

features of this development, as it affects the subject of de-classment. The most striking aspect about the process of Israeli integration of the occupied territories is the employment of more than one-third of the Palestinian labour force from the territories in Israeli enterprises on a daily basis and the opening up of Gaza and the West Bank as markets for Israeli commodities. Of those workers involved the overwhelming majority were of peasant origin (73.2% were rural-based, as opposed to 26% evenly divided between urban and refugee residents--Israel Ministry of Labour, 1980:23), but few of them today are agriculturalists.

Israeli rule did give rise to a stratum of war profiteers--connected mostly with labour contracting, construction, and real estate transactions. But it did not change qualitatively the character of the local bourgeoisie. Any growth effects it may have had (there) were probably cancelled by the desertion of sectors of the commercial bourgeoisie to Jordan since 1967. Israeli-Palestinian joint enterprises emerged in the form of sub-contracting firms (in textiles and construction) but their growth rates soon declined after 1974, probably due to political uncertainty for business transactions. Employment in Israel, the most crucial variable in this connection, did create a new stratum of workers from urban refugees and surplus rural labour.

What is certain is that peasant agricultural labour has become supplementary to wage labour and not vice versa, although in Gaza, where refugees (and not farmers) constitute a majority in the labour force, a different perspective for interpretation is needed to take into account the absence of a subsistence economy to which they may resort to. The diversity between Gaza and the West Bank is rooted partly in the different forms of agricultural production, (the predominance of capitalist citri-culture in Gazan agriculture as opposed to small and medium-sized farms in the West Bank), and partly to the massive weight of the refugee population in Gaza. But it is