

and more importantly, to become an alternative to the P.L.O. leadership.²¹

Contrary to the local, the commuter workers from occupied territories are mainly and increasingly concentrated in productive economic branches, distributed equally in agriculture and industry and doubly concentrated in construction. In 1973 the Israeli construction industry absorbed 52 percent of the non-citizen Palestinian labor force employed during that year in Israel. According to Hilal, in 1972, 57.2 percent of West Bank workers in Israel worked in construction; compared, for example, with 19.5 percent in industry. One can confidently conclude that all these productive (produce surplus value) Palestinian wage workers in Israel fall undoubtedly within the boundaries of the proletariat class. The penetration of Israeli agricultural and industrial investment capital into the occupied territories has inflected changes in the class nature of those communities, specifically the promoting of peasant and petty-producers' proletarianization. The integration of these territories into the Israeli economy has enlarged the size of their working class, not only relatively, but also in absolute terms. In Hilal's estimation, in 1973 there were nearly 60,000 manual workers in the West Bank, forming around 47.5 percent of its total labor force, and nearly 38,000 in the Gaza Strip, forming approximately 55.6 percent of its total labor force; that is to say, more than 97.6 thousand (or half the labor force) were manual workers, of whom 60.8 percent worked in Israel.