

Transcript of [an interview](#) that an interviewer from British Channel 4 tv conducted on February 29 or March 1, 2024 with Hamas's representative in Tehran, Khaled Qadomi.

The interview contained several feisty interactions in which the two men jostled verbally with each other and the interviewer tried (unsuccessfully) to put words into Mr. Qadomi's mouth. The transcript that follows has been lightly edited by Just World Educational, to try to disentangle who said what at each point

Interviewer ([00:01](#)):

Is Hamas prepared to negotiate a ceasefire before Ramadan?

Khaled Qadomi ([00:05](#)):

We are prepared for the negotiations since long and rather, it is always the mentality of the leadership in Israel who has impeded those talks.

Interviewer ([00:17](#)):

Are the talks just for a temporary ceasefire.

Khaled Qadomi ([00:19](#)):

There is nothing called temporary

Interviewer ([00:20](#)):

Or potentially a permanent one.

Khaled Qadomi ([00:22](#)):

There are few titles, which they are, you could say, requirement, requisite, prerequisite to any ceasefire agreement. Well, of course, any ceasefire will be conditioned into a ground, atmosphere. We said to stop the genocide, lifting the siege, stopping the incursions to Al-Aqsa Mosque, having the rebuild of Gaza, making the people of Gaza feel that they are normal human being, living as any human being.

Interviewer ([00:56](#)):

So do you think a ceasefire is possible by Ramadan?

Khaled Qadomi ([01:01](#)):

Everything is possible provided two things, two major requirements. It's not the content of the deal, it's the attitude. First, it looks as if Netanyahu feels no diplomatic pressure from American administration, and they are just showing that they have conflict. But on the other hand, we've seen that blinken, the time he landed Tel Aviv, another massacre is happening. Al-Mamadani, as Shifa hospital, Indonesian Hospital: All they happened while Blinken was there. This is one.

So we need to have enough pressure, not please, as Joseph Borrell was saying, stop saying please. And, and the second requirement, the mentality of Israeli leadership has to change. They're not ready to pay the tax of the peace. Netanyahu is just killing for the killing.

Interviewer (01:53):

Are you prepared to hand over the hostages?

Khaled Qadomi (01:56):

Well, the hostages is one of the topics which is implicit in the whole package.

Interviewer (02:02):

So you are?

Khaled Qadomi (02:03):

Of course! You know, listen to me now. We are having 11,000 prisoners in the Israeli jails for tens of years, and 2000 out of them. They are under the title of administrative detention. Yes. And, and there are some girls who are under 18. There are boys who are minors. We have doctors, engineers, nobody is talking about them.

Interviewer (02:26):

Are you saying you are prepared to release all the hostages?

Khaled Qadomi (02:29):

Of course, From day one, even as-- Netanyahu is the one who's to blame to be blamed for the delay. See? Are you in the beginning? In the beginning, the so-called hostages. We were ready even to return them to their families because they were gathered from other factions and something like this in a, in a particular position of war without any deal. But, but Netanyahu converted the whole scenario into a dramatic issue.

Interviewer (02:54):

You talk about international pressure on Israel. There is also international pressure on Hamas to say that you will not attack Israel again in the way that you did on October the seventh.

Khaled Qadomi (03:03):

I, as I told you earlier, we are defending ourselves. We are living under occupation.

Interviewer (03:08):

So you're not prepared to say that you will not attack against Israel--

Khaled Qadomi (03:10):

If the occupation finish, let the occupation finish! Well, are we, are we really willing to kill our children? But we are going for a noble cause. The man in the street, the families, the girls, the boys--

Interviewer (03:22):

So you want Israel to cease fire--

Interviewer (03:23):

Let me just explain--

Interviewer (03:24):

-- And say, we, we will still attack you.

Khaled Qadomi (03:25):

No, no, no. This, this is not the way, this is not human at all. Let, let us explain it in a proper way. There is an action continuing for the last 75 years. And you want me with a glance to stop everything? Israel has to abide till today. Rather, some of the rational voices internationally, they started to talk about the desire of the Palestinians and talking about the recognition of the independent Palestinian state. And what was the reaction from the Israeli side? The Knesset voted unanimously to refuse recognition of a Palestinian independent state. With such mentality, how can you reach a deal?

Interviewer (04:05):

But isn't the truth that you agree with Israel that there shouldn't be a two state solution?

Khaled Qadomi (04:09):

No, it's not like that.

Interviewer (04:10):

You wanted to wreck the two-state solution.

Khaled Qadomi (04:11):

Now, how, do you eat an elephant? Bite by bite. Now, if unanimously the Palestinian people are deciding based on their own will to have a Palestinian independent state over West Bank Gaza, with the right of return to the refugees, with a capital Jerusalem, then everybody has to go with that.

Interviewer (04:33):

Well, this is very important. So you are saying that Israel can continue to exist.

Khaled Qadomi (04:37):

How can they continue to exist over my land? Do you want them to continue as an occupation entity? I am against a political entity and not against a human being. Not against a Jew, not against a Christian, not against any religion. All the dwellers of Palestine, they are Palestinians.

Interviewer ([04:56](#)):

You're contradicting yourself. Now, a minute ago you said a two-state solution is possible. And now you're saying,

Khaled Qadomi ([05:01](#)):

I didn't say two-state solution is possible. I said, for the sake of the stopping the blood shedding, there is a will, there is a desire of a nation who will say what they want to do.

Interviewer ([05:16](#)):

Right? But the only momentum in the international community is to try and negotiate a two-state solution. And you are saying, Hamas remains opposed to that?

Khaled Qadomi ([05:24](#)):

Why should we go for those obsolete resolutions, obsolete solutions, which has led to 7th of October. Anything status quo ante to 7th of October, including any political approach is not innovative, is not creative, is not, was not able to accomplish the wishes of the people. Ask the people what they want. Forget about Hamas. We are a movement, has our own beliefs and ideology. Let the people decide what they want. You are not giving them an opportunity to live. What is the meaning of two state solution to the Gazan who has never been outside of Rafah Gate for all of their lives? What is the meaning of an independent state for a nation who doesn't know what is the meaning of having representation offices called embassies, a free state? Look at them. In West Bank, they called them a Palestinian Authority, temporary status of Palestinian state in United Nation. What is it? Are we easy and free to go outside Ramallah without the check and search from the Israeli army?

Interviewer ([06:40](#)):

You, you, you know the argument that says it's you who has got blood on your hands of those 30,000 lives lost in Gaza because of the October 7th attack. If that hadn't happened, those 30,000 people would not have been killed. What's your answer?

Khaled Qadomi ([06:57](#)):

Unfortunately, this this is the the debate which is not agreed upon by the most of the masses in the world. The American people, the British people, the French people, the German people. This is absolutely because of Israel. Israel, even if they want to take a revenge, why didn't they kill Hamas without, so you knew

Interviewer ([07:20](#)):

Without the, so, so you knew what would happen without the Flood and you did it anyway?

Khaled Qadomi (07:21):

So what do you think, you advise me to continue as a slave? It's a right which has been granted for us who are living under occupation. That the time the diplomacy and politics fail, it's right of those people who are living under occupation to defend themselves with all means. The victory is, has to be snatched, especially when you are facing such extremist murderous criminal leadership of your enemy.

Interviewer (07:52):

But you haven't snatched victory, have you.

Khaled Qadomi (07:54):

We have

Interviewer (07:54):

You, you snatched

Khaled Qadomi (07:55):

We have defeated

Interviewer (07:56):

Israel the killing of 30,000 people.

Khaled Qadomi (07:57):

No, we did not kill them. If they have killed them, and the west have participated in that with their silence and the Americans, they have supported Israel by not applying enough pressure to stop the genocide.

Interviewer (08:09):

But this is not a victory. You said,

Khaled Qadomi (08:11):

This is the victory. Victory. The victory. Victory. That yes, the hegemony of Israel is no more over there. Nobody is tolerating Israel. Even as I said American masses, even the British masses, the European masses.

Interviewer (08:24):

You see, many people will find this very chilling that you, you, you knew what would happen because history told you what would happen. And you knew that the majority of those killed would be women and children, because we know what the population is of Gaza. And yet you went ahead anyway. In, in effect, you decided to sacrifice. your own women and children for a political gamble.

Khaled Qadomi ([08:46](#)):

We have, we have two tracks. Either we win or we lose. Either the international community apply enough diplomatic pressure to make Israel abide by the international world or the other track, which is historically not innovated by the Palestinian nation, but the Vietnamese, the Philippines, the Afghan, the Iraqis against the colonials and the Western hegemony through defending themselves. Because this thing has been imposed on us. We did not kill our children.

Interviewer ([09:26](#)):

It is not just that you knew, it is that you are still using a strategy of human shields. Your fighters are still amongst the civilian population, and that makes it easy for Israel to justify all collateral damage, that you are again doing it to your own people?

Khaled Qadomi ([09:40](#)):

Can you prove that? Israel has refused the proposal of Hamas--

Interviewer ([09:43](#)):

Are you denying it?

Khaled Qadomi ([09:44](#)):

Yes, of course. We don't use it. It's the Israelis--

Interviewer ([09:46](#)):

The fighters are not amongst the people?

Khaled Qadomi ([09:47](#)):

It's the Israelis! Israelis are killing them without any reason. Show me any evidence that there is a Hamas headquarter in Al-Shifa hospital, as they have said, or aal-Mamadani, as they have lied to the international community.

Interviewer ([10:01](#)):

Well, what was going on in all those tunnels?

Khaled Qadomi ([10:03](#)):

In what?

Interviewer ([10:03](#)):

All those tunnels underneath the hospital under

Khaled Qadomi ([10:06](#)):

These are tunnels in particular places, not in.

Interviewer ([10:08](#)):

what were they used for?

Khaled Qadomi ([10:08](#)):

I was saying--

Interviewer ([10:10](#)):

I have been to guys in 2014 and I have seen.

Khaled Qadomi ([10:11](#)):

If you allow me?

Interviewer ([10:11](#)):

rockets being fired from civilian areas myself with my own eyes. I know that.

Khaled Qadomi ([10:17](#)):

I don't think so. I don't think so

Interviewer ([10:19](#)):

They are in civilian areas?

Khaled Qadomi ([10:20](#)):

No, no, no.

Interviewer ([10:21](#)):

You can't deny,

Khaled Qadomi ([10:23](#)):

Prove it!

Interviewer ([10:23](#)):

The targets themselves on October the seventh were largely civilian. We've seen in the hostage handovers, some of them were very elderly, fragile. Why on earth were they military targets?

Khaled Qadomi ([10:36](#)):

Well, two things. See, one of the things that I, I tell you that many of those hostages, including those senior fellows of 80 years and 90 years, there have been detained by families, Israel, Palestinian families. You know, the time we have attacked over there inside the occupied territories those occupied the territories by, by language of international law. We have attacked on particular 50 bases and they were military bases.

Interviewer ([11:08](#)):

But you have to explain why you killed civilians. Why we, why you carried away young girls on the back of motorbikes. No, why you kidnapped people.

Khaled Qadomi ([11:17](#)):

That's all-- I challenge that.

Interviewer ([11:19](#)):

It's true. Because you released them.

Khaled Qadomi ([11:20](#)):

I challenge. No, we did not release them. I challenge you and I had an interview with BBC Panorama and, and I asked them to produce all those photos and videos and I'm ready to answer for everyone--

Interviewer ([11:33](#)):

So it's all been faked?

Khaled Qadomi ([11:35](#)):

Most of them. Most of them.

Interviewer ([11:37](#)):

That is not a credible position to say that those videos have been faked.

Khaled Qadomi ([11:40](#)):

Listen, I'll give you an evidence. Why should 300 Palestinians killed in West Bank since 7th of October by the settlers, who you call them civilians who are having their own weapons. They're trained for two years and they are safeguarding--

Interviewer ([11:57](#)):

That is a good deflection.

Khaled Qadomi ([11:58](#)):

Sorry?

Interviewer ([11:58](#)):

But that is a deflection from what I'm asking you about.

Khaled Qadomi ([12:00](#)):

No, it's not deflection.

Interviewer ([12:01](#)):

Yes, of course, I'm trying to, of course, there's a huge problem in the West Bank and the settlers are

Khaled Qadomi ([12:04](#)):

Not only in this West Bank, it's all Palestine. So I'm trying over here to tell you that it is a complete picture. There is occupation and because of this occupation killing is happening over there among Palestinians and among Israeli civilians. And they're responsible for that. The only responsible and direct responsible is occupation.

Interviewer ([12:26](#)):

Are you saying that everybody killed on October the seventh were legitimate targets,

Khaled Qadomi ([12:31](#)):

Was legitimate target, yes. Because of the occupation.

Interviewer ([12:35](#)):

So, so, so the occupation makes anything legitimate that you do.

Khaled Qadomi ([12:38](#)):

It's not legitimate. The occupation is illegitimate. And because of that,

Interviewer ([12:43](#)):

And you're using that to justify everything that you did?

Khaled Qadomi ([12:45](#)):

Do you just suggest me to be killed and not respond? Do you suggest me to be cornered and not--

Interviewer ([12:53](#)):

Well, there there are different ways to

Khaled Qadomi ([12:54](#)):

Respond. Just No, no, no, no. Listen again, you are missing the big picture. The big picture that we are living under the siege

Interviewer ([13:00](#)):

In the last few days. There have been talks in Russia where they have been trying to get some sort of unity between Hamas and Fateh. Do you think that is possible?

Khaled Qadomi ([13:14](#)):

Yes, we are united today because no Palestinian today is not knowing that we are defending ourself.

Interviewer ([13:22](#)):

So do you think some sort of political entity is possible in the future in which you come together?

Khaled Qadomi ([13:28](#)):

You see, we, we have proposed a government to rearrange the internal Palestinian house, and they will be assigned two major tasks. One, how to rebuild what has been destroyed by Israel, and second is to proceed further for the election.

Interviewer ([13:44](#)):

And so do you think that is the future administration of Palestinian territory where you come together rather than oppose each other?

Khaled Qadomi ([13:52](#)):

Of course. We, we, we have to be united always.

Interviewer ([13:55](#)):

Right now, the United States, Israel and the United Kingdom all say Hamas cannot be part of the future of Palestinian government.

Khaled Qadomi ([14:02](#)):

That is ridiculous because they are not the people who will decide the future of our nation. It's our people who will say who will govern them. You know, this is a very paradox in the, in the western community. They believe in democracy. And the time we emerge victorious in 2006, they did not allow us to govern even for a single day. They besieged us and they impeded the democracy to proceed. Because this is a one-sided democracy. It's for them only. What I'm saying over here, it's our people to decide the future of our people.

Interviewer ([14:38](#)):

Will it always be Hamas as an entity? Or is it possible that it could change into something else... that might be regarded as more politically acceptable to other people?

Khaled Qadomi ([14:48](#)):

Acceptable by whom?

Interviewer ([14:50](#)):

By the people you're gonna have to do a deal with?

Khaled Qadomi ([14:52](#)):

People? Our masses, they voted for us.

Interviewer ([14:54](#)):

No, you are gonna have to do an agreement with the international community.

Khaled Qadomi ([14:57](#)):

I'm not very much concerned about Israel. They are our enemy. I'm not concerned much about those who sell, having the target to kill the majority of the Palestinians who has voted in majority for us.

Interviewer ([15:13](#)):

How do you see this now playing out?

Khaled Qadomi ([15:16](#)):

This is to be decided first politically by the people of Palestine. Today, unfortunately, I tell you after such sacrifices those terminologies like hatred level, coexistence, a peaceful revolution-- It won't be easy to convince those slained families with their own sufferings--

Interviewer ([15:46](#)):

Isn't the problem that if you maintain your position that Israel cannot exist and that that is your goal, you cannot be part of any sort of international talks process.

Khaled Qadomi ([15:59](#)):

Good.

Interviewer ([16:00](#)):

That, that goes on here. And, you know, apart from. There is no military solution to this. So you're gonna have to be part of the process.

Khaled Qadomi ([16:08](#)):

I agree with you on the last thing that-- Let us start from that point. That there is no military solution for that. And we believe that resistance is a tool. Military is a tool. It's not a target. Our goal is to achieve independence.

Interviewer ([16:22](#)):

Yeah, but you wanna be in the room, don't you? You don't wanna be outside the room as a pressure group.

Khaled Qadomi ([16:25](#)):

We are part and parcel. Nobody can exclude Hamas and exclude resistance from that. But for the sake of this debate, again, forget about Hamas. Convince my nation for the next [step],

what they want. And we will abide by it. I mean, don't ask Hamas as a movement what they are looking for, what they think about so-called "Israel". That is different. Ask the Palestinians now. If, if the day comes that Palestinians will be respected as a nation, there will be many ideas, I tell you. I'm telling you that my people, they do not know what is the meaning of freedom. What is the meaning of an independent state? For a student who has finished his school and he wants to study in any university in the neighborhood, he or she, they will not be able to know what card they should carry for the a first flight to take them away. What type of visa will be granted to them? They don't know how to live. You in the international community did not grant our nation that opportunity to live as human, as any human nation in the world, as peaceful as any peaceful nation in the world. Forget about the political entities. Political entities. Today, Hamas is no more... a political party. It's a trend. The slogans of Hamas, the slogan of resistance is being repeated by the youngsters from Washington to Jakarta.