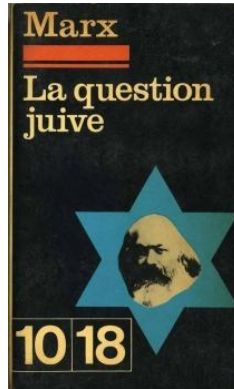


THE RESURGENCE OF THE JEWISH QUESTION



As has been demonstrated numerous times throughout history, the resurgence of the "Jewish question" is the main and recursive product of anti-Semitism. Since the late 19th century, anti-Semitism has referred to an exacerbated form of supposedly "scientific" racism that exclusively concerns Jews. Anti-Semitism consists of naming, discriminating against and hating Jews, culminating in the genocidal desire to deport and exterminate them. Moreover, we are increasingly witnessing a disconcerting upsurge in anti-Semitic remarks and acts.

*"The trend is frightening. By 2023, the number of anti-Semitic acts recorded in France will have quadrupled to 1,676, compared to 436 in 2022, according to a Crif report. The Representative Council of Jewish Institutions in France deplores an "explosion" after October 7, the date of the Hamas attacks against Israel."*¹

Some of the most nauseating of these acts regularly come from the left and the extreme left of capital. We are not at all surprised by this sinister reality, because left-wing anti-Semitism has always been a recurrent weapon of the counterrevolution, from the Dreyfus affair to Stalinism. At the end of the 19th century, it was already, according to a quote attributed to August Bebel, "**the socialism of fools**". And it is not the legal prohibition of anti-Semitism, as in the major democratic countries, which prevents its spread, but quite the opposite. Apart from the fact that the phenomenon is veiled by its prohibition, the latter also reinforces stereotypes about the demonic influence and preponderance of Jews in ruling circles and cultural elites. It remains to clarify the conceptual differences between "Jews," "Israelites," "Zionists" and "Israelis," notions that are often abundantly and deliberately confused or embedded. Fundamentally, it is Judeophobia that defines who the "Jew" is. It is through designation, stigmatization, repression and ghettoization that the essential feeling of belonging to a different "community" has been inculcated and imposed, with none of its cultural or religious traits being sufficient to truly define it.

"Knowing that there is no specific daily way of life that can unite laypeople of Jewish origin around the world, we cannot conclude that there is a living, non-religious Jewish culture; nor can we conclude that there is a possible common future based on the inherited vestiges of a receding religious tradition." Shlomo Sand, *Comment j'ai cessé d'être juif*, p.38, Flammarion, Paris, 2013.

¹Les Échos, Le nombre d'actes antisémites a "flambé" en France l'an dernier, 25 janvier 2024. On the website: <https://www.lesechos.fr/politique-societe/societe/le-nombre-dactes-antisemites-multiplie-par-4-en-france-lan-dernier-2071310>

Of course, it was this use of the Nazi genocide as a scapegoat that finally led to the creation of a state "for the Jews of the world": Israel. This nation-state, and therefore bourgeois, was intended to settle once and for all and territorially this thorny historical question that had resurfaced over the centuries from the religious anti-Semitism of Christianity ("decide people", expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492 by Isabella the Catholic, etc.). But this creation only displaced the problem without solving it. Since 1948, we have witnessed the perpetuation of the catastrophes caused by all the pro- and counter-States (and their "proxies": proxy war agents) with the permanent abscess of fixation represented by the "Hebrew State" and its expansionist inclinations. In fact, it was in the wake of victorious nationalism and vanished colonialism (the Balfour Accords of 1917: a commitment of the British Government to the establishment of a Jewish national home) that this State was subsequently created, in the middle of the 20th century, by the victorious powers of World War II. (It was first the USSR and then the USA that officially and de facto recognized it!). Like all nation-states, the creation of this independent and democratic state was based on lies and historical falsifications.

*"That is why nationalism is inseparable from racism and anti-Semitism. As nationalism is a posteriori construction, its supporters must create legends and other myths to justify the creation of the nation and, above all, its courageous, exceptional and often unjustly treated by the "others". Thus, all nationalism is necessarily based on historical falsification and lies. **"Forgetfulness, and I would even say historical error, is an essential factor in the creation of a nation, and that is why the progress of historical studies is often a danger to nationality."** Renan, p.13, Matériaux Critiques N°4: "Nations et nationalisme contre le prolétariat".²*

The identification of a population by its religion (in this case Judaism) is no more convincing than the formula: "anyone born of a Jewish mother or converted to Judaism is defined as a Jew." The same goes for other ideologically stupid impositions which present Judaism as a question of a "chosen people", supposedly the mythical and immutable descendants of the ancient land of Israel, of a "race"³ (scientific search for a Jewish DNA!) or coming from a unique ethnic group (the Khazars, the Sephardes, the Ashkenazim, the Mizrahim...). And it is all the clearer that the Jewish religion was, contrary to what it claims of itself, a proselyte religion having carried out numerous conversions throughout the centuries of its worldwide evolutionary existence.

In the words of S. Sand, "we can⁴ continue to affirm that the Jewish people have existed for four thousand years and that "Eretz Israel" has always belonged to it. However, if historical myths could once, with great imagination, help to create Israeli society, they risk, in the future, contributing to its destruction." Le Débat, p. 192.

The "Jewish question" is still with us, even if it is often poorly framed, and even in the "democracies" that present themselves as the best bulwarks against anti-Semitism, we witness

²On the website: <https://materiauxcritiques.wixsite.com/monsite/textes>

³The notion of human race is totally false and has no genetic basis. There is only one human species. What remains is a vaguely cultural and politically instrumentalized differentiation of which skin color is the symptomatic sign. The new racialism is nothing more than a new-fangled racism with pseudo-scientific pretensions.

⁴E. Trevisan Semi : Shlomo Sand, Comment le peuple juif fut inventé Paris, Fayard, 2008, 446 p., Revue Le Débat, N° 138, janvier-février 2010. A contrario, 2010/2 n° 14, p.152-154. URL: <https://shs.cairn.info/revue-a-contrario-2010-2-page-152?lang=fr>

its recurrent resurgence through periodic outbursts of Judeophobic rhetoric and violence.

"So, should democracy therefore be a bulwark against the comeback of the triumphant beast? Are there therefore no more hidden Buchenwalds and Mathausens on the day the purity of democracy would be protected from the threat of reemerging Swastika-carrying fascists? Comfortable, of course; but it is not like that. Buchenwald does not need to reappear for the comeback of "fascist regurgitations": Buchenwald is already here, dear gentlemen of universal democracy; it has been here since the day when Fascism was militarily defeated, and was inherited by the democratic winners." Buchenwald is capitalism, Il programma comunista N°1, 1960.⁵

Karl Marx and his "Jewish Question"

Marx's text on the Jewish question is unparalleled in importance, but it contains an ambiguity on the substance of this contribution that has been widely used by academics and neo-Stalinists. Indeed, it is a response to Bruno Bauer's 1842 publication *The Jewish Question*, which advocated for German Jews' civic and political emancipation. The essence of Marx's response is a plainly global critique of the mystification of political emancipation, rather than the Jewish question in its modern and current sense.

"The political emancipation of the Jew, the Christian, and, in general, of religious man, is the emancipation of the state from Judaism, from Christianity, from religion in general. In its own form, in the manner characteristic of its nature, the state as a state emancipates itself from religion by emancipating itself from the state religion – that is to say, by the state as a state not professing any religion, but, on the contrary, asserting itself as a state. The political emancipation from religion is not a religious emancipation that has been carried through to completion and is free from contradiction, because political emancipation is not a form of human emancipation which has been carried through to completion and is free from contradiction." Karl Marx, *On the Jewish Question*, Philosophie, p.55-56, annoté par M. Rubel, Gallimard, Paris, 1994.

Expanding this analysis, Marx extended and generalized it to the so-called human rights and to the process of legalization of formal rights by the State, so that once proclaimed, they are not put into practice in any way in social reality: the proclamation of freedom, equality and fraternity translates into the reinforcement of entrepreneurial freedom for those who can afford it, of effective economic inequality and of fraternity among exploiters.

"Hence, man⁶ was not freed from religion, he received religious freedom. He was not freed from property, he received freedom to own property. He was not freed from the egoism of business, he received freedom to engage in business." Similarly, Marx, in *"Le 18 Brumaire de L. Bonaparte"*, points out that the republican motto "Liberty, equality, fraternity" could easily be replaced by "Infantry, cavalry, artillery".

It is a radical critique of the hypocrisy of formal and constitutional declarations of rights, which conceal real inequalities and widespread social inhumanity. Thus, to make this text the origin of the fable of an "anti-Semitic Marx" (Misrahi, Kaplan) is an absurd falsehood⁷.

⁵Revue, (Dis) continuité N° 5, p.191, décembre 1998, Bordiga Textes (1915-1966).

⁶ Karl Marx, *On the Jewish Question*, Philosophie, p.77, annoté par M. Rubel, Gallimard, Paris, 1994.

⁷J. Aron, in his book: "Karl Marx, antisémite et criminel, autopsie d'un procès anachronique" Didier Devillez Editeur, Paris, 2005 responds to these perfidious and outdated attacks, as does Daniel Bensaïd in his commentaries "In and through history" and "On the Jewish question", La fabrique éditions, Paris, 2006.

"Religion could only be overcome by human emancipation, and political emancipation, in achieving it, only revealed its intrinsic limits, that is, its impotence before the problem of human alienation ("The emancipation of the State from religion is not the emancipation of the real man from religion. K. Marx.") Therefore, Jews could emancipate themselves politically - something Bauer denied - by preserving Judaism, which ultimately, like all religions, was an expression of human alienation." Enzo Traverso, *Les marxistes et la question juive*, p.42, éditions Kimé, Paris, 1997.⁸

It is true that Marx, like the authors of his time, used here and there expressions and stereotypes that today could be considered antiquated and anti-Semitic, but, as one of his greatest adversaries recognized, *"when he is anti-Semitic, Marx is not a Marxist, and when he is a Marxist, he no longer thinks about the Jewish question."* R. Misrahi, *Marx et la question juive*, p.90, Gallimard, Paris, 1972. Finally, at the end of the 1870s, F. Engels initiated a vigorous clarification of the "Jewish question", in particular in response to the anti-Semitic attacks to which Marx was increasingly subjected by Dühring, but also by Ruge and Bakunin. He spoke out forcefully against those in social democracy who used anti-Semitism for "anti-capitalist" purposes. By then, the Marxist response to left-wing anti-Semitism was already fully developed.

"There are in England and America... thousands and thousands of Jewish proletarians: these workers are the most exploited and the most miserable. Here in England we have had three strikes of Jewish workers in the last three months, and we should practice anti-Semitism as a means of struggle against capital!" F. Engels, April 18, 1890, letter to an unknown Viennese correspondent.⁹

Zionism, an atypical nationalism

Zionism developed throughout the 19th century as a **nationalist movement** in the nationalist environment created by the numerous bourgeois minorities frustrated by the absence of a nation-state that supposedly corresponded to their desire for independence.

"From whatever horizon it emerges, Zionism thus appears first and foremost as the desire to transform a suffered destiny into an assumed destiny." G. Bensoussan, *Une histoire intellectuelle et politique du Sionisme (1860-1940)*, p.10, Fayard, Paris, 2002.

Zionism, like all other nationalisms, big or small, left or right, is bourgeois, anti-worker, reactionary and, therefore, counterrevolutionary.

But unlike other nationalist movements, Zionism is atypical in the sense that it does not claim (nor is it based in) a specific region; it is totally stateless and has no territorial ties (there are Jewish communities all over the world...).¹⁰ Moreover, as a consequence of its historical statelessness, it was also influenced by a kind of socialist utopianism found especially in the kibbutz movement. The original aim of the Zionist approach was to provide the Jewish population with a territory to settle in according to the principle of "a land without a people for a people without a land", which did not necessarily imply a biblical return to the "Holy

⁸It is clear that if we quote this author and his reference work published in 1997, it is not at all in relation to his latest positions and those of his Trotskyist current on the so-called "Palestinian question", which directly endorse the "small and oppressed" Palestinian nationalism in the name of a "resistance" which is nothing more than a pretext for the bourgeois Hamas' shady dealings, symmetrically anticipating the Tsahal massacres.

⁹Quoted by G. Labica -G. Bensoussan, *Question juive*, Dictionnaire critique du marxisme, p.948, PUF, Paris, 1985.

¹⁰In addition to the communities in Western, Central and Eastern Europe, there are important communities in the United States, Canada, Argentina, India, Turkey, North Africa, Iraq, Syria, Ethiopia, China...

Land". The idea was to find a haven of peace in the face of the disenchantment of the world, dotted with pogroms and widespread anti-Semitism, especially in Eastern Europe. In 1903, the United Kingdom even proposed to T. Herzl to organize Jewish immigration to Uganda. But, of course, emigration to "Eretz Israel" had mythical, ideological and religious advantages, summed up in the term "aliyah" (the ascent to the promised land). No nation, especially the so-called Jewish nation, has an ethnic basis or a common history. It was later that the nation-state imposed as cement a homogeneous, even "ethnified" representation to create a fictitious national community with a constructed past history and a magnified future.

"Moreover, there is no "mature" nation without compulsory education, which forces its members to gather their children within the walls of the school. This institution, which became a central ideological agent with which only the army and war could compete, transformed the last subjects into citizens, that is, individuals conscious of their national belonging." Shlomo Sand, *Comment le peuple juif fut inventé*, p.89, Fayard, Paris, 2009.

The creation of the Israeli nation-state in Palestine is not the resolution of the "Jewish question", but its unequivocal transformation into a nexus of inter-capitalist conflict, instrumentalized in permanent conflicts between multiple factions representing regional and international powers seeking to control and divide up this strategic zone fundamental for trade and for future wars. The permanent tension of this Arab Israeli conflict regularly provokes wars, atrocities and massacres that are always organized around the complementary rise of all the nationalisms involved. They are objectively (if not directly) **complicit and allied** in the homeostatic balance and escalation between the various conflicting nationalist interests. All protagonists have vested interests in the continuation of the conflictive system, so that there is no definitive victor and no "lasting peace", because the nationalist identity and social cohesion of some is at the same time the *raison d'être* of the others. Nationalism exists and is strengthened by its confrontation with other nationalisms, even more so if they claim the same space for their implementation and extension. Palestinian nationalism (and its Arab, Persian and Turkish supporters) is, therefore, greatly indebted to Zionism for its constitution and its periodic revitalization through war.

"At the same time, far from promoting progressive movements in the Middle East, the focus on the Israeli Palestinian conflict as the revolutionary conflict in the Middle East has served to steer progressive struggles - both in the Arab world and in Israel - in a nationalist direction. Ironically, this has helped strengthen the Israeli right (and settlement plans) and reactionary forces such as Hamas, Islamic Jihad and Hezbollah, foolishly considered "progressive" by some Western leftists. This kind of "revolutionary" position lacks socio-economic content and has contributed to a polarization that is ruining the positions of progressives and liberals in Israel and Palestine and strengthening the ultra-nationalist positions of both sides." Moishe Postone, *Critique du fétiche Capital, Le capitalisme, l'antisémitisme et la gauche*, p.134-135, PUF, Paris, 2013.

Faced with the monopoly of nationalism and its function of negation of class antagonisms, only a defeatist revolutionary response in the two main camps could put an end to what is one of the worst situations for the working class of the region, but also for the working class of the whole world, called at every moment to support one of the camps or to lament by democratically demanding the opening of humanitarian corridors or the end of exactions against civilians. The whining of the pacifists is as ineffective as the rejoicing of the warmongers and, unfortunately, only this perspective of revolutionary defeatism seems quite

illusory in the face of the hysteria of the unfurled flags and the deafening noise of the cannons and the bombs.

"The only position for the proletariat is not to respond to demagogic appeals to continue and accentuate chauvinism through the anti-fascist committees, but direct class struggle to defend its interests, its right to life, a struggle every day, every moment until the monstrous regime of capitalism is destroyed." L'étincelle N°6, June 1945, organ of the Fédération française de la Gauche communiste.¹¹

The "Jewish Question" in the revolutionary workers' movement

It is well known that many revolutionaries of the most important episodes of the international workers' struggle were of Jewish origin, without necessarily mentioning it. Most of them defended in fact or clearly an **assimilationist** position, that is to say, the relativization of anti-Semitism and integration on an individual basis in the political organizations of the proletariat (both Marxist and anarchist) without specifically considering the so-called "Jewish question". This is the case from K. Marx to F. Lassalle, from R. Luxemburg to E. Goldman, from Erich Mühsam to Eugen Léviné, from Bela-Kun, Tibor Szamuely to G. Lukacs and, of course, the numerous leaders of the revolution in Russia: Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Radek, Sverdlov, Ouritsky, Dzerzhinsky... as well as Martov, Axelrod, Dan, Voline, Gorelik... who would later give credence to the Nazi fable of "Judeo-Bolshevism".

Most of these activists did not claim to be "Jewish", although at the time there was a strong movement in Yiddishland (the "home zone" imposed by Tsarism), which claimed to be the legitimate representative of the Jewish and socialist proletariat. This Jewish revolutionary movement was the Bund:¹² The General Union of Jewish Workers of Lithuania, Poland and Russia. From the end of the 19th century (it was created in 1897) until the Second World War, this organization promoted the armed defense of Jewish victims of pogroms, while firmly fighting against the domination of Polish, Russian, Ukrainian, Belarusian, Lithuanian nationalisms... as well as against nascent Zionism. To this end, the Bund used Yiddish (the anti-religious lingua franca) as a tool of propaganda and unification, while insisting on waging the struggle on the ground in fierce confrontation with the Zionist-Socialists of Poale Tsion.

"Only one territory would be a solution conducive to normality. The choice of Palestine was nothing, but a romantic reminiscence opposed to a rational conception of history." Minczeles, p.219. The Bundist conception was anti-national (internationalist) and addressed the entire proletariat of the region, while claiming the "national-cultural autonomy" of the Jewish proletariat. But *"the struggle against anti-Semitism and the legal discrimination imposed on the Jews by the tsarist regime was not accompanied by the vindication of their right to exist as a national minority"*. E. Traverso, Les marxistes et la question juive, p. 117, éditions Kimé, Paris, 1997.

It was much later that the Bund, under the reformist influence of the "Austro-Marxists," came to define the Jews as a national minority claiming cultural and organizational autonomy for

¹¹Review, Neither Homeland, Nor Border, "Jewish Question" and Anti-Semitism; Zionism and Anti-Zionism: Collection of Marxist and Anarchist Texts, Compil No. 1, 2002-2008.

¹²To read: Henri Minczeles, Histoire générale du BUND, un mouvement révolutionnaire juif, Denoël, Paris, 1999.

itself. *"The adoption of a national program was accompanied by a very clear demarcation from any hypothesis of Jewish nationalism."* E. Traverso, p. 118. However, this was the main reason why Lenin took a firm stand against the Bundists: *"The struggle against the national yoke, yes, certainly. The struggle for all national development, for 'national culture' in general, no, certainly not. (...) the Bundists show themselves in fact to be the realizers of bourgeois nationalism in the working-class milieu."* Lenin quoted by Minczeles, p.227.

Despite this, many Bundists joined the revolution in Russia and the Bolshevik party (Kombund), which at the time was bravely fighting anti-Semitism from within.¹³

"However, sympathy for the Jews did not end so quickly, and many of them - like the teacher himself - were brave fellow travelers of proletarian communism. Clerical and Christian hatred did not come to an end either and, at the end of the last century, the question of anti-Semitism, still burning throughout central Europe, exploded in France with the famous Dreyfus affair, in which the innocent officer was condemned as a spy by the clerical and chauvinist pack. The massacres of the Russian counterrevolution were largely massacres of heroic Jewish fighters, culminating in the epic Warsaw ghetto. At the time of World War I, the question of the relationship between Jews and socialism came to the fore. Why, say we Latin socialists, but above all internationalists and a-racists, should there be a Bund, i.e. a Jewish proletarian party? Back to the Jewish question?" Il programma comunista, no. 3, 1960¹⁴.

It is well known that one of the most despicable aspects of the Stalinist counterrevolution from the 1920s onwards was the reactivation, organization and extraordinary amplification of anti-Semitism, making it one of the pillars of its state terrorism and its counterrevolutionary policy of repression and forced displacement of minority populations considered dubious. In 1934, this policy went so far as to create out of nothing the first Jewish state (an autonomous Jewish oblast), Birobidjan, in the depths of Siberia, in order to deport a part of the population considered dangerous and stigmatized as "Jewish". This deportation, which was intended to thwart the rise of Zionism, in fact anticipated similar intentions of the Nazis at the same time. It was also intended to organize the settlement to keep out potential dissidents and to better secure the border with China along the Amur River, which was already then considered strategic.

"The Jewish colonization of Birobidjan was part of a more ambitious project to populate the vast strategic zones of the Far East." Nathan Weinstock, *Le pain de misère, Histoire du mouvement ouvrier juif en Europe*, Tome 2, p.174, La Découverte, Paris, 2002.

Upon the death of Stalin, who was behind this sinister "initiative"¹⁵, the deported Jewish population decreased to the point that this aborted nation-state disappeared "de facto". The creation of a "Jewish State" proved even then that it was not at all a solution to the so-called "Jewish question".

Abraham Léon and the erroneous theory of the "class people"

A. Léon is the author of an attempt to explain the "Jewish question" from a materialistic point

¹³On this question, read: Brendan McGeever, *Anti-Semitism in the Russian Revolution (1917-1920) Les nuits rouges*, Paris 2022.

¹⁴Review, (Dis) continuity No. 5, p.196, December 1998, Bordiga Textes (1915-1966).

¹⁵Trotsky denounced the Birobidjan experiment as a "bureaucratic farce" only "because of the manner in which it was conducted, but he accepted it in principle." E. Traverso, p.242.

of view, which aimed to demonstrate that, because of their religion, Jews had to occupy a particular social role (professional prohibitions, reserved lucrative occupations, creation of ghettos, etc.), especially in the Middle Ages. For Léon,¹⁶ these social impositions determine their constitution as a "people-class".

"The development of the cities and of an indigenous merchant class meant the total expulsion of the Jews from trade. They became usurers whose main clients were the nobility and kings. " A. Léon, *La conception matérialiste de la question juive*, p.29, EDI, Paris, 1980

But if this reality can partly explain the stupid reputation of "Jews" "hereditarily" linked to finance capital, it does not explain at all the contradictory novelty of the concept of "people-class". Indeed, people and class are radically antagonistic; one implies the dissolution and disappearance of the other

"In the vocabulary of antagonistic ideological discursivity, the notion of "class" has disappeared in favor of references to the people, to democracy - whose link with the people is both etymological and conceptual - to citizenship and, sometimes, to a modified notion of "populism"¹⁷.

Thus, Marx's essential categories¹⁸: capital, wage labor, profit, class struggle... are totally antinomic to the "unitary" and homogeneous notion of "people". Class implies the splitting of the people, its negation.... Conversely, when there is "people", the opposing interests of the classes disappear and are drowned in a fictitious and imaginary national community conceptually linked to the democratic myth and its majority consensus. Similarly, the myth of the Jewish people corresponds to the denial, in its existence as a fictitious community, of the different classes that compose it and that in fact divide this community. For example, a large part of the Jewish population consisted of village agricultural laborers (shtetlekh), some of whom also practiced permitted crafts. With the development of capitalism in these regions, a modern semi-urban and urban proletariat was increasingly formed, working in the numerous stores and factories.

"Contrary to the widespread view that Jewish professions were limited to the garment industry, the Jewish working class was recruited in a wide range of trades: tanneries and ancillary industries such as leather and footwear, flour mills and agricultural industries, oil mills, lumber and furniture factories, tobacco and cigarette factories, mining, metallurgy, locksmithing, papermaking, swamp drainage, road and embankment maintenance, stone cutting, intermittent laborers and degraded laborers who took on any task they could find." H. Minczeles, p.25.

In the same way, a Jewish patronage, a bourgeoisie and a petty bourgeoisie will reproduce and arouse in the population designated as Jewish an intense class struggle that bring to light the myth of a religiously united people (groups expressly declared on Friday evening at the beginning of Shabbat) and subjected to the same oppression.

¹⁶Polish Jew born in Warsaw, he soon emigrated to Belgium. At the beginning, he was a militant in the left-wing Zionist organization Hachomer Hatzair, broke with it because of his support for the Moscow trials and became a Trotskyite at the beginning of the Second World War. In 1944, Léon was arrested by the Nazis in Charleroi. He did not return from Auschwitz. On the website: <https://www.marxists.org/francais/bios/leon.htm>. A. Léon, *La conception matérialiste de la question juive*, EDI, Paris, 1980. On the website: <https://www.marxists.org/francais/leon/CMQJ00.htm>

¹⁷A. Cavazzini, *La classe contre le peuple : Marxisme et populisme selon l'opéraïsme italien*. *Tumultes*, 2013/1 n° 40, 2013. p.259-274. Sur le site web : shs.cairn.info/revue-tumultes-2013-1-page-259?lang=fr.

¹⁸We have already addressed this issue in our text: "Proletariat vs. the people" in our journal *Matériaux Critiques* N°1 as well as on the website: <https://materiauxcritiques.wixsite.com/monsite/textes>

"The strikers demanded not only a reduction in working hours and an increase in wages, but also the abolition of piecework, the organization of medical care, the reduction or abolition of night work, the reinstatement of dismissed workers, the cancellation of fines and, finally, more humane working conditions." H. Minczeles, p.71

With his theory of the "people-class" A. Léon tried to differentiate himself from Zionism, but he was unable to resolve the insoluble contradiction between the class-internationalist point of view and the bourgeois point of view, even of an atypical nationalism.

"Léon saw Zionism as a petty-bourgeois nationalist movement, born at the end of the last century under the impact of the Russian pogroms and the Dreyfus affair. A product of anti-Semitism, Zionism appeared on the European scene as the incarnation of a nationalist ideology that Theodor Herzl had built around the myths of eternal Judaism and Judeophobia.... " E. Traverso, p. 240-241.

The Shoah and the subsequent establishment of the State of Israel put a definitive end to the existence of a privileged relationship between a stateless Jewish proletariat, driven towards internationalism, and the international revolutionary workers movement¹⁹. The so-called "Jewish question" resurfaced after the ups and downs of anti-Semitism and the ups and downs of the war in the Middle East. It is the latter that have recently revived racist and hate campaigns against Jews under the guise of anti-Zionism and the Third Worldist defense of Palestinian nationalism. They have also renewed the formation of a popular front that combines the old racist extreme right and the so-called radical left in its very populist designation of the "Jew" as profiteer, colonizer and warmonger. The electoral successes of the latent fascisms thus reactivate their best enemy, democratic anti-fascism, and indicate that only a global revolutionary solution could bring a social outcome to the so-called "Jewish question".

"Today, the swastika has reappeared, and the scavengers only know how to electorally extinguish the convergence between the proletariat and the middle classes. They cry out against neo-Nazism when, as history has taught us, its function was to create favorable conditions for the victory of Nazism." "Who is behind the swastika? Democratic cretinism." Il programma comunista N°2, 1960.²⁰

December 2024: Fj, Eu, Ms & Mm.

Translated by ICR.

¹⁹Catastrophe, systematic annihilation in Hebrew, has fewer religious connotations than the term "Holocaust", although it is just as problematic semantically. What we are talking about is the Judeocide of the Second World War, which to this day has no parallel in history, whether the left or right-wing deniers like it or not. To read : L. Janover, *Nuit et brouillard du révisionnisme*, Paris/Méditerranée, Paris, 1996.

²⁰Review, (Dis) continuité N° 5, p. 194, December 1998.

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