

simultaneously. None other than Borochovist Zionism does, indeed, guarantee the emergence of a State which is, scientifically, both bourgeois and Jewish.

In a real, historical sense, the Jewishness of the State depends on the extent to which it constitutes the condensation of Jewish class antagonisms, that is, a condensed relation of struggling Jewish social classes; the extent to which it is the "official representative" of a Jewish classed society, the place in which the "ruptural situation" of a Jewish formation's unity lies; a true relation of Jewish social forces, a regulator of disequilibriums, inherent in a Jewish social formation. Without all these material conditions, no Jewish State can emerge, and no established State apparatus can be said to be essentially, and by definition, Jewish; even if the State apparatus itself is staffed exclusively with Jews. That would be merely a Jewish State apparatus, i.e., a Jewish administration imposed on, and organically linked to, a non-Jewish base, with the constant presence of a non-Jewish potential State ready to emerge from the contradictions of the non-Jewish base and to easily overthrow the Jewish colonial administration. This is precisely how the post-colonial State emerged from under classical colonial administration, expressing the irreconcilable contradictions and antagonisms within the dominated indigenous social formations (specifically, as colonialism steered up class formation in the colonies) and forcing the withering away of colonial State apparatuses: decolonialization.

Similarly, white settler-colonialism in South Africa, Rhodesia, etc. resulted in a white settler-colonial rule and hegemony, but not a white settler-colonial State, regardless of the fact that the State apparatus is mainly staffed by white settlers, as the State is not a thing but a relation. The principal contradictions and antagonism in South Africa's social forma-