

81. Historical Materialism, Ann Arbor, 1961. Quoted in Poulantzas, Ibid., p. 50.
82. Poulantzas, Ibid., p. 46.
83. Ibid., p. 47.
84. Ibid., p. 45.

85. Poulantzas, Classes in Contemporary Capitalism, op. cit., p. 161.

86. Levenberg, op. cit., p. 9.

87. Nathan, Palestine...op. cit., p. 282.

88. Ibid., pp. 282-283.

89. Originally published in Yiddish as a sequel to Our Platform in 1907.

90. Ber Borochov, Selected Writings (in Hebrew), edited and translated by Z. Rubashov (Shazar)(unpublished English translation), pp. 33-34.

It is important to keep in mind that these characteristics are emphasized after Zion is identified as the very territory on which Zionism must be realized. The argument is, therefore, to legitimize an already-made decision, and rationalize an already-pre-conceived idea.

91. Borochov, Nationalism...op. cit., p. 69.

92. Bober, op. cit., p. 149.

93. Ber Borochov, Our Platform, Hakibbutz Hamenchad and Sifriath Poalim, 1955 (Hebrew), p. 240. English translation from Bober, ibid, p. 149.

94. Borochov, Nationalism...op. cit., p. 85.

One wonders what Borochov means by "Zionism completes its present development". Is he referring to the establishment of the Jewish State or to the decline of Labor-Zionism, the undermining of its sectarianism by its secularizing forces? Does Borochov, in other words, predict the post-1967 transformations?

95. Declaring war, therefore, becomes an important intervention of the State in order to maintain internal cohesion and prevent the contradictions from forcing the formation's unity to break, and the formation from bursting apart. This is very relevant to the case of Israel; wars with neighboring countries have played a significant role in the internal cohesion of the social formation; in times of "peace" or non-intervention of the State, the internal contradictions of the Israeli-Jewish social formation are intensified which, on the one hand, consolidates the Jewishness of the State, as it becomes the culmination of contradictions within Jewish life. Simultaneously, however, this makes the State of Israel less Jewish and more secular as it becomes