

refugees (a majority of Palestinians in Lebanon and Syria--and almost a third of the Palestinians in Jordan) act as a reserve army of the unemployed for the host economies (Sayigh, 1979:120-122).

The position of those refugees has been described succinctly by F. Rauf as "expulsion for the means of production" (1973:34). Until 1982, when the Israeli invasion of Lebanon shattered the social fabric of the Palestinian community, wage labour in the refugee camps supplemented UNRWA and other stipends from migrant relatives. Together with Kurdish and illegal Syrian migrants, as well as Lebanese Shite farmers from the south, the Palestinians constituted a competing source for cheap and expendable labour for local Beirut industries. A comprehensive survey conducted in Tel Za'tar camp in Beirut (Mundas, 1974) confirms this position. Tel Za'tar which was destroyed and many of its inhabitants massacred by Phalangist forces in 1976, was not untypical of other urban refugee camps such as those situated in Amman, Damascus Zarqa and Irbid. (It had certain features, however, that set it apart from those camps: for example, it contained a substantial proportion (23%) of non-Palestinian refugees, and it had a considerable number of Palestinian refugees from pastoral nomadic background (mainly from the Huleh region)). The camp, located in Eastern Beirut in a district containing 29% of all Lebanese manufacturing industries, employed 22% of the total labour force, and absorbed 23% of the industrial capital investments in Lebanon (Mundas, 1974:25).

The legal status of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon as 'Alien Residents render them most suitable for manipulation by the medium-sized workshops and factories that employ them. Refugees, as Rauf noted, "are not involved in the process of capitalist social reproduction" except marginally. Work provided them with only 20% of what they need to survive on as income (Rauf, 1973:35). The rest comes from UNRWA rations, migrant stipends, and scavanging. In the case of Tel Za'tar camp 24.8% of the active population was in the labour force,