

3. The social base of the Palestinian national movement since 1965, has been primarily located among the de-classed former peasants who are concentrated in refugee camps in the host Arab countries. The intelligentsia of that movement, by contrast, has been recruited disproportionately from the ranks of the dispersed Palestinian bourgeoisie and professional strata. The re-focusing of Palestinian national strategy from seeking "total liberation of Palestine" to the more concrete and limited objective of "independence and sovereignty" compelled the leadership to re-think its ideological direction in the light of its new objectives. This change can be expressed as a shift from the politics of de-classment (whose social base is the refugee camps) to one involving substantial class alignments (within the occupied territories).

In the following analysis we shall examine the validity of those propositions:

#### De-classment of Palestinians in Israel

Whether substantial class differentiation has occurred among the Arabs of Israel or not remains the subject of some controversy. There seems to be a consensus however, on that the quantitative integration of the Arab 'under-class'--mainly rural labourers and peasants commuting daily to Jewish urban centres from their villages--has led to a qualitative impact on the relationship between Arab and Jewish society. In formal terms this change can be described as the transformation of Arab and Jewish societies from two parallel social structures into a single social structure hierarchically integrated in a relationship of dominance. What is still in need of elaborate empirical substantiation is the amount and character of social differentiation which