

bourgeois alliances). We therefore focus only on that portion of the various segments of the labor force (identified in Chapter IV) who perform proletarian labor categories in the labor process. Where, in the Israeli social formation, those Arab and Jewish productive, manual, non-supervisory wage-workers are located in relation to the means of production, consumption, and reproduction at the disposal of Israel? An investigation of this question suggests a pyramidal structure (Chart I) with four horizontally-integrated dimensions and five vertically differentiated dimensions. This is an abstraction of major features in Israel's social formation as exist in actuality. It is essential, however, that these features be viewed not statically, but rather dynamically, in constant transformation; transformation through struggle between social classes. It is also a rough abstraction of the differential locations of the various segments of the working class in the social formation. This includes and goes beyond their locations in the division of labor. It reflects differential locations in relation to the means of production, consumption, and reproduction. These involve relations to the economic "base" as well as the political/ideological "superstructure" which together make up the social formation.

We must remember that in Israel the "superstructure" consists not only of the usual apparatuses of the State (legislative, army, ideological organs, etc.), but also of the Zionist institutions of the Yishuv which have remained operative after the establishment of the State and were further empowered by the State to play far more important roles.

Tentative as it is, Chart I reveals an important fact. The proletarian labor force in Israel does not share common locations in the social forma-