

A scientific view of the uprising's characteristics reveals its comprehensiveness very clearly. All strata and sectors of the Palestinian people, all ideological trends, are involved within its framework. Our people began to confront the Zionist authority with a unified national will, in order to achieve the main goal of freedom and independence. On the basis of mounting a total confrontation, I welcome Hamas' joining the trend of confrontation against the Zionist enemy. Those who know the history of HAMAS, its slogans, priorities and the problems it has created in the occupied territories, will see that there is a great difference today, and welcome the joining in with the nationalists. There is no doubt that the participation of Hamas and the Islamic Jihad in the conflict is a national gain for our struggle and a motivating force for the uprising. However, the continuation of the uprising calls for this trend joining the United National Leadership of the Uprising. To realize this aim, we should work sincerely to resolve the obstacles delaying this.

What are these obstacles? I am sorry to say that the main reason is Hamas which binds the ideological factor with the political factor without giving the current political moment the weight it deserves in determining alliance and the requirements of the confrontation. According to its vision, Hamas feels that it is a good chance for confronting the Zionist enemy, because this will provide a suitable political moment for competing with the PLO. At the same time, I am very sorry to say that the political line of some influential forces in the PLO, who are giving gratuitous concessions and recognized resolution 242, bear part of the responsibility for alienating Hamas from the PLO. In the light of this analysis, efforts should continue so that Hamas, and all the forces that participate in the uprising, would join the United National Leadership. I appeal to all forces and to the masses to strive for all joining in the UNL.

Concerning the Muslim Brotherhood's success in the Jordanian elections and its influence on the occupied territories, this question entails deep contemplation, especially since this bloc has announced that it is going to ask King Hussein to retract his decision about severing ties with the West Bank. We cannot ignore this danger. As soon as the king had declared this decision, the Muslim Brotherhood issued a statement faulting this step. In contrast, we, along with the masses and all progressive and nationalist forces, considered this decision as a big victory for our people, as it dealt a severe blow to the so-called Jordanian option.

It is very possible that the Muslim Brotherhood's position will affect the position of Hamas in the occupied territories, even though we would not wish for this. But the political position will be decisive. Our masses will be with those who stand beside their aspiration to confront the Zionist enemy.

Despite the importance of supporting the uprising from outside, we notice a reduction of military operations against the Zionist forces across the Arab borders. What has made this task so difficult?

The attempt to support the uprising by military operations from outside has not stopped. The weakness of the military

operations has objective and subjective reasons. The objective reasons are: (1) the intensified measures taken by the Arab regimes and the agents of Israel, and (2) intensified security measures by the Israeli forces themselves. In Lebanon, for example, any commando group should take into account that it will face the barrier of the UN forces, of the Lahd forces and of the Israeli forces, plus some mobile barriers that might be erected at different times and places. There has also been information coming from Jordan about the new measures of the regime to prevent any Palestinian military activities against Israel.

There are also subjective reasons for the decline in military support from the outside. Some organizations took a political decision preventing them from practicing armed struggle to support the uprising from across the Arab borders. This is based on their political vision and their betting on the Arab regimes; they intend to open the way for bargaining and improving their own position vis-a-vis international and regional powers that are involved in deciding the future of the Arab-Zionist struggle. Thus, they think that their position will facilitate making political gains from the uprising. This is one of the explanations.

Some have understood that the uprising is an alternative to the armed struggle, while real understanding of the uprising is to see it as a complement to the armed struggle. Political and military support for the uprising are of great importance, and there is no contradiction between the two. Military support to the uprising from the outside is related to the necessity of making a change in the balance of forces in order to make the enemy recognize our national rights, and withdraw from the occupied land.

Political support to the uprising, which has occupied first priority, means protecting it politically, in contrast to military support. This subject has been proved by international revolutionary experience and by our own experience. The political mistake does real harm to the revolution if it aborts the factors which lead to victory. Many times, it was a political mistake which led the revolution to retreat. Even before our contemporary revolution, the Palestinian experience in 1936-39 demonstrated the importance of the political line.

I am not seriously worried about the uprising if the military operations have declined from the outside, but I am very anxious about the Baker plan and other suspicious initiatives aimed at aborting the uprising. Protecting the uprising politically has priority, and the political support is closely related to the military, economic and moral support.

By what means can a change be incurred on the US and Israeli rejection of Palestinian rights?

The Israeli obstacle

The Israeli position continues to be characterized by intransigence and rejection of all of our people's national rights, as well as of all international conventions and a fully empowered international conference. Such rejection exposes the nature of the enemy as being racist, fascist and colonialist. The enemy views the Palestinian people as its own historical negation. Therefore, we are not confronting an ordinary enemy, but one that is armed