

makes impossible their proletarianization and as their national consciousness obscures class consciousness. His "doctrine" of nationalism and class struggle reaches its culmination in identifying a kind of antagonism between the class consciousness and the national consciousness of a given group, asserting: "...under normal conditions of production the class antagonisms become more acute, whereas under abnormal conditions of production, they abate somewhat."

Given the Jews' abnormal conditions of production,

"...the capitalist system [Borochoff continues] engendered the national question not merely for the bourgeoisie alone, but also for all other classes of society, since each class in one way or another was affected by this international competition. Fundamentally, the territory is of value to them all as the base of the conditions of production...The proletariat and the proletarianizing masses have no direct influence on international politics. The only means of expanding the work-sphere is the peaceful emigration to foreign lands....The proletarianizing masses...are interested even more than the proletariat in retaining the integrity of their national work-place....The abnormal conditions of production tend to harmonize the interests of all members of a nation... but they also hinder the development of the relations of production and the class struggle, because the normal development of the mode of production is hampered." 46

In concluding the Borochoffist conception of the Jewish question, we must pause here to identify his mistake and illustrate the deficiencies of his putative historical-materialist perspective.

All existing critics of Borochoffism focus by-and-large on the incongruities between his Marxist theory and the way in which it was practised. We argue that nothing is Marxist about Borochoff's formulation of the Jewish question except for the terminology.

In his own words, quoted above, Borochoff makes explicit that the Jewish displacement problem, as well as the malformed socio-economic structure, are predetermined by factors and not social forces and even by natural, non-social factors," that is, remoteness from nature. This remoteness predomi-