

one hand, it requires a capitalist economy, as proletarianization necessarily presupposes capitalist relations of production. This proletarianization is to take place in the context of settler-colonialism, hence the "conquest of land" prerequisite. The conquest of Palestinian land implies necessarily the displacement of Palestinian peasantry, the dispossession of the indigenous immediate producers, and an abundance of native labor surplus; thus, cheap labor conducive to the extraction of super profits.

Under these conditions, and subject to the logic of capitalist accumulation (given that capital is a secular relation abiding by no religion but profitability), Palestinian labor was more competitive than Jewish. To create an exclusive Jewish proletariat it was therefore necessary that the capitalist economy of the Jewish settlers be "closed", closed to nonJews, specifically native labor, the rationale for the main Zionist slogan, "Hebrew labor", prohibiting the employment of Arab labor in Jewish agriculture and industry. But a capitalist economy cannot develop as a closed system; capitalist accumulation and the extended reproduction of capital has been historically conditioned by subordinating and subjecting less-developed pre-capitalist social formations as the sites for its reproduction. How did the Labor-Zionist movement accommodate this contradiction? The answer to this seems to lie in molding the "conquest of labor" principle in the ambiguous slogan, "self-labor". That the settlers' economy be a closed economy in the sense of labor self-sufficiency was explained away as a negation of the typical colonial practices, which are based on the exploitation of native labor.

The "self-labor" slogan provided for a flexible interpretation: firstly, reliance on one's own labor, negating the notion of hired labor,