

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

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

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

Om: [i.e.] Military upbringing.

Sh: What?

Om: Military breeding.

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

As: The...er,...

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

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

UM1: How about Akram...UI.

Ak: No, no. Let Aboul Hasan go.

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

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

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

As: Oh, yes.

Sh: ...UI. Go ahead.

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

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

Ga: ...UI.

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

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

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

Ab: From December until now?

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

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

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

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

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

Sh: We will discuss it. Fine.

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

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

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

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

UM1: May God reward you.

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

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

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

Ab: How many years exactly?

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

UM1: Here is Ghassan.

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

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

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

UM1 ...UI.

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

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

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

Sh: To preserve their existence...

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

Sh: ...UI Shaw.

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

As: Now,...UI

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

UM1: An intellectual or a physical leadership?

Ak: A political leadership.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sh: Fine. Is there a comment or something.

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

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

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

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

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

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

not a principle.

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

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

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

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

Sh: Ok. I'm writing the names.

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

Sh: They don't care.

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

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

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

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

Sh: ...UI.

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

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

Sh: Abdel Jabbar.

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

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

Sh: Abdel Salam.

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

END OF RECORDING