

that proletarian or socialist Zionism by no means correspond to the class interest of the Jewish proletariat, as it is misinterpreted to do, but rather to that of the Jewish bourgeoisie and, in effect, the bourgeoisie itself. Before we develop this argument, it will help to point out the following:

First, that one's class interest is determined by one's class-location, that is, by one's objective place in the relations of production and reproduction of society's material values. Class interest is to be distinguished from class position, that is, one's actual political commitment, determined rather by one's subjective consciousness. One's actual class position may not correspond to one's real class interest owing to false ideology. (See Chapter III for further discussion on this issue.)

Second, that all ideologies are class ideologies. The ideology of a particular social group is determined by its place in the class determination within a particular formation (feudalist, capitalist, or other).

Third, the peculiarities of the class determination and ideological characteristics of the petty bourgeoisie as they are central to the point of this chapter. In Classes in Contemporary Capitalism, Nicos Poulantzas characterizes the class determination of the petty bourgeoisie as follows:

"In the relations of production, the place of the traditional petty bourgeoisie includes both small-scale production and small-scale ownership. Small-scale production essentially consists of forms of artisan production, or small family business, where the same agent is both owner and possessor of his means of production, as well as the direct producer. There is here no economic exploitation properly so-called, in so far as these forms of production do not employ wage-labour, or at least only do so very occasionally. Labour is chiefly provided by the actual owner or by the members of his family, who are not remunerated in the form of a wage. This small-scale production draws profit from the sale of its goods and through the overall redistribution of surplus-value, but it does not directly extort surplus value. Small-scale ownership chiefly involves retail trade in the circulation sphere where the owner of the trading stock, helped by his family,