

try with no people". The fact is that proletarian Zionism was already in theory formulated precisely for Palestine and in light of its actual material conditions. In Borochoy's formulation of the territorialist solution it is explicit that "the territory" was Palestine which he also distinguishes from "a territory".

It is therefore historically accurate to argue that proletarian Zionism was intrinsically incapable of being implemented without the expulsion of the Palestinians. Put differently, the transfer of the great majority of Palestinians across borders in 1947-48 was not only consistent with, but also indispensable for, proletarian Zionism. It had finally altered in a radical way the material conditions prevalent in Palestine in favor of a sovereign Jewish State. In 1948 the Jewish State "emerged"; yet, not as organically as it was supposed to. Here the Yishuv ends and a second phase in the development of Israel social formation begins.

III. Jewish Settlement and Palestinian Proletarianization During the Nation-Building Phase, 1948-1967

This is the phase of constructing Jewish political "independence" in the frame of a sovereign nation State.

A fuller establishment of the apparatuses of the State: the army, the legislative, the executive, etc. It was also the phase of broadening and strengthening the material "base" (demographic/economic) of the State "superstructure".

The early years of nation-building were distinguished by mass Jewish immigration both from under Nazism and from Arab countries.

Both this massive Jewish immigration as well as the "transfer" of the vast majority of the indigenous population across what became the boundaries