

granted. It is not only by positions in the division of labor, but also in the social formation as a whole that objective class locations are determined, then can there be a Jewish proletariat as a part of Zionist settler-colonial formation? This is like asking whether or not white settler workers who produce surplus value belong to the proletariat. More precisely, it is asking the following question: do Jewish workers who perform productive, manual, non-supervisory labor categories not belong to the same class location to which Palestinian-Arabs who perform the same labor categories belong because a relation of domination/subordination derives from their differential positions in the social formation that distinguishes the two groupings?

For a clearer and more adequate expression of this question, see Chart II.

The seriousness of this question and its relevance to our analysis gets more exposed as we recall from Chapter III the theoretical discussion on: (a) proletarianization, specifically the "free" labor as condition for wage-labor -- for proletarianization; and (b) land use and control law regarding the inalienable right of the Jew in the Jewish State to possession of land; and under the annexationist program of the Likud to land conquest or, more precisely, "liberation".

Of course, the above impede the development of a Jewish proletariat in Israel as a class for itself. The question being raised above is whether it also undermines its formation even as a class in itself. I do not know whether this question is answerable and how it can be answered; I only recognize its political and theoretical importance.⁴ It is now proposed for a future study.