

provides the labour, and again only occasionally employs wage-labour.

"In the commonplace of these two groupings of the traditional petty bourgeoisie in the relations of production lies the fact that the direct producer is in each case himself the owner of the means of labour; i.e., in the combination of ownership with the absence of direct exploitation of wage-labour. This petty bourgeoisie does not belong to the capitalist mode of production but to the simple commodity form which was historically the form of transition from the feudal to the capitalist mode." 57

As far as ideology is concerned, given its place in the class determination of a capitalist formation, the petty bourgeoisie has, in the long run, no autonomous class position; no ideology of its own. As the two basic classes are the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, the only real class ideologies are, therefore, those of these two basic classes, which are in fundamental political opposition; that is, the only ideological ensembles with a specific coherence and that are relatively systematic are those of the dominant bourgeois ideology and the ideology connected to the working class.⁵⁸

As far as the petty bourgeoisie is concerned, we simply speak merely of what Poulantzas refers to as a petty bourgeois ideological "sub-ensemble" formed by the effects of the (dominant) bourgeois ideology on the specific aspirations of the petty-bourgeois agents that are the function of their specific class determination. In Poulantzas' words:

"The petty bourgeois sub-ensemble is, in other words, a terrain of struggle and a particular battlefield between bourgeois ideology and working class ideology, though with the specific intervention of peculiarly petty bourgeois elements. This terrain is in no way a vacant site, but is encircled right from the start by bourgeois ideology and by petty bourgeois ideological elements." 59

These characterizations of the petty bourgeois ideological sub-ensemble and its formation leave very little doubt in our minds as regards the petty bourgeois character of Borochovism, as it simultaneously adheres, both to