

workers, citizens and non-citizens of Israel. They are members of a nationally oppressed people, oppressed precisely by the ideological/political superstructure to which their Jewish co-workers belong. They are denied not only their political rights for national self-determination, but also many civil rights except for the ones that legitimize the existing system of power (voting, for example). Owing to their different relation to the State superstructure, they cannot form independent political organizations, not even labor unions.

These relations are reproduced in the division of labor, in terms of relations of ideological and political domination/subordination between Jewish and Arab workers.

Ideological and political domination/subordination is the criterion for what Poulantzas identifies as the structural determination of class location (recall discussion on the boundaries of social classes in Chapter III).

It seems an appropriate criterion for ranking the ethnic/national composition of the proletariat in Israel. In general, one can say that in the Jewish State the relation of Jews to Arabs (even among the working class) is one of domination/subordination. This, however, must not be taken to imply that Jewish citizens are homogeneous in their relations to the ideological/political superstructure and, therefore, in the relation of domination/subordination with regard to the Palestinian-Arab citizens.

Until the sixties, seniority in the country was a determinant of political power and social status. The early settlers, once the vanguards of Zionism, and therefore by virtue of their special relation to the State, have exercised more political power than Oriental-Jews and recent Western immigrants. They ranked highest on the scale of political/ideological