

sions of labor simultaneously; that is, the concrete as well as the social forms of labor they perform: if the trend is predominantly that of Palestinian-Arab labor filling in vacancies in the manual, non-supervisory productive positions, from which Jewish labor is moving upward into mental, supervisory unproductive positions in the same industries and/or economic sectors; also, if Arab labor is replacing Jewish labor, moving horizontally from less into more economically and/or politically strategic sectors and industries; and especially if the less strategic sectors contribute directly to capital accumulation in the more strategic ones. Then, it would be concluded that the absorption of Palestinian labor in Israel promises no possibility for cross-national proletariat alliances.

On the other hand, if the predominant trend is that of joining, or a combination of joining and replacing, it is likely that the more Palestinian labor is absorbed in the Israeli labor market, the greater will be the number of Israelis and Palestinians inside Greater Israel who share proletariat class positions; and thus, the better are the prospects for cross-national class alliances.

The content of our hypotheses can be expressed more concretely in the following empirical questions:

First, through their penetration into the Israeli labor market, are Palestinian-Arab workers joining or replacing Israeli-Jewish workers in the Israeli social division of labor? In other words, is the pattern predominantly that of concentration of Arab wage-earners in manual, non-supervisory productive (produce surplus-value directly) labor categories, and of Jewish wage-earners moving out into non-productive, supervisory, mental labor categories? It is what position in the social division of labor they occupy