

common good. Call no. 2 assigns the leading role to the workers in view of the impact of their strike, while also singling out for special mention the revolutionary role of the camp masses.

Successive calls assign progressively more specific tasks to different sectors in accordance with their ability. For example, from call no. 1, doctors were called on to mark their cars, so that they could be easily identified for helping the injured; they should be on alert along with the pharmacists. Call no. 3 proposes specialized health committees to aid those under siege. By call no. 14, these committees are charged with conducting first aid and preventive medicine courses. Indeed, the independent Palestinian medical sector has mushroomed under the uprising. One example is the Medical Relief Committees which date back to 1979, and now encompass 800 health care professionals. While in 1982, their mobile clinics saw 2,000 patients, in 1987, they served 50,000; in the first five months of the uprising alone, they served 28,000.

Another case in point is that of students. Call no. 3 advocates making the Zionist policy of closing educational institutions backfire by mobilizing all students «in the school of revolution.» As the uprising became a permanent phenomenon, students were directed to contribute by organizing their own life, in this case popular education. Students were urged to coordinate with mass organizations and the staff of educational institutions to force the reopening of the schools, to struggle for the release of their detained colleagues, and above all not to leave the country in search of an education, as happened in the past.

«LET US BE OUR OWN MASTERS» — COLLECTIVELY

Starting with call no. 4, one finds the guidelines for self-sufficiency: tilling the land, vegetable gardening, keeping livestock, frugality, encouraging the national economy and full capacity at local production sites, for as noted in call no. 8, the Vietnamese defeated US

tyranny not by guns alone, but also with their small farms. By striving for self-sufficiency, the people of the uprising are simultaneously revitalizing the cooperative traditions of the peasantry, and creating new social patterns. A biproduct of this is a tendency towards class solidarity and in some cases, class leveling.

Women are being affected by the new models for production. The best example is cooperatives for processing and preserving local produce as a contribution to self-sufficiency. At the same time, this provides employment to rural women. One cooperative, which is called Our Production is our Pride, lists among its aims: «The transformation of women's traditional role in the domestic economy into a positive role in the national economy.» Our Production is our Pride is run on a truly democratic basis, with the general membership making all decisions.

Through the successive calls, one can distinguish a new mode of social relations in factory work. The UNL calls for doubling production at local workplaces, but at the same time warns factory owners against dismissing workers, deducting for strike days or prolonging working hours; rather working conditions should be improved and the maximum number of workers employed. On this basis, workers are encouraged to enter into labor contracts in line with the national interest.

Along the same lines, landlords are instructed to reduce rents by 25%, while tenants are urged to pay without evasion; doctors are also required to reduce their fees (of course, many are treating the wounded of the uprising free). This is part of a deliberate policy to make a relative redistribution of income for the sake of bolstering steadfastness, as became clear in call no. 29. This directed the popular committees to form national levying committees to collect from those who were able to give (merchants not harmed during the uprising, factory owners, employees and academics) «in order to achieve social solidarity.» This money should be distributed on a regular basis, at the end of each month, to the needy. In

this, the popular committees, the backbone of popular authority and the seed of the Palestinian state, have taken over another «state» function. The occupation's illegal taxation has been superceded by the revolutionary tax and welfare system.

SEMILIBERATION

Call no. 22 of July 21st states: «Our masses' new lifestyle and the many new forms of confronting the occupation's repression, are indications that the uprising has entered a qualitatively new stage.» The same call stresses that all problems should be referred to the popular committees (a situation that already exists in most places), in order to replace the occupation authority with popular authority. This state of semiliberation is also reflected in the battlefield; features, though not the general character, of liberated areas, can already be discerned. Since the early days of the uprising, especially in the Gaza Strip, there were repeated instances of the occupation troops being driven out of camps or quarters, if only for a short period; curfews were successfully defied. This phenomenon soon spread to the West Bank where the occupation was forced to send large contingents of soldiers to recapture villages and camps. It has been steadily escalated since. Call no. 20 of June 21 notes that in the foregoing week, there had been a «new transition» with large confrontations, molotovs, facing settlers and forcing the occupation to announce its weakness. The calls of this period emphasize collective defiance of curfews, arrests, house demolitions and tax collection. By the autumn, evading arrest had become a mass phenomenon. Call no. 29 notes that: «All the wanted and pursued are participating in the confrontations against the enemy forces; they are masked and know to withdraw at the right moment, lest they be assassinated or detained... we will prove to the enemy that none of their many varied attempts to use force will be successful. Our people have broken the harness; they are not ready to accept anything less than freedom and independence.»