

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

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)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

UM1: From Al Akhtal family.

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

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

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

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

UM2: ...UI.

Ab: This was all after the agreement.

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

Om: We need to hear from Sheik Sharif.

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

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

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

Sh: How many? How many?

Ab: What do you mean?

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

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

Sh: In support?

Ab: In support. You see?

UM: How many met before them?

Ab: Hundreds.

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

Ab: Hundreds. Hundreds.

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

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

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

UM: But, they're not opposition.

Ab: Not opposition.

Gh: The fact that they were there...

Ab: Some people in opposition also came to watch.

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

Ab: Yes.

UM: Did you attend it?

Ab: Yes.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Om: But there were no marches in the streets?

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

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

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

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

Ab: They were watching TV.

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

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

UM: Abou Ammar's pictures were everywhere?

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

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

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

UM: Even when you came...UI.

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

[*Laughter*].

Ab: No, really.

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

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

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

UM: Yes.

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

Sh: She wants to relieve her anger.

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

Gh: O God.

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

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

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

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

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

Ab: Er...

UM: Through your experience...

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

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

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

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

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

Sh: ...UI.

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

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

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

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

Ab: Yes, loud voices...

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

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

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

UM: So, there is no prospect for change?

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

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

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

UM: Do you mean that...UI.

Ab: I don't understand the question.

UM: ...UI.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

UM: People's reaction...UI.

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

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

UM: Born again...[*Laughter*].

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

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

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

UM: ...UI

Sh: Go ahead...UI.

Au: I decided that...UI.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Au: That depends...UI.

UM: Is this against Hamas...UI

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

UM: Is it against the Movement...

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

UM: People might accept that something happen...

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

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

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

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

Gh: I did.

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

Sh: Go ahead.

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

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

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

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

UM: This one, you mean?

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

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

Sh: What?

UM2: Clinton's position is...

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ab: As I mentioned; only as an inclination.

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

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

Ab: ...UI.

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

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

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

As: There is a question.

Sh: Go ahead, Aboul Hasan.

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

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

As: Movement, you mean?

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

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

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

Sh: Go ahead, my brother, go ahead.

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

Sh: Yes, of course.

UM3: How about the [West] Bank?

Ab: The same thing.

UM3: Will the same thing happen to them?

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

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

Ab: The feeling of the people...

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

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

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

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

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

UM: ...UI.

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

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

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END OF RECORDING.