

the effects it inflicted on the native population.

In his testimony before the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine, David Ben-Gurion, one of the foremost socialist Zionist thinkers and practitioners, expresses in concrete terms the comprehensiveness of this political program, as follows:

"When we say 'Jewish independence' or a 'Jewish State', we mean Jewish labour, we mean Jewish economy, Jewish agriculture, Jewish industry, Jewish sea. We mean Jewish safety, security, independence, complete independence, as for any other free people." 30

It is in this sense that Jewish settlement is the creation of a complex system, an entire society, a social formation; and it is in this context that our inquiry regarding the proletarianization of Palestine must be placed.

Most relevant to our inquiry are the twin principles, "conquest of land" and "Hebrew work", which together constitute the cornerstone of this comprehensive plan. These two principles are the main determinants of the displacement of Palestinian producers; included here, also, are the institutional arrangements which embodied these policies.

Although they appear and are practiced as separate slogans, the conquest of land and the Hebrew labor policies constitute a functional unity, even in the bourgeois postulates of Zionism, as expressed in the following words by Theodore Herzl:

"The private lands in the territories granted to us we must gradually take out of the hands of the owners. The poorer amongst the population we try to transfer quietly outside our borders by providing them with work in the transit countries, but in our country we deny them all work. Those with property will join us. The transfer of land and the displacement of the poor must be done gently and carefully. Let the landowners believe that they are exploiting us by getting over-valued prices. But no lands shall be sold back to their owners." 31