

fallaheen. In this phase of the process, we argue, the mediation of legal, political and sheer force employed by the colonial state and the Zionist authorities, (Chapter 111) played a crucial role in facilitating further and expediting the process of change and development. However, the social cost to the Palestinians, of this accelerated transformation, as we have shown, was, at once, enormous and catastrophic.

More specifically, It was demonstrated (Chapter 111) that the so-called issue of 'land transfer' was not a simple and peaceful matter of sale and purchase as most of the current literature suggests, but rather, one of peasant and land expropriation. This process was made possible largely because of the mediation of the colonial state apparatuses. Archival and other data presented in relation to the question of land expropriation proved methodologically significant in this case. Contrary to the logic that mediates the bulk of Zionist and Israeli official literature which persistently promotes the notion that Jewish settlers in Palestine did not replace or displace indigenous Palestinians, the cases of the Marj, Zeita and Wadi al-Hawareth proved, beyond any shade of doubt, that the process was anything but peaceful or harmless. The point often made by Marxists on the extra-economic coercive measures employed by the state during the transformation process (Marx, 1977; Luxemburg, 1951) has received a special consideration here. The policies of taxation, imprisonment and collective punishment imposed on the fallaheen for failure to pay debts, has speeded up class differentiation within the Palestinian rural economy, creating a large pool of landless proletariat and a potent source for cheap labor.

Alongside the legal and political forces which have directly