

productive. The seasonal employees in such cases were only semi-proletarianized. Semi-proletarianization applies also to the workers employed in the small-scale Arab industries, as both of these agricultural and industrial enterprises were generally characterized by the petty commodity form of production; primitive accumulation.

The "boycott of Arab produce" under the "Tozeret Haaretz" slogan, in addition to the discouraging policy of the British Mandate, discussed earlier in this chapter, blocked the modernization of Arab production, hence its capacity to absorb labor power as a commodity and increase the organic composition of capital. As the boycott of Arab produce eliminated the possibility for realization of profit and its transformation into re-investible productive capital, the "boycott of Arab produce" in turn reduced the purchasing power within the Arab community itself, reducing the finding of markets for Arab produce among the Arab masses. In this sense, the Zionist movement applied the proletarian strategy quite dialectically indeed. This explains the urge of the Palestinian petty bourgeoisie to respond with a similar slogan, "boycott Jewish produce".

De-proletarianization applies also to Arab workers who, prior to the implementation of Labor-Zionism were employed in Jewish factories and farms, then were displaced in response to these slogans, and to Arab labor unrest and resistance to Zionist policies.⁶⁵

It is difficult to assess the size of the Palestinian "proletariat" displaced by the practices of Labor-Zionism during the Yishuv era, as employment data, if available at all, is not precise, specifically as far as the distinction between proletarian and non-proletarian wage earners. The following figures may give us a rough idea of the employment dynamics, spe-