

as a territorial solution to the Jewish question defined in terms of landlessness. The essentially settler-colonial character of Zionism was explicitly identified even by Ber Borochov, the founding father of "socialist" Zionism. From Borochov's Selected Writings:

"The Jewish problem migrates with the Jews....Emigration alone does not solve the Jewish problem....For that reason, Jewish immigration and any other national immigration tend towards compact settlements....The Jewish petty bourgeoisie and working masses are confronted by two needs. The impossibility of penetrating into higher levels of production creates the need for concentrated immigration into undeveloped country. Instead of being limited to the final levels of production, as is the case in all other countries, the Jews could, in a short time, assume the leading positions in the economy of the new land. Jewish migration must be transformed from immigration into colonization. This means a territorial solution of the Jewish problem." (emphasis mine)

Moreover, indicating the imperative of colonial settlement for the realization of Zionism, Borochov adds:

"From a political point of view, propaganda is less productive than action. Create facts and more facts -- that is the cornerstone of political strategy....The practical colonization work in Palestine...has created those facts which have paved the road for our present status. No matter how small and weak the Jewish colonies might be, no matter how great the shortcomings in their system of colonization -- they did more towards enlightening the Jewish nation than a thousand beautifully-worded programs and diplomatic negotiations. A fallen shomer plays a greater role in the realization of Zionism than all declaration." 1

The review of settler-colonialism in this chapter is thus not to demonstrate Israel's settler-colonial character, but rather to put Israel as a settler-colonial phenomenon in the proper and more general historical context of uneven development of capitalism on a world scale. Placing the theoretical/ideological foundation of Israel in the context of monopoly formation as a manifestation of uneven development, of the rising tendency of the organic composition of capital, is also identifying the material