

and Herzl's The Jewish State. Borochof rejects such a "sterile" colonization, as it is not based on class struggle. The notion of evolution is central to Borochovism and distinctive of it. It is directly linked to the organic rise of the Jewish State from a Jewish social formation formed precisely through colonization by class struggle; that is, colonization aiming at classed, not classless, society. This is to say, the "yishuv" (the Jewish settlers' community in Palestine prior to the establishment of the State) has to be segmented by classes, Jewish classes, if it is to give rise to a State which is Jewish. Borochof condemns the earlier settlement schemes, not for their exploitation of labor but for exploiting non-Jewish labor, as that will not allow for Jewish classes to form, and more precisely, for the class struggle in Palestine to be Jewish; in that case, Zionism will remain an enterprise and the Jewish State will never become an evolutionary product of Jewish society.

Territorialism, thus, in Borochof's Zionism is essentially nothing but an evolutionary rise to a Jewish State. In his words:

"...In the course of time, Zionism will transform itself from an enterprise of a group of idealists to a national undertaking....At that time, the inner historical necessity of Zionism will be centered no more on the external forces but on the internal forces of the people. For a long time the Zionist movement will have the character of an enterprise [referring to early settlement of Hovevi Zion], but in the future it will become an evolutionary movement. This will only occur if our people are settled on their land and are able to shape their own destiny. When our movement ceases to be an enterprise and becomes the evolution of a renaissance Judaism, Zionism as we know it will complete its present development." 94

Notice the emphasis on restoring the past, the desire to turn back the wheels of history, most characteristic of the petty bourgeois ideological sub-ensemble. We notice also the emphasis on class struggle in a double-fold meaning, simultaneously adhering to the aspirations of both the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, most expressive of the vacillation of the petty bourgeoisie.