

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

Sh = Shukri Abu Baker
Om = Omar Ahmad
Gh = Ghassan Elashi
Gh2 = Ghassan Saleh
Ss = Sheik Sharif
Ga = Gawad (Abou Ayyoub, LNU)
Ab = Abdel Salam (LNU)
Ak = Akram (LNU)
Au = Abou Usama (NFI)
As = Abdel Halim Al Ashqar (Aboul Hasan)
Aa = Abou Ahmad (NFI)
Aj = Abdel Jabbar Hamdan
Ab2 = Abou Bassem (NFI)
Mu = Muin (LNU)
Ar = Abdel Rahman
Ni = Nihad (LNU)
Os = Osama (NFI)
Ay = Ayman Sharawi
Ha = Haitham Maghawri

Audio file: MTGB 19931003_2.WAV

Gh2: ...the [*Islamic*] Association [*for Palestine*] issue hasn't been agreed on. I mean, you did not tell me. I disagree with what you said about the Association's issue.

Ak: Maybe we should discuss the issue...

Sh: Ah. Ok, our brothers. That's fine.

Gh2: I see that there should be a dramatic change in the Association...

Sh: Ok, fine.

Gh2: And that it should move in the community's direction. We shouldn't keep it as is.

Sh: Ok. Fine.

UM: He asked a question...

Gh2: What is supposed to happen is to have a vote on the matter.

Sh: My opinion, then, is to have an appeal by the Association's Shura Council or for the...UI.

Om: UI... Shukri, just like the other thing you said they are not going to approve it and they did approve it. Ask us. Take a vote. Let them raise their hands...UI.

Sh: Raise your hands, O youths. The brothers who see that there is a need for... Fine. Please be patient with us. I'm just trying to be practical. I'm just trying to be practical because... Our brothers, we won't finish today. Everyone will tell me a remark. I want to put this to a motion. Allow me.

Gh: ...UI you have two of the Association's pillars [here].

Sh: Allow me. Hold on. This council, Abou Mohamed, isn't it a legislative council?

Om: No, my brother. I want to see the direction of the brothers. If we see that this is the direction of 98% of the brothers is no. That's it.

UM: 98...huh?

Sh: So, Ghassan, the issue is... We are not going to discuss it in details. I mean, there is no paper that you're presenting about changing the Association... This is not our topic.

Om: Shukri, Shukri, Shukri, Shukri,. There is..., there is a topic on the floor right now. You shouldn't let... We didn't hear from the other brothers. And you cannot make everyone talk. Right? At least he should vote. If he doesn't want to talk, he should at least say "Yes" or "No". That's it.

Sh: Our brothers... Ok, let's vote.

UM: Let's solve it...

Sh: No. We will vote. We solved it. We will vote.

UM: No, we didn't solve it.

UM2: With the media power...

Sh: Our brothers, please, please. Let's vote. Let's vote. A few at a time, a few at a time.

UM: My brother, you vote when..., I mean when you conclude the idea, voting takes place. When you...UI. People will be then voting on a clear matter

UM2: Brother Shukri...UI.

UM: Brothers, I don't see a need for voting and there is no problem. The whole issue is developing the Association's work. Should we work more on media, work more on the community, serve people more over there...UI.

Sh: Our brothers, by God, allow me. By God, I'm just trying to be practical. I don't think any of the attending brothers is against the idea of developing the Association's work. Our brothers, we're talking about issues, huge strategies which impact..., which lead to major changes. But no one among the brothers... Anyone here brothers have... I asked questions and no one..., no one said "No". I asked a specific question. Let's vote. Our brothers, please, we are not re-opening the discussion regarding yesterday. We're trying to reach conclusions. If each time we say a point..., please be patient, my brother. If every time a brother says a point we respond to it we will not finish.

UM: No, there is a point they say in the community. When you talk with the community they tell you, "My brother, this is not your job".

Sh: That brother cited an example about the community.

UM: Yes, an example. We ...UI the communities.

Gh2: The Palestinian community, specifically. Whenever you engage them, they tell you...

UM: They tell you that you do office work.

Sh: Pray on the prophet. Pray on the prophet. Pray on the prophet.

UM: May God pray on our master, Mohamed.

Sh: Our brothers, let's go back to our motion. We don't want to get into things. Who sees that

there is a need, in light of the recent developments, that the Association ought to think about is constitutional and organizational frames, think now and go back to its Shura Council, to the executive committee, and say that we need to make a dramatic change in our direction, attitude and everything. We need to evaluate what is the Association and its work. Let's be honest with each other. Be patient with me. What are you saying? Who, our brothers, see that there is a need. Let him raise his hand.

Gh: I just have a simple question for Omar or Ghassan..., before you allow voting.

Sh: Go ahead, my brother, go ahead. Raise your hands.

Gh2: Regarding us making a dramatic change...

Sh: That there is a need as a result of the new circumstances. This is the subject of our discussion.

Om: The issue is that we are changing the Association and it seems that you're consenting to the change, that is...

Sh: That's what I'm trying to say. That's what I'm trying to say.

Om: You're in agreement. Consequently, that's fine.

UM2: You're developing it.

Sh: Fine. Development. Development.

Om: Fine.

[UI group talk followed by laughter].

Om: The majority..., the majority *[laughter]*. May God give you strength.

UM2: So, if someone dies in Minnesota, they are going to call you and you're going to bury his body and wash it?

[Group laughter and UI talk].

Om: Your example is rejected.

UM2: Why?

Om: Because...UI. Aboul Hasan.

As: Yes.

Om: I tell you something...

As: Yes.

Om: When there is..., there is a media situation and a situation where the FBI comes to you at your house so that half of the people don't attend your festival and tell you, "I'm afraid to attend your festival because there is talk about you". This is the talk. Give me two years while the situation remains like that and the Jews will come and... Tomorrow, the Jews will use the media [*and say*], "The Islamic Association for Palestine and stuff. It does this and that". Not a single person will go to the festival.

UM2: Then, specify..., specify your points. Don't go around saying...UI in the community.

Om: I'm specifying points...

Sh: Be patient, our brothers. Let's finish. We're now in a position to specify points or cite examples...UI.

Om: My brother, just a minute. Today in Philadelphia... Yesterday, in the festival, the tickets sold were more than those who attended. Usually, when we sell tickets, double the number attend. Why? People tell you, "I will purchase a ticket but I don't want to come". This is what people say "I will purchase. I'm ready to give you the \$10, but I don't want to come. I don't want to attend with you". What is this catastrophe? Half of the people didn't attend because of that reason. They're afraid. They tell you, "You're..., you're scary. Let me... I will give you". Someone said, "I will give you \$1,000 cash.

Sh: Develop..., develop the Association all you want and then..UI. Brothers, now..., now...

Gh2: I mean, this should be our position; that we develop according to need.

Om: So, we are not going to go bury somebody in Minnesota. This is what is meant.

Sh: Fine. Even if you bury him and this took .01 out of your efforts, that's fine. Ok. [*UI group talk*] We, our brothers, we should..., we should stick to the minimum... Our brothers,

please, no one said that the Association will now bury the dead [*laughter*]. That means that we will be taking the imams out of their jobs [*laughter and UI*].

Sh: When I said that, I imagined Sheik Yousif here with us but it looks like he was at a funeral.

[*UI group talk and laughter*].

UM: Ok, I mean, did someone tell him to do this job...UI.

UM2: He will form a front with Sheik al-Hanouti¹.

Sh: By God, I didn't mean his grandfather¹ [*laughter and UI group talk*].

UM: The Sheik won't forgive you for that one [*laughter*].

Sh: By God, you're negligent. No. We didn't mean that. Our brothers, let's not get...UI. Enough, please. In the coming period, the organizations must work to supply fundamental needs of the Movement in the fields of specializations such as journalism, law, politics, education and investment.

UM: Yes, yes.

Sh: I mean, urgent issues.

UM: What are you saying, man. These are long-term issues. What are you going to do in the short term.

Om: As a practice, that is. As a practice.

¹ "Al-Hanoti" in Arabic means "the undertaker".

Sh: As a direction. We're not..., we're not putting the plan in place. As a direction. Is it Ok that from now on we start thinking that the children of the community should be steered towards media, journalism and law and then tell them to go live in the homeland. Very general talk which we didn't say four years ago. We say it now. As for how the plan is going to be and these details will come later. This is just the general direction. Is it acceptable?

Group: Yes.

Sh: More than one brother focused on it yesterday and we saw that it is good to... That's it. Ok, our brothers, there are things to say in regards to our strategy relating to the peace project that it must be focused on the most the project can achieve. For instance, the brother said that the most it can achieve is the Palestinian state. Based on that, we examine the facts relating to the Palestinian state so that when the Palestinian state takes form, huh, we are already ahead of it and we are not still talking about self-rule. The self-rule is finished. What's after that? So, this was... But, do you think this is going to be discussed?

Gh: No.

UM: This is a sub-item under the media aspect.

Sh: Let's leave it to the brothers who are called the Think Tank, our politicians who keep working on this issue.

UM: The Association.

Om: ...UI.

Sh: The idea that media should adopt that, the idea to highlight the notion that Islamists..., the Islamists - we know what we mean by the Islamists - are the alternative, the alternative with a definite article. This is my opinion and I think we should take a vote on it because there are our brothers who can write about these issues.

Gh: I believe so. The Islamists are...UI.

UM: What does that mean? Every time the Sheik is about to give a speech...UI.

Sh: Yesterday, you said things that..., that there are inclinations to have...UI.

UM: Said something about the legitimate representative...

Gh2: The Sheik was at our end few days ago...

Sh: Ah.

Gh2: He said that no one said about himself that he will be the alternative because we need a

policy..., a new leadership within the frame of the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization.

UM: This is a...UI talk.

Gh2: Or, the issue of meeting with the...UI, wasn't it for this sake and purpose?

UM: Yes.

Gh: Fine. Let's wait.

Om: Why don't we write to America, people. What do we have to do with...

UM: My brother, he asked...

UM2: This a piece of information on the side.

Sh: Fine. That's fine. He is talking about the part which serves the Occupied Territories, about twenty-five percent of our media which said "Our brave heroes have conducted this and that operation and killed X number of Jews and Zionists and stuff like that. So, this is a part of it. They're asking, "Should we adopt an alternative to this or not..., in our lectures, our..."

Gh: ...UI.

Sh: Ok. Let's leave it. Let's leave it.

Ga: The thing is in his hands. It is an alternative or not...UI.

Sh: Ok. Fine. Thinking about opening new specialized organizations capable of dealing with any new reality or with the new reality. This is the issue we examined in details and which brother Ghassan mentioned and which produced...UI.

UM: ...UI brother Shukri.

Sh: That..., our brothers, these are the issues which caused disorder yesterday. Thinking of opening new specialized organizations capable of dealing with..., with the new reality.

Ak: But, our understanding of the idea when Omar presented the idea is that...

Sh: Wait so that we can take one person at a time.

Om: This was Abou Mohamed's idea and not mine. ...UI. We presented it during a session.

Sh: By God, it was from more than one person. When the brother said...

Om: Also, during Abou Mohamed's session as well. During his session with the brother.

UM: The idea was presented by Omar and then Ghassan.

[UI group talk and laughter].

Sh: Working to raise people's morale and this was a fundamental idea and a good one as far as its phrasing.

UM: ...UI [Laughter].

Sh: Had a good phrasing. The phrasing was "raising the morale in order to form a human bridge from and to Palestine". There was a recommendation in that direction as a strategy and not as a thought. We must always remain in contact with the Occupied Territories.

UM: And through an economic infrastructure.

Sh: No, and the delegations.

UM: Through an infrastructure. Meaning striking two birds with one stone.

Sh: The principle of delegations, meaning we receive delegations and send delegations and remain in contact with the Occupied Territories. Good? Should we vote on it? The issue of Jerusalem ought to remain fundamental with its creedal and Sharia axes and the Palestinian issue.

UM: ...UI.

Sh: All of it. All the meanings. Work in America must become supportive of the inside. Brother Aboul Hasan provided a special definition of that. He said that this will be done by organizing the relationships between the organizations and he cited examples. Some people said it is happening and some other people said: No, it is not happening.

UM: This is a part of the first point when we were talking about 75/25.

Sh: It doesn't matter. This is..., this a point about details and I don't believe Aboul Hasan will

insist on. He wants it. He has a certain goal in mind. About Hasan...

UM2: But, he should explain it to us, tell us what he means by that.

Sh: Yes, yes. When you said "supportive..., to be supportive..." and you cited examples from media, law and stuff like that. We can explain to us the idea and then if someone wants to say an idea, let him say it and we will vote on it or we don't want to vote.

UM: You mean like "Back-up", for instance?

Gh: Fraternity, that is, between them.

UM: Back-up...UI.

As: ...UI. This is one. The second item is the media.

Sh: Yes.

As: I said that there must be a special relationship between the...UI entity and the American..UI. I don't think they read anything that is being published in America. But, inside, any magazine or newspaper can be suspended. So, it is possible here to publish some of the magazine which serve the inside in order to fill the existing vacuum and which might increase in the future. This is almost what I said or what I explained before.

Sh: Is there a certain organization in your mind to perform this thing or should it be left to the brothers in the media apparatus?

Gh2: Not the Association.

As: What?

Gh2: Not the Association.

As: I really wanted Ahmad Yousef to do that but, anyway... By God, my brother, there is a competition good things. So, any side which performs this thing is fine without naming certain names. But, it is better that the existing organizations are... For instance, Al-Zaytouna is better than...UI, for instance. ...UI.

Om: You get it, don't you?

As: Yes.

UM: And also "Muslim Palestine" [*magazine*].

As: "Muslim Palestine", by the way, is printed in the inside and is distributed.

UM: You print it in the inside.

As: More than its distribution in the outside. Thousands are printed and not hundreds. It is printed in all the areas and thousands of issues are distributed. This is the...

Sh: It is a full-color [*magazine*], Aboul Hasan.

UM: Full-color, full-color.

Sh: It is excellent, by God.

UM: Full-color. They print it in Russia and south Africa as well.

Om: My brother, when a book is issued outside, it costs \$20, for instance. When a copy of it reaches the inside, it sells for \$5 in the market.

Sh: [*Laughter*]. We will sue you as copyrights are reserved. Ok, our brothers, our brother Aboul Hasan's words are clear, our brothers. He doesn't want to name certain organizations. But, when we check what our brother said, we can say "Palestine action organizations". As a direction, you think it is doable? Anyone has an objection to the idea as an idea?

Group: No, no.

Om: Fine. Let's do it.

Sh: We're almost finished, God's willing. This is the last point. Thanks be to God, Lord of the Two Worlds. I believe we finished all of them. May God reward you well, our brothers. I crossed the part which says, "Building a community first and large focus on non-Muslims is a waste of time". We said that this is...

UM: A waste of time [*Laughter*].

Sh: ...that it is a waste of time. These issues are technical issues and...

Gh2: Regarding the axes we agreed on...

Sh: We voted on those first thing because we wanted to..., the fraternity and...UI.

Gh2: ...UI.

Sh: These are the axes and we..., we took the main ideas.

As: Shukri, Shukri...

Sh: Yes.

As: ...UI for Akram so that he can finish.

Sh: Be patient, Aboul Hasan. Be patient. I'm with you. I love you but, I mean... I'm not finished yet. Youths, it is now 10:30. We have until 12:00, God's willing, right?

Om: 1:00.

Sh: We're staying up late?

UM: Maybe until 12:00.

[*Brief UI group talk*].

Ak: I will take 20 minutes, at the most. In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful. We will speak about charitable work and its future in light of the changes. I believe that there was near unanimity over the closing of the Foundation, the Holy Land Foundation and the Fund [*laughter and brief UI group talk*]...

Om: Listen, ...UI. Al Aqsa project, a gift from the Holy Land Foundation.

UM: We will vote, we will vote.

Sh: Talking about closing the Foundation? By God, I will go and sell watermelons [*laughter*] and stay in the market. It is the best job.

UM: What watermelons?

Sh: During the summer [*laughter*].

- UM: Work as an imam. Work as an imam.
- Sh: Work as an imam! *[laughter]*. It is the most honorable job, sir, for those who don't know.
- Aa: As long as it has nothing to do with the dead, it is good. *[laughter]*.
- Sh: ...UI you're one of the stars to be guided with during the morning time *[laughter]*.
Enough, may God be pleased with you.
- Aa: These are the stars of the tormented people which you see during the daylight *[laughter]*.
- Sh: I did not want to be called a cruel person and steal the dreams from your eyes *[poetry]*.
- Om: Wow *[UI brief group talk]*.
- Sh: Let's go, our brothers.
- As: It is almost 11 o'clock.
- Sh: It doesn't matter, it doesn't matter, Aboul Hasan.
- Ak: Ok, I divided the paper to..., what do you call it, what are the new developments which took place, the problems and the positive things of the coming period and the suggested solutions. The change which will take place in regards to charity work in America is that, as a result of the accord which took place and as a result of the situation and the economy which might change somewhat, it will necessarily reflect on charity work in America. Therefore, we must get acclimated to this new situation. What are the expected problems because of this work..., because of these developments? First, the morale of donors will be more negative in regards to donations. There is a near unanimity that donations will decrease as a result of some donors' conviction that there will be an economic revival, at least in the initial phase, the first one or two years. There was also a unanimity that the Islamic organizations in Palestine will be targeted by the self-rule and also by the Jews, whether in Gaza, the *[West]* Bank or in the '48 territories as well. Also, there was a conviction that the current organizations in Palestine are not sufficient, the Islamic organizations, specially in the Gaza, '48 and some parts of the *[West]* Bank, some parts of the...UI. Positive aspects of the new stage; First, the new economic situation might cover some of the families' needs in Palestine, the needs which the Fund used to spend almost 80% of its allocations on. So, this small break which might occur can cover some of the need and, consequently, a direction to provide more support to the organizations might emerge and with more vigor in the future. Also, the one other positive aspect is that there

will be an openness for new horizons for work, particularly in America, and particularly on the American people, international investments and organizations. I believe, I didn't feel there are more than two positive things in the coming stage. What are the suggested solutions and the future directions? First, avoiding the political approach in charity work. Let's have our brother Shukri stop his Friday sermons from now on.

Sh: By God, I just delivered a sermon last week.

Ak: There is an inclination to stay away from the political address in the charitable organization's name. Also, there is a direction towards all forms of address. They are already in place now. But, we now have a larger scope for the Americans..., to address all people in regards to things they are interested in. For instance, addressing Muslims now about the issue of Jerusalem, the issue of protecting the Islamic organizations in Palestine, the issue of maintaining the steadfastness of Muslims in Palestine and Jerusalem, for example. Also, issues relating to Jihad which will continue such as supporting the injured, the martyrs and prisoners, I mean, their families. These are directions for Muslims. As for the American society, opening the door to the American society through participating with them in building the infrastructure of Palestine, to have our charitable organizations become a front for that kind of work. And, there is more acceptance by the Americans now for this kind of work. Encouraging investors, attempting to get governmental support, if possible, for some projects. It is possible to form some economic committees which benefit from the changing situation. Securing protection for the Islamic organizations in Palestine and it can be done in America through fraternity, for instance, through registering some of the charitable organizations in Palestine under names of people living abroad in order to make it hard to hit them in the inside and closing them. Er...

UM: Register them in the name of some people who are out of the country?

Ak: No. If you, for instance, register them in the names of some people inside and outside, it is possible that... I don't know...UI.

UM2: He is just telling you...UI.

Ak: What?

UM2: Legally, are those who are absent allowed that?

Ak: It is possible now. I mean, getting acclimated to..., trying to protect the organizations using any possible legal means.

Sh: Yes, let's keep it like that. That is better.

Ak: Media campaigns and guests to expose the size of the problem and to show that the economic support which everybody is talking about has not solved most of the problems the Palestinian people suffer from. Also, the problem is bigger than an economic support and that won't be accomplished unless you bring people from the inside, people who live the problem and who tell people in America about the problem. You can encourage donors to...UI. Not telling donors about the change in our focus in work,+ that our work focus has changed through turning to the other Islamic problems so that a donor doesn't feel that the situation in Palestine has improved. Even if the change is towards the Palestinian camps outside Palestine which is a point on which there was disagreement. There was an direction to turn to the camps and the other direction was, no, as this would be a signal to the people that Palestine is Ok. So, this might require voting regarding the direction.

UM: Please allow me. It is not an issue of a direction but an addition. I mean, it can become one of Holy Land Foundation's interests in the future.

Ak: Yes. This approach is...

UM: To add it on, that is.

Ak: Fine. The other approach is that, if I add it now, it will be interpreted that I have changed my focus; that you now have an interest in the outside as the inside is now fine. I mean, these two points were presented and I don't adopt a point of view, I say that the two points were presented and I believe that we might need just five minutes. If it is possible to postpone it now because it might be the only point which needs...

Sh: Good as there will be discussion over it.

Ak: There is a direction to focus on supporting the organizations now more than support for daily lives and also the means for distributing funds through opening offices in Palestine, particularly opening new organizations in the areas of Gaza and '48 areas which suffer a lot. There was also a direction to develop media work of the organization, the Fund and charity work to provide an awareness project for donors. This can be done through the charity organization directly, or through the Association or any other organization. This will be done to limit the spread of rumors and to find future justifications to collect donations. This is the general summary of the directions. I believe that there was a unanimity over them.

Om: There is a missing point.

UM: There is a point which is attempting to register everything HLF owns in HLF's name, the property, in order to protect it in the future from confiscation and...

Ak: I mentioned that registering charity organizations in Palestine should be through...

UM: In HLF's name.

Ak: Yes, yes. Registering them in the name of the [organization] abroad.

UM: Yes.

Om: The project to provide awareness for donors by the political media...

Ak: Yes. I mentioned that in the last point.

Om: Where is it?

Ak: Developing media work of the organization or the charity work in order to provide awareness project for donors, either through the organization directly, or through other people in the Association or whatever, and to limit the spread of rumors that everything is Ok and also to provide political awareness to them. It also should not be done through charity organizations.

Om: Yes.

UM: How about the issue of students delegations, I mean, allowing delegations of children of the inside to come to America?

Ak: Hum...

Gh: Or through the Education Fund.

Ak: No, no...

Gh2: It should be done...UI, not through the HLF, that is. Either by the Education Fund or...

Ak: Yes, right. We didn't mention the HLF. The issue wasn't relating to HLF.

Gh2: Yes, it is a general topic. But, adopting...

Ak: We said..., we said "supporting organizations in Palestine". I mean, supporting the organizations includes support for the organizations which have to do with education.

Sh: It is a program, Ghassan. It is a program.

Ak: Yes. We didn't exclude any work...UI. The exclusion..., not the exclusion, but the simple change we talked about is turning to organizations and not supporting the people's living conditions as these might improve somewhat in light of the new circumstances.

Gh2: And it can be focused on the issue of education and support for educational institutions as the issue of [*students*] delegations and stuff like that can be underlined.

Ak: It is mentioned.

Gh2: Where?

Sh: By God, I told Aboul Hasan about it.

Ak: It is mentioned. I mean, one of the problems which relate to the Islamic organizations in Gaza, '48 areas and some of areas of the [*West*] Bank and the lack of administrative stability, specially in the fields of research and education. Education is mentioned as a problem.

Gh2: But, the idea..., the idea..., the idea is that the approach should be that we take advantage of children of the community here or children of the inside. They can choose a brother or two in a certain format to be sent to America.

Ak: We can add it.

Gh2: And one of the organizations is to adopt them in the fields they need. We said that the need is in journalism, media, politics..., these fields.

Ak: I don't believe there is any disagreement on the subject. What remains is the issue of changing the directions to the Palestinian camps outside Palestine. I want the people who adopted the two opposing ideas.... Brother Shukri had adopted the idea of turning to the camps, I believe,...

Sh: Not turning...

Ak: I mean, I want two people to defend the two theories.

Sh: This is one of the issues we can discuss because it is not included in the... It serves the general direction which is bringing failure to the project you're talking about, the peace project, because when you feel the issue of these people, it exposes the self-rule and its...

Ak: But, I want the people who presented the opposing ideas...

Om: Abou Ayyoub and Shukri.

Ga: All I want to say is that it should not be done at the expense of support to the Occupied Territories. That's it. Because this is the most important...UI, right now.

Sh: Our brothers, allow me. This is..., this is a point of fact for the brothers. When we say "focus", what do we do in the organizations? We do campaigns. A campaign for this issue, a campaign for that issue. This year, we can do a campaign for the camps, you see? Then, we can say that 700,000 people in Gaza are staying in camps, this is not a small issue. It is a humanitarian issue, you see? So, this is the purpose. It is a good issue to approach and to focus on. We don't have to neglect it like we used to do in the past, we neglected it in the past, specially that now this will serve us in this issue. That's it. As for us to turn all of our efforts to..., no one is saying that.

Ga: That includes the [West] Bank and the [Gaza] Sector? Camps in the [West] Bank and the [Gaza] Sector?

Ak: No, no, no. He means outside Palestine.

Sh: The Palestinian camps as a subject.

Ak: ...UI Palestine.

Sh: No, my brother. No.

Gh: The ones in Lebanon and...

Ak: No, there is a direction..., there is a point of view which says that adopting...

Gh: Our brother is the one who...

UM: Osama is the one who requested that.

Sh: Inside and outside. Inside and outside.
[UI brief group talk].

Ak: Just a second. Just a second.

Os: Ok. I'm the one who presented this point. But, what is meant by it is not changing or turning work, but expanding the scope of work.

Gh2: ...UI.

Os: While not impacting the...UI.

Sh: Right, right. There is no disagreement.

Gh2: A point..., a point..., the reason is that this point is being brought up right now...

Ak: There is no disagreement.

UM: To draw attention.

Gh2: But, just to draw people's attention and tell them that there are Palestinians. What is going to happen to those refugees in Lebanon, refugees in Jordan.

Ak: What is important is the point that there should not be a change to address this problem at the expense of that other problem.

Sh: No, no, no. It is a re-direction, an expansion.

Ak: So that is not interpreted as...

Sh: Inclusion, inclusion.

Gh2: The media attention should come along with the charitable [attention].

Ak: Agreeing?

Group: Agreeing.

[UI brief group talk].

Om: Can you write it down so that I can copy it and distribute it to the youths in the booklet?

[*UI brief group talk*].

Ak: Is there..., is there anything to say?

UM: In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful [*UI group talk continues*].

UM: In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful. God's willing, I will begin with a summary of the 3rd session yesterday which was about political, media and public action in America which is the future and the challenges. In reality, I summarized it in three or four elements, a simple introduction and goals of the coming stage, priorities of action, axes of action and specific recommendations based on the stuff that was mentioned yesterday. In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful. It is expected that the last goals are a reflection for political, media and public action in America due to the U.S. Administration's complete support to the agreement and the Jewish influence on the media outlets with that is based on that such as the impact on the Islamic, Palestinian and Arab community. Therefore, goals of the Palestinian action must be explained in the coming stage on the U.S. front and determine possible means to achieve these goals. I wrote six goals and we can discuss them one by one based on what was presented yesterday. The first goal is to continue to support the Palestinian cause and defending the Movement's positions and explaining them in the suitable way at the Palestinian, Arab and Islamic community's level and the American people in order to form a public opinion which adopts the Movement's position and its political program using the available resources. Of course, through the address. By the way, we will be discussing the issue of the political address later. Would you like to present this point for discussion or continue?

Gh: It is agreed upon.

UM: Agreed upon. Ok. Two, working to stabilize Islamic organizations working for Palestine and protecting them under a legal cover to guarantee their continuity in conducting their mission. Agreed upon or...?

Om: Keep going.

UM: Yes. Three, strengthening..., strengthening our presence in the Palestinian, Arab and Islamic community and resorting to all possible means to maintain the current gains, developing them and strengthening the alliance with Arab and Islamic organizations in the field. Ok? Four, working to make the Islamic Association for Palestine the main source of information which represents the Movement's positions.

UM2: ...UI.

Om: The sole legal representative [*laughter and UI group talk*].

UM: Of course, regarding the point which was mentioned yesterday that when we fight with the other Islamic organizations, it weakens our position and our political address. ...about the Movement's position of the cause and this in order to make sure to continue to offer a clear Islamic position to the Islamic community. A special focus on the Islamic community while being careful not to show the Association as an opposition party with direct connections with the inside. It expresses its position. It expresses the Movement's position but it doesn't say I represent this side or anything like that.

Sh: It should lie, you mean.

UM: It shouldn't talk [*laughter*]. It shouldn't lie. It shouldn't talk [*laughter*].

Sh: War is deception.

Om: Learn from your masters in the Fund [*laughter*].

UM: Five, determining the political address of Palestinian political and media organizations based on our Islamic creed and our Movement's principles.

Aa: And this should be based on circumstantial conditions.

UM: It will come, God's willing.

UM2: Because this is supposed to be said in details.

UM: Six, working on building a strong economic infrastructure to support our political organizations because... And the media ones, too. The money issue is a political one. We said that we are talking about charity issues. But, the money issue has to do with political action and this is a known thing. Therefore, we must be keen on the investment issue as it will be mentioned later, God's willing. Priorities of mobilization: The first priority is our belief according to what was said is the issue of Ikhwan and the Islamic groups such as ISNA, ICNA, etc., because these people are..., let's suppose they're...

Om: [*knocking*] Let's not use the word "Islamic groups" in order not to...

UM: No. There are other groups.

Om: I mean the groups which are in Egypt lest they think...

Gh: The Islamic organizations.

UM: Aha. This is because these people are supposed to understand the same, or espouse the same creedal conviction which we espouse about the Palestinian cause and they are supposed to carry a responsibility like we carry a responsibility towards this cause even though we are the ones with the prime responsibility and initiative in regards to action. Therefore, we should be looking for suitable reasons... - of course, we will be mentioning this later in details - to mobilize these people to shoulder the cause with us and to share this mission with us. The second point is the Palestinian, Arab and Islamic community and its organizations. The third one is the American people because as it was mentioned in the discussion yesterday that we don't have very high hopes in the achievements of the American people even though we must address this category of people. Work axes are: the political axis, the media axis, the social one, the financial one and the investment one. Of course, issues of awareness and education are a part of the political and media [axes] because brother Gawad mentioned in details that it is not our business to detail that or to work in that frame. Recommendations: One, the political address: Our political address must be based on our Islamic creed and fundamentals of our straight religion, and it must express the positions of our Movement and its political program. The language of the address might differ according to the addressed public without touching the staples. One, to detail this point; One, address to the Islamic and Arab community: It must be a clear address and based on the Sharia fundamentals and the creedal staples and the principle of..., and expressing the Movement's position and its political program in a fruitful objective manner. This is a general talk but, it lays the fundamentals in regards to the issues of the political address to..., to..., Muslims, whether Arabs, Pakistanis or others. We address those using the Sharia aspect, the issue is clear. We give them the responsibility towards this cause but also in a fruitful and an objective manner which makes them accept our idea, accept our call. Details can be mentioned in the different committees. Two, the issue of Ikhwan and the Islamic groups. Working to mobilize the Ikhwan to carry the cause and to work for it in positive ways which brings benefit to our cause.

UM2: We should look then...

UM: What?

UM2: The Ikhwan of El Shamm countries in particular.

UM: They're more entitled to it, but we generalized it. Yes. In the discussion, El Shamm countries were mentioned. Yes, that's right.

Sh: Should we use positive work with them..., with the brothers?

UM: By "positive"..., what do you mean with the "positive"? Yes. Because..., because... In my belief - and God knows best and we didn't detail this during the discussion - there are causes from them and there are causes from us. This is what I mean by "positive"; we look inside ourselves for the causes of weakness and negligence and we treat them in our organizations and the rooms for details is not now. We can details them in the Association's committees, in our private meetings...etc. We can explain to them the causes which they are to be blamed for and we assist them in solving them. But, there are definitely causes from us and negligence from our end, whether at the level of our organization and institutions and the level of our personnel and symbols. There are mistakes from our end which led to phenomena such as these. Therefore, we must..., must treat them and there is no room to detail them now and God knows best. Is there an objection?

Group: No.

Sh: This is the work of other committees or...UI.

UM: Three, the American people. The American people and the media and the official media...UI, and the official and legal organizations. It must taken into consideration that this category of people doesn't understand our cause in the same manner our Islamic community understands it due to many accumulations. Therefore, we must get better at delivering our idea to them with what does not contradict the principles of our religion, while emphasizing the issue of human rights and that true peace cannot be achieved unless when accompanied by serving justice and removal of injustice and the following items..., we will mention the following items which are: our historical right in Palestine, injustice and terrorism befalling the Palestinian people, attacking the credibility of the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization and its ability to lead the Palestinian people, relying on UN resolutions according to need because, as I mentioned yesterday, some of the resolutions are old and can be modified according to..., attacking the credibility of the Jews and our right to fight occupation.

UM2: Even attacking the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization and its representation of the Palestinian people.

UM: And leading..., its ability to lead the Palestinian people.

UM2: No, its representation of the Palestinian people.

UM: Or, representation... Yes.

UM2: This is a legal issue.

Gh: On the contrary, it doesn't represent the Palestinian people...UI.

UM: What I mean by this point is what? It is that the Americans are running with this point, that the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization is now qualified or is delegated to negotiate..., regardless of the representation, that it has the power to lead the Palestinian people. That's why they deal with them, because the Americans are...UI. I mean, in the future, if they have to..., if the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization failed in its program and they have in the future to deal with Samah, for instance, they will deal with their conditions. Their mentality allows them to deal with any sides if they have to. So, they see that the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization is a better alternative right now to deal with. But, they see that it has the power to impose its control over the Palestinian people, at least like the Arab rulers. But,...UI.

Sh: I..., I have an objection over this point in particular. In my opinion, we should not be bringing the Palestinian conflict onto the American front. I believe that there is no business for us to speak with the Americans, to our address to the Americans include an attack on the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization and animosity towards the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization because we have no interest gained at all. Therefore, we are only going to be looking very bad on the American front when we hate each other. We have no benefit, that is. I mean, let all the Americans..., they used to label it a terrorist organization. What is that? What did that benefit us then? Let them say whatever they want to say about it everyday. We don't have a benefit in the U.S. front to slander the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization. This is my point of view. I have a major objection to that. I see that we don't adopt it at all.

Ga: Yes. It is a remark that is...

Sh: I mean, I'm in America... The Americans...

Ga: The remark you said is very correct. But, there is an ongoing problem right now that you must deal with. It is that the Americans consider the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization a legitimate one. Its leader is legitimate and it is...UI to the Palestinian public and that the majority of the Palestinian public is with it. You have a problem as an individual carries the same idea through the media and politically. It is the same idea.

How to deal with this issue? ...UI all of Abou Ammar's talk, Shaath's talk, Abbas' talk, Ashrawi's talk, all of their talk..., they are a minority people.

UM: Right.

Ga: They can't affect our people...UI, most of us. They're just a small majority. That's what they tell you. I will tell you how things are going to be. What is your stand? Are you going to stand and watch? No. They're a minority, that's true, and...., and Hamas and stuff. They are the mainstream.

Sh: ...UI. I'm with you.

Ga: ...UI. In addition to that, the second point for the Americans is that this current has not gained legality even its organizations here in place of Palestinian representation. An idea came up in London to have a public referendum about its right to determine its fate.

Sh: All of that is fine.

Ga: Arafat wasn't elected. ...UI wasn't elected. The National Council wasn't elected. I mean, issues like these need representations.

UM: Yes.

Ga: Consequently, I, as a Palestinian, say that he who took advantage of the situation and signed doesn't represent me. So, when I say "No" about the agreement, the problem rises regarding about the legality of...

UM: Abou Ayyoub, people are also telling you that Hamas is not elected. And, how do you know that the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization was not elected? There are people, representatives, who were elected. How do I rebut the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization?

UM2: Have a vote.

Ga: ...UI.

UM: No, no, no. From the other side.

Ga: Go to the Occupied Territories and find out...UI.

UM: About Ayyoub,... Let's just work on one issue.

UM2: Was Hamas elected?

Ga: Not Hamas, even. Did I say Hamas was the opposite? I didn't say the opposite.

Ab: What is the possibility..., what is the possibility to hire a neutral side to make a survey in the Occupied Territories about something?

UM: This is not our goal now. We're now...

Ab: I'm saying about a side..., a side..., a side which is an American legal side, for instance, a private business which has nothing to do with...

UM: Let's stay within the scope of discussion, our brothers. Let's stay within the scope of discussion. Just a moment. Allow me, by God. Brother Gawad...

Ab: They go and conduct a survey which is to be announced in the newspapers and the media.

UM: Abdel Salam..., Abdel Salam, but this is not the discussion topic. We're now saying, "Is it suitable to present this point to the American public opinion or not?"

UM2: Exactly. Exactly.

UM: I can reach a compromise between what the two parties suggested. The impact of that on the American people is negative, definitely, because the American people now accepts the [*Palestinian*] Liberation Organization and accepts Yasser Arafat despite all the past and some stuff here and there. The American people in general, the American public now accepts the [*Palestinian Liberation*] Organization. So, now when you're hostile to them, you're an extremist, a fundamentalist. But, if you address the official organizations, if you send to the State Department, you tell them, "I lead the Palestinian people and not them". You have to say this kind of thing at this point.

Gh2: But, my brother, if you have no grounds among the public opinion...

UM: This is another issue.

Gh2: No. The idea of the [*Palestinian*] Liberation Organization is not accepted by the American people and it is still stuck over here. They call him "A retired terrorist".

UM: So, what are you going to say? What are you going to say?

Gh2: No. You discuss in a democratic way. This was done through the legal ways...

UM: Aha.

Sh: Your mother, Samah, is the mother of democracy.

END OF RECORDING.