the comparison between the Labor-Zionist program and the Gotha program of

the German Labor Party, strongly criticized by Marx as a petty bourgeois non-

proletarian program. Not unlike the Labor-Zionist movement,

> "...the German Workers' Party, in order to pave the way
> to the solution of the social question, demands the estab-
> lishment of producers' co-operative societies with state
> aid under the democratic control of the toiling people.
> The producers' co-operative societies are to be called into
> being for industry and agriculture in such dimensions that
> the socialist organization of the total labor will arise
> from them." 66

Moreover, in   retrospect we see that it is mainly in the Jewish

petty bourgeoisie, that was in effect mobilized by Labor-Zionism, neither the

proletariat nor the bourgeoisie have chosen to immigrate into Israel as the

class interests of both classes, despite and because of their essential antago-

nism, have in common their cosmopolitanism. This fact has been recently docu-

mented by, among others, Allon Gal, one of the strongest believers in Borocho-

vism.[67]

By now, we have established that socialist-Zionism has all the features

of the universal petty bourgeois ideological sub-ensemble. To sum up the

characterization of this ideological sub-ensemble is to point out that they

are essentially a function of the petty commodity form, as they (small shop-

keepers, artisans, etc.) are at the economic level simultaneously distinguished

from, and have points in common with, both the bourgeoisie and the proletariat

(they do not belong to capital as such, yet they are strongly attached to

their property, and they are owners of their means of production, yet are

themselves direct producers). This polarization often has effects at the

ideological level, specifically in Poulantzas' words,

> "...an ideological aspect that is anti-capitalist but in
> the 'status quo' fashion. This is against 'the rich', but
> the traditional petty bourgeoisie are often afraid of revo-
> lutionary transformation of society, since this grouping