

that the large country-masses whose strength lies in the work of their hands will not be our own even then. And this would completely change the nature and aims of Zionism...." 88

In these words, Achad Ha'am, like Gordon, also expresses the importance of the Jews' return to the soil, to manual labor, regardless of being wage-earners or self-employed. He is indifferent to the question of exploitation of Jewish labor, as long as there are Jewish rural masses as a basis for the Jewish State; Jewish workers who cultivate the land, and therefore acquire the right to it. Unlike Gordon's mechanical view of the role of Jewish labor in Zionism, Achad Ha'am views this role in a more historical way. Without productively laboring Jewish workers, "the national ideal is incapable of creating those inner powers so necessary for our cause...." This is a much more dynamic conception of the labor strategy in Zionism. Achad Ha'am, however, leaves unclear why and how this is a condition for the cause of Zionism. The only thing that is made absolutely clear in both Gordon's and Achad Ha'am's ideas is the role of Jewish labor in the realization of Zionism through acquiring the right to land by working the land.

In Borochovism, the notion of labor in the Zionist strategy is a much more profound one. In The Role of the Proletariat in the Realization of Territorialism,⁸⁹ Borochov refers not merely to territorial gains, and speaks not only of self-labor, but also of productive labor under capitalism, that is, he speaks specifically of the role of the proletariat, of exploited modern wage workers in the realization of territorialism, that is, the Zionist solution to the Jewish question within a bourgeois nation-state. This is different from the emphasis on self-labor (non-exploitation of other labor) merely for claiming the land. The difference between Borochov's and the latter is, indeed, the difference between the two Zionist slogans: "The Conquest of Jewish Land" (Kibbush Hakark'a, or Ha'adamah) and "The Conquest of