

fiercely holds onto its (small) property and is afraid of being proletarianized. It makes sharp demands against the monopolies, since it is gradually itself being ruined and eliminated by monopoly capitalism, but these often aim at restoring 'equal opportunity' and 'fair competition', which is how the fantasies of the petty bourgeoisie pictures the past stage of competitive capitalism. What this petty bourgeoisie often seeks is change without the system changing.... Afraid of proletarianization below, attracted toward the bourgeois above, these petty bourgeois agents also aspire to become bourgeois..." 68

All these features are indeed distinctive of Borochovist Labor-Zionism arising in 1900, precisely in the transition from capitalism of competition to capitalism of monopoly; essentially seeking refuge for the Jewish petty bourgeoisie from extinction through proletarianization in the face of monopoly formation. The proletarianizing Jewish masses are central to Borochov's concern. "The proletarianizing masses...are interested even more than the proletariat in retaining the integrity of their national work-place."⁶⁹

Now that we identified what it is that in socialist Zionism, despite its proletarian mask, is essentially a petty bourgeois ideological feature, it helps to identify what is essentially not proletarian about Labor-Zionism. What are the essential characterizations of a genuinely proletarian ideology that are absent in Borochovism as theory and program?

One way of answering this question is to compare the Borochovist solution to the Jewish question with that of the cosmopolitan school of Jewish socialism led by Ahron Lieberman. As Borochovism is said by S. Levenberg, a leading socialist-Zionist, to be "a spiritual revolt against [among other things] the imitation of the cosmopolitan school of Jewish socialism."⁷⁰

Expressed in the Record of the Society of the Hebrew Socialists of London in 1876, the solution to the Jewish question is conceived as follows:

"We are convinced that the present order, which holds sway everywhere, is ruthless and unjust. The capitalists, rulers and clergy, have taken unto themselves all human rights and property and have enslaved the working masses