

that have previously been rejected by the occupation authorities;

- lifting the siege of the Palestinian camps in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and withdrawing the Israeli army from residential areas;
- conducting an official investigation into the conduct of the Israeli army and settlers in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and in the jails and detention camps; taking appropriate measures against those who caused death or injury to unarmed citizens without reason;
- ending settlement-building and land confiscation; stopping the settlers' provocations and harassment of the population of the West Bank and Gaza Strip; removing all provocative settler outposts in all Jerusalem, first and foremost the house of Sharon...
- refraining from any act against the Christian and Muslim holy places, which would damage them or change the status quo in Jerusalem;
- annulling the value added tax and all Israeli taxes imposed on Palestinian residents of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, including Jerusalem; stopping provocations against Palestinian merchants...
- annulling all restrictions on political freedoms, including those against meetings and conferences; free municipal elections in the West Bank and Gaza Strip with neutral observers;
- the immediate refund of the money deducted from the salaries of Palestinian workers in 'Israel' with the interest due; these sums should be returned to the Palestinian trade unions for just distribution;
- ending restrictions on permits for residential or industrial building, digging wells and agricultural development in the West Bank, including Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip;
- stopping the discrimination against agricultural products of the occupied territories, either by lifting the restrictions on transport of these products over the green line, or by imposing similar restrictions on Israeli products to limit their export to the occupied territories and their competition with local products;
- ending the prohibition of political relations between the people of the occupied territories and the PLO; allow-

ing people to participate in the Palestinian National Council.

On the background of the uprising's continuity and escalation, the United National Leadership is preparing for total civil disobedience, i.e., refusal to deal with the occupation. There have been tendencies in this direction from the beginning, especially the general strike and the Palestinian lawyers' boycott of the assembly-line, military trials of those arrested in the initial phase of the uprising. The United National Leadership has shown its political maturity and credibility in setting guidelines that are in line with the masses' wishes and their realistic possibilities at any given time. Therefore, the move towards mass civil disobedience has come gradually without being raised rhetorically. In call no. 9, the PLO/United National Leadership proposed mass refusal to pay taxes. In various parts of Palestine, tax collectors submitted their resignations. The boycott of Israeli goods is another task being gradually built up to.

While the main thrust of the struggle has targeted the Israeli occupiers, the Jordanian regime's long-standing plan to usurp the West Bank and replace the PLO, has made its agents in occupied Palestine the other losers in the uprising. In one instance, the United National Leadership called on journalists to stop working for *Al Nahar*, a newspaper established by the Jordanian regime. Soon afterwards, *Nahar*, offices were burned in many West Bank towns.

A related thrust of the uprising is to neutralize those who collaborate with the Zionist authorities. In late February, the hanging of a traitor sparked a string of recantations whereby former collaborators appeared before the people in mosques, pledging to cease their harmful dealings. The most recent development is the mass resignation of Israeli-appointed municipal and village councils, and of Palestinian policemen in mid-March. The majority of this policeforce, which dates back to the time of Jordanian administration of the West Bank, has resigned, irritating both the Israeli occupiers and the Jordanian regime.

While crushing the plans of King Hussein and Israeli Foreign Minister

Peres for joint Israeli-Jordanian administration of the 1967 occupied territories, the uprising's impact also mitigated against right-wing tendencies and illusions that the US plans being promoted contained any benefit for the Palestinian cause. Thus, Schultz was rebuffed when he tried to meet Palestinian dignitaries in Jerusalem.

## ACHIEVEMENTS

It is too early to chronicle the overall achievements of the current uprising because the masses are still in motion. However, some immediate results can already be recorded: The uprising has materialized the importance of Palestinian political unity. At the same time, with their daring, stamina and creativity, the masses have shelved defeatist trends, showing that it is possible through struggle to make the occupied territories ungovernable, and lessen the benefits drawn by the Zionists from their occupation. This in itself is a major contribution to the liberation of Palestine.

The uprising restored the centrality of the Palestinian cause regionally and internationally. In this atmosphere, the siege on the Palestinian camps in Beirut was lifted, while various Arab regimes got cold feet about trying to create an alternative to the PLO. There was a massive display of solidarity with the Palestinian people around the world, while 'Israel' has suffered unprecedented international critique and isolation, its similarity with the apartheid regime in South Africa finally becoming apparent worldwide.

Equally important, the uprising inspired the Arab masses, while strengthening the national democratic trend in the PLO, and its opposition to all imperialist and reactionary plans for the region. The uprising has demonstrated the viability of the PLO's national program for fulfilling the Palestinian people's rights to repatriation, self-determination and an independent state. It has made a positive contribution to shifting the balance of power in the region, which if continued will eventually enable a genuine international peace conference on the Middle East, under UN auspices, with the full and equal participation of the PLO.