

ment of a labor movement acting upon its consciousness of its immediate interests, while its social being, the objective conditions of its life, were still extremely vulnerable. The militancy of Palestinian labor is expressed most strongly in their role in the August, 1929 protest led by Izzed-din el-Qassam. Proletarian workers, squatting in the outskirts of urban centers, specifically Haifa, constituted the vanguards of the political and armed struggle within his movement. This was the case also in the 1936 general strike and revolt in Palestine, lasting until 1939.<sup>76</sup> These two critical events in modern Palestinian history were mainly protest against the triple Zionist slogans: "Conquest of Labor", and "Tozeret Ha'aretz" (native produce). For the Palestinian proletariat, it was protesting the slogan, "Boycott Arab Labor".

Moreover, this fluctuation was an impediment to the formation of Palestinian proletariat as a class-in-itself with a distinct class interest, because it was essentially a transitory labor force used as a source of flexibility for the British enterprises in times of crisis while boycotted by Jewish enterprises. This implies a measure of vulnerability, and also, under such conditions, the Arab labor force was developing a militant labor movement prior to its becoming a class-in-itself; its consciousness was probably emerging more from its location in the social formation as a whole and less from its location in the labor process, in the social division of labor, with the result that its class and national consciousness overlapped.

Indeed, the subjective conditions of the Palestinian proletariat under Jewish settler-colonialism, which were based on the boycott of Palestinian labor, provide a classic example of what Tom Nairn considers progressive proletarian nationalism.<sup>77</sup> Of course, this genuine proletarian nationalism