

"...the multi-cornered flow of persons into and out of Israel, temporarily and permanently, must be viewed in the larger context of the development and vitality of both Israel and the Diaspora. The security and welfare of each will be strengthened as the bonds between them are made closer. When an Israeli scientist goes abroad to assume a position in a major industrial company...he may be the direct or indirect cause of new business ties which can aid in stimulating the growth of the Israeli economy. And the ability of Israel to attract trained people from the West depends more on the rate of its economic expansion than on any other single factor....The more complex relations that exist between Israel and the Diaspora...may require a more circular flow of people than is suggested by a direct approach to Aliyah." 73

Nothing is more indicative of the crisis of Aliyah than these words, hence the bankruptcy of proletarian Zionism. The position expressed by Ginzberg is probably representative of the aspirations of the "new" Jewish petty bourgeoisie (technicians, engineers, managers, etc.) who, unlike the big capitalists and the old petty bourgeoisie, are free of property relations. They are, therefore, more mobile in accordance with the requirements of monopoly capital. It is by virtue of its relation to monopoly capital that this class, or class-faction, is reproduced. In this respect also it differs from the traditional petty bourgeoisie, who are constantly threatened with extinction by monopoly formation.

The pragmatism expressed in Ginzberg's recommendations with regard to Jewish immigration/emigration derives from a more correct assessment of the actual material realities binding Israel with Diaspora in the age of monopoly capitalism. This dynamic integration by means of free labor inflow may be taken to signify a proposed alternative to Aliyah, as the only remaining solution to the problem of Jewish labor supply in Israel. This alternative, however, may lead to the disintegration of the Jewish national entity "manufactured" by the Zionist movement in Palestine, hence the transformation of the Israeli settler-colonial formation into a mere secu-