

Chapter VI: Footnotes

1. Manpower in Israel/1964 - Annual Report, State of Israel, Ministry of Labor, Manpower Planning Authority, Jerusalem, August, 1964, p. 77.
2. Israel Monthly Bulletin of Statistics, Supplement 26, July-December, 1975, pp. 48-50.
3. Spatial organization of the country during the Yishuv period seems to be nothing but an expression of the struggle between big Jewish capital and petty Jewish capital of the pioneering settlers themselves, between the private sector dominating the urban sphere and the co-operative sector dominating the rural sphere. It is a struggle for domination between primitive accumulation of petty capital and that of modern accumulation.

"The co-operative and collective settlements developed under the auspices of the Histadrut, created central co-operative for marketing (tnuva) and supplies (hamashbir) with 'direct links' between the central moshavim or kibbutzim to the three major cities with almost complete elimination of the intermediate stage of small- and medium-sized urban centers."

In Israel, the central-place movement won over the opposition of the rural petty bourgeoisie. The central-place hierarchical model of spatial organization was, according to Brutzkus, advocated by big capital and physical planners already in the Yishuv but defeated by the opposition of the kibbutz and co-operative movements that insisted on strict separation between rural/urban sectors and on rejecting any integration through mediating settlements.

When the State was established, reconciling this conflict between the urban and rural factions of the ruling class became possible, being by definition the central role of the bourgeois State. The implementation of the central-place spatial model resulted from the State intervention on behalf of the urban bourgeoisie and in the form of a national urban growth strategy (the New Development Towns) rationalized by the objective of population dispersion for the security of the State. Later, in the form of regional plans based on central-place theory, the best example of which is the internationally-known (and exported) Lachish Regional Plan. These central-place-oriented forms being inserted into the former rural-urban spatial dichotomy shaped the hierarchical character of the spatial form of the country. That this spatial organization is the function of the social organization of production can be concluded also from the functioning of this hierarchical structure in the reproduction of the dominant capital.

On the advocacy of hierarchical models, see Eliezer Brutzkus, Regional Policy in Israel, op.cit., p. 18. We must keep in mind that Israel is the only developing country in the world that applied urban capitalist