the indigenous pre-capitalist social formation. If Zionist settler-colonialism was, like white settler-colonialism in Africa, merely the export of settlers with capital, and of capitalist relations of production, it could have been not only unnecessary to uproot the indigenous social formation, but to do so would have been economically detrimental for a planter Jewish aristocracy's ability to prosper and survive.

But this was not the case with Jewish settlers in Palestine, as they were the vanguards of socialist Zionism, committed to Jewish class formation and struggle; their socialist Zionist ideals come in contradiction with the Palestinian reality, with the Palestinian social formation. In order to become a normal society, they had to deform and replace the indigenous.

Having, in the previous chapter, determined the bourgeois essence of Borochovism, specifically the bourgeois aim of the Borochovist socialist Zionist strategy of labor in the theoretical sphere, we divert our attention in reviewing the practices of Zionist colonization to examine the extent to which Borochovism was actually implemented.

Furthermore, in the proceeding we must keep in mind that Jewish settlement was never a squatting phenomenon, a spontaneous takeover of land in Palestine. It was rather an implementation of a <u>pre-planned</u> political program, guided by a clear commitment, a specific strategy, aiming at a welldefined goal: a bourgeois Jewish State.

Jewish settlement in Palestine is, therefore, to be conceived as the implementation of a most comprehensive development plan; development at the level of social formation. Only if we grasp the complexity and contradictions inherent in this intricate colonization program, may we comprehend the dynamics of its implementation process (Jewish settlement itself) and