

kibbutz, the co-operative moshav and the trade union federation (Histadrut). It is again to be emphasized that such forms are not necessarily to promote the proletarian cause. It is simply wrong to infer from the socialist appearance and image of the kibbutz, a socialist essence. It is a well-documented fact that these so-called socialist institutional arrangements were primarily instruments of colonization serving the interest of the petty bourgeoisie, not the revolutionary Jewish proletariat. For example, it was clearly indicated already in 1920 by the statement of the program adopted in the first convention of Histadruth Ha'ovdim (General Federation of Jewish Labor):

"In the first instance, the Histadruth considers its duty to create a new type of Jewish worker, and to see to it that while colonization is developing, the Jewish worker who came into being as a result of this very colonizing process, shall be assured the place he deserves. The Histadruth includes all toilers who live by their own labor without exploiting others; it regulates all matters concerning the working class in the fields of trade union activities, colonization and education with the aim of building a Jewish workers' community in Palestine." 62

This statement makes it explicit that from its very inception, the Histadruth was never meant to foster a socialist alternative in Palestine. This statement testifies to the acceptance of a capitalist society within which the Histadruth provides labor; "building a Jewish workers' community in Palestine" does not negate the existence of a capitalist class; it may precisely provide for the very condition of capital, as the existence of wage labor is the very condition for capital. In this sense, the Histadruth is primarily to foster the embourgeoisement of a fraction of the de-classed Jewish petty bourgeoisie, as well as the restoration of other fractions, as it does not negate self-labor. Most important, as regards wage-labor, is the explicit emphasis of the Histadruth program to foster the creation of a Jewish labor aristocracy: "to see to it that the Jewish worker shall be as-