

25. Ibid., p. 58.
26. Yassin, op.cit., p. 192.
27. From the standpoint of historical materialism, one cannot explain why something has not occurred. One cannot provide a scientific explanation for the non-emergence of a Palestinian progressive (i.e. industrial) bourgeoisie. Many historians attribute this fact to Zionist practices (see, for example, Nathan Weinstock). Although the argument for this may sound very plausible, it remains methodologically unverifiable. Historical materialism refers to the logic of the actual historical process. Furthermore, not unlike Palestine, in other parts of the Levant (specifically, Syria and Lebanon) industrial development stimulated by mercantilism had not been able to outgrow mercantilism and destroy it and consolidate capitalist relations of production. The mercantilists remained there to be the dominant class (see on this, "Debate with F. Trabulsi," Al-Hourriah, No. 834, October 3, 1977) independently of Zionist settler-colonialism. Of course, one may hypothesize that the causes lie in colonialism and neo-colonialism, but one cannot examine such hypotheses until this process (the actual emergence of an industrial bourgeoisie) takes place.
28. Many writers refer to Hovevi Zion movement as spiritual Zionism, to be distinguished from political Zionism. This is, in my opinion, a false distinction, as all postulates of Zionism are political. Zion is nothing but a political movement; the Zionist idea is nothing but the idea of a Jewish State. I wish to argue that the differences among the various postulates of Zionism are only with regard to the strategy by which the idea of Jewish State is to be realized; the strategy for actualizing the Zionist aim.
29. On this sharp dichotomy of the Yishuv economy, consult Eliezer Brutzkus, Regional Policy in Israel, Jerusalem, 1970.
30. The Jewish Case: Before the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine as Presented by the Jewish Agency for Palestine, Jerusalem, 1947, p. 66; quoted by Ian S. Lustick, "Institutionalized Segmentation; One Factor in the Control of Israeli Arabs" (Unpublished Paper presented at the Middle East Study Association Conference in Louisville, Kentucky, November 19, 1975).
31. Quoted by H. Hanegbi, M. Machover, A. Orr, "The Class Nature of Israel," New Left Review, 65, January-February, 1971, pp. 3-26; p. 14.
32. Noam Chomsky, "Israel and the Palestinians," in Socialist Revolution, No. 24, June, 1975, p. 140, based on Y.T. Kolton, Lesheelat Hayehudim Ufitrona (On the Jewish Question and Its Solution), Tel-Aviv, 1932.
33. Esco Foundation for Palestine, Inc., Palestine: A Study of Jewish, Arab and British Policies, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1947, Vol.