

is, indeed, a testimony for the arbitrariness of Zionism, specifically, "socialist" Zionism, whose essence is precisely and ironically the engineering of historical material conditions necessary for such a State to emerge and be organically sustained on an ongoing basis. To substantiate our exposition of the instrumentality of class struggle in this Zionism, in the realization of a bourgeois Jewish State, let us quote Borochof himself:

"Among other nations, the alliances usually proceed along class lines. The ruling classes unite and build one reactionary bloc, whereas the suppressed classes unite and build a revolutionary bloc. Among the Jewish people, however, the grouping does not occur on a class basis....Within Jewry the chief contradiction is not between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, or between the urban and agrarian populations, but between Zionists and Galut champions of all classes. The concentration of anti-Zionist forces usually precedes Zionist consolidation. This does not mean to imply that there is no class struggle within Jewry...but the class struggle in Jewish life has meagre social content...its historical horizons are limited. The class struggle of the Jews is primarily on the economic front. We lack, however, the political class struggle; for the Jewish people is now divorced from State functions and political rule as a unit. Under the prevailing conditions in the Galut, it is really impossible to engage in this struggle. Instead, each class, guided by its own interests, participates in the political struggle of the people among whom its members reside. Although in its struggle against the general bourgeoisie, the Jewish proletariat cannot avoid a clash with the Jewish bourgeoisie, that struggle is not for a dominance within Jewish life, for there is no one to divest of or invest with power. In Jewish life, only the economic [author's emphasis] class antagonisms find full play; the political conflicts go off at a tangent....Within Jewry there does not exist the class struggle in its usual forms. True, the Jewish people does not have a very strong material tradition....the Jewish community must fortify itself and become rooted in the surrounding environment, tying itself organically to the soil of the neighbouring people. A whole people cannot live as if in a hostelry. A neglect of this truth caused the inner contradiction of general Zionism." 96

It is important to keep in mind that a social formation consists of several overlapping modes of production among which one mode plays the role of dominance. In Borochovism, the capitalist mode is to play the role of