

sured the place he deserves." This is a very strategic component in settler colonialism. In this sense, one of the Histadruth roles is to impede the development of a revolutionary labor movement in Palestine, to pacify the historical role of the Jewish working class, reducing it from a social force into a sterile "workers' community".

It is interesting to know that the Histadruth defines "worker" in terms of eligibility to Histadruth membership, the principal qualification for which is "the ideological belief in non-exploitation of labor."⁶³ Nothing is more characteristic of the petty bourgeois utopia than such a slogan; this definition of the worker, as opposed to the worker defined in terms of the class struggle, is most indicative of the petty bourgeois socialism.

To substantiate the predominance of petty bourgeois elements in the Histadruth, it helps to mention that the 1943 distribution of Histadruth membership by industry or occupation shows that Histadruth members as percent of total employment is the largest among the self-employed; for example, 89.4% of the total employed in agricultural (kibbutz and moshav) labor settlements, as compared to 66.7% among hired agricultural laborers; 80% of the self-employed farmers on privately-owned farms, compared to 53% of clerical employees, etc.⁶⁴

It is of significance also to notice the emphasis on the belief, not the practice. This way, the Histadruth can be both the trade union symbolizing the belief in the non-exploitation of labor, and simultaneously the second largest employer (i.e., exploiter of wage labor) in the country.⁶⁵

More discussion regarding the truth about the Histadruth and the kibbutz and moshav will follow later in the present chapter and the coming one. For unravelling the petty bourgeois character of these Labor-Zionist configurations and exposing the mythology of their proletarianism, it is best to make