

(approximately 25% of the total); (2) those who became refugees in the neighbouring Arab states and the remaining regions of Palestine, constituting a reserve army of labour in the periphery of the major urban centres of the host countries (Amman, Nablus, Gaza, Beirut, Damascus, Jericho and Ramallah), --together amounting to 40% of the total; (3) those who remained in their villages in those parts of Palestine that were appropriated by Jordan and Egypt in 1948, the West Bank and Gaza, and whose social fabric was altered as a result of being incorporated, albeit in a different manner, from the refugees, into the new social formation -- those latter constitute approximately 30% of the peasantry.

The urban refugees, composed predominantly of the artisans, professionals, landowners and the traditional working class of colonial Palestine, were successfully integrated, at least at the economic-occupational level, into the Arab host countries -- most notably in Jordan, Kuwait, the Gulf States, and to a lesser extent, in Lebanon. It was from their ranks that the Palestinian intelligentsia, unable to assimilate itself politically into these new formations, became an arch proponent of pan-Arab nationalism, and later -- of Palestinian nationalism. Above this intelligentsia lurks an eminently successful Palestinian bourgeoisie whose members were re-constituted from the sons of the defrocked landed elite of old Palestine, and whose fortunes were accumulated in the new diaspora of Middle East oil. In every state or statelet in the Arab-Persian Gulf they are found today among the most prominent bankers, export-import merchants, ministers, government advisors, managers of companies and planners. Their less fortunate kinsmen swell the ranks of the professional and semi-professional groups in these states.

The process of de-classment of Palestinians thus affected the different segments of the dispersed population in a desperate manner, depending on their former location in the class structure and on which social formation