

structure. These five dimensions are: (1) ethnic composition; (2) spatial form (habitat); (3) industry affiliation; (4) occupational structure; (5) employer (type of capital).

Although vertically differentiated, horizontally they seem to be in correspondence. Western early settlers and new immigrant Jews do indirectly benefit from surplus value created by Asian-African Jewish and Arab workers as cheap producers of subsistence commodities. This indirect exploitation corresponds to "West-East" dichotomy of the sources of labor. Palestinian Arab labor and Oriental-Jewish workers reside in settlements where standards of living are relatively lower. The Oriental and Arab labor force is also overrepresented in light industries of consumer goods and/or primary production (agriculture and mining). This does indirectly reduce the cost of production and reproduction in the finishing and high technology levels of production, where Western settler and new immigrant Jews are overrepresented. The over-exploitation of the former provides the conditions for lowering the rate of exploitation of the latter not at the expense of capital.

Benefitting from these arrangements, Western Jews in Israel, likely to be co-opted by the system and used in perpetuating the status quo, oppose the imposition of proletariat alternative because they do have something to lose. They probably have a stake in the existing arrangements. This is to be taken into consideration in assessing the conjunctural impediments of cross-ethnic/national proletariat alliance.

Oriental Jews who are, like Arabs, overrepresented in the production of basic consumption goods, and unlike the latter, they are engaged neither directly nor indirectly in sharing surplus value created by Arab labor (with the exception of the exploitation of farm labor from the occupied