

dividing the total cultivable land in the possession of the fallaheen by the total number of the fallaheen living on the land, is 64.9d.

(10) It is this result which both Zionist politicians and British officials refused to accept, especially since experts within the Jewish Agency had already admitted that the minimum necessary for the survival of a fallah family is not less than "160 dunam per family in the good soil suitable for dairy farming, [and] 320 dunams in less productive soil of the cereal growing districts".(11)

The figures reached from the calculations of the Director of Survey are based on the assumption that all available cultivable land was distributed among all fallaheen. However, the reality is that not all the fallaheen were in possession of land, nor did all of them derive their income from agriculture only. A growing section of totally landless fallaheen had, in fact, already emerged.

In order to comprehend the significance of the size of land holdings, it must be examined in the light of the class structure of the fallaheen themselves.

#### Differentiation within the Fallaheen:

The fallaheen are divided into three major groups :

##### 1- Fallaheen Mullak (or peasant owners):

This group refers to a segment of the fallaheen who own their land and cultivate it with their own and their families' labour power. In rare cases, outside labour might be involved. This group, otherwise known in the literature as the small bourgeoisie or the middle peasant (Lenin, 1977:176), was characterised by its unstable economic status. In rural Palestine this class was in the minority as further discussion will reveal.