

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

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

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Ga: ...the agreement is disturbing, really. The most fronts which will be disturbed [by it] are the American and the European fronts. The majority of their work will be negatively affected until the identity is reformulated in America and Europe on that basis. It is important to note that activism for the Cause in America must be re-defined according to the changes. The current reality in the U.S. media and policy has changed. I'm talking about the formulation of the region and not the formulation of the Jews because that [*the agreement*] is in complete harmony with the American mentality, the logic and the address. And this is what happened over there...UI. So, you need to do something about the reality here and, based on this new thinking, we find that there are four principal points. The Palestinian community circle. It is the number one circle as far as activism for Palestine is concerned. I think that it will impatiently wait for concrete results to be achieved on the ground, in this stage. They will have questions and those among you who heard the talk shows about the Palestinians and...UI, have noticed that the community is doubting, some are supportive of the agreement and some are supportive of the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization, but they're in doubt about what could be achieved...etc. Then, waiting will be the factor in the...UI... and dominating tendencies in the Occupied Territories after they become clear...UI. For sure, there are...UI... in the point of view according to connection of the media in the [*Gaza*] Sector which is a

problem I hope we in America pay attention to now. People don't...UI much. The agreement is...UI. How many people have read it [*the agreement*]? One in every thousand? Very few minority did that. So, how do you expect these people to defend the future of the Movement and the Movement's position? If there was a rejection, how would he stand with the Movement? How? It is impossible. What is needed then is to have the Palestinian be aware of what is in the agreement. I said that an agreement written in five pages....UI. We barely read some of it. How about the general public?...UI. I imagine the media part plays a very important role in that issue. The second circle is the Arab and Islamic countries. It is, of course, the second circle for the Palestinian activism and...UI, adopting of positions first of all. Second, ...UI the Islamic current which is the dominant and the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization, which is the minor current and not a majority, and they [*The Arab peoples*] deal with it the same way like they deal with governments in their homelands. ...UI. They don't understand this or that, or know the difference between the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization and Hamas..., the Islamic Movement. What they understand is that this is a step towards...UI. They have two segments in my opinion; the first one is the generation which grew up and lived here, they are generally agreeable to the atmosphere now. They are against violence and...UI. The American media has been used and was employed to...UI, and God knows best. All of that is in favor of support to the agreement. The third circle includes the educated people; Palestinians, Arabs and Muslims. I'm not too worried about those as I believe that we are the most qualified to be...UI. Those are the ones who... stability and affirms our position in general terms. It is my opinion that this circle is the most important circle of activism for us. My opinion is that...UI, we should form alliances with them, form an agreement in opinion with them. They're the ones who...UI with the others. The fourth circle is the American people in general and it is a problem. This is a massive problem. I don't know what we are going to do with it, but... There are people who don't even know where Palestine is. I expect that he would support the project [*i.e. the agreement*] and call for it, use the media and legal...UI in order to show the different points of view to the American people. Consequently, these people understand the Palestinian Cause as a whole through the eyes of the [*Palestinian*] Liberation Organization and not through Hamas. The only sector which I believe will be educated and it is the small one in my opinion is the...UI sector which we could deal with. This the issue of the circles...UI. Work will be affected of course in my opinion in the same manner. In the beginning, you need a definition. Here are some examples for that. The...UI inside the Occupied Territories, it used to be "Take [*money*], spend and take for this and that". Now, all of that will change. Why is this going to change? Because..., first of all, what is going to happen inside the Occupied Territories? This is Arafat's method to interfere in everything relating to Palestinian activism. No Palestinian can enter Tunisia without a permission from the [*Palestinian*] Liberation Organization. What is the meaning of that? Also, the same thing was true before with Sudan and...UI. And the agreement is still in place until now. And [*the same*

thing with] Yemen until recently. They have a desire to control and dominate the whole human being, entirely, all of his character they want to control him in order to move and do whatever they want to him. How much more when it comes to money? Money coming to Palestine from America, from Saudi Arabia, from Europe or...UI, they want to control it in a very high level, in my opinion. This is one. Two, the change in the party which...UI. I'm saying that and I'm absolutely sure of it. The Arab governments now, do they allow unlimited financial assistance from foreign parties even to the poor and the needy? ...UI to Arafat and he [NFI] is more honorable than them. Much more. I saw Saddam Hussein and Arafat next to him is...UI, if he managed to rule and lasted. Based on that,...UI changes from a small scale to a full scale, from very small and limited things. This remains a possibility and is not for certain. I'm talking about possibilities we might face. The third thing is that the support allocated to alleviate the sufferings from the Palestinian people in all shapes in light of the existence of the international support will...UI, specially within the next five years. ...UI they pay a lot of money specially to a person who is not connected to the Islamic current or to ...UI. God knows best. The Palestinian tendencies will be towards the improvement of the [*living*] conditions. Every two to three weeks at the best estimate, they will talk about improvement in the unemployment, improvement for the students, economic improvement, the opening of a factory, the opening of a project, unemployment is down. This is the method they will use and America will give them an enormous help in that regards, in my opinion.

Sh: Yes.

Ga: America and the American...UI, in order to convince the people because everybody is convinced; the Americans are convinced and the Jews. People must...UI on the ground. They're happy, with the flag now, but the flag will last one week, two weeks or a month and what is after that? We need bread. This will be... The propaganda which will be spread will affect Hamas...UI in the meanwhile....UI. Are you going to collect a million? Not a million, for instance. The media and political support for the Cause in general terms, and to the rights of the Palestinian people specifically will be negatively affected in my opinion. Why? First, the organizations which work on these issues are American and they deal from the..., from America's mentality. A prominent example for that is the occupation. The U.S. government used to call it "occupation" and...UI, used to reject its measures and rejects this and that and used to call to the implementation of the Geneva agreement. This was the official America..., State Department and otherwise. It tried to...UI, because all became a United Nations so,...UI. You're no longer have the right to resist the occupation. All of that will be classified according to the American concept. There is no occupation now. There is an understanding and there are no weapons to be carried because there is no occupation to be fought. There is no more suffering because of the occupation. Suffering now is on the hands of the local government. This will be

classified as terrorism according to America. How are you going to do it? How are going to perform Jihad? How are you...UI? I believe we will face all of that and...UI. Following up on the issues of the self-rule should be on two axes. This is a problem in itself. And any role you play, you're an American-Palestinian organization in America...UI. You have the support, this and that from the Islamic current. The first axis you have to work on is the institutions of the self-rule as far as human rights and democracy are concerned in order to show that it is an undemocratic Authority. This is an open line for you, for instance. Also, analyzing the American sympathy and the sympathy of the...UI with it [*The PNA*]...UI, unfortunately, our approach will be the same in dealing with the Israeli government in America. You will notice. The second one relates to the final stage negotiations which is you trying to say that Israel is maneuvering, wants to postpone, plays the mouse game and is... UI from the Palestinians their legitimate rights. These are the options you have right now but, if you take a hostile stand towards the self-rule, I believe that there should be a harmony between the two approaches. I'm speaking in general terms until now and...UI. My expectations are...UI. The fourth matter is the support for the resistance to the occupation. As long as there is an occupation, there is no problem with the resistance. But, the resistance will remain. The option of resistance is determined; it will continue, without an end, with no going back, no matter how the circumstances, in all conditions and despite all options even the option of taking part in the self-rule. The resistance will continue...UI. This will be a true problem if you deal with the resistance which will continue to fight on even against the self-rule and they are in dire need for sympathy and dealing with them...UI and to form a segment of supporters for it. Because there is a problem. There are accumulations. You must formulate the position of the Palestinians and the Muslims here in America to support the resistance. Work must be in that direction. Ok. That's a problem by itself. In the same time, not falling under the accusations of terrorism and those who harbor terrorism or tend to according to the American...UI. How can we carry two...UI at the same time? This, really, is a true problem. The fifth and the last issue is the ongoing struggle inside Palestine. Of course, my personal opinion at least, is that the struggle is inevitable and postponement [*of the struggle*] is postponement and nothing more. And those who postpone [*the struggle*]...UI will be in a position of struggle and would be able to govern the struggle and protect his home, not to postpone. Those who postpone are the ones who...UI so that, when the struggle begins, they will...UI. The current position of the Islamic Movement is hesitant just like the brothers inside mentioned. There is fear, this and that and their position is hesitant. This is what will weaken it in the coming stage, but this is the only stage which...UI, while creating institutions,...UI, everything, factories, a seaport, building structures, camps, roads and sewer system, all of this is...UI. But, when Fatah does all that...UI, the issue is over. We don't go on strike or go out in demonstrations or fill the streets...UI. Out of that, this struggle is inevitable and will always face the Islamic activism to deal with. This vision will...UI. Now, the Islamists have retreated, I mean,

they marched backwards. If they advance...UI, the struggle is natural in the region...UI. Right now, the atmosphere in the region forces you to...UI. I believe that this is something which will solve a lot of the problems when it comes to the support of the people of truth, but based on the foundation of the national rights. I mean, we have to stand with the Islamists,...UI, but what is the problem? It is how to deal with this issue in your media, your official policy as an American organization. I believe it should be according to the foundation of the national rights of Palestine and their convictions and stuff like that, and through the West's political pluralism..., through political pluralism, intellectual pluralism and multiple program, specially...UI. In this occasion, a committee should be formed to intervene between the two sides should a confrontation occur. This is my personal opinion and I don't know...UI. My opinion

is that this will be a very important and positive initiative which has to do with forming a committee to intervene between the two sides to prevent a confrontation from occurring and to participate in a general national reconciliation inside the...UI. The reconciliation would be a national one and people on the inside will...UI, they will represent the truthful stand and they will say "No, nothing happened. This is a trivial [*matter*]" in front of the American public view, the Palestinian public view and the Islamic public view inside America. Of course, there are going to be some problems, some specific policies to deal with them; the bigger parts before the smaller part. In my opinion...UI. God the Almighty knows best. May God reward you.

Sh: God's willing, we will... May God reward you well. We have half an hour and we will finish at 1 o'clock. The program is as follows: Half an hour until 12 o'clock, then an intellectual ...UI with a discussion from 12-1, a break from 1-1:15 and...UI, [*Laughter*]. The second presentation...UI, it will be about charity work. So, discussion and dialogue is half an hour to an hour, my brothers, and let's go around from one [*person*] to another, each person a question in order to give a chance to the other brothers who... We want to guarantee... I want to... [*Group laughter and talk. UI*]. There is no legal violation in this method. I'm the one running the session [*group laughter and talk. UI*]. My brothers, there is a special break for tea. In an hour, God's willing.

As: ...UI as if they're about to come tomorrow and get us. I mean, I feel we incite this kind of talk. We, the media people, are the ones who..., our media is the one which give rise to this kind of talk among the people. I don't how dangerous this is. I feel that we're the ones who bring this up among the people. We say that we exist on the field. Yes, we're present...UI. Didn't they say that Hamas is this people [*The Palestinians*]. We are, then, a part of the people. Why are we...UI? I don't know why. We assist in spreading this kind of

ideas. I mean, we should not commit this mistake and say...er. They're the ones who are currently spreading these things now.

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

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

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

As: This thing...UI, either from Israeli sources or from sources within the [*Palestinian Liberation*] organization, there is nothing new. We make this presentation to the people in order to derail the agreement. This the Muslims' program, originally, in order to cause the alternatives in front of them to fail and in order to make people aware of the facts

mentioned by brother Gawad. This is a reality and these are the statements issued by these people and not speculations, my brothers. Plain statements.

Sh: Yes.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

As: It is true that if all we deal with is how to overcome the crisis and...UI, the Movement would come to an end during the first year of the Intifada. But, there should be talk on how to bypass the crisis and deal with its negatives. The second point is: What is the goal of the upcoming stage? It is to derail the agreement. Is our goal to derail the agreement? Is our goal really to have Israel withdraw from Jericho and Gaza? Is this our goal? What

is our goal in the coming stage? I imagine..., let's ask this question about the goal of the next stage. I mean, how to take advantage of the agreement in the next stage. I imagine that... What is the goal?

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

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

Ga: Of course.

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

Ga: Everybody, everybody.

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

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

As: I can derail it?

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

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

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

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

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

scientific...UI.

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

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

Gh: But, the general tendency is important as you are on the American front and you're governed by the general directions which...UI.

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

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

Sh: ...UI get him a chair.

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

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

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

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

Ga: A lot at this time. A lot.

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

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

Ga: No, we will bypass it.

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

[Group laughter].

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

UM1: ...UI

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

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

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

UM2: The political situation is...UI.

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

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

UM1: Alternatives like what?

UM2: Or alternatives to the general plan, for before and after the agreement so that we won't forget, that is, and we don't change...UI..., political, charitable and media activism.

UM1: ...UI.

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

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

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

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

Sh: Yes.

UM1: I have a question which is: We in America, regardless of the practical political address or - whatever do you call it - ...UI, for us as Muslims we should see what happened as an end of a stage beginning from the sixties, the seventies until now. Now, the produced result is the Palestinians' recognition of the state of Israel. I consider this a turning point, it is the turning point in the conflict, the conflict which they tried to turn from an Islamic conflict to a Palestinian conflict. Now, we see a turn from a Palestinian conflict to an Islamic one. Now, how can formulate the Islamic address in America to the Islamic community, particularly the Palestinian community? If the Palestinian community embraced the Islamic address regarding Jerusalem and Al Aqsa mosque, [saying that] Palestine is the land of Muslims and stuff, I think all the other Islamic organizations and the Arab community, even the Americans themselves due to their belief in democracy and these people [i.e. *The Palestinians*] have a right. Of course, the address ought to be in a reasonable way, without tension and illogical talk. But, this is what is going to happen. Do you see that this could be the kind of address or one of the method with the Islamic community at large and the Palestinian community in particular. Strongly, I mean, that now Palestine should be returned to those who have a right..., to those who liberated it are the ones [who have a right]...UI. The rest of the questions.

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

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

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

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

Sh: Yes, yes. This is better. This way, you give the brothers who have papers to present a hint to present them in points. Our discussion will then be...UI.

Om: ...UI, the first thing which will happen in the future. I imagine that it is almost impossible

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

UM1: Dealing with the opposition.

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

Sh: The government, Mubarak and his clan.

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

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

Om: These examples show people that this talk is lies, I mean, that we strip confidence from this Authority. If we gradually take the confidence away from this Authority, I imagine that it will fail or, in reality, it will remain as just an image... In reality, people's confidence in it, people's cooperation with it will be less and people won't feel that this Authority represents us and suddenly... Of course, this should be an experiment. The Jews

will be watching Gaza and it will be an experiment and, if Arafat manages to rule the people in Gaza, they will hand over the rest of the people in the [West] Bank. And he will...UI and the settlers will be left alone. Now, instead of Israel using 100,000 soldiers to rule the Palestinian people, Arafat will do it with 20,000 [soldiers]. Even if he wanted 100,000, they will give him if he succeeds in ruling it securely. We need to spoil this confidence. If we remove the confidence, Israel won't be able to give more to Arafat. This will make him look like a big...UI.

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

Om: Derailment will annul the...UI.

Ga: Fine.

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

Ga: An annulment which happened by itself...UI. When the goals of the derailment happen, I should hold papers in the street and tear them...UI. The agreement would be over, practically. The Movement has a goal to derail the goals of the agreement. Their principle of establishing an authority to rule the people is rejected. I'm saying that the stuff you're saying is not in harmony with their convictions. The principle of establishing the [Palestinian National] Authority, forming of the police, building the infrastructure for the Palestinian self-rule for Abou Ammar should be defeated from its beginnings, from the start. If the National Conference will convene in...UI. Out of these political powers, only this one is trying to form a plan to rule. We shouldn't wait until it gets a grip, forms a state and then issue a statement... No, no, no. This is not a derailment. This would be called an opposition. What is an opposition? This was not a good choice. The right choice would have been confrontations with all of its true meanings; political and non-political...UI. We want to defeat the goals of the project to begin with, starting with the formation of the Authority and ending with the...UI the situation, spreading security and protecting the Jews. I mean, all of that happen between them. There is a problem, a psychological problem with people and...UI. This is the soil of the homeland...UI. The success of the issue is subject to criticism and agreement, of course...UI. It is a general situation, but it is open for developments with the advancement of the stage. God knows best.

Sh: The media..., so that we could switch this to the media connection. The media should work on derailing this project in more than a way. We have probably served the agreement which is my personal belief, not necessarily by praising the agreement, but when you read the average [media coverage], it is supportive [of the agreement]. Things which serve the agreement such as the economic revival, the infrastructure, this and that.

The average reader will say, "It is good. What is wrong about it?". But, according to the suggestion of our brother, Abou Mohamed, of attacking the credibility of those overseeing the..., he used the word "Discredit" which means to discredit the people. I don't know how to say it in Arabic. So, the question for those presenting the media paper to discuss is as follows: Is it wise for us to attack the credibility the agreement..., those overseeing the project as individuals, as names such as this and that. We should bring up their secret files to the public eye. There was talk in the public circles that we must disgrace these characters in order to expose them to the Palestinian people and wonder what dignity and what credibility [they have]. So, please, the brothers who are presenting the media paper try to reach a decision in that regards. Now, prepare to this answer. Ok, we will take the last three [questions] and we will close, God's willing. Abou..., Akram, did you raise your hands?

Ak: As you wish [Laughs].

Sh: We will come back to you. I just wanted to...UI.

UM2: To be honest, the question raised on the American front is the broader approach. It is our duty, in order to put their [PNA] in a crisis, to...UI. The American front does not tolerate, in this stage in particular,...UI or any kind of confrontations, neither on the national level or the Islamic level nor on the general American public. The American front truly needs us to empty the core [of the agreement], saying that this agreement did not...UI. For instance, on the Palestinian level, yes, we need to have an authority in place and stuff, to achieve this and that for us, but will this happen...? We should plant doubt within people about this honorable Authority. With Arabs, it should be the issue of the sanctuaries and stuff. With Americans, it should be the issue of human rights, justice and stuff. These, my brother, are the issues which we can bring up to the American front. We cannot tackle the issue of finding the alternative authority, finding this and that, discrediting individuals, discrediting certain institutions, for instance. I mean, in this stage, it is my opinion that people are not prepared to pay attention to these kind of issues.

Ga: But...UI.

Sh: This confirms the...

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

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

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

END OF RECORDING.