

resources and labour power were subjugated and made heavily dependent on the developing economy.

The relationship of exploitation between the two economies, as this chapter has revealed and as will be further elaborated in the next chapter, was the prime mover in the changing history of Palestine. While the dialectical relationship of domination and subordination can be attributed to all social formations experiencing capitalist development through a colonial power, the Palestinian experience remains historically specific.

In the colonies, the subordination of the colonized economy eventually leads to its full dependency on the colonial capitalist economy. This is equally true in the case of settler colonial formations. As the South African and Rhodesian cases show, the native population in both economies were turned into reservoirs for cheap labour exploited by the capitalist economy (Wolpe, 1980; Arrighi, 1973).

The colonial settler experience in Palestine demonstrates rather different characteristics. The economic subordination of the indigenous Palestinian working classes to the European Jewish capitalist economy formed only one aspect of the developing economic structure. The other aspect of the developing structural reality was the exclusion of the indigenous working classes from the dominant capitalist economy. Contradictory as this relationship of exploitation/exclusion might appear, it was this precise relationship which characterized the Zionist colonial movement in Palestine. A better appreciation of the nature and implication of this phenomenon requires further investigation into the social and class relations in the labour market. The sixth and final chapter in this study will address this issue.