

self-labor. In his words:

"...a people that has become accustomed to every mode of life save the national one -- the life of self-conscious and self-supporting labour -- such a people will never become a living, natural, labouring people unless it strains every fiber of its willpower to attain this goal. Labour is not merely the factor which establishes man's contact with land and his claim to the land; it is also the principal force in the building of a national civilization. We have to make labour...the foundation on which our whole undertaking is based. Only when we raise labour as such to the height of an ideal...shall we be healed.... We need fanatics of labour, in the most exalted sense of the word." 87

In these words, Gordon points mainly to the claim of the land as the motive underlying the ideal of self-labor, which he seems to derive from the "land to the tiller" rationale. He also emphasizes the link between the notion of labor and the building of a national civilization. Obviously, Gordon's reference is to the realization of a territorial base.

Similarly, in 1912, evaluating the colonization efforts in the preceding thirty years, and criticizing "the lovers of Zion" approach to colonization, based on the use of indigenous Palestinian labor, Achad Ha'am, a leading Zionist writer, says:

"...the basis of my state is the rural masses -- the workers and the poor farmers who live by cultivating the fields whether it is their own small lots or the large tracts of the 'superior' class. The rural masses of Eretz Israel are not our own at present....It is well known that at present the work in the settlements is done mostly by the Arabs of the neighboring villages.... One hope, however, is left for us -- those young workers who came ready to give their life for the national ideal, to acquire positions of work and to create in our existing settlements of the future those Jewish country masses which are not there as yet. Not for nothing do we find lately that the problem of the workers is practically the central problem of the Jewish community. All feel that it is not merely a workers' problem, but also a problem concerned with the aims of Zionism as a whole. If the workers do not succeed in solving this problem, it will be a sign that the national ideal is incapable of creating those inner powers so necessary for our cause....We shall have to make peace with the idea, then, that our country-population in Eretz Israel...will forever remain a 'superior' cultural minority whose power will lie in its brain and capital, and with the idea