of labor that derives from the paradigm of class struggle; and it is precisely on this level that Borochovism differs from other Zionist postulates, and even from other settler-colonial "planners" and petty-bourgeois socialist "programmers".

Borochov seems to have comprehended the Marxist conception of the State as a relation of struggling social classes and not as a thing; an enterprise. He, in other words, seems to grasp the relation between political class struggle and the State superstructure. Ironically, however, he then uses this historical materialist conception of the State in the pursuit of creating conditions for the Jewish State to emerge in a more historical manner, yet through managerial manipulations.

Metaphorically, Borochov conducted a backward simulation of the forces that historically give rise to the State, from which he derives a dynamic managerial model for the development of a Jewish State in Palestine; that is, transplanting Jewish social formation by means of Jewish labor, from which the Jewish State was to arise.

We must remember that the Jewish State in Palestine is the configuration of an <u>idea</u>, the Zionist idea, translated in material conditions other than those which, in the first place, gave birth to the Zionist idea. It is, therefore, very different from the historical state which emerges from material forces within the particular society in which the State is a regulating factor.

Borochov's contribution to Zionism lies in the attempt to give an <u>his-</u> <u>torical</u> character to an essentially <u>a</u>historical state, and most importantly, in assuring, by virtue of regulating Jewish class struggle in a Jewish social formation, that it is historically predetermined to be a Jewish State.