.

Ga: In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. First of all, I apologize...

Sh: ...UI ten minutes you'll have a chance to comment on what he said.

Om: You will have ten minutes to summarize what has been said.

As: What have you chosen me?

Sh: Ok, my brother. It is supposed to...

As: ...UI. [Laughs].

Sh: Abou Mohamed...UI.

Om: ...UI. I'm trying to see what he wrote down.

Sh: I'm paying attention, paying attention. What is written, my brother, is that you suggested in the last session that I take the minutes and draft them and say: Guys, we agreed that the fundamental issues which were presented and this and that. My opinion is to draft a general conclusion. Yes, we agree on this principle. There is no need for that one, so that by the last session on Sunday we will have the conclusions of everything that was said. If we summarize now, we will reach a practical result. A practical result [*will be reached*] after I review the minutes and see the..., adjust it and agree on the general ideas which was presented and discussed. Also, during our lunch and rest and stuff, the door for discussion will remain open either during this session or any other session. The brothers who still have ideas, let them give them to me so that they could be drafted and presented to the rest of the brothers and we try to reach general consent on these issues.

UM1: These issues should be debated and...UI for 15 minutes...UI.

Sh: Go ahead.

Ga: To begin with, excuse me, the point I am about to present to you will be confirmed by a message from our brothers inside to all of you; if financial support for them does not continue, our institutions will really stop in addition to the issues discussed. This piece of information is for example...

Om: No, of course...UI.

Ga: Ok, they say that Hamas and the Movement..., the Movement will flourish..., the Movement will flourish under self-rule just like all the other institutions of the...

Sh: They're being smart...

Ga: ...and that their families will get the same thing other families got. When they hear this, their opposition [*to the peace agreement*] will practically dim. This is what they're saying...UI.

Sh: So, they will give [*assistance*] to all the people except those who don't have money...

Om: It is happening now. It is happening now.

[*Small group talk. UI*].

Ga: In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Really, the brothers brought up the

derailment issue. What I understood was that are stating a clear and a...UI goal in order to gain control of the whole world. Of course, this is...UI, maybe because we didn't discuss it and the issue wasn't clear. You said that we ought to have studies of the choices available to you. How to deal [*with various parties*], that this is an inevitable battle and, therefore, postponing the start [*of the battle*] is a problem. This was the debate. The debate in the beginning was about the...UI postponement. Just a second. The shape of this start might be a problem. It is not one shape...UI is one of the shapes of the process. It will go through several stages and not one stage. It means that we will go through several tests which took days, weeks or months, which is first 4 months. There are several limited tests to see...UI. There are some unclear issues even on the inside, really, and they need to be tested on the ground. There are things which the inside knows about and wrote to...UI saying that "If you have this do that. If you don't have this don't do that" (NFI), I mean, the words were very specific and...UI, that every confrontation operation, every derailment operation or stuff like that needs...UI. It is not meant to be like "Go derail and then wait in the streets" and stuff like that. All of these are problems, really. I'm saying that so everything is clear. I mean, all options are...UI.

UM1: ...UI activism here in America.

Ga: No, no. I'm talking about...

UM1: We need to know what to do...

Ga: No, the brothers told me more than once... They insisted...UI. Derailment means...

UM1: No, of course. What is our position here in America?

Ga: I'm saying that because I feel that the atmosphere is favorable for...UI.

Om: We expect that after Arafat departs, I mean.... [*Laughter*].

Ga: Yes,...UI, I believe that the issue has to do with the details. I mean, there are studies and...UI. What the available political possibilities? Our ability to...UI, this is also another issue. Are there material, financial and human resources on the ground which are capable of managing the confrontation and the derailment? It is also a debatable issue. It might succeed and it might fail...UI. This a planning issue. Failure doesn't mean that the issue wrong. The method is correct but the daily performance..., the daily management of the operation was unable to comprehend the idea...UI. This must be considered and a line of retrieval when we think so that we don't fail as well. I shouldn't be saying "I want to derail [*the agreement*]. I want to derail!" and then we fail in derailing [*the agreement*]. We will

then have a lot of despair. These are attempts and a push & shove between right and wrong. This is one. Two, is that the entire world is now against us. There is a fact which was mentioned by more than one brother, not here only but in more than one place. Why do we say..., [why] this mentality? Do you know a journalist named Orabi...UI. This is part of the problem which we keep falling in now. Who is against us now? Only two people and no one else and the rest of the world will stand with us. Be comforted. Only Yasser Arafat and Israel are against us. We don't want to deal with Arafat. We have no other alternatives for the confrontation. ...UI. We make the issue bigger for ourselves while we are eager to confront it. They're bigger than us from the media aspect, that's true but, the reality of the battle on the ground is that.

UM1: And militarily.

Ga: What?

UM1: And Israel's military is stronger than us.

Ga: Militarily, Israel will not be able to take...UI. Five or six years.

Om: We...UI, I mean.

Ga: What?

Om: We couldn't destroy it.

Ga: Oh, did we...UI. Ok, the issue of having a Palestinian, Global political resolution to continue the struggle..., of course there is a Palestinian unanimity on it, our brothers, so that you're in the picture. There is no one who says otherwise on the entire Palestinian front, even the Fatah people say that. The...UI. Our position should be logical to begin with. It will good if anyone who has ideas or papers to take to the brothers. I am with brother Abou Mohamed when he mentioned very important things which I forget to say at the beginning and that always the tough decisions are... Do you want something for free? You want to enter and win the elections, lead the people...UI, collect money and be everything...UI, liberate Palestine, do this and that, you want to do all that without...UI! It is impossible, of course. How can I provide one million martyrs? We didn't even offer all of our people during the entire struggle..., only 1/4 million [*died*]. Did you know that or not?

UM1: The entire Palestinian people is 4 millions [*people*].

Ga: It provided 1/4 million [*martyrs*] only, my brother. It only provided 1/4 million. If 1 million [*martyrs*] were provided, it is not too much for the liberation of the land. As for the issue of the ten factions, I don't want to say any more about it. I believe that the goal should be exactly as Abou Mohamed said, so that you're in the picture.

As: Could you...UI, in general.

Ga: This is the impression..., the impression from far away but, planning for it was at a better level than we expected. Raising the flag of Palestine was only the...UI, that's it...UI. It did not have any other goal, neither returning people or establishing the Sharia [*in Palestine*]. Its goal was...UI. Ok, I will really summarize the idea in my head regarding during the discussion. The issue of America should be as follows: America...UI, the most important thing is how to support the position of the Movement over there. First, to understand it and then condition its application in light with the atmosphere in the country [*The U.S.*]. This is really a problem and I hope brother Abou Mohamed...UI. How are positions going to be? How are you going to deal with it? You shouldn't adopt it [*the position*] as it is. You shouldn't adopt it and the matter is over. No. You should adopt it to serve it. But how, how to practice it? All the details could be...UI. The second thing is the financial support and I stress to you that this is a big problem and not a small problem. This is my personal opinion and my expectations. From now, its justifications..., why do you collect people's money? And why do you really take the money from people and where does it go. This is what I feel now...UI. The third issue is...UI in a clear and tangible way and..., the political approach, your political position, the general convictions of the cause, what are they?...UI if a list you're adopting has now succeeded which includes the rights of the refugees, the historical right in Palestine, the independent state, the rights to land...UI but, generally speaking, you will lose several tools which used to be in your hands...UI. All of that is adaptation to the issue. This will bring by a conflict between two things at the same time...UI [*phone rings*], two, the issue should be examined from the global, Arab, Islamic and even the American aspects as well. The last point..., [*Phone rings interruption*]...

Sh: Continue..., continue.

Ga: The last issue regarding the ramifications..., excuse me, the issue before last. Relationship with the inside. I am with Aboul Hasan... [*knocks on the door*]...

Sh: My brother...UI. What is going on? There is no time. We will have ten minutes to talk. Go ahead, my brother. We are not going to stop.

Ga: As for the relationship with the inside..., I know that the issue of activism calls for continuity, it must be built and with...UI, it needs to be detailed and cannot be dealt with

in general talk. The last one which I believe is the problem is the redefinition of the correct role for the Palestinian activism in America. In front of you, I suggest several things in this field alone...UI. I see that there are several options..., the problem is that there isn't one options but several options. The first option is to make here in service to the Movement over there, responding to it and...UI. The service. The...UI, media, political, human [*aspects*], all aspects. The second option says, no, strengthen the community here and support the Movement in the future. I will say a remark which is that the Movement is currently going through its most difficult times. I mean, any desertion or retreat in the support it used to get a day before the agreement will lead to the weakening of the position of the Movement. So, my view is that...UI. The situation does not bear that. The position of ...UI and Abou Ammar is enough. It is a shameful position, this is the General Command. It is a shameful thing, to be honest. Unfortunate. And the one person who agreed with him is the most aware of our cause. See the catastrophe!...UI, because he is the one person who is most aware [*of our cause*].

Om: What do you mean...[*Laughter*].

Ga: ...UI. So, frankly, the situation will be like that, we have to marry both directions....

Om: We will not permit accusations against the brothers' honor.

Ga: I'm not accusing. I'm...UI. To marry the two directions is the ideal solution in my opinion but keeping in mind to make it in different sections. This will also solve the problem and the debate which is arising. [*Having*] different sections in different countries. Not necessarily [*having*] different institutions. One institution but the work sections should be completely different, in my opinion. ...UI the communities, each one concerned with one aspect, political activism, make global relationships for the Movement..., for example, as I explained. Total specialization...UI, this is my opinion and God knows best. Therefore, I see that America constitutes five fundamental axes for the Movement. First, to remain a secure place for the Movement. ...UI.

Sh: ...UI.

Ga: This point won't work. I see that it should remain a secure place because it is..., also Europe as well just like America. We should be keen on that. Two, potentials from the community - specially those who speak the language and stuff like that - the Movement needs them to invest in them...UI. We have to pay attention to this advanced mentality, this civilized [*mentality*], the one which understands how the world works and stuff like that. It is hard to lose these potentials. If I take two or three youths from here and make one responsible for political activism over there, one for media activism over there, this

and that, this would give an a strong push forward to activism. In addition to our need for them. This is two. Three, to make this front a pressure element on the Palestinian political leadership over there. Why? In order to shape the public opinion, the enlightened class, doctors, the rich, the well-to-do, those who live in the West, those who know the Western nations, etc. The American front, in whatever term you agree on or for people to use, will give a backing to the position of the Movement. Consequently, this will serve the Movement greatly...UI. Four, providing services. This includes humanitarian [services] for which I gave an example earlier, the potentials here, either visiting or residing [in the U.S.]... We don't them to be just from...UI. No, I want to have someone here in America, born in America and who doesn't speak Arabic. I will give him an Arabic course to learn and to get educated, I want to make him a certain potential and I want to send him over there to work in the field. As an American, when he sees the autonomy in Palestine...UI, or in Jordan, as an example or as a another front, we find that the mentality...UI. I can develop my work through it. Second, venues for investment. I think it is enough to have...UI coming from the [Middle] East. The East is not the only source now. There are other sources we should seek. Three, the media and political aspect, of course, which is propagating the position of the Movement and justifying it always. We probably spoke about that a little while ago and said that we might have some problems with that. Four, the relationships of the open-door policy relating to the political powers, the American and the Western [powers], UN in particular, to have representatives and stuff like that. This needs work and its own program. The fifth direction is to our work in the IAP and the group which is here for Palestine should take leadership of the Palestinian political current in America, to make you as the leader who expresses the current. this is a quick review before the...UI. God knows best.

Sh: May God give you strength. May God bless our brother good and bless you. Now, God's willing, we will have approximately ten minutes..., from 10:30...er, 1:30 there will be a break and a rest. Abou Mohamed, have we appointed the prayers time? We...er, allow me, my brothers. Allow me. From 5 o'clock until 7 o' clock, there will be prayers and lunch. We will pray together then go to lunch or the other way around. Let's take a ten-minute break. Those who want to drink coffee and... [Group breaks and simultaneous talk. UI]... at 1:30. It is 1:30 now... Fifteen minutes, our brothers, fifteen minutes. We should be back here at 1:40, God's willing. We will start then. Akram..., Akram... [Group talk until end of recording. UI].

END OF RECORDING.

[UM] Unidentified Male.
[UI] Unintelligible.
[NFI] Not Further Identified.
(LNU) Last name unknown.
[*Italics*] Translator's comments.
... Incomplete sentence.

Sh = Shukri Abu Baker
Om = Omar Ahmad
Gh = Ghassan Elashi
Ss = Sheik Sharif
Ga = Gawad (LNU)
Ab = Abdel Salam (LNU)
Ak = Akram (LNU)
Au = Abou Usama (NFI)
As = Abdel Halim Al Ashqar (Aboul Hasan)
Aa = Abou Ahmad (NFI)
Aj = Abdel Jabbar

Audio file: MTGB 19931002 5.WAV

Aj: ...

the polarization issue which exists on the front, which happened in the past in the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization is happening in the Islamic Movement. Therefore, a lot of people from our end will take the direction of..., of Jihad and this Sheik who is New York and stuff. At the end, it will appear that we took a very indecisive stand. Therefore, we must..., my brothers, just as our sister Samah acquired her beauty and her fine wedding, God's willing, through her credibility On the Palestinian street... [*Laughter*]...

UM1: [*Laughs*] She married from the street?

Aj: No, in her father's house. How did she get her credibility? Through her presence...UI, through her position. So, my brothers, if we didn't prove our credibility today before tomorrow regarding the position we will lose a lot and this will be considered postponement of the struggle.

Ga: To begin with, excuse me, the point I am about to present to you will be confirmed by a message from our brothers inside to all of you; if financial support for them does not continue, our institutions will really stop in addition to the issues discussed. This piece of information is for example...

Om: No, of course...UI.

Ga: Ok, they say that Hamas and the Movement..., the Movement will flourish..., the Movement will flourish under self-rule just like all the other institutions of the...

Sh: They're being smart...

Ga: ...and that their families will get the same thing other families got. When they hear this, their opposition [*to the peace agreement*] will practically dim. This is what they're saying...UI.

Sh: So, they will give [*assistance*] to all the people except those who don't have money...

Ga: Therefore, I
see that America constitutes five fundamental axes for the Movement. First, to remain a secure place for the Movement. ...UI.

Sh: ...UI.

Ga: This point won't work. I see that it should remain a secure place because it is..., also Europe as well just like America. We should be keen on that. Two, potentials from the community - specially those who speak the language and stuff like that - the Movement needs them to invest in them...UI. We have to pay attention to this advanced mentality, this civilized [*mentality*], the one which understands how the world works and stuff like that. It is hard to lose these potentials. If I take two or three youths from here and make one responsible for political activism over there, one for media activism over there, this

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