

[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 = 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)

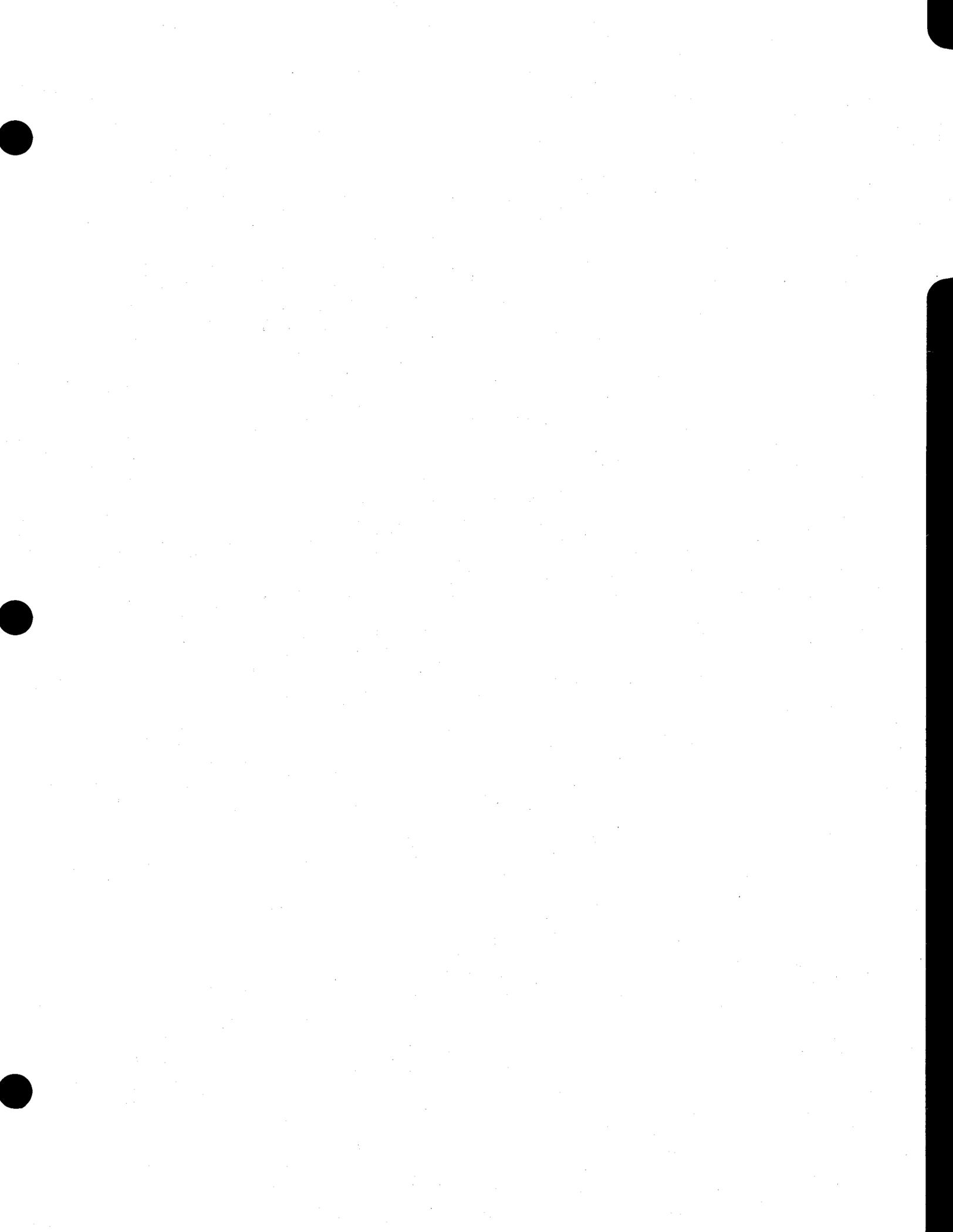
Os = Osama Mohamed

Ay = Ayman Sharawi

Ha = Haitham Maghawri

Yo = Yousif (LNU)

Hs = Hasan (LNU)



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UM1: ...we're supposed to let them know that no activity should take place without us knowing about it, even if over the phone. Nothing should take place without our knowledge, specially that we...UI.

UM2: How about her? She went to this guy, Azzam. Azzam doesn't know. Azzam told me that she came back from the lesson, from Om Ahmad, and....UI The Women's Society. There is nothing called The Women's Society in the area. ...UI.

UM1: She has an illness just like the sheik said before. She likes to show off, you see.

UM2: By God, you should ask her, "How many years have you been in this country? You've been here four years and I have been here for 17 years. We're the ones who started the Dawa'a here before you came. What do you know about Islam in this country? We're the ones who established the Dawa'a, we're the ones who built the Dawa'a in this country".

UM1: ...UI. There is a feeling of insecurity when one sees that others are...UI. So, ones tries just to show that he is..., I mean, ...UI.

UM2: ...UI.

UM3: By God, since the day I saw her...UI.

UM2: ...UI. She is supposed to have gone to consult, consult.  
...UI. She wants to make trips, print tickets, fundraising and stuff...UI. I mean, the school is ours. We don't even have a vision until now for the school.

UM3: She might have seen that the women are...UI.

UM2: Yes, it is possible. ...UI. This mosque is dead. And the mosque was controlled by the Palestinians who are...UI. She said, "You made everybody get lost", meaning at the mosque. ...UI.

[Brief UI group talk followed by a period of silence].

UM1: I went to the Friday prayers at North Bergen. As I entered, I ran into Mohamed al-Abbasi who told me...[UI conversation and laughter].

[Knocking on door and someone walks in]

UM2: Greetings, Abou Mohamed.

[Loud children's noise in the background].

UM2: ...I talked to Sheik al-Hanooti and told him that this is the most important cause and that it should be emphasized from the Sharia point of view. He told me, "True...UI".

[A TV is turned on and news broadcast plays for a short while followed by UI group talk].

UM1: Is Karen there? Ok, she isn't? Ok. Thank you.

Group: Welcome, Abou Mohamed.

Mo: The Quran says, "And do not come near prayers while you're drunk until you understand what you're saying" and your condition is similar to a person who is drunk.

UM3: This guy, the leader of Fatah troops in Lebanon...UI is saying about Abou Ammar that he eliminated 27 articles of the Palestinian National Charter...[UI. *Children's noise in the background*] ...UI and he is the one who...UI and expressed his readiness to forego Gaza unconditionally...

Mo: Really, he did so much for the Jews...UI.

UM3: Yes. "...and it is my belief that the Jews will no doubt get rid of Abou Ammar". It says here, "Abou Ammar recognized the Jews' right in Gaza and Jericho at the Palestinian people's expense and at the expenses of the peoples of Syria, Lebanon and Jordan...". This was said by a guy called Munir Maqdah, leader of the...UI in Lebanon.

[Brief UI group talk followed by a knock on the door].

UM3: This is a good part. It says, "As for those who celebrate what Arafat did, they are those who are still under the influence of the shock but they must return to their senses quickly and realize that Yasser Arafat gave us his gun...UI"

Mo: How can he go around with a gun, I mean?

UM3: Where?

Mo: When he signed the accord.

UM3: ...UI.

Mo: Yes. This is the country's law.

UM3: The U.S. State Department...UI. He went by airplane, on a Moroccan airplane provided to

him by Hasan II, an airplane which was said to be put at his disposal.

2  
3 Mo: What is wrong with you? Were you asleep? We will get you a Pepsi so that you can wake  
4 up.

5  
6 UM2: No. I want to sleep.

7  
8 *[UI group talk. A TV is turned on and news broadcast plays].*  
9

10 UM4: Peace be with you.

11  
12 Group: Peace be with you.

13  
14 UM4: How is the group?

15  
16 UM2: Welcome. Here is the key.

17  
18 UM4: What?

19  
20 UM2: Here is the key.

21  
*[UI group talk until end of recording].*  
22



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[UI group discussion. Background noise].

[Phone rings]

UM1: Hello... Peace be with you..., Ok, fine. Ok, fine... Peace be with you.

[Hangs up].

UM1: They say [here], "A simple comparison between the speeches delivered by Rabin/Perez and Abbas/Arafat the day Palestine was sold on 9/13/1993 in the garden of the White House is that Rabin/Perez spoke about the suffering of the Jewish people and their rights and they stressed that by using verses from the Torah. As for Abbas/Arafat..., Arafat, his speech was that of a first-class beggar and it was full of compliments, praise and...UI. [UI talk and laughter] and without mentioning the rights of the Palestinian people on its land or pointing to..."

UM2: ...UI.

UM1: Yes. "...or pointing out their...UI, or noting the importance of Jerusalem, the suffering of the Palestinian people or citing verses from the Noble Quran. This is a comparison between men and half-men". This is a commentary on the...er, a commentary. You're saying you have a question and stuff...UI.

UM2: Make this the last thing.

[UI group talk and laughter].

UM1: You asked three questions within one question. "The question is about the memorandum of mutual understanding between Arafat and what is called the state of Israel". See, he is saying "between Arafat" and not "between the Palestinians or stuff". Arafat sent to Rabin telling him that he recognizes the state of Israel, between brackets it says, "80% of the land of Palestine". "He renounces terrorism and violence and all forms of resistance. He changed some of the articles of the Charter and increased his concessions to Rabin. All of that in return of Rabin's recognition that the [Palestinian Liberation] Organization is the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. ...UI rights of the Palestinian people...UI. The comment is: What more concession, betrayal, delinquency and treason than that? It is a charter of shame, humiliation and disgrace and...UI".

[UI group talk].

UM1: Listen, listen to this. This is a newspaper: "In an interview for Arafat with Larry King on the CNN on 9/13, he said I have not changed as I, meaning Yaser, am the one who supported Saddat in the peace accord with Israel". This stuff is a repetition. "I'm also

2 aware that the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization and Fatah Movement..., is the first  
3 one which stood against Saddam and accused him of treason...UI", listen, "...and accused  
4 him of treason. In order to correct the wrong which befell Saddam, will Arafat's  
5 Movement, Fatah, restore Saddam's status, start asking mercy for him and build a shrine  
6 for him in the city of Jericho?".

7 [*UI group talk*].

8  
9 UM1: They say here that there was a question posed by Omar. He was asking, "Will Arafat build  
10 a Palestinian...UI?".

11  
12 [*UI group talk and laughter*].

13  
14 UM1: He says, "Since we were students in the elementary grades in the Noble Azhar, we were  
15 preoccupied with the issue of Muslims which is the issue of...UI. We used to march in  
16 demonstrations...UI".

17  
18 UM2: ...UI. This is one of the reasons they produced a person  
19 like Abou Ammar.

20  
21 UM1: "Does the accord stop the enemy from building new settlements even in Gaza and  
22 Jericho?".

23  
24 [*UI group talk*].

25  
26 UM2: But, really, the questions must be many. I have two questions regarding the...UI.

27  
28  
29 [*UI group talk*].

30  
31 UM1: ...Nihad is invited to it. NAAA of Khalil Jahshan is organizing it for him. So, he will give  
32 a lecture on the 30th of the month. James Baker will be there, Clovis Maksoud and  
33 Egyptian Foreign Minister and Amr Mousa. Nihad will give a speech. Did you hear about  
34 the conference in which...?

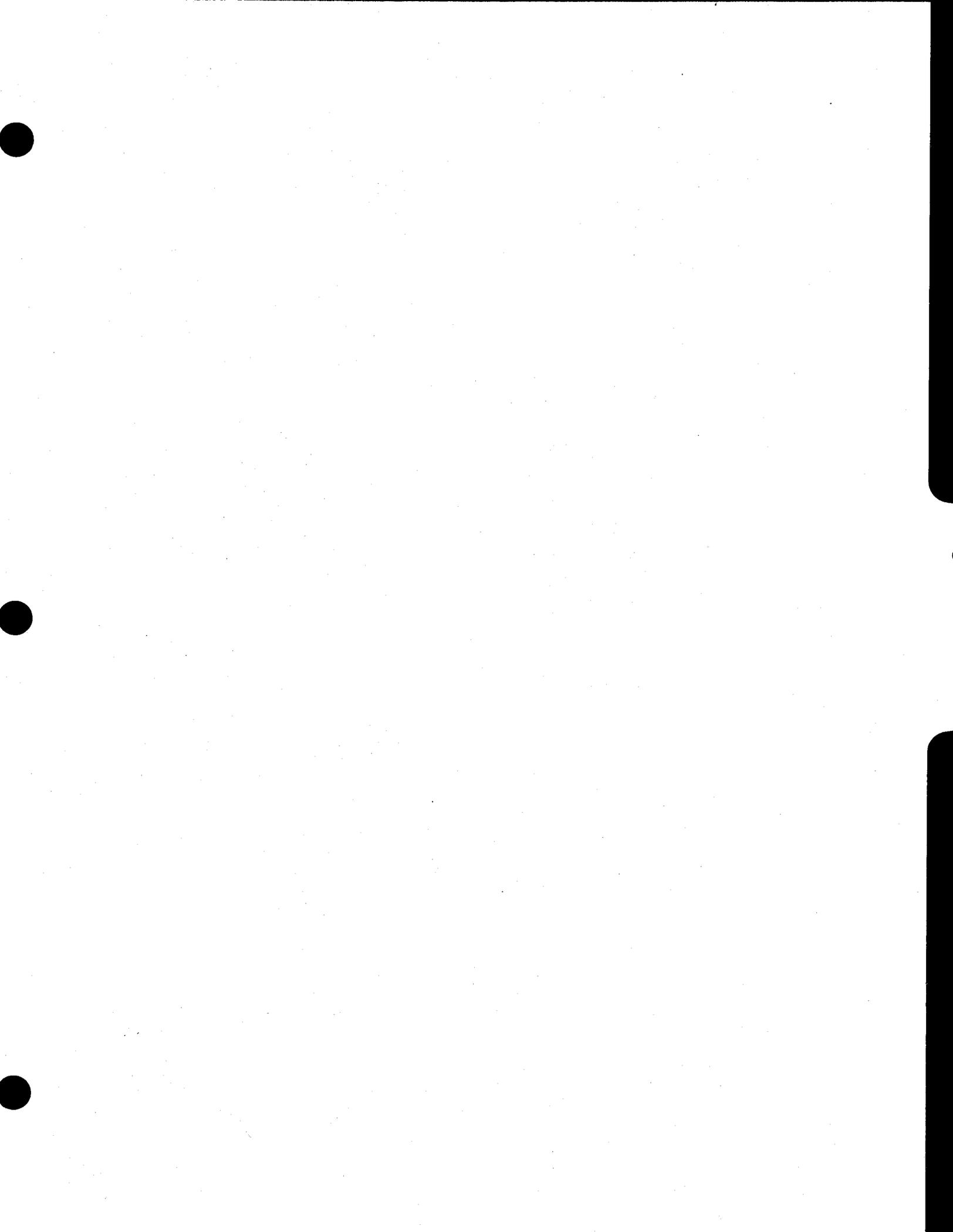
35  
36 UM2: Yes. He told me.

37  
38 UM1: Christopher, Amr Mousa and others.

39  
40 UM3: That's good.

41  
42 UM1: Yes. So, he will be here on the 30th of the month.  
43 [*A period of silence follows*].





1 Ha: Hello

2  
3 UM: Peace be with you.

4  
5 Ha: God's peace and mercy be with you.

6  
7 UM: How is brother Haitham?

8  
9 Ha: Welcome, my brother.

10  
11 UM: How are you?

12  
13 Ha: May God bless you. Thank God for your safe arrival.

14  
15 UM: May God keep you safe, my brother.

16  
17 Ha: May God bless you, sheik. Are you going to come upstairs to me or should I come  
18 downstairs to your end to give you your room number?

19  
20 UM: By God... They gave me room number 223.

21  
22 Ha: Why? Did you make a reservation, you mean?

23  
24 UM: No, by God. He gave me... I told him to give me from Hasan's reservation so, he and he  
25 gave me 223.

26  
27 Ha: 223. God knows, my brother, that we don't have this reservation because I took the keys  
28 to all the rooms.

29  
30 UM: Ah. And 223 is not one of them?

31  
32 Ha: No. We have [rooms] on the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> floors only.

33  
34 UM: Ok. Anyway, How about you and I go down to him again.

35  
36 Ha: Ok. Where are you?

37  
38 UM: Let me..., let me keep my belongings in the room...

39  
40 Ha: Ok.

41  
42 UM: ...and you and I meet at the front desk.  
43

2 Ha: OK. Fine.

3 UM: Fine?

4  
5 Ha: Ok, my brother.

6  
7 UM: May God greet you. Good bye.

8  
9 Ha: May God greet you.

10

[A number is dialed and the room's voice mail picks up.  
Ghassan leaves the following message]:

Gh: Peace be with you, Haitham or Hasan. We're in room 223. This is Ghassan with you.  
Peace be with you.

2 Ha: Hello.  
3 Gh: Peace be with you.  
4  
5 Ha: And peace be with you.  
6  
7 Gh: Where are you?  
8  
9 Ha: Here I am in the room.  
10  
11 Gh: What is going on? We will go to have breakfast down-stairs.  
12  
13 Ha: Huh?  
14  
15 Gh: We will go to have breakfast downstairs, huh?  
16  
17 Ha: Rely on God.  
18  
19 Gh: OK. We're in 223. OK?  
20  
21 Ha: Ok, fine.  
22  
23 Gh: Fine?  
24  
25 Ha: Ok, God's willing.  
26  
27 Gh: I mean, we will meet downstairs at the restaurant.  
28  
29 Ha: Yes. By God, we have only half an hour to eat, my brother.  
30  
31 Gh: OK. We're coming.  
32  
33 Ha: Ok, fine.  
34  
35 Gh: The youths are coming.  
36  
37 Ha: Ok.  
38  
39 Gh: Peace be with you.  
40  
41 Ha: And peace be with you.  
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[A number is dialed and the housekeeping department's voice mail picks up. Ghassan Saleh leaves the following message]:

Gh: Yes. I need an iron to room 223, please. Thank you.

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*[A number is dialed, and AT&T voice prompt answers. Caller dials a number after which the phone rings. An answer machine picks up asking callers to leave a message. Caller hangs up without leaving a message].*

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*[A caller dials a number but gets a prompt asking him to hang up and to try his call later. Caller hangs up].*

*[UM dials a number and gets AT&T prompt. Caller dials another number and UF answers]:*

2  
3 UF: Hello.

4  
5 UM: Is Karen there?

6  
7 UF: I'm sorry she isn't.

8  
9 UM: OK. She isn't. Ok. Thank you.

10  
11 UF: You're welcome.  
12

*[Three numbers are dialed but the caller gets busy signals].*

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UM: Hello.

Sh: Peace be with you.

UM: Peace and God's mercy be with you.

Gh: How are you doing?

UM: Welcome to you.

Gh: Is Haitham there?

UM: No, by God. He hasn't come. He is not back yet.

Gh: Ok, it will be good. Ok, Peace be with you.

UM: God's peace, mercy and blessings to you.

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UM: Hello.

Gh: Peace be with you.

UM: Peace be with you.

Gh: Do you want to go somewhere or did you take care of yourselves?

UM: No, it is done. No, no.

Gh: You take care of yourselves?

UM: Yes, it is Ok.

Gh: OK. It will be good. Peace be with you.

UM: You're welcome. Peace be with you.

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UM: Hello.

Hs: Peace be with you.

UM: Peace.

Hs: Hello.

UM: Yes.

Hs: Peace be with you.

UM: Peace. Welcome.

Hs: Welcome, my honorable sheik. [*Laughs*].

UM: [*Laughs*].

Hs: God is great. Peace be with you.

UM: Welcome. And with you.

Hs: This is Hasan speaking.

UM: Welcome.

Hs: Is Omar there?

UM: What?

Hs: Is Omar there?

UM: No, no.

Hs: OK. Excuse me, do you know what room he is in?

UM: No, no by God.

Hs: There is no might or might... OK, could you tell him when he comes back just to call Hassan Sabri at the hotel?

UM: God's willing.

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Hs: May God reward you.

UM: You're welcome.

Hs: Peace be with you.

UM: Peace.

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UM: Hello.

Ha: Peace be with you.

UM: And peace be with you.

Ha: The dawn prayer, my brother.

UM: May God bless you. Are we going to pray dawn together, or each room by itself?

Ha: Yes. Each room...

UM: Each room by itself. May you be rewarded good.

Ha: And you too.

UM: Peace be with you.

Ha: Peace be with you.

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UM: Peace be with you.

Gh: Peace and God's mercy.

UM: Yes, sheik.

Gh: How are you?

UM: May God greet you.

Gh: Are you guys awake?

UM: Did you pray?

Gh: Yes we did.

UM: May God bless you.

Gh: Ok. Is Yousif awake?

UM: Yes, Yousif is awake.

23  
24  
Gh: OK. I want to come and get the car key.

25  
26  
UM: The car key. OK, fine.

27  
28  
Gh: Fine.

29  
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UM: You're welcome.

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Gh: OK. Peace be with you.

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UM: Peace be with you.

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UM: Hello.

Ha: Peace be with you.

UM: Peace be with you.

Ha: How are you, my brother?

UM: May God honor you.

Ha: May God bless you. Where are you?

UM: In the room.

Ha: Ok, we're waiting for you to come downstairs.

UM: Yes. Didn't you say by 9:00?

Ha: Don't you want to have breakfast?

UM: Yes, yes.

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Ha: Ok. Let's go.

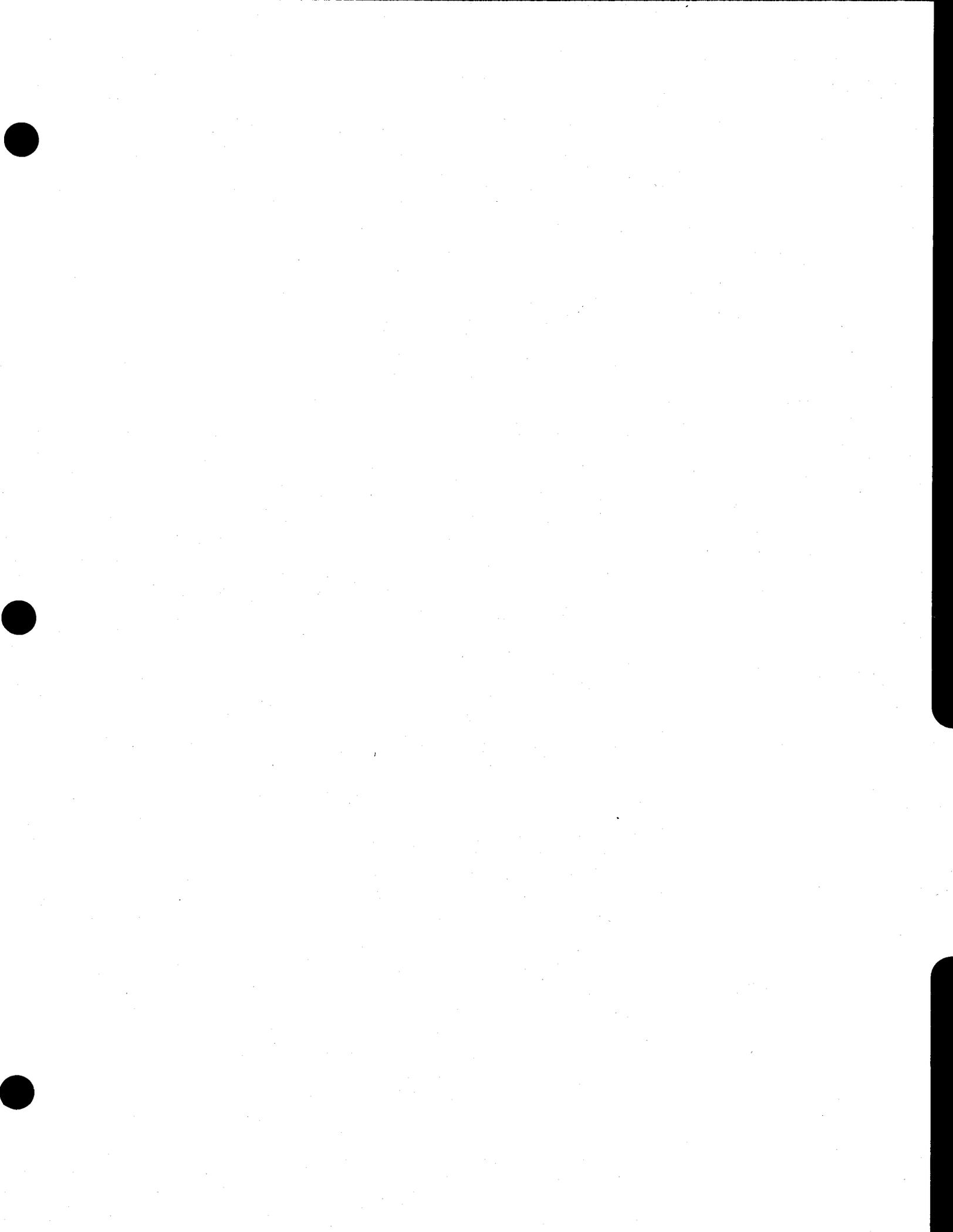
UM: Ok. God's willing.

26  
27  
Ha: May God be pleased with you.

28  
29  
UM: May God greet you.

30  
31  
Ha: let's go, my brother. Peace be with you.

32  
33  
34  
UM: Peace.



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"Hello, is this (room) 307?. I'm in 227. This is Omar. Call me. 227".

1 Ha: Hello.  
3 Om: Peace be with you.  
4  
5 Ha: Peace be with you.  
6  
7 Om: How are you Haitham?  
8  
9 Ha: How are you, our master?  
10  
11 Om: You have been on the phone for an hour, man.  
12  
13 Ha: By God, my brother, everybody is calling me.  
14  
15 Om: Who?  
16  
17 Ha: Huh?  
18  
19 Om: Who?  
20  
21 Ha: All the youths, from their rooms.  
22  
23 Om: What do they want from you?  
24  
25 Ha: Huh?  
26  
27 Om: What do they want?  
28  
29 Ha: They want to find out what are we going to do.  
30  
31 Om: Oh, really!  
32  
33 Ha: About breakfast.  
34  
35 Om: Is there a breakfast?  
36  
37 Ha: By God, there is no breakfast.  
38  
39 Om: There isn't, huh?  
40  
41 Ha: No.  
42  
43 Om: Ok, and Hassan was going to...

1 Ha: Our brother is stuck with Sheik Muharam.

3 Om: What?

5 Ha: ...stuck with Sheik Muharam.

7 Om: Who, Hassan?

9 Ha: Yes.

11 Om: No, he told me he will come and he will bring breakfast.

13 Ha: For sure?

15 Om: He will bring doughnuts and I don't know what else.

17 Ha: By God, my brother, I don't know. I...er.

19 Om: Page him.

21 Ha: Our sheik, I honestly prefer that they come downstairs to eat because, my brother, if food  
22 is going to be doughnuts, how about dinner?

24 Om: And the same thing regarding lunch.

26 Ha: No, dinner, I mean, if they eat now... We were supposed to get humus and stuff like that  
27 to eat for breakfast and lunch.

29 Om: Ok.

31 Ha: If we eat doughnuts now..., doughnuts don't fill you.

33 Om: I know that... What did you and Hassan agree on?

35 Ha: By God, my brother, he was supposed to buy everything.  
36 That is what he told me. He told me, "As soon as I get there, I will buy everything which  
37 will be for breakfast and lunch".

39 Om: Are you sure? When?

41 Ha: Yes, my brother.

43 Om: When was that?

1 Ha: Right before we came here.

3 Om: And then?

5 Ha: After he came here, I spoke with him last night and he  
6 told me that no one is taking care of the Sheik.

8 Om: Hum.

10 Ha: He said that each time I tell them that the Sheik wants  
11 to eat or wants something else they tell me to take him to the hotel here or take him  
12 to that restaurant. He told me, "So, I don't want to leave him by himself, and the sheik, I  
13 mean, doesn't keep quiet. If he sees something wrong, he will speak up and do it in front  
14 of everyone".

16 Om: Hum.

18 Ha: That's what he told me, my brother. So, I said, "It will be good. It is not a problem. What  
19 can we do?". He told me, "Try to manage it". Here we have doughnuts and we can go  
20 downstairs to eat as I don't have a car and, quite honestly, don't know any trustworthy  
21 person to tell him, "Come on. Let's go buy some items".

22 Om: Hum. Yeah. Did the New Jersey youths arrive yet?

24 Ha: By God, I don't think so. No.

26 Om: Hum.

28 Ha: So, what I mean is...er.

30 Om: Ok. We just want to know if he is coming or not because if he is not coming, we will  
31 manage our affairs.

33 Ha: But if you spoke with him and he told him he will bring  
34 doughnuts...

36 Om: He told me last night.

38 Ha: Last night.

40 Om: But he told me that he will speak with you.

42 Ha: Yes. Let me call him and... But, I don't know. What do you prefer; should we have a big  
43

1 breakfast so that we can stay until 3 o'clock?

3 Om: See, there are those coming from outside. How many people have arrived so far?

4  
5 Ha: What?

6  
7 Om: Who arrived? Who's here?

8  
9 Ha: I have 1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10-11-12-13-14-15-16-17.

10  
11 Om: Seventeen.

12  
13 Ha: And with you, 19.

14  
15 Om: Hum. Then only New Jersey people remaining.

16  
17 Ha: Yes.

18  
19 Om: Ok.

20  
21 Ha: Did you take the suite, by the way?

22  
23 Om: No.

24  
25 Ha: May God forgive you, our Sheik.

26  
27 Om: How do I know.

28  
29 Ha: It will be good, God's willing. It will be good.

30  
31 Om: Besides, the suite has one king bed, right? Is that correct?

32  
33 Ha: By God, I don't know but Hassan told me there is one suite.

34  
35 Om: Let Sheik al-Hanooti take it. It is OK. Let him just come.

36  
37 Ha: Yes.

38  
39 Om: It is Ok.

40  
41 Ha: Whatever you want.

42  
43 Om: It is not a problem.

1 Ha: If you like, we could switch it right now...

3 Om: No, no.

5 Ha: ...before the New Jersey youth arrive.

7 Om: No, no, because we're two and the suite has only one bed. Normally, the  
8 suite has only one king size bed, normally.

10 Ha: Yes.

12 Om: So, we will sleep better this way? We have two beds at least.

14 Ha: OK, good. There is going to be probably four people from New Jersey, right?

16 Om: If they are going to sleep in it they will sleep in and out of it if you gave it to them and  
17 that's it.

19 Ha: Sheik Abou Ibrahim is not coming of course, right?

21 Om: No, he is not coming. Listen...

23 Ha: Yes.

25 Om: Speak with Hassan.

27 Ha: Yes.

29 Om: Where is the conference room?

31 Ha: I'm about to go downstairs to get its key as I'm supposed to get the key today and not  
32 yesterday.

34 Om: Hum. Ok, fine.

36 Ha: I will call you then and tell you where it is so that we don't all meet in the lobby and...

38 Om: Yes, right.

40 Ha: Then let me just see Hassan regarding breakfast. But, what do you think; should we eat a  
41 good meal and stay in meeting until 3 o'clock or eat a light meal?

43 Om: I think it depends whether there is a lunch or not. If

1 there isn't going to be lunch...

3 Ha: There is no lunch.

5 Om: If there is no lunch, we will eat... Let's go to the restaurant now...

7 Ha: What is available is restaurant which is about three lots away from here but you must...,  
8 you must take a taxi. I mean...

10 Om: Yes, yes. The people of New Jersey are coming in a van and the people of Canada are  
11 coming in a van.

13 Ha: Good, good. So, in this case...

15 Om: So, you have two vans.

17 Ha: In this case we can go with the vehicles.

19 Om: Yes.

21 Ha: This is solved, God's willing.

23 Omar: Yes, we have..., we have two vehicles, I mean, two vans.

25 Ha: So, there will be lunch, God's willing. But, I don't know if you want to break for lunch  
26 and dinner...

28 Om: No. I say let's go now have breakfast now, breakfast is \$7..., \$6.95...

30 Ha: Aha.

32 Om: ...which is an all-you-can eat of these items.

34 Ha: Yes.

36 Om: \$6.95. We can eat there and then leave at 5 o'clock...

38 Ha: Yes.

40 Om: ...to eat one meal and that's it.

42 Ha: Yes, right, right.

1 Om: One time.  
3 Ha: OK, it will be good. Let me call our brother...  
4  
5 Om: Just make sure he is not bringing anything.  
6  
7 Ha: OK. Yes, yes.  
8  
9 Om: Ok?  
10  
11 Ha: Ok, my brother.  
12  
13 Om: Call before you go downstairs.  
14  
15 Ha: Yes.  
16  
17 Om: ...and call me back. I'm in 227.  
18  
19 Ha: OK.  
20  
21 Om: Peace be with you.  
22  
23 Ha: Ok, my brother.  
24  
25 Om: Peace be with you.  
26  
27 Ha: Peace be with you.  
28  
29 Om: Where is Shukri?  
30  
31 Ha: Huh?  
32  
33 Om: Shukri.  
34  
35 Ha: Shukri is in 345.  
36  
37 Om: With whom?  
38  
39 Ha: With Abdel Jabbar.  
40  
41 Om: And whom are you with?  
42  
43 Ha: I'm with Abu Bassem and Ghassan Elashi.

1  
3  
4

Om: Ah, it will be good, God's willing. Peace be with you.

Ha: God's peace and mercy to you.



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

3 Sh: You mean we could start early on?

4  
5 Om: Yes.

6  
7 Sh: The total is 14 hours.

8  
9 Om: UI. How are you?

10  
11 UM1: Good, by God.

12  
13 Om: By the way, you had elections...

14  
15 UM1: Yes, we're busy. We're busy. I came over here in the middle of the elections.

16  
17 Om: Until when is the elections?

18  
19 UM1: It is over.

20  
Om: Is it over?

21  
22 UM1: I believe [*it ended*] two days ago.

23  
24  
25 Om: I mean, were the results announced or what?

26  
27 UM1: No, not yet. No, not yet.

28  
29 Om: No, it is not possible. Not yet. I would have heard it on the news.

30  
31 UM1: No, not yet. Maybe in two weeks. Yes, right, right. But, I mean, the Labor Party paid 2  
32 million shekels to some parties which are, of course, affiliated with it and some other  
33 parties in order to coordinate together to stand against the Islamists in the city. But,  
34 thanks be to God, the brothers..., their position is strong.

35  
36 Om: They're working.

37  
38 UM1: Yes, their position is strong [*static*]. They're strong..., world media is giving us...

39  
40 Om: Is giving us a large role..., is giving us a large role and I don't know if we measure up to it  
41 or not.

42  
43 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.

3  
4 Om: God's willing.

5  
6 UM1: By God, I knew some people over there, some of them...UI. I was happy with the kind of  
7 people I see...UI. But then, praise be to God, there is a collapse of the other side from God  
8 while we, praised be God the Almighty, we calculate every step in a material way more  
9 than we ought to.

10  
11 [*Ghassan Elashi walks into the room and greets the others*].

12  
13 UM1: Peace, God's mercy and blessings.

14  
15 UM2: Yesterday, the Christian fundamentalists were...UI.

16  
17 UM1: They had a conference two days ago about the issue of "Hopes and fears about the issue  
18 of peace" in...

19  
20 Om: Oh, yeah. I know about it. The conference which was broadcasted by the Protestants in  
San Diego.

21  
22 Sh: Did you put your...UI, the room number?

23  
24  
25 Om: No, by God. No.

26  
27 Sh: The room number? You didn't put it?

28  
29 Om: No.

30  
31 UM1: This professor, John Halaqa, was the one who was in charge of the interpretation, in the  
32 Catholic College, university of...UI.

33  
34 Om: Yes.

35  
36 UM1: A Greek priest attended. He said very good things, by God.

37  
38 UM2: Yes, him. It is true. They invited us to attend...

39  
40 Om: But we declined.

41  
42 UM2: We declined

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

6 Om: No!

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

8 UM3: Was he speaking about Rabin?

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

10  
11 *[A period of low-volume discussions ensues between the men in the room. The following*  
12 *statements were heard, though].*

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

14 UM2: UNRWA?

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

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

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

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

19 Gh: And then they pool their resources together.

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

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

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

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

29  
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42  
43 *[Another period of low-volume side-talks by the men].*

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

7 Sh: I want to copy this.

8 UM2: How many are in attendance?

9 Om: What?

10 UM2: How many are attending?

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

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

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

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

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

21 Om: This Omar Issa is a...

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

23 Om: Th Sudanese ambassador.

24 UM2: The former [*ambassador*].

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

26 Ha: That's right.

27 UM1: What?

28 Ha: They supported it.

1  
2  
3 UM1: Yes, did they give reasons for that or just supported it?

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

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

7  
8 Om: Iraq was the only country which rejected it. As for Sudan, the media is assaulting the  
9 [Oslo] agreement. So, the Sudanese government keeps trying to justify..., or is trying to  
10 take a stand..., not a stand, but that we support the choice of the Palestinian people. The  
11 Palestinian state can only be...UI. All just talk without any principles. Even what is called  
12 the Office of Guidance went secretive [about Oslo].

13  
14 UM1: What Guidance?

15  
16 Om: The Office of Guidance.

17  
18 UM2: Take it easy on [The Office of] Guidance, may God keep you.

19  
20 UM1: But, what did the [Office of] Guidance say?

21  
22 Om: They met with Arafat, with Chairman Arafat and...

23  
24 UM1: Yes, they met with him. Yes.

25  
26 Om: Yes; and the statement which was issued afterwards doesn't include a rejection or a  
27 support.

28  
29 UM1: The statement which was issued after the visit?

30  
31 Om: Yes.

32  
33 UM2: They issued a statement following the visit.

34  
35 Sh: There is no..., no reference to the issue of the agreement itself. There are general talk.

36  
37 Om: Yes, general stuff.

38  
39 Sh: Yes, just general talk. Yes, I'm with you. I'm against those who sell the land. He who sells  
40 the land is a traitor. We're with you 100% and affirm the national unity. They said..., and  
41 they said that Arafat stressed the national unity and the importance of this and that and,  
42 regardless of the religion and the creed, and they said: and this is what we stress. It is  
43 over. The issue is over.

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

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

7 Om: Yes, but when you put all these factors together..., there is no hope, even the people who  
8 have principles don't have them anymore. May God help us. May God help us.

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

10 Om: Yes, but...

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

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

22 Ha: He is [*Laughs*].

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

25 Sh: This analogy is reasonable.

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

28 Gh: What did Abdel Nasser give?

29 UM1: What?

30 Gh: What did Abdel Nasser give?

31 UM1: The Jews conquered him...UI.

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

3 UM1: What?

4  
5 Gh: His position was a little bit more honorable.

6  
7 UM1: All, all are traitors. All of is treason...

8  
9 UM2: But Arafat did...

10  
11 UM1: But it was long ago. Arafat, you have the time factor, my brother. The time factor and not  
12 only that... I mean, if Abdel Nasser was alive in '93, he would have called for  
13 surrendering the entire Islamic nation to the Jews. What is important is that the  
14 contribution of these people is not a contribution of collaborators.

15  
16 Sh: But, let me tell you something. If you want to talk about a person who is a traitor or  
17 whatever, I will tell you that the Palestinian people is...UI doesn't want anyone other than  
18 Arafat. He is a strong man. He is the strongest. This is the logical conclusion. He silenced  
19 the opposition and Hamas has 70 or 90 [people] in Gaza and 60 [people] in the [West]  
20 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...

21  
22  
23  
24 UM1: Shukri, do you think that this is a logic?

25  
26  
27 Sh: I'm telling you that this is not my logic. It is the logic of...UI. This is how people think.

28  
29 UM1: Is this a logic? This is not a logic.

30  
31 Sh: They tell you that the Palestinians cannot feed their children.

32  
33 UM2: Ok, what strengthened Arafat other than their support for him. This is their way in  
34 strengthening this support, to provide him with financial strength. Without money and  
35 outside support, he wouldn't...

36  
37 Sh: The fact that there was a support [for Arafat]... This is politics, that he was able to get  
38 money and support.

39  
40 UM2: Ok, how many..., how many honest persons have made projects?

41  
42 Sh: We were going along with him to th last minute. They got us implicated us with them and  
43 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.

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

4  
5 Sh: It is over, isn't it?

6  
7 UM2: ...UI in Washington and could go to the [*West*] Bank.

8  
9 Sh: But now they tell you that, during Christmas, we will celebrate in...UI, God's willing.

10  
11 UM1: [*Laughs*] Go ahead and celebrate over there. Become a Christian and go celebrate over  
12 there.

13  
14 Sh: [*Laughs*] God's willing.

15  
16 UM1: Mahmoud Abbas. Who?

17  
18 UM2: ...UI.

19  
20 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  
21 issue. I read it. He is saying that the current situation... the signed agreement is the worst  
22 thing to happen to the Palestinians. The Jews now will give Arafat what he wants since he  
23 has now become like King Hussein or...UI. They're not planning to hold elections. The  
24 whole thing is all lies, the elections thing. They don't want to have elections in the first  
25 place. They want Arafat to remain...UI. Then he is saying that the deportation was  
26 conducted by a joint operation between the Israeli intelligence and Arafat and the  
27 [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization. There were intelligence meetings and the first  
28 aspect to have coordination between the Jews and Arafat was through the intelligence.

29  
30 Sh: Really!

31  
32 Om: It is an incredible article.

33  
34 UM2: ...UI.

35  
36 Om: No, before that. He is saying that this was before the deportation process. I mean, he is  
37 saying that the deportation was planned by both sides. Or, at least, it was approved by the  
38 two sides.

39  
40 UM2: Oh, you mean the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization approved it.

41  
42 Om: The [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization approved it along with Israel. He calls this  
43

agreement...UI.

2  
3 UM2: ...UI.

4  
5 Om: Yes. This is similar to the...UI. Let's distribute those later. He who has a paper should  
6 distribute it later. This is better.

7  
8 Sh: No, in order to...

9  
10 Om: No, when he comes because he will waste time this way. He will distribute [*papers*] to  
11 everyone.

12  
13 UM2: Let's start with the ready papers.

14  
15 [*Sounds of papers and chairs being moved around in the room. UM3 walks into the room.*]

16  
17 UM3: Peace be with you.

18  
19 Om: Peace be with you. [*Pause*]. Praise be to God. Prayers and peace be to God's messenger,  
20 to his entire family and friends. God's willing, we shall begin with verses from the noble  
Quran by Sheik Sharif.

21  
22 Ss: [*Recites Quran for few minutes*].

23  
24  
25 Om: May God reward you well. Brother Abou Ibrahim should have been with us, but may God  
26 heal him. He is at the hospital for those who don't know. He had a surgery yesterday. So,  
27 we ask God the Almighty to heal him. This meeting was called for by the Palestine  
28 Committee in order to have a seminar or a meeting to the brothers present here today in  
29 order to study the situation in light of the latest developments on the Palestinian arena, its  
30 effects and impact on our work here in America. We wanted this program to be a quick  
31 one so that we could implement what we get out from this meeting in our upcoming  
32 festivals and in our activities which will begin, or which have begun last week and which  
33 will continue until the end of the year. Also, we wanted to present some strategies for  
34 work in the future. So, we found some points which we asked all the brothers to look at  
35 some or all of them. They are: Political activism and public relations, popular activism,  
36 charity work, media work. ...UI some papers which I have and brought them. I think that  
37 our work at the Union [*Islamic Association for Palestine*] or what we did at the Union is  
38 a responsibility which falls on all of our shoulders and we wanted to distribute this  
39 responsibility on all the brothers who are here today to bear the burden of what is going  
40 on. I say that it is our responsibility that these historic changes regarding our Cause and  
41 the cause of Islam in Palestine as many people look forward to a new leadership for  
42 Palestinian national activism, Islamic activism. They look forward to..., even the East and  
43 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.

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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.

2  
3 Om: The first Philadelphia session, we have brother Abdel Salam and Sheik Sharif in the..., in  
4 the introduction. Could you...UI someone in the first session? Sheik Sharif and brother  
5 Abdel Salam. Who has papers for the first session. Brother..., in the first session?  
6 [response inaudible]. Who has papers for the second [session], charity work.

7  
8 UM2: Is it about charity work exclusively?

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

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

12  
13 Om: You don't have to distribute it. If there is a paper, that's it. You don't have to. Distribution  
14 is not a must now.

15  
16 UM2: The points should be...UI.

17  
18 Om: Discussion [periods]. If there is no written paper, he who wants to talk will be allowed to  
19 during discussion [periods]. Shukri, do you have a paper?  
20

UM3: Yes, we have one.

21  
22 Om: About charity work. Gawad, do you have one about charity work?

23  
24 Ga: Yes, but later.

25  
26 Om: It will be a point of discussion. Ok, we have [papers] with Osama, Mo'een and Shukri.  
27 Anybody else about charity work.  
28

29  
30 UM2: The donations door is open. [Laughter].  
31

32 Om: The first point, my brother, says "The general atmosphere", the general political  
33 atmosphere. Do you have one [paper] relating to charity work? Should we take you off  
34 the second one?  
35

36 UM2: ...UI.  
37

38 Om: The third session, who has papers? Gawad. The third session, who has papers for it?  
39 [response inaudible]. From the beginning, the first session we have Sheik Sharif and  
40 brother Abdel Salam, brother Gawad and Aboul Hasan, Abdel Halim. Anyone else? Did  
41 you write them down? The second session... Guys, stay with me so that we could finish.  
42 The second session we have Osama, Mo'een and Shukri Abu Baker and it will be about  
43 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?

3  
4 UM1: How about Gawad?

5  
6 Om: Gawad is presenting a paper and those who present papers cannot be moderators.

7  
8 Sh: He who is presenting papers...

9  
10 Om: He who has a paper should be taking notes. The one who moderates the session should be  
11 the one giving us the finalization of the points we agreed upon.

12  
13 Gh: Regarding the 1st [session], Shukri should be [moderator].

14  
15 Om: There is no objection. Is there is another vote with Shukri...UI. he who feels he can do it,  
16 let him do it. The 1st [session] will be headed by Shukri, are we agreed on it? The 2nd  
17 one...,about charity work. How about brother Akram?

18  
19 Sh: ...UI.

20  
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?

24  
25 UM: ...UI. [A long period of heavy static].

26  
27 Om: Brother Abdel Salam, come over here.

28  
29 Sh: Again, my brothers, the moderators of the session, they are three. Right?

30  
31 Om: Didn't you write it down? You were talking. You were talking.

32  
33 Sh: I wasn't..., I wasn't sitting here.

34  
35 Om: O Shukri, they are Sheik Sharif, brother Abdel Salam, Gawad and Aboul Hasan, Brother  
36 Abdel Halim. Come over here.

37  
38 Sh: Am I going to take notes as well?

39  
40 Om: What? Oh, yes. You will take notes and them present them to us. Make a page and...UI.

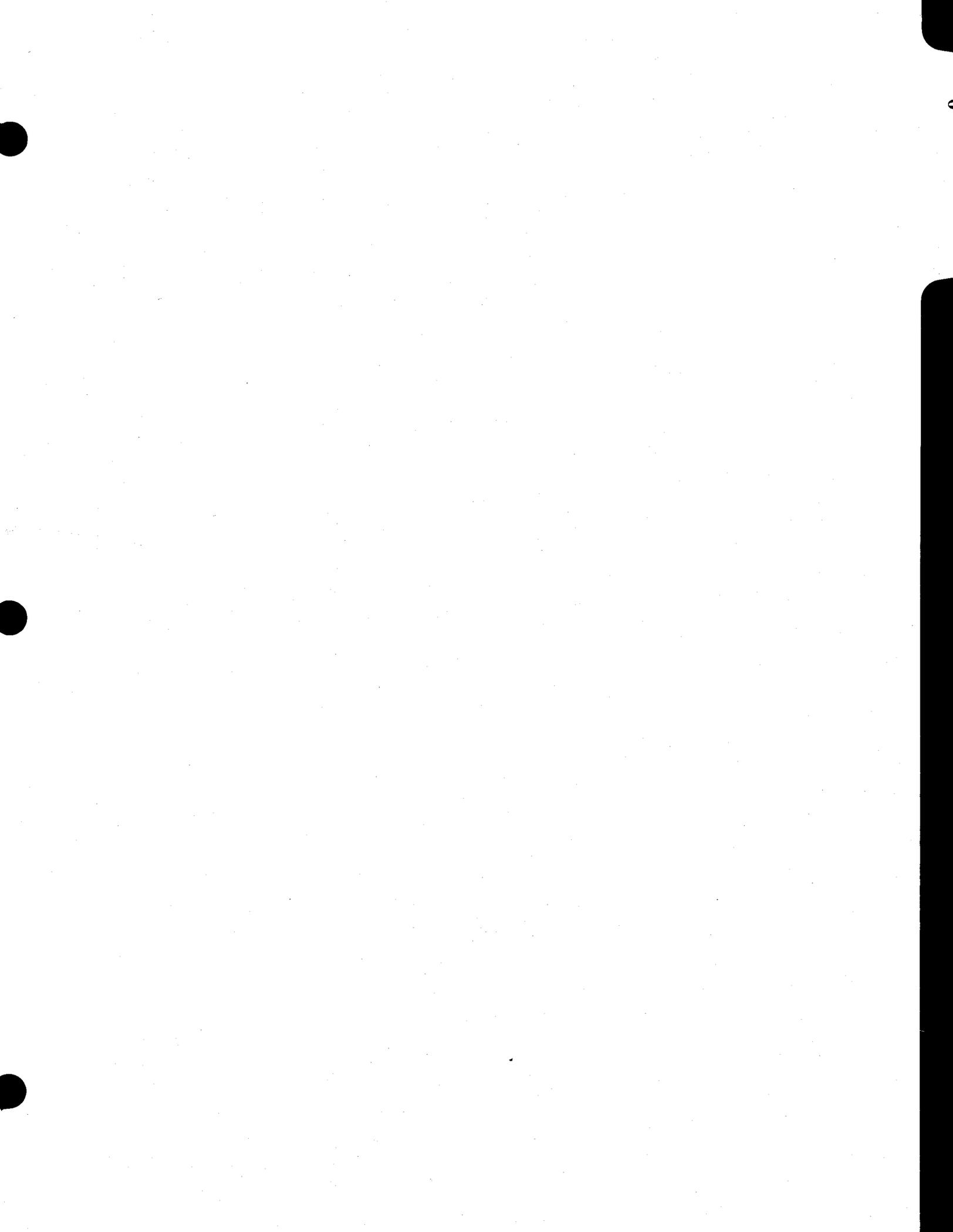
41  
42 Sh: Praised be God the Lord of the Two Worlds. Prayers and peace be on our master,  
43 Mohamed, on his family and friends. During the next half an hour, God's willing, we will  
have a presentation by two of our brothers who were in the homeland. A brother just

2  
3 came from Al Aqsa mosque and took a tour outside...[heavy static], Abdel Salam. We  
4 will give him ten minutes to speak...UI and the other ten minutes is for questions and  
5 answers. After that, we will meet with brother Gawad, God's willing.

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

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

9  
10 Ab: I came back the day before yesterday. I was there for five weeks. I mean, I was there  
11 before and after the [peace] agreement. What you notice is that, before the agreement, one  
12 would walk in Gaza Sector and would feel that it is truly autonomous without a need for  
13 anything, to this agreement which took place. I mean, it didn't need the agreement as  
14 people there have self-rule. The [Israeli] army didn't dare to go inside the Gaza Sector.  
15 During daylight and during curfew..., most of the operations used to take place during  
16 curfews. They would take place during curfews. Why, in order to minimize injuries  
17 among the public. Some people used to work on certain things before the agreement -I  
18 mean certain people who are affiliated with those who signed the agreement - which was  
19 to take advantage of the needs of the people to serve the [peaceful] solution. In reality,  
20 Gaza Sector is very bad economically. I mean, there are none of the fundamentals of an  
21 economy there. There is nothing. I mean, services, the educational aspect, the health  
22 aspect, humanitarian aspect, municipal services, any..., unemployment. All of that exist in  
23 Gaza Sector in a very obvious manner. I mean, sewage, for example, sewage in Khan  
24 Younis is like a flood in the streets...  
25



2 Ab: ...tempting people to invest. For instance, there were two very strong rumors in the Gaza  
3 Sector. The first one is that Japan will take 12 km in the Sector along the sea to make the  
4 largest port in the Middle East so that there will be commercial trade from this port.  
5 There is another rumor circulating in the Sector is France will build one of the largest  
6 airports in the Gaza Sector. These things are being sold to the people without..., of course,  
7 people in our locality hear these things and they don't try to verify it or do not analyze  
8 these things. So [*they think*] all of our problems will be solved and we won't have one  
9 unemployed person in the Gaza Sector. In these matters, they depend on the public and on  
10 people who have no imaginations. For instance, if you see their festivals to celebrate  
11 this..., this..., this agreement, you'll find that the majority of them [*audience*] are kids  
12 below 15-year-old, senior people but you don't find educated people in these festivals. All  
13 they care about is that people are happy to see the flag of Palestine which they can legally  
14 place on their homes. To them, this is something which compensates them  
15 psychologically as they have been deprived from that for years. They take advantage of  
16 this matter psychologically. But, those who understand, realize that, without the  
17 Islamists..., they ask you: What did we gain? For instance, even very simple seniors see  
18 the agreement and say - in their dialect - if I were in this cursed guy's place [*Arafat*] - I  
19 would have said..., God forbid..., God forbid that you leave Gaza. As a punishment for  
20 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...

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

24 Ab: Threats! Excuse me my brother. You did good because I was planning to talk about it.  
25 Right. May God give you light.  
26

27 UM1: I was writing the word [*threats*] for you.  
28

29 Sh: ...UI.[*Laughter*].  
30

31 Ab: On top of the rumors which... On top of the propaganda for them, propaganda which  
32 tempts people, there are increased calls such as "The police is coming" and "We will  
33 straighten out those who don't like it". "The police is coming and we will straighten out  
34 those who don't like it", specially to those who are known to be their enemies or the  
35 Islamists, the seculars who are affiliated with...UI, and the communists who are affiliated  
36 with the Popular Front. I mean, I mean, some lowlife people among them approach  
37 people now in plain light and tell them "We will show you tomorrow". You see, what the  
38 Jews do is not one tenth of what they do. So, now they threaten people that police is  
39 coming. We now move on to the role we ought to observe and stuff like that. In front of  
40 people, we shouldn't oppose the agreement as an agreement. We ought to oppose the  
41 agreement and explain to people why we oppose it because when you oppose the  
42 agreement, you're standing in the way of their dreams to have solutions. So, what are  
43

2 you..., what are you going to do for our economic status? What are going to do for us?  
3 What is the alternative? They keep asking this question. The population density in the  
4 Gaza Sector blocks any economic development in the manner you want. Why? Because,  
5 in order to have economic development you need land, workers and stuff. The population  
6 density in the Sector blocks any establishments. Another point, the compensations on the  
7 table and their dangers. Now, they're spreading rumors in the camps that they will be  
8 compensating them for their properties and stuff like that. This evokes a very sensitive  
9 side for people of the homeland. As serious as it can get. In Gaza Sector. It is a  
10 problem....UI and they wrestle together to the point that someone from the ...UI had two  
11 sons who were martyred during the Intifada.

12 UM1: From Al Akhtal family.

13  
14 Ab: From Al Akhtal family. [*His two sons*] were martyred in the Intifada. So, he tells them  
15 that I sacrificed two sons so that Palestine would be liberated and I can sacrifice my other  
16 8 sons so that no one would come and share my land with me. Pay attention to the point  
17 and its danger, regarding the issue of the compensations and that a lot of people babble a  
18 lot [*saying*] Yes, we get compensations.

19  
20 Sh: I didn't understand this point. What kind of compensations...

21  
22 Ab: The population make-up of Gaza Sector, my brother, has indigenous people and there are  
23 camps. [*Residents of*] the camps constitute approximately four times the number of the  
24 indigenous people. The camps are built on the properties of indigenous people, mostly.  
25 So, we could say that this guy would like to get compensated for his property of '48 or  
26 whatever. So, what right does he have to live in Gaza? The indigenous people ask this  
27 question. I mean, you're guest here, you're a guest here in order to fight and I will fight  
28 alongside of you the war of Palestine but not for you to come here, sit here and take  
29 compensations and away my land as well. I mean, the Cause of Palestine should not be  
30 resolved at the expense of the Gaza Sector's indigenous people. This is a very serious  
31 point. It has now become to the point that..., that many families in the Gaza Sector worry  
32 very much about this issue. Preserving our accomplishments, this is one of the important  
33 issues. I don't think that quitting the economic and media fronts for the Islamists under  
34 the excuse of the rejection of the [*peaceful*] solution is the right path. I mean, we must  
35 have some activities on the economic arena, activities on the media arena even under  
36 totally un-Islamic names...UI, but we must have a presence. We shouldn't reject the  
37 solution and stay outside the game and that's it because, if the solution is adopted and it  
38 works, you want to have a firm ground to resist it in the long range. I mean, maybe now  
39 we don't want to do anything, for instance. But, after a while, some changeable factors  
40 come and we can invest what we build now. I mean, we shouldn't..., we shouldn't waste  
41 our efforts on purely charitable endeavors which lead to strengthening the agreement. No,  
42 we should waste our time on an economic infrastructure which will help in resisting the  
43 agreement later. When is that? In a future stage. May God reward you good.

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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 [*totalled*] 30,000.

Ab: Hundreds. Hundreds.

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

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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?

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

4 Om: But there were no marches in the streets?

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

8

9 UM: The day of the signing [*of the peace agreement*]. How was the Sector on the day of the  
10 signing [*of the peace agreement*]?  
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12 Ab: Before the signing, people were waiting to see what was going to happen. Pay attention,  
13 the whole matter was done hastily in manner which didn't give people enough time to  
14 react to the event. I mean, announcing the agreement and signing the agreement was all  
15 done within a week. Not even that. Maybe even five days, within a week which didn't  
16 give people a chance to react to the event. It was so quickly to the point that people were  
17 shocked wondering what is going to happen. Is this true or lies? They're still in a state of  
18 shock.

19

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

Ab: They were watching TV.

23

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

25

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

29

30 UM: Abou Ammar's pictures were everywhere?

31

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

33

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

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

36

37 UM: Even when you came...UI.

38

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

43

[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?

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3 Ab: Betting is on whether the [*Palestinian National*] Authority would be able to solve their  
4 economic problems. If it solves their economic problems, they will deal with it.  
5

6 UM: Are there concrete evidence that there will be a confrontation between Hamas and the  
7 Authority?  
8

9 Ab: Er...

10  
11 UM: Through your experience...  
12

13 Ab: When the Authority comes to office, it might happen. Because it is the Authority which  
14 doesn't want to...UI. They don't want to have clashes with Hamas or the Islamists now so  
15 that won't stir people against them. No, they want their police forces and [*say*] "We don't  
16 have a disagreement, we're democratic, we're this and that..." until they take hold of  
17 everything and then they will...UI.  
18

19 UM: Ok, is this the conviction of the brothers?  
20

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

21  
22 Sh: In the mosques, what was the situation...UI.  
23

24 Ab: The mosques are full of... The Friday sermons vary, between a very radical and another  
25 logical speaker. And there is another speaker who talks about prayers and fasting.  
26

27 Sh: ...UI.  
28

29 Ab: Yes, there are people to bring the subject up with extreme radicalism and there are people  
30 who speak in a logical way, there are people who speak....  
31

32 UM: ...UI. Do some people say "Let's calm down. There is no need for this kind of talk..."  
33

34 Ab: There are..., listen, listen. There are some people who are happy and who say "Should we  
35 worry about this or that...". Even the worshipers don't have the education and the  
36 understanding to...  
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38 UM: They are used to...UI and loud voices and that's it.  
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40 Ab: Yes, loud voices...  
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42 Sh: When we raise our voices we...UI.  
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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.

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UM: People's reaction...UI.

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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.

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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.

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UM: Born again...[Laughter].

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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 take away our freedom and dignity, I will be...UI. Another person says that we couldn't have our heads [i.e. be proud] until this agreement was signed. Now, we have an ex:

2 actual name in the world. If I move on to the organizations, the organizations are  
3 suffering, of course. the organizations are suffering a great deal. Wherever you go there is  
4 a suffering and there is a shortage in...UI, specially in regards to the issue of deportation  
5 and the financial side. People also talk about the issues of investment. ...UI investments  
6 as in the Gulf region and the Arab countries. Therefore, ...UI. That's it and the financial  
7 issue [*is of concern*]. As for the festivals which took place, the reaction of the people who  
8 attended them was good. I mean, I attended one of the festivals in Jerusalem and...UI  
9 were there. A debate took place. Of course, the opponents were...UI, while the other  
10 people [*i.e. supporters*] were discussing it discretely. But, people in general...UI, if you  
11 started to debate them, they will...UI. The media issue shows that if you have the right  
12 approaches with people and was able to...UI. And if you were able to reach their minds  
13 and their hearts, you will find out that the issue is...UI. There is nothing after that, just a  
14 straw. As they say...UI. That's it. There is nothing else. But, in reality, there is a lot of  
15 exaggeration meant to show that the overall number of the supporters is larger than the  
16 opponents. Now, regarding the organizations, brothers, the brothers are watchful and  
17 cautious, at least with the organizations which...UI. They are either...UI run by honorable  
18 people or social organizations which...UI. Of course, the brothers - our brothers - are  
19 asking "What is the solution?". Truly, the brothers rely a lot on the stand taken by the  
20 youths in America and they believe that we see the whole matter in a more wholesome  
21 and more complete manner. I believe that our...UI and I now ask if there is anything...UI.

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

23 UM: ...UI.

24 Sh: Go ahead...UI.

25 Au: I decided that...UI.

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

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

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

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

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

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

33 Au: That depends...UI.

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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?

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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?

2  
3 Ab: By God, no. Life is normal and routine. ...UI at 12 o'clock or 1 a.m. and...UI.  
4  
5 Sh: Hum. What do you mean by "affiliated"? These..., these are fluid terms. You can think  
6 about them for five days. Is there anything else?  
7  
8 As: There is a question.  
9  
10 Sh: Go ahead, Aboul Hasan.  
11  
12 As: Ok, people on the inside. What is their impression? People inside the '48 area. You talked  
13 for a while about the other cities.  
14  
15 Ab: Let me give you my personal opinion. People now think they should let this be a time of  
16 quiet, you see, and we try to gain better positions, you see. This is the vision of the...  
17  
18 As: Movement, you mean?  
19  
20 Ab: Yes, those special people. I mean, this is time of quiet in order for us to rearrange our  
21 papers, be able to gain better positions. In reality and my personal humble view is that  
22 they're the ones who can through their long existence over there, from growing up over  
23 there, their entry and the ease of penetrating the entity... If you have money, you could do  
24 whatever you want over there. They see that there is a benefit gained from the Movement  
25 but a person who is far, you see, doesn't see a result for the Movement. This vision comes  
26 from over there, from the people who could see. They tell you that there is no objection  
27 for keeping matters quiet for now. Let's really try to organize ourselves and rearrange our  
28 papers. But, this doesn't mean that this is a support for the...  
29  
30 As: But, this stand... The public over there might get the wrong impression as long as you  
31 didn't object [*to the agreement*] and say "This might mean that you're supportive". The  
32 public on the inside might consider that you didn't...  
33  
34 Ab: No, no, no. Their..., their public stand is..., is..., is no different from... We're talking about  
35 private talks. Their public positions haven't deviated from the general outline regarding  
36 the opposition to the agreement. But, we need to ask what is the benefit from the overt  
37 opposition to the agreement.  
38  
39 As: As far as they're concerned?  
40  
41 Ab: As far as we're concerned. What is the benefit to be gained from it? What is the benefit  
42 from the overt opposition to the...?  
43  
44 As: They're known to have a certain inclination. If they don't show explicit opposition, people  
45 around them will think that they're supportive [*of the agreement*]. So, this might have an  
46 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.

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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 a 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.

2  
3 UM: ...UI.

4  
5 Ga: The basis should remain the same which is that the current change is a strategic one  
6 relating to our intellectual structure, strategic structure and our even our skeletal structure.  
7 Therefore, retaliation will be widespread against our individuals, our organizations, our  
8 supporters, our mosques, our presentations, our media, our boys, our girls, our women,  
9 our relationships with our brothers in the other Arab countries. All of these will be  
10 affected, unfortunately, in a negative way at least in the first phase. The...UI is that we  
11 ought to look at the matters keeping in mind that we are at a historical crossroads. This  
12 crossroads is still being formulated in my opinion. It hasn't formulated until now. I mean,  
13 the straight path won't be formulated - even for years - for this crossroads. This crossroads  
14 is still at the one to two days level, truly. In my opinion, at least, the road is not chartered  
15 in an accurate way, neither for the Jews, the Palestinians nor for America. Everyone is  
16 now planning, working, working, planning for four months, six months and a year at a  
17 maximum. But, the vast majority are still formulating their preliminary positions and how  
18 their general policies will be like because no one knows what kind of reaction to expect  
19 from the other party and how to deal with it. All what is happening is a matter of a  
20 test...UI, like what Abd Rabou said, like what the Jews said, ...UI with Rabin. It is an  
21 experimental matter, like a test tube, something like that. Consequently, we need to act on  
22 that basis. The first thing is that it is dangerous for us and is targeting this, that and that,  
23 but it hasn't reached its final stage. I mean, it is still in the first stage. They're trying to  
24 formulate this path which destroys what we talked about in the beginning. But, they  
25 haven't succeeded yet. This is my opinion. Based on that, we need to look at the needed  
26 role, not as dealing with a status quo, but dealing with what would be the status quo. This  
27 is what...UI is different from us. Dealing with the status quo is the status quo of the  
28 Islamic Movement in the Arab countries. If this feeling spread to the Islamic Palestinian  
29 Movement, I bring to you the news of a massive diversion...UI, a massive one, not a small  
30 one. I mean...UI, there won't be a nation, liberation or independence. Why can't they...UI  
31 the region until now? They even...UI, you let them in. How is their position going to be.  
32 What is the precise role of the police? The police forces...UI. Police officers are going to  
33 be...UI. All of that is talk. The Palestinian street, the public, until now they don't know  
34 what is the role of a [*Palestinian*] policeman. Are they going to kill me? Are they going  
35 to lock me up with the Jews? Or, are they going to be policemen to serve us? All of that is  
36 being formulated. All of that is being formulated. Your presence on the arena now with  
37 weight and with might is what is needed now in order for you to participate in  
38 formulating the crossroads in which you might have a larger share than them if you  
39 succeed, or a certain share if...  
40



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 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

3 what we are going to do with it, but... There are people who don't even know where  
4 Palestine is. I expect that he would support the project [*i.e. the agreement*] and call for it,  
5 use the media and legal...UI in order to show the different points of view to the American  
6 people. Consequently, these people understand the Palestinian Cause as a whole through  
7 the eyes of the [*Palestinian*] Liberation Organization and not through Hamas. The only  
8 sector which I believe will be educated and it is the small one in my opinion is the...UI  
9 sector which we could deal with. This the issue of the circles...UI. Work will be affected  
10 of course in my opinion in the same manner. In the beginning, you need a definition. Here  
11 are some examples for that. The...UI inside the Occupied Territories, it used to be "Take  
12 [*money*], spend and take for this and that". Now, all of that will change. Why is this going  
13 to change? Because..., first of all, what is going to happen inside the Occupied  
14 Territories? This is Arafat's method to interfere in everything relating to Palestinian  
15 activism. No Palestinian can enter Tunisia without a permission from the [*Palestinian*]  
16 Liberation Organization. What is the meaning of that? Also, the same thing was true  
17 before with Sudan and...UI. And the agreement is still in place until now. And [*the same*  
18 *thing with*] Yemen until recently. They have a desire to control and dominate the whole  
19 human being, entirely, all of his character they want to control him in order to move and  
20 do whatever they want to him. How much more when it comes to money? Money coming  
21 to Palestine from America, from Saudi Arabia, from Europe or...UI, they want to control  
22 it in a very high level, in my opinion. This is one. Two, the change in the party  
23 which...UI. I'm saying that and I'm absolutely sure of it. The Arab governments now, do  
24 they allow unlimited financial assistance from foreign parties even to the poor and the  
25 needy? ...UI to Arafat and he [*NFI*] is more honorable than them. Much more. I saw  
26 Saddam Hussein and Arafat next to him is...UI, if he managed to rule and lasted. Based  
27 on that,...UI changes from a small scale to a full scale, from very small and limited things.  
28 This remains a possibility and is not for certain. I'm talking about possibilities we might  
29 face. The third thing is that the support allocated to alleviate the sufferings from the  
30 Palestinian people in all shapes in light of the existence of the international support  
31 will...UI, specially within the next five years. ...UI they pay a lot of money specially to a  
32 person who is not connected to the Islamic current or to ...UI. God knows best. The  
33 Palestinian tendencies will be towards the improvement of the [*living*] conditions. Every  
34 two to three weeks at the best estimate, they will talk about improvement in the  
35 unemployment, improvement for the students, economic improvement, the opening of a  
36 factory, the opening of a project, unemployment is down. This is the method they will use  
37 and America will give them an enormous help in that regards, in my opinion.

37 Sh: Yes.

38  
39 Ga: America and the American...UI, in order to convince the people because everybody is  
40 convinced; the Americans are convinced and the Jews. People must...UI on the ground.  
41 They're happy, with the flag now, but the flag will last one week, two weeks or a month  
42 and what is after that? We need bread. This will be... The propaganda which will be  
43 spread will affect Hamas...UI in the meanwhile....UI. Are you going to collect a million?

2 Not a million, for instance. The media and political support for the Cause in general  
3 terms, and to the rights of the Palestinian people specifically will be negatively affected in  
4 my opinion. Why? First, the organizations which work on these issues are American and  
5 they deal from the..., from America's mentality. A prominent example for that is the  
6 occupation. The U.S. government used to call it "occupation" and...UI, used to reject its  
7 measures and rejects this and that and used to call to the implementation of the Geneva  
8 agreement. This was the official America..., State Department and otherwise. It tried  
9 to...UI, because all became a United Nations so,...UI. You're no longer have the right to  
10 resist the occupation. All of that will be classified according to the American concept.  
11 There is no occupation now. There is an understanding and there are no weapons to be  
12 carried because there is no occupation to be fought. There is no more suffering because of  
13 the occupation. Suffering now is on the hands of the local government. This will be  
14 classified as terrorism according to America. How are you going to do it? How are going  
15 to perform Jihad? How are you...UI? I believe we will face all of that and...UI. Following  
16 up on the issues of the self-rule should be on two axes. This is a problem in itself. And  
17 any role you play, you're an American-Palestinian organization in America...UI. You  
18 have the support, this and that from the Islamic current. The first axis you have to work  
19 on is the institutions of the self-rule as far as human rights and democracy are concerned  
20 in order to show that it is an undemocratic Authority. This is an open line for you, for  
21 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,  
24 plays the mouse game and is... UI from the Palestinians their legitimate rights. These are  
25 the options you have right now but, if you take a hostile stand towards the self-rule, I  
26 believe that there should be a harmony between the two approaches. I'm speaking in  
27 general terms until now and...UI. My expectations are...UI. The fourth matter is the  
28 support for the resistance to the occupation. As long as there is an occupation, there is no  
29 problem with the resistance. But, the resistance will remain. The option of resistance is  
30 determined; it will continue, without an end, with no going back, no matter how the  
31 circumstances, in all conditions and despite all options even the option of taking part in  
32 the self-rule. The resistance will continue...UI. This will be a true problem if you deal  
33 with the resistance which will continue to fight on even against the self-rule and they are  
34 in dire need for sympathy and dealing with them...UI and to form a segment of supporters  
35 for it. Because there is a problem. There are accumulations. You must formulate the  
36 position of the Palestinians and the Muslims here in America to support the resistance.  
37 Work must be in that direction. Ok. That's a problem by itself. In the same time, not  
38 falling under the accusations of terrorism and those who harbor terrorism or tend to  
39 according to the American...UI. How can we carry two...UI at the same time? This, really,  
40 is a true problem. The fifth and the last issue is the ongoing struggle inside Palestine. Of  
41 course, my personal opinion at least, is that the struggle is inevitable and postponement  
42 [of the struggle] is postponement and nothing more. And those who postpone [the  
43 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

1  
2 who bring this up among the people. We say that we exist on the field. Yes, we're  
3 present...UI. Didn't they say that Hamas is this people [*The Palestinians*]. We are, then, a  
4 part of the people. Why are we...UI? I don't know why. We assist in spreading this kind of  
5 ideas. I mean, we should not commit this mistake and say...er. They're the ones who are  
6 currently spreading these things now.

7 Sh: What About Hasan is saying that we're giving them clues, that is. Even if they're not  
8 thinking about the matter, we're...UI. Let's see what our brother, Gawad, wants to say.  
9

10 Ga: I think we should differentiate between the two issues; the media approach and the wrong  
11 approach. The things I spoke about are all facts and are all based on media tactics. I  
12 wouldn't say the stuff I said today...UI because you have to think the reaction of the  
13 people in the streets...UI. Some of the brothers who are on my side are afraid. Yes, some  
14 of the brothers are on my side. But, during the stage where we're establishing programs  
15 and plans, we shouldn't take matters...UI. Number one is the reality and it will be. There  
16 are available information...UI, that Abou Ammar has authorized his special forces to erect  
17 the gallows for the Movement in Gaza. This is one. Two, Fatah...UI, they used to be  
18 persecuted, on the run and locked up like you, I mean, in jails. That is what...UI, in the  
19 jails there just like you. How about when they have authority, an...UI, a flag, an army,  
20 money and a job, jobs and ID's. What do you expect will happen? They will be murderous  
21 criminals, my brother. Even the doctors among them. Doctors among them have criminal  
22 mentalities. The first thing...UI. I'm telling you the truth. This is not something they could  
23 hide in order to...UI. My personal opinion is that confrontation is inevitable within no  
24 more than a year of the Authority [*i.e. self-rule*]. No more than one year. We have one of  
25 two options; we either take a stand of caution and work according to it as a program, a  
26 method, a way and a system, and the other [*party*] will also prepare himself at the same  
27 level, even stronger and the struggle which will happen during this year will...UI, or we  
28 prepare for the struggle from now and finalize the matter from now. All of this is...UI.  
29

30 Sh: The point our brother Aboul Hasan presented might be directed to the brothers in the  
31 media [*field*]. The question presented by our brother Aboul Hasan should be rephrased in  
32 order to come up with the conclusion. Do you think it is wise to have our private media  
33 begin to circulate and go ahead of the events and discuss the possibility of police  
34 harassment, the arrest of the honorable people and...UI and stuff? As a media strategy, are  
35 we supposed to move ahead of the events and use this assumption or is it better not to do  
36 that and...UI, unless we have specific information that something will happen. We need a  
37 word from volunteering brothers to tell us...UI from the pure media point of view. Go  
38 ahead, my brother.  
39

40 As: This thing...UI, either from Israeli sources or from sources within the [*Palestinian*  
41 *Liberation*] organization, there is nothing new. We make this presentation to the people in  
42 order to derail the agreement. This the Muslims' program, originally, in order to cause the  
43 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.

3  
4 Sh: Yes.

5  
6 As: And this is the first program which Israel present, always, destroying the...

7  
8 UM1: Ok. Is it to our advantage to say to the Palestinian people that...UI. They don't know this  
9 matter as long as the other party intends to keep people in the dark. Good? Is it to our  
10 advantage now to work on these things in case...UI to have people stand by us and  
11 support us, or to have our identity...UI? We as a certain current are...UI.

12  
13 UM2: If there is a surprise...UI, we will reconcile with them. The agreement itself didn't come as  
14 a surprise...UI.

15  
16 Sh: We need to tell the people, my brother, that...UI people reconcile with one another.

17  
18 UM2: My brother, ...UI it might happen after three months or six months. People will then be  
19 supportive then...

20  
21 Sh: Fine, fine, fine. This is the point which will be discussed in the media paper. Please, focus  
22 on it. But, because the topic is hot, we need a second reply regarding this issue. The  
23 brother who will speak about the media, please focus on this point and put it among the  
24 discussion points. There are points for discussion which are not specialized. The  
25 specialized brothers, please try to respond to them during your programs. Go ahead,  
26 brother...UI.

27  
28 As: It is true that our general direction inside the Group as a whole is to direct the brothers  
29 to...UI the assaults and coping with the crises, not how to overcome crises and  
30 catastrophes which... I imagine how to overcome the crisis is...UI, and not how to be  
31 patient and bear it for the sake of God the Almighty like our brothers in Egypt during the  
32 days of...UI.

33  
34 UM2: Without mentioning the... [*Group laughter and a brief UI small talk*].

35  
36 As: It is true that if all we deal with is how to overcome the crisis and...UI, the Movement  
37 would come to an end during the first year of the Intifada. But, there should be talk on  
38 how to bypass the crisis and deal with its negatives. The second point is: What is the goal  
39 of the upcoming stage? It is to derail the agreement. Is our goal to derail the agreement?  
40 Is our goal really to have Israel withdraw from Jericho and Gaza? Is this our goal? What  
41 is our goal in the coming stage? I imagine..., let's ask this question about the goal of the  
42 next stage. I mean, how to take advantage of the agreement in the next stage. I imagine  
43 that... What is the goal?

1 Ga: ...UI, to adopt opposition to the agreement in order to derail it and not for...UI or Jericho,  
2 but to derail the attempt to disband the alliance between the segments of the Palestinian  
3 people.

4  
5 As: But, this should be done at a general strategic level.

6  
7 Ga: Of course.

8  
9 As: I mean, you would be talking that there is strategic...UI on a worldwide level by all the  
10 people of the world, not only the Western nations, Gaza or this and that.

11  
12 Ga: Everybody, everybody.

13  
14 As: Not only in the Middle East region and the Islamic world ought to have a very clear  
15 strategic line. The question is, I, as a Movement, what are my abilities, my goal and the  
16 strategies I will follow to achieve this goal. Now, am I capable, as an Islamic Movement,  
17 to reach my goal which you and I know? That is to derail [*the agreement*]?  
18

19 Ga: Yes, according to the studies which were prepared.

20  
21 As: I can derail it?

22  
23 Ga: The studies which were prepared say "Yes".

24  
25 As: Ok, excuse me. Could I...UI. This is not...UI because it determines a whole path.

26  
27 Ga: No, just in order to focus on America in this presentation. Otherwise, I have no  
28 objections. We will talk about it.

29  
30 [*A short period of UI group talk*].

31  
32 Sh: ...the issue is not at the level which authorizes us to act  
33 on the American front. I believe it is not the time for any solution which is deeper than  
34 that. The purpose of this session is not to discuss these specialized issues. The bottom  
35 line between our hands is what to do on the American front. I believe that this is...  
36 Anything more than that, I believe that we need an opportunity to listen according to the  
37 scientific...UI.

38  
39 Ga: Even on the American front, your resources control you.

40  
41 Sh: ...UI the brother is telling you...

42  
43 Gh: But, the general tendency is important as you are on the American front and you're

governed by the general directions which...UI.

3 Ga: I'm saying "The general tendency". The general tendency is to defeat the agreement.  
4 Coexistence with it is not an option and changing to a normal political opposition is not  
5 an option. The...UI is not an option and turning your back to it - like saying let's keep to  
6 ourselves and they keep to themselves - is not an option.  
7

8 As: The goal of derailing the agreement is not the Movement's goal alone. There are other  
9 currents in the Arab world whose goal is to derail the agreement. It is not clever to put  
10 your hands in their hands. See, an expert in international politics was asked a question by  
11 one of those who are happy with the agreement. He asked him: What is the alternative?  
12 He told him: I will give you two alternatives, not one alternatives but two alternatives.  
13 The first alternative is to forget about the Palestinian Cause as a political cause altogether  
14 and speak about the Palestinian human rights at the global level. Don't discuss any issues  
15 of occupation or anything else. Speak about it as a case of Palestinian human rights, that  
16 he [*i.e. a Palestinian*] was deported. You see? This is an approach. And it is an approach  
17 which doesn't revoke your right to struggle. At the same time, it gets a positive reaction  
18 from the Western world and individuals as human rights is an issue or, like they say, a hot  
19 topic in the world nowadays. In the New World Order. This is one. The second thing is to  
20 let people who are under occupation in the West Bank and the Gaza Sector reach an  
21 agreement even for Gaza-Jericho [*only*] with the occupation authorities, but you don't  
22 intervene. Why? Because any agreement under occupation is invalid under international  
23 law. So, what did you exactly do? You are walking on a path which..., those under  
24 occupation were negotiating and you left them and jumped in it and gave it a legitimacy  
25 without a need. You're not required to do what you did. So, there are available  
26 alternatives but, they... See, how can he...UI the chair? It is all about chairs [*i.e.*  
27 *positions*]. He just wants to sit on a chair, no more or less.  
28

29 Sh: ...UI get him a chair.  
30

31 As: There are other things on the front. Yes, he could..., he could engage in a battle with you.  
32 You will be harmed economically and...  
33

34 UM2: America has its interests... We could meet with it on certain points like we did with the  
35 other organizations.  
36

37 Ga: That's right. But, if you're talking about the general direction, we...UI.  
38

39 As: At the level of..., at the level of the agreement, what are our abilities? What can we do in  
40 this country?  
41

42 Ga: A lot at this time. A lot.  
43

1  
2  
3 As: Yes. This must be clear. Must be clear and...UI.  
4 It must be clear. If the goal is to derail the agreement, it shouldn't..., it shouldn't be  
5 interpreted as anything else. That's it. It should be very explicit that the goal is to derail  
6 the agreement. But, do we have the ability to derail it? This is another question.

7  
8 Sh: Ok, Are you going to talk about the issue of the agreement now?

9  
10 Ga: No, we will bypass it.

11  
12 Sh: ...UI the agreement is a very small detail of the...

13  
14 [*Group laughter*].

15 Sh: ...and I'm kind of shocked from the strategy. Ok, before the agreement, what was our  
16 strategy? Ok, so this means that every time we get a new...UI, we try to... This talk..., this  
17 talk needs a long session.

18  
19 UM1: ...UI

20 Sh: Yes, it needs time because it really needs... It is getting confusing. Let's now keep talking  
21 about...

22  
23 As: Let's keep the talk limited to the American front.

24  
25 Sh: Yes, that's what I'm saying. Let's not..., let's not keep talking about...UI.

26  
27 UM2: The political situation is...UI.

28  
29 Sh: Guys, can you hear anything? ...UI, can you hear? Yes.

30  
31 UM2: ...we shouldn't mix in the two directions. I mean, we should finish one and then we begin  
32 the other one and see it through to the end. The first is to make the agreement fail and this  
33 is a public policy and all of us are opposing it. It is the just the media which exaggerated  
34 the issue. Second, finding the alternatives. The first step should be taken advantage of by  
35 the brothers in...UI, how to make the agreement fail. The national rights, huma rights,  
36 stuff which will be exploited in order to make you look legitimate while you call on the  
37 annulment of the agreement. I mean, there should legitimacy to everything we do so that  
38 they won't...UI. They should always be in...UI. This is one aspect. The other aspect is  
39 working to find the alternatives. Create programs in order to target the agreement.

40  
41 UM1: Alternatives like what?

42  
43 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.

3 UM1: ...UI.

4  
5 Sh: If you please in order to... The term "derailment" should include resistance, you see?  
6 "Derailment" scares me a lot as we work in organizations meant to...UI. It is better to use  
7 the method of, yes, an agreement happened and that's it. We didn't lose anything. There is  
8 a resistance, there is a counter-push, there is a strong counter-push. So, when we say  
9 "derailment", it puts us in a platform bigger than what the U.S. atmosphere would  
10 tolerate. We won't get out with anything in America. We barely run our organizations and  
11 pay our employees at the end of the months.

12  
13 Ga: ...UI. I believe that the issue of the ramifications of the new political reality on activism is  
14 an issue. Regardless of the...UI. I don't know about that...UI. Now, we have this political  
15 reality. How are we going to deal with it? As for the programs...UI. God knows best.

16  
17 Sh: It is also through the presented papers. Originally, every presented paper is supposed to  
18 deal with this issue. If you're talking about political activism or popular activism, the  
19 main reply you should provide is how to shape my activism now based on the new  
20 happenings. Therefore, we're still trying to make the goal... Brothers, by God, at the end  
21 we should have a 1-2-3-4-5..., I mean, we don't want to go back to our homes while  
22 forums are still dark and even more complicated than before. This is what I mean; to  
23 direct the discussion and try to build our vision on a brother who speaks and say we ought  
24 to do this on the American front, for instance. Let the other issues of people who want to  
25 do other things..., let them do it. We can hear them later. We try to answer purely  
26 practical lessons. Why do we...UI? [*Group laughter*]. Ok, fine. We have time anyway.  
27 We have...UI an hour.

28  
29 UM1: We need to talk about the address in America.

30  
31 Sh: Yes.

32  
33 UM1: I have a question which is: We in America, regardless of the practical political address or  
34 - whatever do you call it - ...UI, for us as Muslims we should see what happened as an  
35 end of a stage beginning from the sixties, the seventies until now. Now, the produced  
36 result is the Palestinians' recognition of the state of Israel. I consider this a turning point,  
37 it is the turning point in the conflict, the conflict which they tried to turn from an Islamic  
38 conflict to a Palestinian conflict. Now, we see a turn from a Palestinian conflict to an  
39 Islamic one. Now, how can formulate the Islamic address in America to the Islamic  
40 community, particularly the Palestinian community? If the Palestinian community  
41 embraced the Islamic address regarding Jerusalem and Al Aqsa mosque, [*saying that*]  
42 Palestine is the land of Muslims and stuff, I think all the other Islamic organizations and  
43 the Arab community, even the Americans themselves due to their belief in democracy and

2 these people [*i.e. The Palestinians*] have a right. Of course, the address ought to be in a  
3 reasonable way, without tension and illogical talk. But, this is what is going to happen.  
4 Do you see that this could be the kind of address or one of the method with the Islamic  
5 community at large and the Palestinian community in particular. Strongly, I mean, that  
6 now Palestine should be returned to those who have a right..., to those who liberated it are  
7 the ones [*who have a right*]...UI. The rest of the questions.

8 Ga: We should present recommendations on how we should work...UI The second question  
9 which I tried hard to answer it and they said try to answer it later during the discussion.  
10 The questions is: What are the ramifications of the political developments which will be  
11 imposed by the political order on our work in America...UI. This is the question which -  
12 God knows best - is the one as the rest of the questions so far have been kind of far from  
13 the subject.

14  
15 Sh: If we clarify the ramifications, it will be...UI.

16  
17 Ga: This is what...UI so that we stick to the session, no more.

18  
19 UM1: Brother Gawad should tell us what...UI.

20  
21 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.

22  
23 Om: ...UI, the first thing which will happen in the future. I imagine that it is almost impossible  
24 that this agreement will fail because the agreement has Israel behind it with all its weight  
25 and America with all its weight. The Western world stands with the Arab world. Saudi  
26 Arabia and the Gulf are all supportive and...UI. All that we could do from the inside is to  
27 discredit the [*Palestinian National*] Authority. For instance, I liken this agreement to  
28 what happened in ...UI, when it happened, no one was able to assassinate...UI. No one  
29 was able to stand in the face of...UI but, in their view, they were traitors. They were  
30 collaborators in people's view. These are people we shouldn't deal with. Some people  
31 benefitted from them. Some people went to them through an intercessory and they  
32 facilitated their affairs...UI. But, now on a much larger scope, we...UI, have we been able  
33 to make people view the [*Palestinian National*] Authority as collaborators? An Authority  
34 which doesn't care for people's interests and the interests of the national rights and the  
35 people's...UI. This is the best success we could reach. I imagine that the second  
36 ramification on us will be that, yes we are a Palestinian Authority, but we could prove to  
37 the Islamic peoples and the Islamic public, even to the American public, that it is a...UI  
38 Authority and that we need a national authority which defends the true interests of the  
39 people. Consequently, we point out many failure in it [*i.e. the PNA*] such as ceding  
40 Jerusalem, such as dealing with the occupation...

41  
42  
43 UM1: Dealing with the opposition.

1  
2  
3 Om: Yes, dealing with..., dealing with the occupation forces as... It is a part of the occupation  
4 forces, meaning that we were ruled by Jews yesterday and now we're ruled by  
5 Palestinians. We shouldn't say that we're against an Israeli withdrawal from Gaza and  
6 Jericho, but that we wish for a total Israeli withdrawal from all the areas. Instead of  
7 saying, by God, we're against economic revival..., because if we say that, no one would  
8 agree with us, if we tell someone that, by God, we're against all these money which came  
9 in. We should say that these people [PNA] are thieves and will steal it like the Egyptians  
10 stole it, the Palestinians will steal it. By the Egyptians I mean the government.

11 Sh: The government, Mubarak and his clan.

12 Om: I mean, we should give people examples how much money is gone [*i.e. stolen*] and  
13 Egypt's situation now is...

14 Sh: ...that, after the agreement, the situation is much worse than before the agreement.

15 Om: These examples show people that this talk is lies, I mean, that we strip confidence from  
16 this Authority. If we gradually take the confidence away from this Authority, I imagine  
17 that it will fail or, in reality, it will remain as just an image... In reality, people's  
18 confidence in it, people's cooperation with it will be less and people won't feel that this  
19 Authority represents us and suddenly... Of course, this should be an experiment. The Jews  
20 will be watching Gaza and it will be an experiment and, if Arafat manages to rule the  
21 people in Gaza, they will hand over the rest of the people in the [*West*] Bank. And he  
22 will...UI and the settlers will be left alone. Now, instead of Israel using 100,000 soldiers  
23 to rule the Palestinian people, Arafat will do it with 20,000 [*soldiers*]. Even if he wanted  
24 100,000, they will give him if he succeeds in ruling it securely. We need to spoil this  
25 confidence. If we remove the confidence, Israel won't be able to give more to Arafat. This  
26 will make him look like a big...UI.  
27

28 Ga: Ok, I wanted to ask something; is the...UI?  
29

30 Om: Derailment will annul the...UI.  
31

32 Ga: Fine.  
33

34 Sh: It is a derailment of the status quo, that is.  
35

36 Ga: An annulment which happened by itself...UI. When the goals of the derailment happen, I  
37 should hold papers in the street and tear them...UI. The agreement would be over,  
38 practically. The Movement has a goal to derail the goals of the agreement. Their principle  
39 of establishing an authority to rule the people is rejected. I'm saying that the stuff you're  
40 saying is not in harmony with their convictions. The principle of establishing the  
41 [*Palestinian National*] Authority, forming of the police, building the infrastructure for the  
42 Palestinian self-rule for Abou Ammar should be defeated from its beginnings, from the  
43

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.

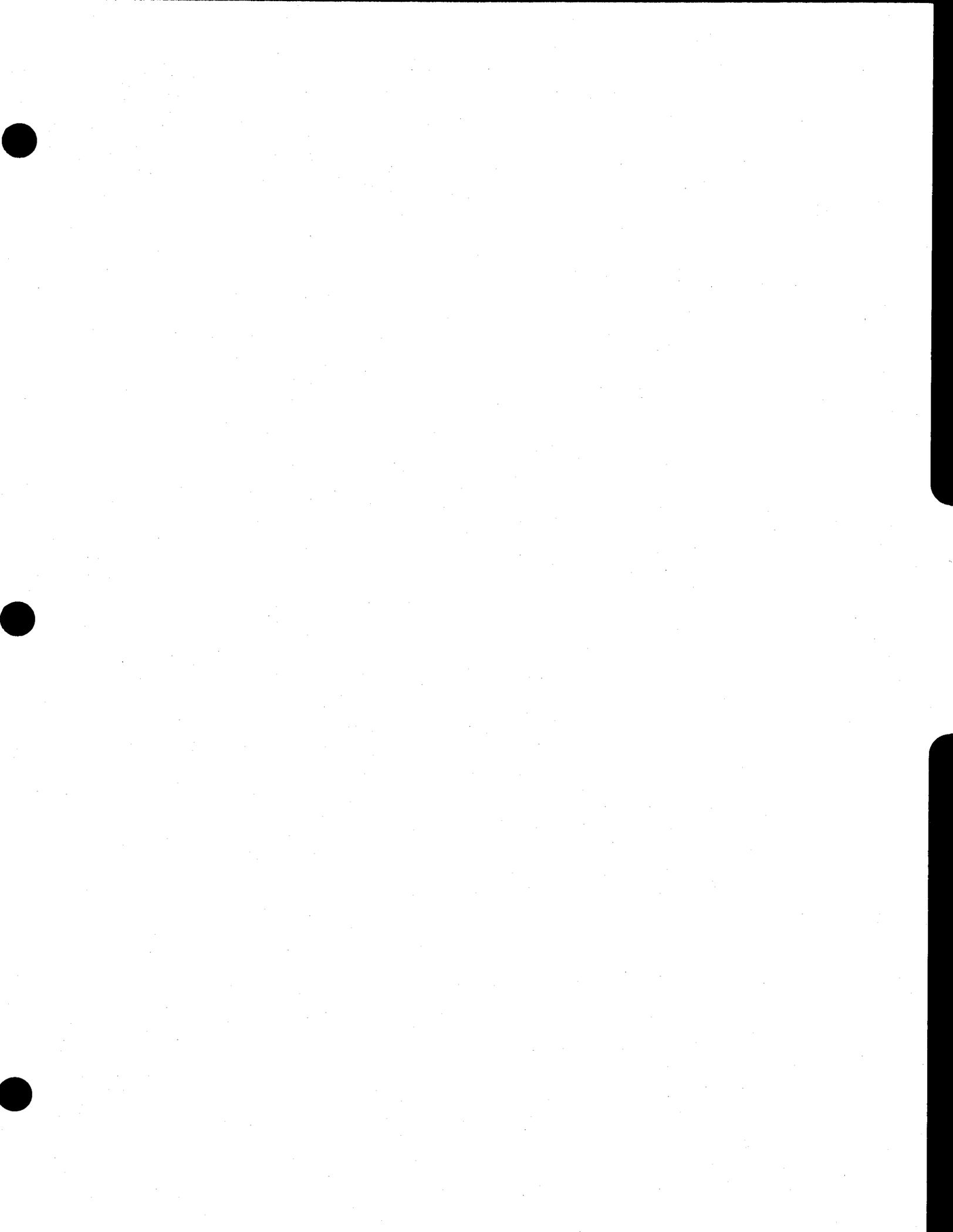
3  
4  
5  
6 Ga: But...UI.

7  
8 Sh: This confirms the...

9  
10 Ga: This is just a clarification for what Abou Omar said...UI. But, I'm with the need to focus  
11 on what are the ramifications on the American front. And, until now...UI.

12  
13 Sh: Ok, Abou Ahmad and then Akram. You will be the last one so that we...

14  
15 Aa: It seems that we're straying somewhat from the topic. I mean, I hope the brother who will  
16 present the other sessions is very clear and explain the goal of the session from the start.  
17 Because I felt we went to side issues during discussion and I was looking at the paper and  
18 I noticed that [*it said*] "The General Political Atmosphere and...UI".  
19  
20



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

20  
21 Om: [*i.e.*] Military upbringing.

22 Sh: What?

23  
24 Om: Military breeding.

25  
26 Sh: Military breeding, it was going in that direction. Now, truly, what happened is a turning  
27 point. In general, people - regardless if they're convinced or not - even he who was  
28 marching with that current, now feels that its speed stopped, slowed down or something.  
29 And there are those who were going in the opposite direction and was previously going in  
30 the opposite direction as well. So, what is happening now is that, yes, we're still walking  
31 on the correct path, but we're going in an opposite or counter to the general current which  
32 exists even on the American front among the Islamic, the Arab and the Palestinian  
33 communities. So, how is our address should be now through our organizations? Really?  
34 The formation of this address through these organizations? The detailed answer for that  
35 might be in the upcoming sessions. Then, the address..., each one of us should have a  
36 discussion and we should come up with resolutions, God's willing, by tomorrow. From  
37 now, we should be thinking about the media field, how is the address going to be in a way  
38 which is in harmony and is suitable for the stage on the American front. This address, my  
39 brothers, should be even in harmony with the general strategic approach. I mean, if the  
40 general strategic approach is according to what our brother Gawad said, how can we then  
41 be in harmony with this general strategic approach. You're in America. It could be in a  
42 way that is suitable to the American front but, also in accordance with the general  
43

3 strategic line in way... We're supposed to be...UI and explain this line. Also, "derailment",  
4 even our approach in the general direction should be "derailment". How can we achieve  
5 this derailment. This derailment might be with a logic, a concept and practices that are  
6 different from those of the people of America, different from the those of the people of  
7 Jordan, or those of the Palestinians living in Egypt, the Gulf or elsewhere. We are saying  
8 all of that, our brothers,... Of course, I didn't mention a religion, but it is a mission we  
9 ought to focus on in order to enrich the discussion. Yes, please.

10 As: The...er,...

11 Sh: Just a remark; let's have the discussion in what time remains. There is an hour and our  
12 brother Aboul Hasan has a paper and I hope he has the...UI with him so that he could talk  
13 about the ramifications on the American front he wanted to. I believe title of the session  
14 is not accurate, really. We really need to have 90% of the discussion around the general  
15 political atmosphere. Ok? Now, the remaining papers to be presented such as "Charitable  
16 Activism, Popular Activism and Media Activism"..., they have been informed previously  
17 that we need you to present to what we can do in this stage based on what happened. Ok?  
18 They will discuss the ramifications in a precise manner. The goal of the session is not that  
19 we keep...UI and examine every section or every part of every organization and what it  
20 should do because all of this is presented. But, it is good to give the brothers a general  
21 idea about what is happening. this is one. Another thing is that I see that the brothers are  
22 not discussing. I mean, the brother who mentioned more than one point in front of Sheik  
23 Sharif, I believe that they ought to be brought up in this presentation. From what is being  
24 said, we might be able to conclude broad lines so that we do not...UI, but present them to  
25 all the organizations in a general way. General lines to all the organizations such as the  
26 issue of the conflict. Our brother is saying "We don't want a conflict. The American front  
27 does not bear a conflict. On the contrary, make as many alliances as you can and it is not  
28 our goal here to bare, attack and strike...UI, that is". This is...UI Sheik Sharif. Then the  
29 brothers, during the last session of the...UI, it means that we should try to ...UI or advise  
30 all the organizations; charitable, media and all. Fine? I...er, as a general strategy. So, we  
31 try to use discussion points to formulate four to five points and consider it a general  
32 strategy to adopt on the American front. Fine? It is necessary for the brothers to  
33 understand how things work so that they know what helps them reach some visions. My  
34 brothers, I see that..., forgive us, we don't want to take our brother Aboul Hasan's share  
35 in... I think we let Aboul Hasan present his point and we are still on the same topic,  
36 anyway. If half an hour remains after the brother, we come back and continue the  
37 discussion, whether with our brother, brother Gawad, or general points in light of the  
38 things I presented now.

39  
40 UM1: How about Akram...UI.

41  
42 Ak: No, no. Let Aboul Hasan go.  
43

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

1 money. They must employ them. Because they got something, they opened the police  
2 doors to be an venue for the prisoners of Fatah in particular. Here is what a Fatah prisoner  
3 is; he was jailed, was released and benefitted nothing from the prison other than the  
4 worship of..., what's his name, Abou Ammar, and the animosity to the Islamic Movement.  
5 I mean, he doesn't see anyone on the face of the earth - even the Jews - he doesn't see  
6 them as his archenemy. In Fatah, he considers his first and last enemy is the Islamic  
7 Movement. This is not an exaggeration, by God. It is based on an experience and this  
8 their educational path in prisons, in this form: the worship of Abou Ammar and the  
9 animosity to the Islamists. Therefore, the natural place for unqualified people like them is  
10 the police. They will be implementing one of the goals of the agreement. there is another  
11 issue relating to the public opinion and the demonstrations. The problem is that even  
12 those who returned from the deportees are not from the public leaders or speakers who  
13 influence people. Few of those who returned are imams of mosques, speakers or public  
14 leaders who move people. For instance, the closest area which is affected by the events,  
15 for instance, is Ramallah due to its closeness to Jerusalem and the media. I mean, the  
16 center of media and political weight is the area of Ramallah and Jerusalem. Not one  
17 brother from the brothers who are known to be leaders and speakers from the area of  
18 Ramallah and Jerusalem has returned. Not at all. Take for instance..., all of them. There  
19 is..., I expect events to go rapidly and pour into..., we shouldn't blame ourselves and try to  
20 adjust with a self-rule. I don't expect that...UI which is destroying everything in its  
21 path...UI. Therefore, the issue of adjusting and the issue of infiltrating the police..., the  
22 direction of the people inside the police are known. It is not like there are some people  
23 whose direction is unknown. No. The elections which take place in universities and in  
24 schools, it is known that everyone is classified and what is the direction of every person.  
25 So, the issue of infiltrating the police, infiltrating the intelligence or infiltrating..., I don't  
26 imagine that is possible. I imagine that the issue is that, very much, we imagine that  
27 events are the ones which move us and that we have no strength or power. This might be  
28 true sometimes, but look at the Intifada generally, who is the one which started it? Who is  
29 the one who is moving it until now? What is the role of the united leadership in leading  
30 the organization during the Intifada other than issuing a statement. They didn't even  
31 distribute statements. They were broadcasted in Monte Carlo radio and they weren't  
32 distributed. And since the beginning of the Intifada, it used to be distributed in some areas  
33 on a very limited scale. So, even until now, it is the Islamists who are directing the events  
34 in a practical manner. Truly, the relationship..., let's go back to prepared paper which is  
35 the relationship of America to the inside or rearranging America's relationship with the  
36 inside. What pushed me to this topic, really, is three considerations and several incidents.  
37 First of all, the incident of Mohamed Salah. I won't linger on it in a narrative way, but all  
38 of you are aware of it and the media has exaggerated it. The first result, conclusion or  
39 lesson from the incident of Mohamed Salah is that bearers of U.S. passports are not above  
40 the reach of the law. But, if the issue has to do with...UI, they're the same as those who  
41 carry an Egyptian [*travel*] document or those who carry an Israeli [*travel*] document. It is  
42 the same thing in front of the Israeli law. This is something which ought to be taken into  
43 consideration. The second thing is precision and caution. My brothers, with great respect

3 for the people of America, like the Sudanese people say, America's and Canada's brothers,  
4 they see themselves as a distinctive style. They have a distinctive style in America and  
5 Canada, but the inside has its circumstances and its precautions. Therefore, precision and  
6 caution should come to play when dealing with it. Not like we deal in America where we  
7 have a legal slack or an atmosphere of freedom. This..., the matter calls for more  
8 precision and caution in the inside than the precision and the caution which is in America.  
9 The third point which brother Gawad mentioned is the peace accord which ended the  
10 legitimacy of the resistance of the Israelis as an occupation. This might be one of the most  
11 important results as America didn't use to condemn action against military personnel. But,  
12 now that the agreement is in place, you prevented him from..., your actions now are  
13 terrorism and not a resistance. Also, the peace agreement..., now, when the Israelis were  
14 unable to quell resistance, opposition, they started to incite the West to stand behind them  
15 against the resistance. The same thing will happen in the future if they fail to contain the  
16 opposition, they will...UI to end the efforts of the opposition anywhere it exists...UI the  
17 opposition. Some of the factors are that we, praised be God, have successful work, we  
18 have several institutions which support work on the inside, but still a lot remains. I will  
19 give you an example; the deportees, since December until now, not even one official  
20 delegation went [to see them] from America, not because we didn't think about it, but  
21 because there are no resources.

Ab: From December until now?

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

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

42 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

3 go from here should not only be to...UI like the brother mentioned, but also to support...,  
4 moral support and..., media [*support*]. Receiving delegations as well. Keeping an archive.  
5 The entire archive in the inside might be confiscated entirely. If there was really no  
6 duplicate for it, the Movement will really become without a heritage and every movement  
7 will begin from the zero. ...UI. Questions? [*Group talk. UI*].

8  
9 Sh: ...UI, there is no discipline [*group laughter and UI talk*].

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

28 UM1: May God reward you.

29  
30 Sh: We will have a room for discussion, God's willing. But, there is a point I would like for  
31 people to think about as we passed on it during the past half an hour. It was discussed. I  
32 see that..., we were discussing what to do on the American front and finding greater  
33 common grounds between us and the other organizations. I examine a lot the public  
34 relations issue and I think it covers might cover the issue. But, we still need a broader  
35 reply, a broader...UI as now and others are now..., this new political situation..., what is  
36 the nature of the relationship which will form between me and the other American  
37 organizations on the American front. Abou Mohamed in particular will agree with me on  
38 that issue. The second point is..., there are relationships between IAP and other  
39 organizations which needs some light [*to be shed*]. The other issue..., not necessarily  
40 now, the other issue my brother is the legal and security situation. I mean, now you don't  
41 resist only..., only..., you resist the entire world, the whole world now. The entire world is  
42 against you, the whole world is against you. No doubt, there will be legal obstacles. Three  
43 years ago, we were visited by some of our brothers ...UI and we said "Our brothers, think

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

10 Om: I have a point. Do you believe that our Palestinian activism, our activism for Palestine in  
11 the past was centered... Now, I imagine that we do three things, we're an agent for the  
12 inside. I mean...UI [*Group interruption*]. We're not an agent, we provide services to these  
13 people, either by sending monies, spreading their news or by informing them with this  
14 and that. I imagine that 75% of our work is for relief and 25% concern with the American  
15 [*front*]. Should we now work 75% for America and 25% for...UI, because I imagine that  
16 our relationship with the inside, our relationship with Palestine, our relationship with the  
17 Cause as a whole..., because we are greatly associated with it. In the future, this  
18 association will lessen with the next generation. Should our strategy become that we  
19 change our policy, work and..., I mean, work on having a Palestinian community here,  
20 among the American people, in the Islamic community here? Should we work on  
21 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.

22 Ab: How many years exactly?

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

25 UM1: Here is Ghassan.

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

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

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

33 UM1 ...UI.

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

They built it on...

3 UM1: ...a Zionist dream. The International Zionist Movement.  
4

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

10  
11 Sh: To preserve their existence...

12  
13 Om: Yes, to preserve their existence. Do you know that Jews rejected Zionism when it was  
14 formed here in [19] 40? They rejected it. They said that it will destroy Jews in America. It  
15 will disperse us. They rejected it. Then one who was a Supreme Court justice who was...,  
16 what is his name...?

17  
18 Sh: ...UI Shaw.

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

22  
23 As: Now,...UI.

24  
25  
26 Om: No, no. There is no comparison with nowadays.

27 As: I imagine now that the comparison is that we should enlist the resources here to serve the  
28 inside, to the dire need in the inside. By God, children of a prisoner, what is their crime  
29 ...UI. I mean, you notice that Islamic activism for Palestine is...UI. Some try to...UI. No,  
30 really...UI. Do you want to wait 20 years or 30 years in order to build your strength and  
31 support the inside? I imagine that there are urgent needs that cannot...UI. But, the fields  
32 which can wait, you can postpone them now. But, Islamic activism for Palestine doesn't  
33 have resources for growth in the current shape. I want to give an example. It is good and  
34 is growing but, I don't expect that its growth will have an impact on...UI. Where are the  
35 journalists? Where are the journalists among the Islamists in general and among the  
36 Palestinians, or those working for Palestine, in particular? Where are the lawyers? For  
37 instance, we needed a study about the legality of... I didn't find anyone. Where are the  
38 politicians who come out to analyze and where is the one who has the American  
39 mentality. Don't tell me about this person who came from the [*Middle*] East and that  
40 person who came from the West. We are people from America and we understand the  
41 American system. You come from America, you think with the American mentality. Or,  
42 really, where are the ones sent on scholarships to study these fields?  
43

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. The 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?

1 Ak: A political leadership.

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

5  
6 Ak: No, no. I'm talking about America.  
7

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

17 Ak: I did not mean an alternative to the Organization. I meant that our position should  
18 indicate that we are against this agreement and that we..., that we are the entire leaders of  
19 the opposition. The Islamists themselves...UI.  
20

21 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?

22 Ak: Ok, this is another point...UI.  
23

24 Sh: It doesn't matter. This..., you will now enter into a new test. Are we ready for that or not?  
25 Ah, because you will get..., you will get stuff and there has been more than a situation  
26 where people tell you: Man, we stopped. We repented to God and stopped. We were  
27 working with the youths from the ...UI Front, youths from the Popular Front. They told  
28 us: Guys, you're not kidding us...UI. We are liberators. We need to be within a frame. We  
29 need to join and pay allegiance and work with you. Are you ready for us or not? I tell  
30 him: Man, am I ready? I beg you and I came here to carry out orders. So many people  
31 brought others but, it is a legitimate concern. People are falling down and they want a  
32 cushion, they want a cushion to embrace them. Now, theories in Islam tell you that, if you  
33 want me to pray, I will pray, I will fast, I will give Zakat. I have already left my home. Do  
34 you have a shelter for me or not? You start to respond slowly and say: I don't know, by  
35 God and stuff like that.  
36  
37  
38

39 UM1: You will open a door for you in a little bit. Really.  
40

41 Ak: Yes, but in return...UI, because we really lost this battle or this round, we have to admit it.  
42 Now, the ball is in our field. The [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization is already  
43 considered a state and an authority and we remain. I believe that, now, no matter what we

3 do we will not achieve anything any time soon. But, in a year or two years people will  
4 look and, the agreement is likely marching to a failure, they will look for those who were  
5 opposed to and who stood against the agreement and who have a principle. If you don't  
6 take a stand [*now*], no one will look at you if you take a stand two years later.

7 Sh: Fine. Is there a comment or something.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

31 Sh: Ok. I'm writing the names.

32 UM2: There are some points. A historical point is that we as IAP or Islamists call for our right,

3 or the rights of Palestine. Most of the talk revolves around Gaza and the occupied land,  
4 Gaza and the West Bank. No one talks about the 1948 territories. I mean, here in America  
5 no one will accept it from you, to say the 1948 territories...

6 Sh: They don't care.

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

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

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

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

16 Sh: ...UI.

17 UM2: I'm just trying to say that our demands should expand, should be clear and including the  
18 1948 territories. Should be publicly clear that we demand our rights. I'm a guy who lives  
19 in Haifa, I want to return to Haifa, not just return to... This is a point which should also be  
20 in the approach, that we shouldn't..., that we will be restricted to the West Bank and Gaza  
21 and we will be restricted to them. The second point is the issue is state or..., or..., the  
22 authority which is supposed to materialize will materialize. I believe that, other than the  
23 might of Lord of the two worlds, no other power will be able to stop it. I mean, America  
24 and all the countries are behind it. Therefore, we must... [*addressing a person who just*  
25 *walked into the room*]... peace be with you, God's peace, mercy and blessings....[*resuming*  
26 *his point*]... there must be a strategy to resist the participation and..., and the..., I mean,  
27 opening new organizations or a new organization to be neutral and not the...UI since we  
28 are always in the opposing camp. You oppose and you oppose until when? How long will  
29 you continue? At the end, like our brother Akram mentioned, you will be like any other  
30 Arab countries. I mean, people know that..., it is known how much the [*Palestinian*  
31 *Liberation*] Organization steal, how much they embezzle, but people will walk along with  
32 them and everybody will overlook that. I mean, they know that they steal and that  
33 they...UI. The last point is the issue of IAP and its leadership to the community. Yes, like  
34 the Sheik assumed that the Organization will extend to America and all the countries of  
35 the world in order to open organizations and mobilize among the community...UI. I  
36 imagine that IAP's role or the role of the Islamic organizations is to really have bridges to  
37 the community so that..., I mean, the competition now coming our way is greater than  
38 before because we will now have organizations. Now, I imagine that our situation will be

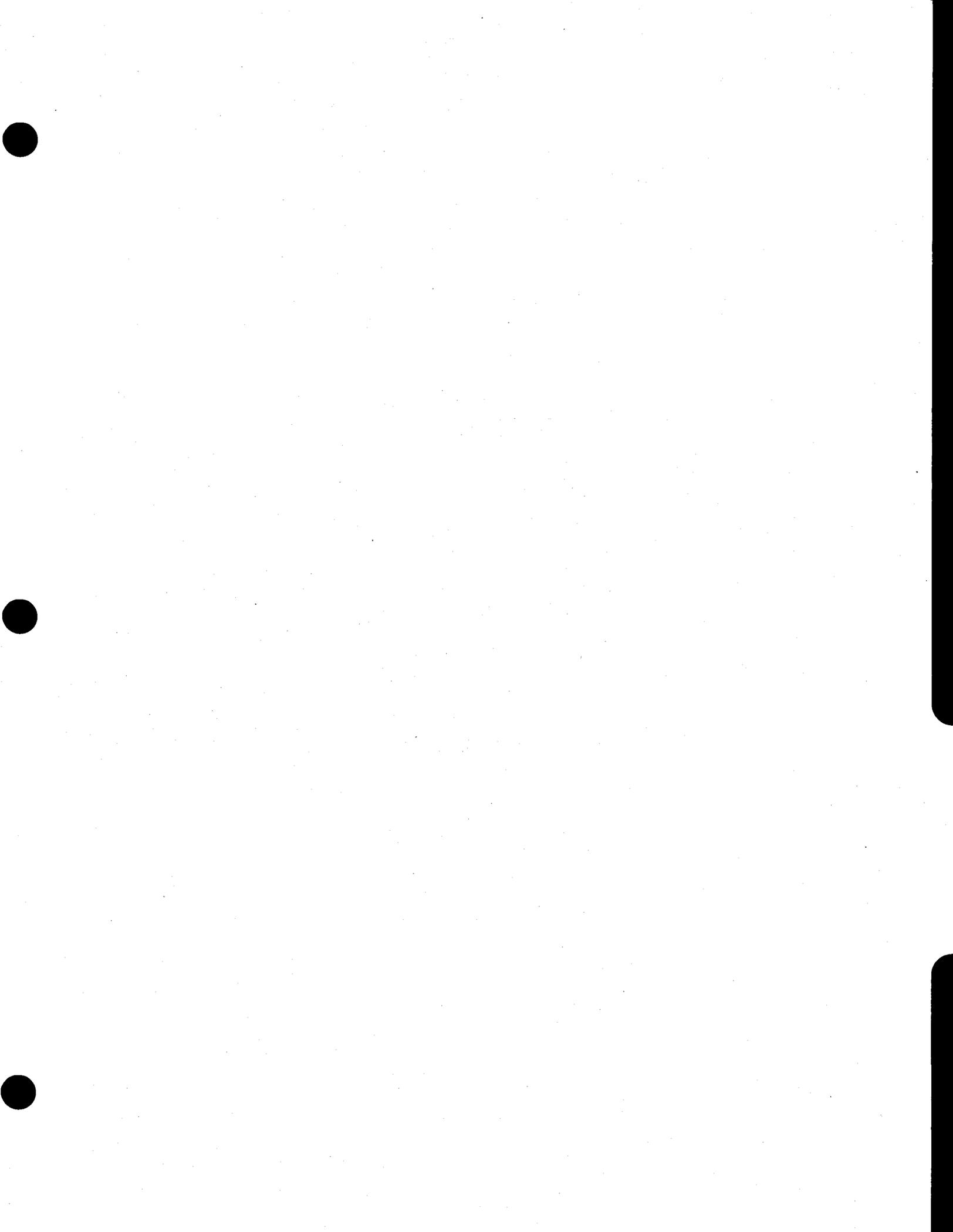
3 that we will be competing with...er, governmental organizations, financed by the  
4 government. So, the upcoming stage which we will face is the competition with  
5 governmental organizations on the front. Will the IAP and the other organizations be the  
6 alternative, reaching a level of coordination and mutual cooperation between us and these  
7 organizations which represent the Palestinian government? The last point I want to stress  
8 is the issue of investment which is an approach we should look at with a great deal of  
9 priority because it is the one thing which will really benefit our brothers in the inside.  
10 This is one, another thing is that we will be collecting capital..., from now on we embark  
11 on that because the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization will come and collect whatever  
12 it can just like Israel does. It bring Jewish capital from America and build hospital over  
13 there [*with it*]. Therefore, we ought to embark on this initiative before someone else takes  
14 it away from us.

15 Sh: Abdel Jabbar.

16 Aj: In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Generally speaking, it is true that  
17 those present have been thinking about strategies and stuff. But, the general feeling in all  
18 the presentations is some sort of despair or like as if we have some sort of frustration. In  
19 reality, we must pay attention to something; our battle is getting closer and closer  
20 everyday and not the opposite. We are not getting further but closer to the conflict. This is  
21 a real matter which I almost feel that we're not paying too much attention to. I mean, we  
22 should feel that even this agreement and stuff is a stage which brings the conflict closer  
23 and not further. Therefore, we affirm the issue of not postponing the conflict just like  
24 brother Gawad mentioned a little while ago. ...UI brother Abou Osama and Wissam...

25 Sh: Abdel Salam.

26 Aj: Abdel Salam mentioned a point that everyone is betting on this. Surprise attacks will land  
27 on us....  
28  
29  
30



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.

3  
4 Sh: Er..., Abou Mohamed then Abou Ahmad and then... Do you want more [*time to speak*]?

5  
6 Ak: Just a question.

7  
8 Sh: Go ahead...UI.

9  
10 Ak: In reality, I have quick points so that the brothers...UI. Any difficult decision will cost a  
11 price. That's why the brothers sometimes avoid difficult decisions and lean towards a  
12 somewhat easy decision and which does not cost a price. We always speak about that  
13 the...UI rights and that we achieved some strategies which are...UI. Truly, this is not  
14 correct. Now, when the brothers said that we need to have ten factions. We were driven to  
15 believe that the ten factions will be the true alternative to the Palestinians. But, experience  
16 showed that it is..., it didn't reveal that. The second part is that when there was an opinion  
17 to form the Palestine's Scholars Association. By God, my brothers, before I met the  
18 brothers in the inside, I imagined that it would have been the leadership running  
19 everything in the inside. But, my brothers, it became an ordinary paper [*i.e. organization*]  
20 which is no different than any other papers [*i.e. organizations*] affiliated with any other  
21 party. What is the brand of the alternative leadership which our brother Abou Mohamed  
22 spoke about? Truly, something was announced in the inside last week, something which  
23 is called the alternative leadership, it is called the Islamic National Leadership for the  
24 Palestinian Liberation Organization and it was distributed in the central cities in the  
25 inside and it was signed by three factions: The Islamic Movement and the Left, the  
26 Popular Front and others. But, what position does it have on the front? It is an attempt.  
27 I'm with the notion that you should make an offer and an initiative but, practically, it is  
28 not our method to present strategies and base on them a lot of activism. Now, the issue of  
29 Yemen. It is a good and an excellent thing. But, I'm afraid that the Yemen thing will end  
30 up like any other preceding experiment. Therefore, presenting any strategy or any hope  
31 we have..., we shouldn't rely on them much unless they have the practical program which  
32 you really have in place; 1 plus 1 equals 2. But, my brother, for you to just present hopes,  
33 I believe would cost us a high price. Therefore, I hope that we have some sort of clarity  
34 regarding any strategy we present, to really have a specification of the methods and the  
35 goals. A final point; I really hope that work here on this land [*i.e. The U.S.*] is 75% for  
36 here and even less than 25% for over there because if...UI over here and the infrastructure  
37 was done in a really good way, God's willing, it will be an alternative. But, our problem  
38 since we were here a long time ago is that we didn't organize [*our affairs*]. I mean, it is  
39 like the crow who tried to mimic the way a man walks. When..., when it couldn't copy it  
40 and it tried to go back to the way it used to walk, it had forgotten it. He didn't get this one  
41 or that one right. Praise be to God, we're not like that but, I hope we don't reach this level.  
42 It is my opinion that our infrastructure here must take a realistic dimension. I mean, some  
43 Islamists, unfortunately, have been here for twenty years and they don't know how to

3 speak English. Some people here in this country don't know their ways around here. I'm  
4 speaking in general terms. I'm with the idea that we ought to build ourselves here but we  
5 shouldn't forget the one clear thing in our relationship with the inside; that is money. I  
6 mean, if this issue goes smoothly, God's willing things will... [*group laughter and small  
talk. UI*].

7 Sh: Ok, Abou Ahmad then brother Gawad. Abou Ahmad, go ahead, my brother.  
8

9 Aa: First of all, I have a small comment on what our brother Akram said. He mentioned the  
10 leadership and there might have been a dialogue between you and him around the issue of  
11 sovereignty. I believe that...UI leadership is uniting people and the masses around a  
12 specific idea. It is not paying salaries or... Their vision of leadership is that it is a salary or  
13 a pension but it is really an idea and uniting people on it. It is also leading them by  
14 ideology and goal. The second thing regarding the relationship..., we're speaking about  
15 past experiences. Really, our brother Aboul Hasan should have elaborated a lot on the  
16 three points he mentioned at the end of his presentation. They are: the legality of the  
17 work..., of course I realize that each point is separate. The legality of the work, an  
18 institutional relationship; a relationship between one institution and another between  
19 America and the inside and the...UI of this relationship. Now, I imagine that there was a  
20 previous experience and, hopefully, it is being discussed. I don't know if there has been an  
21 evaluation of this previous experiment in the relationship and what disadvantages it  
22 brought. This is on the one side. There must a study of the previous experience and its  
23 previous shape in order to be evaluated and studied and - based on that - there should be a  
24 correction for the relationship. The other thing is organizing this relationship between the  
25 institutions. I mean, we agreed that until now I feel that the relationships between the  
26 institutions, I don't feel that there is a certain system controlling these institutions together  
27 or a clear relationship between them. You get this feeling despite its importance as the  
28 institutions are our moving arm between our people. I mean, what shows on the ground  
29 from America in the occupied territories is our institutions. They're the criterion of our  
30 service to the people and the one thing by which we could judge how much we're serving  
31 the inside through America's front. So, we didn't speak about this relationship, really. I  
32 mean, we mentioned it as a point and I didn't feel that this point, this relationship, was  
33 discussed during the brothers' discussion, this relationship between America's institutions  
34 and the inside's institutions in particular, specially that we're speaking about the  
35 ramifications. I mean, the new political situation really has a lot of challenges and the  
36 future shape of this relationship is what? Really, our institutions inside are now  
37 threatened to be either closed or absorbed through banks and institutions of the proposed  
38 administrative self-autonomy, either in the educational field, the health field or the social  
39 field. Now, if this thing materializes, what is the nature of our relationship with these  
40 institutions? What is our look to these institutions? America might be the main front for  
41 the conflict with these institutions. Are we still going to support them or are we not going  
42 to support them? What is our vision for the future of this relationship in light of the  
43 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].

1 Sh: Abou Mohamed...UI.

2  
3 Om: ...UI. I'm trying to see what he wrote down.

4  
5 Sh: I'm paying attention, paying attention. What is written, my brother, is that you suggested  
6 in the last session that I take the minutes and draft them and say: Guys, we agreed that the  
7 fundamental issues which were presented and this and that. My opinion is to draft a  
8 general conclusion. Yes, we agree on this principle. There is no need for that one, so that  
9 by the last session on Sunday we will have the conclusions of everything that was said. If  
10 we summarize now, we will reach a practical result. A practical result [*will be reached*]  
11 after I review the minutes and see the..., adjust it and agree on the general ideas which  
12 was presented and discussed. Also, during our lunch and rest and stuff, the door for  
13 discussion will remain open either during this session or any other session. The brothers  
14 who still have ideas, let them give them to me so that they could be drafted and presented  
15 to the rest of the brothers and we try to reach general consent on these issues.

16  
17 UM1: These issues should be debated and...UI for 15 minutes...UI.

18  
19 Sh: Go ahead.

20  
21 Ga: To begin with, excuse me, the point I am about to present to you will be confirmed by a  
22 message from our brothers inside to all of you; if financial support for them does not  
23 continue, our institutions will really stop in addition to the issues discussed. This piece of  
24 information is for example...

25  
26 Om: No, of course...UI.

27  
28 Ga: Ok, they say that Hamas and the Movement..., the Movement will flourish..., the  
29 Movement will flourish under self-rule just like all the other institutions of the...

30  
31 Sh: They're being smart...

32  
33 Ga: ...and that their families will get the same thing other families got. When they hear this,  
34 their opposition [*to the peace agreement*] will practically dim. This is what they're  
35 saying...UI.

36  
37  
38 Sh: So, they will give [*assistance*] to all the people except those who don't have money...

39  
40 Om: It is happening now. It is happening now.

41  
42 [*Small group talk. UI*].

1  
2  
3 Ga: In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Really, the brothers brought up the  
4 derailment issue. What I understood was that are stating a clear and a...UI goal in order to  
5 gain control of the whole world. Of course, this is...UI, maybe because we didn't discuss  
6 it and the issue wasn't clear. You said that we ought to have studies of the choices  
7 available to you. How to deal [*with various parties*], that this is an inevitable battle and,  
8 therefore, postponing the start [*of the battle*] is a problem. This was the debate. The  
9 debate in the beginning was about the...UI postponement. Just a second. The shape of this  
10 start might be a problem. It is not one shape...UI is one of the shapes of the process. It  
11 will go through several stages and not one stage. It means that we will go through several  
12 tests which took days, weeks or months, which is first 4 months. There are several limited  
13 tests to see...UI. There are some unclear issues even on the inside, really, and they need to  
14 be tested on the ground. There are things which the inside knows about and wrote to...UI  
15 saying that "If you have this do that. If you don't have this don't do that" (NFI), I mean,  
16 the words were very specific and...UI, that every confrontation operation, every  
17 derailment operation or stuff like that needs...UI. It is not meant to be like "Go derail and  
18 then wail in the streets" and stuff like that. All of these are problems, really. I'm saying  
19 that so everything is clear. I mean, all options are...UI.

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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.

1 As: Could you...UI, in general.

3 Ga: This is the impression..., the impression from far away but, planning for it was at a better  
4 level than we expected. Raising the flag of Palestine was only the...UI, that's it...UI. It did  
5 not have any other goal, neither returning people or establishing the Sharia [*in Palestine*].  
6 Its goal was...UI. Ok, I will really summarize the idea in my head regarding during the  
7 discussion. The issue of America should be as follows: America...UI, the most important  
8 thing is how to support the position of the Movement over there. First, to understand it  
9 and then condition its application in light with the atmosphere in the country [*The U.S.*].  
10 This is really a problem and I hope brother Abou Mohamed...UI. How are positions going  
11 to be? How are you going to deal with it? You shouldn't adopt it [*the position*] as it is.  
12 You shouldn't adopt it and the matter is over. No. You should adopt it to serve it. But  
13 how, how to practice it? All the details could be...UI. The second thing is the financial  
14 support and I stress to you that this is a big problem and not a small problem. This is my  
15 personal opinion and my expectations. From now, its justifications..., why do you collect  
16 people's money? And why do you really take the money from people and where does it  
17 go. This is what I feel now...UI. The third issue is...UI in a clear and tangible way and...,  
18 the political approach, your political position, the general convictions of the cause, what  
19 are they?...UI if a list you're adopting has now succeeded which includes the rights of the  
20 refugees, the historical right in Palestine, the independent state, the rights to land...UI but,  
21 generally speaking, you will lose several tools which used to be in your hands...UI. All of  
22 that is adaptation to the issue. This will bring by a conflict between two things at the same  
23 time...UI [*phone rings*], two, the issue should be examined from the global, Arab, Islamic  
24 and even the American aspects as well. The last point..., [*Phone rings interruption*]...

25 Sh: Continue..., continue.

26 Ga: The last issue regarding the ramifications..., excuse me, the issue before last. Relationship  
27 with the inside. I am with Aboul Hasan... [*knocks on the door*]...

28 Sh: My brother...UI. What is going on? There is no time. We will have ten minutes to talk.  
29 Go ahead, my brother. We are not going to stop.

30 Ga: As for the relationship with the inside..., I know that the issue of activism calls for  
31 continuity, it must be built and with...UI, it needs to be detailed and cannot be dealt with  
32 in general talk. The last one which I believe is the problem is the redefinition of the  
33 correct role for the Palestinian activism in America. In front of you, I suggest several  
34 things in this field alone...UI. I see that there are several options..., the problem is that  
35 there isn't one options but several options. The first option is to make here in service to  
36 the Movement over there, responding to it and...UI. The service. The...UI, media,  
37 political, human [*aspects*], all aspects. The second option says, no, strengthen the  
38 community here and support the Movement in the future. I will say a remark which is that  
39 the Movement is currently going through its most difficult times. I mean, any desertion or  
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3 retreat in the support it used to get a day before the agreement will lead to the weakening  
4 of the position of the Movement. So, my view is that...UI. The situation does not bear  
5 that. The position of ...UI and Abou Ammar is enough. It is a shameful position, this is  
6 the General Command. It is a shameful thing, to be honest. Unfortunate. And the one  
7 person who agreed with him is the most aware of our cause. See the catastrophe!...UI,  
8 because he is the one person who is most aware [of our cause].

9 Om: What do you mean...[Laughter].

10 Ga: ...UI. So, frankly, the situation will be like that, we have to marry both directions....

11 Om: We will not permit accusations against the brothers' honor.

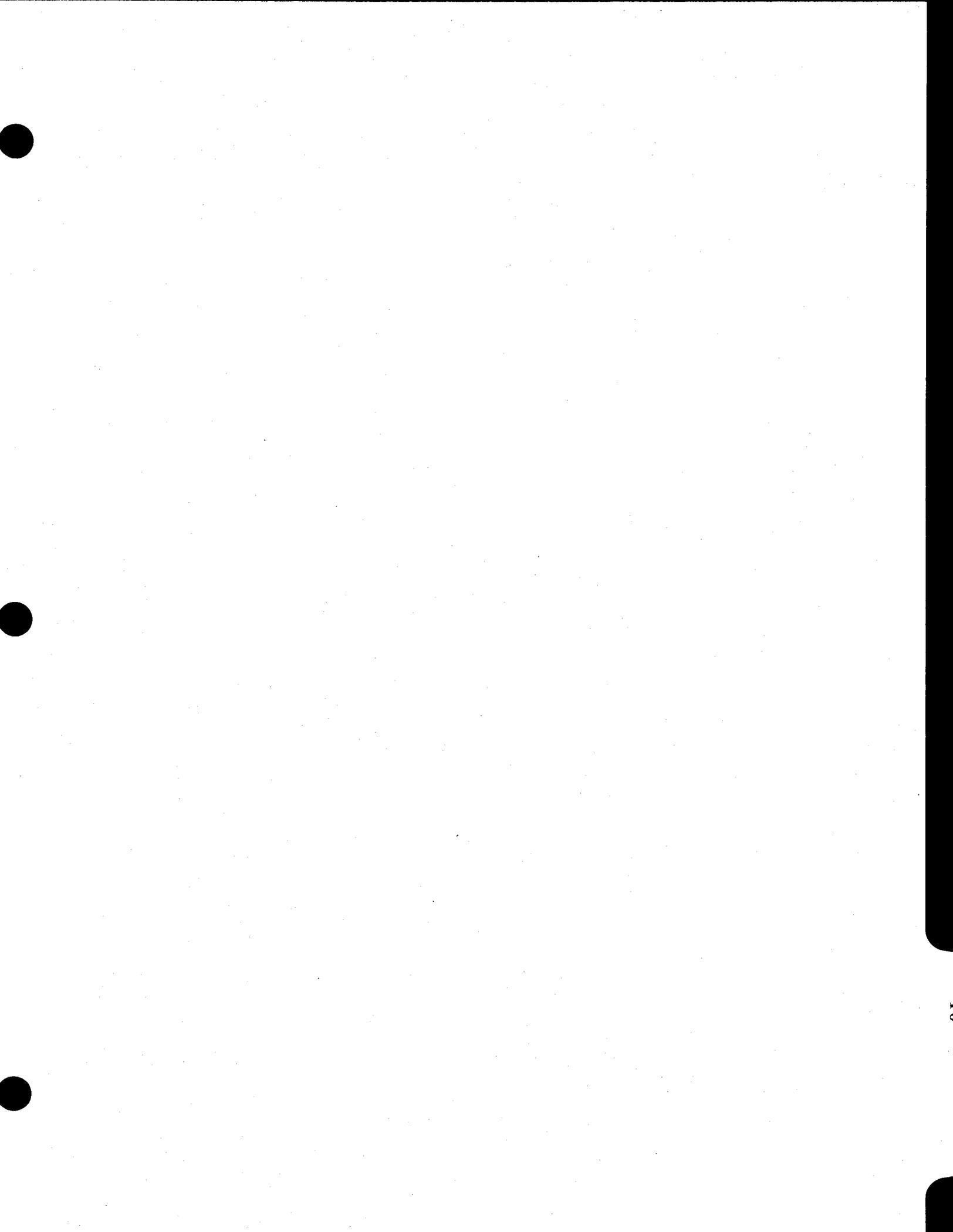
12 Ga: I'm not accusing. I'm...UI. To marry the two directions is the ideal solution in my opinion  
13 but keeping in mind to make it in different sections. This will also solve the problem and  
14 the debate which is arising. [Having] different sections in different countries. Not  
15 necessarily [having] different institutions. One institution but the work sections should be  
16 completely different, in my opinion. ...UI the communities, each one concerned with one  
17 aspect, political activism, make global relationships for the Movement..., for example, as  
18 I explained. Total specialization...UI, this is my opinion and God knows best. Therefore, I  
19 see that America constitutes five fundamental axes for the Movement. First, to remain a  
20 secure place for the Movement. ...UI.

21 Sh: ...UI.

22 Ga: This point won't work. I see that it should remain a secure place because it is..., also  
23 Europe as well just like America. We should be keen on that. Two, potentials from the  
24 community - specially those who speak the language and stuff like that - the Movement  
25 needs them to invest in them...UI. We have to pay attention to this advanced mentality,  
26 this civilized [mentality], the one which understands how the world works and stuff like  
27 that. It is hard to lose these potentials. If I take two or three youths from here and make  
28 one responsible for political activism over there, one for media activism over there, this  
29 and that, this would give an a strong push forward to activism. In addition to our need for  
30 them. This is two. Three, to make this front a pressure element on the Palestinian political  
31 leadership over there. Why? In order to shape the public opinion, the enlightened class,  
32 doctors, the rich, the well-to-do, those who live in the West, those who know the Western  
33 nations, etc. The American front, in whatever term you agree on or for people to use, will  
34 give a backing to the position of the Movement. Consequently, this will serve the  
35 Movement greatly...UI. Four, providing services. This includes humanitarian [services]  
36 for which I gave an example earlier, the potentials here, either visiting or residing [in the  
37 U.S.]... We don't them to be just from...UI. No, I want to have someone here in America,  
38 born in America and who doesn't speak Arabic. I will give him an Arabic course to learn  
39 and to get educated, I want to make him a certain potential and I want to send him over  
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3 there to work in the field. As an American, when he sees the autonomy in Palestine...UI,  
4 or in Jordan, as an example or as a another front, we find that the mentality...UI, I can  
5 develop my work through it. Second, venues for investment. I think it is enough to  
6 have...UI coming from the [Middle] East. The East is not the only source now. There are  
7 other sources we should seek. Three, the media and political aspect, of course, which is  
8 propagating the position of the Movement and justifying it always. We probably spoke  
9 about that a little while ago and said that we might have some problems with that. Four,  
10 the relationships of the open-door policy relating to the political powers, the American  
11 and the Western [powers], UN in particular, to have representatives and stuff like that.  
12 This needs work and its own program. The fifth direction is to our work in the IAP and  
13 the group which is here for Palestine should take leadership of the Palestinian political  
14 current in America, to make you as the leader who expresses the current. this is a quick  
15 review before the...UI. God knows best.

15 Sh: May God give you strength. May God bless our brother good and bless you. Now, God's  
16 willing, we will have approximately ten minutes..., from 10:30...er, 1:30 there will be a  
17 break and a rest. Abou Mohamed, have we appointed the prayers time? We...er, allow me,  
18 my brothers. Allow me. From 5 o'clock until 7 o' clock, there will be prayers and lunch.  
19 We will pray together then go to lunch or the other way around. Let's take a ten-minute  
20 break. Those who want to drink coffee and... [Group breaks and simultaneous talk. UI]...  
21 at 1:30. It is 1:30 now... Fifteen minutes, our brothers, fifteen minutes. We should be back  
22 here at 1:40, God's willing. We will start then. Akram..., Akram... [Group talk until end  
23 of recording. UI].  
24



[Group still in break the first 20 minutes of this recording].

3 Om: Are there any remarks? Did we benefit from it? Were the discussion points out of place?  
4 Quick remarks for a couple of minutes for anyone who has a remark so that we could end  
5 the subject.  
6

7 As: I feel that the discussion was dominated by the political aspect. I feel that no meeting can  
8 be isolated from the pressures which are usually discussed in any topic, even if it is an  
9 academic one. I imagine that this is very normal, that the presented papers were not given  
10 their due right in discussions.  
11

12 UM1: Which presented papers...UI?

13  
14 As: I'm talking about the...UI. It didn't get its due right in discussion. That's it.  
15

16 Ak: I just hope that we really leave this meeting with something different from the previous  
17 meetings, with very specific ideas and methods to achieve them.  
18

19 Om: ...UI do you feel that we will get out with something, or do you feel that...?  
20

21 Ak: ...it was a good beginning, but the...UI could be better. I mean, two hours for the  
22 discussion. We could listen to an idea and discuss it but, we need to get out with specific  
23 formulated ideas...  
24

25 Om: I believe that this session will be the first session to give us something [*specific*] as it is  
26 concentrated on the charity work...UI. Go ahead.  
27

28 Ak: In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Prayers and peace be upon the best  
29 of the messengers, on all of his family and companions. I imagine that the second  
30 session..., the discussion topic will be about charity work and its future in light of the  
31 changes. There will be four papers to be presented and we will then open the door for  
32 discussion. So, I hope that all papers are presented first then we will open the door for  
33 discussion to all the papers. We can begin with those in charge of the charity  
34 organizations in America and Canada. We begin with Sheik Abu Basem...UI.  
35

36 Ab2: Thanks be to God, the Lord of the two worlds. Prayers and peace be upon the best of the  
37 messengers, our master Mohamed, and upon all of his family and companions. This paper  
38 has six points which were discussed in the meeting of Al Quds Committee for Human  
39 Services. I mean, before we learned about this meeting, we had a meeting in...UI. The  
40 goal of the meeting is to discuss the situation or the current situation or the changes which  
41 occurred in Palestine...UI. I have some suggestions which...UI charitable work for  
42 Palestine...UI. The first point is that it might be suitable for the charitable organizations  
43 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

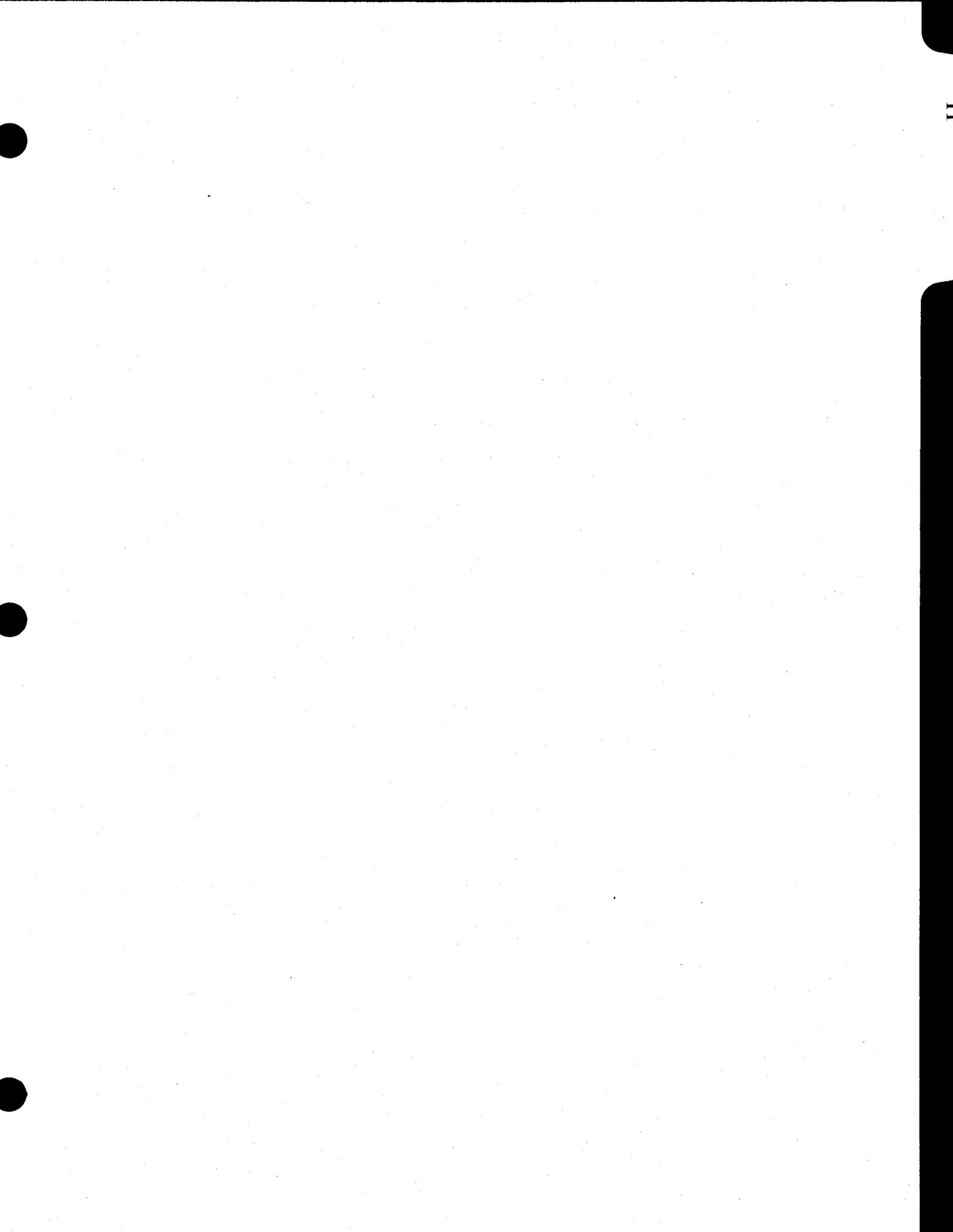
revive the self-rule project. On the other hand, I expect that there will be an escalation in the West Bank because the occupation will come with its...UI and we might hear in the upcoming days about uncomfortable humanitarian cases there. Local and international media will do its best to convince the 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. This is..., this is..., we give the Islamists \$100,000 and we give 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.



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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.

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UM1: May God reward you well.

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UM2: May God reward you well....UI [*Group laughter*].

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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.

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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-

3 ray clinic and it covers the northern region, [serving] about 300,000 of the population  
4 there. There is also Solidarity Charitable Society. Our problem, brothers, is that we  
5 establish [organizations] and others reap the fruits. Solidarity Charitable Society was  
6 founded by the city's scholars and by Islam's scholars in this region from the Islamic  
7 Movement and others but, now, ask how is our presence and how is control over it. In  
8 reality, our presence is relatively weak. We then come to the main activity which is the  
9 Zakat committees in Jenin, for instance, and elsewhere. In Jenin, the Zakat Committee  
10 there has built a hospital which is really ours, for the Islamists either in management or in  
11 the teams working in it. In Jenin, there is a large Islamic school and there is an orphans'  
12 center. Tulkarem are now about to start building a hospital affiliated with the Zakat  
13 committee. In Qalqilia, we have the Legal Institute for Studies less than...,graduate  
14 studies..., two years of studying at the institution or what you call it...

15 Sh: ...UI.

16 Mu: Yes. An Intermediate Institution. Now, I believe that the central region which includes  
17 Jerusalem, Ramallah, Bethlehem and Jericho is the core or the main part in the West  
18 Bank because its proximity to the media, the presence of Al Aqsa and the presence of  
19 many other organizations in it. The main organization which we should pay the most  
20 attention to inside and outside is Al Aqsa Organization, Al Aqsa mosque as an  
21 organization like our brother mentioned as its location and impact is supposed to have a  
22 great dimension whether by playing a role in activities inside or by encouraging people  
23 outside to cooperate by providing assistance [to it]. There are some issues such as the  
24 heritage of Al Aqsa and our brothers really benefitted from in a good way but Al Aqsa  
25 Organization by itself deserves to be studied by our brothers now in order to benefit from  
26 it. In the future, should changes happen to Al Aqsa...UI we must benefit from it and its  
27 vicinity. In Jerusalem, there remains some organizations, particularly the Islamic Sciences  
28 and Culture Society which is directly counted with us. It used to have a research center  
29 but, unfortunately, it was a nucleus for the establishment of a major research center but,  
30 the strikes and the affiliation of... This is one of the problems which are not solved; the  
31 affiliation of the organization with exposed people so, when a problem happens with the  
32 man, a problem happens with the organization. I mean, the Islamic Sciences & Culture  
33 Society used to have a research center which was the nucleus for a huge research center  
34 until the person in charge [of it], Sheik Jamil Hamami, was arrested and this became an  
35 obstacle and a hindrance for the development of that project. We have a school and a  
36 kindergarten and some orphan sponsorships in that region. But, unfortunately, our  
37 institutions are very few because they have over 100 Christian institutions in the  
38 Bethlehem region alone. The Ramallah region really has some noticeable activity for our  
39 organizations and, particularly, the activity of the Zakat committee. We could say that the  
40 Ramallah Zakat Committee is ours, including its management and officers. Because of  
41 their efforts in the past, the brothers were able to establish some activities, particularly the  
42 medical aspect. Thanks be to God, the medical aspect has started to advance and to move  
43 forward in large steps, thanks be to God. But, unfortunately, when institutional and

3 organizational work interfere - and this is an important point - chaos begins. I mean, the  
4 brother who was..., and I believe that he was one of the most capable people in syndicate,  
5 administrative and medical activism - he was a doctor - he founded this center and started  
6 to bring experienced people to it. This center became a hospital. This brother was also  
7 engaged in organizational activity, was arrested and is still under investigation and...UI.  
8 Thus, this interference brought about some crises for some of the organizations. But, we  
9 add that, until now, this organization still exists. At the same time, we have the Islamic  
10 Charitable Society which has a school, a kindergarten and a Deaf & Dumb institution.  
11 But, in Ramallah, we need to speak quickly about a small experiment which is also  
12 something which we hope to be copied in other region. The Ramallah region..., in the  
13 Ramallah region, they established..., I was living inside during that time, they established  
14 the Islamic Syndicate. The Islamic Syndicate was established and it was a beginning.  
15 Now, its name settled at The Islamic Syndicate for Workers of Public Sector &  
16 Manufacturing Institutions. He applied for a license and the brother who is charge of it  
17 now is a known brother and now represents the inside, I mean he is not on a low level to  
18 the point that when King Hussein returned home from his operation abroad, he went to  
19 meet the brother the head of the syndicate. I mean, our brother is named Hussein, and  
20 Jordan's Hussein met him, Hussein met Hussein. Therefore, when the brother speaks in  
21 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-Naeem Society..., its chairman is  
deported...UI.

Sh: He returned.

3 Mu: He now returned? He returned with..., with..., with the last group of people who returned.  
4 The negative aspects of the past phase, our brothers are: number one, being run by  
5 exposed persons. The Complex, Yasin; the Islamic Society, Al Koka; the center which  
6 was established in Nablus for research is directed by Mousa Al Akhtal; the Scientific  
7 Medical Society in Ramallah is directed by Dr....UI. All of these people, my brothers, are  
8 exposed characters. Therefore, even if the organization sailed for a while, it will be hit  
9 later. The non-inclusive nature of these organizations. I mean, managing organizations  
10 which address a very simple aspect [*of life*], my brothers, in contrast with other societies  
11 affiliated with other organizations which work more comprehensively, even though  
12 they're supposed to be limited to a certain frame, yet you see them moving on all frames  
13 and venues. For instance, The Family Revival Society..., The Family Revival Society in  
14 Al Bireh whose director is Samiha Khalil. It used to be like any of the other  
15 organizations, it is an old one, but Samiha Khalil works on a global level. she goes and  
16 comes, America, the inside, abroad, here and there....UI but, at the same time, we are  
17 supposed to show some agility when it comes to management, to move faster than that.  
18 Three, the dependence of our institutions on donations or financial instability. I mean, if  
19 donations stopped, God knows what would happen. Number four, our reliance on  
20 volunteers and the absence of full-timers. Five,... Let's not comment now because time is  
21 short...UI activism between the inside and the outside. Administrative instability. This  
22 brother is an attorney or..., or works in agriculture and you find him handling a technical  
23 position. People, choose someone who is specialized in his profession... Therefore, some  
24 administrative aspects led to the failure of many organizations on the inside and even here  
25 in America because we are not willing to hire someone who is specialized in  
26 administration and who would make work succeed. The women's aspect remains. Man,  
27 why is the women's aspect a goal of work for me?. The weakness of the media aspect...

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29 UM1: Yes...UI.

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31 Mu: what?

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33 UM1: We will speak about media.

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35 Mu: Our absence from occasions, even the Islamic ones. It is true that they are Islamic  
36 organizations but we, as a Movement, don't have effective presence and stuff like that.  
37 The issue of research centers, my brothers, see..., when talk started about the Gaza-  
38 Jericho project, we started to ask people. We asked a brother in the inside, for instance,  
39 what do you think? What does the public think of the issue? And he started to tell you  
40 what he thinks. We tried to conduct a study like the ones conducted by CNN and others.  
41 What kind....UI research center. At that time, they said "Man, we cannot conduct this  
42 research until we get the decision by Abou Husam, with the deportees, brother Mousa Al  
43 Akhtal"....UI. This organization..., this organization is capable of giving us a realistic

3 picture as a research center. We don't have research centers. These are really the aspects  
4 the research centers should be in charge of and which are almost non-existent in the  
5 Occupied Territories. The last point is the fear of many of our brothers of distinction.  
6 They tell you "Let's stay low". People, you need to become distinctive..., distinctive and  
7 give prominence and distinction to your organization. I mean now..., and this is an  
8 important point, many of the brothers who become exposed, being exposed becomes a  
9 cover and a curtain for them. Our brother, Ihsan Abou Qweik, speaks for the Chamber of  
10 Commerce in Ramallah. He speaks for the Islamic Syndicate. He had a green ID but they  
11 returned the normal ID to him because he became a prominent person. They returned the  
12 true ID to him. They told him "You can travel". My brothers, becoming a spokesman for  
13 an organization gives one a place of prominence in the real world. In reality, there is a  
14 fear with many of our brothers of being prominent...UI. Ok, my vision regarding the  
15 situation of the organizations in the coming stage under the self-rule. The relationship  
16 between us and the new Authority will be a hostile one due to the following reasons. The  
17 previous opposing positions to them. The state of competition and defiance we lived in  
18 previously. Inciting the other Arab, Israeli and Western forces against us. The possibility  
19 of the continuance of Jihad operations against the Jews, a matter which the self-rule  
20 authority won't accept. Expected problems: first, suspending licenses, controlling the  
21 organizations either by fraudulent elections or by nationalization. What I heard now...,  
22 and this might be just a rumor, is that most or all elections which took place in the past  
23 are null. This might give you an idea what we are going through. The other issue is the  
24 financial issue, banning the entry of money, non-payment of [*financial*] allocations  
25 meaning discriminating between one organization and another and the ones with the  
26 Islamic current will...UI. Administrative harassment, issuing laws which restrict  
27 movement. Suggestions and general recommendations: one, the role of the deportees.  
28 They might have an organizational role which would be a nucleus for political activism.  
29 Carrying out practical activities. Forming a committee for dialogue with the other  
30 domains. Forming a reform committee to solve disputes and forming a consultive body  
31 among them to coordinate with the outside. Number two, developing the role of 1948.  
32 These people can play an effective role in the coming stage. One, taking advantage of  
33 humanitarian organizations in order to gain the legal status to work in Gaza and Jericho.  
34 Two, avoiding any...UI in us, I mean in the Movement. Number three, allowing them to  
35 maneuver. We don't want to think one way. Allowing them to maneuver and the  
36 possibility of dialogue with the self-rule authority. They think they can..., I believe we  
37 ought to allow them to explore the possibility of forming a dialogue with the self-rule  
38 authority. Four, focusing on the media aspect...UI. Number three is emphasizing the role  
39 of Jerusalem. We don't have organizations in it. I still raise my voice and say that the  
40 Justice and Law Organization which exists in the [*Gaza*] Sector and which has a  
41 relationship with the Rights group in America should open an organization [*i.e., a*  
42 *branch*] for it in Jerusalem because Jerusalem now, people, might be far from the grip of  
43 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

3 letting them be public organizations which could be nationalized. Placing some people  
4 who have..., who don't have a relationship with the Movement such as the Chamber of  
5 Commerce & Industry in Ramallah. Strengthening the relationships with people. Number  
6 four or five is protecting achievements which we achieved in the past period. Existing  
7 organizations here should be tied to Islamic institutions abroad such as the Fund and  
8 others. Writing contracts..., writing contracts rendering the ownerships of these  
9 organizations to the organizations abroad and bringing these documents when needed. This  
10 is a very important and serious issue. I mean, the Islamic University..., the Islamic  
11 University keeps slipping from between our hands at a time when we were saying that...,  
12 if the Islamic University had been tied to any university in Saudi Arabia or elsewhere, or  
13 to Al Azhar or elsewhere, a relationship would have existed. What did our brothers say  
14 about that before? They said "Man, the curricula will be affected. The Islamic University  
15 might disappear". But, now, the opportunity didn't go away. There is still an opportunity  
16 to start some sort of relationship merging the University with any organization abroad.  
17 Otherwise, it is easy for the [Palestinian] Liberation Organization to ruin it. Then, a final  
18 point, forming a general union for the organizations which are not part of the syndicate  
19 and starting a sort of a relationship for them abroad such as our brothers in the [Gaza]  
20 Sector who have a membership in the Arab Lawyers Union, membership in the  
21 International Lawyers Syndicate, the human rights branch... This aspect is...UI I'm  
22 finished here but I will mention this quickly. Other recommendations: the media aspect is  
23 important...UI. The other thing I suggest for our brothers is not to form any new  
24 institutions. Running the existing organizations. Supporting the similar organizations in  
25 '48 [Territories]. The final two recommendations are for the U.S. arena. I suggest the  
26 following; in order to get out of the customary routine, we should form an economic  
27 committee..., form an economic committee, and I have a vision..., I can present to the  
28 brothers a vision on how it should be. An economic committee, my brothers, let's get out  
29 of the shops and the grocery stores. Some brothers who are here in America and I know  
30 some of them said that they are ready. There are no risks in projects and they told me  
31 about some projects which could bring a revenue. This is a continent. If there is a guy in  
32 New York or a second person elsewhere, America is abundant and one could present an  
33 idea to form an economic committee in the country and for investments here. Another  
34 point is the...UI and the computers. The issue of the computers is..., some of the  
35 organizations the Jews have..., the issue of the technological advancement in this country  
36 is way beyond the routine work aspect which brings a revenue. Some of the brothers now  
37 have a project to invest in America in the field of..., I don't understand about  
38 computers...UI but, we could present a project, God's willing, and that project will be ours  
39 to enable us to move above routine activism on the U.S. front so that we stay in pace with  
40 the developments and the changeable and bring money, not only from people, but also  
41 through an advanced scientific method. I say that and I ask God forgiveness for me and  
42 you.

42 UM1: ...UI the brothers in particular are not used to adherence, that is. [*Short unintelligible*  
43 *group talk*].

Sh: Akram.

3 Ak: ...UI. God's willing, we will hear from the media people about the nature of the future  
4 address.  
5

6 UM2: In fact I... In the name of God the Compassionate, the merciful. Prayers and peace be  
7 upon our master Mohamed, upon his family and companions. The speech I gave includes  
8 the fundamental points our brother Shukri mentioned even though there was no prior  
9 discussion or...

10  
11 Gh: Or coordination.  
12

13 UM2: Or coordination...UI but, I said it is better for one to write his own ideas.  
14

15 Sh: This would...UI, Ghassan.  
16

17 UM2: I re-present the media charitable address in America to focus on some fundamental  
18 issues. First, we must pay attention in the future and with the developments to the issue of  
19 Jerusalem and the other Islamic sanctuaries such as the Ibrahimian Sanctuary and their  
20 frame. Meaning, bringing this cause with its Islamic size and dimension to focus, whether  
21 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...

24  
25  
26  
27 UM1: Orphans.  
28

29 UM2: No, other than the orphans, we're talking about the kinds of activities.  
30

31 Om: The right arm.  
32

33 UM2: Yes, for the Palestinians. If there is an idea to adopt a specific project which earns  
34 Muslim people's sympathy in America, it is always the Jerusalem issue. This will be in  
35 every generation. The second issue is..., through the media address of course, the future  
36 media address will have an impact both on the [*Islamic*] Association [*for Palestine*] or  
37 others. It will have a direct impact on charity work particularly because there is duality in  
38 activities. I mean,...UI Holy Land Foundation. Therefore, the media address and charity  
39 work must be molded to a certain level. For instance, we cannot say "No convulsion"  
40 while the [*Islamic*] Association [*for Palestine*] is peaking about..., not talking...UI. You  
41 must pay attention to this issue as well. The second point is to show that the problem is  
42 too big for the administration of the self-rule to solve. I mean, the problem of the  
43 Palestinian people..., Yasser Arafat or \$2 billions will never be able to solve. We can

3 stress this issue through the charity address. Yasser Arafat and \$2 billions or \$400  
4 millions can never solve the problem of the Palestinian people which has 4 million  
5 refugees. This is an issue we must stress. This leads to a third issue which is paying  
6 attention to the point made by our brother. There are people who are forgotten such as the  
7 '48 people in Lebanon and the camps which endure tragic conditions in the south, several  
8 camps in Jordan...UI and those among you who visited them or saw them, their  
9 conditions are really tragic in Jordan, Lebanon and even in Syria. This issue should be  
10 focused on because they are forgotten. They have no mention on the next political map.  
11 Our brothers, by adopting some projects and stuff like that, you will find a lot of support.  
12 The fourth issue is the stressing the fact the organization's goal is an Islamic one.  
13 Supporting the Islamic organizations operating in the Occupied Territories. Therefore,  
14 just like there are Islamic organizations in some parts of the world collecting funds for  
15 India..., the Indians and the Pakistanis collect money for Islamic organizations operating  
16 in India and Pakistan even though they are not under occupation, we have Zakat  
17 committees and existing organizations doing Dawa'a work in addition to relief work.  
18 Therefore, we must support them. What else? The last point or the point before last is that  
19 there must be coordination for the issue of our entry to the '48 territories for charity work.  
20 Is there a possibility to adopt some projects. I wrote about the Islamic educational means.  
21 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

3 what I suggest as a preparation in case they decided to shut down or not. Even in Europe,  
4 the formation of these organizations are...UI, some of them have this shape. Of course,  
5 HLF is everything for us and ...UI the existing organizations in order to give them...UI so  
6 that they won't be dissolved easily and so that they won't cooperate directly with the  
7 [Palestinian Liberation] Organization. So that there is a follow-up. These are the ideas  
8 which...er,... It is possible to adopt a new way relating to the second point or the last point  
9 I mentioned which is that HLF or the Holy Land Foundation, the charity work in general,  
10 work with some of the large Islamic organizations such as in New Jersey, Patterson or  
11 Chicago...etc, to adopt specific projects with the HLF to serve the issue of expanding the  
12 official cover in America, to have the Islamic Palestinian community in America and the  
13 Arabic [community] adopt a project, for instance, for a lab in the Islamic University...etc.  
14 This will be better than the Holy Land Foundation..., the Holy Land Foundation  
15 [exclusively working] and which will bring up the point our brother mentioned about  
16 giving 100,000 and the \$5,000 to this and not to that [organization] etc. The Islamic  
17 communities, particularly the large centers, will support that. These are some of the  
18 points I wanted to focus on regarding charity work which is based in America.

18 UM1: May God reward you good. [*A short period of unintelligible group as they were taking*  
19 *food orders*]. We will continue our topic, God' willing, and we will give an opportunity  
20 for brother Abdel Halim Al Ashqar about the...UI education because it is a work of  
21 charity as well. If you have a vision for the future of that issue.

24 As: I resort to God from the pelted Devil. As you know, of course, due to the bad situation of  
25 education in the inside, there was a need for specialized centers abroad. Education is the  
26 Movement's capital in the inside. The future of the struggle depends on education whether  
27 we like it or not. Also, due to the deterioration of..., or the bad level of education in...UI...  
28 are mostly laborers in Israeli factories. It was very hard to find a college graduate from the  
29 '48 [Territories], maybe in the sixties. In the seventies, you wouldn't find one college  
30 graduate. This is generally speaking. The reality is even worse in the Islamic surroundings  
31 and the Islamic Movement. College graduates are very few, college graduates are very  
32 few and a large segment of laborers support them. As for the educated ones, they're few in  
33 number. The danger is that..., this is like a building without columns especially when it  
34 comes to Sharia education. People send very few people to education. The built a college  
35 called College of Dawa'a and Islamic Sciences and they carried their papers to all parts of  
36 the world; America, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia and, until now, it still doesn't have a  
37 building or a college staff of its own. Their college staff is from the [West] Bank and  
38 Gaza, they come upon order from the Military Commander and return every day. The  
39 building is still housed in the Noble Quran House, made up of 4 or 5 rooms only. They  
40 had a project and they went to the municipality where they got a lot of land but the project  
41 is not completed. It seems that a donor from Britain or something had donated 100,000 to  
42 this project. Anyway, we at Al Aqsa Fund, briefly, had a fundraising campaign during the  
43 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

3 the specializations which we need in the inside, particularly, Media, Journalism, Law,  
4 Political Sciences. Two, supporting higher education and higher studies in Arab countries  
5 as their cost is small and we are ready to support any specialized higher studies in Arab  
6 countries. It is true that we have allocated a humble budget; a specialization in the inside,  
7 \$1,000 annually; \$1,500 annually for higher studies in the Arab countries. Three,  
8 attempting to benefit from our brothers in colleges to get accepted for higher studies in  
9 America. We don't have an ability right now..., right now we don't have an ability to  
10 support any students for higher studies in America. A student costs between 15,000-  
11 20,000. But, it is possible that we have his...UI, and they prepare his file and we try  
12 through our brothers in colleges to get him accepted through a scholarship. This, of  
13 course, is applicable to higher studies in America. Talking about the future, if God  
14 renders things easy for the Fund, we can support some of the Islamist brothers who can  
15 come to America to do a specialized study in the three fields I mentioned before; Law,  
16 Advertising & Journalism and Political Sciences, if things go well. As for the near future,  
17 we have an upcoming visit by a brother from the Faculty of Dawa'a and Fundamentals of  
18 Religion, Jerusalem University. He was recommended by our brothers in Jerusalem. His  
19 name is Mr. Ahmad Moustafa Waffaqa. He will arrive next Wednesday and, God's  
20 willing, we will arrange with the Fund a tour in some in the cities hoping that we can  
21 raise as much as we can to achieve the goals we have. In addition to that, there is an  
22 attempt to sell the project for the college of Dawa'a and Islamic Sciences in Um El-Fahem  
23 and I speak from a position of someone who knows the current status of education and  
24 know that...UI 90% or 95% of the ranks of our Islamists brothers in the Islamic  
25 Movement do not...UI. There must be equality. This is it. They can carry out any project  
26 but,...UI. *[A short period of unintelligible group talk].*

26 UM1: A quick comment. The true blessings then comes from the laborers and the...UI. All those  
27 who have *[College]* degrees are the ones who are behind *[group laughter]*.

28  
29 As: As for the institutional activism, I don't disagree with the...er, the person who...UI. Part of  
30 the problem of our brothers...UI is that they are all educated. But, I'm saying that it is a  
31 matter of a balance. The other project which are trying to sell is the labs of the College of  
32 Engineering at the Islamic University. They opened a new College for Engineering. The  
33 entire number of students at the Islamic University was 5,000 students. Now, the students  
34 are less than 2,000. Of course, ...UI there is no time for details right now. Generally  
35 speaking, other universities where built to steal the show from the Islamic University.  
36 There is a competition between them and the Islamic University. Al Azhar University  
37 started new specializations which are needed in society such as pharmacy, agriculture...,  
38 things which people need. For the Islamic University, in order for it to exist, it had to  
39 change its specializations at least and start a college for engineering. But, the college of  
40 engineering right now has no labs or educational staff. We will try, God's willing, to sell  
41 these projects. May God reward you well.

42  
43 UM1: Now, we give the stage for questions. I would like to find out from brother Omar and

3 Shukri if they expect a change in the relationship of the [Islamic] Association [for  
4 Palestine] with the HLF, especially with brother Osama's suggestion that we stay away  
5 from convulsed political positions and political matters in the future. ...UI us at the  
6 [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] and elsewhere. We would like to hear from both  
7 about their future vision.

8 Om: I imagine that any agreement between us and the Fund, between the [Islamic] Association  
9 [for Palestine] and the Fund, is very important as long as it is within a correct legal frame.  
10 According to U.S. laws, when two U.S. organizations deal with each other, the law is  
11 what governs them, what they do according to the law. That's it. The dangers are..., just  
12 like we fear for [the safety of] the Fund, we must also fear [for the safety of] the [Islamic]  
13 Association [for Palestine] as well. I mean, if the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine]  
14 said or did something which might lead to its closure or cause a problem for it, we  
15 shouldn't do it as well. Therefore, I imagine that we should protect the two organizations  
16 because the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] is not less important than the Fund as an  
17 organization. This is one. Two, we must deal..., if there is a joint product such as  
18 festivals, for instance, it should be based on a legal foundation. We consult an attorney  
19 about the way it should happen. In America now, there is...UI, there is a business for  
20 everything. This is regarding either taking part in joint projects, even selling the mailing  
21 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....



1 Ak: ...political matters and his stand from the accord and the Fund is supposed to stay away  
2 from these things.

3  
4 Sh: The way we are going to act is as follows: The first thing is that..., is that some of the  
5 brothers greatly exaggerate the relationship between the [Islamic] Association [for  
6 Palestine] and the Fund and that is because it is not understood. In reality, the  
7 strongest..., the strongest relationship we have is during the conferences and the income  
8 from the conferences does not constitute more than one sixth of the total income. In other  
9 words, if we during our conferences we raised 200,000 or 250,000, for instance, this was  
10 out of over 2 millions. This is while we brought three brothers from the inside to do a  
11 special tour for the Foundation and we raised also quarter million dollars. So, the  
12 relationship is limited and it is a professional relationship. Er..., as long as the financial  
13 relationships is in order, everything is Ok. I..., my relationship with the [Islamic]  
14 Association [for Palestine] is justified based on the fact that it gives me a market, a  
15 market segment. I have a relationship with the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine], a  
16 relationship with the [Muslim Arab Youth] Association, with ISNA. God's willing, I will  
17 have a relationship with the churches soon, with others. I will go to explain my cause and  
18 collect money. So, it is a part of my audience. If anyone asks me I would tell him, "I have  
19 an interest because they have an audience I want. Bring me an audience and I will form a  
20 relationship with it". So, it is very professional from this aspect, believe me, I mean. This  
21 is just to calm your worries: the Foundation's financial situation is not based on our  
22 relationship with the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] in the first part as we said, but  
23 rather there are other sources from which we collect donations.

24  
25 Ak: We will open the floor for anyone who has comments or questions. Go ahead.

26  
27 Om: The picture is just like brother Shukri mentioned and I want to just emphasize it. What is  
28 important is do an awareness project for the Foundation's donors. I mean, we have people  
29 who have donated in the past years, they have donated for the past four or five years, for  
30 instance, since the beginning of the Intifada. We have a large group..., 20,000 names or  
31 25,000 names of people who donated \$50 to us or more. Why can't there be an awareness  
32 project for those people? It would include first of all Islamic awareness, for instance, the  
33 religious and the creedal aspect as most of them are Muslims or all of them are Muslims.  
34 Second, for instance, a media and a political project whereby we explain to them the  
35 media and the political aspect. I mean, we explain to them what is going on so that these  
36 donors understand that what happened is not a solution to the cause and that the situation  
37 is still as is, that the problem has not been solved. On the contrary, it got more  
38 complicated and that we now need support. I mean, other organizations can undertake  
39 this..., this awareness. If the Fund cannot send a media/political bulletin or leaflet, the  
40 [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] can take care of that and the names can come..., I  
41 mean we can buy the names from them and we send it to them. We can focus on them for  
42 three or four months where a bulletin is sent out every month including what is going on  
43 and the developments of the situation. This would be done in a good English language,  
44 the bulletin or the leaflet should be moderate and it would prepare these people to donate  
45 so that we don't lose these people. I believe that, if we are going to lose some people, let

us loose 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

1  
2 which never saw Jericho and whose chairman is unknown [*to the community*]. I mean,  
3 now Abou Ibrahim is now known all over America. I don't think there is one Arab-  
4 Muslim who doesn't know him. Half the Pakistanis also know him. Brother Shukri is the  
5 same thing. When they receive a letter from him they realize that this is same person I  
6 saw in the region, he is the one who gave the Friday sermon, he came to the festival and  
7 stuff. So, the media aspect is very important even if a person doesn't raise [*money*]. Even  
8 if a future problem rises where he cannot raise money during the festivals, the point is  
9 that the Fund goes out to its public and remains a point of contact for the public when it  
10 holds activities or takes advantage of the activities of the [*Islamic*] Association [*For*  
11 *Palestine*] to reach public even if they don't donate [*money*] on that day. This is what I  
12 have...UI.

13 UM1: I went outside for few minutes so I don't know if brother...UI.

14  
15 UM2: Were you asleep?

16  
17 UM1: No, I went outside [*Laughs*]. God's willing, I will focus on the media aspect, my brothers,  
18 regarding the Holy Land Foundation and the charitable organizations generally. In reality,  
19 I would like to direct my address to the Islamic communities more than the Americans  
20 and similar communities. Therefore,...UI with brother Shukri later, God's willing. We can  
21 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...

22  
23 Om: We're the ones who publish it, by the way.

24  
25  
26 UM1: What?

27  
28 Om: We're the ones who publish it.

29  
30 UM1: Thanks be to God...UI.

31  
32 UM2: We shouldn't confuse charitable work for media work.

33  
34 UM1: No, no. It relates to charitable work. I just wanted to bring this issue up regarding charity  
35 work. They cited an example that issue of...UI and the self-rule have removed the  
36 nationalistic masks making the issue now an Islamic one. We should take this positive  
37 aspect at least; to emphasize our reach to the Islamic communities. Out of that approach,  
38 we could focus on the impact of the self-rule on the Palestinian cause..., on the entire  
39 Muslim world. Therefore, we must hold our brothers inside steadfast from the economic  
40 point of view. Another matter is that there is no doubt that the support will pour into Gaza  
41 and Jericho. You might say that...UI regarding the self-rule or the Israeli-American  
42 inclination. In reality, we can...UI a little or address the West Bank in a better manner.  
43 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.

1  
2  
3 UM1: But, the need remains dire to send such a delegation.

4 As: It is true that there is dire need to dispatch such a delegation. It is true that brother Muin  
5 mentioned the active Islamic organizations. I hope we can get an idea about the...UI  
6 organizations in the inside. He mentioned the Samiha Khalil's organization but I hope we  
7 can get an idea about some of the organizations. It is true that the Islamic organizations  
8 had an impact despite their limited financial resources if compared with others. This is  
9 true and we might feel that in the American media...UI. Now, the second question,  
10 brother Abou Bassem, is for Canada: how much do you raise annually?

11 Ab2: ...UI. The first half of this year [*we raised*] 214,000.

12  
13 As: [*How about*] last year?

14  
15 Ab2: This is for '93. From now until June '93, we raised 214,000. In 1992 [*we raised*] 167 for  
16 the entire year.

17  
18 As: Are there any other active Islamic organizations?

19  
20 Ab2: One organization which is affiliated with you in America but it is a branch...UI. It is  
21 United...UI Holy Land, United Holy Land Fund.

22  
23 As: What about this one?

24  
25 Ab2: My knowledge of it is almost non-existent. They raised about 80,000 and...UI.

26  
27 As: And do you they a presence and...UI?

28  
29 Ab2: They raised between 60,000-70,000.

30  
31 As: I heard from you or from the brothers who have a connection with Canada that, if you  
32 sponsored a project on the inside, the Canadian government might contribute up to half of  
33 it or something of the sort. Is that true?

34  
35 Ab2: This is true but, it needs coordination. We have an obstacle as the government has  
36 returned the application over three times to us and we used the by-laws of organizations  
37 which got registered. But, they promised us that they would look into it in the coming  
38 weeks, God' willing. We got this promise from them. There is also IPRF which is Islamic  
39 and deals with the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization. It also raises between 80,000-  
40 90,000. In the past year, they raised 139,000 and they issued a statement that the expenses  
41 had reached 93,000. Their expenses, out of 139,000, was 93,000.

42  
43 UM2: Is this an Islamic organization?

3 Ab2: It is an Islamic [organization] which operates in...UI, operates in Kashmir. It works in  
4 other regions. It started working in Sudan lately. I heard that they're lately trying to work  
5 in Sudan. In Palestine, of course,... UI, they raised less than 81,000. [A short period of UI  
6 group talk]. It raises 7,000 or 8,000 through us, I mean through us.

7 As: What is the possibility of holding a meeting for the eminent members of the Islamic  
8 community in America in order to discuss the situation and the latest agreement  
9 between...

10 UM2: ...UI.

11 As: What?

12 UM2: This has nothing to do with...UI

13 As: No, it doesn't.

14 UM2: ...UI. We will later listen to brother Muin and, God's willing,...UI activism by other  
15 organizations and, God's willing, we might be able to...UI.

16 Ga: In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. I'll speak about the leaning towards  
17 separating charitable work from political work.

18 Gh: Is there a contradiction between them?

19 Ga: Totally. Charity work is meant to be a humanitarian charity work...UI in their brochures,  
20 their statements and their...UI, all of that is a political position. Some side with...UI, some  
21 side with Hamas, whether they are Hamas or..., I mean... This is not the issue. This is one  
22 issue. As for the second issue, I felt that there was a leaning towards reconciliation  
23 between us and...UI. There is a mental attempt with us to shift, I mean we are trying to  
24 shift ourselves. It is as if we are...UI, meaning that we have to move from one place to  
25 another. No. And I believe this was there very early on...UI. It is going to be normal to  
26 focus on activism abroad at the expense of support to the inside. Don't tell me...UI.  
27 Focusing means that you will spend you human, mental and planning energy on certain  
28 directions. It is true that the [refugees] camps of Lebanon, Syria and Jordan are not part of  
29 the agreement but, they will bring about practical consequences on the ground now. Here  
30 is Amman making official statements saying that I will not accept that the Palestinians  
31 of...UI. This is an example...UI. Therefore, the Occupied Territories is the natural arena  
32 for support the most important one. It is not like the brother said...UI because some  
33 people are saying that support is not important right now...UI. Based on that, I see that  
34 focus ought to be greatly on the Occupied Territories and then we move to Lebanon, Syria  
35 and Jordan later on.

UM1: This is the information you mentioned...UI.

3 Ga: What?

4  
5 UM1: ...UI.

6  
7 Ga: Anyway. My view is to continue with the support as is and without changing anything.  
8 This is one. A remark. The third point is that we need to turn to the issues which are...UI.  
9 The philosophy of abundant human support is that it is a matter of consumption...UI.  
10 Why sell goods in the market? And it doesn't have an end even if you pour millions [*of*  
11 *dollars*] into it, it won't end. And all of that is for a month and not a year. So the right  
12 course for this [*organization*] is for it to establish projects for an infrastructure, even it  
13 is...UI, and you will have people running them [*the projects*] for you; construction  
14 [*workers*], engineers and laborers. All of that employs hands, really. The infrastructure  
15 is..., infrastructure projects with long-term benefit are the projects with the top priority.  
16 Next, come the projects with the humanitarian nature and I believe that 20% of the  
17 year...UI. These [*projects*] will be examined at the proper time. So, it is important not to  
18 forget about the projects with the humanitarian nature because people interact with them  
19 and they are easier [*to carry out*] psychologically and emotionally. Is there something  
20 wrong?  
21

UM1: No, no. Go ahead.

22 Ga: The issue of Jerusalem is a problematic one, to be honest. I would like to talk about  
23 something which has been on my mind for a while now. It is regarding the...UI whether in  
24 America or outside America. There is no precise idea about how to hold the people of  
25 Jerusalem steadfast...UI. There are no projects until now. An apartment over there costs  
26 half a million. An apartment sells for half a million dollars. So, the issue is...UI. Repairs  
27 are forbidden...UI, building is forbidden, they've tightened things for us. The issue of Al  
28 Aqsa, it is not being repaired, really.

29  
30  
31  
32 UM2: It is being repaired.

33  
34 Ga: What? A little bit.

35  
36 UM1: [*Tapping to quiet several simultaneous speakers*]. Our brothers, we will give you an  
37 opportunity later.

38  
39 Ga: These are problems. I believe these are problems on the inside. The problem with the  
40 issue of Jerusalem is that there are projects which are...UI. And they are independents  
41 projects. If this is a project which costs that much money, go around in America, Europe,  
42 the Islamic world and the Arab world to collect money for it. I mean, think about these  
43 people in the Occupied Territories. Preserving Jerusalem is for the future and preserving

1 the land in it particular. Our brothers, brother Abou Mohamed mentioned that the arriving  
2 Palestinian [*National*] Authority - if it succeeds in really coming - is Fatah and Fatah  
3 doesn't agree to let anyone else share life with it. Everything is under its hand, all the  
4 employees, all is affiliated [*with it*]. Nothing will be done except through it. So, you at the  
5 Movement...UI, there is no problem with that. It is possible that the Movement lives  
6 alongside Fatah. Therefore, any organization which they [*i.e. Fatah*] consider as affiliated  
7 with the Movement will come to an end. My brothers...UI, the government of Kuwait  
8 tried to do the same thing with the Movement. The government of Kuwait and not Fatah.  
9 They adopted the same line of thinking, the biased thinking. So, for instance, the house  
10 of..., the house of...

11  
12 As: The House of Zakat.

13  
14 Ga: The House of Zakat and which was for the Islamists. And I remember one of our brothers  
15 who said that this will be the beginning of the weakness of our influence. There were tens  
16 of popular charitable committees which were distributing [*aid*] but they were...UI. A man  
17 who didn't have the money for education was sent to America to get education...UI. Now,  
18 go the House of Zakat now and see it, it is a governmental agency affiliated with the  
19 Ministry of Endowments. It has a director and stuff...UI, the Kuwaiti government. So, this  
20 is how Arafat's thinking will be. On the contrary, he might try to befriend the Palestinian  
21 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...

22  
23  
24  
25 UM1: Family Welfare [*Society*]?

26  
27 Ga: Yeah. Its main goal was to attempt to bring down the Zakat committees. There you will  
28 have a problem with charity work. The medical clinics will become a part of the Ministry  
29 of Health. It is not going to be up to you to oversee them. All mosques will be under the  
30 Ministry of Endowments and you won't have the choice to work in them as well. Schools  
31 will be under private education, the Ministry of Education...UI, they will have a big  
32 problem. Therefore, the matter is not as easy as some people think, that they [*Fatah*] will  
33 just compete with us. No, no, no. I believe that they will bring you in and ask you "What  
34 are you doing?...UI". And I believe that they will...UI. These guys are not easy [*to deal*  
35 *with*]. They seek to run the organizations and we have to know from now how to protect  
36 our organizations. I'm ready to hear ideas. I hope the brothers have good ideas on how to  
37 protect our organizations...UI. The organizations on the inside and the outside...UI. But,  
38 whether they are inside or outside, in Kuwait, in America, in Europe or anywhere else...  
39 There is an idea now to...UI the inside right now. I suggest an idea to...UI form a  
40 committee to coordinate between all the organizations. Now, right away. The Zakat  
41 committees, the clinics, the services and stuff. Committees should be formed right now to  
42 coordinate matters between them but each committee shouldn't be separate from the  
43 others...UI. So, form committees right now and they will sum up all matters together.

3 Issues relating to '48 and...UI will be handled. There will be negative aspects relating to  
4 work and tying charitable work with the political parties inside the Movement or its  
5 supporters. That means that there shouldn't be a political stand by the Movement or its  
6 representatives which will...UI. This would create a problem for us...UI. Outside funding  
7 is important. I believe that the problems we are facing are two problems; how to deal with  
8 the enormous international campaign facing people inside and outside which says that  
9 there is no need for support over there [*inside Palestine*]. Consequently, this issue needs  
10 concentration. For instance, there is a lot of talk about the 400,000 millions in aid which  
11 they will spend annually. Half of it..., half of it are non-guaranteed.....right?

12 Sh: Yeah, non-guaranteed.

13 Ga: Half of it is this and 25% of it is...UI, while 800 millions of it is technical aid. Where is  
14 the money then? ...UI how do you prove to the masses that people are not being told the  
15 truth. People who are working on this [*aid package*] are economic experts who have  
16 experience. The conference of...UI ended yesterday...UI. The International Monetary  
17 Fund and the United Nations are making statements in that regards. America made  
18 statements, Japan and Europe as well. All of them issues good statements. On top of all of  
19 that...UI. So, I believe that your problem in charity work is how to collect money, we  
20 should define that and get ready for it. Two, the receiving party in the inside which will  
21 have its laws. It should be operating legally so that the [*Palestinian National*] Authority  
won't lay its hands on it. God knows better.

22 UM1: We thank the brothers who participated. ...UI, do you have a comment?

23 As: I really have two comments; the first comment is that when I spoke about '48, I meant the  
24 '48 on the inside and not the [*refugees*] camps abroad. Another thing is the issue of the  
25 Palestinian Liberation [*Organization*]'s understanding of the change..., and how could we  
26 deal with intelligence and know how to take advantage of the opportunity. After Arafat  
27 signed [*the peace accord*] at the White House and after the signing ceremony was over,  
28 he met the next day with Dr. Waheed El Shami who is a Palestinian from Ramallah - he  
29 is originally from Ramallah but resides in America - to establish an American University  
30 in the Occupied Territories in the manner of the American University in Beirut, Cairo and  
31 elsewhere. If such a University was established in the [*Gaza*] Sector, it means that there is  
32 no reason to have the Islamic University. Therefore, they might not resort to...UI method,  
33 but deal with matters with some sort of intelligence so that they have the pretexts. Why is  
34 the Islamic University operating when we have the American University? Here are  
35 the...UI. They will build large buildings for it and the secure specializations in it and all  
36 the aspects which can simply steal the show from you. This is one thing that requires a  
37 kind of..., of a quick initiative. Another thing which is happening right now as a way to  
38 show people that there is some sort of a life under the new rule; the United Nations'  
39 institutions in the Occupied Territories which usually give a two-year diploma have been  
40 now converted into universities which provide almost 4 years [*of education*]. Thus, the  
41  
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43

2 people have started to move and, therefore, we should stop saying that they will now stop  
3 working. They have already started, they have already begun working and collect things.  
4 They're making reports and God knows what else. Therefore, we must have the initiative.  
5 Thank you.

6 UM1: There is a point regarding the camps outside the Occupied Territories. I don't agree with  
7 the issue and I'm not with focusing on the inside. We need to discuss this but, there  
8 should be a new approach to the issue; the issue of the Palestinian people which is much  
9 bigger than the issue of the self-rule. Therefore, attention ought to be paid to the issue of  
10 the refugees and here is the Holy Land Foundation having a new plan to reach these  
11 refugees so that we can address it in the future if the problem of the refugees in the Gaza  
12 Sector is solved. I wanted to say that because you brought up the issue of focusing [*on the*  
13 *inside*] and stuff. The issue is...

14  
15 Sh: I believe the issue..., the issue of the Palestinian camps, first of all, is part of our modified  
16 strategy. It touches a large segment of the Palestinian people and I believe that it was a  
17 part of our...UI in the past. And I believe it is about time to address the issue whether it  
18 is... The camps residents are over 700,000 whether in Gaza or outside Palestine. And it is  
19 also a very big key to open the Palestinian channel even with non-Arabs and non-  
20 Muslims. It is big issue we need to handle together for charity. The second thing is that I  
21 believe that all of what we do is worthless if the situation in the Occupied Territories is  
22 not organized. If our brothers...UI in all aspects of daily life, they won't be able to. You  
23 see? I agree with [*the need to*] focus now, aligning forces and..., and..., I mean, ...UI.  
24 There are no studies..., based on my many visits to the Occupied Territories, there is no  
25 result...er, study indicating that our consumer's services really benefit people... [*break in*  
26 *recording*]. Even children's daycare centers... [*break in recording*]...which is the criterion,  
27 we discover that their Dawa'a value is close to zero. This is an example. What do we want  
28 then? [*break in recording*]...UI. What have we benefitted from that? The same thing  
29 applies to orphans sponsorships; we spend hundreds of thousands of dollars over this  
30 program but, there is no Dawa'a use for it. Ok? We are not re-evaluating our strategy in  
31 charity work in the first place, we want to act as a...UI [*break in recording*]... all the  
32 money we transferred to the Occupied Territories, about 1.25 million until now, 900,000  
33 of it, out of the 1.25 million, went to relief to..., to...er, what you call it? To relief. Relief  
34 in a form or another. All of it for relief. There has not been one project for us. Of course,  
35 what I can do is to be careful because you never hear about a person who dies out of  
36 hunger. He takes care of his needs. But, when you want to...UI, don't you need salaries for  
37 employees at the end of the month? Otherwise, you will have to close the school...

38  
39 As: True.

40  
41 Sh: So, you have to plan ahead. So, this is what we are talking about; to support the  
42 organizations on the inside which is more difficult. Yet, we need to... What is your  
43 strategy? What do you want to do exactly? And the issue shouldn't be [*addressed*]

1 because this person, by God, knows Shukri in America and knows Abou Mohamed. Let's  
2 call him and say "I need a grant for \$600,000 over a telephone call" and the one who  
3 doesn't know how to elaborate misses the boat. This is not how organizational work. This  
4 is grocery work and it doesn't serve anyone; neither us or them. So, what I mean is that  
5 we now need to...UI to organize our papers and to ask our brothers to think in a serious  
6 and a practical manner, to see our potentials, what we need to do and what we can...  
7 Regarding the issue of '48, by God, I have noticed...UI. Is it possible to tell our brothers to  
8 bring personnel from outside Palestine in the '48 territories. I asked..., I asked our  
9 brothers. Legally, it is possible...UI. There was no plan in the past to bring personnel  
10 to...UI. There was no plan, my brothers.

11  
12 UM1: ...UI.

13  
14 Sh: There was a possibility that you could take the citizenship... I mean that we have to think,  
15 we have to act. We must think about all the..., all the...er, primitive work methods and be  
16 more creative. Until now, we are not creative in the field of charity work at all. All of the  
17 seasonal projects are the same projects, the same issues, the same things over and over.  
18 Here we are sitting down...UI while we are still thinking about children's daycare centers  
19 and what you call it. This is a problem we face to help our brothers on the inside...

20  
21 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.

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23  
24 Om: Hum. At the end, I would like to say that...UI they speak to us as if we are the Higher  
25 Relief Committee which cares for the entire world. We here in America want to establish  
26 the Fund which...UI. How can we be sure...UI. This is our work while this is a model.  
27 But, we want to speak about Jerusalem, this and that for Jerusalem, what is our strategy  
28 for Gaza and our strategy I don't know where and these organizations and that what is  
29 important is the university. This talk is not for us. You are addressing the wrong people, I  
30 think. Those who spoke to us about these issues, they should go and talk to the big guys.  
31 We are... [*Laughter followed by a short UI group talk*].

32  
33  
34 Ga: In order to clarify this point. My honorable brother, we..., we... I explained that in the  
35 beginning. We paved the way..., we don't..., my brother Omar. It is a tragedy, it is a  
36 tragedy that the brothers don't know what is going on there, that you keep talking and  
37 talking. That you hear about the organizations and that we are a mere name. My brother,  
38 we didn't suggested solutions. We painted a reality. Ok? But, based on it..., so that the  
39 brothers have a clear picture they must know what we are talking about. At the beginning,  
40 I said that my topic doesn't have to do with...UI.

41  
42 Om: I'm not speaking about the introduction, but about the first topic. [*I meant*] the last three  
43 comments which were... [*A short period of unintelligible group talk*].

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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.

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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.

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28  
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.

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UM3: There is a point which is market...UI.

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UM1: Yes.

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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

3 human levels. Out of the existing organizations, I believe we are the leaders, we are the  
4 leaders. You won't have someone who forgot his cause come to you and tell you "Teach  
5 me about your cause". You have to take your program to him and try to educate him. So,  
6 as far as the MAYA, the ICNA or what they call MAS or any other organizations, and as  
7 far as the existing U.S. organizations, all of them present their causes and I believe we  
8 have to embark on this stage. We shouldn't leave any door unchecked. This is what we  
9 learned that..., what you said is very very precise and is right. I'll give you an example;  
10 next week, God's willing, the Foundation will sign the first contract of its kind with an  
11 American lady who is donating a piece of land that is 4 acres with buildings on it. This  
12 will be her legal will to us. This act will provide support for the medical aspect and to the  
13 people of the Intifada. This is what we want. This is an aspect we never thought about  
14 before, my brother, and didn't care about it before. So, it is more worthy that we focus on  
15 the Muslim communities and their existing organizations. I'm 100% certain that if you  
16 don't present your program to them, persisted, requested and used lobbying, no one will  
17 care..., care about your cause. I challenge you. Unless you follow up with them, [*Muslim*  
18 *American Youth*] Association and other [*organizations*], no one will look at you. This is  
19 an advice to all of us and moreover to the youths of Syria. I can say with a legal certainty  
20 that..., is the Sheik here? The [*prophet's*] Saying which says that he..., he who neglects the  
21 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.

28 UM1: May God reward you well. But, we didn't answer the question yet.

30 Sh: We answered it.

32 UM1: Ok, can you tell us now about the level of coordination between you and the MAYA,  
33 MAS and the ICNA. I mean, do you have a certain [*level of*] coordination or...

35 UM2: I really have a comment about the presentation, if you excuse me, regarding the issue of  
36 the MAYA. The issue of Syria is...UI, then the issue of MAS and the issue of ISNA and  
37 then we separate...UI.

39 Sh: ...UI, God's willing.

41 UM1: Is there some sort of coordination now? I mean,...UI, but our people are there.

43 Sh: It is a seasonal relationship with the Association and it was truly a good relationship until

2  
3 the last minute and until the last years. Now, we started to talk with the brother, the new  
4 chairman, and there are indications that relations will return to normalcy. It is good to see  
5 the Palestinian cause a fundamental part of their program. There is no argument over that.  
6 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...



1 Sh: ... brother Eweida is there and Abou Ibrahim went and stuff. But, frankly speaking, our  
2 work...UI in the field started to decrease. So, we are not reaping real fruit from..., from  
3 that. The one thing we reap the most fruit from is our brothers in the [Islamic]  
4 Association [for Palestine] and our own activities. So, there are no organizations, my  
5 brother, we don't cooperate with if we can even if it were just to spread the idea and to  
6 take advantage of this stage. At the mosques' levels, our relationship is very good with the  
7 mosques in America and, all year round, Abdel Jabbar, myself or Abou Ibrahim or others  
8 travel, give sermons and do fundraising. All year round. God's willing, more than that is  
9 on the way as we mentioned.

10  
11 UM1: May God reward you well....UI.

12  
13 UM2: Thanks be to God, we have a..., a very good relationship with the...UI. What is collected  
14 is very little but, everything is collected is transferred to...UI. We gave them some  
15 projects inside [of Palestine] so that they can present them to the government but they  
16 haven't responded to us. A project for a hospital or health clinic and stuff like that. If that  
17 succeeds, they will pay full sums of money through the government's institutions. But, we  
18 will present two projects to them and one project to IDRF. IDRF deals with us sheepishly,  
19 I mean, we told them that they have fellow Muslim brothers of yours who need your  
20 assistance. Not everybody is Fatah, not everybody is [Palestinian] Liberation  
21 Organization, you must take a look at the other party. So, they accepted some projects  
22 from us...UI but, we are still waiting for them to fulfill their promises. What was collected  
23 recently was transferred to...er...UI. We checked with them in that regards as the whole  
24 amount was \$7,000 and we told them that 5 million Muslims are waiting for this 7,000  
25 [Dollars]. Anyhow, our relationship with them is very, very good and with all. The  
26 Islamic centers also...er, we take part in their activities. On the contrary, because of our  
27 relationship [with them] they oblige us to assist them in management and in other matters.  
28 But, thank God, things are good.

29  
30 UM1: May God reward you well. Abdel Rahman then Omar. Go ahead. Abdel Rahman is...UI.

31  
32 Ar: I just have a question. This suggestion comes out of my feeling that, in the coming stage,  
33 the most important thing we can provide in this stage is to support Jihad In Palestine. I  
34 believe it is the only way if we want to bring the goals of the [peace] accord to fail. We  
35 would, at least, keep within the people's spirit...UI. We as a organization - as a non-profit  
36 organization - are not able to do that. But, at least, we can focus on the issues relating to  
37 that matter which is emphasizing the relationship between the...UI. Everyone knows that  
38 there is about 100,000..., 100,000 wounded persons. For instance, you have the issue of  
39 sponsoring the families of the martyrs, you have the prisoners..., these are the issues that I  
40 believe we should... Maybe now we don't have organizations or maybe we have  
41 organizations to support hospitals and other things. But, I believe that there must be more  
42 emphasis on these people than others who might benefit from the money they receive  
43 from the United Nations, from America and elsewhere. But, those people have a direct

1 relationship with Jihad and they must get more money and more thought [from us]. In our  
2 letters we sent to people, we ought to place emphasis on the families of the martyrs, the  
3 prisoners, the orphans and the families of the wounded. This is one suggestion. The  
4 second thing I suggest to do is maybe something simple. The Fund already has permanent  
5 ads in Al Zaytouna and the Monitor. Let's place something in Al Zaytouna and The  
6 Monitor and some of the other Islamic magazines, some sort of appeal to the people, to  
7 Muslims, that the suffering hasn't ended and that the situation hasn't changed, the  
8 situation which... makes the peace accord...UI, which is different from speaking in  
9 political language. You will be speaking in humanitarian language saying that people's  
10 suffering hasn't been alleviated. And this is a very simple thing we can do; [placing] ads  
11 in the newspapers and the magazines as people read them and...UI in the Occupied  
12 Territories. These are written things instead of the picture of this girl which...er. The  
13 question I have for brother Muin is: I might not be aware of the laws governing the inside.  
14 But, what is the possibility of transferring some of the organizations which are currently  
15 in the [West] Bank or Gaza to Jerusalem, to areas which are not under the authority of the  
16 [Palestinian Liberation] Organization, to have the headquarters over there, to have  
17 projects to channel [money] through people, that is.

18  
19 Mu: Well, the issue is not easy as the core point in the projects over there is that the person  
20 who applies to get a project must be a bearer of an Israeli ID in Jerusalem. It takes time to  
21 establish an organization but, the issue of the transfer from Jerusalem to [West] Bank is  
22 easy. This means that, if an organization opens in Jerusalem with a Jerusalem ID, it will  
23 be easy for it to go to the West Bank. This experiment succeeded and it was some sort  
24 of...er, let me call it a spread for our organization meaning that the headquarters was in  
25 Jerusalem and it had branches in the West Bank. There are some other organizations  
26 which were established by our brothers in '89, I believe. It is the main organization and,  
27 thank God, it has opened some branches. But, if an organization is already in the West  
28 Bank right now and you want to move it, I expect that it is not going to be easy.

29  
30 Ar: How about establishing new organizations in the [West] Bank?

31  
32 Mu: That is possible but it needs time. For instance, The Truth And Law Organization was  
33 established in Gaza. It sailed through and obtained a license as a public service  
34 organization. Now, it is possible that this [organization] gets dissolved with the arrival of  
35 the self-rule. They will harass it. There was thinking to open an organization in  
36 Jerusalem. We discussed this issue specifically with some of the brothers in Jerusalem.  
37 They said it can be done if you make \$10,000 available. We asked how and they said  
38 there is no harassment or restrictions right now. Matters are flowing as you like it and the  
39 attorney is a Jewish man in the Knesset. He said I'm ready to get you a license and the  
40 organization will become a legal organization working for human rights. The matter  
41 needs money to be spent but, the situation in the Occupied Territories is... Of course, the  
42 matter deserves this money to be spent on, for this organization, because those who live  
43 in the [Gaza] Sector might die and no one will know about them. But, when they have a

1 branch in Jerusalem, there will be an excuse for an employee to go to Jerusalem. They  
2 will give him a card, some sort of an ID and stuff like that. So, the situation now in the  
3 Occupied Territories, in the '48 and Jerusalem, the factors which play into the matter are  
4 the attorneys, how to approach the subject and the judicial system. I mean, there are many  
5 issues which you can take to the Supreme Court of Justice and you win. Therefore, the  
6 issue is legal and it is possible that it sails through. But, to move it from the [West] Bank  
7 to Jerusalem is somewhat difficult based on the old information. But, to establish them,  
8 the matter is in the hands of the judicial system.  
9

10 UM1: Omar.

11  
12 Om: I would like to remind the brothers, brother Abou Usama and the brothers with the issue  
13 of Syria and...UI. There are two issues I would like to comment on as news. The  
14 brothers..., there is a rumor being circulated with some people that people would like to  
15 form alternate organizations in place of the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] and the  
16 Fund and stuff. This is not true. There was a misunderstanding that...UI. There are no  
17 alternate organizations. The second point is that we asked them to work with the brothers,  
18 to work with the brothers from Palestine or the Muslims and they have agreed on that  
19 during their meeting. So, what Abou Usama is talking about is already here. Therefore,  
20 there is not going to be bypassing of the Organization now. We spoke with the people  
21 and, if the Fund wanted to...UI.  
22

23  
24 UM2: To continue this point and on the same issue is the notion that our brothers remember that  
25 some of the brothers in the field - whether in the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] or  
26 the Fund - they deal with..., what should we call it, with arrogance with other people.  
27 [They say] You don't understand. Who are you? You are sheiks and religious dervishes.  
28 What did you do? So, we're saying that the Palestinian cause from beginning to end is an  
29 Islamic cause. Therefore, our relationship with all Muslims ought to be good. This is a  
30 request from the brothers, from all the brothers, to have the brothers from all the branches  
31 and sub-branches deal with them Islamically. You try to deal nicely with the Christians.  
32 Henceforth, you should deal nicely with the people you're from, the people who are your  
33 natural extension, in a manner which doesn't have arrogance, pride or contempt or any  
34 thing demeaning thing.

35 UM1: Shukri has anything?

36  
37 Sh: Regarding the issue of registration. The Foundation is in the final stages of obtaining,  
38 God's willing, a license in Jerusalem. We registered the Foundation in Jerusalem as a  
39 legitimate, I mean as a...UI organization; it has a board of directors and stuff in Jerusalem.  
40 We will call it "The Holy Land Society for Relief & Development". God's willing, it will  
41 be good because people can deal with it and it will be able to work in the [West] Bank. As  
42 for Gaza, we contacted the attorney over there and we started the process to register a  
43 branch, a branch for a U.S. organization. This means that...

1 UM2: You're opening a branch for...UI or for a U.S. organization?

2 Sh: Our own organization...UI. It is a Jerusalemite organization...UI. At the end, even some of  
4 the national or the local organizations will not be effective unless you form an outside  
5 organization to carry out the programs. And I'm really thinking now while I'm talking as  
6 we want to open an office in Nazareth or...UI. That one will be registered under Israeli  
7 law. In this manner, we're trying to avoid whatever troubles we can avoid.  
8

9 UM1: ...UI.

10 Om: What?  
11

12 UM1: ...UI. [*Laughter*].  
13

14 Au: I would like to ask brother Omar a question. It is not true that there were rumors that we  
15 would like to start alternate organizations. I need a clarification for that.  
16

17 Om: No. It is good, our brothers, to cover all the bases and it...UI cover all the bases. It is not  
18 fanaticism or..., what you call it, extremism to set things straight or...  
19

20 UM1: ...to clarify things, that is.  
21

22 Om: There was an idea, an intention and thinking to start alternate organizations for the  
23 Islamic organizations working for Palestine. Are they a failure?...  
24

25 [*Brief group talk. UI*].  
26

27 Au: I'm asking brother Omar a question as a clarification and I would like to ask brother  
28 Aboul Hasan a question.  
29

30 As: Go ahead.  
31

32 Au: There is no one..., excuse me...  
33

34 UM1: Omar answered the question and said that there wasn't a...  
35

36 Om: ...UI. I can clarify that. I can clarify that in a different way.  
37

38 UM1: Ok. In a couple of minutes so that...  
39

40 Om: I will tell the story in order to clarify the issue.  
41

42 Au: The second point is that leadership figures ought to be humble and the individuals ask the  
43

1 leadership for humility and listening [*to them*] and that they're humble when dealing with  
2 the individuals. Really. And specially when speaking about the issue of Palestine. When  
3 someone speaks about the issue of Palestine in front of them, it is as if...UI. They are not  
4 even willing to listen. Frankly speaking.  
5

6 UM2: There is an issue hanging or undetermined right now between the brothers in the...UI and  
7 those in the wing. This is at the level of the regions and the branches or at the higher  
8 level.  
9

10 Sh: We are now taking from the time slot for charity work, by the way.  
11

12 Om: Yes... The issue..., the issue has two sides; one issue is that the brothers working for  
13 Palestine...UI don't work for anything else. I mean not only for Palestine, for anything  
14 else. Therefore, the brothers are feeling kind like "We're making contributions and  
15 working and where are you?". The other brothers, what do they feel? They feel that you  
16 sometimes work..., first of all, you took the potentials from the other branches of work  
17 and used them for Palestine and, at the same time, you're being arrogant with us and say  
18 that you work and we don't. Also, there is the issue of those brothers in Chicago who  
19 traveled and went to Palestine. So, there was a talk from the government and stuff that...,  
20 there is a danger from that. So, they went over and requested a meeting. They requested a  
21 meeting and a suggestion was made during the meeting to coordinate the issue, a  
22 suggestion was made by a Jordanian person to start an alternative, meaning that they want  
23 the organizations to form a solidarity committee for the Palestinian people and the other  
24 organizations would dissolve in it within two years. It was a suggestion made by whom?  
25 By one or two people.  
26

27 Gh: Meaning before the end of the self-rule.  
28

29 Om: Yes. And a committee was formed to study the situation, Palestinian activism with the  
30 group...  
31 [*Brief group talk. UI*].  
32

33 UM1: It is forbidden to interrupt Omar and we will focus on this subject after...UI.  
34

35 Om: A suggestion..., a suggestion... The committee which was formed rejected it because it is  
36 not practical and the brothers who submitted it realized that they cannot go on with their  
37 suggestion, that the suggestion was wrong. The brothers in the Shura Council met and  
38 said during the Shura Council that it is true that they don't want to form this committee  
39 but, they have the right to establish an organization..., that is how it was written, an  
40 organization representing the Group's view in a...UI manner. This is to sum it up. What  
41 raised our doubts is that...  
42

43 UM2: And what is the Group's view?

1 Om: It is that we are radicals alone...UI. We checked with the brothers and they said "Let's be  
2 the ones to say that we are a political entity". I mean a political entity and not a people's  
3 entity, a political entity in Washington such as the Public Affairs Council which...UI. It is  
4 the one which gives an opinion. It is for the Americans and not for the Muslims.  
5

6 UM2: Ah.  
7

8 Om: ...UI. Of course, some people were upset with the issue. How can you do that? This is  
9 wrong. Where did we go?  
10

11 UM2: This is a different issue.  
12

13 Om: So, the Americans we met with said that our opinion is that you don't form it and the  
14 suggestion which was presented by one or two was not approved. It was approved by the  
15 committee before it made its way to the Shura Council. You see? But, the environment of  
16 the situation...UI and when the decision was formed in a moderate way...UI and some talk  
17 started. This talk reached some of the brothers in some of the regions. During one of the  
18 past camps which was held two or three weeks ago, a ranking person said we are doing  
19 this and that. They told him you're doing things...UI and they were very upset because  
20 people knew about it and they didn't. So, they were very upset and they requested that  
21 they tell people that this wasn't true, it is a rumor. The issue is...UI. But, the unresolved  
22 problem, the one I spoke about earlier, hasn't been solved. God knows best.

23 UM1: May God reward you well...UI. I just have a question for brother Muin. What are the  
24 kinds of organizations which you expect will be directly hit, during the initial phase and  
25 which will be hit strongly? Are they the charity organizations, for instance, or the other  
26 organizations?  
27

28 Mu: By God, in the Gaza Sector, the Islamic University will be target number one. If we talk  
29 about the West Bank, there are some organizations which came to distinction and  
30 particularly...UI in the West Bank from which some organizations which now constitute  
31 some notable Islamic organizations. But, it is God's grace that the most important activity  
32 for the Zakat committees, notably the medical activity in the West Bank is in the form of  
33 the Medical Scientific Society which now encompasses most the medical activity in the  
34 West Bank and I believe it has a parallel abroad and have now started working on  
35 establishing relationships with [people] abroad which might be some sort of a cover. The  
36 cover is now in place but, God's willing, it started to work now..., and a medical society  
37 was formed following the example of the medical society in the West Bank and it will be  
38 a form of a cover. Among the other organization...UI in the [Gaza] Sector, the Islamic  
39 University is possibly the first to be targeted. Among the organizations, Al Islah [Society]  
40 is one which they might think about dissolving or interfering in it. But, generally  
41 speaking, we don't have a noticeable weight in organizations in the [Gaza] Sector, a  
42 presence which we might fear an eminent danger in the coming stage. But, in nine  
43

1 months, there are tens of organizations in the West Bank, from north to south, which  
2 might be targeted directly. For instance, there are several organizations in Hebron which  
3 might be targeted directly such as the Young Men Muslim Association, possibly the  
4 Islamic Welfare Society which is one of the organizations with notable activity. These  
5 might be hit in their administration and not in their activity because they oversee schools  
6 and orphans...UI. It is possible that the government...  
7

8 Gh: You mean they might change the administration?  
9

10 Mu: They can hit the administration or make a law that..., make law to control administration  
11 or something like that. Now, they might try to mess with some of the organizations in  
12 which we have some sort of activity through a number of laws. For instance, for the  
13 Chamber of Commerce, they can make a law to nullify the previous elections. Nullifying  
14 the previous elections will affect us in the West Bank and Gaza first of all because of the  
15 students and, secondly, because there is...UI which might be hit. Regarding the Chamber  
16 of Commerce in the Gaza Sector we control the accountants and they might get dissolved  
17 in a direct way. In my view, I expect that there won't be brutality in the beginning. They  
18 will deal with some sort of intelligence and they might give us a chance. They will tamper  
19 with laws and pull the carpet from under our feet through making alternate organizations  
20 available. For instance, the endowments organizations..., the endowments organizations  
21 in the inside will play a large role in controlling many of the..., let me call them the  
22 organizations we consider...UI. And the people over there..., for instance, Akrama Sabri  
23 one of the characters of the new rule. This person is just an image in his office or  
24 elsewhere. His appearance is that he is a Muslim yet, he knows everything about the  
25 Islamists such as their affiliated organizations. Therefore, the game of the laws is the  
26 main gateway, in my opinion, to control many of the organizations through the firing of  
27 some people. Making alternatives available [*is important*] because if you don't make  
28 available a strong alternative character in all aspects, they will have tens of alternatives. If  
29 we speak as educated crews of people, they also have more educated crews. For instance,  
30 at Al Ahli hospital in Hebron, Al Ahli Hospital..., one of the specialists in premature  
31 children, one of our brothers, was chosen by the hospital to study for two additional years  
32 in this specialization at the Jordanian University. His name is Dr. Hatem Shehate returned  
33 to Hebron and left his clinic and stuff. Now, they threatened that they are going to fire  
34 him. Now, the problem is not whether they fire him or not but the fact that they have 10-  
35 15 doctors of their own who are being sent [*to study*] by the hospital itself and by the  
36 [*Palestinian*] Liberation Organization. They keep working on getting their crews ready in  
37 order to fill out the vacancies on the inside. Now, here is a hospital and [*they say*] let's not  
38 change its administration or anything but, when I change its crews or...UI I'm then taking  
39 control of it. You have, for instance, Al Makased Charitable [*Hospital*], we established it,  
40 worked hard for it and worked in it and we now control the syndicate. The syndicate is  
41 now Islamist. The first step they [*the PLO*] took is that they stopped dealing with us as a  
42 syndicate and we are now talking about the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization which  
43 hasn't reached power yet. They didn't deal with us as a syndicate in its [*Islamist*] form and

1 there was thinking to close the hospital. So, the decision of our brothers, regardless if it is  
2 right or wrong, was to dissolve the syndicate in the hospital and a new syndicate made up  
3 of us and them was formed making the leadership almost bi-partisan. Now, the brother...,  
4 the core person in the syndicate is from Tulkarem and works in Al Makased.

5 Immediately, they barred him from entering Jerusalem and now he is barred from...UI.

6 So, the problem is not only the laws, the problem is that you are dealing with people who  
7 know you, they know how things go and there is an old blood between you and them.

8 This will be somewhat dangerous and God knows best.  
9

10 UM2: How about the medical association affiliated with the coordination office...UI. Weren't  
11 they doing something in Bosnia, India or Afghanistan? They establish..., they establish  
12 clinics and work. They're called Doctors Without Borders...UI.  
13

14 Sh: Yes, Doctors Without Borders.

15  
16 Om: These people...UI. We have Muslim doctors.

17  
18 Sh: We ought to have crews of doctors, even lawyers, engineers, laborers, stuff like that. But,  
19 doctors are the most important and they usually go to Mexico because doctors work  
20 with...UI. These are the kinds of projects organizations here in America and Canada work  
21 on. Assemble a team of Muslim doctors and they go and build clinics and stay there for a  
22 week, two weeks or one months. And its cost is not much, maybe \$50,000 or something.  
23 There are similar projects that go out from here which have nothing to do with...UI.

24  
25 UM1: Ok. ...UI. May God reward you well and we apologize for...UI. We will give you  
26 until...UI.

27 [*UI group talk until end of recording*].  
28



1 [UI group talk followed by prayers].

4 Om: Peace be with you. Lunch and dinner. First of all, there is a...UI. Everyone can do what  
5 they want and then dinner will arrive.

6 UM1: Is it ...UI as well? Is it a collection of donations with...UI or what?  
7

8 Om: ...UI. Let's exit the room, exit the room...UI. If we finish at 6:30...UI.  
9

10 [UI group talk until end of recording].  
11



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

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

6 Sh: By God?

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

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

12 Om: And the target is 500 millions...UI. So, they have been contacting people. One of them  
13 talked to us. He told him that he donated some dollars long ago. So, he called him. He  
14 told him: "Dr. Sabri...", he used to be a member of the National Council, he told him  
15 "We're raising money for Gaza and Jericho". He told him "Ok. So, you and the AIPAC  
16 are one". He told him: "Yes. Kind of. We work together". He told him "Congratulations  
17 to you"...UI.

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

22 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.

25  
26 [*UI group talk*]

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

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

31  
32 [*UI brief group talk*]

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

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

42  
43 Gh: Is there anyone who doesn't have this paper? The brothers who don't have it.

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

4 *[Interrupted by UI group talk]*

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

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

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

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

15 *[UI brief group talk].*

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

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

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

23 *[UI brief group talk].*

25 Om: Ok, go ahead.

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

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

35 UM2: So, my view is that the challenge and the work will require more effort particularly in the  
36 coming period. If we were to carry out our duty, this would require a bigger budget. I  
37 mean, the situation of the *[Islamic] Association [for Palestine]* and its resources are  
38 limited and what limits them is the budget. This, of course, is an obstacle..., a  
39 fundamental obstacle which must be solved as it stands in the way of the *[Islamic]*  
40 *Association [for Palestine]*. It must make its decision now. If this obstacle is to be  
41 removed, or if the *[Islamic] Association [for Palestine]* were to play a role in America, it  
42 must have a budget and its budget must be increased. There are, of course, questions... the  
43 reason I didn't want to..., I put them in the form of questions so that the politicians... or

1 the political segment we had at the beginning discussed these questions in a way or  
2 another. We hope that we receive official answers regarding the inclinations of the  
3 policies of activism..., things which answer these questions. As for the goals, the concept  
4 of the goals - as you put it - is to make Muslims in America aware. The main goal we  
5 should follow while doing media activism is awareness. Making people aware of the  
6 sanctity of Al Aqsa [*mosque*] and making charitable work tangible so that people don't  
7 feel that work for the cause is over. I mean, charitable work ought to double so that  
8 people... The same thing which was said before. I will mention it quickly. Of course,  
9 there are..., there are... In my opinion, we must form a new organization for activism  
10 which will be neutral because we are placed in a corner, we are place in a corner. It is  
11 known who we are, we are marked and I believe that there should be a new neutral  
12 organization which works on both sides so that..., because this state is coming no matter  
13 what and this is a new existing order. This suggestion ought to be discussed. Of course...,  
14 I threw in some radical ideas so that. We have the opportunity to discuss them. Of course,  
15 some of the policies..., our approach or our policies in the arena are: non-opposition to  
16 peace as a statement. I mean, someone will ask you: "Are you against peace?" Tell him  
17 "No. We are not opposed to peace as a peace but we are against hypocrisy because this  
18 peace is not just. We are with all just peace. Justice with peace". Without justice... Even  
19 the African-Americans have this title, that there is not justice without peace...  
20

21 UM1 & several voices: No peace without...  
22

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

1 that we can deal with them and make them aware of this matter. Carrying out student  
2 activism in universities has almost decreased at our end. On the contrary, we must bring it  
3 back as the children of the communities are the ones who will go to universities.  
4 Therefore, the work of the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] and Palestinian activism  
5 must become active in universities like the days when we were in universities. Activism  
6 moved with us. When we were students, it [IAP] was active in universities and now that  
7 we have become a community, it is active in the community and not in the universities  
8 even universities still have people and this side is now somewhat weak with us. Calling  
9 for different political dialogues with other organizations. Adding parts in the educational  
10 curricula of MAS and ICNA to explain the meaning of the accord which took place and  
11 its secret articles. Of course, awareness at a general level, inviting speakers, conducting  
12 conference-calls with mosques like the ones we did with the deportees, conducting  
13 seminars... Of course, all of these are suggested activities. As for the young people's level,  
14 an educational material ought to be prepared to be taught in Islamic curricula. We don't  
15 want the children of the community who are raised here in schools and in Islamic schools  
16 and non-Islamic schools to grow up surrendering to the issue of peace with Jews and... I  
17 mean, we don't see in ten years the growing generations in America surrendering to peace  
18 with Jews. Therefore, there must be curricula and teaching materials which spread in  
19 Islamic schools and in weekend schools, the ones which teach children who attend  
20 American schools. Curricula ought to be put together to prepare them. Another thing is  
21 making teachers aware. We can arrange courses and arrange for cultural and political  
22 seminars for teachers who attend the conferences. Instead of bearing the expense of  
23 inviting the teachers and making a course for teachers and educators, we could have  
24 sessions for them during the ISNA, MAYA and ICNA conferences and things like that.  
25 We can request to have such a course to make teachers aware of this angle. Regarding the  
26 media aspect..., of course a statement or an issue of Al Zaytouna could be published, like  
27 the supplement we put out during the time of the deportees, a light coverage which won't  
28 cost much. One could be in English and another one in Arabic and a large number could  
29 be printed to explain the articles, the negative aspect of the accord and the secret articles.  
30 This should be distributed in the largest quantity possible. Of course, ...UI in Arabic and  
31 English languages are available, God's willing. Brother Mohamed has written some  
32 articles to be published on some Arabic and Islamic magazines. Of course, making a  
33 documentary showing the continuation of suffering. A film must be quickly made and we  
34 must try to circulate it in the festivals, I mean, to be shown in the festivals. Collecting  
35 cassettes for speeches and lectures about the issue and publishing them. We should try to  
36 make a library for the tapes in audio for every speaker who delivers a speech on the  
37 subject for every brother who had spoken about the subject. They ought to be collected,  
38 made available and..., like they say, feed them to people until they get full. Another thing  
39 is preparing a historical museum, a museum ought to be put together..., we have a  
40 museum but it needs to be developed so that it can go on a tour because this would really  
41 be a part of public awareness so that we can renew for them the meaning of Palestine and  
42 Jerusalem. Of course, things which brother Nihad will speak in are to be added to the  
43 above. Of course, the charity aspect has had the most discussion and, therefore, there is

1 no need to go over it. That's it. Regarding the issue of the foreign exchange students, this  
2 is something for the next stage. Charity work can focus on this aspect which is bringing  
3 people from the inside to America so that...UI. We also ought to focus on the issue of  
4 investment and I believe it is very important. The issue of investment on the inside [*is*  
5 *important*] as the issue of money and its availability on the inside is an indication that  
6 there will be an economic boom on the inside. As for the festivals, it is suggested to have  
7 a 30-minute segment for the participants to come on the stage and express their opinions.  
8 I mean, they hand over the microphone to people to come and express their views,  
9 whether he is in support or opposition. Let people express their views and have them  
10 registered so that the festival is not only for people to listen to you. Let people express  
11 themselves which would be a variety in the festival. Now, in particular, many people have  
12 views and suggestions. After that, the guest sheik can comment and add to them. A letter  
13 could also be prepared and is signed and then sent either to the [*Palestinian Liberation*]  
14 or to Yasser Arafat according to the inclination. There should be a segment in the festival  
15 for a discount in Al Zaytouna membership. Regarding the band, we agreed on certain  
16 policies. The band is looking for certain policies to follow in its performance and product.  
17 So, if we agree on certain policies they will be provided to the band so that its segments  
18 are based on them. The video film we spoke about in the beginning ought to be shown. In  
19 other words, making a video film. This, quickly, is what...UI.  
20

21 Gh: Is the system still going to be...UI or each person will discuss his papers?  
22

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

24  
25 [*UI brief group talk*].  
26

27 Sh: Please allow me. Considering the atmosphere in place, if we run this session in the same  
28 manner the charity activism session, people will fall asleep, my brother. My opinion is to  
29 allow as many action...  
30

31 UM1: ...UI everybody will sit, listen to the speeches.  
32

33 Sh: If there is no discussion, we will fall asleep, specially after lunch.  
34

35 UM1: There is coffee. Drink some.  
36

37 Sh: So, if there is a chance to... We can determine how long it is. If you want 15 minutes for  
38 discussion that will be fine because people will listen and this will energize people. This  
39 is my opinion.  
40

41 [*UI brief group talk*].  
42

43 UM1: We will take 15-minutes to comment on these issues and then we will move on to... We

1 can open the door to discussion and comment on what was said. Ghassan will go after  
2 that.

3  
4 Om: The elections, of course, my brother. No one commented on them.

5  
6 UM1: Don't worry about that...UI.

7  
8 Gh: How about some of the brothers whose voices we didn't hear. The honorable Sheik and  
9 the honorable...UI.

10  
11 Sh: The issue of the festivals..., I believe it is a matter of coordination. I believe they would  
12 be a great opportunity to be exposed to a large crowd. There are about 15 festivals and  
13 each festival has a large number of people in it. I see that we shouldn't follow the same  
14 old methods by making the song the main show. We should benefit from our presence by  
15 making awareness the main show; we give more time to the speaker and give him  
16 instructions that it shouldn't be like a Friday sermon. There is no need for the Friday  
17 sermons, my brothers, please. The festival is not a Friday sermon. Let's be a little bit  
18 objective and present issues and numbers to people which will shock people and make  
19 them know what is going on. Let them get out of the festival educated and...  
20

21 UM3: Do you have a problem with the sheiks? [*laughter and a brief UI group talk*].  
22

23  
24 Sh: My point...UI, my brothers, because we need to face people with reality. Let them come  
25 to the festival and benefit more than listening to a certain tune. This is one idea. The  
26 second thing is very intelligent which is to involve people. I suggest a third idea which is  
27 to conduct a very quick survey, it can be designed now, to let the people in attendance  
28 participate in a survey made up of three to four questions: Do you approve of the accord...

29 UM1: A questionnaire.

30  
31 Sh: Let them...UI. At least we would have a poll from the field. We will know how people  
32 think. How people think. This will benefit us as we will know the nature of our public  
33 and how they think. You might be surprised that maybe 70% of your public doesn't know  
34 or is not educated. Let's do this so that it help us with the awareness issue.  
35

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

37  
38 Sh: By God, I say..., you want to make it a main focus for the song. I believe that you are  
39 going to lose so much potential that you could benefit from. People are coming to you,  
40 my brother, and they are right there.

41  
42 UM2: In support of what our brother Shukri said, people will... In the beginning, let's say that  
43 we should let them sing the songs because people are...UI and people don't want to listen

1 to speeches. But, now, people are coming because you know that you are a voice of  
2 opposition. So, you're coming to listen to that opinion. Therefore, there is no need for  
3 emotional aspects, there should be a focus on points; one, two, three, stuff like that and  
4 not just words of enthusiasm.  
5

6 [UI brief group talk].  
7

8 Ga: In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Ghassan and I have papers to  
9 present which have some ideas which might cross our minds sometimes and they have  
10 important details. One might not have details during the registration process but they are  
11 very important in my opinion. May God reward him well. I have two remarks; regarding  
12 the goals..., regarding the goals, I was very surprised. There is a 180-degree change in  
13 customary threatening language of the organizations regarding the Palestinian cause. I  
14 personally have a quick comment as I don't want to talk too much...UI. This is my feeling,  
15 honestly speaking. You feel that it is over, that's it, we must deal with the reality and we  
16 surrendered and the matter is over. My feeling is that the future...UI, honestly speaking.  
17 ...UI that you have surrendered and you now work with...UI. This is my feeling and this is  
18 the first point. Issues such as steadfastness, struggle, keeping people in the inside  
19 stabilized, direct support to the people of Palestine and supporting the Jihad in Palestine  
20 are now absent. Where are they? I'm really surprised...UI. Really.  
21

22 Sh: Also, awareness and informing...

23 Ga: As for the motto of this phase is..., I agree with the principle of...UI in activism but what  
24 is important is the motto. I propose that the motto should be "A wholesome solution" or  
25 there is no need for it ...UI. This is also a media goal, it is not a political or charity goal.  
26 Awareness and education is not a media [goal]. This is an important issue. ...UI. The  
27 issue of the education material for the Islamic community in America..., you presented  
28 some ideas. Are you acting up on it or they're only..., just thinking?  
29

30  
31 UM2: I thought that this is one of the women committee's activities, the Women's Union will  
32 do...  
33

34 UM1: If you examine the introduction, this is..., this point is one of the issues which should be  
35 re-examined by writers and thinkers. One of them is preparing curricula material for the  
36 schools. Of course, if you look at points 1 and 2...UI, [it says]: "Preparing the following  
37 material: written media material for films, educational material for schools, material for  
38 exhibits and banners". These are points which should be studied by people, writers and  
39 thinkers. If this stops, of course,...

40  
41 As: But, are these for Palestinian activism in America? I mean, this is for Islamic activism.  
42 Why should we limit ourselves to it?  
43

1 UM1: You mean Palestinian activism in schools?

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

4  
5 Om: This is only a typo, my brother.

6  
7 [UI brief group talk].

8  
9 Sh: The media material is the source which provides schools with material relating to the  
10 cause because such material doesn't exist in schools. As a source of information.

11  
12 UM1: Oh, yes, yes.

13  
14 As: A part [of the material] about Palestine should be provided by the [Islamic] Association  
15 [for Palestine] to the existing schools.

16  
17 UM1: Of course, the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] ought to make sure there are curricula  
18 in schools which teach about Palestine and Jerusalem. It shouldn't be...er, be... a lesson in  
19 geography without mentioning Palestine.

20  
21 Sh: Yes.

22  
23 UM1: The point is making sure if this stuff is being taught, particularly in Islamic schools, of  
24 course, and that we have materials to support them. As for...UI point,

25  
26 UM2: Yes, sir.

27  
28 UM1: Regarding your point I wanted to just throw some ideas but I still have more ideas than  
29 that. I just wanted to throw the idea that when we really examine our history we find that  
30 when a state is formed, we immediately take up the opposition spot and we continue as  
31 opposition to this state until the end of times. We remain in the opposition, why? As long  
32 as the state exists and this structure exists, why don't we try to... I mean, before Arafat  
33 signed the document we said we are against the agreement, against the state. But, now,  
34 what happened right now? This is a reality and we cannot ignore it. Why do we have to  
35 be against this and against that? It is true that you are saying that you are in opposition in  
36 order to take a historical stand. We are not in disagreement. I'm just throwing a wild idea.  
37 Ok? In order to really be able to deal, comprehend... and benefit from the resources and  
38 the influence of this state or this structure, we must have an organization which is  
39 affiliated with us to deal with this state. This is the...

40  
41 Om: What is the form of dealing? What is the shape of the dealing?

42  
43 UM1: Of course..., of course, I'm not going to defend this point...

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

2  
3  
4 UM1: I believe that the Palestinian state will begin handling donations, collection of donations  
5 and handle foreign exchanges. You can benefit from this. If you want to join the  
6 opposition, it is known that you are an Islamist and if you speak with them no one will  
7 grant you a foreign exchange or do anything [*favorable*] to you. They might start media  
8 organizations abroad, they might start a media organization in America as America now  
9 is a front for them. Why don't you have an organization which can be adopted by this  
10 Palestinian state? As a media organization, you could issue a newspaper or a magazine  
11 which could be...

12 Om: How is that?

13  
14 UM1: Or you could be an educational institution sending people on foreign exchanges. I  
15 mean..., I believe that the idea should be discussed so that we are not always taking a  
16 100% hostile side to something realistic. I want to give you an example from the time the  
17 [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization started, the brothers..., until now I hear that there  
18 are some people who blame the brothers [*saying*] "Why did you leave the Organization?  
19 We were a part of the leadership of the Organization. Why did you leave it? You took a  
20 neutral stand and now the Organization is on one side and you are on a different side, you  
21 became two different paths". Of course, this might be criticized but it is realistic. Some  
22 people criticize the brothers [*saying*] "Why did you leave the Organization as soon as it  
23 was formed? Because you found that they took a different direction? As soon as you saw  
24 that one of them doesn't pray and a few of them cuss the religion and now they're leaders  
25 of Palestinian activism. So, this is the point; if we are to get a lesson from that we can  
26 benefit from this point in regards to our reality.  
27

28 Sh: Are there remarks?

29  
30 Ga: By the way, the Movement now doesn't represent...UI. So, this mentality is out. I didn't  
31 hear it from anyone. I didn't hear it from one person.  
32

33 UM1: Yes.  
34

35 Ga: And all those concerned are..., not one person has individually spoke about that. And this  
36 is...UI, it is a huge development of the stand. And we apply our stand as our stand is not  
37 just for history. We don't oppose just for history. This is an old talk and is over with...UI.  
38 The direction which is agreed upon is to make the [*peace*] project fail and it is not...UI.  
39 And what happened so far with the agreement is that it is just a paper and nothing has  
40 been executed until now. It is in the formation stage. So, why so you want to...UI on a  
41 whole stage which will take the next four or five months? It will take six months to  
42 materialize. When it is complete you can come and give your feedback. The...UI...  
43 Originally, there was independence, there was a warning and there was a total

1 withdrawal, even a withdrawal of the multi-national forces from...UI Palestine and all of  
2 Israel. There must be a doubt in the peaceful solution. It is something different. We agree  
3 on the correct analysis. Here is the project and here are our recommendations. Dealing  
4 with it is different but...UI. And how can the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] be in  
5 harmony given the general atmosphere? Therefore, my opinion regarding the goals is very  
6 clear: supporting the resistance to the occupation because the occupation will continue. It  
7 won't end. I don't know how many of you think that the occupation will end or not? It  
8 won't end, it is not possible. There is only...UI and that's it, even in Gaza and Jericho by  
9 the way. Barak confirmed this twice.

10  
11 UM1: I don't think you could put this kind of stuff with the Foundation or the [Islamic]  
12 Association [for Palestine], support to the resistance to the occupation...

13  
14 UM2: This is the point. As an American organization, we cannot adopt this stuff or add it to our  
15 goals. This stuff..., in the eighties, we at the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] wrote  
16 that...UI. I mean..., we cannot include this kind of stuff officially in our papers.

17  
18 Om: ...UI.

19  
20 Ga: We are speaking from a practical point of view. I don't want to get into that issue. I'm  
21 saying: Practically speaking, do you support the resistance or not? This is the question.

22  
23 UM1: ...UI.

24  
25 Ga: Huh?...UI.

26  
27 UM2: As far as the people are concerned, we must specify role in America, that we...

28  
29 Ga: Number one, two, making people in the Occupied Territories steadfast. Where is that?  
30 Adopting the rights of the Palestinian people or the historical rights, that all of Palestine  
31 is ours, historically. Where is that?

32  
33 Om: I just feel that these..., these goals...

34  
35 UM1: I have them... I have the points.

36  
37 Om: He has the points and more.

38  
39 UM2: Allow me. As you explained in this thing..., you talk about the Organization. Do you  
40 mean that the organization should be in America and deal with the [Palestinian  
41 Liberation] Organization in America?

42  
43 Ga: Yes.

1 UM1: Whether it is in America or outside of America, when we talk about these goals..., the  
2 first thing is that I, as an official American organization..., I'm telling you about things in  
3 the heart..., the goals you're talking about are in the heart but, can I write them down or  
4 can I support our brothers. We cannot write them down.  
5

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

7  
8 UM1: Fine. But,...

9  
10 Ga: You practice it. You know how to practice it? This is my question to you. You set some  
11 goals. Now, begin working on the programs. What does that mean?...UI. I'm working on  
12 Jihad, support the Jihad, support the Jihad, support the resistance to the occupation.  
13 You're working with all of your media and all of your political address is like that.  
14

15 UM1: Ah.

16  
17 Ga: Even supporting Hamas. The [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] met with the FBI in  
18 defense of Hamas. It was a clear talk then. Support to the Movement. Henceforth, do  
19 these goals mean anything?  
20

21 UM2: Keep your voice down. May God be pleased with you.  
22

[Laughter].

23  
24  
25 Sh: You Virginia guys got us trouble. This is the talk we will...

26  
27 [Brief UI group talk].  
28

29 Ga: So,...UI.  
30

31 UM1: No, no. I believe that the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] must take that direction  
32 meaning that we don't have this experience. In order to really be an Islamic- American  
33 organization in America things must be..., some things which were practiced must be  
34 determined. In a way or another, when we deliver the meanings of the sanctity of  
35 Palestine, when we deliver the meanings of the Islamic aspect of Palestine, what do we  
36 mean? Do we mean just talk? No. The context means that...UI. It means...  
37

38 Ga: ...UI.  
39

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

41  
42 Ga: It is not spontaneous.  
43

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

2  
3  
4 UM2: OK. Fine. Just wait as Abou Mohamed will say a comment and then we will...

5 Sh: May God pray on our master, Mohamed and...UI on all the prophets, God's willing. I say  
6 that...[laughter]... the brother is saying that Jerusalem is still under occupation. He says...,  
7 he is even leaving the matter to charity work. So, it is more worthy that political activism  
8 is...UI. [Laughter]....UI, if he says it is under occupation, tell him there are some specific  
9 programs. Before..., before all of that talk we should ask ourselves a question; Is America  
10 a confrontation front? And what do we want from..., from the reader of Al Zaytouna and  
11 the reader of the Monitor and from the guy who owns a store in Chicago? Do I want him  
12 to go fight or do I want to earn his sympathy so that he could donate to me or do I want  
13 him to have a knowledgeable political culture? We have to specify what we want from  
14 people, honestly, otherwise we keep working and publishing a newspaper becomes a goal  
15 in itself without finding out what effect does the newspaper have on people. I believe  
16 before this session is over we should come up with a clear statement regarding what do  
17 we want from people. This is one. And what do we want from the Americans? Do we  
18 want to convert them to Muslims, to become Muslims, because the [Islamic] Association  
19 [for Palestine] often does activities which sound like that of mosques; pure Islamic  
20 things. Do you want to convert people to Islam, to proselytize to people or do you want  
21 them to sympathize with your cause as a high ceiling? We must find out these things.  
22 This is another one. The second thing - we were talking about that in the morning- is that  
23 our brothers in the Occupied Territories will be pretend to go along with the self-rule and  
24 none of their societies will be shut down and this is a matter that hasn't been settled yet.  
25 Then enter our brothers who talk to us about politics and tell you: "It is impossible that  
26 there will be a self-rule. It is impossible that America will classify Samah as a terrorist  
27 organization. It is impossible that Israel will withdraw from one inch. Impossible,  
28 impossible....". My brothers, they say that there are no absolutes in politics to start with,  
29 there is nothing impossible in politics, everything is possible. It is possible that Israel  
30 withdraw tomorrow and forms a Palestinian state the way it wants. What is that? Is the  
31 Palestinian state going to be worse than Saudi Arabia, for instance? Saudi Arabia is  
32 serving Israel's interests more than Israel serving its own interests. What are you talking  
33 about? So, our brother is telling you "Instead of being taken by surprise and then, five  
34 months later, begin to wail..", he said: "We will form an organization for you to show the  
35 Americans that you are...UI. It will be made up of some of our people, our beloved ones,  
36 and let's not hoist a large Islamic flag and let's not be barbaric-talking. We will remain a  
37 front so that if the thing happens, we will benefit from the new happenings instead of  
38 having all of our organizations classified and exposed". I was telling our brother Aboul  
39 Hassan about Al Aqsa Organization. Why "Al Aqsa Educational"? When you go to  
40 Oxford they will ask you: "Sir, what is Aqsa?". Make it "The Palestinian General  
41 Education Academy". Make yourself a big name like that and give it a media twinkle and  
42 there is no need for Al Aqsa, Al Quds, Al Sakhra and all that stuff. Huh? This is for  
43 example. And let's stay ahead of the events, our brothers. We will find out later on that

1 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  
4 schools and everything while we are sitting unable to work because all of us have become  
5 burned, all of our organizations are purely Islamic organizations and we don't know how  
6 we are going to be dealt with. So, our brother had a suggestion to form an organization -  
7 the format he suggested was somewhat controversial, I didn't discuss it with him but I  
8 believe its concept is sound - that we should start right now, my brothers, begin thinking  
9 about establishing alternative organizations which can benefit from a new atmosphere,  
ones whose Islamic hue is not very conspicuous.

10  
11 Gh: Neutral.

12  
13 Sh: Meaning that we should benefit from..., from...

14  
15 UM1: When did he say that, excuse me?

16  
17 Sh: My brother, say what you want to say. The door to politics is big. Did God tell you that  
18 you must stand in front of the university and tell them: "We have to..., we have to claim  
19 the 1948 land"? It is just talk. This is an impossible address, my brothers. It is not our  
20 goal to demand the '48 land. Even if we demanded, neither the U.S. army will return it to  
21 you nor the store-owner in Chicago will return it to you. We already talked about that,  
22 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...

25  
26 Ga: I didn't say "Jihad".

27  
28 Sh: Samah..., Samah is classified as a terrorist [*organization*]. By constitution, by law, if I  
29 wanted to adopt its work, they kick me out, they kick me out of this country, my brother.  
30 By God, they would take away my U.S. citizenship and tell me  
31 "Go away". I'm telling you....

32  
33 Ga: We are not classified, my brother. Who said we are classified?

34  
35 Sh: Huh?

36  
37 Ga: Who classified it?

38  
39 Sh: ...er. I'm saying..., I'm saying that even...

40  
41 Ga: ...UI that the Movement is a terrorist organization.

42  
43 Om: No, no, no.

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

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

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

6 Ga: Huh?

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

8 Ga: It is proposed.

9 Sh: You mean they won't classify it?

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

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

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

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

27 Sh: Or the Jewish consulate.

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

30 Sh: They have already infiltrated the communities.

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



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

9  
10 UM1: So, this is a legal edict, you mean. [*Laughter and a brief UI group talk*].

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

12  
13  
14 UM1: So, you tried this plan [*Laughter*].

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

16  
17  
18 UM2: Tell the brother that you tried that.

19  
20 Om: ...if we try to hide our Islamic identity..., it is not possible. You can do it for 2, 3 or 4  
21 days, a year, maybe, but they will know. From the moment you begin talking they will  
22 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...

23  
24  
25  
26 Sh: I mean, someone who works in medical health field, what is the need for him to say  
27 "Praised by God the Almighty" or "Thanks be to God" in everything he says? My brother,  
28 I'm a professional, you are an engineer, be professional. The brother is a professional in  
29 the educational field, let him be professional in his field, in his specialization. Meet with  
30 presidents of universities and stuff like that...

31  
32 UM1: But this is your nature to speak like...

33  
34 UM2: This is a different issue. [*UI group talk*].

35  
36 Om: ...unless the profession is...UI. If we have the ability to be creative...UI.

37  
38 UM1: This principle was mentioned in the previous sessions relating to organizational activism  
39 and others. Let's stay with brother...UI.

40  
41 UM2: I studied the topic and I hope we get something out of it.

42  
43 UM1: Go ahead.

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

4  
5 Om: The new state.

6  
7 UM2: ...with the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization or the new state between brackets. What  
8 are the features of this new organization? One of the brothers a short while ago said that it  
9 is like..., it is like we feel that everything has collapsed. Excuse me. And we also feel that  
10 in America..., I mean if we fail in this country it means that our entire cause will fail. I  
11 started to get this feeling, really. This new organization..., brother Shukri is discussing it  
12 in a way while brother Ghassan looks at it in a different way. But, there is one conclusion  
13 we will get out of this organization which is confusing the Islamic mentality here in  
14 America. The Islamic mentality in America will be confused. It is already confused. A lot  
15 of you will say "Confused? How come? They are already confused". But, you have to  
16 understand that in case it wanted to win the general public opinion here in America..., in  
17 case the other organization was hit or stuff, it can issue a statement saying "By God, we  
18 are in agreement. We are in agreement on this and in agreement on that". And those who  
19 read your stuff..., who reads your stuff? This is a question we must ask ourselves. Who is  
20 going to read your ads and your statements? The only thing people will see is that there is  
21 a new organization - and it is not known what it is - which writes articles about the issue  
22 of the new Palestinian state. And you could try to convince people from behind [*saying*]  
23 "Tone it down a little". Thus, you want to address the enemy while you are speaking to  
24 your friend and this friend of yours doesn't...UI. Our brothers, my opinion is - and God  
25 knows best - that we don't discuss the goals but focus very much on what we have in the  
26 discussion, arrange our priorities in a good way and go on with that and there is no need  
27 for new organizations or stuff. Let's be distinguished, God's willing, in a way which will  
28 get us out of this crisis, God's willing.

29  
30 Sh: ...UI. [*Laughter*].

31  
32 UM1: God's willing we will...UI. I would like to ask brother Omar about two points in that  
33 regards.

34  
35 Om: Go ahead.

36  
37 UM1: The first point is: Have you studied the legal status of the [*Islamic*] Association [*for*  
38 *Palestine*] in light of its address and found there are real dangers such as closing the  
39 [*Islamic*] Association [*for Palestine*] soon, for instance, any time soon?

40  
41 Om: By God, I will tell you where the danger is. The danger is two-fold, either a financial  
42 connection or orders.

1 UM1: Hum.

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

5  
6 UM1: Yes.

7  
8 Om: The issue is that if you cover these two bases, you will find that you, as an American  
9 organization, can do whatever you want. This is from legal point of view. As for the  
10 media, it is possible that you could be destroyed by the media without the law touching  
11 you.

12  
13 Sh: Aha.

14  
15 Om: For instance, newspapers and magazines can say that you are a terrorist because you are  
16 an Islamic organization...

17  
18 UM1: Yes, I understand.

19  
20 Om: I mean, they could hold things against you and destroy you on the media front before  
21 you're destroyed by the government and the law. This is like Sheik Omar, for instance.

22  
UM1: Yes.

25 Om: Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman, there are no..., what you call crimes against him, you see?

26  
27 UM1: Yes.

28  
29 Om: Other than they kept digging around him and stuff like that. But, it was the media which  
30 accused him before he was legally charged and he wasn't able to..., because he didn't have  
31 a support system. He couldn't defend himself in face of the media. The media is  
32 overwhelming, that is. So, what I can say is that our problem at the [*Islamic*] Association  
33 [*for Palestine*] is the following: the problem is the address; if you want to the Americans,  
34 you lose the Muslims. If you address the Muslims, it means that you cannot reveal your  
35 address to the Americans. Frankly speaking.

36  
37 UM1: Yes.

38  
39 Om: This is the thing. Like when you're talking opposition to peace. It is possible that...,  
40 people are telling us that we have become peace-loving, for instance. Some people are  
41 telling you that you're peace-loving, that you have become peace-loving. Ok, it is true that  
42 we are peace-loving. But, one could interpret peace-loving that we have surrendered and  
43 another would interpret it that we keep use diplomatic terms in order to...UI. I mean, for

1 instance, if someone asked you if you want to destroy Israel, what are you going to say on  
2 TV? Destroy it meaning...UI

3  
4 Sh: ...are you going to forsake your belief...

5  
6 Om: For instance. If you say "Destroy it" on TV, it means...UI.

7  
8 Sh: Is this what our Islam says?

9  
10 UM1: You don't have to answer him.

11  
12 Om: I understand. I know. But, if you give an inconclusive response which is like you didn't  
13 answer the question, someone will come to you and tell you that you have forsaken your  
14 principles.

15  
16 UM1: Yes.

17  
18 Om: Someone will do that. So, you will be in a problem. But, legally, I see that we don't have  
19 any..., I mean I'm personally comfortable that we don't have a problem with the law if we  
20 covered these two things.

21  
22 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...

23  
24 Om: Let me tell you...

25  
26 UM1: ...just in case something happened to the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine], God  
27 forbid. And I'm not saying it will be a...UI organization. No, we will give the same input.  
28 We will not change as it is a matter of principle.

29  
30 Om: [You mean] as a quick alternative.

31  
32 UM1: But, suppose they cornered us regarding this point we would have another way out. Is this  
33 wrong to think about?

34  
35 Om: No, it is not. But, where is the problem? It is that there are no available people to work. I  
36 mean, you say...

37  
38 UM1: Let it get registered and....

39  
40 Om: ...UI. Registering an organization is easy. I can register 100 organizations in 100 cities in  
41 one day. Registration is not important. Here in America you begin working first and then  
42 you then go register. It is not a problem here.  
43

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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...

1 Om: that the self-rule will succeed.

2 UM1: that the self-rule will succeed.

3  
4  
5 Om: Ok, fine. Assuming that it will succeed, what are you saying?

6  
7 UM1: Assuming that it will succeed, there must be a method and a line for dealing with them.  
8 God knows what agreements will be made in the future between sister Samah and the  
9 [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization. In the future, they might make agreements and  
10 become friends. God knows. God knows.

11  
12 Om: Ok, assuming that they remain enemies. Assuming that they remain enemies.

13  
14 UM1: Assuming that they remain enemies, huh... I work on the American front and the  
15 [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization has some Palestinian community that it won't  
16 ignore. I'm telling you from now, anyone who will think that the [*Palestinian Liberation*]  
17 Organization will...UI is not correct.

18  
19 Om: Fine. Yes.

20  
21 UM1: It will come and compete with you in educational work, in charitable work, in media  
22 work. So, if you are labeled as an Islamist with the community and with the people there  
23 will be a large segment of Palestinians which have interests with the Palestinian state and  
24 they will stand behind it. This will happen regardless of..., of the Islamic... I will give you  
25 an example; Saudi Arabia..., I will give you Saudi Arabia as an example. There are a lot  
26 of Islamists in Saudi Arabia who don't like..., who don't like the state in their hearts but  
27 they...

28  
29 Om: Deal with it.

30  
31 UM1: but you find them deal with the Saudi government because he is afraid, he goes along and  
32 he has interests with the government and he cannot oppose it. So, if you are an Islamist  
33 and an Islamic movement, he won't deal with you. You won't be able to win him.  
34 Therefore, there must be a... I'm telling you I don't have a full concept on its structure,  
35 what it should do and...

36  
37 Om: ...UI. Let me tell you something else.

38  
39 UM2: We need to hurry up, our brothers.

40  
41 Om: ...UI. I just have a quick point. If we don't want to show the Islamic identity, if we want to  
42 portray it as a neutral body and the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization has a neutral  
43 organization similar to it and we deal with it what is the benefit? What are going to get at

1 last? What is goal? Are we going to be just on the arena without a goal? Or do we need a  
2 goal? This is the point. Ok, I've become a neutral organization and I'm accepted by the  
3 [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization and I deal with it, I send stuff, I bring stuff over  
4 and do things and my matters are flowing smoothly like you are saying. What is the  
5 benefit? What am I going to get at the end?  
6

7 UM1: It might be..., it might be...  
8

9 Om: For instance, if I'm in Palestine, fine. I want to survive. Yes, I can. I want to survive for at  
10 least five years until things change. But, I'm here in America. This is different. I'm here in  
11 America and not in Palestine.  
12

13 UM2: There might be some benefit in some of the auxiliary issues such as the educational  
14 matters. There is no need to tie them with the Islamic Association for Palestine.  
15

16 Om: Right, right.  
17

18 UM1: So, if the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization is giving grants for self-rule and stuff like  
19 that, for instance, it will get a share.  
20

21 Om: Yes, this is something else.  
22

23 UM1: An economic organization. There is no need to tie it the issue of the [*Islamic*] Association  
24 [*for Palestine*] and stuff like that.  
25

26 Om: Yes, yes. That's right.  
27

28 UM2: This is the conclusion we reach, my brother. We could now arrive to a conclusion that it  
29 is possible that this [*new organization*] be an economic organization from which we  
30 benefit and from which our foreign exchange students brothers can benefit, or a charitable  
31 organization, why not?  
32

33 Om: ...UI if it is not political, neither charitable or...UI.  
34

35 Um2: Not an alternate organization.  
36

37 Sh: Allow me. Allow me, my brother. Let's listen to each other. By the way, one of us talks  
38 while the other is not... We didn't hear each other, my brother. No one said that the goal  
39 of this organization be... UI that I get a mirror and reflect myself in it. It is a only a stupid  
40 person, a person who is digging his own grave that suggests the formation of an  
41 organization that is parallel to the [*Islamic*] Association [*for Palestine*] but with a secular  
42 mentality, for instance. I would be destroying myself. This is not the idea. The idea is to  
43 take advantage of certain opportunities. For instance, for instance, for instance, we can

1 form an organization for youths, a friendship..., Palestinian-American Friendship  
2 Association. What is the problem of doing that. This will be done in order to send them  
3 on tourist trips to the land of Palestine and put some honey a little bit at a time with the  
4 poison they're given. But, if from the first night you want to call it "The Islamic Society  
5 for Youths Welfare", they will shut the door in your face. Work on the level of the new  
6 community and don't have a bold color, for instance. You raise a community at your  
7 convenience, a little bit at a time. When they see you for four years...

8  
9 Om: I don't see a problem with that.

10  
11 Sh: This is for example, for example.

12  
13 [*UI brief group talk*].

14  
15 UM2: I don't think we will disagree on that issue.

16  
17 Om: I'll tell you something. Even if you have an economic organization right now while there  
18 is no self-rule, you still must make it non-Islamic. It is not reasonable that you go deal  
19 with the House of Muslims Bank and stuff like that [*and tell them*] "Come invest with  
20 me". It is impossible. [*UI brief group talk*].

21  
22 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.

23  
24 As: ...UI. Organizational motto.

25  
26 UM1: Huh?

27  
28 Sh: The organization's motto.

29  
30 UM1: Is it regarding the motto...UI. You might not accept the motto but..., I believe [*you might*  
31 *accept*] the direction.

32  
33 Om: A part of the direction is ok.

34  
35 UM1: The direction is to make people aware because people are ignorant. The public is ignorant  
36 of [*the contents of*] the agreement.

37  
38 Om: Fine. Right.

39  
40 UM2: Ok. We will listen to Aboul Hassan and then...

41  
42 UM1: But, there is a point in our brother Abdel Jabbar's speech regarding the...UI will confuse  
43

1 the people who are with him. I will give you an example from our end...UI and our  
2 brother, one person from the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] used to go tour with  
3 Dr. Ahmad. People were saying "See, the Fund's people are now forming other  
4 organizations" and this must be for fear that their organization might be exposed or hit or  
5 stuff like that. People think like that.  
6

7 Sh: Oh, yes. There are some people who say "Agent. Our brothers at the Fund are...UI... want  
8 to go to Madrid to...UI". Therefore, if you have an organization working in the same field  
9 it will be...UI.  
10

11 [UI brief group talk].  
12

13 UM1: Ok. Are there any other comments? Let us listen to our brother...  
14

15 UM2: I want to say..., it looks like..., I know the [Palestinian Liberation] Organization and its  
16 method. First of all, you have Yasser Arafat. If you are not with me you are against me.  
17 This is the law with him. There is no other..., you're either with me or against me. If you  
18 oppose him you're out the question. You're either with me or against me. All of us are  
19 supposed to know these things when talking about implementing any project or any  
20 organization, that you're either with him or against him...UI. This is their method over  
21 there. You're either with me or against me.  
22

Om: Let's go, people.

25 UM1: But the idea is..., I suppose all of these remarks can be discussed if the idea is clear. I  
26 mean, the brothers are asking questions and discuss the details of such an organization.  
27 But, I believe that organizations will be formed..., organizations will be formed in  
28 America and then they will be adopted by the [Palestinian Liberation] Organization and  
29 by the state of Palestine. Organizations will open, I mean this will take place. You can  
30 now open organizations and, by the time to come to you...er. It is possible..., this is the  
31 direction of a lot of organizations but you are already labeled. It is over. You as the  
32 [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] is labeled. Another point, a final point is that in  
33 order for activism in the field to expand and get better it should..., it is going to expand  
34 and get bigger since the Palestinians now have a state. So, work will get bigger and will  
35 expand. Therefore, we must get bigger and expand the organizational work in addition to  
36 the work performed by the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine]. Not everything should  
37 be grouped in one organization for charity work and one organization for public work.  
38 We must expand and there must be..., I mean you must have other choices...  
39

40 UM2: ...UI. If you have a goal to..., if you have a goal to form one or ten organizations we must  
41 have a unified goal.  
42

43 UM1: Yes.

1 UM2: If it is one organization or ten organizations.

2 UM3: Not necessarily, my brother. Not necessarily.

3  
4  
5 UM2: My brother, the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] can make available those who work  
6 with the youths, the schools and stuff and don't show themselves as Islamists. That's true.  
7 But for an organization such as the Islamic Association for Palestine to take a secular path  
8 or a near-secular path it is not going to be compatible with our creed and we cannot go on  
9 with it. And if we go along with them, we are like them.

10  
11 UM2: And this also depends on the nature of the organization. If you want to form a public  
12 organization such as the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] and then one of your  
13 brothers speaks at the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] and then tries to speak at a  
14 different organization, he won't be able to speak with a double face. And the leaders and  
15 the persons whom you want are limited. But, if it is a specialized auxiliary organizations  
16 there won't be a problem. And God's knows better.

17  
18 UM1: If the idea is available on the table, it can be solved through..., it needs a study. I mean all  
19 the ideas presented are not.... The idea was just tossed in a manner which...

20  
21 Om: We're still working to see what ideas we can suggest.

22  
23  
24 UM2: This paper really needs a state to implement it and not the Islamic Association for  
25 Palestine.

26 UM1: Why?

27  
28 UM2: No. I'm talking about this paper and see the things required for it, they are more than what  
29 the Islamic Association for Palestine can undertake. We should be practical. The issue of  
30 having specialized bodies overseeing sub-issues and all of them are built-up together is  
31 bigger than saying this is an issue for the Islamic Association for Palestine to handle. The  
32 Islamic Association for Palestine cannot tackle that.

33  
34 UM2: The goal..., the goal of the paper, I wrote these ideas to make them available on the table  
35 and people can think them over and the brothers might find things in them they could  
36 recommend. I don't say that we should make a decision right now to open an  
37 organization, nor do I say that we ought to make a decision right now to do this or that,  
38 but an idea it should be put on the table for discussion and it can be assigned to one or  
39 two brothers to discuss it from all aspects. I mean, there is nothing to further identify it,  
40 whether it is a political, a specialized or a media organization or whatever. It is just an  
41 idea on the table, that's all.

42  
43 UM1: Ok, my brothers. We will...UI in these few minutes. After the discussion, after the paper

1 which was presented by our brothers and our discussion of the political address and the  
2 other problems, it is fine if another idea is brought up to further clarify this idea. We will  
3 discuss it anyway.  
4

5 Sh: It is not the topic of the session anyway.  
6

7 UM1: Yes, yes. May God reward you well. Is there any other final comment before we move on  
8 to...  
9

10 UM3: I see that we move on now and then...UI.  
11

12 As: My brother, regarding the goals...UI but we should really specify the goals. I believe it  
13 should be the future of the Palestinian activism..., the Palestinian activism in North  
14 America. We really shouldn't end the presentation until we have identified the goals we  
15 wish to accomplish in the upcoming stage. Making Muslims in America aware of the  
16 danger of this event which is targeting the Islamists. It is goal of a stage. Introducing the  
17 meanings of the sanctity of Al Aqsa to educational curricula, making charitable work  
18 effective, forming the public opinion or coming up with a policy to influence the..., the  
19 way the Americans deal with the Islamists, for instance. I believe these should be the  
20 goals of this stage. ...UI... The paper was good and specific. May God reward you well.  
21

22 UM1: I put the questions so that the brothers..., I mean, my goal is that the brother will go  
23 through them and that they open the door for discussion if the brothers could answer  
24 them. This is just to scratch your head. These questions..., really, we ask them at the  
25 [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] and we want to know them, want them to be  
26 clarified either officially or they could be agreed on here. I mean, they need to be very  
27 specific. Now, is the new Palestinian state going to....  
28

29 UM2: The self-rule authority.  
30

31 UM1: The new self-rule authority..., Ok, the new self-rule authority..., are we going to fight it,  
32 totally boycott it or take a neutral stand or adopt a stand which supports two solutions or  
33 exactly what? These are..., these are... We need answers which can be either provided  
34 now or be presented to the researchers so that they can give us replies to them. That's it. I  
35 left them unanswered because I don't want to answer them as I don't have enough power  
36 to answer them.  
37

38 UM2: You as what? The [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] or as a Movement or what?  
39

40 UM1: I'm speaking as the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine], as an individual or regarding the  
41 presentation I'm making. But, it is difficult for me to reply to these questions as they need  
42 brothers who are researchers who work on these answers.  
43

1 UM2: Ok, let's move on to brother Nihad and keep in mind that - like brother Aboul Hasan  
2 mentioned - the issue of specifying goals for the future of the Palestinian activism in  
3 America is an important issue we should get out of this session like the issue of the  
4 political address for the Americans or the Islamic communities.  
5

6 [UI brief group talk].  
7

8 Sh: I swear by your God that war is deception. War is deception. We are fighting our enemy  
9 with a kind heart and we never thought of deceiving it. War is deception. Deceive,  
10 camouflage, pretend that you're leaving while you're walking that way. Or do we have to  
11 be...UI. Deceive your enemy.  
12

13 Om: ...UI. This is like one who plays basketball; he makes a player believe that he is doing this  
14 while he does something else...UI. I agree with you. Like they say; politics is a  
15 completion of war.  
16

17 Sh: Yes, politics - like war - is a deception.  
18

19 UM1: So, are you going to play basketball in order to camouflage yourselves from the  
20 Organization, you mean? [Laughter].  
21

22 Sh: For instance. We should have a...UI and play basketball. We play and become  
23 professional players.  
24

25 UM2: The reality is that the entire world is not resisting us due to our connections to Palestine.  
26 The Palestinian cause came to existence - and I believe you know the history - as a war on  
27 Islam and Muslims. If this was not the whole issue, it is a big part of the issue. Now,  
28 regarding the world strategy or what is called the New American Order, isn't its most  
29 prominent aspects is how to strike Islamic activism? How can you now change any of  
30 your work aspects under the excuse of camouflaging myself from this or that person? Ok,  
31 I don't have an objection. Camouflage, but what are the slogans you will be raising? We  
32 have issues I wonder how are we going to change them. I as a Muslim, what can I say  
33 about the Palestinian cause? Do you have anything to change or alter regarding this cause  
34 since I as a Muslim cannot forsake any part of Palestine, even one flea. I mean, [like  
35 saying] "We accept the division of '47. We accept the '67 solution. Accept this and that".  
36 Can I say any of that as a Muslim? The other issue is that crying over these fundamentals  
37 is a display of the Islamic call which is our grand cause. We took up the cause of  
38 Palestine out of our desire to call to Islam or is it not? We shouldn't let all of our causes  
39 pour into the cause of Palestine and then come back and present Islam or ideas..., ideas  
40 about our issues in a frame which, instead of being an Islamic Sharia perspective,  
41 becomes a political matter which might be mixed with some Islamic hue. So, what I was  
42 hearing... This is what I understood: that our enemies..., forget about them. Brother  
43 Shukri mentioned that we send people to Palestine under this excuse or under that name.

1 This is as if people over there don't understand, read, spy or are informed or anything.  
2 What I say is that I don't have a problem with us forming organizations whose names and  
3 colors are chosen with any sort of caution. There is no problem with that. But, we  
4 shouldn't forget that the fundamentals we spoke about - specially regarding the Islamic  
5 Association for Palestine - are fundamentals which have no change or alteration. This is  
6 one point. Another point is that Arafat in particular..., I don't there is anyone else who lies  
7 more than him and I don't think there is anyone who is more criminal than him. By God,  
8 in '68, Saleh Sirryah told me that he sat with him in a reconciliation session at the house  
9 of Dr. Kandil Shbeir in '68. The session lasted from midnight until morning. And he  
10 stayed with Arafat for three days with the bases. He said I didn't see him perform one  
11 prayer and I saw him eating pork. This is what Saleh Sirryah said. And I asked Qandil  
12 about the session when he came to America and he said "Yes, the session took place at  
13 my house". The witness told me that Saleh Sirryah and...UI to my God, he told me that  
14 this man [*Arafat*] eliminates his opponents. He is a criminal. See all of those he killed...  
15

16 UM1: Abdel Fattah Issa Humoud and...

17  
18 UM2: Yes, all of those. So, what I wanted to say... And you know that Arafat was appointed by  
19 force by Abdel Nasser. He was supported by Abdel Nasser who was the one who brought  
20 him on board and protected him for the cause as Al Shokeiri didn't..., didn't succeed and  
21 didn't do. In fact, we must take some precaution which suits our presence in America but,  
22 my brothers, we cannot change the fundamentals of our creed. We cannot change  
23 whatever relates to a Sharia aspect. I just wanted to draw attention to these fundamentals  
24 because I see that the talk is gradually wearing political hues which might be dominant in  
25 presenting the issue to the point of making us a different entity. I say once more, if you  
26 get drunk and woke up and did whatever, it is known that you work for Islamic activism.  
27 Like the Muslim Brothers said before, they said "I went inside the bar and this spy  
28 following me and it still didn't work". He shaved his beard and it didn't work. Did  
29 whatever and it didn't work. He is a Muslim Brotherhood [*member*] and that's it. You  
30 see? "Jews and Christians won't be pleased with you until you follow their religion".  
31 What does "...until you follow their religion" mean? It is like what Arafat did. Arafat  
32 followed their religion and he became a Jew.  
33

34 UM1: Is this an edict, sheik?

35  
36 UM2: I'm not saying someone became an infidel or...UI. [*Laughter*]

37  
38 UM1: Go ahead.

39  
40 Ni: Peace be with you and God's mercy. Praise be to God, prayers and peace be on God's  
41 prophet. God's willing, I will read the paper I wrote and which was distributed to the  
42 brothers. Many of them...UI. I hope that you write down your remarks, suggestions or  
43 objections because this talk will be the implementation of all what I understood from you.

1 All that was said before are theories and this is the application. I will read to you what  
2 will be said by us at the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] or what will be put in our  
3 writing or our work curriculum until the end of the year or until God wishes. Of course,  
4 we are the primary entity doing media activism and it seems that, based on our  
5 appearance on CNN, people have started to contact us. Americans, Muslims, non-  
6 Muslims, Jews, Zionists, Arabs, branches of Islamic communities and all of them are  
7 asking us for the conclusion, the conclusion of our opinion and our direction. They want  
8 us to display all we have. This is one thing. On the other hand, organizations such as  
9 NAAA invited us to participate in their conference to deliver a lecture about the Islamic  
10 view regarding it. So, the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] will be attended by James  
11 Baker, Dennis Ross from the U.S. delegation and all the chairmen of Arab negotiation  
12 delegations. This is on one aspect. So, I hope that at the end..., the conference is at the end  
13 of the month. So, I hope that you take notes, listen to what I'm going to say, remind us  
14 and advise us on how our address should be.

15  
16 UM1: Nihad, this means that this paper contains what you are going to say?

17  
18 Ni: No, this one is... The last..., the last page I will say...

19  
20 UM2: ...UI are you going to say something else? [Laughter]

21  
22 UM1: No, no... I mean, the format you're talking about now..., are they new formats or..., a  
summary of what was said before?

23  
24 Ni: In fact, I will speak about the media aspect in the beginning as mentioned in the paper. At  
25 the end..., the end of the session, I will speak about the sensitive points which they always  
26 bring up to us, or the points which we are supposed to present. It is clear from the latest  
27 events as well as the ones prior to them that the media is stronger than politics. On the  
28 contrary,...UI that politics might not measure up to the media level and the agreement was  
29 a media round. It sacred people through media marketing to the point that politicians  
30 weren't able to confront the media campaign, I mean those who are opposed to the  
31 agreement in general terms. Five goals are clear in this paper. These five goals include  
32 establishing some media means and developing some of the existing outlets. As for the  
33 third goal, it is a continuation of what was asked of us in the morning. May brothers in  
34 the media field remember these points and...UI. The first goal is increasing the awareness  
35 and the attention of those working for Palestine to media at the local level, meaning in the  
36 cities, or on the U.S. level because we normally ask where are the people who work in the  
37 media field and we don't think that we could personally work in the media field. For  
38 instance, we have about 20 brothers, maybe only brother Nihad or Ghassan who work in  
39 media. But it could be that none of us perform that [media] role when he expresses the  
40 view of the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] and the Islamic view to the media  
41 outlets. In order to achieve this level of awareness, I have four points I mentioned; the  
42 first thing is training and qualifying individuals in the branches and the communities on  
43

1 media activism through holding special courses on media. Also, we could have  
2 internships for students, either in institutions or universities. They would get a credit and  
3 then come to us at the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] to write or assist us in  
4 activism. This would be a part of their program. Second, encouraging the...UI of activism  
5 between students and directing them to study media and political sciences through  
6 meeting with them and encouraging them to do so. The brothers in the morning  
7 mentioned that students must be directed to study media. Brother Aboul Hasan mentioned  
8 that we must direct people to study journalism, political sciences and stuff like that. How  
9 can that be accomplished? I mean through which way? It is right there and this should be  
10 mentioned to the company (NFI) or we should be asking about the students when we  
11 meet with the community. Or you could ask about the students in the community and  
12 direct them in that regards. Otherwise, they are not going to study media or politics on  
13 their own if they don't find someone to encourage them to. The 3<sup>rd</sup> aspect is providing  
14 branches and communities with materials, statements and information needed to help  
15 them cooperate with media outlets. This is like what is going on right now. People  
16 contact us [asking] "What is the view of the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] so that  
17 we can adopt it with the media outlets? Issue statements for us, positions", or it could be  
18 that they want information. "What do you say? Why don't you hold a press conference, a  
19 statement...". All of these are things the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] is trying to  
20 make available. Four, supplying lecturers and speakers with academic materials and  
21 information to facilitate their job. Many of the brothers now would like to give a lecture  
22 either to the communities or to the universities but they don't have information. We will  
23 try to group it and give it to them, God's willing. The second goal which is making the  
24 Palestinian public aware of the nature of the Islamic solution and its validity and also the  
25 dangers of the current events and incidents first through making sure Al Zaytouna reaches  
26 as many people as possible. Second, cooperating with Arab media. There are Arab media  
27 outlets. There are organizations which own TV's, radio, magazines and newspapers. We  
28 don't reach them. We need to reach these people and ask them for a statement or to open  
29 the door for the Islamic current to present its view. Three, holding political seminars with  
30 other opposing parties present, meaning building coalitions and holding seminars to make  
31 the community aware of the Islamic voice. Four, field visits and meeting with branches  
32 and communities in order to speak with them. This is a very important point. We have the  
33 largest public while the leaders, you at the communities or the brothers at the executive  
34 committee of the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] are supposed to visit the  
35 community and meet people. I mean, they shouldn't just see the newspaper or see some of  
36 the statements but, they want to see some individuals from the [Islamic] Association [for  
37 Palestine] to come to visit. The [Palestinian Liberation] Organization was doing this for  
38 15 years. This was the only connection between the leaders of the [Palestinian  
39 Liberation] Organization in America and the communities. They used to visit them,  
40 do...UI for them and work according to a plan.

41  
42 UM1: Worked according to a plan?  
43

1 Ni: They knew whom to go to and which individuals to pay attention to. Therefore, they  
2 would be affiliated with the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization. Five, focusing on the  
3 common national rights for all opposition figures when giving an input. The third goal  
4 now is the Islamic community in addition to the Palestinian public. Informing the Islamic  
5 public with the importance of the Palestinian cause from the Islamic aspect and the  
6 necessity of supporting it. Of course, some of this stuff was mentioned but, I have to  
7 mention here eight points quickly. Means: first, contacting and cooperating with Islamic  
8 non-Arab media outlets such as ISNA and ICNA and all the other existing non-Arab  
9 organizations and exchanging articles and subscriptions with them. Second, giving an  
10 opportunity to the largest number of non-Arab writers to adopt, write about and speaking  
11 about the Palestinian cause and developing a list of these people. This means that, in  
12 order to reach the Pakistani or the Indian community, it is better to get a Pakistani person  
13 or an Afro-American to speak about your cause. This will be better than if you speak.  
14 Brothers, we are already doing some of these things at the [*Islamic*] Association [*for*  
15 *Palestine*]. For instance, I started to compile a list of people who like to..., I provide them  
16 with information so that they speak to their public. Three, making sure that the Muslim  
17 World Monitor reaches the centers and the organizations which don't receive it. This issue  
18 needs a survey. Four, inviting non-Arabic speakers to attend The Return Festivals so that  
19 they see that Palestine has a certain cultural and artistic characteristic. Let them come and  
20 attend even if they don't understand Arabic. We can make ...UI for them. Also, inviting  
21 them to attend the MAYA conferences and its forums. We normally don't think about that  
22 because we don't provide translation to them. You can bring the Muslim non-Arab  
23 activists and leaders of activism and have them attend the conferences where they meet  
24 the scholars and see for themselves the sensitivity of the Palestinian cause with its people  
25 and with the Arab public and they will be more touched. Five, re-writing some leaflets  
26 and media issues relating to the Palestinian cause in English. Six, publishing short leaflets  
27 and booklets about the importance of Palestine and the existing solutions. That means  
28 issuing quick brochures. For instance, the issue of the agreement, we put together a full  
29 package and it is possible that we can now improve it and put it in the form of question  
30 and answer. A question-and-answer format and present it to the public. Seven, attending  
31 the conferences of the non-Arabic speakers. I mean, participate in them and deliver  
32 lectures or we could participate in the seminars. Finally, in order to familiarize people  
33 with the Islamic view, we must hold meeting with Dr. Jamal Badawi, for instance...

34  
35 Om: There is no need to mention the details as we won't finish this way.

36  
37 Ni: Why do I tell you about these things, brothers? Because this is a practical... Everything  
38 you said is theoretical in my opinion while this is what the action the [*Islamic*]  
39 Association [*for Palestine*] will tackle.

40  
41 UM1: What kind of accusations are these?

42  
43 Ni: No, excuse me... I mean, how are you going to implement all what you said, all what you

1 said unless through the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine]?

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

3  
4  
5 Ni: I will read it and he who is opposed can raise his hand.

6  
7 Om: We can summarize them.

8  
9 Sh: No. The goal of this seminar, my brother, is for us to reach certain convictions and then  
10 the organizations are to format these convictions into action plan and stuff like that. But,  
11 for us to discuss the action plan now in details..., this is not the purpose unless there are  
12 main, main, broad strategies in media, politics or stuff like that, the brothers can reach a  
13 consensus regarding them. If they are accepted, they will be turned over to the  
14 organizations to discuss them as an action plan. And every organization has its board of  
15 directors and its board and private public.

16  
17 [UI brief group talk].

18  
19 Sh: Focus on the goals.

20  
21 UM1: The only goal which needs discussion is the sixth goal. As for the rest of the goals...UI.

22  
23 Ni: Ok, for those people who have the papers, I will quickly read the goals for them. The  
24 fourth goal is becoming open to the media in the U.S. and the Western society to ease the  
25 intensity of the campaign and to explain the legality of the opposition led by the Islamists.  
26 This is the work of the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine]. Five, developing and  
27 strengthening the media department of the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine]. This  
28 needs..., needs attention and I urge the brothers to understand that the administrative  
29 media department of the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] is very weak and that if  
30 brother Mohamed or myself are absent, this would mean that no newspaper or media  
31 work will be done. Therefore, we need to speak about the necessity of finding reporters to  
32 do media work because we only have two individuals or even one and a half. We need  
33 someone at the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] to handle the secretarial issues.

34  
35 UM1: ...UI a secretary.

36  
37 Ni: There are..., there are options...UI.

38  
39 [UI brief group talk].

40  
41 UM2: What is the goal of...UI.

42  
43 Ni: Huh?

1 UM2: It is not written here.

2 Ni: ...UI I asked him last time and he didn't have an objection.  
3

4  
5 UM1: On what?

6  
7 Ni: A young man named Ahmad, a good-looking man. [*Laughter*].  
8

9 UM1: To handle secretarial issues? [*Laughter*].  
10

11 Ni: Let's discuss the last goal which is the third goal. A media attempt to deal with the  
12 agreement and its ramifications. The first thing, there are four axes; the first axis....  
13



1 Ni: ...UI. Three, citing the international permanent rights in validating the legitimacy of  
2 resistance to the occupation and citing historical examples from the past of resistance to  
3 occupations in the West and the East.  
4

5 UM1: There is a resolution from the UN.  
6

7 Ni: What?  
8

9 UM1: There is a UN General Assembly resolution..., an official resolution and the entire world  
10 has approved it.  
11

12 Ni: Yes. This is in reply to...  
13

14 UM1: ...UI. I mean that there is one already.  
15

16 Ni: Four, stressing the democracy of the opposition and national coalitions to expose the  
17 national cover the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization currently relies on. Five,  
18 focusing on the struggle with Israel by showing the history and the continuity of the  
19 suffering at several levels. The second axis is supporting charity work and economic  
20 projects. We will speak about media coverage for charitable works. Making people aware  
21 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...  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31

32 UM1: Talking about whom you mean?  
33

34 Ni: The leadership over there. Tell them about the sensitive points here to discuss them. That  
35 means we should omit the...UI style. We speak with the anchor man as if he is...UI.  
36

37 Sh: The president of the state.  
38

39 Ni: Yes. Attacking the media people is a very bad thing for the Americans. The same  
40 thing...UI, you're addressing all the people. The fourth and the last axis is keeping up with  
41 the internal events and incidents and breaking the Western black-out of them. First,  
42 putting out a video tape ...UI through brother Ghassan. Putting out a video tape, a study or  
43 a booklet about the main issues such as the refugees, Jerusalem, the neglected needs to

1 make people familiar with them. I suggested something I called "The Forgotten  
2 Majority". We put out a tape, huh, about the forgotten majority and hold meetings in the  
3 inside about the suffering so that people know that the project has neglected them and,  
4 therefore, the Islamic duty of people is to support them. Second, noting incidents of  
5 violations of citizens' rights and Islamic rights. Meaning that if we feel there has been a  
6 violation of people over there under this agreement we present their case. We adopt..., we  
7 adopt people's suffering, people who suffered because of this agreement and present their  
8 case here. Finally, dispatching a delegation representing the Muslim community like the  
9 brothers mentioned to visit Jerusalem and Palestine. What concerns me here is..., is  
10 providing media coverage for it. I mean, they shouldn't go and benefit from the visit and  
11 we get nothing. No, they take a camera with them, make a documentary and we distribute  
12 it to people over here so that they know...UI their presence and, therefore, we can get their  
13 support for the direction of the Movement. Finally, there is a suggestion to the Fund: if  
14 we couldn't make brotherhoods between the Islamic University, for instance, and other  
15 universities here before we can sponsor it, we can make brotherhoods between students. I  
16 mean, support the students over there. We can have a rich Muslim student over here - not  
17 even necessarily an Arab or a Muslim - adopt students over there. Brotherhood students  
18 program. And this will be..., will be done regardless there is or there is not a [*Palestinian*]  
19 Authority...

20  
21 Om: This is dangerous [*laughter*] ...UI Brotherhood.

Ni: Ok. May God reward you well for your good listening and...

25 Sh: This..., this is a discussion now...

26  
27 [*UI brief group laughter and talk*].

28  
29 Sh: Brother...UI will answer the questions which were posed like he mentioned even though  
30 we surrounded him and didn't let him speak freely. But, the question is..., allow me to  
31 pose a question. I still feel that all of that still doesn't answer the following question  
32 :What do you want? What do you want to get from the Muslim public through your  
33 media address. What are you exactly, exactly trying to do. And also from the non-Muslim  
34 public, Ok? What do you want from these people.

35  
36 Ni: Yes. Now?

37  
38 Sh: Yes.

39  
40 Ni: Responding..., responding to people's need over there on the media, political and financial  
41 levels. I will give you an example: people in Gaza have a problem. Your energy here is  
42 limited. If you hear of a false rumor, you want to discredit it, huh? If people need money,  
43 we would provide media coverage. We encourage people to donate to you. If there is a

1 political issue, a Samah's input, for instance, about this or that, we inform people to  
2 contact their representatives, I mean the...UI and others, print circulations and send them  
3 to them. I have a long list of circulations which I didn't mention. Let's not get into details.  
4 If you, brothers, have questions or answers for the brothers we can send them via fax...  
5 There is a sample containing 15 questions...er, suggested questions and answers in case  
6 the media inquired or something. In my view we will be suggesting many things of this  
7 kind. The method of question and answer...UI.  
8

9 [UI brief group talk].  
10

11 UM1: I might be able to get out with a goal I already know through Shukri...UI.  
12

13 Om: We should ask until how long can we..., to what extent we can address the Muslim  
14 community, the Palestinian community and the Americans with the same tone, the same  
15 address. Can we?  
16

17 Ni: Yes.  
18

19 Om: For instance, can we address a Muslim Palestinian who...UI with the same address we say  
20 to an American?  
21

Ni: Yes.

Om: How?  
25

26 Ni: I..., I... This is what I feel. I'm comfortable that when I address a Muslim or an observant  
27 or a non-observant Palestinian it will be one address. I don't say needless things, that's  
28 true, I can't say that over there, huh. But, I can speak about the legality of the occupation  
29 and cite examples from their history, huh,...  
30

31 Sh: [You mean] the illegality of occupying Palestine.  
32

33 Ni: It is possible.  
34

35 Om: Ok, for instance, the statement we issued at the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine]... I  
36 speak now as if I'm outside the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine]..., the Fund and the  
37 [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] and on which ten Islamic organizations signed..., I  
38 doubt that a lot of Muslims will read it and understand what is in it.  
39

40 Ni: Really?  
41

42 Om: They won't get an idea what the statement wants.  
43

1 Ni: It is full of essay-type wording.  
2  
3 Om: Not essay-type...  
4  
5 Ni: Yes, it is long.  
6  
7 Om: No, not that. It is because we kept prolonging it, diluting it and making it like water,  
8 talked about the effect of the state, let's keep this sentence and this sentence will be  
9 rejected, let's take it out. At the end, a person must be very smart and either know that we  
10 are opposed and, consequently, understood from the statement that we are opposed, or he  
11 is intelligent and he understands that we are opposed but cannot speak.  
12  
13 Ni: Ok, fine.  
14  
15 Om: But, for a simple..., for a simple Muslim young man can read this statement and get out  
16 with 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. Even our faith, the religious aspect of the issue was not mentioned  
17 and you cannot...UI. Despite that, I believe that the best way, the easiest way and the most  
18 certain way to reach the Muslim community in regards to Palestine is the religious aspect.  
19 This is the most certain one. There is no..., there is no room for discussion. I don't debate  
20 him about a profit or a loss. I won't say "Give me an opportunity or give me Jerusalem or  
21 give me...". They might give a state tomorrow.

UM1: ...UI in the first place.

25 Om: I know, regardless. But, when I stand up and tell him that Sharia says so and so, the Jews  
26 are God's enemy, for instance... I won't say "God's enemy". I will say it in a way..., citing  
27 the Islamic aspect, that the Islamic aspect prohibits that. Provide the edict of a particular  
28 sheik. Ten edicts won't leave a room for doubt with him.  
29  
30 Ni: Ok.  
31  
32 Om: So, how can I apply that?...UI.  
33  
34 Ni: The first statement of the [*Islamic*] Association [*for Palestine*] was clear.  
35  
36 Om: Ok, fine, fine. There is a double standard.  
37  
38 Ni: Just a second. And the second statement..., why did the brothers make it diluted? Because  
39 it was signed by twelve organizations and each one of them wanted to change something  
40 about it. Why was this statement issued in their name? Because we wanted to provide  
41 legality or cover for the bottom line, that this is a historical document and the entire  
42 Muslim community or its ranking people believe that. As for those who want to know the  
43 opinion of the [*Islamic*] Association [*for Palestine*] shouldn't read this statement. Go and

1 read the [*Islamic*] Association [*for Palestine*]'s first statement.

2  
3 UM1: That one was clear.

4  
5 Ni: Its language was clear.

6  
7 Om: That's true. That's why I'm saying that the problem we're facing is that even Muslims who  
8 want to live in this country rejected our first statement. They found it strong so they,  
9 toned it down, toned it down and toned it down until it reached the lowest level which  
10 was agreeable by all and which turned out to be far different from the first original  
11 statement. How about if the Americans came on board as well?

12  
13 Ni: Yes. Excuse me. Let me...

14  
15 Om: I mean, if the Americans came on board... Also, there are even Islamic organizations  
16 which refused to sign. They said that this is still too much. They said that we must  
17 surrender even more.

18  
19 Ni: You must understand.... Let's be honest. The weakness, my brothers,... Pray on the  
20 prophet. The weakness, by God, is not from the public. The weakness comes from the  
21 scared leaders.

Om: Regardless of that...

25 Ni: No. Stay with me. My brother, I see another thing. Did you see the programs which were  
26 aired after the signing and the interviews with the people, the children who are born here,  
27 who are non-observant, their statements sounded radical. People seek glory. Those who  
28 are scared are the leaders and let's not name names.

29  
30 UM1: Regardless....UI.

31  
32 Om: We don't want leaders other than the existing ones. They signed the statement.

33  
34 Ni: And that's why they signed the statement. That's why we modified the language a bit.  
35 Unfortunately, people even...UI that our private language which we adopt and which we  
36 bear responsibility for is strong and clear.

37  
38 UM1: If this tells you something, it tells you that the problem is..., the problem is not in the  
39 language of the address, not in media. Media is a tool to..., a tool to pass along what you  
40 have. The problem really is whether we reached a level of strength whereby we tell the  
41 Islamic organizations "This is the position of Islam in Palestine. Are you going to adhere  
42 to it or else...?". We didn't reach this stage. When we reach this stage the language of the  
43 address will be..., they will be looking for a way to manage his situation with.

1 Sh: What do you mean "...or else?". Are you going to close his center for him?  
3 UM1: No. I won't close his center but you can use means..., legal means, legal means and legal  
4 reasons to use against him and tell him "Your position is either Islamic or non-Islamic.  
5 One or the other". As for the language of the address, everyone will tell you "By God, I'm  
6 scared of this guy. This guy is my neighbor and this guy is watching me".  
7  
8 UM2: You mean that they don't have an opinion in this issue, the Islamic organizations? I tell  
9 you, this is what I noticed, all the Islamic organizations such as ISNA, ICNA and others  
10 wish to see the day you issue a statement in your name and that's it. You are a specialized  
11 entity and you leave them alone.  
12  
13 Om: That's not what I mean.  
14  
15 UM2: But, there is no need for us to..., in order for us to cast legitimacy to... We represent the  
16 Islamic Palestinian legitimacy and end it at that. You see?  
17  
18 Om: Yes.  
19  
20 UM2: He will then come to you and tell you "I need to know your opinion regarding the  
21 Palestinian cause from the Muslim aspect". Here is the [*Islamic*] Association [*for  
Palestine*].  
22  
23 Ni: Of course, they don't want that...  
24  
25 UM2: But, if you keep contacting ISNA and ICNA, you will be forced to modify the language of  
26 the address.  
27  
28 Om: But, there is danger in that.  
29  
30 UM2: Because the other guy won't agree and the...UI won't agree because each one of them has  
31 his own..., his own worship.  
32  
33 Om: I believe there is a danger from this aspect if they forsake... I tell you honestly that the  
34 Jews are working on Islamic organizations here. Really working. To the point that the  
35 American Jewish Congress chairman calls the chairman of the Islamic Center of Los  
36 Angeles and invites him to attend the meeting. He arranged for him to come to the attend  
37 the meeting at the White House, to come attend the ceremony.  
38  
39 UM2: Alamodi attended that one.  
40  
41 Om: Alamodi attended. Alamodi... Why are then keen on...  
42  
43

1 UM2: Alamodi attended the signing of the agreement.

2 Om: He did, yes. They are keen on...

3 UM1: Omar is talking about Maher Hathout being called to the meeting and he declined.

4 Om: He declined. He declined. Maher declined. Maher declined. But, who invited him? The  
5 chairman of the..., a person who is very high in the Jewish community.

6 UM1: ...UI.

7 Ni: No, what happened is that the person who invited him to attend is a person connected to  
8 Washington, D.C. The chairman of the American Jewish Congress invited him to meet a  
9 very high-ranking Israeli person. He told me and he asked me not to mention the name  
10 but I...UI. They asked him..., they asked him to attend a meeting with Shimon Perez. He  
11 was coming to Los Angeles and they told him "Come and attend a meeting with Shimon  
12 Perez". He asked me as we are in charge of the Islamic...UI, "Should we attend?". I told  
13 him "I wouldn't attend". So, he said "Ok, fine. I won't attend".

14 UM1: ...UI. But, like the sheik said; we are reference for the people to check with. We should  
15 indicate the facts and should remain in constant contacts with these Islamic organizations  
16 that we issued a statement and "If you want to join us in the statement here it is". If they  
17 want to toy with you, trying to downgrade it or tone down its language or anything like  
18 that, it is fine, we can issue another statement if it doesn't harm the general content, you  
19 see, in the name of the organizations. But, our position should remain clear and we  
20 remain the reference. If someone erred like Abdel Rahman Alamodi when he brought the  
21 Counsel and stuff, we would swarm his head through the media outlets we possess. "Here  
22 is the Islamic position regarding the Palestinian cause. You don't represent the..., you  
23 don't represent the Islamic position regarding this cause". You see? I mean, when I find  
24 out that Abdel Rahman Alamodi attended, everyone should pick up the phone and contact  
25 him, seriously, so that he feels that he cannot appease the Americans at the expense of our  
26 cause.

27 Sh: He appeased them and said....UI.

28 UM1: At least..., at least..., at least we should tell him "Your position should have been  
29 honorable like Haider Abdel Shafi - a communist - who declined to attend". That's it.

30 UM2: He tried to meet with Clinton and...UI.

31 Ni: We show him a proof from Islam and tell him "Haider Abdel Shafi declined to attend".

32 UM2: This is politics.

1 UM1: What?  
3 UM2: This is politics.  
4  
5 UM1: I understand. It is politics.  
6  
7 [*UI brief group talk*].  
8  
9 Ni: Surrender brings about surrender. Alamodi started in a wrong way.  
10  
11 UM1: I'm totally comfortable with the suggestion mentioned by brother Nihad. If you want to  
12 present the issues, go ahead and present them to the American, to the Muslim and others  
13 because you have obvious and fundamental issues. The second thing is, unfortunately,  
14 many of the Islamists don't discuss the cause don't present it in the real Sharia aspect.  
15 They present it in a political aspect which might carry a hint of Islamic jurisprudence.  
16 There is a difference.  
17  
18 Ni: They inject some color in it.  
19  
20 UM1: No, I'm seriously speaking. I'm telling you, I asked the brothers when Mohamed Siyyam  
21 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.  
25  
26 Om: It is between infidels and infidels.  
27  
28 UM1: Yes. The second thing is that peace shouldn't be endless.  
29  
30 Ni: This is correct.  
31  
32 UM1: Therefore, when I read these things, these are legal matters, people will have...UI. You  
33 see? So, we are trying to ignore the legal position in matters in favor for political hues.  
34 This is what is ruining things.  
35  
36 Om: But, you still cannot show the legal position to the Americans...UI.  
37  
38 UM1: No, my brother. There are things I can warn against such as... I won't be naive to the point  
39 of telling the American "It is my right to enslave your daughter and...", like what Omar  
40 Abdel Rahman did in Detroit and said that "America will be a plunder for us". His words  
41 are correct [*Laughter and UI brief group comments*]. No, really. It was wrong.  
42  
43 Ni: By God, by God, I don't see any embarrassment in speaking about Islamic Sharia because

1 it is...UI. If we can make people...UI it should be convincing. If we don't like it..UI

2  
3 UM1: Is this your faith in God and your faith in Islam?  
4

5 UM2: Even some of..., some of the members of the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization when  
6 they used to rush to U.S. TV, before the peace treaty issue was presented and stuff like  
7 that, when they were opposed to it..., I remember Hatem Hussein in the beginning of 80's  
8 and stuff, he used to say "We want our share in it. We want El Lod, Ramallah and stuff  
9 like that". And they used to cite examples saying "If someone comes to your house and  
10 stole something. Would you accept that or not?". The Americans used to hear this kind of  
11 talk. They liked it or not..., but the input was similar. So, the Americans..., we must  
12 address them from a position of right and justice and, at the same time, choose our words  
13 well. I mean we shouldn't mess up like Omar Abdel Rahman and fight and stuff like that.  
14 The guy who opposes the treaty, Netanyahu, found a way to address the American public  
15 opinion. They accept him, that's true, because he is an Israeli and like him more than us,  
16 of course, he is Jewish, you see? But, he found a path that is different from Rabin's, you  
17 see? He stressed his convictions in Palestine and stuff like that and rejected the treaty and  
18 told them "I would like peace also but, people in Palestine will do this and that". Stuff  
19 like that. We could also...UI.  
20

21 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.

22  
23 Sh: When we reach the Americans there is always a disagreement. I have a feeling - please  
24 forgive me for that - that we avoid speaking with the Americans as we are not trained in  
25 talking with them and we are intimidated. We are scared to talk. We don't really have a  
26 clear policy in dealing with them. It is easy to speak with someone from your country and  
27 tell him..., tell him "We're from Haifa to Yafo". And Al Sakhra band sings from Haifa to  
28 Yafo. You cannot sit down with an American and..., that we didn't even take...UI until '48  
29 and that we must...UI.  
30

31  
32 Ni: Please, I meet with...UI in California, a Jewish...UI. I told her this stuff. I told her "I'm a  
33 Palestinian from the camps, from Borj El Barajna in Beirut...".  
34

35 Sh: Fine, fine. This..., this..., this is a private conversation. But, as a banner...  
36

37 Om: There is a difference between you saying "I want to restore the '48 land" and when you  
38 say "I want to destroy Israel".  
39

40 Sh: Allow me, my brother, allow me. There are two logics: the logic of the powerful..., there  
41 is the logic of the powerful when the power person is like Netanyahu, say what you want  
42 and whatever you say will be right.  
43

1 UM1: No doubt, sheik.

3 Sh: And when you have all right but distant like this guy, El Sayyed Ali..., what is his name,  
4 the guy from Bosnia, he came to Clinton, he had all the right in the world at his side but it  
5 didn't help him any. He returned..., he returned empty-handed. America told him "Go  
6 back and you have nothing other than peace negotiations. We won't stand with you and  
7 we won't fire one bullet for your sake", even though..., even though all right and logic are  
8 at his side, the UN is siding with him and stuff like that.

9  
10 UM1: And he delivered a good speech. He clapped for them and then..UI. It still didn't work.

11  
12 Sh: Fine. My brothers, I say look at the Iranian media, for instance. What is our problem? It is  
13 that one organization is attempting to address all people and this is impossible to do,  
14 especially in regards to media. Ok. You need more than one party to express.... I mean,  
15 how is the American..., the American media? It is a directed media. The person who cares  
16 about fishing is directed to publish a newspaper..., a magazine for fishing. He who cares  
17 about...UI. There is a very, very..., I mean market segmentation and everyone who cares  
18 about an issue will find a newspaper he wants. We don't have this thing right now and I'm  
19 totally not convinced with what you said that we address the Palestinian, the Arab and the  
20 American using the same address. This, really, is...

21 Ni: I didn't say that.

22  
23  
24 UM1: Ok, let's..., let's... Listen...

25  
26 Sh: It is impossible. It will fire back. Even the ordinary Muslim, we shouldn't address him in  
27 the same manner we address the Palestinians.

28  
29 UM1: Let's be practical. Sheik, sheik, let's be practical. You tell us what address you suggest  
30 and we evaluate it. We discuss it. I mean, what would you say if you are addressing the  
31 U.S. media...UI.

32  
33 Sh: Nihad's approach is right...

34  
35 UM2: ...UI. This issue is very long and needs research. What is important is that everyone  
36 should give his opinion on how the address should be. How is the address divided. Is it  
37 going to be divided to five parts, four parts, three parts or two parts. How is it going to  
38 be? And, when you do speak, what should you say...UI. I believe that this is a very long  
39 subject and...

40  
41 UM1: That's what I'm saying. That is why we should agree on it right now.

42  
43 Sh: In light of the current crisis, I now see that addressing the American public in relation to

1 the issue of the self-rule that we should not even mention the word PLO. We should not  
2 give the U.S. media the impression that our war is a partisan war, that these guys are PLO  
3 and we don't like them, or [mention] Yasser Arafat. It discredits us and them. Meanwhile,  
4 I can speak with the son of my homeland, I can discuss with him reasons he would  
5 understand. A Pakistani person would not understand anything. We ask a Pakistani  
6 "Where is Jericho?" and doesn't know where is Jericho in the first place. By God, by God,  
7 by God, there are Palestinian youths, Palestinian youths in...UI and they don't know. They  
8 ask me "Where is this Jericho? By God, I don't know it..." and they don't understand what  
9 I'm saying. I say that we cannot do the same thing for everybody. With the American  
10 people, we must focus with it in the next stage on the issues you brought up such as  
11 human suffering and the rights..., the issues which he understands, which suits the make-  
12 up of his brain. Once he understands that there is a personal friction between you and  
13 Abou Ammar or with...UI and there was some talk about PLO and stuff, I believe that he  
14 will change the issue from that of people's struggle regarding rights to that of a struggle of  
15 a faction with another. On the other hand, I say that we must discredit the legitimate  
16 Palestinian leadership with the Palestinian people in particular. We have to discredit  
17 them. We have to bring down this idol called Yasser Arafat, he must fall in the eyes of  
18 every Palestinian because he, until now, represents the symbol of the Palestinian cause. If  
19 he doesn't fall in the eyes of the people, people will still believe in him. This is an  
20 example, this is my understanding, see? So, the address will differ.  
21

22 Ni: We're not in disagreement over this. Yes, there are different but parallel types of address.  
23 There shouldn't be contradiction. Address people according to their minds. When I speak  
24 with the American, I speak with someone who doesn't know anything. As for the  
25 Palestinian who has a martyr brother or something, I know how to address him, you see?  
26 But, if someone heard the two [addresses] he won't...UI.  
27

28 UM1: There is no contradiction.  
29

30 Ni: Yes. I mean he won't hold anything on me.  
31

32 UM1: Regarding this point see, for instance, Talal El Malki from the opposition.  
33

34 Sh: Riyadh Malki.  
35

36 UM1: Riyadh Malki, yes. He is not an Islamist but he spoke in opposition to the agreement and  
37 the media until now has accepted it. They present it and they go and visit him and stuff  
38 like that. He speaks logically and in opposition. So, you could....  
39

40 Ni: They accept it.  
41

42 UM2: Yes, we will fight the self-rule like....UI.  
43

1 UM1: They accepted it. See? So, you could say a word of truth and...UI. [UI brief group talk].  
2 Ok, what do you want from the American people and... Let's ask what do we want from  
3 the American people and the U.S. Administration.  
4

5 Sh: Answer this question.  
6

7 UM1: Yes, yes. Let's discuss it. As for the U.S. Administration, Clinton said "I pledge full  
8 support for the accord". That's it. He told Arafat after he...UI him and Rabin, he told him  
9 "You have to do what you have to do", and Arafat said "Yeah, I'm ready to do what to be  
10 done...".  
11

12 Ni: "I'm ready to do my part".  
13

14 UM1: "My part", yes. So, the matter is over for the...UI, you see. They won't support you unless  
15 Samah is strong in the field and imposed itself on the [*Palestinian Liberation*]  
16 Organization. In this case, they will have no choice but to negotiate with it one way or  
17 another, you see? And what do you want from the American people? Money, you don't  
18 depend on it for your charitable economic projects in the first place. You can hide it and  
19 try to work...UI. As far as charity work, money comes mainly from the Islamic  
20 community. It won't give you much of anything, to you in particular because it is true you  
21 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,  
25 you see? So, what do you want from the American people? In reality, my belief is that  
26 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  
27 him that the agreement won't solve the Palestinian people's problem. It didn't promise  
28 anything in regards to the rights of the Palestinian people. You fooled Yasser Arafat and  
29 Israel has every right including Israel's right to live in security, sovereignty and dignity  
30 and stuff like that. Debate them politically using logic like Talal..., what is his name,  
31 Riyadh Malki. They gave him nothing in return. This is an injustice to the Palestinian  
32 people. I can easily say that on U.S. media and without any embarrassment. And I won't  
33 be a radical I will be radical if I became tense and attacked Yasser Arafat like you said.  
34 What you said is right. I don't have to attack Yasser Arafat because I want to appear as a  
35 Palestinian. I don't have to attack..., show the Palestinians in a divided and a radical form,  
36 people who attack one another and stuff like that. But, I also as a Muslim and a  
Palestinian...  
37

38 Om: The entire world does that.  
39

40 UM1: Yes, but it might...  
41

42 Om: ...UI we are the only people who observe...UI. People in Israel do that and the Americans  
43 attack each other and...UI.

1 UM1: Yes, but what I mean is that the American mentality will accept things..., from anyone  
2 they like, you see? You can say your opinion and advocate your cause and you will be  
3 speaking in a correct and a positive way.  
4

5 Ni: And logical.  
6

7 UM1: And logical. So, why are we afraid of... And the other point is that the [Islamic]  
8 Association [for Palestine] ..., the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] became  
9 prominent in the United States as an organization which has a certain characteristic and  
10 certain goals. Why should I hide the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine]? But, what is  
11 important is that the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] deliver a good address.  
12 Someone who knows how to speak should come forward. Someone who knows how to...  
13 Like brother Nihad, for instance, may God reward him well and people like him,  
14 something like that. We should choose people well and choose the manner in which they  
15 will speak. But, this people must hear the truth. Otherwise, when are going to present  
16 Islam to the American people if we are going to retreat and surrender in everything. Why  
17 do all of these problems happen, Sheik Omar and other things? Because the American  
18 people are not familiar with Islam. Islam must present itself to the world. Do you have  
19 anything to say?  
20

21 Om: Me, no.

UM1: Go ahead, Aboul Hasan.

25 As: ...UI. Is our priority right now is to appease the Americans? ...UI. I believe that we should  
26 present the issue as an Islamic issue but, until now, it hasn't taken its Islamic dimension.  
27 We have not reached..., I mean those who are closest to us, our brothers...UI until now. I  
28 don't know what is needed in order to reach the brothers. I feel that we are in the same  
29 trench...UI at the end stressing to the Muslim Brotherhood that their principles are  
30 correct. Really, turning of these principles into a reality, not only in the Orient but also  
31 here in America. How can we put people in the same trench with us, share the same  
32 feeling with us, move from the media reality to an actual implementation of these  
33 principles, where we feel that they really share...UI.  
34

35 UM1: ...UI.  
36

37 Om: By God, it seems that there are no principles...UI. No one left to protect the principles and  
38 believe in the principles other than Samah. As for the rest...,  
39

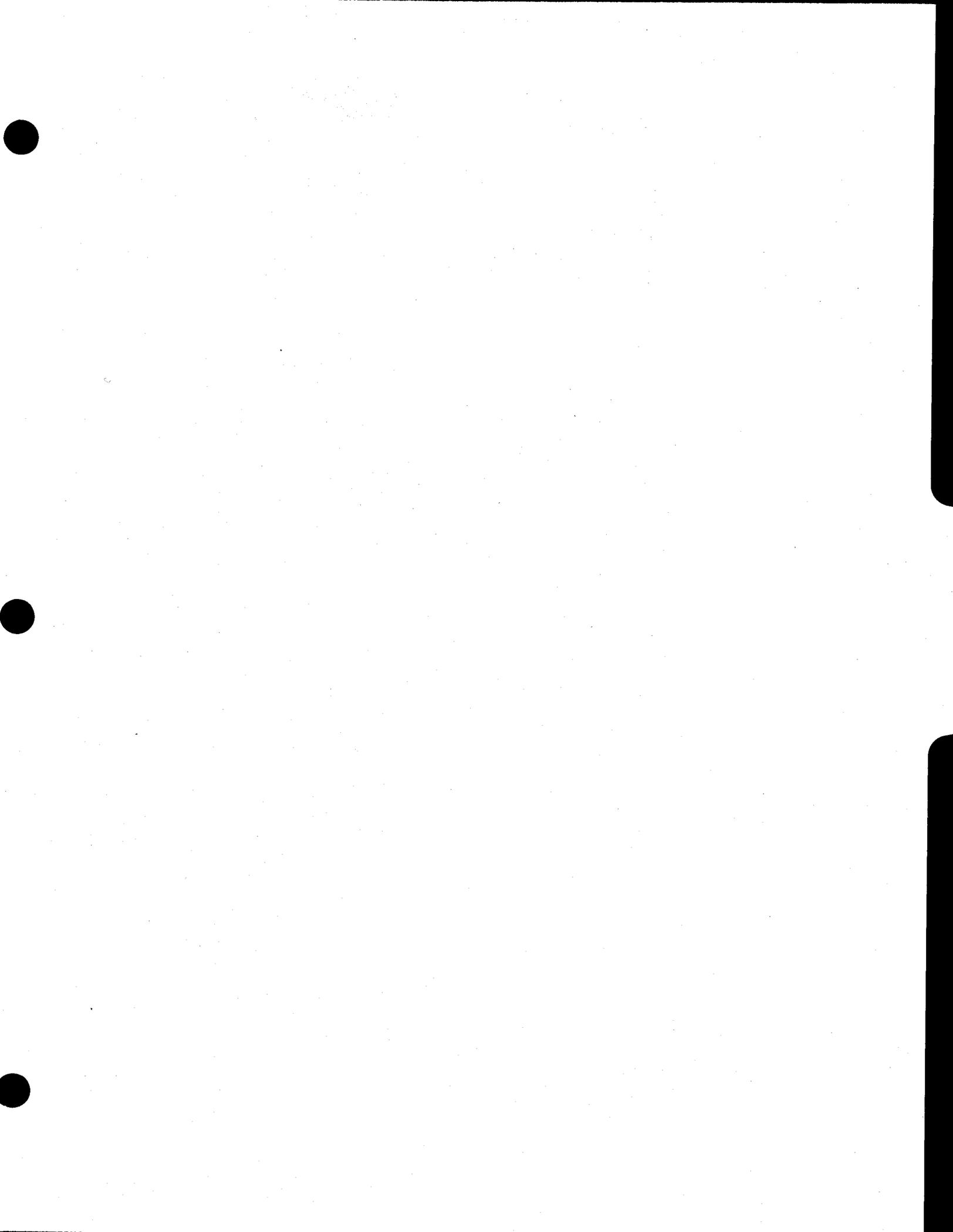
40 UM1: God is great.  
41

42 Om: No one, by God.  
43

1 As: I don't know how can we really reach the closest people to us, those who are in the first  
2 circle so that they can be with us and share with us. As for the bigger circle which is the  
3 Islamic Call, we haven't felt...UI in the past six or seven years. We didn't feel we have  
4 made an achievement. You see..., you find some of the Pakistani brothers contributing or  
5 some of our Indian brothers contributing. And it might be the outcome of the work of the  
6 [Palestinian] Liberation Organization with them. They used it donate to the [Palestinian]  
7 Liberation Organization and then they started to support the Islamists. We didn't really  
8 feel that we advanced the cause more than the advances it already had. This is one side.  
9 On the other side, the program is good, may God reward you well, my brother, and it is  
10 true that there is an advance in the work of the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] as, in  
11 the past, everything was...UI. I mean, the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] would  
12 distribute a statement to the public and this was the only means available to people to  
13 know what is the position of the Islamists towards the...UI. Also, yesterday, Friday, one  
14 of the imams delivered a speech, he is Lebanese, and he said that the Islamic  
15 Organization for Palestine in America is the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine]. He  
16 explained the situation saying that the situation is so and so. He read it...UI. It is true that  
17 the effort might be lacking depth but, it is clear and, God's willing, it will be...  
18

19 Ni: But... [UI brief group laughter and talk].  
20

21 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...  
25



1 Om: ...No. The problem is..., the problem is that the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine]...,  
2 The [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] in my opinion is a public [organization], a  
3 public [organization], a media [organization]. It is a matter of public relations. It is..., it is  
4 a public relations and politics with people. Of course, there is a debate. You can say you  
5 drop the name of Palestine is or cancel two and keep the general name which is better. I  
6 mean if we agree on an idea..., on under which umbrella we work on we could...

7  
8 Os: But now you..., you changed the subject to an entirely different subject...

9  
10 UM1: You are not going to be exposed, Omar?

11  
12 Om: No, no. I'm telling you I expect that people expect..., there is an expectation that Muslims  
13 speak about Palestine...

14  
15 Os: But, until now, you haven't..., excuse me..., just a second for a quick point so that our  
16 brother has to speak about the...UI now. Even with the formation of an Islamic  
17 organization in Washington that speaks in the manner you're speaking, there remains an  
18 interest in the Islamic Association for Palestine and the media address you use...UI. This  
19 is a different issue.

20  
21 Om: Ok, fine..., we agree. This is what I said... Osama, Osama, what I said is that the [Islamic]  
22 Association [for Palestine] shouldn't lower its address below the needed level. It is  
impossible. Even if this means that the Americans get upset. Let them get upset.

23  
24 Sh: Because it is a public [organization].

25  
26  
27 Om: We care about the Muslims. Thus, I give the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] a  
28 release to become...UI as long as I made sure the Muslims still view the [Islamic]  
29 Association [for Palestine] as so and so. Let it remain steadfast on its position, let it  
30 remain a holder for the name. Let's not drop the name and see...UI.

31  
32 Os: And how is this organization going to be different in its dealing from the [Islamic]  
33 Association [for Palestine] if it is an Islamic one? Do you want it to become like Abdel  
34 Rahman Alamodi? Ok, Abdel Rahman Alamodi wants to deal with them.

35  
36 UM1: This one..., Alamodi established this one for Palestinian activism. Alamodi established it.

37  
38 Os: ...UI. This is my question. If you are going to cede it means that you will be ceding along  
39 with the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine]. If I'm going to make concession like  
40 Alamodi did...UI.

41  
42 UM1: My brothers..., brother Omar..., just to keep track of the time... This is a new idea and it  
43 deserves, God's willing, the time to be honed down and discussed...

1 Os: ...UI Abdel Rahman Alamodi is there...

3 Om: Abdel Rahman is not...UI.

4  
5 UM1: My brothers..., we need to keep track of the time because we have two of the brothers  
6 who will make presentations. God's willing, I will give you an opportunity [*to speak*].  
7 This idea deserves more discussion but let's finish with the prepared materials and we  
8 will then discuss them if there is time to. Or, we could finish tomorrow. We will listen to  
9 brother Gawad now.

10  
11 Ga: I have a short talk to deliver. I have a prepared paper.

12  
13 [*UI brief group laughter and talk*].

14  
15 UM1: Go ahead.

16  
17 Ga: In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Of course, I'm not one of the supporters  
18 of making the [*Islamic*] Association [*for Palestine*] an opposition party to the agreement.  
19 The [*Islamic*] Association [*for Palestine*] is a party which has a point of view. It is true  
20 that it is an opposition but it is still a point of view. It is not an attack of an opposition, it  
21 shouldn't represent the opposition in a direct way.

Sh: An opposition party, you mean.

25 Ga: They will hold it against you in a way... But, it is not right to have...UI because it is not a  
26 Palestinian organization in the Occupied Territories so that it can be an opposition party.  
27 Its position and analysis is that this is an injustice and unfair to the people of Palestine  
28 and that it doesn't give the Palestinian people their rights. There are some Americans who  
29 say that. It has some fundamentals with which some opposition parties agree...UI, it has  
30 the right to express its opinion at the end. This is remark to start with. As for the overall  
31 work, I believe the most important issue is...UI. I mean, the details we discussed..., some  
32 of them are important but I believe they should be the work of technical committees more  
33 than work of sessions like this one. The overall goal of work to begin with is...UI. Its  
34 results are good and there is some sort of agreement on the...UI. The goal is to support the  
35 cause but according to the directions of..., our goals. Don't express it like Ghassan did...,  
36 express your opinion in the way you want, in Indian, this is not the issue. But, what is  
37 really important is one thing...UI, what is it? Support the cause according to the general  
38 directions of the Movement, our Movement, and...UI and defending it in way which  
39 keeps in mind the realistic and legal conditions in the homeland. That's it. This is a base  
40 with a clear and a general goal but we shouldn't deviate from it right or left. I'm neither  
41 trying to change the American public's position in regards to the Palestinian cause nor I'm  
42 trying to get all the Palestinians to stand with the Movement and become members in it.  
43 This is not the right size of the cause. These are the fundamentals on which the [*Islamic*]

1 Association [*for Palestine*] is founded. Your direction is clear, you contacts, your  
2 circumstances, etc. The issue of the address, for instance, is a main issue. It should be  
3 done clearly with everybody and all. The language, the tone of the talk, the dialect, the  
4 view... No doubt there is a difference between meeting with women and meeting with  
5 men, between meeting with children and meeting with adults, between meeting with an  
6 American and meeting with an Arab, between meeting with a Muslim and meeting with  
7 an infidel. I mean, these are given matters and there is no need to talk much about them.  
8 The disagreement between the brothers then was over a small issue and not a big issue,  
9 much less than was reported, in my opinion. The first thing is to support and defend the  
10 rights of the Palestinian people. The upper line is that Palestine is where a people were  
11 exiled out of their land these are examples. Abdel Rahman is an example...UI. These are  
12 practical examples and the things I'm talking about are not imaginary or old examples  
13 from ancient history. These are facts. These people had a [*British*] mandate over it and  
14 they kicked them out of their land. Like I told you,...UI, this is our land, our homeland  
15 and we were kicked out of it. And some of us still have keys, still have keys to homes.  
16 This is a...UI we shouldn't negotiate about by any means. We shouldn't negotiate about all  
17 of Palestine and not just Jerusalem, not just a part of it. All of it. This is the logic and  
18 defending these rights. This is one. Two, we need to form the public opinion through our  
19 political address to adopt and support the programs which serve these rights on top of  
20 which are the programs of the Movement. You have to accumulate capabilities and  
21 defend the programs of the Movement even if they are problematic. ...UI. Here is the  
Zionist lobby. What does it do over here? It justifies the...UI. It was shelling..., shelling  
the camps of southern Lebanon and were saying that Israel was...UI the Jews. Israel was  
using the Napalm bombs to protect peace in the region.

25  
26 UM1: Yes.

27  
28 Ga: Crazy people's logic. They were saying that. Therefore, we...UI for our cause. We want to  
29 justify the correct things which happen...UI in a suitable manner. The third side is the  
30 political support for Palestine by taking patriotic stands towards the cause and its  
31 developments such as self-rule, the programs being suggested, in its programs and  
32 political address..., we must support it in a direct manner. This is another point. A small  
33 remark at the end; I get the feeling from the welcome which took place in Washington,  
34 the U.S. media's focus on Yasser Arafat...etc., and from the interviews he gave to some of  
35 the newspapers such as...UI, that there is a clear attempt to normalize the Jewish, Arab  
36 and Islamic relationship in America.

37  
38 Sh: This is true.

39  
40 UM2: This is old, the attempt was several years ago.

41  
42 Ga: No.  
43

1 UM2: I mean, there was an attempt four to five years ago.

3 Ga: No, no, no. There are now concrete indications about this normalization. Alamodi is  
4 saying "For the first time, Muslims, Arabs and Jews are meeting under the dome of the  
5 White House". He said that to Clinton.

6  
7 UM2: He..., he participated in a demonstration three years ago. I'm telling you; even President  
8 Bush sent a greeting to the ISNA conference 3-4 years ago. So, the process has started  
9 long time ago but its fruits have started to appear now.

10  
11 Ga: Now..., at least there is a need for...UI. There are no attempts to... Now this thing keeps  
12 increasing between the two sides specially among the non-Islamic sector, the ordinary  
13 Arabs.

14  
15 UM2: Yes.

16  
17 Ga: Ordinary Muslims and non-Muslims. ...UI.

18  
19 UM2: This way you won't accuse him, tomorrow.

20  
21 Ga: He was supposed to say...UI.

UM2: He doesn't want to...UI Maher Hathout...UI. Because, if you have told him to go, he  
would have gone.

25  
26 Os: He wanted to get credit with the entire Muslim community.

27  
28 Ga: Out of that...UI the Israelis. Israel, for instance, its top officials are...UI. So, how is the  
29 [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] going to deal with this issue and also the other  
30 organizations. This remains to be debated. I don't want to talk a lot about something  
31 which is clear but it is just a passing remark. May God reward you well and God's peace  
32 be to you.

33  
34 UM1: May God reward you well. These are important things. Anyone has a comment... Go  
35 ahead.

36  
37 Gh: There is a comment on the issue of the Zionist lobby and its positions and its justifying of  
38 the actions of Israel. I believe there is a problem here as the Islamic Movement's position  
39 in America and the position of Muslims in America differ from the position of the Jews.  
40 Therefore, we are not going to be able to adopt the Jewish line or the lobby..., which is  
41 the idea presented by brother Omar..., I mean, the idea of the Palestinian and the Islamic  
42 lobby to pressure the U.S. Administration and to benefit from the Palestinian and the  
43 Islamic community in America to achieve the goals of the Movement or something like

1 that. You mentioned in your presentation that the struggle..., the struggle is now evident.  
2 It is a struggle of civilization and things are not...er. It is not against the Movement...,  
3 what happened in Palestine is happening in Tunisia against the Islamic Movement. It  
4 happened in Algeria. The issue is more serious or more complicated than that. May God  
5 protect.  
6

7 UM1: Yes, Ghassan.  
8

9 Om: I'm not saying...UI. There is a difference between the public relations...  
10

11 Gh: ...the public relations. It is less than the lobby. Yes.  
12

13 Om: Yes. In public relations, do you know what it does? You only establish relations with  
14 people who are sympathizers to you and who are supporters and find out how they think.  
15

16 Gh: But, it is also a step..., you benefit from public relations at the end. Right?  
17

18 Om: You benefit from it and invest it as follows... I tell you something, I feel that it was much  
19 better when we at the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] had a relationship with the  
20 ADC and we felt that the people of ADC are willing to stand with us. If we didn't have  
21 the ADC, didn't have a relationship with them we would have been going aimlessly. God  
22 knows what would have happened. If there was a different kind of people there and then  
23 the fierce media attack on us started..."Let's close doors and hide for a year and come  
24 back next year". Maybe, they tell you this is better. But, if you go out and find people who  
25 know the system, know the system who stand up and tell you "No, what you're doing is  
26 right and those who give donations are...UI". On the contrary, they defend us in  
27 magazines, articles...UI and other things in which it was mentioned that the [Islamic]  
28 Association [for Palestine] is being attacked, that this is discrimination and that this is not  
29 supposed to happen. When someone stands with you, what is your relationship with him?  
30 ...UI. What I'm saying is that we ought to build things on that. I mean, I want you to build  
31 relationships even with the American system itself so that it becomes very difficult that  
32 they come and tell you...UI an enemy of yours. Of course, they know the enemy. I keep  
33 saying that...UI the attorney who handled the case against Libya came out and was  
34 looking for...UI to help Libya drop the case. Imagine how far. He is Jewish...  
35

36 Gh: He is Jewish.  
37

38 Om: If it is not for the Jews who told him...UI. If he had agreed he would have taken millions  
39 from Libya. So, imagine the mutual interests. [UI brief group talk]. We're not talking  
40 about the lobby imagining that, all of a sudden, you will have 50 Congressmen in support.  
41 We are dreaming right now.  
42

43 UM1: The Hindus..., have started to work...UI. They formed an Indian caucus made up of 40

1 Congressmen.

3 Om: Yes.

4  
5 UM1: 55 millions.

6  
7 Om: The next...UI after the Jews are the Hindus. They will overpower the Pakistanis, yeah.

8  
9 UM1: Forty people, even though Pakistan has always supported America's positions.

10  
11 Om: They have 40 Congressmen who support the policy of India. They formed an Indian  
12 caucus which means that they agree on the interests of India. They formed an Indian  
13 lobby against Pakistan here in America. This is despite the fact that India was a known  
14 communist. It was with China and with the Russian and the Americans used to support  
15 Pakistan against it. Despite all of that, they...UI. Now, Kashmir is gone.

16  
17 UM1: Now, let's let brother Ghassan give us an evaluation of...UI.

18  
19 Gh2: It is regarding the same point, the issue of the new organization. The suggestion on the  
20 table is to have another organization...er.

21  
UM1: This talk is...UI.

Gh2: I don't know. I don't know. You supported the... Stay with me, O million dollar people, so  
25 that you could listen. *[laughter]*.

26  
27 Om: The way you wrote it down..., when you deal..., when you deal with the Organization...

28  
29 Gh2: My beloved..., I'm trying to explain my words. I don't want to defend it or attack it. I  
30 support the idea from the angle that having an organization other than the *[Islamic]*  
31 Association *[for Palestine]* is....

32  
33 Om: This is not a new idea. We spoke about it and...

34  
35 UM1: We agreed on it.

36  
37 Gh2: The point is that the *[Islamic]* Association *[for Palestine]* is seen as an Islamic entity and  
38 people must have another organization which addresses the *[Palestinian Liberation]*  
39 Organization, addresses the U.S. Administration, addresses any government, address with  
40 the lobby...

41  
42 UM1: So, the idea suggested by Omar is acceptable. Right? The idea of a political organization  
43 and public relations and stuff.

1 Gh2: Yes.

3 Om: We discussed this issue in the executive committee on 8/27.

4  
5 [UI brief group talk].

6  
7 UM1: It is not a public organization.

8  
9 Gh2: I didn't say it is public organization. I didn't say it is a political organization. But, I called  
10 for the formation of an organization..., the formation of another organization which deals  
11 with the government, deals with it in the future in case a state is formed. It should deal  
12 with it.

13  
14 Om: Why do you want to deal with it. I might not want to deal with it, sheik.

15  
16 Gh2: Whatever.

17  
18 Om: Yeah. Maybe I don't want to deal with it. Do you think that if we have an organization  
19 and we are invited to the White House we are going to go? I won't go.

20  
21 Gh2: Why not?

Om: Why should I go? In order to..., in order to prove that Muslims have not...UI.

25 Gh2: I'm not telling you go or don't go. But, the existence of an organization..., the formation of  
26 a new organization is... All of sudden, I'm finding all is attacking the idea in a way...

27  
28 Sh: I defended you, sheik. I defended you.

29  
30 Gh2: I mean, have we found all negative aspects with this idea and...UI.

31  
32 UM1: Ok, our brothers...,

33  
34 Sh: I have a small remark. A point and we will move forward. My brothers, frankly speaking,  
35 we have come from the far ends of the world and it is a fundamental part of our work is to  
36 be exposed to strange and somewhat new ideas. I mean, we don't have to follow the same  
37 routine. The situation has changed and I see that we bear each other. The second thing is  
38 that we shouldn't be hasty..., allow me, shouldn't be too hasty with the Sharia rulings. I  
39 mean, we have a disagreement over an issue and he says "You've deviated from the  
40 religion. What does the Sharia says?". For the Sharia to give a ruling on these issues, my  
41 brother, you need a specialized council of scholars which understands the issue. But, for  
42 someone to present issues..., certain ideas which sound strange and then comes a person  
43 who wants to stop him and says this is permissible or prohibited in Sharia..., my brothers,

1 this is not a way for discussion because you're blocking a lot of ideas. Until now..., until  
2 now, the nature of our relationship with the American society..., the brother mentioned  
3 the Hindus, we don't know the society..., we don't know until now if the American society  
4 is being hostile to us for a reason of principle, religion, or because of interests. In other  
5 words, if we transformed all the Jewish lobby in Washington into an Islamic lobby and  
6 we had the same power as they do, will the U.S. policy change or not? This is a big  
7 question. What I'm saying that it is very hard for every issue we discuss to judge it from a  
8 Sharia stand and judge it according to Sharia within minutes that it is prohibited or  
9 permissible and let it slide [*saying*] "Come on. Next idea". Let us be a little bit open and  
10 if we see an idea that is worth studying we can refer it to the Sharia councils and stuff and  
11 make a judgement call on it.  
12

13 UM1: May God reward you well. We will take five or ten minutes...UI.

14 Sh: Yes, by God.

15 Om: People who...UI by eight or nine.

16 Sh: No, no. That is fine. The fewer the better. We don't want those who are asleep.

17 [UI group talk].  
18

19 UM1: About Hasan.

20 As: Yes.  
21

22 UM1: My brothers, we will start now, God's willing.

23 [UI group talk].  
24

25 UM1: Ok, our brothers. In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful... Let's start, our  
26 brothers, so that we finish early and go to sleep...  
27

28 [UI group talk].  
29

30 UM1: Rely on God. Go ahead.

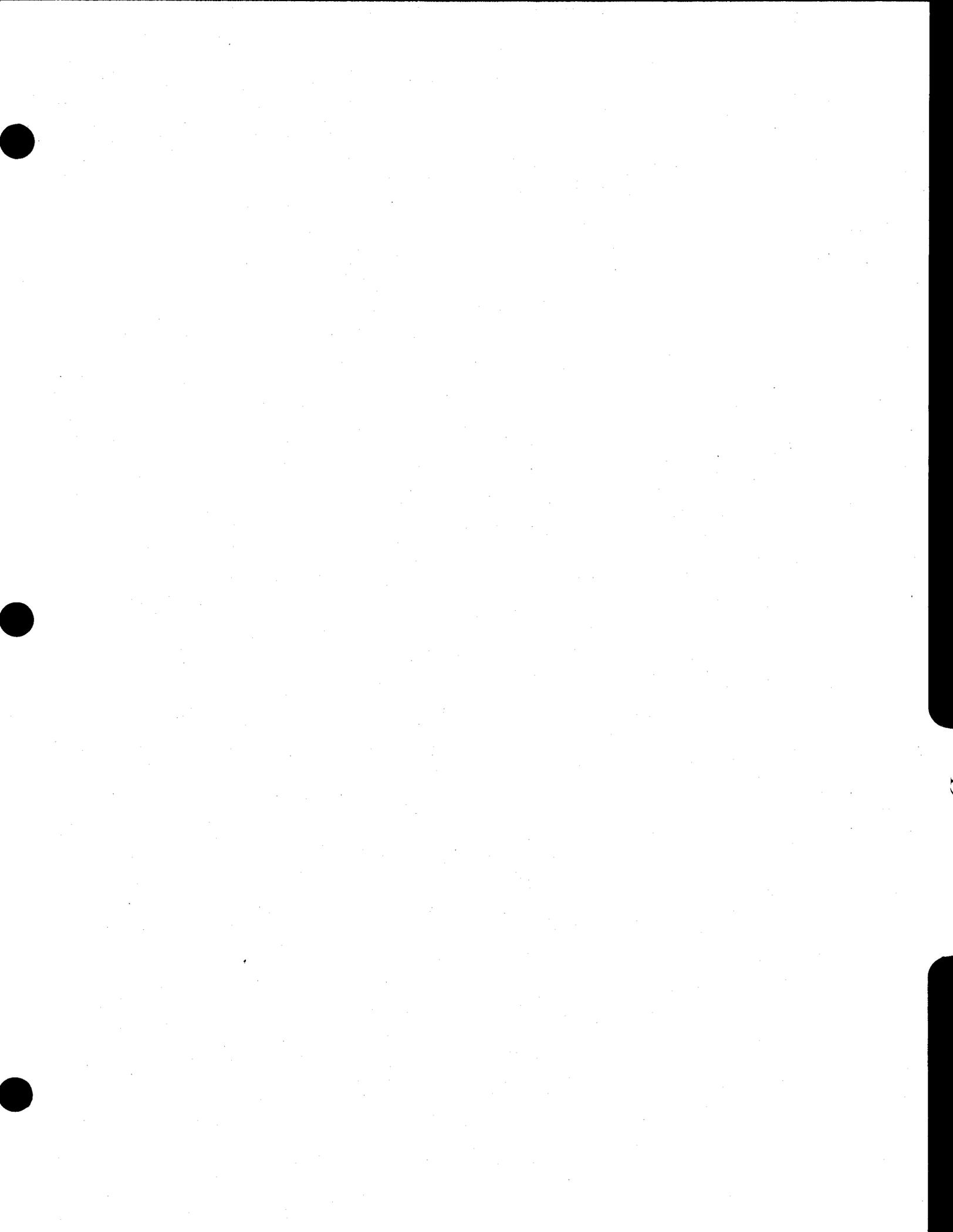
31 Ak: In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Prayers and peace be on the best of the  
32 messengers...  
33

34 Sh: Our brothers, listen to Akram.

35 Ak: I would like to clarify some issues or points to you. First, the attention given to the  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43

3 [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] in America either by the Palestinian, Arab, Islamic  
4 and even the American communities is not an attention given to the [Islamic] Association  
5 [for Palestine] for its own sake. I don't believe there would have been attention given to  
6 the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] if it was isolated from everything in this world  
7 and cared about itself only. Attention is been given to the [Islamic] Association [for  
8 Palestine] because it represents the Islamic Movement's point of view. There are some  
9 people now who thirst to hear this point of view. And there are examples for that as  
10 Palestinians, Arabs, Muslims or the American media want to hear the Islamic  
11 Movement's point of view in regards to the issue of Palestine. The Islamic Movement is  
12 no longer a local movement secluded in Gaza, the [West] Bank or somewhere else.  
13 Everyone knows about it now and its name is all over the newspapers and...UI. And it  
14 looks like there are no ways to contact this Movement in..., I mean outside America and it  
15 might be difficult some figures who represent the Movement outside of America.  
16 Therefore, it would be easy for the media and the other people to find out the Movement's  
17 point of view through the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine]. This is the scope of..., I  
18 believe this is the...UI. Therefore, we shouldn't be like the person who buries his head in  
19 the sand and you don't what's going on, and people keep accusing us because we are the  
20 Islamic Association for Palestine. This must be clear in our minds. This is something we  
21 should be proud of; that we express a point of view and we don't have to have an  
22 organizational relationship but, we adopt the Islamic Movement's points of view. We are  
23 convinced with it, if not 100% at least 90%, for instance. We tell the Americans that we  
24 have a point of view to present to them just like when the supporters of the [Palestinian]  
25 Liberation Organization used to present a point of view for liberation in America through  
26 them. Their offices in America were not closed because they were adopting a certain  
27 point of view but, because there was an organizational relationship with the [Palestinian]  
28 Liberation Organization. And this is the one thing we must..., there is no danger to the  
29 [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] on the basis that the [Islamic] Association [for  
30 Palestine] adopting a certain point of view in regards to the issue of..., the issue of  
31 Palestine. Only if the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] had an organizational  
32 relationship or something like that..., and if this thing is there..., and it is not going to  
33 make a difference if we adopted a the A or B points of view. But, the problem is that  
34 many Islamists, Islamic centers and Islamic gatherings in America have a fear of adopting  
35 the Islamic point of view. They believe that adopting this Islamic point of view will  
36 constitute a danger in America because it is not acceptable by the government and by the  
37 Jews. Therefore, they have a massive media pressure on them and might be in danger at  
38 the end even though this is not correct. The danger for us is there whether we adopt or  
39 don't adopt the thought. The danger lies if they find out what is inside us whether we  
40 present an input or not. Therefore, we shouldn't be scared or dilute our position and find  
41 out how to avoid this..., we must be clear. We must adopt the points of view we believe in  
42 and try to defend them in ways which might be accepted, in due time, by the Americans,  
43 the Palestinians and the Arabs so that we don't give mixed messages to the Palestinians or  
the Palestinian community and another message to the Americans, one that is different  
from that one. I mean, I ask brother Nihad that the views are not contradictory but

3 parallel. This is one. The second thing is that there is no such thing as a media for the  
4 Americans, a media for the Palestinian, a media for the Arab and a media for the Muslim.  
5 We haven't been able to reach the Palestinian community in the past month more than  
6 when Nihad appeared on CNN, for instance, and when he wrote stuff in the Muslim  
7 World Monitor. So, we are addressing the Americans in the CNN and when we write an  
8 article in the newspaper since it is an important newspaper. We are addressing our  
9 community and our audience. On the contrary, when it [*the public*] feels that a renowned  
10 Islamic organization is expressing its point of view, it will be more encouraged to deal  
11 with it rather than if it feels that an organization is locked in a certain corner and only  
12 holds festivals where it sings one or two songs after which it goes home. Opening the  
13 doors to the West and to Western media is a road which leads to our community. This, in  
14 my view, is...UI. The other thing I would like to stress is...



1 Ak: ...over night. In the near future, he might surprise you with something new which leaves  
2 unable to determine what to do. That would happen if you adopt a point of view which is  
3 hostile to the agreement only because it didn't bring about a Palestinian state in the West  
4 Bank and Gaza...UI in the [*West*] Bank and Gaza. And what are you going to say? We  
5 stick to the fundamentals of our cause which is our complete rights in the entire land of  
6 Palestine. How are we going to present them is something different but, we don't have to  
7 abandon them and sell out in the same way as the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization  
8 was thinking a while back, for instance. Let's remain..., we know that they are not going  
9 to give up anything. We just keep saying the West Bank and Gaza and we will win the  
10 media war because they are not going to give us anything. Let them give you something.  
11 You had to make concessions after concessions until you got the minimum. We shouldn't  
12 commit mistake and say that they won't give us a state. Ok, what if they did? Are we  
13 going to look for a different justification why we oppose the agreement? No. We should  
14 be clear in our position regarding Palestine, either with an American person, a Palestinian  
15 person, an Arab person or a Muslim person. We might give one of them more details than  
16 the other but, we shouldn't abandon our right in '48 Palestine because, by God, America  
17 won't accept it. On the contrary, the Americans respect someone who has a point of view  
18 which he holds on to and don't respect someone who wears a different color everyday and  
19 who doesn't take a position. The second thing is that we must know the future media  
20 strategy of the Jews in regards to the media campaign they will launch against us in  
21 America and even in Palestine itself. It is clear that the main enemy of the agreement right  
22 now is the Islamists. The other people don't have a public..., a weight like the Islamists  
23 and it is clear that the attack will be on the Islamists. In their minds, they have no one else  
24 to focus on other than the Islamists. Not only do they want a Jew to attack the Islamists,  
25 but also the entire world to march behind them to attack the Islamists as well. This will  
26 reflect on us here in America because, at the end, we will see that the American media -  
27 with the Jewish media in America and Palestine implied in it - discuss these issues and  
28 we will be forced to respond to an issue whenever one is raised. All of our positions will  
29 be reactions and they won't have...UI what are we expecting to happen, how to prepare for  
30 it so that we are not surprised with the unexpected every time. For example, there was a  
31 seminar at George Washington University a week ago about the Middle East process and  
32 terrorism, this was its title. They brought experts from...er, from the Center of Strategic  
33 International Studies, from the Near East Policies, from the Israeli embassy, the military  
34 attache and his deputy. I mean there were some people who were trying to present the  
35 Israeli point of view, mostly, about how the coming stage will be like. I just wanted to  
36 mention some of the points which they unanimously agreed on as these will be the points  
37 we will work on in the future. For example, instead of saying that terrorism now is... So  
38 that all of you are in the picture, they defined terrorism as anyone who is opposed to the  
39 agreement. You are against peace and a terrorist if you oppose the agreement. The issue  
40 of being opposed to the agreement as a point of view is no longer there with them. You  
41 are against peace. If you are opposed to peace, it means that it is Ok to slaughter you in  
42 any suitable manner they deem fit. They're trying to discuss this issue and how they are  
43 going to present it to the media in the future in order to discredit those who are opposed

1 to peace. And the most important party they talk about is..., they didn't mask it like us and  
2 say Hossam and stuff. They were saying Hamas is our main goal in the next stage.  
3 [laughter]. So,...

4  
5 UM1: You're quoting them.

6  
7 Ak: Yes, that is what they said.

8  
9 Sh: Quote unquote. He is quoting them. Don't you hear him?

10  
11 Ak: They came up with some points some of which is that the near future will witness  
12 terrorism against the Palestinians. There was almost a complete accord that, in the next  
13 stage, the Jews are used to terrorism. It is not something strange to them. And the  
14 Americans are...UI and they deal with it. But, the Palestinian people..., the new arriving  
15 government is not used to terrorism and doesn't know how to deal with terrorism. It still  
16 doesn't have the experiences to deal with terrorism. [UI brief group talk]... against the  
17 agreement in Palestine. Therefore, this is something we ought to be ready for from now.  
18 There is always...UI how to address even the Americans and tell them that those who  
19 oppose the agreement do not oppose peace, for instance. We should address the American  
20 mentality which is one of their convictions they always preach saying that, for instance,  
21 the people who accepted the agreement and signed the agreement didn't get an  
22 authorization from the people, nor did they get an authorization from its organizations. I  
23 mean, some things like that in order to give credibility to people who oppose the  
24 agreement from now. You don't wait until the self-rule takes place and then you say, "By  
25 God, we are against the self-rule because it is not legal and stuff". No, you work on it  
26 from now in your media so that you give..., so that you prepare for the future opposition  
27 of the self rule which is about to take effect. You have to defend it as the real target is the  
28 Islamic Movement over there. This is the first thing. The second thing which must be  
29 focused on is that we must attempt to improve the living conditions of the Palestinians.  
30 This was unanimously agreed on by the Jews and the Americans. They're concerned  
31 with...UI over there. This is the only solution which might make the self rule successful.  
32 Therefore, we must focus on our rights in Palestine. Not only our economic rights. The  
33 people of Palestine don't have to sign an agreement so that their living conditions  
34 improve. Why is the entire infrastructure of the Palestinian people in tatters and its  
35 condition is that bad? Why don't we tie this condition..., why don't we tie this to the  
36 occupation? Why don't we say that this is a normal thing and that now because there is  
37 peace the living conditions of the Palestinians must improve. We try to bring to the  
38 surface not only the economic rights of the Palestinians. This is one thing. The...

39  
40 UM1: Now, brothers...

41  
42 Ak: Go ahead.  
43

1 UM1: So, now the Algerian who is fighting in Algeria, the Egyptian who is fighting in Egypt,  
2 the Tunisian who is fighting in Tunisia, the Iraqi in Iraq and the Syrian in Syria and  
3 everywhere..., the legal status of their fighting is..., What? What I really want to say is  
4 that if we don't focus on the doctrinal and the Sharia issue we are not really presenting  
5 any new legitimacy for our work. If I clothe or feed a Palestinian or stuff this will not  
6 silence the people of Islam and the people of faith from pursuing the cause.  
7

8 Ak: This is what I mentioned at the beginning. Our undisputable rights.  
9

10 UM1: I mean....,  
11

12 Ak: I said that at the beginning. Our rights in Palestine don't have anything to do with any  
13 living conditions. We have undisputable rights in Palestine as Islamists. They don't  
14 change with the changing of the events.  
15

16 UM1: But, our issue now is..., it is even a fundamental issue that blocking the Sharia of God,  
17 fighting Islam and confronting God the Almighty..., this is a grand issue. May it be good,  
18 God's willing.  
19

20 Om: We are confronting the biggest enemy for Islam.  
21

UM1: What?  
22

23 Om: We in Palestine are confronting the biggest enemy of Islam. It is..., it is a two-sided  
24 enemy, an enemy of Islam and an enemy of...UI.  
25

26 UM1: I'm not denying the partial rights. But, the grand issue we must focus on and the one we  
27 must teach people its aspects is the issue of belief and disbelief.  
28

29 Om: Yes.  
30

31 Sh: But, please allow me...  
32

33 UM1: You taught us interruptions and objections. Why did you teach us that? [laughter].  
34

35 Ak: There remains two points, two or three points. We must take advantage of the current  
36 situation. The media sees that we adopt the point of view of the Islamic Movement as I  
37 mentioned in the beginning. Therefore, we should try to publish some articles by  
38 representatives of the Islamic Movement in the U.S. papers. This is not something simple.  
39 Some believe that this is a marginal thing to do. Maybe so in the Orient. But, if we  
40 manage to reach the Western media, you reach a large audience through it even in the  
41 Orient itself. For example, Prince Hassan can publish an article as Prince Hassan, for  
42 instance. I believe that there is big desire in the American media, the famous outlets in  
43

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

1 movement. It is a sophisticated thing. This issue is important not only to...UI, but also to  
2 the Palestinian people and public activism and media activism.

3  
4 Sh: May God reward you well. May God reward you well. May God reward you well.  
5 Regarding the media doctrinal address, I believe that it requires caution. What is the  
6 shape and the form of the address. Our address in the doctrinal aspect might be a rock.  
7 We climb atop the rock and say "Save Jerusalem". Jerusalem in particular appeals to the  
8 Muslims and I don't think it appeals to the Muslims as much as it appeals to an infidel.  
9 When there is a..., allow me,... When there is a reference regarding..., regarding a  
10 mosque..., I mean, how much does the Kaaba's pulpit appeal to you? As a pulpit? Too  
11 much focus on Jerusalem and overlooking the sanctity of the rest of Palestine brings  
12 about, in my opinion, a negative result with people [*thinking that*] it is Ok that the  
13 remainder of Palestine is lost as long as Jerusalem has a special status. We must focus on  
14 the sanctity of all of Palestine, all of Palestine including Jerusalem. I believe that Muslims  
15 generally are not going to feel the credibility..., the Islamic aspect of the cause of  
16 Palestine until we see an Pakistani brother raising the Palestinian banner an defending it,  
17 or the Algerian, the Libyan or the non-Palestinian. This thing must come to the surface of  
18 the earth. We must find non-Palestinians spearheading Palestinian activism. Otherwise, it  
19 won't materialize meaning that it will not be convincing. People will still see us within a  
20 certain nationalistic circle. I believe that the role of the [*Islamic*] Association [*for*  
21 *Palestine*] is that we must try to make Islamic leaders who adopt the cause of Palestine  
22 with the same force we adopted it with. They adopt it from a very clear Islamic aspect as  
23 their countrymen would believe this talk. I believe a segment of Muslims believe that we  
24 are commercialize the Islamic aspect of the Palestinian cause for our nationalist interest.  
25 We tell them that Jerusalem is lost and stuff and they tell you lost it..., who lost it? You  
26 lost Palestine. And you want me to bring it back to you? This is one. The second thing is:  
27 why do we want to discuss the Islamic aspect of the cause in a very narrow sense. I fear  
28 that if we keep saying that our struggle is Islamic, our struggle Islamic, our struggle is  
29 doctrinal we void the... There is a nationalistic aspect for the Palestinian cause. There is a  
30 certain characteristic. There is a land that is lost, rights that are lost. Even if it weren't  
31 Jews who violated them, even if they were Barbarians, if they were Arabs and Muslims,  
32 certain rights still remain outside the scope of the religious conflict. Let me be clear. In  
33 this manner you are showing - as Israel claims- that your conflict with Israel is no  
34 different from the conflict of the Islamists in Algeria, in Tunisia or in Egypt. It is the  
35 same conflict. It is an attempt to impose fundamentalism in the region and that there are  
36 no nationalistic rights there. It is just a conflict of Islamists trying to impose the Islamic  
37 state by force and among those [*countries*] is Israel. Of course, this no different from  
38 Egypt, Libya and Algeria. I say, no. We must defend nationalistic rights as nationalistic  
39 rights, as any human who has a right to live in the shadow of a homeland and it is true  
40 there is an Islamic aspect to this cause but, too much talking about an Islamic aspect is  
41 not going to do us good as long as we are unable to recruit the children of the Islamic  
42 community for our cause, for instance. As long you find yourself in a certain situation  
43 where a Pakistani brother tells you "O brother, yesterday you collected money for

1 Palestine. Why didn't you collect money for the Indians?". This means that he doesn't  
2 understand the dimension at all. He doesn't understand why do I focus on the Palestinian  
3 cause. He will tell you "Yes, you're taking advantage of the religion just for what...". Like  
4 they sometimes say..., these guys take advantage of the Palestinian brothers, sometimes  
5 they say that, when they want something, they go up to the pulpit and talk about Islam  
6 and stuff just because they want money or something. This means that the Islamic  
7 dimension hasn't taken its scope on the field and he doesn't believe that... [break in  
8 recording]... that the Palestinians speak... [break in recording]... and that I live for him.  
9 But, he must carry the same religious aspect with the same zeal I do otherwise, it will  
10 remain words on paper.

11  
12 UM1: Allow me a question [break in recording]...

13  
14 Om: Are you going to discuss the subject...

15  
16 UM1: No, by God. [Break in recording]... I don't want to talk. [Break in recording]... I'm  
17 amazed, amazed... The issue of Palestine is..., Jerusalem is an issue, the issue of Palestine  
18 as a holy land I don't believe this thing. I speak as one of us, a Muslim.

19  
20 UM2: What is that talk, Sheik?

21  
22 UM1: I will explain this to you and...UI. The Quran also spoke about Mecca [saying] "And warn  
23 the Mother of Villages and its surroundings", meaning that the call of prophet, God's  
24 prayers and peace be upon him, reached where? "Its surroundings" is where the call of  
25 Islam is the surroundings.

26  
27 Sh: Fine.

28  
29 UM1: So, the issue then is not an issue of land. The issue is where the call reaches.

30  
31 Ni: It is still a holy land because...UI.

32  
33 UM1: Yes, I say it is known where the holy land is, "The one God has assigned to you...".

34  
35 Ni: Palestine.

36  
37 UM1: No. It is not true. The holy land is Jerusalem.

38  
39 Ni: Only?

40  
41 UM1: Yes, my brother. And also the word "holy"..., there is another point, the word "holy"  
42 means holy in regards to revelations, messengers and the call. I don't have..., this is not  
43 the issue but, when someone comes to me and tells me "All of the land of Palestine is a

1 holy land and all Muslims must go out to fight for it". I say that this slogan is not clear. I  
2 agree with you that all Muslims are responsible for any injustice befalls Muslims.  
3 Therefore, I tell the Indian, the Pakistani and so forth "You must support me in my cause  
4 just like he supports any Muslim brother in a Muslim cause". This is one issue. The  
5 second issue is that..., that if we stand up to address people in a way which they perceive  
6 as a nationalistic or stuff..., this is not correct. We must stress that our problem..., our  
7 problem will be there if we discuss the cause from pure political angles. As long as we  
8 focus on the Islamic aspect of the cause, the Indian, the Pakistani, the Malaysian and  
9 others will react to it.

10  
11 Ni: How do you point out the Islamic aspect of the cause.

12  
13 UM1: What?

14  
15 Ni: How do you point out the Islamic aspect of the cause if you say that the holy land is not  
16 all of Palestine but just Jerusalem and that this cause is not a cause of land and that  
17 people will say that this is a nationalistic cause...

18  
19 UM1: I really believe..., I really think..., by God my belief is that...

20  
21 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  
25 Palestine with its dimension and status is a central cause for the entire Islamic nation.  
26 Study history and you will see that the Ottoman empire collapsed and then the Palestinian  
27 cause began. Now, the solution to the Palestinian cause won't happen unless the other  
28 countries surrounding it are liberated. As long as these regimes are existing and lying  
29 heavily, there won't be a solution to the cause of Palestine. By God, this is my creed.  
30 Therefore, we must adopt the Islamic cause in its collective dimension and stress this  
31 issue by saying that it pertains to Jerusalem and that it pertains to an injustice for the  
32 nation. There is no doubt. Other than that, I have nothing. The cause of..., I never  
33 discussed the cause of Palestine one day from the land angle alone. Land is a part of the  
34 injustice and man fights in defense of his property and etc. But, the grand issue is the  
35 issue of a nation. Yes. And I went to Pakistan in '67 and I found that people were crying  
36 when whatever part of Palestine fell including Jerusalem. Also, the issue of Jerusalem is  
37 not an issue the Jews will not abandon by any means as long as they have existence and  
38 entity on the land of Palestine. That's it.

39 Om: There is a quick word.

40  
41 UM2: Go ahead.

42  
43 Om: Senator Patrick Leahy..., Moyenhams said on the day the agreement was signed..., he said

"Now, World War I has ended". He said "Now, World War I has ended..."

3 UM1: Moyenham?  
4

5 Om: Patrick Moyenham.  
6

7 UM1: Patrick what? Moyenham, this is New York.  
8

9 Om: New York. He is a Senator from New York.  
10

11 UM1: Oh, yeah. He is Jewish.  
12

13 Om: I don't know if he is Jewish. I don't think so.  
14

15 UM1: I think he is gay [*laughter*].  
16

17 Om: He says, "Now, after we signed the agreement...", he says "Now, World War I has ended".  
18 By "now" he is referring to the Ottoman empire and stuff".  
19

20 Ni: Because it carried out the Belfore's Pledge.  
21

[*UI group talk*].

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

29 Ni: The path of the Movement...UI.  
30

31 Ga: It is a different path from what he talked about. This is just the issue is bright as the sun.  
32

33 UM2: What Movement?  
34

35 Ga: Hamas..., the Samah Movement [*laughter*]. I mean Samah. Anyway, the path is really  
36 somewhat different. There is no disagreement over the fundamentals but, as far as the  
37 second thing, the nationalistic aspect, there is no doubt that the system of the Movement  
38 is very...UI. Therefore, from the latest events, it was proven very clearly to us that the  
39 effective circle in world politics as far as the Palestinian cause is concerned is the  
40 Palestinian circle. The truth is now final. Work on the Palestinian front. Hold on to the  
41 Palestinian front and they will deal with you even if he doesn't want to. It is not his  
42 choice. It is yours.  
43

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

4 UM2: Through Jihad.

5  
6 Om: Who is going to carry out Jihad? The Palestinians only are the ones who will go to Jihad  
7 against a national occupation. Do you think that...UI

8  
9 Ga: Yes, it is possible that...UI. Nothing is taken for granted. The issue of impossible and  
10 impossible factors is...

11  
12 Sh: This is political talk.

13  
14 Ga: Anyway, this is what I meant. This way we won't go into many side issues.

15  
16 UM2: Yes, yes. Fine.

17  
18 Ga: But to talk about impossibilities and absolute assumptions..., I used to speak in this  
19 manner and the experience taught me that I was wrong. Politics taught me that it is not  
20 right to say such stuff. These are absolutes we learned just from books but, in reality,  
21 things are different on the ground...

UM1: I will talk the political talk.

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

27  
28 Om: Is what you say really the point of view of the Movement?

29  
30 Ga: No. The Sheik is saying that the Movement...

31  
32 UM1: Let's stay on our point because things are drifting away.

33  
34 Om: The point of view of the Movement mentioned by brother Abou Ayoub is not accurate.  
35 The Movement still talks about the Islamic aspect of the cause and we must...

36  
37 Ga: No, this is not the issue...UI. The Sheik is saying that all of Palestine is holy, the  
38 Movement is saying that the entire land is holy. On the contrary, we say that it is an  
39 endowment and not just holy. There is a Saying that goes...[UI followed by UI comment  
40 and laughter]. This is...UI and the Movement is going on that direction. The other  
41 direction which is saying that we can liberate Palestine by the Islamic nations only is not  
42 agreed upon....UI.  
43

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

3  
4 *[Brief UI group talk].*

5  
6 Sh: This is not the topic, our brothers.

7  
8 *[Brief UI group talk].*

9  
10 Ga: ...I say that establishing the Islamic state is not...UI its current shape. This is just so that  
11 we are clear...UI.

12  
13 UM2: Is this the last point?

14  
15 Ga: I mean, on condition that the Islamic leadership...UI in order to liberate Palestine...UI  
16 neither internal or external.

17  
18 Ni: The matters needs clarification. This is his opinion. Yes, right.

19  
20 *[Brief UI group talk].*

21  
Gh: You have a presentation to make.

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

25  
26 UM2: There is just a remark about what our brother Abou Ratib said. Go ahead.

27  
28 Ni: This is in regards to remaining steadfast to the principles and...UI in regards to remaining  
29 steadfast on the principles and the fact that people always look... I mean, the reason the  
30 situation changed is that, during the first part of the year when the incident of the World  
31 Trade Center happened and people were looking at..., looking at the Islamic  
32 organizations. We were holding onto principles, Islamic principles as an Islamic  
33 organization. After the signing of the agreement we remained steadfast to the principles  
34 in the statements and the releases we made. This gave credibility to the *[Islamic]*  
35 Association *[for Palestine]*, it gave popularity to the *[Islamic]* Association *[for Palestine]*.  
36 I mean, the ADC..., I will give you an example. The ADC..., one of the things which  
37 increased its *[Membership]* numbers is during the Gulf war because it sided with the Arab  
38 community against the FBI and...UI. During the Gulf war, no one was able to open his  
39 mouth. Everyone was worried about himself. Then the ADC was mobilized because this  
40 was an issue for it as an organization to handle. It was then that Zoghby stood up very  
41 proudly and said "We came a long way, baby" as it appeared on all the networks. That  
42 was because they adopted an issue and moved with it even though they were the only  
43 ones on the front. The same thing applies to the *[Islamic]* Association *[for Palestine]*;

1 remaining steadfast to the doctrinal principles we follow is the one thing which gives it  
2 credibility with the public.

3  
4 UM2: Are there any other remarks? Ok, we will listen to the second presentation by... Is it by  
5 Abdel Rahman or Nihad?

6  
7 Om: In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Thanks be to God, prayers and peace be  
8 upon God's messenger and upon all of his family and supporters. To proceed, I was..., this  
9 is not the first meeting to take place to study the future of Islamic activism for Palestine in  
10 North America. A meeting was held before in August...

11  
12 Ni: In July.

13  
14 Om: In July?

15  
16 Ni: July 14.

17  
18 Om: July 14, before all of these problems happened. I had prepared a paper I didn't submit. I  
19 was supposed to discuss it. I had two things in my mind; in order to strengthen the  
20 Islamic activism for Palestine in North America we must do the two things; widening the  
21 Muslims' circle of influence and reducing the Jews' circle of influence. Based on that, I  
22 placed a lot of..., a lot of... I said that in order to strengthen Islamic activism for Palestine  
23 in North America we must do the two things. They are, first of all, widening the Muslims'  
24 circle of influence and reducing the Jews' circle of influence. I assumed that Islamic  
25 activism for Palestine in North America won't get stronger unless Muslims are strong.  
26 The nature of this country is that you cannot work unless you are strong; have money,  
27 relationships and certain tools for pressure. If you know how to talk but don't have tools  
28 for pressure your words are futile. Based on this study I concluded three things and they  
29 were almost discussed. They are: having organizations which include media and research  
30 department, another for politics and public relations and the third department is  
31 concerned with money and law. Each one of these [*departments*] has certain goals. But,  
32 after what happened, we changed the title to "The future of Islamic activism for Palestine  
33 in North America in light of the peace developments". I repeat here that any organization  
34 which seeks to do activism here in America must be very strong. Its main goal should to  
35 become strong. This is the... The goals sought by the Islamic activism for Palestine are six  
36 goals, I believe. First, making the Islamic position regarding Palestine the strongest  
37 position and the most supported between Muslims in general and Palestinians in  
38 particular. I mean, for Muslims in general and Palestinian the Islamic position should be  
39 the one they adopt and stick to. The second thing is to have the position of the Islamic  
40 Association for Palestine in regards to anything that has to do with Palestine the position  
41 which is adopted by Muslims and Islamic organizations. It should also be the position  
42 heard by non-Muslims. I mean, when a Muslim person or an Islamic organization adopt a  
43 position regarding the Gaza-Jericho agreement, for instance, the position of the [*Islamic*]

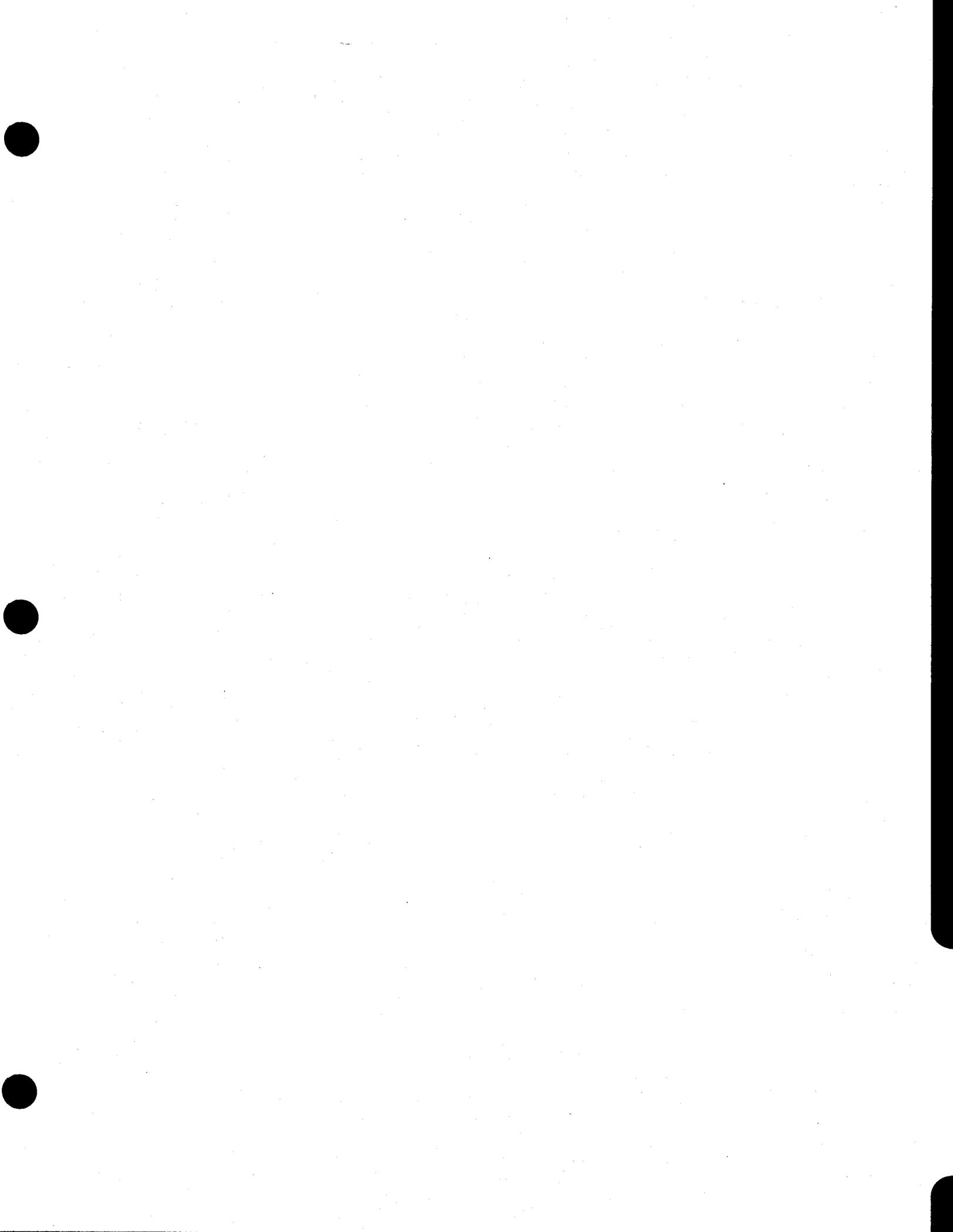
1 Association [*for Palestine*] should be the adopted one. Here is the organization which  
2 represents the point of view of Muslims in regards to Palestine. The other thing is that  
3 should the outside media or any foreign organization want to find out the point of view of  
4 Muslims, they would ask us and not any other entity. This is my second goal. The third  
5 goal is mobilizing the Palestinian and the Islamic community to support the Islamic  
6 project in Palestine and Islamic activism for Palestine in North America. This means that  
7 it is not enough that we provide awareness to the community. We must mobilize it to  
8 support the Islamic project in Palestine over there and then support Islamic activism for  
9 Palestine also in North America. These are the ones which we..., which we must pay a lot  
10 of attention to. This is one of the results of awareness of media activism. The fourth issue  
11 is increasing financial support for the kinsmen in the Occupied Territories in Palestine in  
12 general or even as we said today for Palestinians living elsewhere such as Lebanon, Syria  
13 and Jordan or wherever. I am not going to speak about this issue in this presentation  
14 because I believe it was discussed extensively. There were special sessions dedicated for  
15 it. The fifth goal is to form a lobby to pressure the Palestinian decision-makers abroad.  
16 This is a long-term goal. I mean, we must really be strong and have a large base but I  
17 believe it is a reasonable goal for us to adopt for the long-run. The last goal is enhancing  
18 and developing methods of activism. This one relates to the organizations. These are six  
19 goals. How are we going to carry them out? There are five fields; the first way is the  
20 media. The second field is the field of politics and public relations, public activism, our  
21 financial strength and strengthening our organizations. God's willing, I will be talking  
22 briefly about each one of these fields. In regards to the media field...er, this form of  
23 activism seeks to make the tools of the Islamic Association for Palestine such as Al  
24 Zaytouna and the Muslim World Monitor or other researches which we make and public  
25 the main and the popular source of information about Palestine among the Palestinian and  
26 the Muslim community. I mean, we don't want us to be the [*Islamic*] Association [*for*  
27 *Palestine*] while we see Muslims read papers from other people. It is possible that there  
28 will be [*other papers*] but they are not going to be the dominant or the ones which are  
29 widespread between the people. The main reason for that is to wipe illiteracy among  
30 Muslims in regards to the political reality and the conspiracies against Palestine. The  
31 biggest catastrophe we learned from this agreement is that Muslims totally ignore what  
32 happened. They didn't read the agreement or listened to news. They saw some headlines  
33 and they cheered and celebrated like other people did. So, if we don't reach them, this  
34 deeply-rooted ignorance will rule them and they will become our enemies and we start  
35 working on them instead of us working on the Americans and others. This will happen by  
36 enhancing both newspapers, boosting their distribution and propagating them, and by  
37 making sure our researchers and news reach the audience and the influential people like  
38 people who are the imams of mosques and those in charge of mosque, those who can  
39 receive the news and distribute it. We have to make sure that he received our research and  
40 our news. I believe this is on going on now but we must make it stronger. The second  
41 goal for media activism is broadcasting the Islamic point of view in U.S. media. The first  
42 goal was relating to activism among Muslims and Palestinians but we must broadcast our  
43 point of view in U.S. media. There is a very good reason for that which is bringing the

1 voice of the Islamists to the surface, keeping them informed and explaining their  
2 positions in order to ease the severity of allegations of radicalism and other things. This  
3 will also make our position known to Muslims and sympathizers whom we cannot reach  
4 via our media tools. So, the first thing is that if we don't go out and talk about our  
5 position people like Thomas Friedman and others will rise to attack the Islamists. This  
6 will happen if we don't stand up and speak about our positions. So, we must take this  
7 initiative and express our position. This will limit the allegations of radicalism. I mean,  
8 when Nihad appeared on CNN and talked in the way he spoke, this greatly reduces the  
9 severity of allegations of radicalism. The other thing which is the same thing brother  
10 Akram said is that when Muslims see these things they will be encouraged. For instance,  
11 we were conducting interviews for local TV in our locality, these were not for the  
12 Americans but for the Muslims in or locality who don't understand. When they see that  
13 there are Muslims like you who stand up you become a sort of a supporter for them and a  
14 motive for them to stand up. This can be achieved by being open to the various media  
15 outlets..., media outlets, and broadcasting news such as INN organization which is  
16 already part of the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine], the Islamic News Network...er.  
17 We can also use the people who agree with our opinion. I mean, if you have someone like  
18 Edward Said and someone like that... We have a brother in our region whose name Sabri  
19 Kaoush, a member of the National Assembly. He is very light Islamist. But he is a man  
20 who has a lot of information, he is retired and understands. Bring him on and let him  
21 demonstrate and explain things. There is no problem with that. He will assist you, help  
22 you out. So, we must not be shy and timid. Any newspaper or any radio which seek your  
23 opinion you should stand up and talk but learn how to talk. And I believe if you stand up  
24 and talk is what benefits you. But if you kept silent in this country they will toss you any  
25 way they want. The third goal of the media is producing researches, collecting  
26 information and providing them to those concerned and publishing them in order to make  
27 scholarly research and information which support our position available to those  
28 concerned with our cause. Also, preparing studies which define a method for dealing and  
29 address which suits the American political and media atmosphere. We now have a  
30 research organization which is UASR, for instance. But UASR organization does not help  
31 us in Palestinian activism in America unless with very little. We don't have an  
32 organization which conducts research for us on how to address the American society, how  
33 to deal with the U.S. organizations. So, I believe research is a very important thing. Also,  
34 people in the studies and research centers don't benefit a lot from a newspaper alone. He  
35 wants to see if you wrote an analysis or something like that for him. And I believe that the  
36 brothers..., the existing organizations, Dr. Yousef, do not negate the need for a research or  
37 a research center which we direct for activism in America. The fourth and the last goal of  
38 media activism is strengthening our influence in the educational organizations and  
39 particularly universities and studies centers. This is also a long-term goal but a plan must  
40 be put in place by the concerned brothers to specify the means through which we have a  
41 heard voice in these universities. This might begin by holding seminars to which we  
42 invite teachers in... Most prominent universities have teachers and have college for  
43 political science, Middle Eastern studies. You have research centers specialized in

3 Palestine. You can invite them and hold a seminar or a conference for them and engage  
4 them, at least, through your opinion and show them that you really adopt an opinion  
5 based on a scientific things, that you are not a radical, that you are balanced and have  
6 research and stuff like that. The problem and the catastrophe here in America is that the  
7 majority of the people who go to work for the U.S. government graduate from these  
8 universities from under professors who are under very strong Jewish influence. I mean  
9 you won't find one professor speaking in a classroom in a way which might harm Israel or  
10 praise the Palestinians unless the Jewish students in the university make an issue of him  
11 and bring a person from the Consulate or a Jewish person to respond. Therefore, our goal  
12 is to be... But this is a..., a long-term goal. Regarding the second issue which is political  
13 activism and public relations, the goal of this activism is to make the position of the  
14 [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] in regards of issues relating to Palestine the adopted  
15 position. This is one of the general goals...UI the Muslims and the Islamic organizations.  
16 There is a very good reason for that. It is in order to unify the forces..., the position of the  
17 Islamic forces in a unified activism program for Palestine. If the positions of the Islamic  
18 organizations started to contradict, which is what is currently happening as the [Islamic]  
19 Association [for Palestine] is saying one thing, the AMC is saying one thing, MAS is  
20 saying another thing and they say that the Pakistanis are talking about moon sighting and  
21 everyone is saying something different, when there is such a contradiction in the positions  
22 of the different Islamic organizations it will weaken the Islamic position in regards to  
23 Palestine a great deal. Then we as the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine], as people  
24 who are responsible for Islamic activism for Palestine that there is a state of great  
25 weakness and acute frailty in our position because we then...UI our position with  
26 Muslims. Therefore, we must be careful that the positions of Muslims remain the same.  
27 This unified program should mobilize Muslims for the Islamic project through the unity  
28 of logic and direction. If the thinking of Muslims is unified with you their mobilization  
29 will be easy. You tell them "Coordinate with me. All of Palestine is for Muslims. You  
30 coordinate with me that our position regarding Gaza-Jericho is so and so. How about you  
31 and me hold this seminar, this conference, this donation". This can be done through  
32 notifying the organizations of our position in a continuous and clear manner and  
33 establishing official and personal with them and giving them a role in determining the  
34 Islamic position in regards to Palestine and the appropriate method of address in America.  
35 This is the outcome of experience. You must first tell them what is our position. It is not  
36 enough that we wait for someone to call us and ask us "By God, what is your position in  
37 the issue", or wait for us. No, we go to him, make the initiative and tell him "Our position  
38 is like that; one, two, three, four". And we should make sure, make sure that he got the  
39 message and understands it so that when he stands up to talk he wouldn't say stuff we  
40 didn't mean by our statements. There should also be personal and official relationships  
41 between us and them. This means that we should a personal relationship between us and  
42 the guy who is in charge of that organization. And also an official relationship in our  
43 capacity as the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine], we should have mutual positions  
44 where we supported him in positions. This is America all over; organizations with  
45 interests. They should also be partners in determining the Islamic position for Palestine. It

1 is not enough that we say "By God, my position is so and so. Go ahead, adopt this  
2 position and go on". You must make him a partner in the decision, present to him and  
3 discuss it. You then stay with them to write the final wording of the position. And I  
4 believe that this work must be done. This might not be a fast way to do it but, in the  
5 future, there could be certain mechanism to unify the Islamic position in all of America.  
6 As for the organizations which want to dissent from the Islamic position for personal  
7 interests or out of fear... I mean, there are Islamic organizations such as the AMC and  
8 others which want to dissent from the Islamic position, either for personal interests, to  
9 promote itself, or for fear. We must pressure them and embarrass them by various means  
10 until they adhere to our position or, at least, remain neutral. This is something..., Maher  
11 Hathout said that thing when we were at the...UI. He said "If the Palestinians say this and  
12 that we are with them". If the Palestinians abandoned Palestine you must speak up as an  
13 Islamist. He said "But you Palestinians say this and that and there are pressures on us and  
14 stuff". I told him "If you are under pressure then stay silent. You don't have to say yes or  
15 no. Just stay silent and remain neutral". We shouldn't let these people..., these people  
16 splinter the unity of the Islamic Palestinian front. Thus, we should pressure them by  
17 various means until they either adhere to our position or remain neutral. Also, forming a  
18 lobby for the decision-makers abroad. This is also a very important thing. It is a long-term  
19 goal. This can be achieved through our popular, political, financial and media strength in  
20 America. I mean, when we are strong like I said in the beginning, I can be a means for  
21 pressure on them but if we are weak and we don't have an Islamic community, we don't  
22 have influence over the Congress or the organizations such as the ADC, ...UI and others  
23 people won't pay attention to us. This will also bolster our position in America with the  
24 U.S. Administration and other media and political organizations. If we are strong we can  
25 influence what they decide over there, for instance. If Yasser Arafat were to think twice  
26 before he does something in America because he worries about the Islamic community in  
27 America it would give us some sort of credit with the U.S. Administration or media  
28 outlets...UI in addition to the fact that it reinforces the position of the pro-Islamic solution  
29 for Palestine abroad and lessens the danger those who surrendered. When we are strong,  
30 people who are against surrender will see that they have a large community in America  
31 which supports them financially and stands with them. It pressures the other people which  
32 reinforces their position. This is the thing..., the thing brother Gawad spoke about. He  
33 said that it won't be achieved unless we are strong in this country. The other thing is in  
34 regards to political activism is lessening the animosity of America and the West to  
35 Muslims and to Palestinians, in particular because pressure now is not only on Muslims  
36 but they focus on the term Palestinian-Islamic such as Mohamed Salam and others. I  
37 mean they focus on the fact that this guy is Palestinian and an Islamist because the Jews'  
38 target is the Palestinian individual. Also, strengthening the influence with Congress or  
39 other than the Congress. This is also one of the long-term goals but we have started to do  
40 some things about it. This can be achieved by infiltrating the American media outlets,  
41 universities and research centers as we previously said. It is also achieved by working  
42 with Islamic political organizations and the sympathetic ones such as..., you have now  
43 many emerging Islamic organizations, such as the American Muslim Alliance, such as the

1 United Muslims of America, MPAC and AIPAC and others. All of those try to...UI and  
2 recruit Muslims to engage in political activism in America and I think that it is our  
3 mission to assist them because if Muslims engage in political activism in America and  
4 started to be concerned with Congress and public relations we will have an entry point to  
5 use them to pressure Congress and the decision-makers in America.  
6  
7  
8



1 UM3: ...two mosques. If any of the brothers spoke and asked "What is your position?", you tell  
2 him "I don't know. This is your own position. We are here, we are Muslims in America  
3 we have to take care..., take care of our own people". You told me that people are over-  
4 scared in Washington. If we retreat and didn't insist on own initial position people won't  
5 have someone as a role model. Therefore, we must remain steadfast on our Islamic  
6 position and work under pressure in order to strengthen the Islamic voice for Palestine  
7 and also to emerge as a entity which is capable of withstanding pressures and maintaining  
8 the initial position. Thus, we will be able to demonstrate our position in a practical way,  
9 not just in newspapers and magazine, but we will demonstrate our position in a practical  
10 way. We shouldn't retreat from our position even if we come under attack by the media  
11 and their allies. In this manner, we will gain credibility with people. This will also be a  
12 motive and an incentive for Muslims to support us in this position. As for the last issue...,  
13 the issue before last which is the issue of public activism. I believe that it is an outcome  
14 of the work we perform, media activism and others namely, mobilizing the Palestinian  
15 and the Muslim community to support the Islamic project in Palestine. Not only here but  
16 also in Palestine and also Islamic activism in North America. This will be done..., I mean,  
17 we must bring to the surface speakers, leaders and writers in America who tour the  
18 different Palestinian and the Islamic gatherings to propagate our position and to  
19 encourage people to support it. It is not enough that we issue statements and we send  
20 them via faxes and stuff. We must visit the communities at the mosques, at their  
21 gathering spots, debate them and explain this position to them. We must bring speakers  
22 and leaders to the surface so that they can say "My name is so and so. I represent this  
23 specific name", in the same manner when Aboul..., Aboul..., brother Aboul Hasan was  
24 speaking. We should bring leaders from America to the surface instead of continuing to  
25 rely on people from abroad. The second thing is winning the Islamic centers and the  
26 imams of the mosques and those who are in charge at these mosques. I believe that this is  
27 a very important issue because our work location is the Islamic centers. If we are unable  
28 to win them and we lost them... And this Gaza-Jericho agreement showed us that we  
29 didn't gain much from these centers, neither from the imams nor from those in charge. I  
30 mean, a brother in Chicago is saying that Palestine is being sold while the speaker keeps  
31 talking about moon-sighting. What did you gain from them? Another brother tells you  
32 "I'm afraid" and another says "I am supportive". You didn't win them and they are not  
33 going to listen to you and they will tell you that this is your position. Ayman in Canada is  
34 complaining and all of us have the same complaint. Therefore, we must win these centers  
35 and encourage them to adopt the revival of the issue of Palestine as an Islamic issue and  
36 to hold different activities at the centers. It is not enough to make requests over the phone  
37 when something happens. No, he must revive the issue by, for instance, forming blocs,  
38 having Ramadan gatherings and stuff. He must continuously revive this issue in the  
39 minds of the Muslims, on the occasion of the Night Journey and the Ascension, for  
40 instance. The third issue relating to mobilization is winning the Muslim and Palestinian  
41 youths to attract them to Islamic activism as they are the ones who can..., I mean, deal  
42 with the surroundings better than us. The other issue regarding popular activism is  
43 reaching the Palestinian and the Muslim community in their common places. This can

1 achieved by participating in their activities and clubs by holding general Islamic  
2 activities. I will give you an example; I participated in San Francisco in a program called  
3 "Palestine Day". This was held by..., they invite 50% Muslims and 50% Christians. So, it  
4 was attended by about 2,000 people. We were present over there and, when we are there,  
5 you find that Muslims come to our table on their own. They start asking us questions,  
6 what do you have, they buy Qurans and stuff like that. Last year, they were visited by Al  
7 Sakhra Band. We didn't put too much effort in this thing. But, if we create these activities  
8 in some of the large cities the whole community will come even those who don't fast and  
9 don't pray. It is a door for ministry and a pillar of Islam. We win them for the Afterlife  
10 and it is also a win for the Islamic position of Palestine in America. We must also  
11 establish organizations and support them to educate their children and preserve their Arab  
12 and Muslim identity. I mean, you go to Islamic schools and you find many of the people  
13 who bring their kids there are non-observants; unveiled women, the father might not pray.  
14 But, it is just so that he learns Arabic and stuff. These communities..., there are large  
15 Palestinian communities and we should attempt to open schools near them to secure these  
16 services for them. In this manner, we will win them. The form of the address to the  
17 community must be determined according to its different Islamic levels. For instance,  
18 Muslim beginners or deep-rooted Muslims...UI, they should have people to cater to them  
19 while keeping in mind not to retreat from the fact that all of Palestine is Islamic...etc. The  
20 last issue is strengthening the organizations. Our goal from that is to strengthen the  
21 organizations from the financial aspect. Also, when you examine this aspect from the  
22 angle of investment in small projects and taking advantage from governmental grants if  
23 possible. There are governmental grants which are given to the organizations which  
24 conduct research and stuff like that. We can take advantage of it. The other issue is  
25 administrative stability through hiring dedicated and qualified personnel for these  
26 organizations and not relying on volunteers only. The presence of the informed leadership  
27 which directs work and holds people accountable for dereliction. This means that it is not  
28 enough to have dedicated people, but that there must be an informed leadership knowing  
29 what is going on, is directing work and also holds people accountable for dereliction. The  
30 other issue is providing the legal cover. The brothers spoke about this issue. The last issue  
31 is forming alliance with Arab and American organizations which are sympathetic to us  
32 such as the ADC and others. This will protect our organizations with the official circles. I  
33 believe that..., I mean..., by looking at what is happening right now with the [Islamic]  
34 Association [for Palestine], I believe and God knows best that the future of the Islamic  
35 activism for Palestine, the near and the far future, must serve these goals through these  
36 means. And also the issues brother Nihad spoke about which is media activism and  
37 brother Akram spoke about which is the issue of the form of the address the positions...,  
38 all of these complete the issue we spoke about. Thanks to God, there was no redundancy  
39 in what was said but rather a completion to it. May God reward you well.

40  
41 UM1: May God reward you well. Akram, do you have something?

42  
43 Ak: What?

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

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

5 Ga: Five minutes.

7 Om: Five minutes...

9 *[UI brief group talk]*.

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

13 UM1: Go ahead, go ahead.

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

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

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

20 UM1: Five minutes.

21 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.

39 UM1: Give us a tangible example for that.

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

43 Sh: ...UI.

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

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

38  
39 Gh: I always do that.

40  
41 Ga: Nothing was received according to my humble information. [Laughter].

42  
43 Ni: We always write and...UI.

1 Ga: According to my humble information, in truth, nothing [*was received*]. The truth is  
2 that...UI and this is not convincing. Everyone must..., I heard opinions here now which  
3 were not mentioned during very long discussions about this issue. They were not  
4 mentioned before. And they deserve...UI. One shouldn't be frugal with his opinion and  
5 think that our brothers are experts, praised be God. Our brothers are...UI, praised be God.  
6

7 As: This is an assumption, my brother.  
8

9 Ga: My brother, nothing was received over there. We don't get any news, we don't get an  
10 article, I don't hear anything...UI. You are a Movement, my brother. You're not an  
11 employee...UI. I want you to write a page, half a page or a page and a half and give it to  
12 brother Omar or brother Abou Ibrahim and he will deliver it to the brothers in charge.  
13 They are always in contact. How do you think the world operates? [*UI brief group talk*].  
14 Anyway, the comprehensive approach when working for the cause is a basis...UI. May  
15 God reward you well.  
16

17 UM1: May God reward you well.  
18

19 Ni: Problems came anew and, at the end, everybody approves.  
20

21 [*UI brief group talk*].

Om: ...UI. For instance, people, we didn't count our money, how much money there is in our  
pockets.  
25

26 UM1: This is not our business, Sheik.  
27

28 Om: He who makes a plan or provides a concept must know the reality. Must be standing on  
29 the reality he lives in. For instance, I remember one thing. I could have been asleep and  
30 woke up while someone was saying that brother Abdel...UI is building  
31 schools...[*Laughter*]. So, I said "Ok, so the people are in situation where they can build  
32 schools". I mean, people who can't... Are we going to build schools? And [*someone said*]  
33 "You should open clubs". I said "We are working on the newspaper and...UI.  
34

35 Ni: And you want to form...., you want to form a new organization in Washington.  
36

37 Om: Osama..., Osama, how much is our budget? Fifty-five, sixty or seventy thousands. That's  
38 it.  
39

40 Ga: And how much will the club cost?  
41

42 Om: What?  
43

1 Ga: How about the club?

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

4  
5 Ga: It is [*financed by*] the community and not by you.

6  
7 Om: Fine, fine. The community, my brother... One of the problems of the Palestinian  
8 community and the Arab community in general here is that they are overlapping each  
9 other. This is the reason behind the failure of the existing Arab organizations. The  
10 community is not committed, it is divided and they are in disagreement. Each one is  
11 claiming to be a leader. You gather them together and you find 20 leaders out of 19  
12 people. Twenty leaders. That's it and it is known. They don't agree with each other in  
13 Washington everyday because they are all leaders. So, you're coming to build the club at  
14 their expense?

15  
16 Ni: They will open an orphanage for you.

17  
18 Om: ...UI. If there was something good in them, it would have been apparent in the eighties  
19 and the seventies when they were in their glory. This is not how things are.

20  
21 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.

25  
26  
27 UM1: For three months?

28  
29 Om: Oh, yeah. Suggestions, of course. Not everything Abdel Rahman said is not realistic. No,  
30 there are some things...

31  
32  
33 Ni: Yeah. But, a lot of the things we call long-term suggestions are...UI. If you are going to  
34 tell yourself that everything you have is for the long-range, you will keep postponing it. If  
35 it is for the long-range you will not work for it from now. These are things you must think  
36 about beginning today. Otherwise, when are you going to start thinking about them. I  
37 mean, you say that you want to establish an organization in Washington. How long have  
38 you been thinking about it? It is not since July. You have been thinking about it over a  
39 year ago.

40  
41 Om: Yes, right.

42  
43 Ni: It is the same thing for these matters. When you think about the future of activism, it is in

1 two parts; one deals with the current reality and another pertains to what you want to be  
2 in the future. You don't...

3  
4 Om: Yes. But, what I mean that you shouldn't..., that we shouldn't take on the educational role,  
5 the awareness role, the role of forming a generation. I mean, we keep telling the  
6 community that...UI.

7  
8 Ni: No. We didn't say that. You're saying that because you were sleeping. What I said is that  
9 wherever there are community concentrations... [laughter].

10  
11 UM2: What are you saying, Omar?

12  
13 Om: ...UI.

14  
15 Ni: What I said is that wherever there are gatherings for the Palestinian community..., they are  
16 looking for people to teach Arabic to their children. They look for people to teach their  
17 children something about culture and heritage. We don't have to open a school for them.  
18 Why should I open schools for them. I just tell them "Here is the school", you know. I tell  
19 them "Try. Bring your kids". I send someone to them, for instance. That's what I'm saying.  
20 I'm not saying that I will open schools and open universities for them. But, if you don't  
21 provide services for them, how are you going to bring them over? You're just going to tell  
them come and visit me?

22  
23 Om: I believe..., I believe that there is an important step which we must take now. Let's say it  
24 clearly, we have 300-400 people from the countries of Syria, Lebanon and Palestine and  
25 you don't see 50 people out of them. Where are the 350 people? We need at least 200  
26 people who are sympathetic to the cause and who interact with the news as soon as they  
27 hear it. As for those who remain asleep, we alone will not be able to perform these duties.  
28 We need those 200 people. We should make a target to get those 200 people to work in  
29 the same manner on this cause, for instance. No matter what happens even if the Group  
30 gets agitated we must achieve our goals.

31  
32  
33 Ni: You see, this is not the job of the executive committee for the [Islamic] Association [for  
34 Palestine]. It is the job of the Palestine Committee.

35  
36 [UI brief group talk].

37  
38 Om: My opinion is that this is the duty of all of us because it is not... Because there are  
39 brothers who...UI. They must be convinced. My brothers, we should come to a brother  
40 and we tell him "Come here. What is your duty? What do you do?". Each one of us  
41 should convince 3, 4 or five people. Each one in his region can influence 3 or 4 people. It  
42 is not possible unless we influence 5 or 6 people. If we exert our effort and energy and  
43 tried to increase the number of the observant activist..., just to try to increase their

1 number. If we increase their number, we increase our gateway to the communities. If we  
2 specify the goal we will be able to spread more. This is a step. The second step is very  
3 necessary which is the issue of ...UI. For instance, we spoke about money and stuff. It is  
4 important to do even if from our personal investments. We should allocate a sum of  
5 money and invest it in order to bring us [revenue] for a project. For instance, projects...UI  
6 half of which is from us and the other half should go, for instance, to the [Islamic]  
7 Association [for Palestine] or to this activism on which we agree even if it is a small  
8 amount; 40,000, 50,000, 100,000 or 70,000 no matter what. We must start because he  
9 who starts now will reach the goal in ten years. He who thinks about the [Islamic]  
10 Association [for Palestine] and other things must.... I mean, this [Islamic] Association  
11 [for Palestine] and other things... I will give you an example. When we started Al  
12 Zaytouna, we started it with 4 pages and now it is 16 pages. Had we started with 16 pages  
13 we would not have been able to finish it within a week. Impossible. Because we were not  
14 used to that. Things can happen gradually. Hadn't we started with 4 pages two years ago  
15 we wouldn't have reached 16 pages. If we start with a 10,000 investment it will become  
16 100,000, for instance, in five years. But, if we start with a zero and waited for the million  
17 to come, neither the million or anything else will come after five years. All of our work  
18 must start this way. We must start small and then grow. I believe that there is an influence  
19 on us from the Group, a negative influence, as there is a state of laxity and stuff. This has  
20 influenced us as we lost hope that this method will work. On the contrary, I believe that it  
21 is a strong method and it is also the best one but the circumstances surrounding us are  
22 bad. So, you think that this Movement or this thing has stopped to function. Therefore,  
23 we must restore its power to it again as it is the origin to restore power to us. Think that  
24 we meet some people and we might be seeing them for the first time and we talk honestly  
25 and with all confidence. But, if this Group that binds us does not exist you will find one  
26 person suspicious of another and God knows where he is from. One person speaks while  
27 looking around him. So, this is a blessing, a big blessing for us which we shouldn't forget.

28  
29 UM2: There is a question.

30  
31 Om: Go ahead.

32  
33 UM2: Have you tried one day to invite representatives of the Islamic centers who are in  
34 leadership positions, whether they are with us or not, and make a conference for them.  
35 Some of the ideas mentioned by Gawad and others are good. I mean, we at the center  
36 in...UI, Abou Mohamed knows, we have a project to work with the youths. A committee  
37 stemming from the executive committee is formed to work with the youths to create the  
38 atmosphere mentioned by brother Gawad and others at the level of sports, entertainment,  
39 swimming...etc.

40  
41 Om: Activities.

42  
43 UM2: Yes. I say that there is no doubt, based on all that happened from beginning to end, that

1 the Group is in a state which is... We thank God for the good and the bad.

3 Om: We are...UI.

4  
5 UM2: Yes. I'm telling you. We keep trying to fill vacuums which are..., or are keen to fill  
6 vacuums which are not really our jobs, really.

7  
8 Om: We must be dedicated to do our job.

9  
10 UM2: It is not the job of the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine]. But, due to the vacuum left  
11 by others, brother Gawad comes and tells you that we should open clubs and then comes  
12 another brother and tells him what are you talking about [Laughter]. I say that... I don't  
13 like too much theorization. I mean, I heard a lot of theories, theories...etc. Let's..., I mean,  
14 it is not practical stuff to do. Dreams... No, not even dreams because some dreams come  
15 true [Laughter and UI talk]. Anyway... The practical side is... I really speak through my  
16 practice. Have we tried to...

17  
18 Om: Call for a conference...

19  
20 UM2: ...call the imams or the representatives of the centers and those who have the ability and  
21 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...

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

26  
27 UM2: What?

28  
29 Om: The main problem is the money.

30  
31 UM2: The money will be borne by the centers, my brother. You just..., you just formulate the  
32 idea and ask the centers...

33  
34 Ni: It serves their ideas. I mean, when the imams are convinced with...

35  
36 Sh: If you can't get money for that...UI.

37  
38 Ni: No, no. We can get it.

39  
40 UM2: My brother, the centers..., my brother... You..., you...

41  
42 Sh: No, each center takes care of itself.

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

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

7  
8 UM2: My friend, I want the element with influence.

9  
10 Sh: Meaning board member and people like that.

11  
12 UM2: Board members. If the imam..., if the imam... In some centers, the imam is the main... In  
13 other centers, members of the Shura or... If we hold such meetings and these  
14 presentations were debated...

15  
16 Om: Yes.

17  
18 UM2: You see, by God it will bring a lot of fruit.

19  
20 Om: This is a good idea.

21  
[UI brief group talk].

22  
23  
24 UM2: These ideas... You keep suggesting things but these are things which are a little bit  
25 outside the Palestine cause.

26  
27 Om: Not just "a little".

28  
29 UM2: This...UI will get us where? [Laughter]

30  
31 Om: To paradise, God's willing.

32  
33 UM2: Not to hell, I don't think. [group laughter].

34  
35 As: There are a couple of things...

36  
37 UM1: Go ahead, go ahead.

38  
39 As: There are two or three points...

40  
41 UM2: Or four or five.

42  
43 As: As for the 1<sup>st</sup> point, we need to write a strong-worded letter of protest...

1 UM2: God is great!

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

6

7 UM1: He is coming.

8

9 As: What?

10

11 UM1: Yasser is coming tomorrow night.

12

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

14

15 UM1: No, he said he is coming tomorrow.

16

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

18

19 Om: Let him talk, Abou Mohamed.

20

21 UM2: Go ahead. Go ahead.

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

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

26

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

28

29 Om: I believe these should be handled individually.

30

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

32

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

34

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

37

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

40

41 UM2: What is the problem?

42

43 As: What?

1 UM2: ...UI.

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

10  
11 UM3: Peace be with you.

12  
13 Group: Peace be with you, God's mercy and blessings.

14  
15 UM1: A revolution, a revolution against the occupier, right? [*laughter and UI group talk*].

16  
17 UM1: Go ahead, Aboul Hasan.

18  
19 As: Let me finish my point.

20  
21 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*].

25  
26 Sh: Looks like the festival has really impacted you...UI.

27  
28 UM3: We really scored in it. [*Laughter*].

29  
30 UM1: Aboul Hasan.

31  
32 As: Yes. The point I was speaking about is the issue of the personal relationship. I mean, if  
33 we start or engage in a relationship we should follow-up on it. We should cast a personal  
34 touch to it. We gave an example when Arafat when you see Arafat is holding someone,  
35 tugging him behind him and is kissing him. We don't...

36  
37 UM1: ...UI [*group laughter*]. Let's not hold him by the hand.

38  
39 As: I mean, let me quote a saying from our end; He who wants to be a camel herder...

40  
41 UM1: Must enlarge the door to his house.

42  
43 As: He who wants to be a camel herder must enlarge the door to his house. I mean, the issue

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

14  
15 Ni: No doubt that...UI.

16  
17 As: We are now members in the NAFTA [*laughter*].

18  
19 UM1: May God reward you well. Are we going to listen to the brothers from Canada... [*UI brief*  
20 *group talk*]. Are there any questions so that we...  
21

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*].

25  
26 Ni: You can talk about the status of the [*Islamic*] Association [*for Palestine*] in Canada.

27  
28 UM3: No, tomorrow. Tomorrow is better.

29  
30 Ni: We will leave it until tomorrow.

31  
32 UM2: I have a suggestion, man...

33  
34 [*UI group talk and laughter*].  
35

36 Ni: A suggestion to the brothers who are in charge of the sessions; give us resolutions as we  
37 spoke about many things and some of us...UI. They should pass the resolutions on to us.  
38 The things they should pass on to us are: the resolutions...  
39

40 Om: Stay with us, brothers.

41  
42 Ni: The resolutions, the execution party, the means for execution and the follow-up party in  
43 order to... I have a suggestion...UI.

1 Om: I suggest that they meet tonight for an hour after we leave or tomorrow morning before  
2 8:00 o'clock. The three of them should get together and put down what they have in the  
3 form of a proposal. I mean, in a form that "By God, there was an agreement on the so and  
4 so subject".  
5

6 Ni: There was an inclination to do this and that.  
7

8 Om: There was an inclination and then you provide it to us for voting and reaching a  
9 resolution in it. Later on, we will determine all that is going to be executed if it was  
10 agreed on.  
11

12 Ni: The most important thing is that there should be a schedule.  
13

14 Om: Yes, right.  
15

16 Ni: So, in the next session...UI.  
17

18 Om: We should then put the proposal with a schedule. I mean it should be carried on this and  
19 that date. It is favorable if it is...UI.  
20

21 Sh: This should come from the executive entities.

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

25 Ni: Only for the important issues in which we discussed our inclination, i.e. the issue of shape  
26 of the political address, establishing an alternative organization. These fundamental  
27 issues.  
28

29 Om: Yes, right.  
30

31 Ni: As for an issue of inclination...UI. And execution will be done by all the organizations.  
32

33 Om: Yes, right.  
34

35 Ni: Go ahead.  
36

37 Ga: I wrote a full paper here regarding the topic of discussion which will be presented  
38 tomorrow. Its schedule and what its format ought to be.  
39

40 Om: Give it to... [UI brief group talk].  
41

42 Ga: First, there are the ramifications..., the impact of the ramifications on activism in  
43 America...UI which is I believe what brother Akram mentioned lately...UI. And also the

1 addendum I wrote in the morning...UI. Goals of activism in America, brother Abdel  
3 Rahman mentioned it in details and brother Ghassan mentioned some details and brother  
4 Nihad. So, now we are finished with this topic...UI. Attempting to...[UI group talk].

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

6  
7 Ni: An evaluation, that is.

8  
9 Om: An evaluation of the day. Are you satisfied?

10  
11 UM1: Brother,...UI.

12  
13 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  
14 better at the end of the talk. And we will have a prayer at the end, God's willing.

15  
16 Om: What do you have, Abou Mohamed? What do you think? What is your evaluation of the  
17 day?

18  
19 UM1: By God, I believe that it was good. We discussed most of the issues at hand. We  
20 expanded the discussion and what is important is tomorrow, what kind of resolutions,  
21 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.

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

26  
27 UM3: There is a remark which might be negative which is the numerous time when people  
28 deviated from the main points for which sake the sessions were held. Like what Abou  
29 Ayoub said, some of the sessions which were discussed need additional sessions and, of  
30 course, there was a certain idea but there was a deviation from what we wanted to discuss  
31 which is what relates to America. A lot of issues were presented which were out of the  
32 question, I mean.

33  
34 UM4: God's willing, I will say my remarks later. Let's leave it until later.

35  
36 Sh: I believe the meeting was unique and was enriching. We need more of that but I believe  
37 that, in the future, the papers need screening, centralized screening a while before and...

38  
39 Ni: To have them distributed to people.

40  
41 Sh: This should happen because there are two incompatible types of people. There are people  
42 who adhered to the subject and there are people who wrote work plans and very precise  
43 details and stuff. Therefore, it is good to have a certain standard so that all benefit. You

1 see? Also, I saw that some of the brothers didn't speak at all at this meeting. I'm hoping  
2 that, tomorrow, they will make up for this silence with their feedback, God's willing.

3  
4 UM2: With a prayer, you mean?

5  
6 Sh: ...UI. [*Laughter*].

7  
8 UM3: In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Of course, the meeting was good and  
9 fruitful. But, I was hoping that... There were some of the specialized issues which were  
10 discussed. We should have assigned them to some of the brothers who have a bigger  
11 experience and should have been given more time. For instance, in the topic of brother  
12 Aboul Hasan, he just mentioned the issues and there was no chance for us to discuss it  
13 more than that. Also, some of the issues mentioned by brother Gawad were the same  
14 thing. So, what is supposed to happen, and God's knows best, is that the issues which  
15 have a bigger impact on the success of activism and which might bear a bigger fruit  
16 should have a certain presentation or a specific person to discuss them and should be  
17 expanded upon in the future so that it benefits us in a better way other than just  
18 mentioning points without even the time to discuss them and stuff like that. But, generally  
19 speaking, it was good and what is more important than that is execution because we  
20 always fall short in. I mean, we always...UI good but, when it comes to the execution  
21 state...UI. No, this is our nature. So, we hope that, God's willing, we really carry out what  
we say.

22  
23 Gh: I believe that it was a good and a fruitful meeting. I probably didn't say much...

24  
25 Om: Didn't talk at all [*Laughter and UI group talk*].

26  
27 Gh: I believe..., I believe that the brothers discussed many points, a lot of points and they were  
28 beneficial and I believe that a meeting like that is necessary.

29  
30 As: I see that the meeting was good even though it was a short notice. People didn't have  
31 enough time to write the papers and some people got news a week ago and didn't have  
32 time to write. Despite that, thanks be to God, I believe that we benefitted from it. It wasn't  
33 a loss, that is.

34  
35  
36 UM4: I truly agree with the brothers about its success and it really achieved a lot of the goals for  
37 which the meeting was held. But, I have some administrative and technical remarks. The  
38 two lectures or the two sections in the first and the second session were somewhat  
39 concentrated. But, the third session was somewhat lacking concentration with most  
40 people and I'm among them as there was some sort of...UI. If the program had some kind  
41 of confusion. Had it started...UI today and the afternoon was left for lunch, rest or a walk,  
42 it would have been better so that one would have some sort of concentration. God's  
43 willing, we will benefit from that in the future. The second remark is that the

1 arrangements for a meeting like that include many security loopholes. I noticed that. I  
2 didn't expect that things will happen in that manner even though I'm just one of those  
3 people who were invited to this meeting. But, If I had known that this is how the issue is  
4 going to be, had I known that it has this magnitude, I would have had remarks about its  
5 arrangements. So, I hope that in future that no meeting is held in this manner because you  
6 are speaking about strategies and you gathered all the people from the entire continent.  
7 The phone has been...UI several times. Some of the brothers knew about it and some  
8 didn't. Some were clear and some were not clear about the matter. The matter is very  
9 important and two things ought to be taken into consideration when preparing for it. The  
10 first thing is that it should be held in a place that is known because it is easy to have...,  
11 something like that. The second thing is that preparations for it should be done in a  
12 manner which gives a brother the impression of seriousness towards the topic. I am taking  
13 the topic seriously because it is important to us and is a part of us. But, I noticed that with  
14 other people - without mentioning names - that they were not taking the topic seriously  
15 and some of them didn't even come, for instance. If this person were taking the topic  
16 seriously in light of this stage, there would have been some sort of attention given to it.  
17 Therefore, the communication and follow-up method gives a person the impression on  
18 how to deal with this topic. So, I hope that these two points are taken into consideration  
19 in the future, God's willing, for more success, more seriousness and more attention.  
20

21 Om: May God reward you well.

22  
23  
24  
25 UM5: The issue of preparation in regards to the presentations is a mistake we always commit.  
26 That is notifying the brothers in the last minute about the agenda. The papers which are  
27 presented to them directly are...UI. There should be a prepared agenda that is clear and  
28 obvious stating the goal of the meeting, what are we going to discuss, the papers which  
29 have been prepared a while back should have been made available to every brother who  
30 attended and they should include a concept, a practical concept more than just talk the  
31 brother is saying or words repeated by someone else and so on. So, I hope that the  
32 brothers pay attention to this point in other meetings even though we commit the same  
33 mistake. Preparation for the meeting before we meet. A brother should come knowing  
34 what is being presented and the papers, the program and goal behind it are all clear.  
35

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

40 Om: Shukri, go ahead.

41 Sh: I have donated my name to you, my brother...UI [laughter]. May God reward you....  
42  
43



1 As: ...I imagine that we open new horizons for activism even if the ambitions are...UI.

3 UM1: ...UI.

4  
5 As: 'But, it is good that one has visions, dreams and convictions which might be bigger than  
6 our size but they are still good. As for criticism, I notice that in all meetings. Most of the  
7 meetings are...UI with a lack of sleep. Therefore, if you look at the brothers' eyes most of  
8 the time... [Laughter], really you will find them faint. Truly. But, generally speaking, I  
9 don't know what is the solution for this point...UI. But, generally speaking, I believe that  
10 the points were...UI.

11  
12 UM1: In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful. I really ...UI. But, there is a small  
13 remark which is that a meeting was held in July, [*a meeting for*] the Shura Council of the  
14 [*Islamic*] Association [*for Palestine*] and how many people attended it? Fifteen? Sixteen?  
15 There was brain-storming and I hope that this session won't turn into brain-storming as  
16 well. This happened in July and we are now in September. So, it has been two and a half  
17 months since then... Many of the issues being presented now have been presented during  
18 that time frame. So, I hope that, tomorrow, they have been honed. What I really  
19 understood from our brother...UI and from Shukri is that... I don't understand the issue  
20 exactly.

21  
As: ...UI.

22  
23 UM1: Yes, a the plan of work must be honed and a committee must spin off of this meeting and  
24 it is better to have two from the Association and one from... to really follow up on the  
25 implementation of this plan, to follow up on it. But, if we just do brain storming  
26 tomorrow and then go home we will go back to the same issue three months later and it  
27 will be futile. Really, we keep brain storming, storming, storming and what is after that?  
28

29  
30 Sh: Just storming...

31  
32 UM1: Therefore, we must really hone down some goals tomorrow and then form a committee to  
33 follow up on the implementation, formed by either the Association or the charitable work.  
34 If there are changes that need to be done we can change them. This way, we get out  
35 with a realistic conclusion because many of the ideas which were presented such as  
36 forming new organizations and stuff like that..., and God only knows our budget at the  
37 Association. I mean that two months ago there was...UI.

38  
39 Ga: ...UI. I have several remarks. The first remark is that the gathering was...UI an intellectual  
40 exchange between the brothers was very positive with emphasis on brother Mazin's  
41 remark that often times there were long...UI. I would get most of the discussion was about  
42 a different topic and not a part of the...UI. Therefore, there should be an understanding  
43 from the beginning to focus the discussion and that is it. This is the first remark. The

1 second remark is about the design of the meeting. The meeting agenda should be clear,  
2 the sessions should be clear, the discussion points should be clear. There should be a  
3 printed paper which is sent in the mail so that matters are arranged. Consequently, things  
4 will be organized and the sessions are announced. I mean, everybody's paper is in a  
5 different format..., my paper is different...UI, for instance. Another person will have a  
6 specialized paper and so forth. In this way, these points should have been distributed. But,  
7 to have one point around the same topic...UI or one point should be divided into several  
8 parts and each person handles a part so that there is a system to be followed by people and  
9 not for anything else, so that this matter is organized. The last thing, the third remark, is  
10 that even though the presentations were late, yet they should have been given more time,  
11 maybe an hour to an hour and a half to be discussed by all those present. I am against the  
12 policy of timing people...UI and I heard from some of the brothers that they don't like  
13 to...UI and I denounced this phenomenon as I didn't hear as I didn't hear one of the  
14 sessions that were...UI. It is better to distribute a paper...UI. The brothers will read it and,  
15 an hour or an hour and a half later, it will be discussed with each person having his  
16 file...UI. A brother reads it and attends [*the meeting*] knowing what the brother will  
17 present. This way, he will come prepared. A brother will then present his paper. If it is in  
18 five pages, it will be followed five minutes or ten minutes to provide. A brother then sees  
19 where he stands with the brother, [*reaches a*] conclusion, discusses the details and reads  
20 it to see what needs...UI. God knows best.  
21

UM2: In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Of course, my brothers, I mean every  
word I say. You will notice that I don't compliment or criticize haphazardly. This means  
that criticism means just that and compliment means just that. It is...UI. In the past  
meeting we met in the Shura Council I left with the same feeling. I was very pleased that  
God created youths like you and this is a big thing for me. I thank God for that and I ask  
Him to keep His grace for that. I didn't say that because I will follow this with something  
that you might deem as criticism. No, this is not what I meant. No, by God. Once again, I  
say that I find in every individual among you what I thank God for because I find that I  
would be comfortable if anyone among those present is to lead..., I'm not going to say a  
nation but leads a large group of people. So, all of you are leaders, thank God, and I see  
this qualification is clear in the manner of thinking and in the level of logic which I heard.  
The second point is that I noticed - and I notice that in every site - that the keenness of  
some of the brothers to advance activism drives him to exaggerate in theorizing, meaning  
that he theorizes a lot. Whenever I hear a person theorizing I take the stand of Ibn El  
Romi from him; I become pessimistic. Yes. I don't like a lot of theorization. This is a  
nature. I always... even at the site at our end I call some of the brothers theorists. I don't  
like to listen to them unless I wanted to be entertained with theorization [*Laughter and UI  
group talk*]. The third thing - forgive me for saying this as well - it seems..., it seems that  
we don't know how to read the Quran well. It seems that our reading of Quran is... We  
either read it because we have to read or there is no understanding because many of the  
ideas we brought up and listened to today are ideas which indicate that there is really  
some sort of a conflict which should have been resolved with the language of Quran. By

1 that I mean that presenting the Palestinian cause - as far as I understand - in the manner it  
2 was presented is a presentation which makes me lost. And I am with a group of elite  
3 people..., elite people, something which I mentioned in the first point. So, if this elite  
4 lives in such a perplexity at the level of thinking, theory and belief, how much more will  
5 the other people be. May God help them. What I'm saying is that... I will cite an example;  
6 the Quran, our brothers, confirms that, in order for the nation to lead, be successful and  
7 reach its goals, it must be tested, it must be paved and it must be killed. This is what we  
8 see in, let's say, one of the cosmic phenomenon. The entire world must stand up against  
9 us, must battle us, must be hostile to us and this is a sign that the weak people and the  
10 people who are being antagonized are the ones who are right. Otherwise, why would God  
11 the Almighty throw Yousef, prayers and peace be upon him, in jail. Why was he accused?  
12 And, when he gets out of jail..."Today you're ...UI. Make me trusted over the warehouses  
13 of the earth. I'm an honest...UI" [Quran quote]. This is a result of one of God's laws. So,  
14 what I see is that we don't understand these meanings in a good way due to the...UI which  
15 exists between us and Quran. Therefore, I believe that if we read and understand Quran  
16 well we will realize that the Palestinian cause has a creedal dimension first of all. As for  
17 land and the other things are passing issues. Of course, there are issues of disagreement.  
18 Brother Gawad told me that this is not the issue. Then, the last and final point which is  
19 the ...UI. I mean it is not very important and I say it while I'm laughing and making jokes.  
20 Don't be too strict with beards and turbans and the sheiks.  
21

UM3: ...UI.

22 UM2: ...I mean someone is upset about the length of a beard and one person is upset about the  
23 turban. I don't have either a long beard or a turban. But easy on the...  
24

25 Sh: The pots.  
26

27 UM2: May God bless you and may God reward you well. [*Laughter and a short UI group talk*].  
28

29 Sh: What is wrong with you? Can't you finish the talk?  
30

31 UM3: Of course, the sheik...UI. Therefore, I'm very pleased to be present among brothers who  
32 are keen on their cause, their homeland and I hope that all of our deeds, God's willing,  
33 will be purely for the sake of God. For me personally, the meeting was very fruitful...UI.  
34 The remarks which have been mentioned by the brothers. May God reward them well. I  
35 hope that this meeting produces good things and applications which is the main goal. May  
36 God reward you well.  
37

38 UM4: In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful. The meeting was good and what is  
39 needed is to listen, ...UI and implementation, God's willing.  
40

41 UM5: In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Thanks be to God, prayers and peace be  
42  
43

1 on God's prophet, his family, companions and those who allied with him. In fact, the  
2 meeting was positive but it would have been more positive if we really prepared for it  
3 well as the brothers mentioned. Part of the preparation I see is that this matter we are  
4 embarking on is a grand matter. Part of the guidance of the prophet, God's prayers and  
5 peace be upon him, and his companions when they were faced with grand matters was to  
6 seek the help of God the Almighty and to resort to patience and prayers. As we saw from  
7 the prophet, God's prayers and blessings be upon him, that the best of prayers is to invoke  
8 God and how that invoking God destiny...UI. This is a very important issue. But, I might  
9 disagree with brother Aboul Muthana in what he said. I see that you didn't observe ...UI  
10 but that you spoke because of your belief in the creedal dimension of this cause. But, if  
11 while talking about some of the confrontations we face we gave things their proper  
12 names in this meeting, I don't believe that this means that we are not observing the Noble  
13 Quran. But, we always need to get more from the Noble Quran "Take more as...UI is  
14 piety" [*Quran quote*]. We are always in need to be closer and closer to the words of our  
15 God and to our God the Almighty in order to...UI. So, really, this is one thing. The other  
16 thing I want to mention is the security issue. We must be really cautious. If there is no  
17 help from God to the...UI, the first thing which will destroy him is his discretion. So, we  
18 ask God to help us, make us and you successful and may God reward you well.  
19

20 Om: May God bless you. God's willing, I hope that God the Almighty bless this effort. I  
21 believe that it was a positive meeting but, God's willing, we get out of it with three things:  
22 determining the language of the address. How to deal with the agreement regarding  
23 Jericho in particular. I believe that this was important. The second thing is some of the  
24 security matters the brothers spoke about such as establishing new organizations or some  
25 other activities during the coming three months. Let's also remember the future direction  
26 even though there was a complaint regarding..., what I heard was that the future of the  
27 Islamic Association for Palestine in America and I believe that it is not fair that some puts  
28 a plan for the next few months to tell people what is going to happen in few years. So,  
29 this is what I focused on and I don't believe that any work of any organization will be  
30 successful if this organization doesn't have a vision on what it wants to do for the next  
31 few years. What is available for it on the front. Good Muslims are known and their  
32 potentials are known and our goal is there, is known and it is known what we want to do  
33 as Muslims in this country, what is our goal from activism. I believe that the next time  
34 things will be clearer and state what we exactly need. If we needed...UI we would do it  
35 right away and one ought to think what he needs to do for the future and begins to arrange  
36 the present and plan for the future and so forth.  
37

38 UM6: In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful. I think that there is spreading belief that  
39 a Muslim person is a superman. I mean, he can sit down for 12 hours in meetings a day  
40 discussing, focusing and..., and..., without getting tired, that is. Of course, this contradicts  
41 all natural laws and...UI. I believe that the format..., there was a mistake in the format of  
42 this meeting. If this goal was to present ideas in the format presented, I believe that there  
43 were good formats. But, if the goal was to hone down a plan and recommendations, I

1 believe that it would have been more suitable to have three separate meetings, each  
3 meeting discussing the three issues which were presented: charity work, media and the  
4 other thing which was presented. This is because there are many ideas which were  
5 presented that took long time in discussion and we passed quickly on some of the ideas  
6 without issuing any recommendations. Therefore, it would have been better that the  
7 meeting would have been a focused 3-hour meeting so that we can produce during it, for  
8 instance, divided into three groups each coming up with recommendations. Later on, the  
9 recommendations are presented to all in a different meeting to see if there are additions  
10 only to these recommendations or if these points are not clear. But, to see that during the  
11 meeting each person comes up with a point and then another person brings another point  
12 to debate him and we forget the original point which was presented and spend hours  
13 debating points which are irrelevant to the topic, this wastes a lot of time. Therefore, the  
14 format wasn't successful.

15 UM7: I see that the conference or the meeting is successful. It can be more successful if each  
16 presentation included projects, visions and ideas but there were no projects and ideas. We  
17 hope that this will happen in the morning. This is a point. The second point...UI. Really, I  
18 won't hide a secret from you; every time I remember you or remember any brother I say  
19 that...UI. May God bless you, God's willing.

20  
21 *[Brief UI group talk].*

25 Aj: I resort to God the All-knowledgeable from the pelted Devil. In the name of God, the  
26 Beneficent, the Merciful. Prayers and peace be on our master, Mohamed, the most noble  
27 of the messengers, on his family, companions and those who followed him righteously  
28 until Judgement Day. O God, unlock my chest, ease my affairs and unknot my tongue so  
29 that they understand my words. In fact, I realize that you are all about to fall asleep.  
30 Therefore, we must stir you a little bit. This stirring..., like brother Aboul Mothana said  
31 and then brother Sharif said good words..., in fact there are proofs indicating that there is  
32 somewhat of a not a small distance away from our Noble Quran. I noticed that it is like  
33 our brothers, may God reward them well, are afraid to cite verses and Hadith. I mean,  
34 theorizing, theorizing and drawing of plans as if the Quran doesn't have an introduction to  
35 planning and as if the Hadith of the prophet, God's prayers and peace be upon him, does  
36 not include an introduction to planning. It is as if that the brothers are afraid to be accused  
37 of being emotional, for instance, if they mentioned a Hadith or a verse. This might be bad  
38 judgement but, God's willing, this might come in the form of an advice, God's willing. I  
39 hope, my brothers,... And you brothers might notice that yourselves. I mean, since we  
40 started from the morning until now how many times "There is no God but God" was  
41 mentioned?

42 Group: There is no God but God.

43 Aj: How many times "There is no God but God. Mohamed is God's prophet" was mentioned?

1 You see. How many times, my brothers, one of the brothers started his program with a  
2 noble verse from the Noble Quran? Really, this was very little and it might be non-  
3 existent all day long. Therefore, we know that the entry ways of the devil are the entry  
4 ways in which God the Almighty is not mentioned.  
5

6 Om: We read in the morning.  
7

8 Aj: What? We read in the morning, God's willing. Yes. Anyway, by that I don't mean... I say  
9 that, God's willing, the session was blessed and I ask God the Almighty to reward us  
10 according to our good intention but this is just a reminder for us. The other reminder, our  
11 brothers, which I also noticed is that we panicked like the others did. In fact, our position  
12 should have been clearer, even in our presentations. When God the Almighty describes  
13 the Devil in the Chapter of the Children of Israel. Which Chapter? The Chapter of the  
14 Children of Israel, the Isra'a Chapter, He says, "And...UI whomever you could among  
15 them with your voice and dominate them with your horses and men and share them in  
16 money and children. Promise them and the Devil doesn't promise them other than pride.  
17 You have no authority over my worshipers and God is enough to rely on". God is enough  
18 to rely on. We return to the beginning of the Isra'a Chapter, our brothers, and we will find  
19 that the summary of call of Mousa, peace be upon him, and the prelude to our conflict  
20 with the children of Israel is: "We revealed the Book to Mousa and we made him a  
21 guidance for the children of Israel". What is the guidance? "...that you shouldn't rely on  
anyone other than Myself". It is as God the Almighty is telling us that don't rely on  
anyone other than God the Almighty in your conflict with the children of Israel if you  
wanted victory. This point, our brothers, must be clear to us through the words of God the  
25 Almighty, "You have no authority over my worshipers". And we expect for ourselves to  
26 be at least God the Almighty's sincere worshipers, God's willing, and be steadfast in our  
27 conflict with the Jewish-Crusading attack on the Islamic world and not Palestine only.  
28 The other point, our brothers, is the words of God the Almighty - also from the Quran. I  
29 don't want to cite programs from myself. In the story of Tarot and the foundation of the  
30 Islamic Caliphate during the time of Dawoud, prayers and peace be upon him, we find a  
31 very beautiful introduction: "...When Tarot...UI with the soldiers he said: God is giving  
32 you a river. Whoever drinks from it is not with me". But he didn't say "And whoever  
33 doesn't eat..., whoever doesn't eat from it is not with me". He didn't say "Whoever doesn't  
34 drink from it is not with me other than he who scoops with his hands". We started the  
35 conflict, our brothers, and, thanks be to God, the er...Movement, the Islamic Movement  
36 and direct conflict started in the name of "There is no God but God and God is great" and  
37 we thought that the cause will continue in the form of conflict, conflict and conflict but  
38 that there would be no rivers in the way, the rivers which the Palestinian people are  
39 rushing madly to. The Palestinian people will really rush madly to them and our duty is  
40 not to rush madly with them, to remain steadfast on what we have. Our ongoing meeting,  
41 may God reward you well, is the room God allowed..., God allowed us to have. We  
42 should stop and reflect on the practical steps we ought to take in face of what? In face of  
43 satanic breach of the people of the Holy Land. If we can do that, God' willing, we will

1 be... As He said "They drank except for a few". Our brothers, we expect that most of the  
2 Palestinian people will probably drink. So, you might...UI if they regretfully don't believe  
3 in that Hadith. Maybe a majority of them will drink "...they drank expect for a few of  
4 them. So, "...when he passed them and those who believe with him, they said: we have no  
5 capacity today for Gallout and his soldiers. Those who believe that they are God's people  
6 said: How many times a small faction won over a large faction with God's permission and  
7 God is with the patient". This is the thing which we..., this is the message which should  
8 be firm in our hearts; that we are the patient, God's willing, we ask God the Almighty to  
9 keep us firm and that we are victorious. My brothers, we are emotionally defeated, or if  
10 we felt humiliated as when it happened during the battle of Ohod when it was rumored  
11 that the prophet, God's prayers and peace be upon him, was killed, Abou Sufian stood  
12 up...UI while Muslims were in a state of humility and asked: "What should we say, O  
13 God's prophet?". He said: "Say God...UI". So, Abou Sufian stands up once again and says  
14 what? He said: "Glory is to Him" and glory belongs to America now and Israel and  
15 others. All of them are pouring billions of dollars. The prophet, God's prayers and peace  
16 be upon him, said to them "Tell them: God is our patron and you have no patron". Our  
17 brothers, those don't have a patron. They don't have a patron. This big patron we're going  
18 after today, God's willing, is falling down because of the statement of "There is no God  
19 but God. God is great". Yes, ...UI in Islam is requested. But, at the same time, what?  
20 Reliance on God the Almighty before anything else, God's willing. I don't want to take  
21 long. We ask God the Almighty to keep us firm. "O God, do not cause our hearts to  
deviate after you have guided us. Give us mercy from your end. You are the provider. O  
God, make us see justice as justice and give us to follow it. Make us see injustice as  
injustice and make us avoid. I say this talk of mine and I ask God the Great for  
forgiveness for myself and you.

25  
26  
27 Sh: May God reward you well.

28  
29 Om: Ok. We will split into two groups. Those who have performed ablution should line up for  
30 prayers. Those who didn't perform ablution should go to perform ablution. We have five  
31 minutes so that we can continue the meeting. It is an opportunity to perform ablution and  
32 pray the sunset and the evening prayers.

33  
34 [*UI group talk*].

35  
36 Sh: ...UI thousands dollars

37  
38 Om: How much? How much?

39  
40 Ha: ...UI. Ok, because the number is...UI.

41  
42 UM1: Did you expect more?  
43





1 [Group is still in prayers. Prayers are followed with UI talk].

3 Om: ...UI at six o'clock?

4  
5 UM1: 6:15 maybe.

6  
7 [UI brief group talk].

8  
9 Om: Ok. Why don't you ask Haitham to wake us up at 6:00 or 6:30 at least. This way one of us  
10 will be sure everybody is awake.

11  
12 UM1: Which one?

13  
14 Om: Haitham.

15  
16 [UI group talk].

17  
18 Sh: ...we should summarize the ideas and coordinate with each other. Why can't we  
19 coordinate with each other? Each one of us, my brother, has a field and...

20  
21 UM2: ...UI.

Sh: This is in order to be ready, my brother. So that the paper is ready by 8 o'clock.

25 UM2: Ten, ten. Ten is good.

26  
27 Sh: I would present my paper. Our brother, Siraj, will present his paper and each person will  
28 take ten minutes.

29  
30 Om: ...UI. We have agreed on one, two, three, four, five, ten points. Each person will place his  
31 name on the...UI.

32  
33 Sh: Ok, fine. But, I'm telling you... Practically speaking, you're supposed to...

34  
35 [UI brief group talk].

36  
37 UM1: Everybody should take his papers.

38  
39 Om: O youths, don't leave a paper here. May God keep you.

40  
41 Sh: O youths, they will come to clean in the morning before the meeting.

42  
43 Om: Everybody should take his paper.

3 Sh: If there are papers or things belonging to you...

4 [UI group talk].

5 Sh: There are people praying, O youths. Let's not...

6 [UI group talk].

7 Om: Excuse me, my brother. Go ahead. Are you coming with a visa, just for a visit or what?

8 Ga: I applied for the visa but they denied it. I applied for the C the first time, but then they  
9 denied it. ...UI.

10 Om: Ok. They can send you an invitation.

11 UM2: If you apply for a visa...

12 Ga: No...UI.

13 UM2: I mean that when you go...UI.

14 Ga: ...UI but told me to submit a new request.

15 As: Ok, send him an invitation from the...

16 Ga: No, there are no invitations. Everything except this one.

17 As: Ok, I have...UI. Peace be with you.

18 Ga: What is going on?

19 UM2: A camp for the [Muslim Arab Youth] Association. A camp for the [Muslim Arab Youth]  
20 Association.

21 Ga: Next week I will be in Amman...UI.

22 [UI group talk].

23 Ga: ...UI. I attended a camp for the [Muslim Arab Youth] Association, the one which was held  
24 by the [Muslim Arab Youth] Association...

25 Om: Ah.

1 Ga: ...UI.

2 Om: How many people?

3 Ga: In fact, there was about...

4 Om: How many people?

5 Ga: About 50 people.

6 Om: It is not. Not bad.

7 Ga: ...UI.

8 Om: Huh? Fifty people is excellent.

9 Ga: There were about 50 people. The hall was full...UI.

10 [UI group talk].

11 Ga: I will go to Amman. It is a high, high probability. It might be determined tomorrow.

12 Om: What is that?

13 Ga: It will be clear tomorrow.

14 [UI group talk].

15 UM2: I have an acquaintance at the embassy. They can help you  
16 get a visa.

17 Ga: The visa..., I have two, God's willing. I don't have a problem with it...UI. The issue is not  
18 a visa issue. If I'm going to show an invitation to a lecture...UI.

19 UM2: ...UI. Do you have any American thing [papers]? Do you  
20 have a Green Card. Does he have a Green Card or something?

21 Ga: No. An H-1.

22 UM2: Ah.

23 Ga: No, they gave me a visa and I didn't use it. They gave me a visa and I didn't use it because  
24 I didn't submit the...UI. They gave me a second visa and I still didn't use it. ...UI.

[UI group talk].

3 Ga: ...UI. No, this is for the MAYA. It is the MAYA. If the MAYA submit a request through  
4 the State Department ...UI. It is good for me...UI.

5  
6 [UI group talk].

7  
8 Ga: But, it should be done through the State Department and not through the...UI. No.

9  
10 UM2: No, through the State Department is not..., is not good.

11  
12 Ga: Why?

13  
14 UM2: They are going to send you an invitation. I can send you  
15 an invitation.

16  
17 UM3: You can do it through a lawyer.

18  
19 Ga: Which lawyer?

20  
21 UM3: Any lawyer.

UM2: ...UI in a lawyer's name and the invitation will signed by people like you. But...

25 Ga: ...UI?

26  
27 UM2: Yeah. You go to a lawyer and do something like a power-  
28 of-attorney for the visa.

29  
30 [UI group talk].

31  
32 Ga: ...What is the main...UI this agreement does not fill the needs of the Palestinian people.  
33 ...UI what is the Islamic view of the agreement? What is...UI? How it can be dealt with?  
34 ...UI. You should speak very forcefully. He will never get out of Jericho.

35  
36 UM2: Yes, yes. I know. I know that.

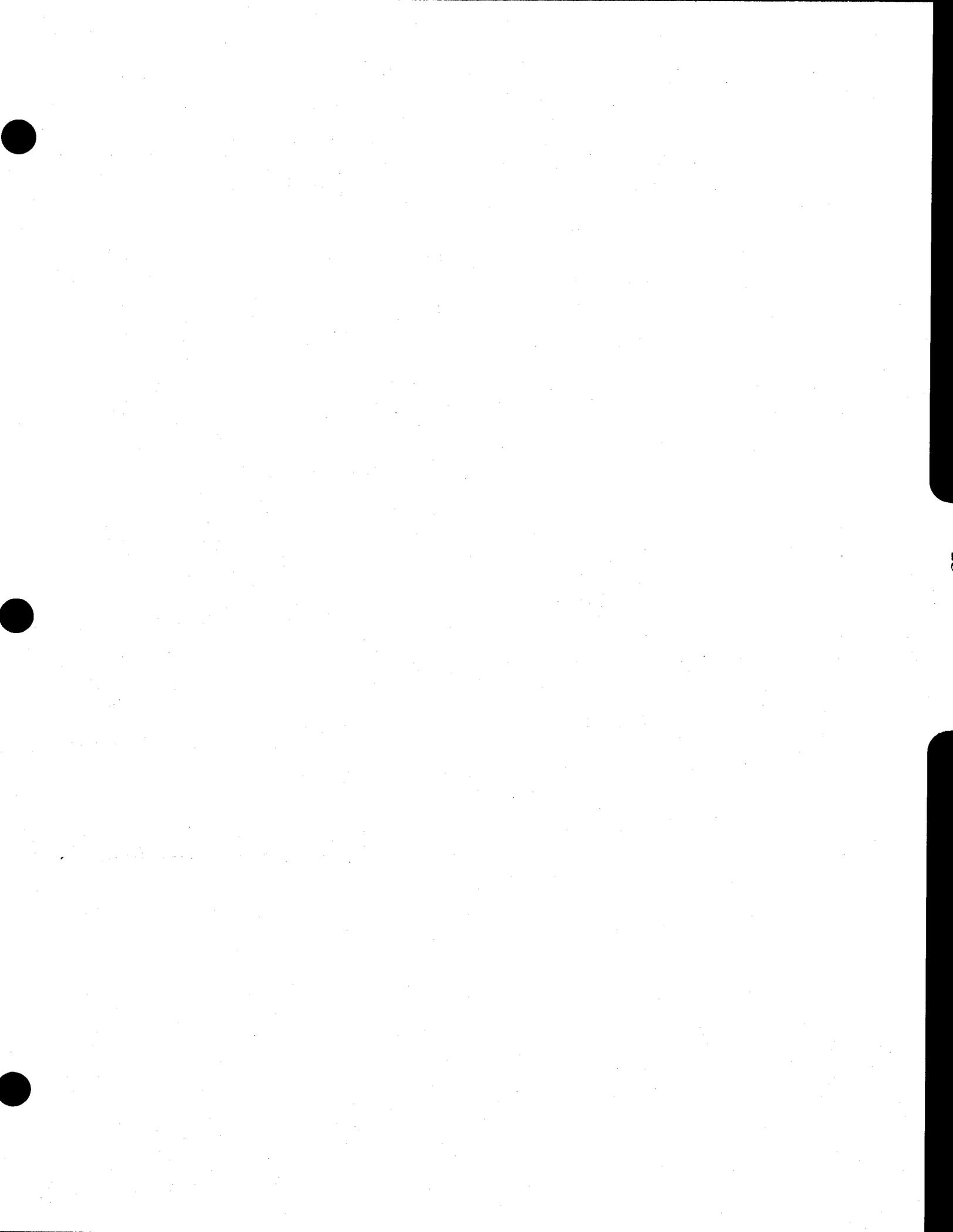
37  
38 Ga: Our initial understanding of the agreement drove us to believe that he will get out of Gaza  
39 and Jericho. Then we saw that the wording of it wasn't clear. The wording was unclear.  
40 ...UI but it gives him the right to vote in regards to police, the parliament and stuff...UI.

41  
42 UM2: Ok. fine. Details like these are what is going to get  
43 them. You see?

Ga: What?

UM2: Details like these are very important....

3  
4  
5



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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.

- 1 Sh: Ok, the points which were mentioned, our brothers, are as follows. The summary of the  
2 issues is... What is needed is points, bullets, all of it.  
3 - It is needed to work towards bringing the goals of the agreement to failure. This will be  
4 done by focusing on the  
5 principle that forming the infrastructure of the [*Palestinian National*] Authority is refused  
6 as this will move the conflict circle from its true core, or brings the conflict out of the true  
7 core which is the traditional one. Therefore, goals of the project are the one we should  
8 work to bring to failure. This is one point. Another point is that the credibility of those  
9 overseeing the project must be attacked. Three, avoiding any kind of conflict on the  
10 American arena as this arena is not an arena for direct conflict.  
11 -The [*Islamic*] Association [*for Palestine*] is not an opposition party, but rather an  
12 organization which works in America and expresses its point of view and that of its  
13 public.  
14 - Internal conflict is inevitable and we must prepare ourselves for that, for that.  
15 - The conflict hasn't been formatted yet and we have to work  
16 diligently in order to formulate its final shape or form.  
17 - Goals of work must be re-examined..., in the form of questions...: Should most of the  
18 effort be focused on firmly establishing the organizations in America and focusing on the  
19 U.S. front or should the focus be mainly on the domestic front with a 50/50 ratio, or 75%  
20 and so forth?  
21 - In the coming period, the organizations must work to fulfil basic needs of the Movement  
22 in the areas of specializations such as journalism, law, politics, media, education and  
investment.  
23 - Our strategy in combating the peace project must be based  
24 on the utmost the project can accomplish so that we are not  
25 surprised with developments and are unprepared.  
26 - The Islamists must be highlighted as the alternatives, the  
27 alternative option.  
28 - Thinking about opening new specialized organizations which  
29 are capable of dealing with any new reality, or with the new  
30 reality.  
31 - Working to elevate people's morales by forming a human  
32 bridge from and to Palestine, meaning through visits and delegations.  
33 - The issue of Jerusalem must remain fundamental through the  
34 the old creedal and Sharia address .  
35 - Work must be done to make America a support for the inside by organizing  
36 relationships between the organizations. America and the inside.  
37 - Building a community first and big focus on non-Muslims is a waste of time.  
38

39  
40 UM2: Excuse me, excuse me... what was the last phrase, by God?

41  
42 UM3: We didn't agree on that one.  
43

1 Sh: Not an agreement. This was one of the issues... One of them was building the community  
3 first. I believe it is a part of the issue of whether the focus should be on America or not  
4 America. It is a secondary item. Building a community first and large focus on non-  
5 Muslims in a waste of time. I don't say that we have agreed on this one. We will vote in a  
6 little bit.

7 UM2: Yes, we will vote.  
8

9 Sh: Er... There are three options which were presented as far as the organizations are  
10 concerned; one, the first option is serving the Movement on the inside. Two, building the  
11 strength of the community, focusing on work in America. Three, marrying the two while  
12 keeping the departments separate and specialized. America represents five axes for  
13 work; to be a safe place for the Movement, utilizing the capabilities of the community for  
14 work on the inside, not only on the American front, using the front as a pressure element  
15 on the inside front, securing the human services we mentioned before, five; leading the  
16 Palestinian political current in America. Our Islamic action organizations should be the  
17 ones which lead the action and they are the ones which cast credibility on themselves and  
18 make themselves the credible authority in regards to the Islamic point of view of the  
19 cause of Palestine. These are almost all the issues which were mentioned. There might be  
20 some issues which were mentioned by the brothers in a different format but this is the  
21 core of the first session. Er..., now, would you like to say a point and then vote on it,  
22 Abou Mohamed, or should we proceed? Or is there another point of view and we should  
23 open the door for discussing them. Most of the issues mentioned had near unanimity. I  
24 will give you an example. What is needed is to work to bring the goals of the agreement  
25 to failure on the basis that beginning to form the infrastructure for the Authority is  
26 rejected as a principle and that the agreement takes the conflict out of its true core. Is  
27 everybody agreeing to this understanding?  
28

29 UM: I see that it is not clear. I see that there are words which are...  
30

31 Sh: Fine. Its practical application, my brother, will be done through the work of the  
32 organizations, through the political and the media address. It will come later. But, as an  
33 idea, there is an inclination that the project should not pass without us trying as much as  
34 possible to bring it and its goals to failure and highlight the issues which were  
35 mentioned..., mentioned as examples. We don't need to detail them, but issues such as  
36 focusing on human rights, focusing on refugees rights, camps and stuff like that, that  
37 these are issues...  
38

39 UM: ...which render the agreement weak.  
40

41 Sh: ...the right to resist the occupation, all of these issues will be dropped by the agreement. It  
42 takes the cause out of its traditional essence, the essence we are accustomed to.  
43

1 As: I see that there is a contradiction in the order of the sentence, between work and the  
2 result. You speak about bringing failure and then the result you speak about..., [*there is*  
3 *contradiction*] between the result and the method. The result is the failure but the method  
4 we are talking about is the principle of building the infrastructure. There is a  
5 contradiction; if you're ...UI about bringing failure, we tried to avoid the word "bringing  
6 failure" during our talk yesterday because we don't work on that basis. Thus, we can think  
7 of another word to be in harmony with meaning of this sentence. For example it could be  
8 "hindering or opposing or..." or something of the sort.  
9

10 Sh: Fine. Our brothers, the wording..., these wordings are... Let us stay within the general  
11 spirit. As for these wordings..., this issue is not... We are not writing bylaws right now.  
12

13 UM2: The words "bringing failure" are serious words to say.  
14

15 Sh: Fine, fine. I agree with you. There was a discussion around the expression "bringing  
16 failure" and some of the brothers said that we cannot bring failure, but that the issue is  
17 that we should try to cast doubt on the credibility of the project.  
18

19 UM: In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Regarding the issue, please just let me  
20 say something small.  
21

22 Sh: Fine.  
23

24 UM: The issue of opposing it, no doubt that it will be through our public. I mean, it is not  
25 going to be with... because the agreement...er, because endorsement took place. I mean,  
26 for us to tell them to void the endorsement or...UI is not... But, the issue will be that our  
27 public will reject it and, consequently, they will not be able to claim democracy and stuff  
28 like that. This, at least, is my understanding. I mean, this will happen more with our  
29 public or our people who won't grant them confidence and, consequently, they won't be  
30 able to accomplish anything and their efforts will go in vain. I believe that yesterday's  
31 presentation..., one of the ideas which were discussed, was the issue of addressing it, not  
32 based on the fact that we won't approve it as long as there is no plan there is no..., but  
33 from its Sharia aspect of it which is the...UI. I mean, this is not lawful from the Sharia  
34 point of view. Therefore, there must be a stress on this meaning with our public in order  
35 to really be able to withdraw the carpet 100% from under their feet leading to their  
36 failure.  
37

38 Sh: There is..., there is..., our brothers, there is a reference to the creedal and the Sharia  
39 aspects to the issue. It is there.  
40

41 UM: The issue of Jerusalem, if you want to specify it...  
42

43 Sh: If we are going to delve into the final wording we won't..., we won't... We are talking

1 about the spirit of the understanding, that is. When I say " Jerusalem address", it is not  
2 reasonable that...

3  
4 UM: But, I..., I'm talking about the original aspect in its way...

5  
6 Sh: Ok, fine.

7  
8 UM: I mean, when I address my public..., I mean that now I am a Palestinian, a refugee who  
9 believe in the principle and stuff like that, I might be deceived if the money started to  
10 come in tomorrow and go along with them as they wish. But, if I know that the Sharia  
11 aspect originally forbids me to reconcile with them, it will make me more..., I mean I  
12 won't make me more agreeable if I see the money.

13  
14 Sh: Our brothers, in the media paper there...

15  
16 UM2: The political address.

17  
18 Sh: The political address. Our brothers, remember..., remember the title of the first session.  
19 I'm summarizing the first session for those who were not here. The ramifications on the...

20  
21 UM2: The ramifications on the U.S. front.

22  
23 Sh: The summary of the discussion. So, they are all..., they are all big cliches, that is. As for  
24 the practical applications in media and press..., in charity work, I believe that you will  
25 find more elaborate talk. But, we are talking about the essence. Yes.

26  
27 UM3: If we continue in this manner, my brother,... it is not right...UI. For instance, we can say  
28 "Working to bring this project to failure". This is the headline. You then explain its  
29 contents and that's it. There is no need to go into details at the same time.

30  
31 Sh: Fine. Im explaining one thing to the brother. Anyway, let's proceed in this manner  
32 because, really,... Brothers, let's bear each other and let's not speak about wording. Let's  
33 talk about the essence of the cause. I didn't even try to proof-read the grammar or the  
34 linguistic rules or anything. Only the essence of it. Fine. This..., this is just in order to  
35 show you that there was a unanimity on the issue. No one objected to the idea as an idea.

36  
37 UM2: Abou Mohamed, you are talking about the ramifications. But, you started talking about  
38 actions and stuff like that. The wording indicate...UI. It is as if you're criticizing the point  
39 they're talking about. Each time a brother interjects you tell him that this will come in the  
40 next point. We're at the ramifications, the impact. Let's stay on that. I mean, you're talk is  
41 about the ramifications and not actions.

42  
43 Sh: Fine, fine. But..., but, still bear me. I feel that we're talking about the format now. All the

1 talk, if you remember the talk in the first session, the brothers objected and said "Man, all  
2 you talk about is the situation. You didn't talk about the U.S. front and what we can...".  
3 So, all of this talk, by the way, is pertaining to the U.S. front. So, you interpret it the way  
4 you want. When we say "Avoiding any kind of direct confrontation on the U.S. front",  
5 this is our understanding of the ramifications of the situation. When we had a discussion,  
6 we understood that if we escalate the situation on the U.S. front, there will be big  
7 problems which are not in our favor. So, anyway you look at it, we will understand that  
8 within a certain frame at the end. As far as the practical applications, each organization  
9 will program this talk. Ok. Fine. This means that we record this [remark], right? I will  
10 record it and we will...UI at the final meeting minutes. Ok, there was another inclination,  
11 our brothers, which is that we must attack or..., that it is recommended to attack the  
12 credibility of those overseeing the project...UI in their personal credibility, their loyalty to  
13 Islam, their loyalty to the homeland or others. There was an inclination for that, an  
14 inclination.

15  
16 UM: ...UI to the brothers that it should not be written, but if there is going to be any sort of  
17 attack it should not be by...UI talk. I mean, the issue of the secret agreements which are  
18 being published are...

19  
20 UM2: This is related to the political address.

21  
22 Sh: No, keep this..., keep this for later.

23  
24 UM: It is an example the brothers want to publicize and publish but, who is sure of its  
25 authenticity? I mean, the word came of the Popular Front and the Democratic who said  
26 that the Russian delegation team in Russia had...UI. But, who is sure of its authenticity  
27 while we're publishing it. This will lessen our credibility as we keep publishing stuff that  
28 no one is sure of. Tomorrow, they will tell you that all of your talk is of that kind.

29  
30 Sh: Clear. Our brothers..., our brothers... Clear.

31  
32 UM: You want to attack the credibility, you shouldn't make up stuff and shouldn't say that his  
33 wife bought this and did that.

34  
35 Sh: The best of talk is what is short and informative. Clear. Because we are not opening the  
36 discussion door once again. This is generally speaking, generally speaking. Is there an  
37 acceptance from our brothers that the media apparatus take charge of..., or start exposing  
38 the vices of those people using documents, evidences and proofs?

39  
40 UM: Please allow me.

41  
42 Sh: Yes.

1 UM: if the media apparatus focused on Sharia issues in nullifying the project, its lack of  
2 credibility or the objection to accepting it, and focused on the other side which is the  
3 illegality of representation of the Palestinian people without mentioning names, it will be  
4 better. I mean, keep these two points a basis without mentioning names as it is not Islamic  
5 mannerism to mention names.  
6

7 UM2: We have two good points.  
8

9 Sh: Let's vote on them because this is clear.  
10

11 UM2: There is just a small remark...  
12

13 Sh: Ah, Ah, Ah.  
14

15 Ga: We started a new stage of cooperation between the different...UI we would know the  
16 reason for the cooperation. If things are to be given their proper names, you are making  
17 people ignorant, practically. You're contributing to a campaign to make people ignorant.  
18 Now, you should be giving something its proper name and not a different name unless  
19 this naming creates a political problem. I don't think we will be less courageous than the  
20 children of Fatah themselves who cuss Abou Ammar and calling him bad names. It is not  
21 reasonable. We don't cuss and call bad names. We provide criticism to names and  
22 positions and stuff like that and do that directly. The chairman, the Arafat clan and the  
non-Arafat clan, the things which are known.

25 UM: I didn't mean this stuff when I spoke. I mean that you can tear Arafat apart from the  
26 Sharia aspect and tear him apart from the aspect of his representation of the Palestinian  
27 people. But, if I say, "By God, his wife is this or his wife is that. This guy is drunk and  
28 this one is alcoholic...", these things are not fit..., are not fit for an Islamic media to say.  
29

30 Sh: Ok, fine, fine. I mean, let's stay on our talk, our brothers, please. Let's assume that there is  
31 a minimum..., that there is a minimum understanding with our working brothers, and that  
32 there is a minimum line of Sharia understanding. In every point let's not keep stressing  
33 the alphabets of issues which people have agreed on. Ok? What we say, let's repeat the  
34 wording, attacking the credibility of those overseeing the project if we avoid what the  
35 Sharia prohibits us from and other things.  
36

37 UM: Yes.  
38

39 Sh: Is there a discussion in that point? Ok. A sensitive point; shielding the U.S. front any  
40 forms of confrontation...  
41

42 UM: direct...  
43

1 Sh: ...direct confrontation with the other groups. Confrontation, of course, some people will  
2 say what is the meaning of confrontation? What is the meaning of confrontation? Is it  
3 clear?  
4

5 UM: Clear.  
6

7 Sh: We attach it to another point which is that the [*Islamic*] Association [*for Palestine*] as a  
8 political and a media organization is not an opposition party in America, but it is an  
9 organization which works in America as an American organization and expresses the  
10 point of view of its public. But, it should not be a political opposition party. Is there an  
11 agreement on that? Stay with me...  
12

13 [*Brief UI group talk*].  
14

15 UM: An important point; Nabil Shaath is coming..., coming to deliver lectures in New Jersey  
16 and stuff. Attending the lectures..., in order for him to feel that there are people who are  
17 opposed to him..., definitely some of the people who attend will be...UI. So, attending a  
18 lecture of a guy like that, he must get the notion that some of the attendees are opposed to  
19 his words, to the agreement. So, this is the confrontation, this is considered a  
20 confrontation.  
21

22 UM2: It is not a strong confrontation.  
23

24 UM1: What do you mean "strong confrontation"?  
25

26 UM2: ...UI.  
27

28 Sh: No. We know. It is clear. We live in a democratic atmosphere, don't we? We express our  
29 point of view. But, if..., if..., if this group...UI from Texas came up and, instead of  
30 expressing his point of view, carried a chair or carried a table and hit Nabil Shaath with it,  
31 this is not acceptable. So, there are..., there are...  
32

33 UM2: ...UI but it is not acceptable [*Group laughter*].  
34

35 Sh: It is good, it is good but not acceptable. That is what is meant, my brother. But, if... I  
36 believe the talk is clear; internal conflict is inevitable, this is a difficult talk to format but,  
37 anyway, conflict in this concept is understandable. Internal conflict is inevitable and we  
38 must prepare ourselves for that. Some said that it is a matter of time and..., in other  
39 words, we must not delay the conflict.  
40

41 UM: ...UI.  
42

43 Om: There is no place for that.

1 Sh: There is no place for that. We just say that it is a certain conviction.

3 UM: It serves one purpose which is that we should prepare ourselves on the media front as the  
4 conflict is coming. That's it.

5  
6 Sh: Ok. The same issue; the conflict hasn't been formulated yet and we must work diligently  
7 to contribute to the final formation..., all of these are general understandings. Ok. Goals  
8 of work must be re-examined but this is a point with no debate. Should most of the effort  
9 be focused on stabilizing the organizations in America and focusing on the U.S. front or  
10 should focus be on the domestic front? This refers to the talk that we just mentioned;  
11 should the organizations exist to serve the Movement inside or they should be - in the  
12 first place - exist for building a strong community, a politically active one, one which we  
13 use and establish our roots in America, or should we marry the two aspects to maintain  
14 balance between this and that in a manner which does not threaten the strength of the...UI  
15 organizations and, at the same time, does not take away from the inside Movement's right  
16 to benefit.

17  
18 Om: The third solution is the...

19  
20 Gh: Combining...

21  
22 Sh: Huh?

23  
24 Om: The third solution is the easiest one. Everyone will pick it. Combining both which means  
25 that you will remain in the middle. You won't be here or there.

26  
27 UM: But, there is no contradiction between your work here and your work over there.

28  
29 Om: Yes, there is a contradiction.

30  
31 UM2: You adopt their causes over there to defend them and to prove the credibility of your  
32 work in America.

33  
34 Sh: One suggested a point saying; "...keeping in mind that they maintain different  
35 departments", and this will solve the contradiction issue. For instance, I have a  
36 community department, Americans department. This brother has no relationship at all  
37 with the person who works at the community department, for instance, this brother..., and  
38 it can be kept that way. And this is just in order to solve the problem.

39  
40 UM: Allow me... I believe that, with respect to the point of view, you are somewhat limited. If  
41 you are going to be present on the U.S. front, you are not going to be present at the  
42 community's level only. Expect yourself to be present at the community's level, at the  
43 American people's level, at the official organizations' level...

1 Sh: This is what I'm saying.

2 UM: Yes, that is it.

4  
5 Sh: We were just giving an example that you are serving the American reality you're in and,  
6 at the same time, the needs of our brothers in the inside. The U.S. reality with all its  
7 circumstances. Some people even suggested that when the reality gets bigger we should  
8 be establishing specialized organizations.

9  
10 UM: This is a...

11  
12 Sh: Yeah, this was mentioned. So, the brother said [form] specialized departments and even  
13 specialized organizations.  
14 ...UI [Laughter]. So, our brothers, should we give ten more minutes to discuss the issue or  
15 is it clear?

16  
17 Om: Let's see who is for and who is against and then we do...UI.

18  
19 UM: And then we fight, right?

20  
21 Sh: Who is for..., let me say it in the way it was presented. Who is for, let's say, having the  
22 organizations in America focus the majority of its attention, 75% of it, to supply the needs  
23 of our the inside? 75% of our efforts at the expense of the growth of the organizations in  
24 America, its contacts and expansion among the American communities and others and the  
25 Islamic ones. This was the question, one of the options presented, that the basis for our  
26 work is to serve the inside. We don't have a relationship with the American public and  
27 neither are we working to settle the Dawa, settle the Association or the Fund.

28  
29 UM2: But, I don't understand the question. What do you mean?

30  
31 Sh: I'm summarizing the words which were said. Do you want me to repeat all that was said  
32 before?

33  
34 UM2: No, when you say "75% to serve the inside...".

35  
36 Sh: This is what was mentioned, my brother.

37  
38 UM2: If you're supporting like you say..., if you're supporting the inside directly. I mean, the fact  
39 that you collect money and give it to them, this is the only direct thing you do. Everything  
40 else will be indirectly.

41  
42 Sh: I will give you an example. Abou Mohamed, in your belief, how do you describe the way  
43 the Association is going now? Yesterday, our brothers,... Even the brother who submitted

1 a request of 50/50 and 75, how do you divide work? Do I now..., just so that the brothers  
2 are aware and we have a measurement..., a tool of measurement. What are the  
3 percentages of work for the cause in regards to the Association?  
4

5 Om: I believe that we are a service organization for the inside. All of our work is for Palestine.  
6 All of the work for Palestine is 75-25, 75% for the inside...  
7

8 Sh: 75% service for the inside. Yes.  
9

10 Om: Directly and indirectly. But, what is important is our plan or our path we're following, the  
11 line we're taking is that we are influenced with the inside. We're influenced by it directly,  
12 secondly, we react with its events everyday. Consequently, we don't have time to make  
13 events in America and react with them.  
14

15 Sh: Ok. Our brother, Abou Ahmad.  
16

17 Aa: Our brothers, I don't know how we are going to separate between serving the community  
18 and serving the inside. When we established these organizations, we wanted to mobilize  
19 the community to serve the inside. So, when we follow up the news of the homeland  
20 everyday, the goal is to make the community follow up news of the homeland every day  
21 in order for it to be engaged with it in regards to the media, political and financial aspect,  
22 the donations. So, I don't know that there is a separation between the two issues. We exist  
23 to serve the inside. How do we serve the inside? We connect people to the inside through  
24 news, through an event, through what is going on. There is no separation between us. I  
25 mean, the inside cannot be served without us living with the community. Where do we  
26 get the money? Whom are we going to work with?  
27

28 Om: The point I wanted to say is that the community here doesn't want to just serve the inside.  
29 It has problems. It has some inclinations. Are you going to serve it or you're going to tell  
30 them, "I just want you to serve the inside. I bring you news, donate money to me. I bring  
31 you this, you send your son to visit".  
32

33 Aa: I don't think that the community expects the Holy Land Fund will open a school for it.  
34

35 Om: Not the Fund.  
36

37 Aa: The Association, for instance. I don't believe...  
38

39 Sh: ...UI.  
40

41 Aa: Let me finish... I mean, for any aspect or any project, I expect that the community will ask  
42 that from the Islamic centers which exist around them to serve them in their needs. But,  
43 for you to expect that the community... And this is already there, that the community

1 never said that the Association wants a donation or that the Fund wants a donation and  
2 never gave us anything because they know..., that is it..., they know..., they are..., that this  
3 Association or these organizations working for Palestine are organizations from them to  
4 Palestine. They are not going to serve them on the land of America. He expects the  
5 Islamic center or the mosque to serve them in this field.  
6

7 Sh: Ok. Could we try to get out of this deadlock by saying that..., that in order not to add  
8 more to this and in order to be practical that..., to keep the balance while..., let's add a  
9 point to it, while forming specialized departments if needed. I mean, either in the form of  
10 future specialized organizations or in the form of specialized departments.  
11

12 UM: Allow me.  
13

14 Sh: I'm just marking this in order to...  
15

16 Om: I believe that the idea is not clear now.  
17

18 UM2: Yes, I was going to say the same thing.  
19

20 UM: Give it some time. It is not clear.  
21

22 Sh: You need more time?  
23

24 UM2: I expect that brother Abou Mohamed explain to us what are the things which we are  
25 expected to cover in the community because the vision represented by brother Abou  
26 Ahmad is correct. The Association was originally formed to support Palestinian work on  
27 the inside and to connect the community with the inside. So, we will look at anything  
28 which helps the community in this direction because it achieves our long-term goal. So,  
29 you give us examples you're talking about and, in light of that, we determine the things  
30 we will do.  
31

32 Om: Yes. I will give you...  
33

34 UM2: Give us examples on what we need.  
35

36 Om: Ok, an example, I will give you one example. An example from the current situations and  
37 the previous situations, should we have an organization, or should it be among our  
38 services to make available to the community an attorney, two or three in case there is  
39 something on you..., if you get into a problem in your house here, you can call us to send  
40 you the attorney to defend you. If, for example, there is a problem with a Palestinian  
41 group in X city and the media keeps attacking them, are we going to defend them, or the  
42 Muslims, that is. Of course, it will be in the form of Muslims while the majority of them  
43 could be Palestinians. Is it our job to go defend them and to direct them how to defend

1 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  
4 give you an example, the ADC serves the Arab community in America. How? They tell  
5 you that anyone is harassed or discriminated against, racial discrimination or anything of  
6 the sort, call us and we will defend you. A person who has a problem with the  
7 immigration can call them and he goes to them and they solve the problem for him. A  
8 person against whom there is a certain case, they interfere and take care of it for him.  
9 Two, they inform him of his rights and duties in this country and they tell him, "You're a  
10 citizen here. You have this and that right. This and that is charged against you. Beware of  
11 this person and that person". We don't do that now. This is what I mean, are we supposed  
12 to develop and do things like that so that the community feels that we're defending them,  
13 that the Association is an extension to the community and say that it serves the  
14 community in addition to over there, or are going to remain as we are, for instance, and  
15 expect the Islamic centers to perform these services or the Arabic organizations now. We  
16 now need them and we're only..., we only do the activities..., like they say we are the  
17 platform to support Palestine through. I mean, if someone wanted to support Palestine, all  
18 he needs to do is to contact the Fund to send the money to it or purchase our newspaper  
19 and, consequently, read our news and Palestine's news. We are a liaison between them  
20 and Palestine. This is what I suppose.

21 UM: You're saying that the ADC is...UI.

22  
23  
24  
25 UM2: It is true that there is a contradiction between the first point you spoke about, the issue  
26 about working to abort the agreement and this point about working for the inside. What is  
27 right is that we should be working for the inside with very high intensity but change our  
28 understanding of working for the inside. What is supposed to happen is that the orphans,  
29 the charitable organizations, this and that..., the ones which are..., become a burden on the  
30 shoulders of those who wish to govern over there. Our direction in the inside ought to be  
31 very specific. It should be an economic direction which creates work opportunities for the  
32 Islamists on the inside and an economic might on the inside. We should not be spending  
33 money on orphans and this and that and assist the self-rule to succeed.

34 Sh: But, you're straying away for the subject.

35 UM2: No, no. You're talking about work on the inside in the assistance issue.

36  
37 UM: No, no. We're talking about political action, media action.

38  
39 Sh: We're talking about your effort in America and how you should distribute it.

40  
41 Om: And most of it is done through the Association and not as a charity organization, not as an  
42 organization which raises money for Palestine... [*Brief UI group talk*].  
43

1 Sh: There is a point which came up relating to the issue of being a synonymous to...

3 Aa: As long as we have organizations, my brother, the organizations..., the organizations has  
4 their bylaws and regulations which determine their goals and means. So, that's it. We go  
5 along with the bylaws, goals and means and that's it. Now, for example, I have the Fund,  
6 it is clear what is the goal of the Fund. Good? If I want to give more emphasis on serving  
7 the Occupied Territories over another issue, this is something that is up to the bylaws and  
8 those overseeing the Fund. But, for me to...

9  
10 Om: The Fund is an example and not a... The Association is a better example.

11  
12 Aa: I referred to it... The Association or...

13  
14 Sh: No, there is a talk, there is a talk that the Fund might start serving the Islamic  
15 communities. There is a talk going on.

16  
17 Aa: My brother, I must say that, generally speaking and regardless of what these organizations  
18 are, I say that these matters must be controlled by the bylaws and the laws because even  
19 others when they hold you accountable, they will hold you accountable through them.

20  
21 UM: We can change the laws and the bylaws.

22  
Aa: What?

23  
24 UM: We can change them.

25  
26  
27 Aa: If you want to change them, I want then to say something. In truth, we must pay attention  
28 to..., I mean, we have a priority to work for the inside here in America. This priority is  
29 very important in order for us to dart and move forward in regards to any beneficial thing  
30 relating to the outside, to stabilize work on the inside...

31  
32 UM: By "the inside", you mean...

33  
34 Aa: In America, my brother, yes.

35  
36 UM: America or inside Palestine?

37  
38 Aa: No, America. That means we must have a prestige and a strength at America's level.  
39 Through this strength and this prestige we can take action in any situation and in any  
40 movement we present to the people outside America. But, I still see that these matters  
41 need to be made official.

42  
43 Om: But, how about the idea itself as an idea...

1 Aa: What is important for me in the organizations is for them to be strong on the inside.  
2  
3 Om: Say "in America" and not "the inside" because we take "the inside" to mean Palestine.  
4  
5 Aa: In America, that is, in America. Also, also, we must see the communities residing here as  
6 a priority.  
7  
8 Om: Meaning that our priority should be the community and not the...UI.  
9  
10 Aa: Yes.  
11  
12 Aa: There are two reasons for that...  
13  
14 UM: Why don't you say 50/50?  
15  
16 Aa: It is possible...  
17  
18 Om: It is a compromise...  
19  
20 UM: We work here because we live in this country and, if we lose this community, people will  
21 not trust us.  
22  
23 Sh: Ok, our brothers, just in order..., just so that we give every brother his turn... There are  
24 people who have their hands raised. Ghassan, let's hear your voice.  
25  
26 Gh: I believe that we must have strong organizations; the Association will not be able to pay  
27 its expenses at the end of the month or pay for Al Zaytouna...  
28  
29 Sh: ...UI.  
30  
31 Gh: It won't support the inside but you still don't want it to turn into a specialized organization  
32 like the ADC. The ADC is already existing and its name is the Anti-Discrimination  
33 Committee and stuff like that...  
34  
35 Om: ...UI.  
36  
37 Gh: Yes. So, this is their goal; the cases and stuff like that. The Association should not turn  
38 into... So, you want strong organizations in America and the Association must be a strong  
39 organization and its strength will come from its connection with the Arab, Muslim and  
40 Palestinian community in America and the strength of the relationship with it and stuff  
41 like that. But, I believe that the main goal is to serve the Palestinian cause over there. But,  
42 how are you going to serve it if there isn't a strong organization. I don't see a contradiction  
43 or... We can phrase it this way: "We must strengthen our organizations as much as

1 possible in order to serve the Palestinian cause and the people inside as much as  
possible".

4 Om: If the issue is a financial issue, there is another way out. Why would you work in  
5 America? Go to the Gulf, get donations, for instance, or find millions and keep working  
6 and keep serving the outside without you changing your direction. This is a direction.  
7 Change your direction without changing... If the issue is the financial strength of the  
8 organization. This like what ISNA and the [*Muslim Arab Youth*] Association used to do.  
9 Go now and see what happened when the money stopped.

10  
11 Sh: Our brothers, is it possible..., few minutes so that we can finish this point. Allow me to  
12 rephrase the question so that we understand this point. It looks like there is a  
13 misunderstanding in the phrasing.

14  
15 UM: Abou Mohamed, Shukri. The issue is not phrasing. In truth, excuse me, as an  
16 organization here, we have several Islamic organizations as synonyms for this  
17 organization. So, in my belief, these organizations ought to play different role. For  
18 instance, you don't go to the Kashmiri Fund and ask it to work on a harassment case in  
19 America, but you come to the AIPAC which is in New Jersey to work on a case of  
20 harassment of Muslims and others. So, in my belief, the issue is specialization for these  
21 organizations. It is a very important issue and, based on it, we now have..., the work of  
22 the Group now encompasses six or seven organizations because each organization has a  
23 purpose to fulfil. So, really, if we have a direction..., it doesn't mean we're against serving  
24 the community in this country. But, I don't believe we were formed for this purpose in the  
25 first place. And, the purpose you're fulfilling to serve the Palestinian cause..., if you don't  
26 do it, no other person will do it. I mean, there are no other organizations among the  
27 existing ones will carry the banner of the Palestinian cause and adopt it. So, if you really  
28 deviate from your line and your goal for which this organization was formed, I expect that  
29 you won't find a person who has the same way of thinking and who will serve your cause  
30 based on his program which is there to serve the Arabic community, for instance, such as  
31 the MAYA, or the Islamic community such as the ISNA.

32  
33 Sh: Ok, quickly, my brother, so that we can finish.

34  
35 Gh2: Yes. From the history of the Association in the past period of time it was very clear that  
36 anything happened in the inside was reflected on the reaction of the people and the  
37 community with the Association. Even before the Intifada, the Association was near dead.  
38 There was no hot issue to mobilize people for. The Intifada came and people reacted. We  
39 used to wait for any operation or any hot event to happen in the inside to issue statements,  
40 mobilize people and take advantage of it. But, I believe that the Association cannot  
41 continue to live like that. Let's suppose, God forbid, the state started, things quieted  
42 down...  
43

1 Group: God forbid.

3 Gh2: ...and self-rule started...

4  
5 Sh: Ghassan..., Ghassan. Brothers, pay attention and make your point as we need to finish this  
6 point.

7  
8 Gh2: And I'm making my point that if things quieted down and the community's morale is  
9 down or calmed down. People won't react to the Association.

10  
11 Gh: You will find work. Don't worry.

12  
13 Gh2: The point is..., this is the point we want to..., should the Association go towards  
14 organizational work to serve the community in America because people check with you  
15 just in order to get news of the inside. They don't check with you for anything else, only  
16 when they want information about Palestine, only if they want to find out what happened  
17 inside, or what is your analysis for what happened. That's it. But, if nothing happens,  
18 nobody will look at you and nobody will call you. This is a reality we felt lately, during  
19 the Intifada. when the Intifada rises, we work, and when it calms down, we don't work  
20 much. These days, this is what has been going on with us. So, I imagine the point is that,  
21 yes, our work reflects on the inside and we must serve our people in the inside, but, for  
22 the Association's work to settle down in America, it must engage in organizational work  
23 to serve the community in America like the point Omar mentioned in regards to their  
24 rights, serving the community in regards to their children, serving the community in  
25 regards to their education. There are a lot of issues the Association must look at in order  
26 for people to see it as an organization which serves them. Otherwise, we won't be able to  
27 receive support from them. We would have to continue to live on donations...

28  
29 UM2: ...UI duplication of assignments.

30  
31 Sh: Our brothers...

32  
33 Gh2: I..., I..., my suggestion..., my suggestion is to increase the work ratio in America more  
34 than work which is a reflection of what happens inside.

35  
36 Sh: Ok, Ok, Ok, fine, my brother. Stay with me. It looks like with the current phrasing we  
37 will have to stay here until the morning because there are a lot of issues which are not  
38 resolved. Let me ask you a question; how many of the brothers here see that the  
39 Association must now undergo a change, a major re-direction of its work mission. Our  
40 brother explained the nature of the current work. Who sees now a necessity for the  
41 Association to change the course of its work in a major way? Change its work, change the  
42 method of work and now we need to change the way the Association is working as the  
43 Association is not convincing to us. The Association must change its work method, its

1 work axis in a fundamental way.

4  
5 [UI group talk].

6 Sh: Brothers, how many? Is it satisfactory or not?

7 UM: Brother Shukri, just a point, by God, if you please.

8  
9 Sh: Yes.

10  
11 UM: My dear brother, in reality the issue is the work method and the direction..., the direction  
12 in itself. This is one point. The second point is the issue of strength and also the issue of  
13 direction based on the speeches we listened to. So, if the issue is the method and strength,  
14 this does not affect the direction.

15  
16 UM2: Yes.

17  
18 Sh: Ok. The Association's direction now, who sees that there is a need for change, that it must  
19 change the direction?

20  
21 [UI group talk].

22 Sh: Our brothers...

25 UM: Just a second..., is discussion of the Association's issue independent from the Holy Land  
26 Fund in the...UI.

27  
28 Sh: I will..., I will ask the same question...

29  
30 UM: Please hear me out. Or does it mean Palestinian activism in America.

31  
32 UM3: I think it is a good point.

33  
34 UM: Right. Yes, yes.

35  
36 Aa: You guys work independently. You're a one of the countries working for Palestine, no  
37 more.

38  
39 Sh: Fine, fine. But, figuratively speaking...

40  
41 Aa: You're like Saudi Arabia, like Kuwait, like the Emirates...

42  
43 Sh: ...UI. What is Palestinian activism? Let's say..., our brothers, speaking figuratively and

1 metaphorically is good...UI. I will ask the same question; who thinks that the Occupied  
2 Land Fund and Jerusalem need to have a very major change in its interests..., what is the  
3 word you said?  
4

5 UM: Direction.

6  
7 Sh: Direction. Later on, let every executive committee manage its business separately...  
8

9 UM2: I can modify your suggestion to a gradual change to respond to the emergency needs of  
10 the community...UI.  
11

12 Sh: Fine, fine.  
13

14 UM2: No. There is a major difference between changing the direction and...  
15

16 UM: Why? Because there are practical things such as tackling the community's problems due  
17 to a security or a political situation or respond to them through one of the Association's  
18 departments without changing the Association's fundamental nature, or through another  
19 organization like what our brother Ghassan suggested, an organization which is affiliated  
20 with the Association or synonymous to the Association like we said, this one will handle  
21 the political aspect while the other one handles the legal aspect. You see? People will  
22 know that it has a relationship with the Association but it is not directly from the  
23 Association. The same thing...

24  
25 UM2: The ADC is there.  
26

27 UM: What?  
28

29 UM2: The ADC is there.  
30

31 UM: This is for example. This is subject to debate but it does not..., it does not..., it does not  
32 change the nature of the Association's approved goals...UI.  
33

34 [*UI brief group talk*].  
35

36 Om: I will cite another example.  
37

38 UM: Yes, I'm saying there are a lot of examples.  
39

40 Om: The media, for instance. At Al Zaytouna, do we write about the community in Chicago,  
41 its situation, what does it do and its work and the business it does? This is not our work.  
42 Our work is to report Gaza's news only and we knew about this guy in Chicago and we  
43 are not interested in his problems. His problems are...UI. This is one direction.

1 UM: This will bring us to the point our brother mentioned...UI.

2 Om: This is another example...

4  
5 UM: No, no. We shouldn't approach the issue as a ratio for this and a ratio for that. This is  
6 wrong because you won't even be able to reach an accurate percentage. Work is the one  
7 which imposes itself and determines the percentage. Sometimes, there might be a need to  
8 give 75% to the community at some point in the future, give it 75%. But, the goal is to  
9 serve people over there because that is why the Association was formed. Just like our  
10 brother said, if you don't do it, no one else will.

11  
12 Om: But, this is not ..., it is not a reason.

13  
14 UM: It is not a reason. That's why I'm telling you we should have flexibility in regards to the  
15 ratios. Right now, the practical ratio might not exceed 25%, 30 or 40. But, your plan  
16 should include supplying the needs of the community to serve the fundamental goal  
17 you're working for. What do you... Why do all of us work for the community, the issue of  
18 the community and the issues they bring? Why is that? Because we want to unify this  
19 community over an issue, provide awareness to it and mobilize to serve the cause over  
20 there. Otherwise, what do we want from the community in the first place?

21  
22 UM2: And what do you want from over here, my brother?

23  
24 Sh: By God, our brothers, I think that the issue is purely argumentative and that all this talk is  
25 meaningless. The Association is Ok...UI. Anyone of you would mind if the Association  
26 opens a section for the community tomorrow? Nobody. Anybody objected yesterday that  
27 the Association is initiating political and diplomatic relationships with the ADC, with the  
28 Americans, with the Congress and with the churches? Nobody did, our brothers. ...UI.  
29 Fine, there isn't an inclination with us for the Association does a swift change in its  
30 policies. That's what is important, our brothers.

31  
32 Om: It should be done according to need.

33  
34 Sh: That's it.

35  
36 [*UI brief group talk*].

37  
38 Sh: I knocked a little bit too hard so that the door...UI.

39  
40 Gh: My brother, he is saying "That's wrong". Ok, what is his point of view? I don't  
41 understand.

42  
43 Sh: Our brothers, we will not ever finish this way.

1 [UI brief group talk].

2 Sh: Whoever has convictions..., whoever has convictions, they should be outside the frame of  
4 this discussion. That's what I mean.

5  
6 UM2: What..., what is the result of that, my brother?  
7

8 Sh: The result is that this is the direction of the Association..., this is the direction of the  
9 Association and there is no need for it now to make any dramatic change in its philosophy  
10 or directions as a result or a reaction to the latest circumstances. That's what we're  
11 discussing.  
12

13 UM: Good.

14 Sh: There is no need...

15  
16  
17 UM: This is the reaction...

18  
19 Sh: Allow me to tell you something... [phone ringing]. The self-rule period..., when talk  
20 about self-rule started, we made a decision at the Fund that we must change our name.  
21 That was a dramatic change to change our name as a result as there was talk....  
22



1 Gh2: ...the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] issue hasn't been agreed on. I mean, you did  
2 not tell me. I disagree with what you said about the Association's issue.  
3  
4 Ak: Maybe we should discuss the issue...  
5  
6 Sh: Ah. Ok, our brothers. That's fine.  
7  
8 Gh2: I see that there should be a dramatic change in the Association...  
9  
10 Sh: Ok, fine.  
11  
12 Gh2: And that it should move in the community's direction. We shouldn't keep it as is.  
13  
14 Sh: Ok. Fine.  
15  
16 UM: He asked a question...  
17  
18 Gh2: What is supposed to happen is to have a vote on the matter.  
19  
20 Sh: My opinion, then, is to have an appeal by the Association's Shura Council or for the...UI.  
21  
22 Om: UI... Shukri, just like the other thing you said they are not going to approve it and they did  
23 approve it. Ask us. Take a vote. Let them raise their hands...UI.  
24  
25 Sh: Raise your hands, O youths. The brothers who see that there is a need for... Fine. Please  
26 be patient with us. I'm just trying to be practical. I'm just trying to be practical because...  
27 Our brothers, we won't finish today. Everyone will tell me a remark. I want to put this to a  
28 motion. Allow me.  
29  
30 Gh: ...UI you have two of the Association's pillars [here].  
31  
32 Sh: Allow me. Hold on. This council, Abou Mohamed, isn't it a legislative council?  
33  
34 Om: No, my brother. I want to see the direction of the brothers. If we see that this is the  
35 direction of 98% of the brothers is no. That's it.  
36  
37 UM: 98...huh?  
38  
39 Sh: So, Ghassan, the issue is... We are not going to discuss it in details. I mean, there is no  
40 paper that you're presenting about changing the Association... This is not our topic.  
41  
42 Om: Shukri, Shukri, Shukri, Shukri,. There is..., there is a topic on the floor right now. You  
43 shouldn't let... We didn't hear from the other brothers. And you cannot make everyone

1 talk. Right? At least he should vote. If he doesn't want to talk, he should at least say "Yes"  
2 or "No". That's it.

3  
4 Sh: Our brothers... Ok, let's vote.

5  
6 UM: Let's solve it...

7  
8 Sh: No. We will vote. We solved it. We will vote.

9  
10 UM: No, we didn't solve it.

11  
12 UM2: With the media power...

13  
14 Sh: Our brothers, please, please. Let's vote. Let's vote. A few at a time, a few at a time.

15  
16 UM: My brother, you vote when..., I mean when you conclude the idea, voting takes place.  
17 When you...UI. People will be then voting on a clear matter

18  
19 UM2: Brother Shukri...UI.

20  
21 UM: Brothers, I don't see a need for voting and there is no problem. The whole issue is  
22 developing the Association's work. Should we work more on media, work more on the  
community, serve people more over there...UI.

23  
24 Sh: Our brothers, by God, allow me. By God, I'm just trying to be practical. I don't think any  
25 of the attending brothers is against the idea of developing the Association's work. Our  
26 brothers, we're talking about issues, huge strategies which impact..., which lead to major  
27 changes. But no one among the brothers... Anyone here brothers have... I asked questions  
28 and no one..., no one said "No". I asked a specific question. Let's vote. Our brothers,  
29 please, we are not re-opening the discussion regarding yesterday. We're trying to reach  
30 conclusions. If each time we say a point..., please be patient, my brother. If every time a  
31 brother says a point we respond to it we will not finish.

32  
33  
34 UM: No, there is a point they say in the community. When you talk with the community they  
35 tell you, "My brother, this is not your job".

36  
37 Sh: That brother cited an example about the community.

38  
39 UM: Yes, an example. We ...UI the communities.

40  
41 Gh2: The Palestinian community, specifically. Whenever you engage them, they tell you...

42  
43 UM: They tell you that you do office work.

1 Sh: Pray on the prophet. Pray on the prophet. Pray on the prophet.

3 UM: May God pray on our master, Mohamed.

4  
5 Sh: Our brothers, let's go back to our motion. We don't want to get into things. Who sees that  
6 there is a need, in light of the recent developments, that the Association ought to think  
7 about is constitutional and organizational frames, think now and go back to its Shura  
8 Council, to the executive committee, and say that we need to make a dramatic change in  
9 our direction, attitude and everything. We need to evaluate what is the Association and its  
10 work. Let's be honest with each other. Be patient with me. What are you saying? Who,  
11 our brothers, see that there is a need. Let him raise his hand.

12  
13 Gh: I just have a simple question for Omar or Ghassan..., before you allow voting.

14  
15 Sh: Go ahead, my brother, go ahead. Raise your hands.

16  
17 Gh2: Regarding us making a dramatic change...

18  
19 Sh: That there is a need as a result of the new circumstances. This is the subject of our  
20 discussion.

21  
22 Om: The issue is that we are changing the Association and it seems that you're consenting to  
the change, that is...

23  
24 Sh: That's what I'm trying to say. That's what I'm trying to say.

25  
26 Om: You're in agreement. Consequently, that's fine.

27  
28 UM2: You're developing it.

29  
30 Sh: Fine. Development. Development.

31  
32 Om: Fine.

33  
34 [UI group talk followed by laughter].

35  
36 Om: The majority..., the majority [laughter]. May God give you strength.

37  
38 UM2: So, if someone dies in Minnesota, they are going to call you and you're going to bury his  
39 body and wash it?  
40

41  
42 [Group laughter and UI talk].  
43

1 Om: Your example is rejected.

3 UM2: Why?

4  
5 Om: Because...UI. Aboul Hasan.

6  
7 As: Yes.

8  
9 Om: I tell you something...

10  
11 As: Yes.

12  
13 Om: When there is..., there is a media situation and a situation where the FBI comes to you at  
14 your house so that half of the people don't attend your festival and tell you, "I'm afraid to  
15 attend your festival because there is talk about you". This is the talk. Give me two years  
16 while the situation remains like that and the Jews will come and... Tomorrow, the Jews  
17 will use the media [*and say*], "The Islamic Association for Palestine and stuff. It does this  
18 and that". Not a single person will go to the festival.

19  
20 UM2: Then, specify..., specify your points. Don't go around saying...UI in the community.

21  
22 Om: I'm specifying points...

23  
24 Sh: Be patient, our brothers. Let's finish. We're now in a position to specify points or cite  
25 examples...UI.

26  
27 Om: My brother, just a minute. Today in Philadelphia... Yesterday, in the festival, the tickets  
28 sold were more than those who attended. Usually, when we sell tickets, double the  
29 number attend. Why? People tell you, "I will purchase a ticket but I don't want to come".  
30 This is what people say "I will purchase. I'm ready to give you the \$10, but I don't want to  
31 come. I don't want to attend with you". What is this catastrophe? Half of the people didn't  
32 attend because of that reason. They're afraid. They tell you, "You're..., you're scary. Let  
33 me... I will give you". Someone said, "I will give you \$1,000 cash."

34  
35 Sh: Develop..., develop the Association all you want and then..UI. Brothers, now..., now...

36  
37 Gh2: I mean, this should be our position; that we develop according to need.

38  
39 Om: So, we are not going to go bury somebody in Minnesota. This is what is meant.

40  
41 Sh: Fine. Even if you bury him and this took .01 out of your efforts, that's fine. Ok. [*UI group*  
42 *talk*] We, our brothers, we should..., we should stick to the minimum... Our brothers,  
43 please, no one said that the Association will now bury the dead [*laughter*]. That means

1 that we will be taking the imams out of their jobs [*laughter and UI*].

3 Sh: When I said that, I imagined Sheik Yousif here with us but it looks like he was at a  
4 funeral.

6 [*UI group talk and laughter*].

8 UM: Ok, I mean, did someone tell him to do this job...UI.

10 UM2: He will form a front with Sheik al-Hanouti.

12 Sh: By God, I didn't mean his grandfather<sup>1</sup> [*laughter and UI group talk*].

15 UM: The Sheik won't forgive you for that one [*laughter*].

17 Sh: By God, you're negligent. No. We didn't mean that. Our brothers, let's not get...UI.  
18 Enough, please. In the coming period, the organizations must work to supply fundamental  
19 needs of the Movement in the fields of specializations such as journalism, law, politics,  
20 education and investment.

22 UM: Yes, yes.

24 Sh: I mean, urgent issues.

26 UM: What are you saying, man. These are long-term issues. What are you going to do in the  
27 short term.

29 Om: As a practice, that is. As a practice.

34 Sh: As a direction. We're not..., we're not putting the plan in place. As a direction. Is it Ok  
35 that from now on we start thinking that the children of the community should be steered  
36 towards media, journalism and law and then tell them to go live in the homeland. Very  
37 general talk which we didn't say four years ago. We say it now. As for how the plan is  
38 going to be and these details will come later. This is just the general direction. Is it  
39 acceptable?

41 Group: Yes.

43 Sh: More than one brother focused on it yesterday and we saw that it is good to... That's it.

1 Ok, our brothers, there are things to say in regards to our strategy relating to the peace  
2 project that it must be focused on the most the project can achieve. For instance, the  
3 brother said that the most it can achieve is the Palestinian state. Based on that, we  
4 examine the facts relating to the Palestinian state so that when the Palestinian state takes  
5 form, huh, we are already ahead of it and we are not still talking about self-rule. The self-  
6 rule is finished. What's after that? So, this was... But, do you think this is going to be  
7 discussed?

8  
9 Gh: No.

10  
11 UM: This is a sub-item under the media aspect.

12  
13 Sh: Let's leave it to the brothers who are called the Think Tank, our politicians who keep  
14 working on this issue.

15  
16 UM: The Association.

17  
18 Om: ...UI.

19  
20 Sh: The idea that media should adopt that, the idea to highlight the notion that Islamists..., the  
21 Islamists - we know what we mean by the Islamists - are the alternative, the alternative  
22 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.

23  
24 Gh: I believe so. The Islamists are...UI.

25  
26 UM: What does that mean? Every time the Sheik is about to give a speech...UI.

27  
28 Sh: Yesterday, you said things that..., that there are inclinations to have...UI.

29  
30 UM: Said something about the legitimate representative...

31  
32 Gh2: The Sheik was at our end few days ago...

33  
34 Sh: Ah.

35  
36 Gh2: He said that no one said about himself that he will be the alternative because we need a  
37 policy..., a new leadership within the frame of the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization.

38  
39 UM: This is a...UI talk.

40  
41 Gh2: Or, the issue of meeting with the...UI, wasn't it for this sake and purpose?  
42  
43

1 UM: Yes.  
3 Gh: Fine. Let's wait.  
4  
5 Om: Why don't we write to America, people. What do we have to do with...  
6  
7 UM: My brother, he asked...  
8  
9 UM2: This a piece of information on the side.  
10  
11 Sh: Fine. That's fine. He is talking about the part which serves the Occupied Territories, about  
12 twenty-five percent of our media which said "Our brave heros have conducted this and  
13 that operation and killed X number of Jews and Zionists and stuff like that. So, this is a  
14 part of it. They're asking, "Should we adopt an alternative to this or not..., in our lectures,  
15 our...".  
16  
17 Gh: ...UI.  
18  
19 Sh: Ok. Let's leave it. Let's leave it.  
20  
21 Ga: The thing is in his hands. It is an alternative or not...UI.  
22  
23 Sh: Ok. Fine. Thinking about opening new specialized organizations capable of dealing with  
24 any new reality or with the new reality. This is the issue we examined in details and  
25 which brother Ghassan mentioned and which produced...UI.  
26  
27 UM: ...UI brother Shukri.  
28  
29 Sh: That..., our brothers, these are the issues which caused disorder yesterday. Thinking of  
30 opening new specialized organizations capable of dealing with..., with the new reality.  
31  
32 Ak: But, our understanding of the idea when Omar presented the idea is that...  
33  
34 Sh: Wait so that we can take one person at a time.  
35  
36 Om: This was Abou Mohamed's idea and not mine. ...UI. We presented it during a session.  
37  
38 Sh: By God, it was from more than one person. When the brother said...  
39  
40 Om: Also, during Abou Mohamed's session as well. During his session with the brother.  
41  
42 UM: The idea was presented by Omar and then Ghassan.  
43

1 [UI group talk and laughter].

3 Sh: Working to raise people's morale and this was a fundamental idea and a good one as far  
4 as its phrasing.

5  
6 UM: ...UI [Laughter].  
7

8 Sh: Had a good phrasing. The phrasing was "raising the morale in order to form a human  
9 bridge from and to Palestine". There was a recommendation in that direction as a strategy  
10 and not as a thought. We must always remain in contact with the Occupied Territories.  
11

12 UM: And through an economic infrastructure.  
13

14 Sh: No, and the delegations.  
15

16 UM: Through an infrastructure. Meaning striking two birds with one stone.  
17

18 Sh: The principle of delegations, meaning we receive delegations and send delegations and  
19 remain in contact with the Occupied Territories. Good? Should we vote on it? The issue  
20 of Jerusalem ought to remain fundamental with its creedal and Sharia axes and the  
21 Palestinian issue.  
22

23  
24 UM: ...UI.

25 Sh: All of it. All the meanings. Work in America must become supportive of the inside.  
26 Brother Aboul Hasan provided a special definition of that. He said that this will be done  
27 by organizing the relationships between the organizations and he cited examples. Some  
28 people said it is happening and some other people said: No, it is not happening.  
29

30 UM: This is a part of the first point when we were talking about 75/25.  
31

32 Sh: It doesn't matter. This is..., this a point about details and I don't believe Aboul Hasan will  
33 insist on. He wants it. He has a certain goal in mind. Aboul Hasan...  
34

35 UM2: But, he should explain it to us, tell us what he means by that.  
36

37 Sh: Yes, yes. When you said "supportive..., to be supportive..." and you cited examples from  
38 media, law and stuff like that. We can explain to us the idea and then if someone wants to  
39 say an idea, let him say it and we will vote on it or we don't want to vote.  
40

41 UM: You mean like "Back-up", for instance?  
42

43 Gh: Fraternity, that is, between them.

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43

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.

1 Sh: It is excellent, by God.  
3 UM: Full-color. They print it in Russia and south Africa as well.  
4  
5 Om: My brother, when a book is issued outside, it costs \$20, for instance. When a copy of it  
6 reaches the inside, it sells for \$5 in the market.  
7  
8 Sh: [Laughter]. We will sue you as copyrights are reserved. Ok, our brothers, our brother  
9 Aboul Hasan's words are clear, our brothers. He doesn't want to name certain  
10 organizations. But, when we check what our brother said, we can say "Palestine action  
11 organizations". As a direction, you think it is doable? Anyone has an objection to the idea  
12 as an idea?  
13  
14 Group: No, no.  
15  
16 Om: Fine. Let's do it.  
17  
18 Sh: We're almost finished, God's willing. This is the last point. Thanks be to God, Lord of the  
19 Two Worlds. I believe we finished all of them. May God reward you well, our brothers. I  
20 crossed the part which says, "Building a community first and large focus on non-Muslims  
21 is a waste of time". We said that this is...  
22  
23 UM: A waste of time [Laughter].  
24  
25 Sh: ...that it is a waste of time. These issues are technical issues and...  
26  
27 Gh2: Regarding the axes we agreed on...  
28  
29 Sh: We voted on those first thing because we wanted to..., the fraternity and...UI.  
30  
31 Gh2: ...UI.  
32  
33 Sh: These are the axes and we..., we took the main ideas.  
34  
35 As: Shukri, Shukri...  
36  
37 Sh: Yes.  
38  
39 As: ...UI for Akram so that he can finish.  
40  
41 Sh: Be patient, Aboul Hasan. Be patient. I'm with you. I love you but, I mean... I'm not  
42 finished yet. Youths, it is now 10:30. We have until 12:00, God's willing, right?  
43

1 Om: 1:00.  
3 Sh: We're staying up late?  
4  
5 UM: Maybe until 12:00.  
6  
7 [*Brief UI group talk*].  
8  
9 Ak: I will take 20 minutes, at the most. In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful. We  
10 will speak about charitable work and its future in light of the changes. I believe that there  
11 was near unanimity over the closing of the Foundation, the Holy Land Foundation and the  
12 Fund [*laughter and brief UI group talk*]...  
13  
14 Om: Listen, ...UI. Al Aqsa project, a gift from the Holy Land Foundation.  
15  
16 UM: We will vote, we will vote.  
17  
18 Sh: Talking about closing the Foundation? By God, I will go and sell watermelons [*laughter*]  
19 and stay in the market. It is the best job.  
20  
21 UM: What watermelons?  
22  
23 Sh: During the summer [*laughter*].  
24  
25 UM: Work as an imam. Work as an imam.  
26  
27 Sh: Work as an imam! [*laughter*]. It is the most honorable job, sir, for those who don't know.  
28  
29 Aa: As long as it has nothing to do with the dead, it is good. [*laughter*].  
30  
31 Sh: ...UI you're one of the stars to be guided with during the morning time [*laughter*].  
32 Enough, may God be pleased with you.  
33  
34 Aa: These are the stars of the tormented people which you see during the daylight [*laughter*].  
35  
36 Sh: I did not want to be called a cruel person and steal the dreams from your eyes [*poetry*].  
37  
38 Om: Wow [*UI brief group talk*].  
39  
40 Sh: Let's go, our brothers.  
41  
42 As: It is almost 11 o'clock.  
43

1 Sh: It doesn't matter, it doesn't matter, Aboul Hasan.

3 Ak: Ok, I divided the paper to..., what do you call it, what are the new developments which  
4 took place, the problems and the positive things of the coming period and the suggested  
5 solutions. The change which will take place in regards to charity work in America is that,  
6 as a result of the accord which took place and as a result of the situation and the economy  
7 which might change somewhat, it will necessarily reflect on charity work in America.  
8 Therefore, we must get acclimated to this new situation. What are the expected problems  
9 because of this work..., because of these developments? First, the morale of donors will  
10 be more negative in regards to donations. There is a near unanimity that donations will  
11 decrease as a result of some donors' conviction that there will be an economic revival, at  
12 least in the initial phase, the first one or two years. There was also a unanimity that the  
13 Islamic organizations in Palestine will be targeted by the self-rule and also by the Jews,  
14 whether in Gaza, the [West] Bank or in the '48 territories as well. Also, there was a  
15 conviction that the current organizations in Palestine are not sufficient, the Islamic  
16 organizations, specially in the Gaza, '48 and some parts of the [West] Bank, some parts of  
17 the...UI. Positive aspects of the new stage; First, the new economic situation might cover  
18 some of the families' needs in Palestine, the needs which the Fund used to spend almost  
19 80% of its allocations on. So, this small break which might occur can cover some of the  
20 need and, consequently, a direction to provide more support to the organizations might  
21 emerge and with more vigor in the future. Also, the one other positive aspect is that there  
22 will be an openness for new horizons for work, particularly in America, and particularly  
23 on the American people, international investments and organizations. I believe, I didn't  
24 feel there are more than two positive things in the coming stage. What are the suggested  
25 solutions and the future directions? First, avoiding the political approach in charity work.  
26 Let's have our brother Shukri stop his Friday sermons from now on.

27  
28 Sh: By God, I just delivered a sermon last week.

29  
30 Ak: There is an inclination to stay away from the political address in the charitable  
31 organization's name. Also, there is a direction towards all forms of address. They are  
32 already in place now. But, we now have a larger scope for the Americans..., to address all  
33 people in regards to things they are interested in. For instance, addressing Muslims now  
34 about the issue of Jerusalem, the issue of protecting the Islamic organizations in  
35 Palestine, the issue of maintaining the steadfastness of Muslims in Palestine and  
36 Jerusalem, for example. Also, issues relating to Jihad which will continue such as  
37 supporting the injured, the martyrs and prisoners, I mean, their families. These are  
38 directions for Muslims. As for the American society, opening the door to the American  
39 society through participating with them in building the infrastructure of Palestine, to have  
40 our charitable organizations become a front for that kind of work. And, there is more  
41 acceptance by the Americans now for this kind of work. Encouraging investors,  
42 attempting to get governmental support, if possible, for some projects. It is possible to  
43 form some economic committees which benefit from the changing situation. Securing

1 protection for the Islamic organizations in Palestine and it can be done in America  
2 through fraternity, for instance, through registering some of the charitable organizations  
3 in Palestine under names of people living abroad in order to make it hard to hit them in  
4 the inside and closing them. Er...

5  
6 UM: Register them in the name of some people who are out of the country?

7  
8 Ak: No. If you, for instance, register them in the names of some people inside and outside, it  
9 is possible that... I don't know...UI.

10  
11 UM2: He is just telling you...UI.

12  
13 Ak: What?

14  
15 UM2: Legally, are those who are absent allowed that?

16  
17 Ak: It is possible now. I mean, getting acclimated to..., trying to protect the organizations  
18 using any possible legal means.

19  
20 Sh: Yes, let's keep it like that. That is better.

21  
22 Ak: Media campaigns and guests to expose the size of the problem and to show that the  
23 economic support which everybody is talking about has not solved most of the problems  
24 the Palestinian people suffer from. Also, the problem is bigger than an economic support  
25 and that won't be accomplished unless you bring people from the inside, people who live  
26 the problem and who tell people in America about the problem. You can encourage  
27 donors to...UI. Not telling donors about the change in our focus in work,+ that our work  
28 focus has changed through turning to the other Islamic problems so that a donor doesn't  
29 feel that the situation in Palestine has improved. Even if the change is towards the  
30 Palestinian camps outside Palestine which is a point on which there was disagreement.  
31 There was an direction to turn to the camps and the other direction was, no, as this would  
32 be a signal to the people that Palestine is Ok. So, this might require voting regarding the  
33 direction.

34  
35 UM: Please allow me. It is not an issue of a direction but an addition. I mean, it can become  
36 one of Holy Land Foundation's interests in the future.

37  
38 Ak: Yes. This approach is...

39  
40 UM: To add it on, that is.

41  
42 Ak: Fine. The other approach is that, if I add it now, it will be interpreted that I have changed  
43 my focus; that you now have an interest in the outside as the inside is now fine. I mean,

1 these two points were presented and I don't adopt a point of view, I say that the two points  
2 were presented and I believe that we might need just five minutes. If it is possible to  
3 postpone it now because it might be the only point which needs...  
4

5 Sh: Good as there will be discussion over it.  
6

7 Ak: There is a direction to focus on supporting the organizations now more than support for  
8 daily lives and also the means for distributing funds through opening offices in Palestine,  
9 particularly opening new organizations in the areas of Gaza and '48 areas which suffer a  
10 lot. There was also a direction to develop media work of the organization, the Fund and  
11 charity work to provide an awareness project for donors. This can be done through the  
12 charity organization directly, or through the Association or any other organization. This  
13 will be done to limit the spread of rumors and to find future justifications to collect  
14 donations. This is the general summary of the directions. I believe that there was a  
15 unanimity over them.  
16

17 Om: There is a missing point.  
18

19 UM: There is a point which is attempting to register everything HLF owns in HLF's name, the  
20 property, in order to protect it in the future from confiscation and...  
21

22 Ak: I mentioned that registering charity organizations in Palestine should be through....  
23

24 UM: In HLF's name.  
25

26 Ak: Yes, yes. Registering them in the name of the [organization] abroad.  
27

28 UM: Yes.  
29

30 Om: The project to provide awareness for donors by the political media...  
31

32 Ak: Yes. I mentioned that in the last point.  
33

34 Om: Where is it?  
35

36 Ak: Developing media work of the organization or the charity work in order to provide  
37 awareness project for donors, either through the organization directly, or through other  
38 people in the Association or whatever, and to limit the spread of rumors that everything is  
39 Ok and also to provide political awareness to them. It also should not be done through  
40 charity organizations.  
41

42 Om: Yes.  
43

1 UM: How about the issue of students delegations, I mean, allowing delegations of children of  
the inside to come to America?

4 Ak: Hum...

6 Gh: Or through the Education Fund.

8 Ak: No, no...

10 Gh2: It should be done...UI, not through the HLF, that is. Either by the Education Fund or...

12 Ak: Yes, right. We didn't mention the HLF. The issue wasn't relating to HLF.

14 Gh2: Yes, it is a general topic. But, adopting...

16 Ak: We said..., we said "supporting organizations in Palestine". I mean, supporting the  
17 organizations includes support for the organizations which have to do with education.

19 Sh: It is a program, Ghassan. It is a program.

21 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.

25 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.

28 Ak: It is mentioned.

30 Gh2: Where?

32 Sh: By God, I told Aboul Hasan about it.

34 Ak: It is mentioned. I mean, one of the problems which relate to the Islamic organizations in  
35 Gaza, '48 areas and some of areas of the [*West*] Bank and the lack of administrative  
36 stability, specially in the fields of research and education. Education is mentioned as a  
37 problem.

39 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  
41 two in a certain format to be sent to America.

43 Ak: We can add it.

1 Gh2: And one of the organizations is to adopt them in the fields they need. We said that the  
2 need is in journalism, media, politics..., these fields.  
3  
4 Ak: I don't believe there is any disagreement on the subject. What remains is the issue of  
5 changing the directions to the Palestinian camps outside Palestine. I want the people who  
6 adopted the two opposing ideas.... Brother Shukri had adopted the idea of turning to the  
7 camps, I believe, ...  
8  
9 Sh: Not turning...  
10  
11 Ak: I mean, I want two people to defend the two theories.  
12  
13 Sh: This is one of the issues we can discuss because it is not included in the... It serves the  
14 general direction which is bringing failure to the project you're talking about, the peace  
15 project, because when you feel the issue of these people, it exposes the self-rule and its...  
16  
17 Ak: But, I want the people who presented the opposing ideas...  
18  
19 Om: Abou Ayyoub and Shukri.  
20  
21 Ga: All I want to say is that it should not be done at the expense of support to the Occupied  
22 Territories. That's it. Because this is the most important...UI, right now.  
23  
24 Sh: Our brothers, allow me. This is..., this is a point of fact for the brothers. When we say  
25 "focus", what do we do in the organizations? We do campaigns. A campaign for this  
26 issue, a campaign for that issue. This year, we can do a campaign for the camps, you see?  
27 Then, we can say that 700,000 people in Gaza are staying in camps, this is not a small  
28 issue. It is a humanitarian issue, you see? So, this is the purpose. It is a good issue to  
29 approach and to focus on. We don't have to neglect it like we used to do in the past, we  
30 neglected it in the past, specially that now this will serve us in this issue. That's it. As for  
31 us to turn all of our efforts to..., no one is saying that.  
32  
33 Ga: That includes the [*West*] Bank and the [*Gaza*] Sector? Camps in the [*West*] Bank and the  
34 [*Gaza*] Sector?  
35  
36 Ak: No, no, no. He means outside Palestine.  
37  
38 Sh: The Palestinian camps as a subject.  
39  
40 Ak: ...UI Palestine.  
41  
42 Sh: No, my brother. No.  
43

1 Gh: The ones in Lebanon and...  
2  
3 Ak: No, there is a direction..., there is a point of view which says that adopting...  
4  
5 Gh: Our brother is the one who...  
6  
7 UM: Osama is the one who requested that.  
8  
9 Sh: Inside and outside. Inside and outside.  
10 [UI brief group talk].  
11  
12 Ak: Just a second. Just a second.  
13  
14 Os: Ok. I'm the one who presented this point. But, what is meant by it is not changing or  
15 turning work, but expanding the scope of work.  
16  
17 Gh2: ...UI.  
18  
19 Os: While not impacting the...UI.  
20  
21 Sh: Right, right. There is no disagreement.  
22  
23 Gh2: A point..., a point..., the reason is that this point is being brought up right now...  
24  
25 Ak: There is no disagreement.  
26  
27 UM: To draw attention.  
28  
29 Gh2: But, just to draw people's attention and tell them that there are Palestinians. What is going  
30 to happen to those refugees in Lebanon, refugees in Jordan.  
31  
32 Ak: What is important is the point that there should not be a change to address this problem at  
33 the expense of that other problem.  
34  
35 Sh: No, no, no. It is a re-direction, an expansion.  
36  
37 Ak: So that is not interpreted as...  
38  
39 Sh: Inclusion, inclusion.  
40  
41 Gh2: The media attention should come along with the charitable [attention].  
42  
43 Ak: Agreeing?

1 Group: Agreeing.

2 [UI brief group talk].  
3

4  
5 Om: Can you write it down so that I can copy it and distribute it to the youths in the booklet?  
6

7 [UI brief group talk].  
8

9 Ak: Is there..., is there anything to say?  
10

11 UM: In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful [UI group talk continues].  
12

13 UM: In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful. God's willing, I will begin with a  
14 summary of the 3rd session yesterday which was about political, media and public action  
15 in America which is the future and the challenges. In reality, I summarized it in three or  
16 four elements, a simple introduction and goals of the coming stage, priorities of action,  
17 axes of action and specific recommendations based on the stuff that was mentioned  
18 yesterday. In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful. It is expected that the last  
19 goals are a reflection for political, media and public action in America due to the U.S.  
20 Administration's complete support to the agreement and the Jewish influence on the  
21 media outlets with that is based on that such as the impact on the Islamic, Palestinian and  
22 Arab community. Therefore, goals of the Palestinian action must be explained in the  
23 coming stage on the U.S. front and determine possible means to achieve these goals. I  
24 wrote six goals and we can discuss them one by one based on what was presented  
25 yesterday. The first goal is to continue to support the Palestinian cause and defending the  
26 Movement's positions and explaining them in the suitable way at the Palestinian, Arab  
27 and Islamic community's level and the American people in order to form a public opinion  
28 which adopts the Movement's position and its political program using the available  
29 resources. Of course, through the address. By the way, we will be discussing the issue of  
30 the political address later. Would you like to present this point for discussion or continue?  
31

32 Gh: It is agreed upon.  
33

34 UM: Agreed upon. Ok. Two, working to stabilize Islamic organizations working for Palestine  
35 and protecting them under a legal cover to guarantee their continuity in conducting their  
36 mission. Agreed upon or...?  
37

38 Om: Keep going.  
39

40 UM: Yes. Three, strengthening..., strengthening our presence in the Palestinian, Arab and  
41 Islamic community and resorting to all possible means to maintain the current gains,  
42 developing them and strengthening the alliance with Arab and Islamic organizations in  
43 the field. Ok? Four, working to make the Islamic Association for Palestine the main

1 source of information which represents the Movement's positions.

2 UM2: ...UI.

3  
4  
5 Om: The sole legal representative [*laughter and UI group talk*].

6  
7 UM: Of course, regarding the point which was mentioned yesterday that when we fight with  
8 the other Islamic organizations, it weakens our position and our political address. ...about  
9 the Movement's position of the cause and this in order to make sure to continue to offer a  
10 clear Islamic position to the Islamic community. A special focus on the Islamic  
11 community while being careful not to show the Association as an opposition party with  
12 direct connections with the inside. It expresses its position. It expresses the Movement's  
13 position but it doesn't say I represent this side or anything like that.

14  
15 Sh: It should lie, you mean.

16  
17 UM: It shouldn't talk [*laughter*]. It shouldn't lie. It shouldn't talk [*laughter*].

18  
19 Sh: War is deception.

20  
21 Om: Learn from your masters in the Fund [*laughter*].

22  
23 UM: Five, determining the political address of Palestinian political and media organizations  
24 based on our Islamic creed and our Movement's principles.

25  
26 Aa: And this should be based on circumstantial conditions.

27  
28 UM: It will come, God's willing.

29  
30 UM2: Because this is supposed to be said in details.

31  
32 UM: Six, working on building a strong economic infrastructure to support our political  
33 organizations because... And the media ones, too. The money issue is a political one. We  
34 said that we are talking about charity issues. But, the money issue has to do with political  
35 action and this is a known thing. Therefore, we must be keen on the investment issue as it  
36 will be mentioned later, God's willing. Priorities of mobilization: The first priority is our  
37 belief according to what was said is the issue of Ikhwan and the Islamic groups such as  
38 ISNA, ICNA, etc., because these people are..., let's suppose they're...

39  
40 Om: [*knocking*] Let's not use the word "Islamic groups" in order not to...

41  
42 UM: No. There are other groups.

1 Om: I mean the groups which are in Egypt lest they think...

2 Gh: The Islamic organizations.

3  
4  
5 UM: Aha. This is because these people are supposed to understand the same, or espouse the  
6 same creedal conviction which we espouse about the Palestinian cause and they are  
7 supposed to carry a responsibility like we carry a responsibility towards this cause even  
8 though we are the ones with the prime responsibility and initiative in regards to action.  
9 Therefore, we should be looking for suitable reasons... - of course, we will be mentioning  
10 this later in details - to mobilize these people to shoulder the cause with us and to share  
11 this mission with us. The second point is the Palestinian, Arab and Islamic community  
12 and its organizations. The third one is the American people because as it was mentioned  
13 in the discussion yesterday that we don't have very high hopes in the achievements of the  
14 American people even though we must address this category of people. Work axes are:  
15 the political axis, the media axis, the social one, the financial one and the investment one.  
16 Of course, issues of awareness and education are a part of the political and media [*axes*]  
17 because brother Gawad mentioned in details that it is not our business to detail that or to  
18 work in that frame. Recommendations: One, the political address: Our political address  
19 must be based on our Islamic creed and fundamentals of our straight religion, and it must  
20 express the positions of our Movement and its political program. The language of the  
21 address might differ according to the addressed public without touching the staples. One,  
22 to detail this point; One, address to the Islamic and Arab community: It must be a clear  
23 address and based on the Sharia fundamentals and the creedal staples and the principle  
24 of..., and expressing the Movement's position and its political program in a fruitful  
25 objective manner. This is a general talk but, it lays the fundamentals in regards to the  
26 issues of the political address to..., to..., Muslims, whether Arabs, Pakistanis or others.  
27 We address those using the Sharia aspect, the issue is clear. We give them the  
28 responsibility towards this cause but also in a fruitful and an objective manner which  
29 makes them accept our idea, accept our call. Details can be mentioned in the different  
30 committees. Two, the issue of Ikhwan and the Islamic groups. Working to mobilize the  
31 Ikhwan to carry the cause and to work for it in positive ways which brings benefit to our  
32 cause.

33  
34 UM2: We should look then...

35  
36 UM: What?

37  
38 UM2: The Ikhwan of El Shamm countries in particular.

39  
40 UM: They're more entitled to it, but we generalized it. Yes. In the discussion, El Shamm  
41 countries were mentioned. Yes, that's right.

42  
43 Sh: Should we use positive work with them..., with the brothers?

1 UM: By "positive"..., what do you mean with the "positive"? Yes. Because..., because... In my  
2 belief - and God knows best and we didn't detail this during the discussion - there are  
3 causes from them and there are causes from us. This is what I mean by "positive"; we  
4 look inside ourselves for the causes of weakness and negligence and we treat them in our  
5 organizations and the rooms for details is not now. We can details them in the  
6 Association's committees, in our private meetings...etc. We can explain to them the  
7 causes which they are to be blamed for and we assist them in solving them. But, there are  
8 definitely causes from us and negligence from our end, whether at the level of our  
9 organization and institutions and the level of our personnel and symbols. There are  
10 mistakes from our end which led to phenomena such as these. Therefore, we must..., must  
11 treat them and there is no room to detail them now and God knows best. Is there an  
12 objection?  
13

14 Group: No.

15  
16 Sh: This is the work of other committees or...UI.  
17

18 UM: Three, the American people. The American people and the media and the official  
19 media...UI, and the official and legal organizations. It must taken into consideration that  
20 this category of people doesn't understand our cause in the same manner our Islamic  
21 community understands it due to many accumulations. Therefore, we must get better at  
22 delivering our idea to them with what does not contradict the principles of our religion,  
23 while emphasizing the issue of human rights and that true peace cannot be achieved  
24 unless when accompanied by serving justice and removal of injustice and the following  
25 items..., we will mention the following items which are: our historical right in Palestine,  
26 injustice and terrorism befalling the Palestinian people, attacking the credibility of the  
27 [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization and its ability to lead the Palestinian people,  
28 relying on UN resolutions according to need because, as I mentioned yesterday, some of  
29 the resolutions are old and can be modified according to..., attacking the credibility of the  
30 Jews and our right to fight occupation.  
31

32 UM2: Even attacking the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization and its representation of the  
33 Palestinian people.  
34

35 UM: And leading..., its ability to lead the Palestinian people.  
36

37 UM2: No, its representation of the Palestinian people.  
38

39 UM: Or, representation... Yes.  
40

41 UM2: This is a legal issue.  
42

43 Gh: On the contrary, it doesn't represent the Palestinian people...UI.

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
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.

13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
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.

25  
26  
Ga: Yes. It is a remark that is...

27  
28  
Sh: I mean, I'm in America... The Americans...

29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
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.

37  
38  
UM: Right.

39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
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.

1 Sh: ...UI. I'm with you.

2 Ga: ...UI. In addition to that, the second point for the Americans is that this current has not  
4 gained legality even its organizations here in place of Palestinian representation. An idea  
5 came up in London to have a public referendum about its right to determine its fate.  
6

7 Sh: All of that is fine.

8 Ga: Arafat wasn't elected. ...UI wasn't elected. The National Council wasn't elected. I mean,  
9 issues like these need representations.  
10

11 UM: Yes.

12 Ga: Consequently, I, as a Palestinian, say that he who took advantage of the situation and  
13 signed doesn't represent me. So, when I say "No" about the agreement, the problem rises  
14 regarding about the legality of..  
15  
16

17 UM: Abou Ayyoub, people are also telling you that Hamas is not elected. And, how do you  
18 know that the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization was not elected? There are people,  
19 representatives, who were elected. How do I rebut the [*Palestinian Liberation*]  
20 Organization?  
21  
22

UM2: Have a vote.

23 Ga: ...UI.

24 UM: No, no, no. From the other side.

25 Ga: Go to the Occupied Territories and find out...UI.

26 UM: Abou Ayyoub,... Let's just work on one issue.

27 UM2: Was Hamas elected?

28 Ga: Not Hamas, even. Did I say Hamas was the opposite? I didn't say the opposite.

29 Ab: What is the possibility..., what is the possibility to hire a neutral side to make a survey in  
30 the Occupied Territories about something?  
31

32 UM: This is not our goal now. We're now...

33 Ab: I'm saying about a side..., a side..., a side which is an American legal side, for instance, a  
34 private business which has nothing to do with...  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43

1 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...

4 Ab: They go and conduct a survey which is to be announced in the newspapers and the media.

5  
6 UM: Abdel Salam..., Abdel Salam, but this is not the discussion topic. We're now saying, "Is it  
7 suitable to present this point to the American public opinion or not?"

8  
9 UM2: Exactly. Exactly.

10  
11 UM: I can reach a compromise between what the two parties suggested. The impact of that on  
12 the American people is negative, definitely, because the American people now accepts the  
13 [*Palestinian*] Liberation Organization and accepts Yasser Arafat despite all the past and  
14 some stuff here and there. The American people in general, the American public now  
15 accepts the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization. So, now when you're hostile to them,  
16 you're an extremist, a fundamentalist. But, if you address the official organizations, if you  
17 send to the State Department, you tell them, "I lead the Palestinian people and not them".  
18 You have to say this kind of thing at this point.

19  
20 Gh2: But, my brother, if you have no grounds among the public opinion...

21  
22 UM: This is another issue.

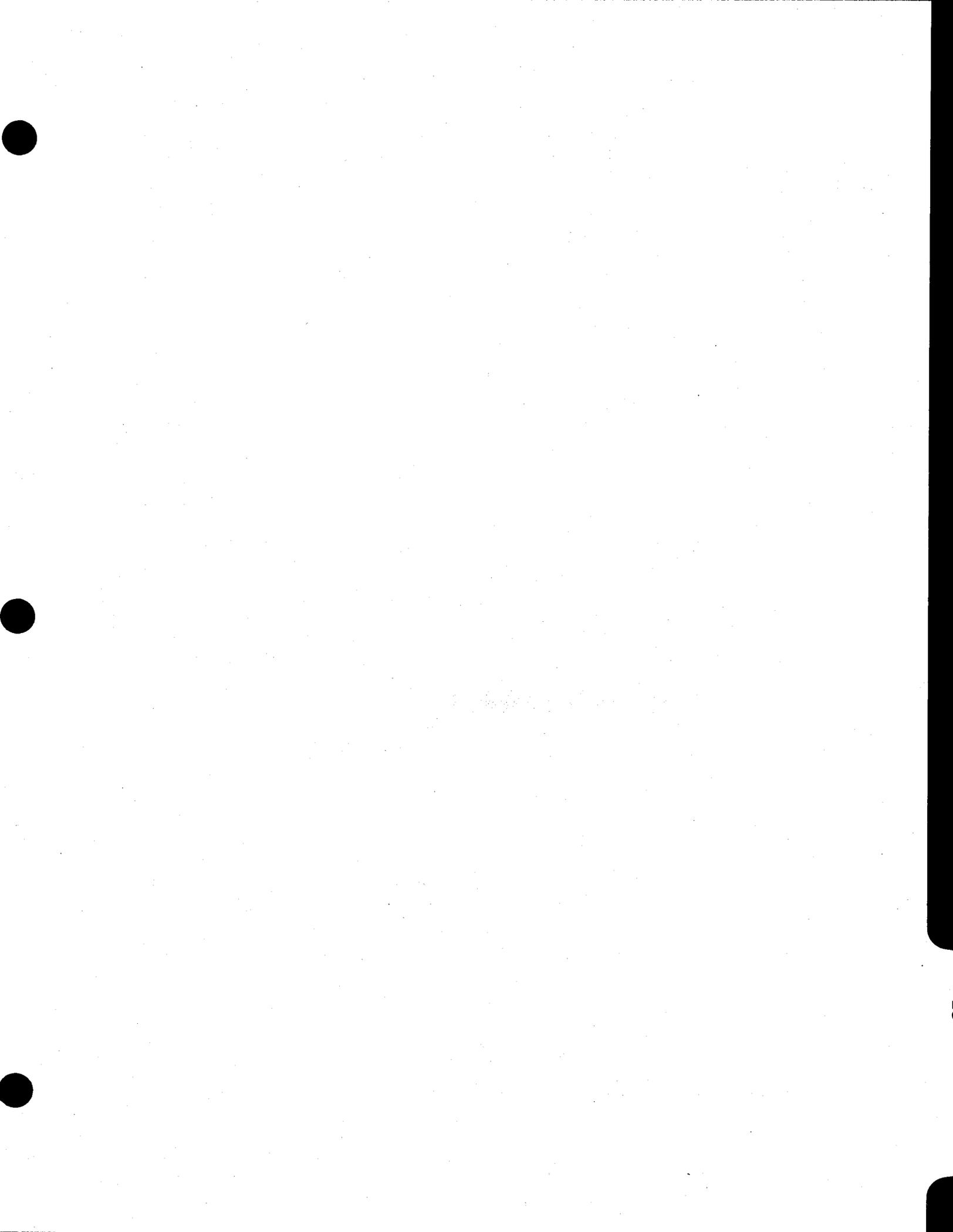
23  
24 Gh2: No. The idea of the [*Palestinian*] Liberation Organization is not accepted by the  
25 American people and it is still stuck over here. They call him "A retired terrorist".

26  
27 UM: So, what are you going to say? What are you going to say?

28  
29 Gh2: No. You discuss in a democratic way. This was done through the legal ways...

30  
31 UM: Aha.

32  
33 Sh: Your mother, Samah, is the mother of democracy.  
34  
35



1 Sh: ...there is a difference in America, I'm talking about our work, there is a difference  
2 between when I say "A specific decision is not legitimate. I don't agree with it" and when  
3 I say "The leadership itself is not legitimate".  
4  
5 Om: Good point.  
6  
7 Sh: Wait. It does not benefit me to show to the American people that we are a people in  
8 conflict and stuff, and that I am against the accord because I hate Abou Ammar and hate  
9 the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization. But, it is very possible that you speak out of  
10 objectivity, democracy and freedom of expression and say that this decision was made  
11 without this and that, show reasons but, without being forced to attack the Organization  
12 in a personal and direct manner. And I say that...UI.  
13  
14 UM: But, in the future, how are you going to...UI.  
15  
16 Gh2: That's it. We agreed on that before.  
17  
18 Sh: It is possible. It is possible for you to speak about a certain reason, about a certain  
19 decision...  
20  
21 UM: But, you want to prove it...  
22  
23 Sh: ...about a certain decision.  
24  
25 UM2: You're talking about an attack, a personal attack.  
26  
27 Sh: About a certain decision. For example, when they demand [*the implementation of*]  
28 resolution 242, are you going say, "By God, they don't...". They don't represent [*us*] to  
29 start with. Why are you marching behind him in the first place? You cannot...  
30  
31 Gh2: They claim that they represent me. So, I'm proving to them that they represent people  
32 other than me but not me.  
33  
34 Sh: Providing a specific reason.  
35  
36 UM: ...UI. It is a different inclination.  
37  
38 Sh: By God, I'm against this inclination.  
39  
40 [*Brief UI group talk*].  
41  
42 Sh: The Americans have no business in our own internal affairs. No business.  
43

1 UM: How about all of your internal affairs. They're the ones who decide all of it.

2 [Brief UI group talk].  
3

4  
5 UM: Our brothers, let's just stay within the subject. Go ahead, Abou...

6  
7 UM2: In my belief, when we spoke about bringing failure...

8  
9 Sh: Ah...

10  
11 UM2: ...bringing failure..., bringing failure, I believe that we are not going to make them fail  
12 here on the American front...UI. In my belief, bringing failure means bringing failure to  
13 the organization which adopted this project, causing the project itself to fail through the  
14 principle that it does not achieve the minimum we want for our people. In addition to  
15 playing a very important tune to the average American which is the issue of democracy,  
16 the issue of representation. When you tell an American individual that, "By God, this  
17 person is not elected. He is an oppressor. He is appointed. This is a dictatorial regime like  
18 any other regimes...UI". Bring up Saddam Hussein's name, for instance, and he will  
19 understand it. He will understand it easily. And, the stuff we're saying has credibility and  
20 the Americans know. The politicians know. The average person on the street might not  
21 know. But, I mean that our point has credibility. I mean, we're not talking about issues we  
22 invented, for instance, or about issues we heard about such as the secret accords and stuff  
23 like that. No, these are things we live through, that is that all of the Organization's  
24 institutions are not elected. All of them, even the parliament is appointed. Of course, they  
25 will not be happy that this and that happened, here are the reasons ...etc. But, they know  
26 that they are appointed. We know and they know why they were appointed and on what  
27 bases. We should be saying... If we want to defeat the accord, defeat its symbols, we must  
28 talk to them about the administrative corruption at their end as well, that these people are  
29 thieves and they should not be entrusted with the money which reach our people, that they  
30 have stolen them and will steal them. What is our gain from that? Not showing that we as  
31 Palestinians are in disaccord, no, but you're destroying these people who carry this project  
32 because, without them, the project will fail as they're the ones who carry it.  
33

34 UM: Ok, anyone who wants to say something about causing the project to fail.

35  
36 Ak: There are two points: the first one is that we are against this project. This is a good point  
37 as no democratic decision has been reached about it [*the project*] or anything. But, they  
38 might bring up another point to counter this point which is that elections are coming, they  
39 will take place in nine months. You will be able to elect your representatives and stuff.  
40 The main point is that this is a major turn in the history of Palestine and that the  
41 resolution was made without taking our opinion and anything that comes after this  
42 resolution, as far as we're concerned, is an application of that accord, whether it is  
43 elections in Palestine or... It is true, democracy will take place in the future but, you have

1 already put us in a tight corner which we don't agree with. You placed the cause in a road  
2 the Palestinian people don't agree with. Henceforth, we want to bring everything back to  
3 the original accord which is a historical turn in the history of the Palestinian people. It  
4 remains that the resolution was made without democracy and without a referendum. Even  
5 if the Organization later obtained a majority in the Palestinian street, this is not an  
6 objection as the resolution which was reached is null in the first place.  
7

8 UM: I can repeat the text if that is going to solve the problem. We can say, "Attacking the...,  
9 the credibility of the representation of the Organization..., the Organization's right to sign  
10 an accord on behalf of the Palestinian people".  
11

12 Ga: No, he didn't sign as "The Organization". He signed as "Abou Ammar". He didn't sign as  
13 the Organization.  
14

15 UM: No, he signed "The Palestinian People". What's his name..., Abou Abbas, signed as "The  
16 Palestinian Delegation".  
17

18 Ga: But, not even one major democratic Palestine organization until now has...  
19

20 UM: This is the point. This is the point.  
21

22 [Brief UI group talk].  
23

24 Sh: This is what they understand, Abou..., Abou... This is what they understand; currently  
25 Abou Ammar is the chairman of the PLO. Our brothers, we cannot use the same poetic  
26 Arabic style when addressing the American mentality. Our brother, the Americans will  
27 not understand it... [UI interruptions by others]. Please allow me, they will tell you, "If he  
28 doesn't represent you, why the hell don't you get rid of him?". He will tell you, "If he  
29 doesn't represent you, who represents the Palestinian people?".  
30

31 UM: We should drop the Arafat issue now. We're talking about the Organization.  
32

33 Sh: These are very critical questions. We're replying to the question. It is very critical.  
34

35 UM: ...UI if he is democratic.  
36

37 Sh: I cannot say to him that I'm Hamas...UI.  
38

39 [UI brief group talk].  
40

41 UM2: Just a second. Go ahead.  
42

43 UM: I see that we disagree over more than one point because we are in agreement over each of

1 them separately.

2 Sh: Ah.

3  
4  
5 UM: They are three issues; the first issue is the injustice of the accord, the injustice of the  
6 accord itself to the Palestinian people. No one will disagree with you over that if you  
7 indicate to him why.

8  
9 UM2: We're not in disagreement about this point. We are now talking about the issue of the  
10 representation of the Organization.

11  
12 UM: The second point..., the second point is that the entire set-up is illegal.

13  
14 Sh: Fine.

15  
16 UM: And the weakest point is talking about the Organization, its institutions and their  
17 corruption.

18  
19 UM2: It is not related. We can then attack the legality of the Organization's signing of the  
20 accord. Does it have the right to sign a paper that is...

21  
22 Sh: About a specific issue.

23  
24 UM2: Yes. That's it. It doesn't have the right.

25  
26 Ga: If it were a representative for the Palestinian people, it would have had the right to...

27  
28 UM: This is what is meant. But, I didn't want to delve into the representation issue. Had it  
29 represented the Palestinian people, it would have had the right to sign. But, does it  
30 represent it or not?

31  
32 Om: They say, yes.

33  
34 UM: We debate that and we say, no. That's it. That is what is meant.

35  
36 Om: Then, we should be talking about the authenticity of representation.

37  
38 UM: The authenticity of representation.

39  
40 Om: But, I believe that we are afraid of something. I believe that the American people are the  
41 most people who accept contradiction, opposition and the fact that there are some people  
42 who don't agree with others and others... Really. I mean, the Americans are the most  
43 people who accept these things because they have their own system and it is a system

1 where opposition is clearly permissible.

2 Aa: I disagree with Shukri.

3 UM: What?

4 [UI brief group talk].

5 Ga: Listen to me a little bit. Now, there is..., and it is a serious inclination and Sheik  
6 Mohamed Siam told me that personally, it is not...UI. There are three options and  
7 everybody is talking about these options until now; An Islamic National Front, the same  
8 Organization or an alternative organization...UI. It doesn't matter what name it bears. And  
9 he claimed that he represents the Palestinian people and that he leads the Palestinian  
10 national resistance. Am I going to shy away from telling the American people that this  
11 guy doesn't represent me?

12 Sh: When the alternative person is available, I will...UI.

13 Ga: ...UI.

14 Sh: My brother, it will be available, Abou Ayyoub.

15 Ga: It doesn't matter. What I was saying..., I was talking about the administrative aspect...

16 [UI brief interruption].

17 Ga: I'm talking about the administrative aspect. I mean from the administrative aspect, this  
18 internal dispute between us and them, isn't it a dispute between us and the Organization?  
19 Abou Ammar allied with them against us...

20 Sh: The Jews...

21 Ga: ...UI. This is an old stuff. This is an old stuff. Stuff which we used to...UI but not  
22 now...UI. They're lazy people just like Sheik Riyad told us. Really. The example of  
23 Saddam Hussein must be brought up. Abou Ammar's airplanes are...UI exactly like  
24 Saddam Hussein does.

25 UM: Ok, we will say..., listen. We will add to it, "...while this matter is not to...". Gawad,  
26 people... We can add to the following to the text: "...while this matter is not to be  
27 presented to the American people in a way which makes them resent the Palestinian  
28 people". This way, we don't make the Palestinian people's reputation bad.

29 [UI brief group talk].

1 Om: That's not right.

2  
3 [UI brief group talk].  
4

5 Om: Meaning that..., meaning that I tie Arafat's image to Saddam's image and I leave the  
6 judgement to the Americans...

7  
8 Ga: That's it.

9  
10 Om: ...in a suitable way.

11  
12 Gh2: Ok. Why do you bring another country such as Iraq in order to serve your cause.

13  
14 [UI brief group talk].  
15

16 UM: Ok. People, whoever sees that we should write this point in this manner: "attacking the  
17 credibility of the Organization as far as representation of the Palestinian people" should  
18 raise his hand.

19  
20 Ga: And presenting it in a suitable manner to the American people?

21  
22 UM: In a suitable manner. Yes.

23  
24 Sh: ...UI this for the Americans?

25  
26 UM: Right, in a suitable manner. Yes.

27  
28 Om: Yes, in a suitable manner.

29  
30 UM: That means that there is a majority.

31  
32 Om: It is a unanimity.

33  
34 Sh: This is a democracy [laughter].

35  
36 Om: It looks like the minority is 1%.

37  
38 [UI brief group talk].  
39

40 Gh2: O doctor, I had my hand raised, my brother, as I object to the issue of...UI.

41  
42 [UI brief group talk and laughter].  
43

1 Gh2: I still believe that we should oppose and combat this accord using its humanitarian  
2 aspects, its aspect relating to the Palestinians' national rights and not by criticizing this  
3 person and that person. I mean, in order for us to be practical and logical in our address,  
4 we shouldn't keep saying that, "Ooh, by God, this is not a fair deal because this guy  
5 doesn't represent us and he is not the right person to do it", because we are...

6  
7 Om: Good point.

8  
9 Gh2: ...because, my brother, people look at you..., look at you as what? I'm the Association...

10  
11 Sh: You are an American organization.

12  
13 Gh2: I'm the Association, an American organization. I'm not sister Samah. This means that I...,  
14 I represent this Group, this Movement...

15  
16 UM: You represent the Palestinian's public opinion...

17  
18 Gh2: Which I'm not. Which I'm not. I don't represent the..., the... Movement officially in front  
19 of people. Neither do I try to impose...

20  
21 UM: Let me answer him, my brothers...

22  
23 Sh: I have more than one point... [*UI brief group interruption*]

24  
25 UM: Let him..., let him... and I will reply to him. Go ahead, yes.

26  
27 Sh: There is more than one point...UI.

28  
29 Gh2: Therefore, the Association's address shouldn't be the address which criticizes the  
30 Organization or an address that..., I mean in the same style as Samah's. We..., we cannot  
31 do it. As an American organization, we present an approach that this is a right..., I mean,  
32 it is a retrieval of national rights.

33  
34 [*UI brief group interruption*].

35  
36 Om: ...UI they wrote an article in Al-Zaytouna...

37  
38 UM: Ah.

39  
40 [*UI brief group talk and laughter*].

41  
42 Sh: ...I would do it again and again. There is a difference between me writing an article in the  
43 newspaper or publish a caricature, and between an official position.

1 Gh2: It is possible that one...UI.

2 UM: People...

3 Sh: You can go meet a congressman in your name, in Omar Yehya's name, in the name of the  
4 Association's present and tell him, "...UI doesn't represent us. Mr. Ahmad Yasin  
5 represents us".

6 Gh2: You cannot say that...

7 [UI brief group talk].

8 UM: Our brothers..., not like that. Let's keep the session organized. There is no need for us to  
9 drift into a side discussion. O Sheik.

10 Gh2: I'm not finished yet.

11 UM: But, I want to...

12 Gh2: But, I'm not finished yet. If you want to open the door for...UI.

13 UM: Go ahead. Go ahead.

14 Gh2: This shouldn't happen. One is talking, I'm not finished yet and you don't understand what  
15 I'm saying. Ok, let me shut up.

16 UM: No, go ahead. Go ahead.

17 Sh: We're sorry.

18 Gh2: The point, my brother, is that we shouldn't see the Association as a representative of the  
19 Movement. This is what I want to say.

20 Ak: There is an agreement. Yes.

21 Gh2: I mean, when we go to meet Americans, what are you agreeing on as you will go in that  
22 direction...

23 Om: There is no disagreement.

24 Gh2: We make..., make the approach that this thing which happened is against the religion, that  
25 it is unjust and that it is..., I mean, that there are many Palestinians over there who were  
26 not consulted and their opinion was not taken. There are a lot of Palestinians who will not

1 get their rights. All the rights they will get are in Gaza and Jericho.

2  
3 Group: That's what we're saying.  
4

5 Gh2: But, the method of the approach shouldn't be that this Organization is not our  
6 representative, that this Arafat guy is not our president as this is not our business, I  
7 believe.  
8

9 Om: And he is not our president. Our president is Clinton, man.  
10 [laughter].  
11

12 UM: ...UI. You spoke before. Let's just stay on the subject. Brother Gawad, Gawad. Our  
13 brothers, by God, let's stay together so that we can finish. It's alright. Let's just explain  
14 this point. Now, they asked... You spoke about the rights of our..., the rights in Palestine  
15 in the manner you want to speak to them. Right, Ghassan?  
16

17 Gh2: Yes.  
18

19 UM: Ok. They will tell you that Arafat, for instance, has relinquished these rights. What is your  
20 position? What are you going to say to him? The Organization which represents you has  
21 relinquished these rights. What are you going to say?  
22

23 Gh2: That's his problem. But, we as Palestinians living in America still have rights which  
24 Arafat has relinquished. But, I shouldn't go Arafat and tear him up...  
25

26 Om: No, we didn't say so.  
27

28 Gh2: Maybe not a media attack but a political attack through debates and stuff.  
29

30 UM: Political attacks are accepted by the American mind. I mean, only if it is purely political  
31 and not just an attack on his person or his manners.  
32

33 [UI brief group talk].  
34

35 UM2: See what they're saying about Clinton, what they're saying about his father and what they  
36 say about...  
37

38 Sh: The point you presented which is..., which is withdrawing..., attacking his credibility as a  
39 representative and a leader of the Palestinian people. But, I tell you that we don't want the  
40 American front to become a front for direct conflict. These things will put us in direct  
41 conflict, not only with the Palestinians, even with the official government circles. What is  
42 our benefit, what is our interest? As Palestinian action organizations in America, what is  
43 our benefit in creating more enemies than necessary? What is the interest that... Are you

1 going to win the Palestinian cause if this guy who works at McDonald's, the worker who  
2 works there for \$4.00/hour, understands whether Abou Ammar represents us or not? Or  
3 the congressman, if you explain this situation to him that he is...UI and doesn't represent  
4 the Palestinian people, is he going to tell you, "Yes, by God, you convinced me"? Despite  
5 that, everything goes as planned. The point is that we are not going to expose ourselves to  
6 another wave and be anti-establishment, anti-establishment. Ok? Because, for the  
7 American organizations, if you're against peace, you're a terrorist. When you start  
8 attacking Abou Ammar, his leadership, the people who signed and attended and arranged  
9 their affairs with..., such as a Saudi person who attacks the Saud family and say that he is  
10 not a ruler. My brother, let him...

11  
12 UM: Ok. Amazing. But, brother, please finish.

13  
14 *[UI brief group talk].*

15  
16 Ga: There are organizations which work in America. They're legal and...UI.

17  
18 Om: If you please, if you please, if you please...

19  
20 *[UI brief group talk].*

21  
22 UM: Brother Sharif and then...

23  
24 Sh: You voted, my brother, we are just opening the door for discussion once more...UI.

25  
26 UM: Yes, yes. Brother Sharif, yes.

27  
28 Ss: We..., I mean, I, as an American organization here don't want my government and my  
29 president to put his hand and sign a deal with the wrong people. Consequently, I speak up  
30 out of that reason which is being keen on my country, my president and its dignity with  
31 the people he claimed to represent.

32  
33 Om: *[Laughter]* You...UI the American president and then comes Sheik Sharif to say...UI this  
34 is your president. "Oh, are you American?" *[Laughter]*.

35  
36 Sh: Because he wants him to face reality. He wants him to face reality *[Laughter]*. Don't they  
37 know that Asaad is hated by his people? Why don't they heed his example, my brother?

38  
39 UM2: It is a different country, my brother.

40  
41 UM: Ok. We mentioned..., we mentioned...UI Abou Ammar. We will add it in the suitable  
42 manner which doesn't bring harm to..., which doesn't bring harm to the Palestinian  
43 people's reputation. Ok, the second point which is opening a political office and public

1 relations in Washington. Its goals are: One, presenting our point of view to the American  
2 political and media organizations and winning friends and supporters. Two,  
3 coordinating..., coordination in political alliances. You want someone who is active with  
4 these people as the Association is busy with many other tasks and stuff like that. Three, it  
5 represents... Yeah, we mentioned it. It should represent the point of view of...

6  
7 Ss: It expresses the point of view...

8  
9 UM: Yes, yes. It passes along our suitable point of view to this segment, just to give an  
10 example. I mean, this office is... If the AMC serves goals, it also achieves the goals. We  
11 want one like it, the same function, but one which achieves our goals.

12  
13 UM2: Strengthens..., strengthens.

14  
15 UM: Yes.

16  
17 Gh: What is going to happen?

18  
19 UM: We will present it to you and you will vote on it. I don't make decision and I'm not an  
20 executive side. We will recommend...

21  
22 Sh: And Juhayna has the sure news [*Arab saying*]. Does this one require a resolution?

23  
24 UM: Yes. We will recommend it and see...

25  
26 Ak: But, it is going to be established under a different name or is it already...

27  
28 UM: We will discuss the details now. We will discuss the details now. Let's just wait until...

29  
30 UM2: A Palestinian Action Committee.

31  
32 UM: We're now talking about... Brothers, we're now talking about our need for this office and  
33 its goals. If we're convinced that there is a need, we will send it to the executive body and  
34 it is the one which decides...

35  
36 Sh: Right. That's better.

37  
38 UM: We're not going to delve into these details. The fourth point is enlarging the circle of...,  
39 the circle of the addressed population by using available media outlets. Because, if you  
40 have an office, the media outlets will come to you continuously just like the point one of  
41 the brothers mentioned; that you will even be talking to the Islamic community in a better  
42 way. See? I mean, when you appear on CNN, the entire community in America will see  
43 you which is different from holding a conference in Philadelphia, for instance, or in New

1 York. Who is going to see you and stuff like that. So, in reality, this serves our media and  
2 political goal, God the Almighty's willing, in a manner..., I mean, these goals we  
3 mentioned in that regards. So, the point is..., is are we in need for such an office and does  
4 it achieve the goals? We will present it for discussion.

5  
6 Ga: There is one remark...

7  
8 Om: It constitutes an opposition [*block*], that is [*Laughter*].

9  
10 UM: Listen to the brother.

11  
12 Ga: There should be two forms. They're one party. I will give them one name. I mean, two  
13 levels of work; an office at the executive level...UI. The higher authority will be called  
14 the Board of Trustees or call it whatever you want. This will be considering the  
15 suggestion to form a council for Arab and American Muslims and Palestinians...

16  
17 UM: Hum.

18  
19 Ga: ...made up of ten, fifteen or twenty [*people*] and it meets once every six months, one  
20 every year or...

21  
22 Om: The Board of Trustees will...UI.

23  
24 UM: When the office is formed, we will form a board for it and it meets...

25  
26 Om: What kind..., what kind of board?

27  
28 Ga: This..., this..., this council is to be come the authority on the Palestinian issue for the Arab  
29 and the Islamic community as it is for the Americans.

30  
31 UM: Yes, good, yes, yes, yes.

32  
33 Ga: For the Americans. An office with authority and it has its..UI.

34  
35 UM: Yes, yes, yes. For us, the authority is the [*Islamic*] Association [*for Palestine*].

36  
37 Ga: No, the Association is doing more than one thing. Don't over-burden it. There is no way.

38  
39 UM: But, the practical authority, the decision which forms the position and stuff like that. You  
40 guys form the position...

41  
42 Ga: And this is because..., this is because of the problem you had a little while ago. But, when  
43 this council is established, it will be the one forming the position. It will assist the

1 Association in its positions among Muslims, among the Palestinians...

2 UM: Yes, they will write the details in the bylaws and the constitution.  
3

4  
5 Om: Yes. who are those responsible, the Board of Directors.  
6

7 UM: Yes. So that they would have a Board of Directors, Board of Trustees and they will be in  
8 the form you mentioned.  
9

10 Sh: The same people, huh?  
11

12 Ga: ...UI.  
13

14 UM: Ok. So, this is approved, primarily. The other point is a suggestion which brother Yousef  
15 - may God reward him well - to hold a meeting for...UI, holding a meeting for the heads  
16 of the main Islamic centers in America to reach unified methods of explanation...  
17

18 Sh: This was suggested by...  
19

20 UM: By Aboul Muthana, yes, may God reward him well. ...for our cause and activating them  
21 to work with us on that issue. And I mentioned that..., I mean, even if... [*UI group*  
22 *interruption*].

23  
24 Aa: These words are theorization.  
25

26 UM: No, no, no. This is a practical suggestion.  
27

28 Aa: My brother, by God, these words, "Activation", "credibility" and stuff like that are...  
29

30 Sh: No, I didn't say "activation". But, the idea was...UI.  
31

32 Aa: Not even "credibility" or anything like that [*Laughter and UI group talk*]. "Mobilization"  
33 instead of "Activation". "Mobilization".  
34

35 UM: "Mobilization", yes.  
36

37 Aa: "Mobilization"...UI.  
38

39 UM: It is like Shukri told you, we were not keen on the exact meaning, that is.  
40

41 Aa: Also, instead of "Credibility", it should be "Honesty", my brother.  
42

43 Sh: "Honesty".

1 UM: Yes.

2 Aa: "Honesty".  
3  
4

5 UM: Yes. May God reward you well. So, what is your opinion? The idea is to implement this  
6 within a month because the matter requires speed in..., in implementation.  
7

8 UM2: This is my opinion. Yes.  
9

10 Gh2: I suggest that the suggestion is...UI, that these people are invited to the conferences and  
11 the MAYA conference, in particular.  
12

13 Aa: It will be aborted. Their invitation will be aborted. There are previous experiences.  
14

15 UM: Calling them up.  
16

17 UM2: Meaning that the idea should be aborted.  
18

19 Sh: Calling them up.  
20

21 Aa: UI...the idea will be aborted. You must put together a conference you advertise for. But,  
22 to go to MAYA or to one of the ISNA's meetings or stuff like that, you won't accomplish  
23 anything.  
24

25 Sh: That's it. Are you going to ask them to attend the lectures?  
26

27 Aa: You have to send a special invitation and, from the financial aspect, we said that the  
28 centers should finance at least 70% or 60%.  
29

30 Om: We can call it, "The Islamic Conference to Support..., to make the Palestinian people  
31 victorious".  
32

33 Aa: You could give it any name [*such as*] "Examining the legality of this and that...". I  
34 mean..., you can give it a name that is religious [*laughter and UI group talk*].  
35

36 UM: Is there..., is there an approval to the idea? There is no opposition.  
37

38 Om: Just don't...UI. You can invite people from the Islamic centers. I mean, for instance, I  
39 believe that we are going to embark on a project. We need several brothers such as Aboul  
40 Muthana, Osama, those who are known in America, or ten people, for instance, to adopt  
41 the idea for the project and...  
42

43 UM2: A preparatory committee...

1 Om: ...to prepare a letter and send it to all those we know - 50-100 people - in which they  
2 explain its goals in it and we call it, "The Islamic Conference to make the Palestinian  
3 people victorious", or "...for Solidarity with the Palestinian people", something like that...

4  
5 UM: Yes.

6  
7 Om: And they meet at a certain place, we will determine the location. And I believe that some  
8 people can take care of the hotels and location expenses and each center would bear the  
9 travel expenses.

10  
11 UM: Oh, yes.

12  
13 Om: They can be shared. It is possible.

14  
15 UM2: The problem is that the situation of the centers is in decline in regards to the financial  
16 situation.

17  
18 Om: But, all of the expenses will be a \$100.00. I mean, this can be solved. We can think about  
19 it at a later session.

20  
21 Gh: Let's do...

22  
23 Om: Let's form a committee...

24  
25 Gh: We can form it. We can form it.

26  
27 UM: A preparatory committee, yes.

28  
29 Om: A preparatory committee whose job is to...

30  
31 Gh: From the Association..., the Association.

32  
33 UM: Aboul Muthana, yes.

34  
35 Gh: The Association should be in charge of it.

36  
37 UM2: Is it an issue of a Sheik attending an Islamic conference or is it going to be initiating  
38 contacts with the imams of the mosques in order to build bridges and a relationship for  
39 the future with them in case you wanted to...

40  
41 UM: No, no. It is an Islamic conference.

42  
43 Aa: It is an invitation to... Holding a conference to study the new happenings from Sharia and

1 jurisprudence point.

2  
3 UM: There is another point that is coming. We mentioned it. Another conference but this one  
4 will be..., will be on a larger scale. We mentioned it. But this one has to do with the  
5 American front. It has only to do with the American front.  
6

7 Om: And imams and heads of centers.  
8

9 UM: Imams and head of centers. So, what do you think? Should we form committee from the  
10 Association or what?  
11

12 As: Forming a committee... I would really like for this idea to be implemented. As far as the  
13 implementation is concerned, a committee should be formed which begins preparations  
14 for the conference.  
15

16 UM: Yes.  
17

18 Sh: Put a deadline, as well.  
19

20 As: Yes.  
21

22 Om: Canadian as well.  
23

24 UM: Canadian as well, yes.  
25

26 [*UI brief group talk*].  
27

28 UM: Ok, should we suggest three names for the committee?  
29

30 UM2: No, no. Let's leave it to the Association's executive committee.  
31

32 UM: Ok. Fine. And the executive committee is going to suggest the names.  
33

34 Om: But, listen to me, my brother. It is fine. It is true that we can adopt it and work on it. But,  
35 in order to reach the Islamic centers, we must rely on the local people. For instance, in the  
36 areas of New York and New Jersey, we must have someone over there to make contacts  
37 because the personal contact is what brings people and not the letter.  
38

39 UM2: Of course. There is no doubt.  
40

41 Om: You will need a dedicated team.  
42

43 Aa: In regards to..., in regards to the tri-states; Connecticut, New Jersey and New York, these

1 are on us.

2 UM: God's willing.

3 Aa: On Passaic Center. Fine? Elmezain, myself. We're available.

4 UM: So, you're taking care of the expenses?

5 Ak: But, this is not enough... We need people who contact the other sheiks.

6 Om: No, this will be done at a level...

7 UM: No. You form a committee.

8 UM2: Form a committee. I suggest that Aboul Muthana is in the committee and you can suggest  
9 two other people, from the sheiks, people who have a weight at America's level.

10 UM: Does America have 50 sheiks?

11 Om: About twenty. You have mosques and heads of centers.

12 [UI brief group talk].

13 Aa: If the issue is an issue of weight, you have Elmezain and you have Sheik Sharif [*laughter*  
14 and UI group talk].

15 Om: Also, our brother Hathout and...

16 UM: Ok, Sheik Muthana will be in the committee.

17 Sh: What did you call it?

18 UM: The preparatory committee...

19 Sh: No, no. Is it going to be a scholars' conference or what?

20 UM: No, no. It is for imams and heads of the Islamic centers.

21 [UI brief group talk].

22 UM: Ok, let's finish with it. Do you have a suggestion for the names?

23 UM2: ...UI.

1 Om: Fine. Let me say something. Let us have it this way; there will be a work preparatory  
2 committee which works..., which sends the letter and stuff, and there is a committee for  
3 communications and to give..., let's say the Sharia color, to it who are the sheiks. These  
4 are the ones who are going to contact the other sheiks and tell them, "Come over. We're  
5 going and stuff". So, we can do the work, send the letters, determine where the place is  
6 going to be, what kind of food, these logistics, while they take care of inviting people,  
7 contacting them and encouraging the idea as an idea.  
8

9 UM: Yes.

10  
11 Om: Also, determining the location and then, "Come over this or that man" and they are done.  
12 They don't interfere in the problems...  
13

14 UM: The administrative..., the administrative.  
15

16 Om: I mean, details such as the location, the food, where to sleep and stuff like that. We will  
17 take care of it.  
18

19 UM: Right, right. I mean, the Sheik, Aboul Muthana, will be in charge in of the issue of  
20 communications, inviting the sheiks and the heads as well as the intellectual aspect of  
21 the..., the issue, and our brothers will take care of the administrative aspect such as means  
22 of communications and issues like that.

23  
24 Aa: I hope that we agree on a action agenda for later on.  
25

26 UM: Hum. Ok. Yes, yes. You and Mohamed sit down after this and organize it. But...UI.  
27

28 Om: So, the committee should be made up of two.  
29

30 Sh: We delegate... We delegate our authority to...  
31

32 UM: Yes. Ok, so we will commission brother Omar and Aboul Muthana to take the necessary  
33 steps to determine this...  
34

35 Aa: My brother, the Association should take care of the matter and that's it.  
36

37 UM: Ok, that's it. If you two take care...  
38

39 Aa: The Association, my brother. When we say "The Association"... That takes care of it.  
40

41 UM: Ok, whatever you agree on. They have delegated it, yes.  
42

43 As: Brother Abou Mohamed, I want to leave. So, there are two things and that's it.

1 UM: Go ahead.

2 As: First of all, it is true that all the topics were excellent, but I believe there is an aspect that  
3 was not discussed which is the women. It is women's action.  
4

5  
6 UM: Aha. [Laughter].  
7

8 Aa: ...UI like they say, "The beard and the women". I said that yesterday but you forgot  
9 [Laughter].  
10

11 As: Really, we should be opening the women's subject.  
12

13 UM: The woman.  
14

15 As: The community and its women. It is true that...UI. First of all, our women, our sisters...  
16

17 Aa: May God have mercy on Dr. Bishtaqi's soul.  
18

19 UM: Amen.  
20

21 As: ...UI. The right thing to do is to give them political representation in a manner which  
22 gives the ability to..., to give something, that is. In addition to their role in organizing  
23 activities and attempting to highlight their role in the activities of the Association, charity  
24 work or anything else. The second thing I want to talk about is the issue of the [Muslim  
25 Arab Youth] Association. Of course, it was mentioned but I'm just wanted to draw the  
26 attention to an issue; we demand a lecture about Palestine or an activity about Palestine  
27 and the [Muslim Arab Youth] Association agrees sometimes. But, when you attend the  
28 activity, you find it pale and meaningless. Why? Because no one of our brothers is...UI.  
29 ...with all respect, which might not be suitable. Our goal is to look..., is to succeed when  
30 we have an activity in order to encourage others. It should look successful so that, the  
31 next time, the [Muslim Arab Youth] Association brings..., makes the activity successful. I  
32 mean, I remember...UI, he told me that this was a bankrupt conference. A lecture was  
33 delivered by Ishak..., by Dr. Ishak al-Farhan about the Palestinian Intifada. I went to it and  
34 there weren't even 20 people attending it. When a man comes, we should invite a lot of  
35 people for him. He stood at the door and looked and there were some youths sitting.  
36 There was another lecture about Sudan and all the brothers were from Sudan. All the  
37 brothers from El Shamm countries and others were in the Sudan lecture. Honestly, we are  
38 not...UI but, we will make the activity successful so that our activity and so that, next  
39 time, when we say there is a lecture about Palestine at the [Muslim Arab Youth]  
40 Association or the ISNA... When brother Nihad made a presentation about the Palestinian  
41 cause, maybe all those who were in the hall... How many were there, Nihad, at the ISNA?  
42

43 Ni: They were seventeen.

1 As: Seventeen people.

2 UM: They say there were seventy [laughter].

3 As: No, I even think that seventeen is an exaggeration

4 [Laughter and UI group talk].

5 As: The number of attendees, honestly, I went over there and people there were to be counted

6 on one hand.

7 UM: ...UI [Laughter].

8 As: This is the second point of what I wanted to say. A last point is an announcement. I have

9 a black Muslim brother who formed a society or a committee to recruit minorities for a

10 school of law, school of law. I mean, they admit minorities and I believe we are

11 minorities in the schools of law. He told me to bring him requests from Muslim brothers

12 who want to study law in the Georgia School of Law at Georgia University, he can help

13 him or manage to get him enrolled and an exemption from the installation in this thing.

14 So, whom do you know among those present or those our brothers who wish to study law.

15 Of course, law enrollment procedures are not easy. There are exams and stuff like that.

16 But, it is geared towards minorities and they try to give them a special status. So, please

17 make contacts. We're trying and God the Almighty is the one who grants...

18 UM: Success.

19 As: At the end, please forgive us

20 UM: No, may God bless you.

21 Sh: Good bye, Aboul Hasan.

22 Group: Good bye. May God reward you well.

23 Ar: By God, put me down, by God.

24 As: What?

25 Ar: Put me down in the school of law.

26 As: I don't hear you.

27 Ar: Put me down.

1 As: On this thing?

2 Ar: Yes. Your name is not a problem. But, I want...

4 Sh: Put Omar Yehya's name on the first name so that you leave to Georgia.

6 Ak: The Association is not agreeing to that.

8 Sh: Let's have Omar go to Georgia.

10 As: There is an idea which is why doesn't the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] move to  
11 Washington?

12 Sh: Aboul Hasan, they will relieve us very much [Laughter]. We would be the only ones in  
13 Texas.

14 Aa: ...UI the women subject didn't last long. That's good. [laughter and UI group talk].

16 As: Ok, Abdel Rahman.

18 Group: May God reward you well. Good bye.

20 Sh: Good bye. May you be successful, Aboul Hasan.

22 UM: Ok. Let's finish. We have two points remaining. ...UI. There is that other suggestion...UI  
23 and I believe that this might be even presented to the Movement, Samah. It is constructive  
24 and I believe that it serves its goals. It is inviting a group of major Islamic scholars to  
25 meet at one of the American cities...UI, if possible...

27 Aa: It is doable.

29 UM: Maybe. This will be discussed. ...in order to adopt a Sharia and a political position from  
30 the accord while providing media coverage for the meeting. The Americans will be  
31 interested in an issue like that as a media and as a country, specially if you invite known  
32 names and the topic is known, you see? And those who adopt these positions are not shy,  
33 anyway. They come to America and stuff. So, if a good number of them come..., I mean, a  
34 big number, 5, 7 or 10 people, you see?

36 [UI brief group talk].

38 UM: What?

40 Ga: An international conference for solidarity with the Palestinian people will be held, an  
41

1 international Islamic conference, most probably in Malaysia.

2 UM: Over here is more important than Malaysia.

3 Ga: Here is more important. I know.

4 UM: Over here will serve them and serve us.

5 Ga: ...UI an international one. It won't be local...UI.

6 UM: I know. We're saying that. But, if they adopt it and contribute in sending the invitations  
7 out... I mean, if they adopt it...

8 Ga: The issue of sending the invitations out is not... It is an administrative issue.

9 UM: No, it is not an administrative issue, my brother. I mean, when you..., when you go to the  
10 Sheik and tell him, "So and so person is inviting you" is different from telling him that...

11 UM2: He will decline just to...UI.

12 Sh: Who is going to adopt it?

13 Gh: I admire the idea very much.

14 Sh: He is saying, "Samah should adopt it". We..., what is our relationship with Samah?

15 UM2: We are not going to tell the other people that is held in Samah's name.

16 Sh: Are you going to tell them that Samah is holding it? And invite the scholars in Samah's  
17 name.

18 [UI brief group talk].

19 UM: ...because this will serve them indirectly.

20 Gh: They're having an international conference, men.

21 Sh: Who is going to be the hosting agency in America?

22 UM2: Samah. Samah.

23 Sh: The invitations, then, are going out in Samah's name. They will say that they came to  
24 America in order to...

1 [UI brief group talk and laughter].

2 Sh: The idea is very nice. But, I'm worried they will get an idea that...

3  
4  
5 UM: Our brothers. Group. Our brothers. By God, let's stay in one discussion. Let brother  
6 Yousif explain the idea...UI. Go ahead.

7  
8 Yo: Our brothers, one of the important things about this conference... If it is held in America  
9 and the media in particular was directed to it -this is very important- they will know that  
10 the issue..., that the issue is not in the hands of..., I mean...UI and Abou Ammar,  
11 separately. This is a point of view of that..., I mean, I don't think the American people  
12 ever heard it. The issue to them is Palestinians and Jews and stuff like that. But, if the  
13 issue had a bigger dimension than that, if it includes Muslim scholars at a high level, it  
14 will have a very enormous media dimension. The issue of how it is done? I have some  
15 ideas to have a push..., I mean, the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] should send out  
16 invitations from here. But, there should be an agreement to have a push from sheiks or  
17 people we have over there in the Movement who convince these people with that issue  
18 because it is possible that they will go just like the sheik said and it is possible that they  
19 won't agree. It is possible that each one of them finds an excuse like saying, "I have work.  
20 I have a college. I have this or I have that". But, if matters are explained and pushed  
21 through internally, ... I mean, even adopting the issue financially. It is possible that certain  
22 people over there are addressed in order to adopt this issue so that it is financed and its  
23 expenses are taken care of and stuff like that. It should be in a large, known city such as  
24 Washington, for instance, since all the pressure is on it, media and political presence is  
25 there, or in New York. It can be held in more than one place as long as they come. But,  
26 generally speaking, the cause will garner a very huge media dimension whose impact  
27 might not be felt now. But, in the future, when we will have another Organization other  
28 than the [Palestinian] Liberation Organization, people will understand this dimension.  
29 Why is there another organization? Because if Muslims as Muslims are not in agreement,  
30 the Palestinians might as well not agree.

31  
32 UM: Now, how are we going to determine the scholars to attend?

33  
34 Yo: They are to be chosen. Yousif al-Qaradawi, for instance, offered something...

35  
36 UM: Oh, you mean from the Islamic world?

37  
38 Yo: Yes, for the Islamic world, not from Palestine. I mean, they come from Jordan, from  
39 Egypt, from...UI.

40  
41 Gh2: Leaders of Islamic work.

42  
43 Yo: What?

1 Gh2: Leaders of Islamic work and thought.

2 Yo: Yes. I mean, they might be ten, for instance, nine, eight or seven.

3 UM: Their arrival could be further taken advantage of by holding the MAYA conference and  
4 holding the...

5 UM2: We said before that the [*Muslim Arab Youth*] Association's conference is..., not all of  
6 these people will come. I mean, the [*Muslim Arab Youth*] Association's conference is  
7 formed by a group of people. We don't know who is going to come. They might not be at  
8 that level.

9 Om: I believe that it is hard to implement that. I mean, a sheik like al-Qaradawi is hard to  
10 bring him. The [*Muslim Arab Youth*] Association itself has been inviting him and not the  
11 Movement...all the people of Egypt and they determine who comes. He doesn't agree to  
12 come.

13 UM: He will come in a historical stand like that.

14 Om: He won't.

15 UM: Believe me. At least it is worth it.

16 Om: Fine. You don't know anything. I will tell you something. The Movement itself, why  
17 isn't... This conference Abou Ayyoub is talking about was supposed to have been held last  
18 year.

19 Sh: Yeah.

20 Om: And it was supposed to have been held the beginning of the year. I was supposed to have  
21 been held in the summer. Why is it being postponed until now? Because it is hard to  
22 implement. If the people here are unable to meet at a one place and all of them are...

23 [*UI brief group talk*].

24 Aa: Our brothers, I have a firm belief that you cannot get more than one or one and a half  
25 sheik [*Laughter and UI group talk*].

26 UM: Who is the half, Abou Mohamed?

27 [*UI group talk and laughter*].

28 Sh: Who is the half? Me?

1 UM: Ok, ok, yes. Let's just listen to brother Ghassan.

2 Sh: The sheiks' war you're fighting...

3 Gh2: My point was that there should be a session during the MAYA convention which is  
4 parallel to...

5 UM2: Let's leave the MAYA convention aside, brothers. We said that we should not...UI.

6 Gh: ...UI.

7 Gh2: I mean, there could be a session at the end of the conference. It can be agreed from now  
8 with the sheiks and with the MAYA...

9 Sh: People will leave by then.

10 Gh2: No. We don't want a public presence. We want sheiks only. It is not a public conference.

11 UM: In order to issue a Fatwa?

12 Gh2: Yes. It is not..., it is not a presence....

13 UM: It is a public conference and a Fatwa.

14 Gh2: No, no, no. You advertise for it..., you advertise for it and hold a press conference. But, it  
15 is possible..., it is possible that the sheiks are present during the press conference and  
16 issue a statement. But, as far as the attendance is concerned, you don't open the  
17 attendance to individuals. You let the leaders, the sheiks and the media attend.

18 UM2: The media.

19 Gh2: Yes.

20 Sh: Allow me. Allow me.

21 Ak: Why not -which is a lesser step than that- have them issue a Fatwa they all sign without  
22 coming over, I mean.

23 UM: There are many Fatwas out. They will get the media attention when they come.

24 Ak: No. A Fatwa to reject the accord. It hasn't been published. One by Sheik al-Qaradawi and  
25 all the sheiks.

1 UM: It won't have a media resonance like when you have a meeting, and people come and talk  
with them, face to face.

4 UM2: Is there someone working on the Fatwa?

6 UM: So, a Fatwa is possible. But, it won't have the media resonance and credibility.

8 Om: There is this conference which is scheduled to be held in the city of...

10 Ga: ...UI.

12 Sh: Our brothers.... I'm saying..., I'm saying that regardless of the obstacles which are...,  
13 which are in front of us, what is our target out of this meeting? If our target is the U.S.  
14 media..., for the U.S. media, they are nothing more than a bunch of fundamentalists who  
15 came out and stuff. We said that already. For them, Who is Qardawi, Who is Qardawi?  
16 For them, it nothing but a bunch of terrorists and fundamentalists who oppose the peace  
17 process. That is all. There is nothing...

19 UM: ...UI Aboul Muthana...

21 Sh: They won't grant them legitimacy or....

[UI brief group interruption and talk].

25 Sh: Yes, Hajj, yes.

27 Om: Specially, if they wrote about you opposing Salman Rushdi after Arafat.

29 Sh: That's it. For instance. This is the thing. These are the Americans. If you want the  
30 Americans, I see that you're hurting the cause instead of helping it because the  
31 Americans..., they are people who don't really realize the dimension we're speaking about.  
32 If you want the Islamic community, the weight of the Islamic community is not in  
33 America but in the Orient. Therefore, if this conference was held in the Orient, its  
34 psychological and Islamic impact will much deeper than its impact at the community's  
35 level in America. This is what I see. If you want to go through the expenses the trouble  
36 anyway, do it in the Orient...

38 [UI group talk].

40 UM: A conference will be held in Malaysia. I believe that if the important part was played on  
41 video during the [Muslim Arab Youth] Association's conference, it will be... I mean,  
42 according to what you mentioned, 250 scholars from Pakistan, Malaysia and all over the  
43 world will attend.

1 Sh: But, I believe that the Americans are not going to be impressed. This is something about  
2 the Americans...UI in the Movement are more objective. But, the American people is not  
3 an objective people at all when it comes to...  
4

5 UM2: Unless there are a number of rabbis in the picture. They reached accords, they made deals  
6 and what is the result? I mean, you will come out with the same picture as what you have  
7 now. There is not going to be more than getting a group of sheiks together and this is the  
8 end of it. What's after that?  
9

10 UM3: All of this should be handled by the Islamic community...  
11

12 [*UI brief group talk*].  
13

14 UM: Our brothers... Group, that is enough. Group, enough discussion now. He who thinks that  
15 the idea is reasonable and applicable should raise his hand.  
16

17 Gh2: An Islamic conference abroad, right?  
18

19 UM: Yes, abroad.  
20

21 Gh2: And not Aboul Muthana's idea which is...  
22

UM: No, no.

25 Gh2: The one you mentioned.  
26

27 UM: No, no, no. A different one. He who sees that the idea is reasonable and can be  
28 implemented should raise his hand.  
29

30 UM2: It can be applied at the community level.  
31

32 Gh2: Specially in New Jersey.  
33

34 UM: But, by God, the Malaysia conference is not like any other conference and should be  
35 covered by the media. Some of its portions should be taped or we should send a brother  
36 American reporter or a Muslim or so who goes to tape it and come back to us here.  
37

38 UM2: What I understood, my brother, what I understood is that the media committee of Samih,  
39 Samah or whatever you call it, are very interested in that subject.  
40

41 [*UI brief group talk*].  
42

43 Gh: UI... from the Washington Monitor. Take a photographer with you and...

1 UM2: Ok.

2 UM: Ok, our brothers. Let's move on to another point.

3 UM2: My brothers, this..., this trip will save a conference for you. By God.

4  
5  
6  
7 [UI brief group talk].

8  
9 UM: Ok, our brothers. There is another idea... Our brothers, there is... [UI brief group talk and  
10 laughter] Nihad, Nihad... There is an idea for a similar invitation for the preachers,  
11 scholars and thinkers in the U.S. continent, that is. The same idea for people who live in  
12 America to discuss the same idea and to provide media coverage...

13  
14 [UI brief group interruption].

15  
16 UM: This is to study the issue and not..., not relating to media and political action. This is an  
17 internal invitation for study and to find out how we work and what to do and stuff like  
18 that. But, this would have a media and a political goal.

19  
20 Om: ...UI for the Americans.

21  
22 UM For the Americans and the community.

23  
24 Om: No, you should specify. The Americans are the community.

25  
26 UM2: Both of them, man.

27  
28 UM: What not?

29  
30 Sh: There are several points... I heard that there is a council for scholars for America. Did  
31 they issue a statement?

32  
33 UM: And they will talk to you about Palestine and stuff.

34  
35 Sh: My brother, it didn't issue a statement?

36  
37 UM2: I'm a member of it [Group laughter and UI talk].

38  
39 Sh: He is saying he is a member of it. So, by God, ...UI.

40  
41 [UI brief group talk].

42  
43 Aa: This council..., this council..., if it said that having bad faith of something is a sign of

1 prudence [*laughter*]... I have some prudence, therefore, I have bad faith in it. This  
2 [*council*] was made to kill any meeting which might be fruitful or beneficial in the...UI.

3  
4 UM2: Ok. Who is behind it, Abou...

5  
6 Aa: And the one who took it over then was Ahmad Zaki.

7  
8 UM: May God have mercy on him.

9  
10 Aa: After Ahmad Zaki, they gave its presidency to Taha Jaber. Taha Jaber..., when you talk to  
11 him he tells you, "Yes. Good ideas. God's willing, we will begin and do this and do that"  
12 and nothing happens.

13  
14 UM2: So, he won't do anything.

15  
16 Sh: So, you have a council...

17  
18 UM2: It meets just once a year.

19  
20 Aa: But, the issue, my brother, is that it is possible to hold work sessions. It is possible that  
21 this council really play many roles. But, Taha didn't move and didn't move anything and  
22 it looks that everybody wants to have things that way; to have no one move as a scholars  
organization or something in the country.

23  
24  
25 UM: So, they meet just to...

26  
27 Aa: And..., part of the bad faith is that Saudi Arabia...,

28  
29 UM: They meet for representation purposes, so that they are the legitimate representative for  
30 Muslims in America.

31  
32 Aa: ...Saudi Arabia is behind the curtain. This is a part of the bad faith. And some of the  
33 thoughts are sins while some are...

34  
35 Om: Don't they have elections once every three months or something...?

36  
37 Sh: Let's stay in the theory of..., the theory of bad faith just in order to establish a reason. [*UI*  
38 *group talk*].



1 Sh: ...see, this meeting...er.

3 UM2: I suggest....

4  
5 Sh: ...this meeting is very different from the meeting you want to have which is a meeting for  
6 support, for administrators and chairmen..., what you call it, chairmen and Islamic  
7 centers. You want to make those aware...

8  
9 Ah: The right point of view, Shukri, is that the Group..., the Group, should form a Scholars  
10 Council...

11  
12 Sh: We are not going to able to wait, Aboul Hareth.

13  
14 Ah: No, I'm saying..., I'm giving you the right opinion.

15  
16 Sh: I'm with you. I'm with you.

17  
18 Ah: The Group should form a Scholars Council and that's it.

19  
20 UM2: And they should call it the Fiqh Council of North America.

21  
22 UM3: Ok, our brothers. He who sees that this idea is suitable should raise his hand.

23  
24 UM2: Which one?

25  
26 UM3: Which is inviting scholars, imams and thinkers in America..., yes, yes, to study the issue  
27 of the latest events, the latest developments in regards to the Palestinian cause...

28  
29 Sh: And to provide awareness to people.

30  
31 UM3: What?

32  
33 Sh: And to provide them with awareness.

34  
35 UM3: Yes, yes.

36  
37 UM3: And the media channel to do that.

38  
39 Gh: We should pay attention to the issue first. I mean,...UI.

40  
41 [*Brief UI group talk*].

42  
43 UM2: First, we said, "Inviting imams and chairmen of the centers and not necessarily the

1 thinkers".

3 UM3: Ok. And we added the thinkers. These people are [invited]  
4 for coordination purposes...

5  
6 UM2: Those will be called for a level that is bigger than the  
7 Palestinian cause.

8  
9 UM3: No, no. We said, "The imams and the chairmen of the centers". We said..., we said that  
10 we don't want scholars and now you are now saying "Scholars and thinkers".

11  
12 [*UI brief group talk*].

13  
14 UM3: Let me just repeat. I just tell you, may God keep you. The first one is, "Holding a meeting  
15 for the chairmen of the Islamic centers of the main cities in America in order to reach a  
16 unified approach to our cause and..., and mobilizing...er, and it is expected that...UI will  
17 be mobilized to work with us in that regards".

18  
19 Gh: Add...UI, what is that?

20  
21 UM: No, we won't...

[*UI brief group talk and laughter*].

22  
23  
24 Gh: I suggest having a committee in the same conference which is made up of scholars and...

25  
26 Om: I suggest..., Abou Mohamed, I say that, for instance, we cannot add a number of thinkers  
27 who are not affiliated with the Islamic centers to this meeting. Therefore, we must...UI.

28  
29 Sh: They can issue a statement then.

30  
31 Om: Yes. If you issue a statement and everybody agreed to it, that's it.

32  
33 Sh: We prepare the edict and they just sign it.

34  
35  
36 UM3: Aboul Muthana, Aboul Muthanna... This is up to the [*Islamic*] Association [*for*  
37 *Palestine*], Abou Omar. Then, there will be a change to the first point we mentioned  
38 about the meeting of the imams. There should be addition about inviting some scholars  
39 and thinkers should be added..., the Islamic ones at America's level..., that they should be  
40 invited to this meeting and they are asked to issue this document or...

41  
42 Mo: It is possible, I mean.  
43

1 UM2: Yes, yes.  
3 Mo: There is no problem.  
4  
5 UM3: Ok, good. I don't know what you said about issuing a statement...UI.  
6  
7 *[UI brief group talk]*.  
8  
9 Mo: Shukri, by the way, as long as you want Abdel Fattah, I believe he is in Canada.  
10  
11 Sh: By God?  
12  
13 Mo: Abdel Karim Zaidan is there.  
14  
15 UM2: Yes, and Abdel Fattah Aboul...UI  
16  
17 *[UI brief group talk]*.  
18  
19 UM2: We asked him to write an edict..., to announce it. I mean, for instance, he would write it  
20 down and we send it to all the imams and all the scholars who are in America to sign it.  
21 And he will...  
22  
23 Om: Abdel Fattah? Why him?  
24  
25 UM2: Let's..., let's...  
26  
27 Sh: We have to, Aboul Muthanna,...UI.  
28  
29 *[UI brief group talk]*.  
30  
31 Sh: The matter requires stands, stands. It requires men.  
32  
33 Mo: Yes. And the other thing I mentioned, Abou Mohamed, is that the Palestinian people  
34 needs...UI.  
35  
36 UM3: Ok, let's stay... Brothers, let's finish this point. Ok, as long as this issue was raised, we  
37 should present it for voting. Do you see that it is suitable to form a delegation from the  
38 *[Islamic]* Association *[for Palestine]* to go to the ISNA's Fiqh Council in order to see...  
39 Sheik Aboul Muthanna.  
40  
41 Mo: Yes.  
42  
43 UM3: Stay with us, may God bless you. Do you see..., he who sees that it is suitable to form a

1 delegation from the [Islamic] Association [for Palestine] is formed and that it goes to our  
3 brothers, members of the ISNA's Fiqh Council, in order to demand that they determine  
4 their position in regards to the latest developments in the Palestinian cause should raise  
5 his hand.

6 UM2: I just have a small remark, our brothers.

7  
8 [UI brief group talk].

9  
10 UM4: I have a question...UI. If they go, they should insist on meeting Taha Jaber.

11  
12 Om: We should agree on the principle and the details later.

13  
14 Ga: I have just one remark, a very small remark.

15  
16 UM3: Yes.

17  
18 Ga: As long as you don't trust them...

19  
20 UM3: Yes.

21  
22 Ga: ...you must not..., you must not ask them for an edict.

23  
24 UM3: That is right.

25  
26 Ga: My brother, Sheik Ahmad Bin Baz, during the time...UI in Palestine almost issued an  
27 edict allowing reconciliation with Israel.

28  
29 Os: Of course, he was working for the government.

30  
31 Ga: He was about to...[UI]. And Abou Ammar was sitting in Algeria waiting for it. So, when  
32 the edict reached him and Sheik...UI told him, "The edict has arrived", he told him,  
33 "...UI". See what Abou Ammar did. They say that he and the sheik kept debating it with  
34 him. ...UI. So, imagine if you fall in traps like these. He doesn't know your cause. He  
35 doesn't understand it.

36  
37 [UI brief group talk].

38  
39 UM3: But, see, the idea is to request that they issue it.

40  
41 Ga: No, my opinion is that we should tell them, "We demand that you issue an edict  
42 prohibiting the accord", that's it. This is our homeland, Palestine, and we will die for it.  
43

1 UM3: Perfect, perfect, perfect. Taha Jaber signed it, by the way.

3 UM2: No, no, the statement which was issued and was signed by  
4 100 scholars and stuff...UI.

5  
6 *[UI brief group talk].*

7  
8 Gh2: There should be a delegation and the delegation shouldn't meet Taha Jaber. If Taha Jaber  
9 is there, he might not...

10  
11 UM3: Let's speak about the two directions. Let's just vote on the idea. I say we should carry the  
12 idea voiced by brother Gawad. What do you think?

13  
14 Ak: I have a simple modification to the idea; contact should be done through...er.

15  
16 UM4: Aboul Muthanna.

17  
18 Ak: Aboul Muthanna is to present this recommendation; that there is a request..., there is a  
19 request by...er

20  
21 Mo: It is possible for me to speak with Taha due to the personal relationship with him and tell  
22 him, "My brother, it is not right that the Fiqh Council does not speak in regards to this  
23 issue and stuff. We must call for a conference" and I will see what he is going to say.

24  
25 UM4: How about if he convinced you to keep silent in regards to the issue?

26  
27 Mo: No, he won't convince. He usually..., he usually doesn't convince. He likes to postpone  
28 things, you see, and he uses an "C" and not a "S"<sup>1</sup>. So, the matter can be handled as such.

29  
30  
31  
32 <sup>1</sup> *A wordplay on the Arabic words for "Postponement" and "Sufism" as both words are similarly  
33 spelled with only a difference of "S" and "C".*

34  
35  
36  
37 *[Laughter and UI brief talk].*

38  
39 UM3: Ok, we ask you to contact him by telephone.

40  
41 Mo: Yes, I'm ready, God's willing, as soon as I return...

42  
43 UM2: Why don't you go over there...

1 Mo: I'll go over there. If you want me to, I'll go. I  
2 don't...er.

3  
4 Sh: Just to eliminate embarrassment from you, Aboul Muthanna.

5  
6 Mo: Oh, no. There is nothing to it.

7  
8 Sh: Just to eliminate embarrassment from you.

9  
10 [*UI brief group talk*].

11  
12 Sh: He is..., he is a member of the Council.

13  
14 Mo: No. I will talk to him not as a member. No, I will tell him that some people contacted me,  
15 "Some ranking people, my brother, have contacted me and...UI. They asked for this and  
16 that and, in truth, we must preserve our honor...etc" [*Group laughter and UI talk*].

17  
18 UM3: Ok, so the matter will be delegated to Aboul Muthanna?

19  
20 Group: Yes, fine, that's Ok.

21  
22 [*UI group talk*].

23  
24 Sh: How about a deadline? Is there a deadline or there is no deadline?

25  
26 [*UI group talk*].

27  
28 UM3: People, our brothers... The other point is a note..., a recommendation to encourage  
29 personal and group investment in America and the inside in order to support the  
30 organizations. No, but the goal is to strengthen political activism. It is a way to make the  
31 organizations not depend on... This is a direction, yes. Another direction is to establish  
32 specialized organizations according to need, that is, like we mentioned in the political  
33 activism example; to have formal meetings...UI, for instance or stuff, I mean without...UI,  
34 politically according to need so that the [*Islamic*] Association [*for Palestine*] maintains...,  
35 so that the [*Islamic*] Association [*for Palestine*] maintains..., I mean, maintains its current  
36 role with suitable development to fulfill the community needs.

37  
38 Sh: Good.

39  
40 UM2: Rely on God.

41  
42 UM3: Ok, may God reward you good.  
43

1 Om: I just wanted to add something which is that I suggested that there should be..., I mean to  
3 have an organization for us to form by the [*Islamic*] Association [*for Palestine*] to  
4 conduct research or studies about Islamic Palestinian activism in America to study the  
5 language of political address issue, for instance, instead of gathering all the brothers and  
6 ask what are we going to do. This organization would take care of that. It would be an  
7 organization which conducts research at the World Islamic Movement's level to tell you  
8 what to do and how to act, tell us what to do in America. Even the general direction itself  
9 for the next year, for the next two years. There are different issues, you have the  
10 universities where a lot of issues relating to Palestine are presented...

11 UM3: This would be a part of the last point; "...according need". I didn't not..., I mean, I was  
12 brief.

13  
14 Om: No. This was a suggestion...[*UI group talk*].

15  
16 UM2: My brother, UASR organization still exists. I see that this would be a part of it and we  
17 coordinate so there is a venue for that...UI. I mean..., exactly. This will save us the cost of  
18 establishing [*a new organization*] and stuff and will direct our work instead of..., of me  
19 being...er.

20  
21 UM4: The original suggestion was..., was to have specialized people inside..., inside UASR  
22 organization and to have an archive for information. This is an idea which came up  
23 because, until now, we don't have an organization in America which conducts any kind of  
24 research for us about Islamic Palestinian activism in America, for instance. I mean, about  
25 what we should do and stuff...[*interrupted by UI group talk*]. You don't have time in the  
26 first place. It is good to have these people work and be responsible for this issue.

27  
28 Sh: Not every big organization, my brother, has a research center. Normally, what happens is  
29 that an organization subcontracts organizations which are specialized in studies. For  
30 instance, an existing organization...UI. I came to this organization and say to it, "This  
31 year, I have a \$10,000 budget for a number of researches about the...UI. Can you dedicate  
32 one of your part time employees to do this for us". I mean, you have a contract with them  
33 or with any other research organizations. That is better than us starting research  
34 organizations and stuff, specially that these are not easy issues to do.

35  
36 UM3: You keep discussing this issue and how it is going to materialize while the original  
37 suggestion calls for this organization..., the original written suggestion calls for either a  
38 new organization or for a part of an existing organization, to have specialized people in it.

39  
40 Sh: Yeah. We voted for that.

41  
42 Om: We now go the issue of Gaza-Jericho...UI and how we are going to deal with this issue in  
43 America, how are you going to speak about Lebanon...UI.

1 UM3: These researches are different from the research in the...UI.

3 Om: Of course. You will be addressing the Americans. What are you going to say to the  
4 Americans? How are you going to win the community, for instance? Let's suppose that  
5 the Palestinian community...[interruptions and UI group talk].  
6

7 Ga: There is a research that is available now which was conducted by Mohamed Abbas and  
8 which is about to be published in English about Gaza-Jericho. It is done in English...UI.

9  
10 [UI group talk].  
11

12 Om: The question is..., does this..., does this Mohamed Abbas address the Americans or does  
13 he address the Palestinian community or the Islamic community?  
14

15 Ga: No, no. It is not directed to the American people.  
16

17 Om: Ok. We're dealing..., we're now dealing with the Palestinian community...UI. We don't  
18 know how they think, their priorities and what are the probabilities...  
19

20 UM3: Ah. You mean, getting a poll from them and not a research. This is a part of... How are  
21 you going to get deeper into a community if you don't understand what it is? For instance,  
22 in regards to American media, how the American media keeps...UI.

23 Ga: How about al-Zaytouna? What is al-Zaytouna? Isn't it a specialized media tool...UI.  
24

25 Om: No, listen; the brothers at the office don't have time to even finish the day-to-day  
26 things...UI.  
27

28 Sh: ...UI There are many research companies in America.  
29

30 Ga: ...UI.  
31

32 UM2: Yes, but who works for Islamic activism for Palestine? There is no body.  
33

34 UM3: You are supposed to make specific requests to UASR saying that we have a need in so  
35 and so branches. If they have a way to supply...UI.  
36

37 Om: We asked them several times and we didn't get anything from them.  
38

39 Ni: I..., I requested. We requested from them..., if I can speak. We requested from the  
40 brothers more than once and they said, "We don't have a relationship between you and us.  
41 We don't know how you work or what are the publications". For instance, I have a list in  
42 two pages of the publications, I mean, how do we address Arab, Muslims and even  
43

1 Americans, I mean, major work. ...UI whether it is big or small, we don't have any  
2 possibility to do it at the office unless it is...UI. If it is an open class, we are then repeating  
3 the experience of the brothers in UASR in regards to the increased costs and stuff. So, we  
4 don't know the extent of dealing with them, whether if they can benefit us with  
5 information. I request a small research, they tell us, "Ok, brothers, get it from this and that  
6 newspaper". But, that is not what I want. I thought you'd have all the information at your  
7 end. I can speak for fifteen minutes with a brother over the phone, visit him or stuff and  
8 he would get me all the research which might save me a week's worth of work. So, this is  
9 a problem. This is paralyzing our work.  
10

11 UM2: It is an administrative problem... [*UI group talk*]... you  
12 can solve it by phone or stuff. Therefore, it must be arranged within a frame.  
13

14 UM3: Ok. Coordination with the youth should be initiated to  
15 solve this problem.  
16

17 Om: Logistics, logistics.  
18

19 Mo: We reached a point of...UI.  
20

21 [*UI group talk*].  
22

23 UM3: My brother, quite honestly, I benefitted from what our brothers in Washington...UI. Just  
24 like our brother, Gawad, made some suggestions...  
25

26 Ga: This was a individual effort.  
27

28 UM3: This is a individual effort and not...UI. I'm telling you, he reached them through  
29 individual effort. May God reward him good. May God reward him good. I mean, he  
30 reached these ideas through individual effort and this is not supposed to be through  
31 individual effort. Our brother, Omar, replied now and we told him, "Ok. God's willing,  
32 we will debate it with you" but this is not how it is supposed to be, my brother. There  
33 must be channels in place to solve this problem. I mean, brother Omar's topic is to be  
34 mentioned, he should be talking with UASR, he should go and talk to them and ask them  
35 what are the results of the agreement between them and...  
36

37 [*Interruptions and UI group talk*].  
38

39 UM2: My brother, you should reach an agreement with the American media.  
40

41 UM3: That's what we're discussing. ...UI.  
42

43 Om: No, no. We have discussed it now. We reached a general agreement.  
44

1 Om: What I discussed in regards to Gaza-Jericho issue is the following: you are now an  
3 organization that is present on the American front for the long term, you know? You don't  
4 have one person to do research, someone who conducts research about Palestinian  
5 activism. Where is he going to get papers to research and look for stuff?

6 Mo: ...UI.

7  
8 UM2: No, but what it is from the Islamic point of view?

9  
10 [*UI group talk*].

11  
12 Ga: ...UI. There are tens of people who call and don't get anything.

13  
14 Om: Do you think that UASR will pay attention to the work?

15 ...UI. I say that UASR must serve people. It should serve  
16 Muslims and not necessarily in the same way as the [*Islamic*] Association [*for Palestine*].

17  
18 Ga: Yes.

19  
20 Om: One should be able to call them, go see them and get the material one wants even if one is  
21 a member of the [*Islamic*] Association [*for Palestine*]. [*UI group interruption*]... I am like  
22 Abdel Rahman who wants specialized efforts.

23  
24 UM2: By God, there are certain assignments which could be given to UASR to do within a  
25 month, two or three months, for instance.

26  
27 Om: Right. If there are some. If there are some. If there is an opportunity to work for a month,  
28 two months, yes.

29  
30 UM2: But there should be there an agreement or contract for a  
31 certain period of time...UI.

32  
33 Ni: This is a...UI request. There we have 15 research papers which are here.

34  
35 [*UI group talk*].

36  
37 Sh: Abou Mohamed, if what it takes..., listen to me, for him to make a connection he has to  
38 have a public organization just to reach...UI.

39  
40 Om: Not to get a paper or get a point. He is seeking research.

41  
42 Sh: Why does he have to go through you?

43  
44 Om: If there is no agreement between us and them to do research for us.

1 Sh: The man is one of the public.

2 Om: No. An average person cannot come to an organization and ask it, "Do a research for me".

3 Sh: He can just charge you \$200 for the research.

4 Om: No, Shukri, no.

5 [UI group talk].

6 Sh: Supposed that someone contacted him. Is he going to tell him, business wise, "Sir, we  
7 don't have this. We will do it for you. It will cost you \$1,000 or whatever". He will talk  
8 business with him. But, to tell him, "We have no relationship with you", that is not right.  
9 This is not how a public organization should talk.

10 Mo: Ok, why are you upset?

11 Sh: No, I'm just saying that there is a legitimate concerns that we are repeating ourselves, our  
12 brothers. If you want a research..., a research which can be done and you can collect  
13 material for this research within 15 minutes. We can solve this in an organizational  
14 manner, my brother. Whatever cost is...

15 Mo: That's fine. Let it be solved.

16 Sh: That's better than having this brother establish a research center because he needs to find  
17 out information about issues which already exist with others. But, others are saying, "We  
18 don't have a relationship with him". If you want a joint cooperation charter. Let's do it.

19 Os: Yousef..., Yousef..., whom he is affiliated with?

20 Sh: He is an independent organization..., by himself.

21 [UI group talk].

22 UM2: Independent..., he is independent.

23 Os: It is not affiliated with the Palestine Committee at all?

24 UM2: It is independent.

25 Om: Independent. It is not affiliated with the Palestine Committee. Consequently..., it is true....

26 UM3: But this organization conducts research and produces scientific material [such as] "Who  
27 is Ahmad Yasin?".

1 [UI group talk].

3 UM3: Regardless..., regardless, this is a research center. He is not there to photocopy for you...  
4 This is a research center, my brother, you ask them and tell them I want so, so and so. He  
5 is not there to make a copy for you of a paper about Ahmad Yasin and stuff.  
6

7 [UI group talk].

8  
9 UM2: Brothers, listen to me, it is alright. This is really for  
10 all the brothers. We're making a...UI about the issue which relates to our brothers in one  
11 of the countries, it is an issue which is...UI.  
12

13 [*Door opens, a person walks in and is greeted by the group. UI group talk*].

14  
15 UM: Forgive us. We interrupted the session.

16  
17 Group: No, no, no.

18  
19 Sh: May God forgive you, Abou Mohamed.

20  
21 UM: I think I should...UI instead of disrupting you.

22  
23 Sh: No. We are here for you and we are all yours.

24  
25 UM: May God bless you.

26  
27 Sh: May God bless you.

28  
29 [UI group talk].

30  
31 UM: Peace be with you all.

32  
33 Group: Peace and God's mercy and blessings.

34  
35 UM3: May God greet you.

36  
37 UM: May God bless you and keep you safe.

38  
39 [UI group talk].

40  
41 UM3: Would you like some coffee?

42  
43 UM: Yes, it will be better if there...UI, if you please.  
44

1 UM3: Have a seat over here, honorable Sheik.

2  
3 UM: I will sit down if we receive orders [*Laughter and UI group talk*]. ...UI, but we feel the  
4 words of the prophet, God's prayers and peace be upon him, "Know that victory comes  
5 along with patience, that relief comes with diligence and that there is ease with hardship".  
6 Based on that...UI, the more crises get tighter, the closer relief is. Now, the first speech is  
7 what I said during the Friday sermon...UI in the city of Sidon in front of a large  
8 Palestinian gathering in the mosque I pray in. The last fig leaf has fallen and the  
9 nakedness of all the conspirators are now exposed. Based on that..., I mean it is the  
10 intense darkness displayed by the behavior of the leaders at all levels which brought us to  
11 what is called Gaza-Jericho First. I see that this crisis, God's willing, will help thrust  
12 Islamic activism everywhere forward. I mean, this is what I believe. Also, when we can  
13 take examples from the prophetic biography [*of Mohamed*], we find that the prophet,  
14 God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon him, was saying to the honorable Companions  
15 this Saying which is known to all: "By God, God is accomplishing this matter until it is  
16 established from Sana'a to Hadramout. He won't fear other than God and the wolf over his  
17 sheep but you...UI". All of us know that on the day of Immigration, he said his famous  
18 words to Sirata, "What do you think about wearing Kissra's robes?", to the point that the  
19 man was astonished and said, "Kissra Bin Hormouz?", he said, "[*Yes*], Kissra Bin  
20 Hormouz". So, the issue of..., the most important thing is for us to remain victorious at  
21 the intellectual level, at the psychological level. If the state of intellectual and  
22 psychological victory stays in our hearts, the state of victory in the confrontation arena  
remains until God grants us the ultimate victory. There is no space for argument in that  
but..., I mean.

25  
26 Om: How is the situation over there in response to the accord and stuff.

27  
28 UM: Of course, marches came out from all the camps, of course, denouncing the accord...,  
29 denouncing the accord. It is known that Maqdah, Munir Maqdah, is the person in charge  
30 of Fatah, he was heading the demonstration calling for the annulment of the accord and  
31 calling upon Arafat to resign. But, Maqdah doesn't have much say, doesn't have much  
32 say. It is possible that he received orders to march and stuff. It is possible, and it is  
33 possible that the man...UI and, of course, he said a word to Abou Ammar that, "Your  
34 situation in Gaza and Jericho won't be better than the situation at Ein al-Hilwa". These  
35 were the words. What is important is that there were marches in all the camps  
36 denouncing..., and, of course, you heard about the march in which eight people were  
37 killed. Of course, Hizballah's Secretary General and the person in charge of the political  
38 affairs at the Islamic Group, Dr. Ali Ammar, was there. I was not there in Lebanon. I  
39 was..., I believe in Pakistan at that time. The next day, a march came out in defiance to  
40 the entire government. I mean, the least attendance..., I mean, the least estimate by the  
41 journalists was at 300,000 people, this last march, and it was very violent. It was  
42 demanding that the cabinet resign. A day before I came, there was a march in...UI, they  
43 called it the candle march. They marched to the spot where martyrs fell. Of course, all  
44 these marches are anti-government and are in opposition to the government's orders. The

1 government renewed its order to ban demonstrations, gatherings and stuff. So, this was  
2 out of defiance. Also, an interview with our brother, Fathi Yakan, was conducted because  
3 they wanted to have a gathering in a region in order to denounce the accord and the  
4 government banned that. So, an interview was conducted and he told them, "We will...,  
5 we will express our point of view through this demonstration or gathering and let be  
6 whatever is going to be", something like that, with that meaning. Of course, the Syrians  
7 are opposed to the accord. They are really against it.  
8

9 UM2: Primarily, you mean?

10 UM: What?

11 UM2: Primarily, you mean?

12 Ga: A large sector among the Syrians are.

13 UM: The Syrians are the ones who..., for your information, the Syrians are not...UI. They are  
14 against what you call the state of peace, I mean, [*against*] the signing of peace accords  
15 with the Jews. They opposed it, not as a principle, but because of interests.  
16

17 Sh: Yeah.

18 UM: The Syrians consider that, from the interests standpoint, if a state of normalization of ties  
19 with the Jews took effect, it will mean that the Jews will overrun the region and they will  
20 become, of course,...UI. This is their thinking. Therefore, this is stuff that they don't like.  
21 In '85, I heard this stuff from Hafez al-Asad personally, in '85. Of course, we heard that  
22 stuff prior to '85 from Khaddam, from this and that person and it was really proven that  
23 they are indeed opposed to the normalization of ties unless with pressure being applied  
24 but this is another topic. So, the Syrians are self-serving. They have no role...UI or  
25 anything. Their strong position they have acquired at the regional and international levels  
26 is due to their closeness to Lebanon and Palestine. So, they consider that if the Palestinian  
27 issue is over and if the Lebanese issue is over that nothing will be left in their hands.  
28 Therefore, as long as they are holding on to these two issues, they would have power,  
29 presence and so on. If you want to talk about politics, no officials beginning from the  
30 highest ranking American, French or Arab official can go to Lebanon unless through  
31 Syria. If he goes to Lebanon without stopping in Syria, the Lebanese themselves will not  
32 receive him. The Lebanese people themselves won't receive him. It happened once that  
33 the French Foreign Minister went to Lebanon without stopping by Syria. He was not  
34 received. Of course, they received him at the airport but there were no meetings, talks or  
35 anything. So, he departed without anything. So, he returned to France and, six months  
36 later, he repented to God and made recompense [*laughter*] and when he returned and paid  
37 a visit to Syria and went to Lebanon from Syria. [*Someone enters the room*] Peace be  
38 with you. Even the issue of...er,...what's his name..., Christopher... Publicly, the visit  
39 wasn't scheduled for Lebanon, it wasn't scheduled for Lebanon but they went to Syria...,  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44

1 Christopher went to Syria. After Syria, he went to Lebanon by land and he met, of course,  
2 with al-Hariri, this and that person. They believe that as long as these two issues are in the  
3 hands of Syria, they have regional power and they have international power,  
4 consequently. Therefore, why would we abandon these two issues? It is because there is a  
5 self-interest. They might have other things in their heads. God only knows. So, of  
6 course..., the Iranians have understood this point from long ago. This point..., the Syrian  
7 logic and the fact that they don't want to normalize relationships unless -like I said- with  
8 pressure being applied but there is not chance for that. The Iranians understood this long  
9 ago. Therefore, they made arrangements for the Hizballah issue with them, with the  
10 Syrians, even though there is no harmony between the Iranians and the Syrians. If you sit  
11 in a private meeting with the Iranians, they would tell you that the Syrians are so and so,  
12 about their Islamic reasons, of course. Hizballah is the same thing; when they talk they  
13 say the same thing which is that the understanding between Hizballah and Syria is an  
14 understanding of interests. They have their fears, of course. I mean, Hizballah itself has  
15 fears that severe pressure might be applied on Syria and that Syria will succumb to it and  
16 make changes. If it starts to make changes, there would be some sort of disruption to  
17 work. In Lebanon..., in Lebanon...er, the government would have normalized ties today  
18 before tomorrow if it could. It even wanted to beat the Palestinian to the matter but it was  
19 stopped by the Islamic resistance in Lebanon and the Syrian position. I mean, Lebanon  
20 would have done it. It has a fear that if normalization of relationships takes place, severe  
21 internal problems will develop especially that it is aware that the Islamists constitute a  
22 might that is not to be taken lightly. This is on one hand. On the other hand, there are the  
23 Syrians. Therefore, The Syrians have sent more than once to al-Hariri, the president of the  
24 country and stuff and ripped them apart, I mean, they ripped them apart particularly when  
25 the government made the decision to let the army into the south to work with the  
26 international forces. So, the Syrians ripped them apart for that and particularly this guy,  
27 al-Hariri, to the point that al-Hariri returned stuttering. Al-Hariri is...er, to sum it up, al-  
28 Hariri is the champion of normalization of relationships with the Jews, the Saudi  
29 Arabia/America's man who came to power to normalize relationships with the Jews and  
30 he works on that basis, I mean, on the media and the economy fronts. Even the issue of  
31 the land he is buying. He is buying land like crazy and he is not doing anything with it.  
32 Just buying land. Most probably, he might sell this land to the Jews if normalization of  
33 relationships or something like that takes place. Or, he could build companies and stuff in  
34 cooperation with the Jews and others. When the issue of the army being sent to the south  
35 happened, the Syrians sent to them and made a big fuss about it and the Syrians are  
36 insisting until now to continue the work of the Islamic resistance. Even if there is...  
37  
38



1 UM: ... We were even honestly telling the Syrians that...

3 UM2: Ok. Is it impossible for the resistance to work from Syria?  
4

5 UM: They can work. I mean, if they want to work they can but, without you saying. You see?  
6 They cannot. The Syrians cannot. The Syrians cannot expose themselves globally a lot  
7 because, like I'm telling you, we live in a world where the Soviet Union collapsed, what  
8 you call the Arab regimes are all aligned with the American line 100%. As for America...,  
9 there is no chance for dialogue in this stage, at all. It is applying pressure, applying a lot  
10 of pressure. There is no room for dialogue. We, as a state, cannot move the way an  
11 organization, a party or the like can move because we have economic and commercials  
12 and other things to worry about, we have a people and all these other issues. Now,  
13 regardless of that, if you want to examine matters deeply with the Syrians you might find  
14 some right in it. So, if you want to move and to work, go ahead but without mentioning  
15 that we are being supported by Syria or encouraged by Syria. I mean, just like Hizbollah  
16 worked. Hizbollah worked in this manner.  
17

18 Aa: But, the U.S. and the Jewish administrations know the truth.  
19

20 UM: Yes, of course. They know the truth. I'm telling you that it does not make a difference  
21 with me if they knew. I'm telling you that, if they want to know, let them know. But, they  
22 should not get a confirmation from me or you. You see how? I'm telling you that they  
23 should not get a confirmation from me or you. If the issue is exposed, let it be exposed. I  
24 mean, it is known that, for instance, Ahmad Jibril, so and so person are residing at his  
25 locality. So, how can they operate without their consent? Hafez al-Asad's words were  
26 eloquent. His words are..., I mean it is known about Hafez al-Asad that he says stuff...,  
27 regardless of whether he is unjust, tyrant, this is a separate issue. So, Hafez al-Asad's  
28 words are eloquent and...UI. And, when Hafez al-Asad speaks, you can interpret his  
29 words in many ways. So, when he said to Arafat, here is the quote, when he met with  
30 him, it is said that there was a stormy meeting between him and Arafat. The one meeting  
31 before that -there was a meeting before the..., I mean, before announcing the accord and  
32 stuff- he said, "If I were able to burn all of you, I would have done it", he said that to  
33 some of the officials at the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization and stuff like that  
34 because he saw that they made concessions and stuff and that, "You don't need to make  
35 all these concessions". So, his words were clear. He said, "We neither support nor oppose.  
36 The issue relates to the Palestinian people and its institutions". The word "his institutions"  
37 is an accurate word for him as he didn't say, "the leaders" or something like that. He said  
38 "the institutions". So, you can interpret it saying that, this is it, Hafez al-Asad is agreeing  
39 or you can interpret it saying that he is not agreeing.  
40

41 UM2: But, Sheik...  
42

43 UM: Yes.

1 UM2: It looks like that the international game is bigger than Hafez, Hussein and Arafat. It looks  
3 like there is an international conspiracy against him.

4 UM: Yes, yes.

5  
6 UM2: Some of the aspects which leaked out in the past, including the issue of Gaza-Jericho,  
7 some talk came out that Lebanon..., that it looks like that Lebanon is seeking some sort of  
8 independence, meaning that Syria would exit it in the final arrangement, normalizes the  
9 relations...

10  
11 UM: Yes, yes.

12  
13 UM2: In this case, the highest Syria can achieve is to get the Golan back. And, most likely, the  
14 Golan will return to it. Now, if it exited..., if Syria exited Lebanon and the normalization  
15 process started, what is the status of the Islamists and the position of the resistance over  
16 there in general terms?

17  
18 UM: It looks like the Syrians want something bigger than the Golan. I mean, there are things  
19 relating to Lebanon and stuff which are more important from the Golan to them. Had they  
20 wanted the Golan, they would have gotten the Golan back since the beginning of the  
21 negotiations. And the issue of the Golan was presented to them. I mean, America brought  
up the Golan issue more than once but,...UI, they surrendered the Palestinian issue and  
the Lebanese issue for us. That's it. They dropped it. So, they were the ones who declined  
in the first place. The issue of..., the position taken by Hafez al-Asad long time ago, since  
25 '85, stated that, "...in light of a torn Arab stand, the issue of the liberation of Palestine is  
26 not possible. So, if we are unable to liberate Palestine, at least we should not be  
27 normalizing relations with the enemy". This was his view.

28  
29 UM2: So, do you believe that al-Asad's end goal is the liberation of Palestine?

30  
31 UM: Him?

32  
33 Aa: No doubt.

34  
35 Gh: Yeah.

36  
37 UM: He knows..., if he wants to liberate Palestine, he knows what is better than that. He  
38 would...UI.

39  
40 UM2: But, his goal..., is his goal the liberation of Palestine, that is?

41  
42 UM: Not necessarily. Not necessarily. But, I'm saying that were any Arab leader capable of  
43 liberating Palestine, take it from me an honest word, he would have been a leader at the

1 level of the entire nation. But, is he working..., preparing at that level...? Why are we  
2 thinking that way? Just like we used to think in the past -if we allow the talk to get a little  
3 longer- that is it possible, by God, that the Iranian Islamic Republic is really thinking  
4 about liberating Palestine? We used to think that, "These are Shiites and Batiniyas and  
5 stuff like that". I'm telling you, yes it thinks about it. Because, imagine that you, for  
6 instance, for instance, if Khomeini managed to liberate Palestine, Khomeini would  
7 become a leader at the Arab and Islamic level. It is an issue which attracts the Arab and  
8 the Islamic world's attention. So, even if we base it on beneficial motives and not based  
9 on pure Islamic motives, these motives are the ones we didn't get used to at all. These are  
10 points we need to prove. Unfortunately, whether he wants to liberate or he doesn't want to  
11 liberate, this is a different issue. But, sometimes he takes certain positions. You can  
12 benefit from these positions. You benefit from it for a year, two years, five years. When  
13 he changes, if he changes his position when I'm strong, it is better than him changing  
14 when I'm weak. I'm saying these words because we suffered in Lebanon in order to  
15 convince the brothers with these issues, that if you can benefit from a certain stage,  
16 benefit then. For Hizbollah, for instance, was supposedly able to benefit. Hizbollah, if  
17 you sit down with them, it has no patience to see the Syrians based on its Islamic beliefs  
18 as these people who have no Islam, no observance or anything like that, for instance. But,  
19 in any of its statements and in most of its speeches, it says something which pleases the  
20 Syrians, which makes them totally happy. So, they are people who know how to work in a  
21 way or another. Now, where does Hizbollah get its support from? When it started, the  
Islamic Group at our end is spread all over the Lebanese front. As for Hizbollah, there is  
nothing in Lebanon called Hizbollah. Where does it get its support from? Through Iranian  
assistance, for instance, and through a Syrian political cover and the Syrians have given it  
25 a free space. Now, see what has become of Hizbollah and see what happened to you, even  
26 though that, in the past, there was no way you could have agreed with them, with the  
27 Syrians. But, now, of course our brothers remembered the blood of our brothers in Hamah  
28 and all the stories you know about. I mean, psychologically, we were sitting down with  
29 the tyrant, the butcher and stuff like that. So, if he is being a tyrant, it is against our necks,  
30 for instance. Anyway, this is possibly a subject which bears further research. But, at least,  
31 the Syrian position until now..., I mean there were more than one initiative, more than one  
32 initiative, ...UI from one side, al-Hariri from one side, so and so. There were secret things  
33 which were recorded. One time, Syria spied on al-Hariri. He had a meeting with the  
34 Americans and they spied on him. I can bring you intelligence wording from the inside.  
35 So, he spoke with the Americans and said things which angered the Syrians, angered  
36 them 100% and they sent a letter to al-Hariri and reproached him, that is, because it is  
37 impossible for al-Hariri to become a prime minister without the Syrians' will. Even the  
38 Syrians themselves have split into two groups; should we let him or not. The one who  
39 decided the matter at the end is Hafez al-Asad. And al-Hariri is on board now just  
40 because the Syrians are worried that the economic situation might deteriorate, and  
41 through the American-Saudi-al-Hariri pressure along with some organizations to the point  
42 that Syria halted the..., what you call it...UI because they hold this issue against the  
43 Syrians. They hold this issue against the Syrians. Therefore, they brought al-Hariri on

1 board. Hafez al-Asad allowed al-Hariri to become a prime minister. He said, "At least, he  
2 can manage the economic situation". Al-Hariri is a void person, a void person, a  
3 controlled person, meaning that there is someone who directs him. He came to the prime  
4 minister position in order to manage the economic situation and he came on board in the  
5 first place under the slogan of "Building and Construction Policy". Three months after his  
6 arrival, he started to work in politics and not in economy. He started to work in politics.  
7 The Syrians noticed this game but the Syrians, even during the latest march, al-Hariri can  
8 be gone after the latest march, because there were 300,000 [people] all of them  
9 denouncing al-Hariri and demanding his resignation to the point that the Syrians sent  
10 Hizbollah after him. They say that if it is true what al-Hariri did regarding the shooting,  
11 then we are against him. I'm really against him and not with him because the story  
12 included a Syrian intelligence official and stuff and the situation was clear as this, this  
13 and that. But, you went a little bit overboard. We should not escalate matters now to the  
14 point that al-Hariri is gone because the regional situation and the global situation does not  
15 permit us to do so, does not permit us to do so. But, I heard from one of the brothers who  
16 told me that, yesterday or the day before yesterday, there was another march which was  
17 also asking for his resignation. We were able to have a meeting with a representative.  
18 But, when Hizbollah...UI. So, he was discussing this subject in its entirety. So, when he  
19 came to the issue of al-Hariri's resignation, he said, "We are going on with the  
20 resignation. But, we expect that the resignation won't take place because the Syrians are  
21 not allowing that and Hizbollah works in a manner which neither makes it controlled by  
the Syrians, nor makes it in a battle with the Syrians. I mean, it tries to maintain a  
balance. And, for that purpose, it makes sacrifices. For that purpose, it makes sacrifices.  
I'm telling you it started to make sacrifices for the sake of developing the work,  
25 maintaining the resistance and the strength of the resistance. I mean, for eight people from  
26 Hizbollah to be killed, this is a big, a huge heal for it. But, for the sake of not engaging in  
27 a battle with the Syrians..., it can escalate it in al-Hariri's face but, to a certain level, to a  
28 certain level. But, this escalation..., the Syrians will be very pleased with it and the reason  
29 is that the Syrians would like for an official in Lebanon not to feel comfortable, not to  
30 feel comfortable, to keep the ground shaking under his feet, keep it shaking. Do they want  
31 to remove him? They won't remove him but, he stays in a state of constant fear and worry  
32 so that he always checks with them, checks with them. What is important is that Lebanon  
33 wanted to normalize relations long ago, organize them and there even stories. It was even  
34 said..., even the issue of al-Safir magazine which you heard about in the past [about] the  
35 secret paper, the secret paper... They Syrians were the ones who leaked it. Otherwise,  
36 where did Talal Salman get it? The Syrians are the ones who leaked it to Talal Salman  
37 and...

38  
39 Gh: What was that?

40  
41 UM: What?

42  
43 Gh: What is his story?

1 UM2: They closed the newspaper after that.

3 UM: There was a..., there was a secret paper between the Lebanese and the..., what you call  
4 them...

5  
6 Group: The Jews.

7  
8 UM: ...and, what you call them, th..., the Jews. So, who leaked this paper? And it is authentic.  
9 It is authentic, the paper which they leaked. The Syrians. Otherwise, where would Talal  
10 Salman get it? And Talal Salman was known for a while at least that he is opposed to the  
11 American-Saudi-al-Hariri policy. I mean, the story is clear to the point that, even when al-  
12 Hariri went to...UI seeking the assistance they agreed on at al-Taef, the first thing he said  
13 was, "Why would we give you assistance? See how the Lebanese call us names every  
14 day", the people of the Gulf [*said*] and stuff like that because it was clear that the  
15 Lebanese newspapers...UI and, on top of them, al-Safir. Therefore, they say that al-Hariri  
16 reached his decision to honor the Saudis in that respect as well. The outcome was that it  
17 fired back at al-Hariri because hundreds if not thousands of thinkers, journalists and  
18 people like that in Lebanon, the parties and the movements stood against al-Hariri in his  
19 action against al-Safir. This reached the point that, in court, the court itself turned into a  
20 demonstration. At the end, al-Hariri invited the journalists and stuff to a dinner and  
21 invited al-Safir itself, but al-Safir did not attend. Talal Salman is a nationalist but,  
regardless..., he is loyal to his nationality. He is a nationalist but he is loyal to his  
nationality, specially in regards to the Palestinian cause. Of course, I know him  
personally. I met with him. This is always an obsession for him. The cause is always an  
obsession for him. If you read his writings, you will find that he didn't attack it until now.  
He didn't attack either the Palestinian cause nor the...UI or the re-settlement issue. He is  
also close to the Islamists. He even loves the Islamists. He considers that the Islamists at  
this stage play a major role, a very major role. Anyway, at the end, al-Hariri had to retreat  
in that issue. This is a summary of the situation.

25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31 Ak: I just have a question.

32  
33 Om: We have to check-out now and...

34  
35 Os: And then we return here.

36  
37 Om: Then go the rooms, get our stuff and come back here, God's willing.

38  
39 Os: Meaning we should get our stuff and...

40  
41 Om: He who gets his stuff can finish later.

42  
43 [*UI multiple group conversations*].

1 Om: Before we start.... What?

3 Sh: Let's go to...UI. What time is the check-out?

4  
5 Om: At 1:30

6  
7 UM2: At 1:00.

8  
9 Sh: 1:00?

10  
11 [*UI brief group talk*].

12  
13 UM3: Omar, before I forget, we have some circumstances and we have to leave.

14  
15 Om: Fine. Just a minute.

16  
17 UM4: Peace be with you.

18  
19 Om: May God greet you.

20  
21 Om: Brother Muin is writing the papers now. Before you leave, each person should take a copy. Photocopy it and everyone should take a copy before he leaves. It will not..., it will not be sent via mail. So, he who doesn't take a copy, he who left without taking a copy, won't get a copy.

25  
26 UM3: Omar, ...UI should I make copies over here?

27  
28 Om: You make your own copies...

29  
30 [*UI group talk*].

31  
32 Os: Hasan, what happened regarding the issue I talked to you about?

33  
34 Hs: ...UI. No, by God.

35  
36 Os: None on Monday, Tuesday or Wednesday?

37  
38 Hs: There are none. We didn't find any. I mean, if you call all the cities...

39  
40 Os: That means that Sheik Muharam has a program everyday...

41  
42 Hs: Not everyday. He has every Monday and Thursday off.

1 Os: Monday and Thursday are off?

3 Hs: Yes.

4  
5 Os: Ok. So, is it possible on...UI?

6  
7 Hs: Yes. I'm telling you...UI.

8  
9 Os: That means we can bring him from Lebanon to Latin America and...UI.

10  
11 Hs: ...UI.

12  
13 Os: Cooperate with us during this time...UI.

14  
15 Hs: ...UI.

16  
17 Os: I'm telling you it is Ok. ...UI just two days.

18  
19 Hs: I'm telling you I can't because we already...UI.

20  
21 *[Rest of conversation between Hassan and Osama Mohamed is unintelligible. UI group talk continues].*

22  
23  
24 Om: O Hasan.

25  
26 Hs: What happened?

27  
28 Om: I took it, the flight you told me about from Memphis to Oklahoma City was over-  
29 booked...

30  
31 Hs: Ah.

32  
33 Om: Was over-sold.

34  
35 Hs: So! This is normal. This is normal. It is normal for the flight to be over-sold.

36  
37 Om: No, no. Over-sold, not a stand-by. Over-sold by four seats.

38  
39 Hs: With my utter respect to you, you should have...UI, my brother.

40  
41 Om: No, no. The point, my brother, is...UI.

42  
43 Hs: You shouldn't have waited until six.

1 [Remainder of conversation between Omar and Hassan is unintelligible].

3 [A separate simultaneous conversation].

4  
5 UM: ...were you having a conference?

6  
7 Os: No, no. These were sessions about Palestinian action in America, how to plan Palestinian  
8 action in America and stuff. Ok, in regards to brother...UI...

9  
10 UM: Yes.

11  
12 Os: What is the possibility of using him in visiting Europe.

13  
14 UM: It is difficult. When?

15  
16 Os: In the 12th month.

17  
18 UM: ... We are now in the 10th month...UI [*another UI conversation in the background*]...  
19 Here, take the phone number...

20  
21 Os: What is the phone number?

22  
23 UM: 727-442...UI. He has a fax.

24  
25 Os: How about Italy?

26  
27 UM: Our brother at the..., what you call it? It is the first time I...

28  
29 Os: The Islamic Association [*for Palestine*]?

30  
31 UM: Yes.

32  
33 Os: ...UI the head of the [*Islamic*] Association [*for Palestine*], ...UI.

34  
35 Os: Oh, you met Aboul Bara'a.

36  
37 UM: Aboul Bara'a, yes. ...UI. Also, in Italy... I mean he came to us in Italy at the beginning and  
38 they didn't want us to leave. They wanted us to stay for two months.

39  
40 Os: Yes, for sure. The entire world...

41  
42 UM: [*laughs*].

1 Os: Fine. Anyway, It is good that I contacted you or brother Mota'a.

3 UM: Yes.

4  
5 Os: Tell him, Osama Mohamed. I will sign the faxes under "Osama Mohamed. We won't  
6 burden you. But, we really have a need in Europe and...

7  
8 UM: The shorter the [visit] period is... I mean, a week or...

9  
10 Os: At your convenience in America. But, in Europe...

11  
12 UM: I'm not talking about America.

13  
14 Os: Latin America will be difficult. Latin America would require a month or a month and a  
15 half of travel at least because...

16  
17 UM: I can't travel for a month and a half to any parts of the world.

18  
19 Os: A month.

20  
21 UM2: Even to Palestine, our sheik?

22  
23 UM: That one is possible. We can stay the entire life in Palestine. We told them yesterday, we  
24 told them that we are but a speck for dust for Palestine and we put entire America with  
25 Canada, with Denmark, with Sweden. We said that yesterday [laughs].

26  
27 Os: Ok, how about if we needed you for a trip that is 4-5 days, for instance, to Sweden,  
28 Denmark, something like that, quick trips which take place in the 12th month, it is  
29 doable, right?

30  
31 UM: This can be arranged if it is for 4-5 days.

32  
33 Os: What..., what about getting a visa and stuff like that? Is it easy or difficult? You don't  
34 know?

35  
36 UM: By God, I don't know. But, so far, I never applied and...

37  
38 UM2: As long as he has a visa to America, they will issue him one.

39  
40 UM: No, America's visa expired.

41  
42 Os: It is not a problem since you came and went back.  
43

1 UM: Its duration is expired.

3 UM2: And the sheik doesn't have a place, anyway.

4  
5 Os: We can get it from Damascus.

6  
7 UM: What are you saying? Of course, we don't have an embassy over there in the first place.

8  
9 Os: Oh, there is no U.S. embassy in...

10  
11 UM: It will expire in the 10th month or...

12  
13 Os: In the 11th month.

14  
15 UM: In the 11th month?

16  
17 Os: Yes.

18  
19 UM2: You see, there is time for you to go and return.

20  
21 UM: May God bless you. May God bless you.

22  
23 Os: We will get it ready for you.

24  
25 UM2: My brother, by God, if there is a way...

26  
27 Os: Just for few days.

28  
29 *[Brief UI 3-way conversation].*

30  
31 UM2: I called them all.

32  
33 Os: Come on, man.

34  
35 UM2: By God.

36  
37 Os: You called all the cities?

38  
39 UM2: My brother, just like you told me last week and the program was already in place. So, I  
40 called two cities and they told me, "By God, we announced it".

41  
42 UM: Never mind.

1 Os: I mean, I'm telling you because it is an important matter. Instead of going to a mosque  
2 where only 30-40 people attend, he will go to a city where there is a community.

3  
4 UM2: My brother, I will...UI. As long as I promised them, I cannot break my promise.

5  
6 Os: Fine, fine.

7  
8 UM2: And, also, the sheik will get mad at me.

9  
10 UM: Yes.

11  
12 UM2: You see, sheik, he will come. We tried to get rid of him...

13  
14 UM: What brought you over here?

15  
16 UM3: The plane..., they sold tickets on it for more people than there are seats, four seats over.

17  
18 UM: God is great and thanks be to God.

19  
20 UM3: And I want to go there according to my free time. That means I would have to stay in  
21 Memphis from 2:00 until 8:30.

Os: Ok. And when is the next flight?

25 UM: Ok. Now that you're here, are we going to take you to lunch?

26  
27 UM3: No. Don't worry about it.

28  
29 *[UI group talk].*

30  
31 UM: ...You will find people who are interested in the Palestinian conversation. ...UI. Dr. Ali  
32 works in politics. He has knowledge about the Palestinian cause but he is not suitable for  
33 the public.

34  
35 Os: This is what I'm telling you...UI.

36  
37 *[UI conversation due to another ongoing UI conversation in the background].*

38  
39 UM: When you bring someone over here, you want him to be popular with the people here.

40  
41 Os: Yes. This is the thing...UI.

42  
43 *[UI conversation due to another ongoing UI conversation in the background].*

1 Os: ...UI. I can contact you so that we can benefit from him even in Sharia subject and  
stuff...UI.  
2  
3  
4 UM: God's willing.  
5  
6 Os: ...UI.  
7  
8 UM: I don't know if the brother, sheik Mohamed Ammar will be...UI. But, I don't know  
9 whether he will be able because he is a school teacher.  
10  
11 Os: Ah.  
12  
13 UM: He is a school teacher.  
14  
15 Os: He has engagements. We can benefit from him during the summer because we usually  
16 have camps in the summer.  
17  
18 UM: It is possible. It is possible. But, get sheik Ghazi because he understands the atmosphere.  
19  
20 Os: Oh, yes. Sheik Ghazi is...UI.  
21  
22 UM: He knows the atmosphere well.  
23  
24 Os: Ok. We will remain in contact then.  
25  
26 UM: Of course, Sheik Faisal is known.  
27  
28 Os: Yes, he is. But, he didn't come even once.  
29  
30 UM: To America?  
31  
32 Os: Yes.  
33  
34 UM: It might be difficult. He can't come. His health is not good. His health is not good.  
35  
36 Os: How about Sheik Ibrahim?  
37  
38 UM: Ibrahim al-Masri, yes. But, Ibrahim al-Masri is not a popular person.  
39  
40 Os: No, I know him. I know him personally.  
41  
42 UM: Yeah. You want someone the people will...  
43

1 Os: That is if he can travel...

3 UM: It is possible, I believe. By God, I don't know.

4  
5 Os: Because we are..., in some conferences we don't want a person who...UI. I mean, people  
6 like a popular person one time. But, in some conferences such as the self-rule...UI you  
7 want someone to offer..., what they say, "theorizing and analysis".

8  
9 UM: Yes.

10  
11 Os: And...UI.

12  
13 UM: In something like that, Abou Omar will analyze.

14  
15 Os: I know him.

16  
17 UM: Abou Omar will analyze.

18  
19 Os: But, what is the possibility of him traveling and...UI?

20  
21 UM: He analyzes even better than the doctor, than doctor Ali. Dr. Ali can be very good in  
political positions. He works good daily. Statements and stuff. But, as analysis, Abou  
Omar...UI.

22  
23  
24  
25 Os: ...UI.

26  
27 UM: No, he is in Lebanon and is not...UI.

28  
29 Os: No, he doesn't travel or go and come?

30  
31 UM: No, no. He is in Lebanon and he doesn't travel.

32  
33 Os: Do you have his...UI. I want to call him.

34  
35 UM: Yes, I have it but it is in the suitcase...UI.

36  
37 Os: ...UI.

38  
39 UM: Remind me and I will get it. I didn't attend the festival yesterday. This is not right..UI.  
40 Shukri..., Shukri Abu Baker.

41  
42 Sh: Yes, Abou Asi, what is with you?  
43

1 UM: I didn't come to the festival yesterday.  
3 Sh: We were working...  
4  
5 UM: That is not right.  
6  
7 Sh: It is not important.  
8  
9 UM: Leave work behind. Let's go over there. We get money from over there. [Laughter].  
10  
11 Sh: No, we sent Sheik Sharif.  
12  
13 UM: No, brother. Sheik Sharif doesn't know. It is not his job.  
14  
15 Sh: What is that mean? [Laughter].  
16  
17 UM: Seriously, by God. [Laughs]. Not at all. Of course, I love him a lot and...UI.  
18  
19 Os: Yes, in San Diego [Laughter].  
20  
21 UM: Yes, he took me over there. I love him a lot. But, he doesn't work well in...  
22  
Os: That means..., that means Shukri will do well in the begging business?  
25 UM: Halfway, maybe.  
26  
27 Os: He doesn't look like a beggar. He is young, he trims his beard good and he is wearing a  
28 suit and a tie.  
29  
30 Sh: Between you and me..., between me and you...  
31  
32 UM: I mean, I gave him 50%...  
33  
34 Sh: He is being trained  
35  
36 UM: I gave him 50%.  
37  
38 Os: He is being trained on Abou Ibrahim's hands and not...UI.  
39  
40 Sh: ...UI.  
41  
42 UM: I know that. Where do you know these things? [Laughter]. But, you're relatively more  
43 successful than others. [Laughter]. Seriously, by God. Sharif didn't do good yesterday

1 even though the atmosphere was suitable.

2 Sh: By God, it was suitable and stuff...UI.

3 [UI group talk].

4  
5  
6  
7 UM: And, also the film you showed was very unappealing.

8  
9 Sh: Is that right?

10  
11 UM: Yes...UI. Instead of showing pictures, there are live footage. There are live footage of  
12 children. You now live in the age of..., what you call it...UI.

13  
14 Os: ...UI. You mean footage of people who were martyred and stuff.

15  
16 UM: Oh, yes, yes, yes. I see that it was...UI. It was unappealing. It needs..., it just needs sound.  
17 Add some sound to it, something like a commentary. I mean, add something to it.

18  
19 Sh: You prohibited the music for us.

20  
21 UM: who told you that?

22  
23 Sh: You give us a Fatwa.

24  
25 UM: If you like, you can be like Bashar who got a Fatwa from me [*Laughter*]. Get a Fatwa  
26 from me.

27  
28 Sh: [*Laughs*].

29  
30 UM2: Fatwa regarding what?

31  
32 UM: [*Regarding*] musical instruments. Take it from me.

33  
34 UM2: It is permissible?

35  
36 UM: Who told you it is not permissible? Is there a Quran verse which says it is not  
37 permissible?

38  
39 [UI group talk].

40  
41 UM: Let me tell you; all the [*prophet's*] sayings which say it is not permissible are all weak. I  
42 challenge you to get me one saying...UI.

1 Sh: That's right...UI.

2 UM: Go read al-Ghazali...

3 UM3: So, the instruments and the...

4 UM: Go read..., it is called "Reviving the Religion's Studies", a chapter which is called  
5 "Permission"...

6 UM3: Ah.

7 UM: ...go see what it says. After it lists all the sayings, it considers that all these sayings  
8 applied to a certain period of time because the instruments and stuff used to accompany  
9 alcohol, playing and stuff like that. Therefore, the scholars of Islam prohibited them.

10 UM2: That means that you allow the issue of the musical instruments.

11 UM: Not me. I have nothing to do with it. It is not my responsibility [*Laughter*].

12 Sh: You're...UI, my master sheik [*Laughter and UI group talk*].

13 UM: This is in response to Shukri regarding the video issue.

14 Sh: It is a personal issue.

15 UM2: My brother, my brother...

16 UM: Also, if you get into a human voice, an uttering, for instance,...UI, you heard a phrase, a  
17 poetry verse, a Quranic verse, stuff like that so that people can live things vividly. ...UI

18 Sh: My master, this film was really made for the American public.

19 UM: I'm giving you..., please forgive me..., I'm giving you the responsibility for..., for  
20 yesterday.

21 Os: What is going on? Hope it is good, God's willing.

22 UM: Er..., this young man you brought wasn't good. He doesn't know anything...UI. This needs  
23 moving and vitality. Also, today, there were some people from the area. Ok, seek help  
24 from one of them. He should use his brain a little bit. I'm talking to you and you...UI. I'm  
25 talking to you while you are the sheiks and...

26 Group: No, no.

1 UM: The atmosphere was ready. The atmosphere..., when I got down form the podium people  
2 were ready..., ready. But, it [*the film*] was very, very unappealing. Even when he raised  
3 the picture, he didn't know how to use it and say that this picture is from the so and so  
4 mosque and said, "Who pays \$150?" and he stopped there.  
5

6 UM2: It is from New Jersey. They brought the picture from New Jersey and had an auction over  
7 it.  
8

9 UM3: It is a good picture.  
10

11 UM: This needed someone who has some knowledge of the names of the attendees. For  
12 instance, you have Sheik Abdel Azeem sitting down, use him...UI.  
13

14 UM2: My brother, ...UI. I..., I mean all of that should be known before..., before one reaches  
15 the...UI.  
16

17 [*UI group talk*].  
18

19 UM3: Sheik Sharif and Sheik Abdel Azeem were sitting down and I told Sheik Sharif "Would  
20 you like to go immediately after the sheik?"  
21

22 [*UI group talk*].  
23

24 UM: We're talking..., we're talking so that you can avoid that in the future, avoid that in the  
25 future. That's it.  
26

27 [*UI group talk*].  
28

29 UM: I gave a lecture and our brother Abdel Azeem stood up and said, "We want to sell this  
30 lecture and stuff like that. Who will buy?". And they started. How much did you collect?  
31 Five?  
32

33 UM2: Four and a half.  
34

35 UM: Four and a half net?  
36

37 UM2: Yes.  
38

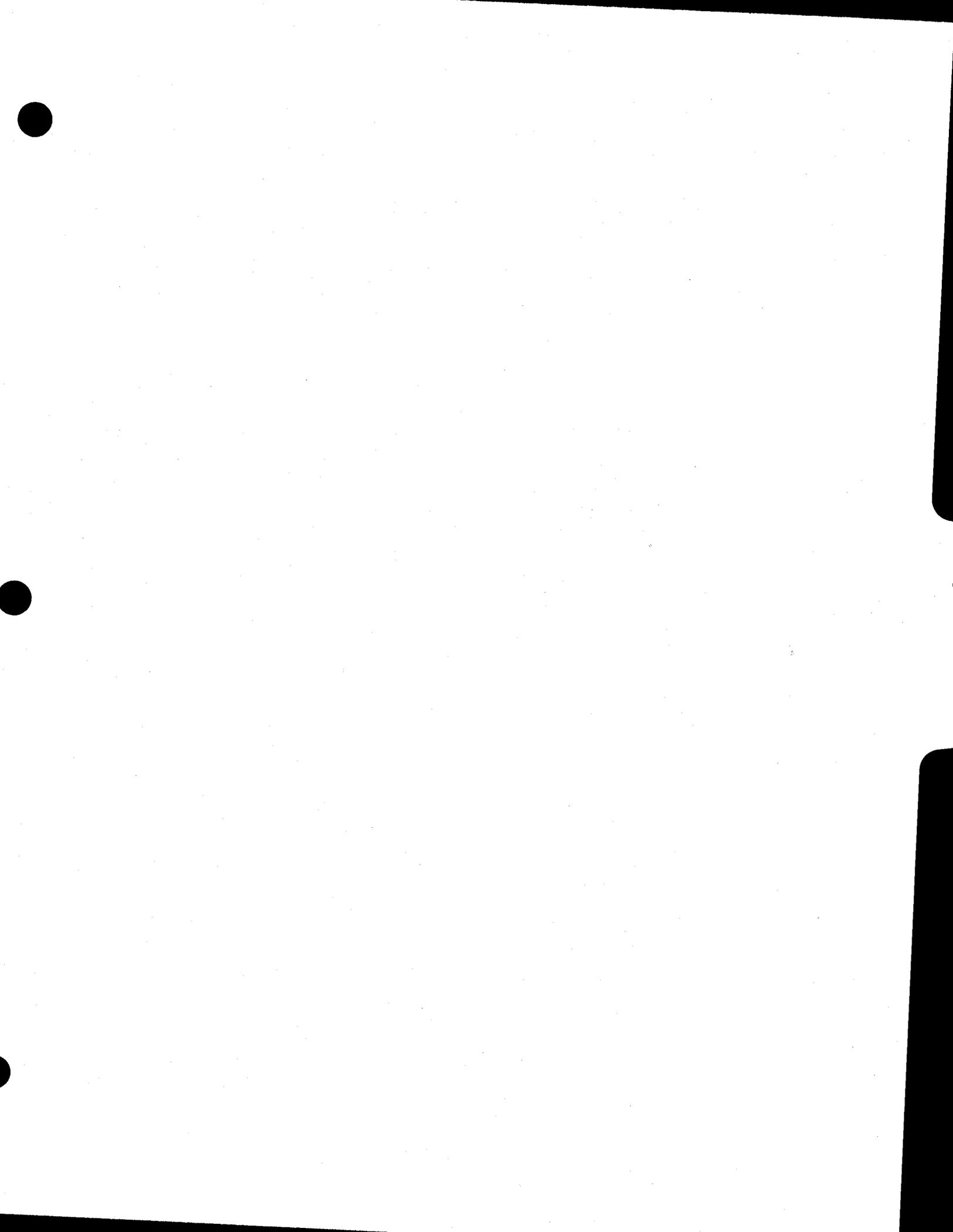
39 UM: Yes. Net.  
40

41 [*UI group talk*].  
42

43 UM: Ok. These are the people who work. You need another person who has a favor with three

1 or four people. "Come on so and so". If one of them gives \$500, the other people will  
follow suit. I'm saying that in order to...UI...

4 [*UI multiple group conversations until the end of recording*].  
5  
6



1 [Group is engaged in UI group talk, followed by prayers].

3 Ga: Shukri, aren't you supposed to collect the papers? Go ahead, collect the papers.

4  
5 Sh: You collect them. ...UI. Everybody should take his papers.

6  
7 [UI group talk].

8  
9 UM2: ...I have an appointment at 5:00.

10  
11 Ga: You have an appointment at 5:00?

12  
13 [UI group talk].

14  
15 UM2: How are you, my sheik?

16  
17 UM3: May God give you strength.

18  
19 UM2: Hurry up, hurry up. You made the sheik upset.

20  
21 [UI group talk].

22  
23 Ha: ...UI I have to take Sheik Sharif.

24  
25 Sh: What time is Sheik Sharif leaving?

26  
27 Ha: Some time past 3:00.

28  
29 Sh: Is it possible that is luggage...UI. That means we should get the stuff out. Man, there are  
30 people left without taking their papers, what is that?

31  
32 UM2: Should we take them outside?

33  
34 Ha: By God, I can put them in the car. ...UI is arriving by car.

35  
36 Sh: When?

37  
38 Ha: Today.

39  
40 Sh: Many welcomes. Many welcomes to the sheik. God is great...UI.

41  
42 UM2: God is great. God is great.

1 Sh: Come on, Haitham Maghawri, may God be pleased with you. Haitham...  
3 Sh: What time is the...  
4  
5 UM: They say in two hours.  
6  
7 Sh: Really!  
8  
9 UM: Yes. They didn't give us breakfast today and I don't know if they are going to give us  
10 lunch.  
11  
12 Sh: You didn't eat today?  
13  
14 UM: No. They didn't give us breakfast.  
15  
16 Sh: They didn't give you breakfast?  
17  
18 UM: No.  
19  
20 Sh: These youth..., by God, my honorable sheik. No matter what we learn, they don't learn.  
21 This is not the first or the second festival...UI. They don't give the sheik a breakfast on the  
third day.  
22  
23 UM: Is that right?  
24  
25 Sh: No, no. That is not right.  
26  
27  
28 *[Brief UI group talk while men seem to be exiting the room].*  
29