Palestinian merchants. As one Arab citrus grower and merchant put it:

When London markets are open we export and make profit, when they are closed we are badly hit.

The "opening" and "closing" of the London market to Palestinian citrus exporters presents a strong indication of the dependence of the Palestinian citrus industry on Britain's market. In another instance this same grower recollected that in the early 1930s Arab growers had to hire pickers to pick the oranges and bury them in the soil because England did not buy their oranges. (32) In one year only, 1929, Jaffa growers alone lost P.L.300,000 in citrus. (33)

Finally, the indigenous Arab orange economy received a further blow in 1930 when the government decided to build a new harbour in Haifa, to replace the age old Jaffa harbour. Whether simply for strategic or for both strategic and economic reasons, the decision to erect this new harbour had the same effect. From 1930, Palestine's shipping activities had to shift from Jaffa to Haifa. As a result, Jewish growers who were mainly located in the Maritime plain found an easier and cheaper means of transportation. While Arab growers, particularly from Jaffa, had to incur more expenses and consequently more losses.

The above discussion of the ways in which capitalist production penetrates the agrarian economy demonstrates the contradictory nature of capitalism in agriculture. On the one hand it shows the expansionist nature of capitalism once it crosses the threshold of the rural economy, and on the other, evidences the destruction and ruin of the less advanced rural bourgeois economy.

Zionist Capitalism Boycotts Indigenous Arab Products

There is nothing unique about the cases of the oil and citrus industries presented above. Both examples clearly resemble the general