

territories made possible by the political privilege of the former as part of the oppressor nation). In this sense, both Eastern segments of the working class are jointly subjected not only to direct exploitation by the capitalist class, but also to indirect exploitation by the Western segments of the working class (the labor-aristocracy). Therefore, material impediments of proletarian alliance are likely to be less between Palestinian-Arab workers and Oriental-Jewish workers than between the latter and Western-Jewish workers. Similarity in the cultural backgrounds, hence the consumption patterns of the Oriental-Jews and the Palestinian-Arabs are likely to reinforce the commonality of their class interests and, consequently, their political class positions. Proletarian alliance is seen here as an expression of class position and not necessarily class interest dictated by the objective location within the social division of labor and social formation.

The structure of the proletariat is characterized by horizontal integration/vertical differentiation that cuts across various spheres of society. The importance of these horizontal segmentations lies in the generation and reproduction of the vertical differentiations. These are, in turn, most functional for not only political stability, but also and simultaneously productivity of capital through cheaper reproduction of labor power for the dominant capital. This concrete case illustrates the instrumentality of uneven development for growth under capitalist relations of production.

We must recall again that Israel's social formation is a pre-planned one. That these arrangements that we have identified and expressed on Chart I are not accidental, but rather the by-product of a very deliberate planning effort, carried out mainly by the Yishuv institutions of the State and the State itself for specific economic/political objectives. Initially,