

maintained:

Have often held leadership positions in Israeli parties and have represented them in the government, the Knesset and in Histadrut institutions (Rosen, et al, 1983:7).

Finally, the Kibbutzim functioned as military bases for the settler community. The militarization of the Kibbutz was as old as the Kibbutz itself. Together with the Kibbutz, the phenomenon of "Hashomer Ha-Tzair" (The young Guards) emerged.

The emergence of this phenomenon in the form of bands of armed settlers was justified as a need to "protect" the settlements from their "hostile" or "barbaric" surroundings.

Yet, documents show that the Palestinian peasants were the ones who needed protection from the armed settlers placed on their expropriated lands. Reports on attacks made by armed settlers who were sent to "protect" land, the ownership on which was often unsettled, were very frequent during British colonialism.(42)

By late 1930s, "Ha-Hashomer" movement which was entrenched throughout Palestine was transformed into the official militant force of the Zionist movement, giving rise to the two underground semi-secret militant organizations, the "Haganah" and the "Palmach", while the Kibbutzim served as "bases and reserves" for their operations (Rosen et. al, 1983:1)

In the late 1930s and early 1940s, the "Haganah" as Rayman stated, began to see itself as the military basis of "the state on the way". (Rayman, 1981:38) It was involved in attacks not only against the indigenous population but extended its aggression also against the British government which had encouraged its rise in the first place.(43)