

36. G. Arrighi, "The Relationship between the Colonial and the Class Structures: A Critique of A.G. Frank's Theory of the Development of Underdevelopment" (U.N. African Institute for Economic Development and Planning, Dakar, Senegal: Mimeograph, 1971). Quoted by Sundaram, op.cit., p. 365.
37. In neo-classical economic theory the rising tendency of the organic composition of capital is referred to as increase in the ratio of constant to variable capital,  $\frac{C}{v}$ . This is further elaborated in the following chapter.
38. Concentration, centralization, and internationalization of capital as manifestation of the essential unevenness of capitalist development are treated in Chapter VII and thesis conclusions.
39. Other postulates of Zionism are known as spiritual or religious Zionism, represented in Chaim N. Bialik poetry and in Achad Ha'am, "Shalosh Matanot" story, etc. It is interesting that only this part of Zionism was included in the curriculum of Arab schooling in Israel. Probably the explicitly political postulates of Zionism were avoided by the Israeli Ministry of Education and/or the Minorities Department of the Ministry of Interior, in order not to raise the question of teaching modern Palestinian history, which was absolutely prohibited, hoping that the "Israeli-Arabs" would soon forget and become "good" citizens.

Other postulates of Zionism are referred to as bourgeois Zionism (Herzl) to distinguish them from Labor-Zionism. For a reference on the various postulates, see for an example, Arthur Hertzberg, ed., The Zionist Idea: A Historical Analysis and Reader, Atheneum, New York, 1971.

40. The concept of "hegemony" was introduced by Gramsci to account for the political practices of dominant classes in developed capitalist formations. The field of this concept is the political class struggle in a capitalist formation. Thus, in locating the relation of the capitalist state to the politically dominant classes, we can say that it is a state with a hegemonic class leadership (direzione). The concept of hegemony can be applied to one class or to a fraction of a class within the power bloc; this hegemonic class or fraction is, in fact, the dominant element of the contradictory unity of the politically "dominant" classes or fractions forming the power bloc. When Marx speaks of the "exclusively dominant" fraction, while at the same time admitting the political domination of several fractions, he precisely attempts to isolate within the power bloc the hegemonic fraction.

As it applies to the political practices of the dominant classes, the concept of hegemony further indicates how, in their relations to the capitalist state, the political interests of these classes are