

the particular form of their relationship (politico-ideological), both within the production process itself, and beyond this in the social formation as a whole...this division is thus directly bound up with the monopolization of knowledge, the capitalist form of appropriation of scientific discoveries and of the reproduction of ideological relations of domination/subordination, by the permanent exclusion on the subordinate side of those who are deemed not to 'know how'."58

If technicians and engineers who valorize capital in the production of surplus value "do not belong as a group to the working class, this is because," Poulantzas concludes, "in their place within the social division of labour they maintain political and ideological relations of subordination of the working class to capital [the division of mental and manual] and because this aspect of their class determination is the dominant one."59

In the last analysis, Poulantzas maintains that such capitalist productive mental laborers, technicians, and subaltern engineers belong rather to the petty bourgeoisie. And disagreeing with Poulantzas, Olin Wright places them in "contradictory class-locations," this is to say, belonging simultaneously to the proletariat and to the bourgeoisie.<sup>60</sup> This is a controversial debate that, in the present, remains unresolved.

We must emphasize that neither party views science as a means of production, hence scientists as owners of means of production and therefore belonging to the bourgeoisie. Whether entering petty bourgeois or contradictory class-locations, Europe-America Jewish immigrants are likely to constitute the large majority of the latter, and this way even those of them who are productive still further the steepening of Israel's social division of labor and the reproduction of capitalist relations of production, as suggested in a previous chapter.