

tion of proletarian class location in the production process (the economic criteria), on the one hand, and the objective determination of proletarian class location in the social division of labor (the structural criteria), on the other.

What does it concretely mean that classes are determined principally but not exclusively in the production process? The structural criteria of the objective determination of class location is especially significant for studying the formation of a Palestinian working class in Israel. Specifically in determining the class location of Arab and Jewish productive, manual, non-supervisory employees. It is crucial for defining and assessing the development of commonality of class interests as an objective condition for potential cross-national proletarian alliances. This criteria is so important to our analysis precisely for reasons inherent in the peculiar context of this class formation, namely, settler-colonialism. A form of capitalist-foreign domination settler-colonialism involves the transplantation of a dominant social formation in the heart of a dominated one. In this particular case, it involves even the deformation, replacement, and then reintegration of the latter by means of military occupation. Moreover, this is an essentially sectarian settler-colonial social formation, in which the State is Jewish and so are even the economic apparatuses (the Jewish Agency, the Jewish National Fund, and the Histadrut - General Federation of Hebrew Workers).³³

Initially, these apparatuses came to exist precisely in order to create the economic/material "base" for the Jewish State "superstructure". And they continued to operate as exclusively Jewish economic apparatuses after the creation of the State of Israel.