

The danger with this kind of analysis (though perhaps Weinstock himself may have managed to avoid it) is that it overrates Israeli exceptionalism. That is, it extends what may have been true of one epoch of Jewish settlement in Palestine to succeeding periods. The analysis, further, treats Palestinians as the constant objects of a process in which they were mere instruments of a cruel fate. When they react, they do so either in a heroic manner (resistance), or as helpless victims (refugees). There is very little that Palestinians seem to engage themselves in besides these two dramatic modes. Finally, the analysis ignores limits that are objectively inherent in the Zionist enterprise. These limits are related to the discrepancy between the early ideals of the (Labor) Zionist movement and its capacity to accommodate a radically transformed Jewish society which has increasingly come to resemble the social structure of advanced capitalist societies.

Thus, the unique "displacing" feature of Jewish colonisation in Palestine before the establishment of the state of Israel, which continued in good measure during the fifties and sixties (e.g., land confiscation and the prevention of already dispossessed refugees from returning to their land), has taken a dramatic turn three decades later. Today, the settlement policy of the Likud occurs in a radically different context, though the intentions may have remained the same. Following the 1967 War and physical incorporation of the remaining part of Palestine with half of its total population within the boundaries of the Israeli state, objective needs to expand the economy led to the abandonment of the ideology of Hebrew labour, both in theory and practice. In this process, both the Palestinian "colonial" and the Israeli dominant class structures were transformed.

In the West Bank and Gaza the coming of Israeli rule was superimposed over a complex social structure which was shaped as much by the