

the daily battles against the occupation. We were able to rid ourselves of many of the social diseases that had prevailed in our society for over two decades of occupation and the two preceding decades of subjugation. The features of the revolutionary situation are reflected in every home in occupied Palestine.

We do not speak of this revolutionary situation from a romantic point-of-view or motivated by an unrealistic air of optimism. Rather, we speak on the basis of a scientific reading of the situation in the occupied territories, and the results of our people's experience gained from many lessons.

THE REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION

The most important lesson relates to the revolutionary situation which begins the moment the ruling class is unable to continue governing with its old methods, while at the same time the masses of the people refuse to submit to the conditions of the ruling class. At this point, the two opposing poles enter into a conflict that can only be resolved in the interest of one or the other, either partially or totally. In our special case, it is as clear as daylight that the occupation has declared the failure of its old means to control the uprising. Thus, it began to exert what can be called irrational violence, giving free rein to the iron fist, collective punishment, breaking bones, demolishing houses, killing, arrest and detention, trying to maintain control of the land and people.

Without a shadow of doubt, our people have shown that their nationalist will and yearning for freedom and independence are stronger than all these fascist measures. It is obvious that our people can no longer accept the humiliating conditions of occupation; nor will they return to accepting them, whatever the sacrifices. Consequently, December 9, 1987 opened a new chapter in the national democratic liberation struggle. This will prevail until the conflict is resolved to the interest of one of the two sides, partially or completely. By partially, we do not mean some immediate or limited tactical gains; rather we mean something related to the interim goals of one side or the other. For the Palestinians, these can be summed up as repatriation, self-determination and the establishment of an independent state. For the Israelis, these can be summed up as completing the absorption of the results of the 1967 war (i.e., the territories occupied in 1967).

In fact, we are very confident that the results of this new chapter in the Palestinian-Zionist and Arab-Zionist struggle will be resolved in favor of our people, revolution and uprising. Our confidence is based on the following set of considerations.

1. The gains made by the uprising in its first year, the most important of which are the Declaration of Independence, international recognition of the Palestinian state, and the priority given to the Palestinian issue in the international arena, which was recently crowned by the US being forced to open a dialogue with the PLO. These victories stem from the gains made beginning with Security Council resolutions 605, 607, 608; the General Assembly resolutions of December 15, 1988; the Algiers Summit decisions and King Hussein's historical decision to sever the legal and administrative ties with the oc-

cupied West Bank; in addition to scores of international and local resolutions, and the change in world public opinion, including Western Europe and the US, and among a large number of Jews in Israel and other countries; as well as Israel's growing isolation in the international arena.

2. As a result of their own experience, the Palestinian people began to face the fact that they have only one option, i.e., to continue the uprising. This is being understood on the regional and international levels. Now the Palestinian cause, and not only the Arab-Zionist conflict, has become the main concern. For the first time in forty years, a comprehensive settlement for the Palestinian question is being seriously discussed. We realize that there are many obstacles to this settlement, and that the distance between declaring the state and actually forming the state is long, and paved with martyrs, sacrifices and sufferings. Still, this is the first time it is being seriously discussed.

3. The isolation of Israel and the US, due to their intransigent policies: The US has been put in an unenviable situation. Detente is steadily advancing, pushed forward by international pressure. In view of its new political thinking, the Soviet Union is playing a major role in extending detente. In the long run, the Middle East cannot be an exception to these developments. In spite of our deep conviction that there are many obstacles due to the character of the Zionist leadership, the US will find itself obliged to accept the international consensus favoring detente which, in the Middle East, means an international conference under UN auspices. This was clear in the General Assembly resolution calling for the convening of this conference, which was passed by a majority of 138, including Western Europe and Japan, and opposed only by Washington and Tel Aviv. In fact, such a situation doesn't even serve US policy and interests, and Washington will find itself obliged to retreat in the face of international pressure, as when it decided to open a dialogue with the PLO.

As for Israel, there is no doubt that its position will be more difficult. Although it continues its intransigence and ignores international public opinion, its leaders can no longer hide the fact that they are facing a state of isolation. They think that this will soon disappear. However, Israel is not like South Africa; it cannot withstand such a situation without jeopardizing the future of its project in the area. The uprising has posed major questions related to the future of this project and the Zionist leaders' ability to realize it. It will not be impossible to force the enemy to give up the results of the 1967 invasion, in order to maintain the results of the 1948 invasion (the establishment of its state). However, this will not happen until the costs of the occupation become greater than its benefits. This is where the role of the Palestinian and Arab national struggle comes in, as does the question of Israel's international reputation and relations, especially with the West and Jewish communities around the world; these figure prominently in Israel's political considerations because they mean economic support, immigration and political protection, etc.

Finally, we can say that the uprising is the major reason for these gains made by our national struggle. The uprising is the basic factor on which we can rely in saying that the results of this round of the conflict will be resolved in favor of our people