

kibbutz labor force.

Ironically, this group is also highly represented among emigrating Israelis in the seventies.⁵

2. Asia-Africa immigrants (Eidot Hamizrah) were mobilized by the Zionist movement, since the Yishuv. But they were not made participants in the planning and design and in laying the institutional foundations of the State. They were brought in only at the implementation phase, to fulfill the demographic requirement for nation-building; i.e., the creation of Jewish majority for legitimizing the establishment of a Jewish State.⁶ They were initially brought and later expelled from Arab countries to become a part of the base (demographic and economic) but not to take part in the superstructure, following Borochoy's proposal.⁷ They were not Zionists, because Zionism is a Western capitalist movement aiming at a State. Yemenites, who on their own began the "return to Zion", were probably motivated by religious sentiments, not political cause. They come from Middle-Eastern pre-capitalist social formations and cultural and socio-economic background similar to that of the native population; potential competitors for, and therefore supplanters of, cheap Palestinian labor. They were brought in to provide for the essential unevenness of "closed" capitalist development, closed to non-Jews. They were imperative for sustaining a sectarian Jewish capitalism. It is not, therefore, accidental that this population group continued to occupy a marginal position in the Israeli employment structure. It is over-represented among the welfare recipients. Their "marginality" is essential for Jewish capital accumulation under the hegemony of Labor-Zionism and thereafter.

Middle-Eastern Jews were also to constitute the core of the unskilled agricultural and industrial labor force, much in demand during the early