

of cohesion between the levels of a social formation. This is precisely the Marxist conception of the State as a factor of 'order' or 'organizational principle' of a formation, and as the "regulating factor of its global disequilibrium as a system," not the passive instrument in the hand of a class or fraction.

It is in this sense that the State is not a thing but a relation, more exactly, the condensation of a balance of forces.

Unlike the instrumentalist conception of the State as a subject or a thing, in both cases of which the relationship of the State to the classes is seen as a relation of externality and the relative autonomy of the State as something absolute. In the Marxist conception of the State as a relation, the relative autonomy of the State is inscribed in its very structure, in so far as it is a function of the class struggle and class contradictions as they are expressed and concentrated, in a specific manner, within the State itself.

(b) Jewish Labor as a Strategy for a Jewish State:

According to Nachman Syrkin, a leading writer in socialist Zionist thought, "Borochof was the first to apply a socialist ideology to Labour-Zionism. Labour-Zionists thus become socialist Zionists."<sup>86</sup>

In this statement one can easily replace the word "ideology" with the word "terminology" without any major distortion of content. It is Borochof's emphasis on "class struggle" that makes his Zionism mistaken for socialism.

Syrkin's statement also makes explicit that Labor-Zionism is not identical with socialist Zionism; Borochovism. The latter is accurate; all political postulates of Zionism emphasized the notion of Jewish labor. A.O. Gordon, for example, a revisionist who rejects socialist principles that seem contrary to the Zionist objective, is also the very person known to develop into creed the idea of