

more than 50 percent of non-citizen labor from occupied territories was also mobilized into this industry; so that in 1972, 75 percent of the employees in the building trade were Arabs. No wonder the popularity of the Israeli joke which is as follows: "Nixon sends us phantoms, Brezhnev sends us new immigrants, and the Arabs build our country."³⁶

No doubt that the penetration of non-citizen Palestinians to perform mainly unskilled labor categories affected the social form of labor performed by the citizen Palestinians within this industry. Many of the latter became foremen, and "Raises", supervising the productivity of non-citizen labor. This is to split and discipline both groups of workers, who have in common their political and ideological subjugation to the Jewish employer. Intervention in the economic criteria for the structural determination of class location is an effective policy (from the viewpoint of the Israeli ruling class) to disrupt the material conditions for proletariat alliance, hence also to weaken their alliance on national lines. However, only a few citizen Arabs can be assigned a supervisory managerial position, since they are less competitive than Jews for such labor categories within this industry. One can therefore confidently conclude that the large majority of Palestinian construction workers perform manual work ranging from skilled to unskilled, hence falling within the boundaries of the working class. Similarly are the majority of Jews in this industry, whose size in this employment category increased at the highest rates in the four years following the Six-Day War (Row E), as we already explained.

Like the water and electricity industry, so is also construction--the two most unstable branches that seem, however, to expand and decline in