

## I. Introduction

This chapter examines the internal structure of the working class subject to differential locations in the social formation. We assume that in Israel, as elsewhere in the world, the proletariat, like the bourgeoisie, is not an internally homogeneous class. Ruling classes are constantly compelled to segment the proletariat as a measure of discipline and control. These segmentations are precisely to impede proletarian alliances against the ruling class. Examining the internal structure of the working class is, therefore, a way of assessing the material conditions for and against proletarian alliances. This is built on the findings of the previous chapter, where we identified segments of the Jewish and Arab labor force who, in terms of their locations in the division of labor, belong to the proletariat.

In this chapter, we try to examine whether this segment of the labor force who, in the production process, occupy common proletarian class locations, are segmented on the basis of arrangements beyond the division of labor in the social formation as a whole.

We are especially concerned to answer two questions: (a) whether segments of the working class benefit directly or indirectly from surplus value produced by other segments of the same class; and (b) whether the differential relation of Jewish versus Arab workers to the Zionist political/ideological superstructure undermines the commonality of their class interest.

We must keep in mind that the Israeli social formation, unlike any other in the world, is a pre-planned one. It is not the outcome of the historical course of class struggle as social formations naturally evolve. We try to identify tentative features of its planned organization of production, consumption, and reproduction.