

those that are landed are using their village base to challenge their submerged class status. Yet the fact remains that a considerable section of the Arab wage-earning population in Israel is dependent on employment in relatively unskilled and unstable occupations (construction, the services, and seasonal agriculture), and suffers from the institutional obstruction by the Israeli state of the emergence of viable Arab enterprises and a professional stratum (e.g. through unofficial quotas on the number of available seats for Arab students in the scientific departments in Israeli universities). But such dependence and obstruction are not defined by the rigidity of the occupational structure, or other strictly economic factors. Rather it is limited and constantly being modified by political considerations, such as the Israeli conception of 'security', and the maintenance of a Jewish majority in 'sensitive' fields of employment--i.e. by ideologically defined factors. The present need of the Israeli state for a 'positive' Arab intelligentsia (as local Arabs who accommodate the general policies of the state are referred to) invites its opposite: the emergence of a radical intelligentsia within and without the communist movement which has contributed effectively since the early sixties to the opening-up of the universities and other previously closed avenues of employment and mobility to a new generation of Arab youth.

The Palestinian Exile: "Expulsion from the Means of Production"

The refugee camp population in the Arab exile constitute the core of Palestinians dispersed in 1948, and again in 1967. Unlike the camp refugees in Gaza and the West Bank, those living in Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon do not reside in the periphery of a relatively dynamic and expanding capitalist economy in need of constant sources for a cheap labour force as the case was in Israel. The construction boom in Jordan (mid-seventies), enhanced with the influx of (rich) refugees from the Lebanese civil war changed this situation there, but only temporarily. In general it may be said that the camp