

itself, as a class fit for self-emancipation from exploitation as the creator of surplus value for the capitalist class. Proletarianization, therefore, signifies the possible development of a revolutionary potential among the producers of society's material values. This may clarify for us why Borochof's emphasis on the necessity of Jewish proletarianization and Jewish capitalization for the Jewish political class struggle to emerge was translated into the slogan of "Conquest of Hebrew Labor", as will be seen in the following chapter. It may also shed light on the rationale underlying the deliberate Zionist policy to prohibit the proletarianization of the native Palestinian population, as demonstrated below.

Before we enter into the specifics of proletarianization in Palestine, it is necessary to develop and keep in mind an additional theoretical point: the process that transforms the social means of production into capital and the immediate producers into wage-labor often expresses a relationship between a population becoming proletarianized and a developing or expanding or concentrating bourgeoisie. Proletarianization is not just a separation of producers from the means of production but also a concentration of these means in the hands of another class. The alienation of the workers from the means of production, including their own labor power, and the access to, and control over these means by the capitalists, are two aspects of the same process. The creation of surplus value by some segments of the population implies the existence of a non-laboring class subsisting and expanding its capital from the extraction of this surplus value.

These dual aspects of capital accumulation, proletarianization and embourgeoisement, manifest the essential unevenness of capitalist development. Although in theory it is not inaccurate to abstract proletarianiza-