

superstructure have been secularized. Israel's material "base" is no longer purely or even predominantly Jewish as far as struggling forces, class forces. This may imply that the State of Israel is theoretically no longer a Jewish State. It is no longer a relation of struggling Jewish classes; a manifestation of class antagonism peculiar to and internal to Jewish society. The principal contradictions are increasingly located between Israeli-Jewish labor and foreign monopoly capital, on the one hand, and Israeli-Jewish capital and Palestinian-Arab labor, on the other.

In the current phase, the State of Israel manifests the culmination of the contradiction inherent in Labor-Zionism: its closed Jewish sectarianism versus its open capitalist secularism. Conflict is thus emerging today between Zionism and the essential internationalization of capital. The coincidence once existing between the two is over. It was seemingly only a transitional coincidence. In this sense, not only the unique features of this settler-colonial formation have transformed. There is also a functional transformation, as is happening in other settler-colonial formations. Perhaps settler-colonial formations are essentially transitional formations.