

maintained in the slogan, "boycott Arab produce". So daring and so determined to replace, not exploit, the natives, the Zionist movement tried to mask their alien presence with the nativeness of the uprooted natives; they wanted not to exploit the natives but rather to deny them that nativeness and become, themselves, the natives of that land. The image, "native product", was made applicable exclusively to the products of Jewish labor and Jewish land, while the native produce was to be boycotted and made to disappear. This attitude with regard to denying the nativeness of the native was most articulately expressed by the Zionist leader, Menahen Ussishkin, in his testimony before the Jewish Agency Committee on Jewish-Arab relations in March, 1940, where he stated:

"I favor 100% Hebrew work and Hebrew products; I favor this, because I oppose the strengthening of the Arabs; I am against enabling them to establish roots in the country." 64

The "boycott Arab labor" slogan was to apply not only to the "free" laborers emerging from the Zionist "conquest of land", but also to an already proletarianized or semi-proletarianized Arab labor force. The only Hebrew labor policy was, in effect, not only to impede the proletarianization of the landless peasantry, to deny the mass of "free" laborers a market for their labor power, but also to result in the deproletarianization of the native proletariat.

An Arab proletariat in Palestine began to form with the penetration of British foreign capital, invested mainly in public works-related construction and in citrus plantations. Since then, citri-culture was fostered by Arab merchant capitalists employing Arab laborers but not exactly in the framework of capitalist relations of production, as their capital remained un-