

an indigenous proletariat.

The case of white settler-colonialism in the United States was somewhat different. It represented a pre-capitalist settler-colonialism where settlers with merchant capital, by instituting slavery, made their capital productive; then, by abolishing slavery (the Civil War), created a pool of "free" wage-labor. Capitalist relations were then generalized only to the non-indigenous population. The native Indians, however, were subjected to extermination, not proletarianization.

In Palestine, settler-colonialism was quite different from the above, in that it involved more than simply settlers with capital in search of embourgeoisement. Jewish settlers were brought to Palestine as the vanguard of Zionism, being the movement that represented the aspirations of the Jewish bourgeoisie for a State of their own. These Jewish settlers were mainly small capitalists and petty bourgeoisie who had internalized this form of consciousness (as it coincided with their own class aspirations) and were entrusted with the "historical" mission of creating a Jewish bourgeois State in Palestine to act on behalf of the Jewish bourgeoisie in Diaspora. For the sake of this mission they were to refrain from conquering native labor; instead, they mobilized immigrant Jewish labor, to be conquered by the settlers' Jewish capital. It is similar in this respect to the U.S. experience.

Unlike the case in white settler-colonial South Africa, where the proletarianization of the natives was the function of generalizing the capitalist mode of production in a "hybrid" social formation, under Jewish settler-colonialism, forming a hybrid social formation was in direct contradiction with the objectives of Zionism. A pure Jewish social formation