to, and even helped build, the very factional parties which presumably blocked their own "potential class interests." And on such grounds they never transcended factionalism.

1. The conflict between the Barghuti clans and fellaheen factions took on a violent character in the revolt of 1936, with the Baraghteh (descen-

dents of the big tax farmers in the Banu Zeid region) siding with the Nashashibi party and most of the fellaheen clans joining the rebels. Dr. Abdul-latif Barghuti informs me that after the rebellion was crushed in 1938 numerous acts of revenge were exacted from peasants who supported the revolt, he himself having personally witnessed several such cases. (This was the case in Deir Ghassaneh, Beit Rima, and Kafr Ein villages). It should be added that all the Baraghteh families of the Banu Zeid region were Qaisis while most of the fellaheen were Yemenis. (Barghuti, 1979:inter.).

2. This ambiguity is clearly reflected in the tortured attempts of Allush, Tuma and many other writers to characterize its class content--either in terms of membership or political program which in any event does not differ in substance from the programs of the factional parties -compare the texts in Allush, (Allush, 1976:191-196).

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