the objectives of the Ministry of Labor. It seems an unconsidered idea. Therefore, the use of Palestinian labor in the place of this segment of the Jewish labor force seems very unlikely to promote the mobility of the replaced Jewish labor into high technology production, where shortage in manpower prevails. It provides, indirectly, an alternative for immigration of trained Jewish manpower from the West. The integration of this Palestinian labor force, on the one hand, intensifies the imperative of Aliyah on the basis of the demographic threat its presence represents, and can also promote, though very indirectly, material incentives for immigration -better wages, housing, etc., to the newcomers at the expense of the heavy appropriation of non-citizen Palestinian labor force value. The appropriation of a higher surplus value from Palestinian workers can allow for maintaining a labor aristocracy not at the expense of capital -- without decline in the rates of profit. The conquest of Palestinian labor in Israel today, indirectly constitutes a material incentive for Jewish immigration from the West, the only alternative source of labor likely to accommodate both the economic and the political objectives simultaneously.

The Immigration Potential: Incentives and Disincentives

In the following, we examine the transformation in immigration incentives over time and in response to the inflow of foreign investment capital, and the implications of those transformations on the future of Aliyah.

In the Yeshuv, prior to the establishment of the State, Zionist leaders relied primarily on ideological, and secondarily on material, incentives for Jewish immigration into Palestine. The pioneer (Hehalutz) paving the road for the building of a National Home (a State in disguise)