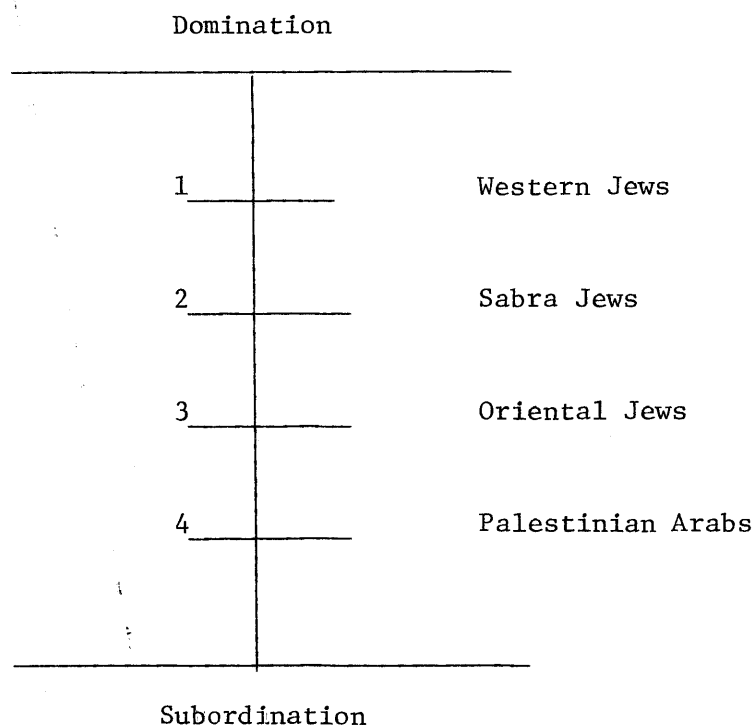


domination. In the current phase of Israeli development, distinguished by the dominance of the economic and by the subordination of the national bourgeoisie to international monopolies, and of the Jewish State itself to requirements of monopoly capital; and finally, with a shift into high technology military production based on U.S. technology, recent Jewish immigrants are moving higher up on the ladder than early settlers and their Sabra generation. Accordingly, the various population groups rank as indicated by Scale 4.

Scale 4. Ethnic/National Hierarchy by Ideological-Political
Subordination/Domination



Taking Poulantzas' criterion of structural determination of class location seriously raises a question regarding the actual existence of an Israeli-Jewish proletariat. Until now, we have assumed this and took it for