

often constitutes the most exploited segment of the labor force, and involves mainly Arabs and Oriental Jews) did not belong to the working class.

According to Nathan:

"Ever since 1930 the members of the Histadruth, excluding workers' wives, have accounted for about three-fourths of all Jewish workers.* An estimated 15 percent of the Jewish working class were organized into unions separated from the Histadrut on political or religious grounds...10-11 percent of Jewish workers, who were unorganized, were largely Yemenite and Sephardic Jews with the lowest standard of living among Jewish workers and previously unexposed to trade unionism." 84

These 10 percent of unorganized Jewish workers (Yemenite and Sephardic) are indispensable to the implementation of the "Hebrew labor only" policy. This is probably the only segment of the Jewish labor force capable of defying the competitiveness of the cheap native labor; providing a substitute for the boycotted Arab labor: the use of Oriental-Jewish labor is very instrumental in accommodating the contradictory requirements of capitalist accumulation and Zionist exclusivism.

It is documented that when Jewish settlers continued to employ Arab agricultural laborers for reaping super profits, the Zionist movement worked immediately on mobilizing Yemenite Jews, known to work for wages lower than Arabs' so that Jewish capitalists switch to maintain the "Hebrew labor" principle.⁸⁵

This use of Oriental-Jewish labor must not be seen merely as tactical pragmatism. It is rather built-in as an integral part of the proletarian-Zionist strategy in its original formulation by Borochoy.

In his Selected Writings, on how to begin the actual implementation of Jewish proletarianization, Borochoy points out the Oriental-Jews:

*Workers refers to persons eligible for membership in the Histadruth, the principal qualification for which is the ideological belief in the non-exploitation of labor.