non-sectarian union. However, by 1930, due to the racist policies of the Histadrut, the union was disrupted and Arab workers were forced to form their own separate union. (64)

Through speeches, conferences and other labour gatherings, Arab labour unions distinguished between Zionist authorities and the Jewish workers. While Zionism was seen as an ally of British imperialism and a tool of colonialism, Arab labour bodies tried to present the Jewish workers as the victims of this movement.

In conclusion, this analysis strongly suggests that no serious study can adequately understand the history of Palestine without understanding the indigenous labour movement. Despite the fact that it was still in its first stages of formation and that it had to fight both internal and external forces which tried to suppress it, the Palestinian labour movement did grow and develop. In fact, by the mid 1930s working class power presented itself as an alternative to the traditional power based on family lines.

The argument that it might not be functional or desirable for capital to have a free class of potentially organized working class, and that capital could employ various means, through the state and other power organizations, to check the growth of such a class has been proven inadequate within the Palestinian context.

The economic history of Palestine provides a particular form of colonial capitalist settler rule where sheer economic exploitation was not the only decisive factor. Zionist colonial policies were materialized in two contradictory processes. For one, these policies resulted in maintaining Palestinian pre-capitalist relations of production and consequently exploited indigenous labour power as a cheap source of labour for the reproduction and further expansion of