

the Jewishness of the economy, of the class struggle, so that it gives rise to a Jewish State. Put differently, what Borochof advocates is simply Jewish capitalism. This is true at least for the first run. As far as the "second run" is concerned, Borochof leaves it to be determined by history. Jewish capitalism (as opposed to cosmopolitan socialism and capitalism) is, for him, the only guarantee for Judaism, for preserving Jewish particularism. Borochof, however, fails to recognize the contradiction inherent in his development model; that is, the unity of two opposite tendencies: capitalist secularization versus Jewish sectarianism.

For him, at least in the first run,

"...The emancipation of the Jewish people either will be brought about by Jewish labour, or it will not be attained at all. But the labour movement has only one weapon at its command: the class struggle. The class struggle must assume a political character if it is to lead to a better future. Proletarian Zionism is possible only if its aims can be achieved through the class struggle; Zionism can be realized only if proletarian Zionism can be realized..." 102

This is the strategy of Jewish labor for the realization of the Jewish State. Borochovist Zionism is proletarian not in the sense of representing the interest of the Jewish proletariat, but as a theory-of-action which sees the realization of Zionism necessarily conditioned by Jewish proletarianization. Borochovism is, therefore, not a proletarian program for abolishing social classes. Quite the contrary, it is a theory and a plan of sectarian class formation as a means for a sectarian bourgeois State. More precisely, it is a methodology for developing a sectarian bourgeois State in the context of settler-colonialism.