

THE JEWISH LABOR
MOVEMENT IN PALESTINE.

A Rabbinical Thesis,
by Alexander P. Feinsilver

February, 1937

To My Parents and Theirs -
Who Witnessed the Unfoldment
Of this Scene in
The Drama of Israel.

THE PIONEER

By Jessie E. Sampter

I took the mattock from his hand
To break the strong resistant earth;
He came a stranger to the land
That gave his people birth;
He burned with youth; his eyes were bright
As with a dedicated light.

December, but the sky was warm,
Not like his winter of the north,
And teased by sun and rain and storm
The buds were bursting forth.
He shouted: "Comrade, over there,
Don't break the ground without a prayer!"

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P R E F A C E

To tell the story of a movement which is still in progress is not an easy task. The perspective born of time is lacking; and description and appraisal become difficult indeed. The distribution of emphases, the singling out of one fact or another for special attention or consideration, is largely subjective. I therefore approached this task with the knowledge that this examination into the history and nature of the Jewish Labor Movement in Palestine would, of necessity, contain many shortcomings.

The literature on the Jewish Labor Movement in Palestine is copious, but scattered. Much of it is difficult to obtain. The materials here used were secured from various libraries, organizations, and individuals. Most of these materials were obtained from the New York Public Library, the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, and the Hebrew Union College Library. Organizations which supplied me with materials are: the Poale Zion-Zeire Zion Organization of America, the Hechalutz Organization of America, the Young Poale Zion, Hashomer Hatzoir, and the League for Labor Palestine.

Additional materials also were secured from Rabbi Samuel Wohl, and from Mr. Joseph Gootman. For these materials, and for their helpful suggestions, I am indeed grateful.

Alexander P. Feinsilver,
Cincinnati, Ohio,
February 15, 1937.

PART ONE

--HISTORICAL

CHAPTER I.

IDEOLOGY OF LABOR
ZIONISM

CHAPTER I.

IDEOLOGY OF LABOR ZIONISM

Ideas, too, have their history. To call a movement new is not to deny that the basic conceptions responsible for that movement antedate the movement itself by a good many years. And so with the Labor Movement in Palestine. Although the organized movement can hardly be said to begin before the immigration of 1905 into Palestine, the first mass immigration, we find, nevertheless, that the origins of the labor-zionist ideology dates back considerably before that time. Indeed, as early as 1854, long before official Zionism began, Samuel David Luzzatto wrote that "Palestine must be peopled by Jews, and tilled by them, in order that it may flourish economically and agriculturally, and take on beauty and glory."¹ The expression, "and tilled by them", is not insignificant, for this emphasis on Jewish self-labor on the soil of Palestine has always been the primary emphasis of the labor movement in Palestine.

This emphasis on labor on the soil of Palestine as the basis of a revived national existence for the Jew is found systematically presented for the first time in the pre-Zionist writings of Moses Hess, (1812-75), in his classic "Rome and Jerusalem", published in 1862. Hess was the first to take into consideration the economic as well as the historic factors in the projected colonization of Palestine, and developed his conception of the Jewish state accordingly. Hess considered the various nationalities to be the instruments for the achievement of a free, united human race. In Jewry, he saw the motive force in the movement toward such unity. For this reason, he felt, the Jewish people had to be preserved as a nationality and secured by a national home, socialistic in character, in Palestine. His "Rome and Jerusalem", as a consequence, treats of the Jewish national problem from the standpoint of radical philosophy and revolution.²

In 1847 Marx and Engels had already published the "Communist Manifesto"; in the three years between 1861-1864 Lassalle had done much to undermine the traditional European concepts of politics and economics. It is not surprising therefore, that some of the first members of the Chovevei Zion movement, men like Rabbi Zvi Hirsch Kalischer, Zeev Jabetz, Mordecai Eliasberg, I. L. Pinsker and others, saw in agriculture, in manual labor, and in the introduction of changes in the economic structure of the Jew an important factor in the national renaissance. At the first conference of the Chovevei Zion, held at Kattowitz in 1885, Pinsker said in his opening address that, "the terrible position of the Jewish nation would not be improved unless we emigrated, altered our ways of life, and engaged in productive work....Let us abandon the scale and the measure, and let us take to the plough and sickle."³ The men of the Chovevei Zion movement, the first organized effort at Jewish colonization of Palestine, though far from being economic radicals, already displayed the influence of the new social and economic thinking, in their visions of a revived Jewish national life in Palestine.

What were the factors that made for the growth of the idea of Jewish labor as the basis of the Jewish national rebirth in Palestine? These were the same factors which produced the general Zionist movement,⁴ namely, a). the changes in Jewish life due to capitalist industrialization, which undermined the position of the Jews as small traders and artisans in Eastern Europe, b). the growth of a new kind of anti-semitism, aimed directly at the economic condition of the Jew (in commerce, the trades, and the professions), and c). ideological factors, which included the influence of Tolstoy and the Narodniki⁵ in Russia, who glorified the Russian peasant and communal land ownership in the Russian village. These factors imposed upon Jewry a consciousness of itself and its anomalous condition in the

nations which it inhabited.

In Russia, the growth of the revolutionary sentiment in the seventies attracted a large portion of Jewish youth, many of whom felt that the achievement of Russian democracy would solve the problem of the Jew in Russia. In Vilna there was a Jewish revolutionary group in the seventies which sought to couple socialism with Judaism. When this group was tracked down by the police, one of its members, A. Lieberman, fled to London, where he founded the League of Jewish Socialists. Tarkower remarks of this period that it was a "story of the martyrdom of hundreds and thousands of workers and leaders of workers who invited hatred against the government and gave to the entire movement a radical direction."~~xx~~...From among the readers of Lieberman's Ha-Emes and Asefas Chachomim came some of the future leaders of the Jewish socialist movement."⁶

In the 90's, the Jewish socialistic societies were drawn into the Russian revolutionary movement. In 1897, these societies were consolidated in the "League of the Jewish Workmen of Lithuania, Poland, and Russia", known widely as the "Bund". Its first (and secret) convention was held in Vilna in September, 1897, just one month after the first Zionist Congress was held at Basle.⁷ The organization had its inception in 1892-93, when Jewish labor organized in Vilna for a ten-hour working day. The organization spread for the next few years to Minsk and Smorgony, Brest and Bialistok. Its founders were: A. Kremer, Koppelson, ^{and} Eisenstadt-Judin. In 1895, Martow

first expressed the need for a separate Jewish social-democratic organization, the body being otherwise just a part of the Russian democratic movement.⁸ Party centers were organized, and a party organ, in Yiddish (*Die Arbeter Shtimme*) was founded. The problem of Jewish nationalism, heretofore ignored, was taken for the first time into consideration when the Bund attempted to formulate its program. At its third convention (Kovno, 1899), it was decided that the class interests of the group should supercede its national aspirations. At the fourth convention (1901) it was agreed that "the concept of nationality is also applicable to the Jewish people," but that "it is premature, under the present circumstances, to put forward the demand for a national autonomy for the Jews." In 1905, however, a resolution was adopted demanding "national-cultural autonomy" for the Jews.⁹ Only so far would the Bund go in behalf of Jewish nationalism, however, and in 1905, at its sixth convention, held in Zurich, it opposed by a resolution the aims of the new Poale Zion organization, taking a definite stand against Zionist aspirations,¹⁰ and announcing to the world that their class interests were foremost in their program.

The Bund, then, was a Jewish socialist group, but Jewish only in so far as it consisted of a Jewish membership. A new tendency was seen, however, with the origin of the Poale Zion group (1901). This group effected a synthesis between Jewish socialism and Zionism. The group, in contrast to the Bund, set for itself a two-fold aim: a) the overthrow of the capitalist order and class rule through the economic and political class struggle of the proletariat, and the socialization of the means of production, and b) the territorial solution of the Jewish question through the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine."¹¹

The Poale Zion based their socialism and zionism on what they ~~felt~~ to be the actual needs of the Jewish people. They felt that ~~that~~ the economic and national difficulties of the Jewish people were closely interrelated, that Jewish economic conditions were determined by Jewish national abnormality (as a people without a land), and that the solution of the Jewish problem depended on definite economic factors. They therefore saw no claim to priority on the part of either socialism ~~or~~ (as espoused by the Bundists) or zionism (whose program had already been laid down at the first Zionist Congress in 1897). To ignore the national woes of the Jewish people while trying to solve their economic problems would, they felt, be folly. Similarly, to attempt to create a Jewish state in Palestine while ignoring the economic needs of the Jewish masses would be equally foolhardy. Hence they insisted that they were not zionists and socialists, but "zionist-socialists."¹²

The achievement of this synthesis between socialism and zionism was based on the following line of reasoning: 1. Landlessness is the source of Jewish suffering. The Jew in the capitalist world is a total stranger, and is subject to humiliating treatment as a consequence. Throughout the capitalist world, Jewry is harassed by economic boycott, by anti-semitic persecution, and by social isolation. His landlessness is the source of all his sufferings--political deprivation, economic weakness, and cultural and national instability. 2. Persecution of the Jew is one phase of the capitalist system. The oppression of peoples and races in general, and the ruthless persecution of Jewry in particular, is closely interwoven with the present capitalistic system of exploitation and suppression. National suppression gives rise to chauvinism, obscures class differences, and paralyzes the power of resistance of the masses of workers.

3. Socialist-zionism is the only solution. The realization of socialism will solve the economic and social problem of every nation that is normal, i.e., that has a territory of its own, a proletariat, and a peasantry constituting the majority of the nation. But the Jews cannot take an adequate part in the struggle for socialism, the Jewish proletariat being very small. Again, even if socialism should be achieved throughout the world, the Jews would still need a home, to provide for their particular needs as a people.¹³

This, in brief outline, was their line of reasoning. From it they derived their program. To solve the national needs of Jewry, a land was necessary; to solve the social and economic needs of Jewry (and all peoples), socialism was necessary. Hence, socialist-zionism represented the full answer to the Jewish question.

NACHMAN SYRKIN

The earliest ideologist of socialist-zionism, the first man to systematically present the synthesis of the nationalistic and socialistic ideals of the Poale Zion party, was Nachman Syrkin, (1868-1924).¹⁴ Syrkin was affected early in his youth by both the socialistic and nationalistic ideals being expressed. As a student at the University of Berlin, he joined the Russian revolutionary groups, but persistently opposed their assimilationist tendencies. In 1897, the two divergent philosophies of socialism and nationalism had crystallized into definite and organized movements, the zionists holding their congress at Basle, and the Bundists holding theirs at Warsaw shortly afterward.¹⁵ The very next year, Syrkin's first essay, entitled, "The Jewish Problem and the Jewish Socialist State" made its appearance,¹⁶ and three years later, his "Vozzvanie k evreiskoi molodezhi" (An Appeal to Jewish Youth) was issued.¹⁶ The former became the first analysis of the

theoretical foundations of socialist-zionsim; the latter became the official manifesto of the newly-organized Zionist-Socialist Party.

His essay on "The Jewish Problem and the Jewish Socialist State" consisted of four sections: Emancipation and Anti-semitism, Internationalism versus Nationalism, Zionism, and The Jewish Socialist State. In the essay, he charges that liberalism has failed to secure the "freedom, equality and fraternity" which it promised. It had appeared, claims Syrkin, ~~that~~ as if bourgeois freedom and Jewish assimilation had solved the Jewish problem, yet that solution lasted only as long as the reign of liberalism, its failure being a natural concomitant of the collapse of liberalism. This was inevitable, for bourgeois liberalism failed to consider that the causes for anti-semitism in modern times are racial and economic. Racial differences still exist, claimed Syrkin, after religious differences are no longer a vital factor.

Anti-semitism is an integral part of the class society, reaching its peak in declining classes. It finds expression in the middle class, which is being persistently destroyed by the bourgeoisie, in the landowning class, which is being destroyed by the capitalist, and in the peasant class, which is being strangled by the landowner. Syrkin maintained that, while class interests in general dictated anti-semitism, the middle class intensified its anti-semitism because it suffered from Jewish as well as non-Jewish competition. He held that anti-semitism in the middle class is, in fact, a "revolutionary movement of a low type, the revolt of a class against the existing order, not for the sake of higher human principles, but for egotistic interests," and that anti-semitism is a "result of the unequal distribution of power in society. As long as soc-

iety is based on might, and as long as the Jew is weak, so long will anti-semitism exist."¹⁷

The solution to anti-semitism, he felt, was to be found only in a classless society and autonomous national power for the Jew. To the Jewish socialists (the Bundists), socialism meant first of all discarding their Jewishness. Jewish socialists had [^]tuned away from Judaism because socialism was a "haven for the Jew whom liberalism had betrayed." He pointed out that the achievement of international socialism was by no means predicated on the abolition of national cultures, and that the socialism of the Jew must become a Jewish socialism. Far from impeding the cause of international socialism, Jewish nationalism would be reflected in Jewish socialism, for "free from assimilation, and without a tendency toward self-denial, the Jewish proletariat bears in itself consciously and unconsciously the specific Jewish protest."¹⁸

Socialism, held Syrkin, is the ultimate, and not the immediate solution to the Jewish problem. The Jewish situation cannot be improved at present through the socialist struggle. The class struggle can help the Jewish middle class, for example, but little if at all. Nor can the insecurity of the Jewish intelligentsia be removed through the class struggle. The class struggle cannot aid even the Jewish proletariat to the extent that it does the general proletariat. Finally, declared Syrkin, "if the socialist parties of democratic lands do not yet bring the Jews the awaited benefits, socialism is of even lesser comfort in those lands where the Jews have not yet been emancipated."

Thus it appeared clear to Syrkin that no solution to the problem of oppressed peoples could ease the Jewish situation. Thus the solution to the Jewish problem must, in part, be national. As

for the charge, on the other hand, that the Jewish class struggle conflicts with zionist aspirations, Syrkin held that "there can be no more foolish argument...Why should the Jewish proletariat, which is the first to be helped by zionism, reject it merely because the other classes of Jewry have also adopted zionism?"¹⁹

According to Syrkin, the only debatable issue involved in zionism is the form of the Jewish state. Zionism, he contended, would have to take into consideration the needs of the Jewish masses, for without them zionism would be a "still-born child." But he held, on the other hand, that zionism could not afford to lose sight of the aspirations of the middle class and the intelligentsia. In his program for the envisaged Jewish national state, he concludes that, "if the Jewish state is to become a fact, it is necessary that from the very beginning we avoid all the infirmities of ~~the~~ modern life. If the Jewish state is to call forth a deep interest, it must adopt as its ideal justice, righteousness, social ~~planning~~ and social solidarity. When the social principles of the Jewish state are realized, modern technology will flourish in it. The Jewish state must be a socialist state if it is to be realized. Zionism must fuse with socialism in order to become the ideal of the entire Jewish people, of the proletariat, of the middle class, of the intelligentsia as well as of the idealist."²⁰

All of the foregoing was contained in Syrkin's first essay, "The Jewish Problem and the Jewish Socialist State", written in 1898. Almost two decades later, in 1917, Syrkin wrote an essay entitled, "National Independence and International Unity." The World War made the problem most timely. Nations were engaged in a war from which a reorganized Europe was to emerge. In this essay, therefore, he analyzed the problem of nationalism, discussed

the relationship between a nation and its culture, analyzed the national struggles of modern times, discussed the compatibility of nationalism and socialism, and presented, in conclusion, his vision of an "International League of Free Nations."²¹

In coping with the problem of nationalism, Syrkin came to the conclusion that "nationalism, and internationalism, people and humanity, individualism and universalism, are in the final analysis complementary terms," Why, then, need socialism seek to disavow nationalism? And, as regards the question whether the Jew really represents a nation, Syrkin insists that Jewish nationalism is real,--that a nation does not cease to exist with the fall of its political state, that a separate language is not essential, and that even a common origin is not the absolute basis for national unity. Since, according to Syrkin, the true foundation of a nation is rather spiritual and cultural, the Jew may be said to represent a nation in the completest sense of the word. And since a nation that has not lost its "spiritual ego" and its "cultural forces" strives to become an autonomous nation, and to secure ~~exist~~ for itself, a land, a language, and political independence, Jewish nationalism requires no apology.

As for the reconciliation of nationalism with socialism, Syrkin points out in the latter essay, as in the essay of 1898, that these are not irreconcilable^{le}. Drawing from the experience of the World War, Syrkin claimed that "only with the advent of the World War did the international proletariat fully recognize the historical truth that each nation ~~strives~~ had a right and a duty to determine its own path in history." He pointed to Lassalle's work on The Italian War as the first declaration in socialist literature that each nation that had not lost its historical consciousness or faith

had a right to strive for national independence. He points out also that Otto Bauer, in his book The National Problem in the Social Democracy, expressed the idea that only under socialism could a nation achieve its highest cultural individuality and perfection, and that only ~~the~~ socialist organization of society would lead to the triumph of the principle of nationalism.

In the final section of this essay, Syrkin~~g~~ reiterates that internationalism does not necessarily imply the loss of national independence or identity. On the contrary, "The sacredness of nations, their absolute right to life, growth and equality--this is internationalism." Thus the International League of Free Nations which he envisioned could only occur when all nations were free socialist nations. And in the same principle of free nationality lay the solution to the Jewish problem. Hence the solution to the Jewish problem lay in a Jewish Socialist State.

Syrkin was above all an idealist. His writings contain frequent expressions such as "soul", "spirit", "will", "mission", etc. He refused to admit a materialistic world. He challenged the thesis that man was primarily an economic animal. He attributed to the human will the power to influence the course of human events. On this premise he constructed his philosophy.

The New Palestine, paying tribute to Syrkin upon his death in September, 1924, remarked that "the death of Dr. Nachman Syrkin removes from our midst one of the great and vivid personalities in Jewish life. Founder and spiritual leader of the Poale Zion, the socialist wing of the Zionist movement,...a scholar of great attainments, a keen philosophic mind, a writer of trenchant pen, he brought into play all these qualities in the service of the Jewish people. Dr. Syrkin, the radical thinker with far-flung vision,

was actuated by a tremendous faith, by an optimistic belief in the Jewish people and in the ultimate realization of the Zionist ideal, in the final victory of the culture of the prophets, the culture of righteousness and justice."²²

BER BOROCHOV

Equally outstanding in the formulation of the socialist-Zionist ideology was Ber Borochov (1881-1917). Borochov was, however, more materialistic than Syrkin in his outlook. He based his view of the socialist-Zionist state on thoroughly Marxian grounds, becoming the leading exponent of the so-called "scientific" Zionism. He investigated the anomalies of Jewish economic life, and explained both Zionism and the European nationalisms on an economic basis. So strong, indeed, was his feeling of the inevitability of the operation of economic laws, that he felt that a mass emigration of Jews to Palestine was the inevitable consequence of the operation of these laws.

His reasoning, summarily stated, is as follows: National competition brings restriction of immigration in industrial centers, and the Jews, as a consequence, will have to migrate to some undeveloped, semi-agrarian region like Palestine. The ultimate success of Zionism, according to Borochov, would be dependent on the ability of the emigrating Jews to enter into agriculture and basic industries. The class-conscious Jewish proletariat, he reasoned, by fighting in Palestine for its rights, will eventually create the guarantee for a Jewish autonomy. Zionism, from Borochov's point of view, was thus "an economic as well as a democratic revolution in Jewish life."²³

In "Die Klassen Interressen und die Natzionale Frage" Borochov

analyzes the modern conception of the state and its relationship to the class structure of society. Following Marx, he finds that humanity is divided ~~into~~ two ways simultaneously: into states, which represent the corporate expression of the creative powers of a people, and into classes.²⁴ Quoting the third section of Marx's Das Kapital, Borochoff points out that nations differ because of circumstances within the nation, such as the character of its natural resources, race relations, and historical forces affecting that state.

Through these factors, states become distinguished as social-economic organisms. Within each state, however, there is the division into classes, derived from the varied relationships of the individuals in the state to the means and process of production. Class-strife becomes the attempt of these classes to receive more benefits from the process of production. And international strife, in the same way, emerges from the attempt of productive enterprise to expand into new spheres for the improvement of the conditions within the nation.

Borochoff distinguished, in the course of this essay, between "peoples" and "nations", indicating that the element most characteristic of a nation is its territorial unity. He explains that underlying this territorial unity, however, is a basic economic unity (rather than a traditional unity). The economic interdependence of the individuals within a nation would normally express itself in class-consciousness. Nationalism, however, "overshadows the class-consciousness" and it "does not allow for a correct view of the true status of the classes" within the nation.²⁵ The ruling classes, recognizing this fact, make use of nationalism for their own purposes, to obscure class differences.

These classes, though propagandists for nationalism, are not the true representatives of their national culture. The nationalism of the large land-owners, living from the rental of land, is concomitant with land-values. For the middle and lower bourgeoisie, territory no longer has value as land, but as a market for their goods. And as for big capital, the territory of the state and its boundaries serve only as a point of support for expansion into the world market.

Regarding the proletariat, Borochoy points out that it is a mistake to assume that the proletariat has no national feelings nor interests. On the contrary, to the proletariat, territory is of utmost worth, providing the place for its productive labor.²⁶

When the social-economic balance within a nation is disturbed, the proletariat cannot, as can other classes, seek expansion through conquest. It must, therefore, resort to emigration in the effort to find a place to work. This being the case, it is difficult for the proletariat to develop a deep sense of loyalty to the Fatherland. Nevertheless, "the real nationalism--that is, of a kind that does not becloud the class-consciousness--is to be found only among the progressive elements of oppressed nations"²⁷ for among them do we find expressed in boldest outline the striving of the basic element in a nation, its proletariat, for a place to work.

In this fashion, in his essay on "Die Klassen Interressen und ^{theoretical} Die Natzionale Frage", did Borochoy lay the foundations for his program of socialist-zionism. Nationalism, used by other classes to becloud the class-consciousness, was only real insofar as it expressed the needs of the proletariat, the creative base in any nation. That nationalism, therefore, had to be an expression of the self-consciousness of the proletariat rather than an attempt at its suppression.

In his essay entitled, "Unser Programm" (Our Program), Borochov applies this theoretical analysis of the relationship of nationalism and class-interests to the Jewish situation, and to the efforts to establish a Jewish nation. He raises the questions: Wherein lies the Jewish problem? What place has the Jewish proletariat in this Jewish problem? How can the Jewish proletariat solve its problem? These questions he proceeds to answer in the essay which has become the platform of Poale Zionism.

Borochov maintains, first of all, that territory is essential to the national existence of any people. He holds that it represents the positive foundation of the life of a people. However, he insists that the simple slogan, "The Jewish people must have a territory" does not represent the situation correctly. The Jewish upper bourgeoisie needs no land, except as a place to which to send the Jewish masses, whose presence may be distasteful. The Jewish middle bourgeoisie needs the land as a market, as its "own" state, where it may escape the onslaughts of anti-semitism, engage in political maneuvers, hold portfolios, produce a "Jewish culture", etc. For the Jewish small bourgeoisie, a territory is necessary for the prolonging of its very life, as a Jewish state will provide at least a "home" market for this dying group.

The middle-bourgeoisie may dream of a "state". engage in conferences and mouth pretty phrases, the small bourgeoisie may see in it relief from pressure, but the ruined masses of laboring Jewry, maintained Borochov, the "dead materials" whom roam the earth in search of work, cannot dream; they are unable even to bring into realization the historic forces at work which compel the Jew to form a proletarian state in Palestine. To this end,

the Jewish bourgeoisie may be useful. In the last analysis, however, maintained Borochoy, "the freedom of the Jewish people will be achieved through the labor movement, or it will not be achieved at all."²⁸ The labor movement has only one way before it: the class struggle. And the class struggle can be effective only when it has a political character. Though territorialism might be the most pressing problem of the Jewish people and its greatest need, it will remain only a Utopian dream if the organized Jewish proletariat will not support the movement and influence its development toward a realization of its needs through the class struggle.

Proletarian zionism is possible, felt Borochoy, only if zionism is realized through class struggle; and zionism is possible only if proletarian zionism is possible. "If the Jewish proletariat has not, moreover, its own techniques for the realization of zionism, zionism will remain an empty shell."²⁹ This, in brief, represented the substance of Borochoy's approach to Jewish nationalistic aspirations in Palestine.

From his writings, we are able to see the penetrating intellect of Borochoy. For him, society was a huge laboratory which supplied both the instruments and the objects for analysis; and he was the scientist in search of truth. Isaac Zar, in a foreword to Borochoy's collected writings,³⁰ characterizes Borochoy as "a man of remarkable energy, of tireless industry, and of many-sided knowledge. He wanted to learn everything--he was interested in all things. He had a considerable knowledge of philosophy and sociology. He was a linguist, and had a clear comprehension of such fields of knowledge as hardly interest the highest type of intellectual. Not only was his knowledge encyclopedic, however, but he was also a remarkable thinker, a combination rare indeed."

A. D. GORDON

The man who most greatly influenced the labor movement in Palestine was Aaron David Gordon (1856-1922). At the age of 48, he left Russia, where he had been employed as a bookkeeper, to become an agricultural worker in Palestine during the second aliyah of 1904. Gordon had grown up in a rural district, among forests. The impressions of his youth, that direct contact with nature,--these were the factors which led to the formulation of that philosophy of a natural life, of a harmony between man and nature, which he espoused. ^{30a}

This philosophy he expressed not only in his many writings, but in his every daily act as well. When he arrived in Palestine, his friends tried to dissuade him from physical labor and to induce him to take up intellectual work instead. He, of course, would not consent. From the first day in Palestine until his last, he engaged in physical work, believing that physical work was a necessity for every living being. Only the wrong habits of many generations, and the defects in the social order, he felt, had estranged man from physical toil. Labor was wholesome; the individual Jew and the entire Jewish people must be remolded through it, the teacher, the community leader, the writer, everyone.

Gordon wrote a good deal. After his death, his writings were collected and published in five volumes (Kivve, Tel Aviv, 1929). His contributions to the Palestine Labor Movement were two: the concept of the creative basis of agricultural work, and his concept of Jewish nationalism. Influenced by Tolstoy, Gordon believed in self-perfection, which, as he understood the term, meant self-expression through work, in harmony with the laws of nature. Man and the soil, he insisted, were united through man's work on the soil. As for Jewish nationalism, Gordon felt that the Jews were

not and could never become a nation like other nations, that the rebirth of Judaism meant "not a political and economic, but a spiritual and moral regeneration based on the ideals of the prophets." Very much the dreamer, Gordon could not accept the Marxian dialectics of Borochoy, nor could he accept even Syrkin's socialist-zionism. The rationalism and mechanism of socialism were too cold for so warm a spirit. Yet he, perhaps more than they, became the spiritual father of the Palestinian labor movement, by virtue of his enthusiasm and example rather than his thinking.

In his essay, "Work and Culture",³¹ he satirizes the prevalent Jewish attitude, namely, "Let Ivan, John, Mustapha do the work. We will create culture, produce national values, and seek to bring about the reign of absolute justice on earth." He points out the fallacy of this type of thinking, for, as he maintains, "a living culture embraces the whole of life. Everything that life creates for life's necessities, that is culture." This, he felt, included even digging the earth, building houses and roads. "Such labor, such activity is culture, or rather, the basis and substance of culture." Continuing in this vein, Gordon contends that the need of the Jew today is not so much an academic culture as "a culture of life itself, in the cells and atoms of which that academic culture is embedded....All that we desire in Palestine is this, that we create with our own hands all that constitutes life; that with our own hands we perform all the work and labor that is needed;... and that we thus come to feel and think and experience all that laboring human beings in the performance of all these varied tasks can come to feel and think and experience. Only when we do this will we possess a culture, because only thus will we have a life of our own." Thus did he write in 1911.

A decade later, in his essay on "Rebirth in the Diaspora",³² he expressed the two needs of work for Palestine in the diaspora, namely, the preparation of those who were later to settle in Palestine for the life that they were to begin there, and the acquisition of means to guarantee a continuous immigration into Palestine. But he insisted that such work for Palestine was not enough; that the Jew in the diaspora as well as in Palestine would have to be taught to work, especially to do work close to nature, work from which they had so long been estranged. The return to a more natural life, whether in Palestine or in the diaspora, was to be achieved through the same channels, the return to nature, to work, and to the Hebrew language. He refutes the charge that if the Jew in the diaspora experiences such a rebirth through work he will be more easily assimilated by those peoples among whom he lives. This argument, he claims, arises from the mistaken thinking of those who unite "things utterly disparate, namely nationalism and socialism."

Without negating the ideals for which socialism strives, Gordon claimed that the Palestinian rebirth can be achieved only through the "form of the nation--not, to be sure, of a jingo nation, but of a truly humane one, the am-adam, the man-or brother-folk." He felt that in a merely socialistic rebirth, life would lack the foundation of the family, which he felt could not be compensated for by "harnessing together the two alien forces of nationalism and socialism." Ever the visionary, he insisted upon the reawakening of the "soul" of the community, the group-personality, as the primary desideratum of the new life in Palestine.

In a letter³³ to Joseph Baratz, at that time a delegate to the Histadruth convention in America (1921), he explained how he intended to produce this regeneration of the Jewish group-personal-

ity. He expressed the need of ^{the} "awakening for a national and human existence of three, and perhaps four million of our brethren." Where were these individuals to be found? Gordon supplies the answer to this question in his letter: "In the man who runs a creamery, in the form of a peddler, a shoe-blacker, a teacher, a young man or woman who speaks English and knows nothing about Judaism." They were to come to Palestine. There they were to engage in productive labor. There they were to learn the Hebrew language; and there, according to Gordon, they would form the raw material for the rebuilding of the Jewish group-personality.

Because he recognized that the national consciousness was weak among Jews of the diaspora, Gordon did not find it at all strange that these Jews embraced ideals that did not bear a Jewish national character. It was not mere accident, he felt, that socialism was nearer to the hearts of a great part of the Jewish youth. It arose from the fact that they lacked a sense of their own character and worth. "In this condition of passiveness," declared Gordon, "socialism can betray us into a hopeless waste." He felt that effort must be primarily directed toward the reconstruction not of society but of the human being, the individual Jew; that in his attempt to destroy the Jewish element within him, the Jewish socialist became not a better human being, but a "second-rate and unauthentic Russian, or German or Englishman."

Thus it is, that while Gordon insisted on "the utter refusal to exploit the labor of others," and "economic life on a cooperative basis", he argued that the primary goal of the Jew must be the renewal of his Jewish creative consciousness through a return to nature and to work. Nor was Gordon's approach to work as the basic factor in the remaking of the individual and of society

limited to a consideration of the Jew alone. The ideal of self-labor, which he apotheosized into a "religion of labor," applied universally, became to him the symbol of justice between man and man, and, more than that, between nation and nation.

One may reject the theory that the reconstruction of the individual is the only way to the regeneration of a nation. One may even go ~~further~~ to the other extreme, and insist that the process, in the last analysis, must be due to objective forces, and that a change in the economic order will ultimately lead to a change in the individuals, but "one must admit that a qualified pioneer body may, within the limits of objective possibilities, accelerate the process."³⁴ Thus it is that even those who opposed his schemes of thought found it difficult to refute him. Particularly difficult did they find it in view of the fact that he was universally recognized as a man honestly seeking the truth. Moreover, he himself had presented, if the essence of the labor movement in Palestine was the regeneration of the individual, a perfect example of reconstruction; in himself he "combined the best qualities necessary for a pioneer--a strong will, endurance, perseverance, and an unshaken belief in the cause."³⁵

As eloquent testimonial to the greatness of the man's spirit, we have the ~~testimonies~~ reminiscences of women who had worked with him in the fields of Palestine. One woman relates: "There worked among us at that time a comrade who was much older than any of us, the man who later became famous in Palestine as A. D. Gordon. His good humor and unflagging cheerfulness were a ^{source of} strength to all of us. He composed a great many Jewish songs, which we learned to sing together with him. From the beginning I conceived a great affection for the old man, but I had not the courage to

seek his advice. Often, seeing me sit apart completely exhausted, he would call out to me, 'Cheer up! Look at me, an old man, working as hard as the rest, and always happy.' But before I could answer him and pour out my troubles to him, he would be gone."³⁶

His contagious devotion to the ideals which he espoused is perhaps best illustrated by the account of another woman, who relates an incident which took place during the World War. The Turks suspected the Jewish colony of having concealed weapons. They arrested the members of the Kvutzah, and submitted the men to torture in order to make them reveal where the arms were hidden. "Gordon, awaiting his turn to be tortured, remained unshaken. As if glued to our places we sat there, we, the young ones, listening to the singing of the 'old man'."³⁷

On the marble tablet attached to the simple slab that marks the grave of Gordon at Dagania, is the following inscription:^{37a}
 "AARON DAVID GORDON. DEVOTEE OF "MAN AND NATURE", died at Dagania, Shevat 24, 5682, in the sixty-seventh year of his life, which was the eighteenth year of his going up to Palestine and of his labors in the land." With Gordon's death, there was lost to the Palestine Labor Movement its greatest personality. Since his death, in 1922, the movement has grown tremendously. But the memory of the man, his personality and his teachings still vitalize the efforts of those who come to take their place as workers on the soil of Palestine.

Not only in Palestine is the influence of the "old man" still felt, but in the diaspora as well. There has arisen in the diaspora a youth movement, called the Gordonia, of which he is the apostle. In 1933, over 20,000 young men and women were numbered in its membership.³⁸ Thus the man's teachings and the memory of his warm personality live on to guide and encourage those who carry on.

JOSEPH CHAIM BRENNER

The period of the second aliyah, to which Gordon belonged (1904-05), was by no means free from difficulties. To become workers and farmers over a brief period of time was difficult. The transition brought despair to many; often they broke down because of the inability of the farm-and plantation-owners to understand their problems. These doubts and disappointments were best expressed by the "poet and spiritual guide" of that generation, Joseph Chaim Brenner, (1881-1921).³⁹ Born in a small town on the border between Little and Great Russia, he tasted poverty early in life. Later, he had contact with the literature of the Haskalah, with the teachings of Tolstoy, and with the "Bund".

Brenner became editor, for a time, of the "Bund" periodical, called "Der Kampf". Forced to escape from Russia, he fled to London, where he published ~~for~~ a monthly magazine, called "HaMeorer." In 1909, he came to Palestine, where he worked with the weekly, "HaPoel HaZair", published by the labor party by that name.⁴⁰ He also wrote for the Poale Zion organ, "Achduth," and in 1919 he took over the publication of the monthly "HaAdomah", published by the labor party "Achduth HaAvodah".

The labor parties of Palestine were badly split, and friction prevailed. It was Brenner's hope that eventually the various parties would be united into one large organization. This did not happen, however, until the year before his death, when the Histadruth, the General Federation of Jewish Labor in Palestine, came into being. For a while, he taught in a chalutz settlement near Migdal. In 1921, he returned to Tel Aviv, and on May 1st of that same year he was murdered by the Arabs in a riot.

Brenner was a very prolific writer. Besides his journalistic work, which concerned itself with the labor problems of the second aliyah and with the rebirth of the Hebrew language, he wrote many short stories and essays, and translated many ~~works~~, such as Tolstoy's "Master and Slave" into the Hebrew. His collected works have been published by A. J. Stybel in Tel Aviv.⁴¹

Something of Brenner's personality may be seen from the ~~fact~~ following incident:⁴² A young woman, coming to Palestine from a Russian revolutionary background, (during the period of the second aliyah, when such literature was being carefully watched by the Turks), was receiving anarchist pamphlets from Russia. Seeing some of these pamphlets, Brenner remarked: "You'd better write them to stop sending ~~these~~ books." The young lady turned to him and asked, "And what about these?" To which he replied, "Oh, these have to be read, of course." The young woman hastened to protest: "But they'll drive me out of Palestine." To this, Brenner's response was simply, "Nonsense."

Brenner knew the power of those pamphlets, and though he may have differed with their thinking, he respected them. He probably did not suspect, however, the potentialities of the pamphlets which he himself edited under the caption "Ha Meorer".

While Brenner added little to the ideology of the labor movement in Palestine, his forceful writing and his active personality gave it great impetus. Thus Spiegel correctly remarks that "it is a great pity that Brenner did not live to see the twentieth anniversary of the first issue of the "Awakener", for then he would have heard the Jewish Labor Movement in Palestine attribute its ancestry to the modest little green pamphlets, quite unimportant as literature, which he printed on the banks of the Thames."⁴³

* * * * *

There were, of course, others as well as those described above, men who by their thinking and living gave direction and meaning to the labor movement in Palestine. No movement can gain strength and significance without leaders; the labor movement in Palestine produced, from its very inception, a sturdy leadership. The thinking of Syrkin and Borochoy, the example of Gordon and Brenner, is not lost; the inspiration provided by these men still motivates the leaders of the Labor Movement in Palestine today. No movement such as this, a battle against both circumstance and nature, could have been undertaken without strong wills and strong arms. The fortitude of those who are no more still lives to encourage those upon whom the mantle of leadership has fallen.

The period of pioneering is over; an ideology has been born, and a movement has taken form. New times and new circumstances may influence the development of that movement; but the ~~new~~ achievements of Jewish labor in Palestine will always be an enduring monument to the idealism and effort of the men who first beheld the vision.

CHAPTER II.

BEGINNING OF LABOR COL-
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PALESTINE
(1882-1914)

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BEGINNING OF LABOR COLONIZATION

In the year 1870, the Alliance Israelite founded the first Jewish agricultural school in Palestine at Mikveh Israel, near Jaffa. This school may be termed the first link of the Jewish people, in modern times, with Palestine. However, the Alliance school provided only a very superficial link indeed. Though it was an institution for the education of Jews, it was in no way characteristic of the Jewish settlement that was to develop in Palestine during the course of the next few decades. The French language and French thinking dominated the character of the school. Its students, instead of becoming the nucleus of a trained Jewish colonization, left the country after their period of training to take up their residence in European lands. It was not an institution which created loyalties to Palestine, to Jewish culture, or to the ideals of Jewish labor; it imparted none of the labor ideology which was to play so great a role in the subsequent development of the country. But it did serve as a point of contact with Palestine--a reminder to world Jewry that Palestine still existed, and still contained a remnant of the people which was dispersed throughout the world.

Jewish settlers had, of course, prompted by various motives, found ~~ed~~ their way to Palestine before this time. In 1855, the area of Gan-Montefiore, near Jaffa, had already been acquired for Jewish settlement. And in 1878 Petach Tikvah, a "parcel of swamp-land", which was later deserted by its Jewish inhabitants because of a malaria epidemic, was acquired by a group of Jews from Jerusalem.¹

It is not, however, until the year 1882 that we can properly speak of a labor-conscious colonization in Palestine. The

The total population at that time was 350,000. Among these inhabitants of Palestine could be numbered some 30,000 Jews,² most of whom were old people who depended on money from outside countries for their support. The large majority consisted of Arab peasants (Fellahin) and Bedouins.

THE BILUIM

In 1882 there took place what is now generally known as the "first aliyah" (immigration wave). And in that year were laid the foundations of several Jewish communities, Rishon le Zion in Judea, Zichron Yaakov in Samaria, and Rosh Pinah in Galilee.³ These colonies were founded by the members of the first aliyah, known as the "Biluim." This was a group formed as a reaction to the Russian pogroms of 1881 (after the murder of Alexander II.). They took their name from the initial letters of the Hebrew phrase, "Beth Yaakov, l'chu v'nelchoh." ^{spiritual} The/support of these immigrants, came from the Chovevei Zion⁴ societies being formed at that time in Russia, and their financial support came, in large measure, from the Baron Edmond de Rothschild funds, through the medium, mainly, of the ICA (Jewish Colonization Association).⁵

These "Biluim" differed greatly from the Jews already in Palestine. The Biluim had come to live in the land, not to die there, as did the older inhabitants. They were, moreover, young people, many of them university and professional people, who had been affected by the ideal of self-labor and the dreams of a socialist state in Palestine. They were idealistic, and took on the hardest forms of labor, draining swamps, and tilling land that had for centuries been uncultivated. In the founding of the first settlements, not only did they have to grapple with

the difficulties which Nature presented, in the form of barren land, swamps and malaria, but they had also to contend with the Turkish police. The Biluim were, moreover, inexperienced in agricultural endeavor, and had no national organization to assist them in the process of transition from urban life to agricultural life. Their problems were numerous indeed, and only the continued income from the "Baron" made life at all possible for these pioneers.

An insight into the constituency and the problems of the Biluim may be gained from ^{the} diary of one of them, Dr. Chaim Chissin. In relating his experiences with those who first attempted to conquer the soil of Palestine for Jewish labor, he writes: 6 (Moscow, April 25, 1882) "A number of us, young intellectuals, have banded together for the purpose of going to the Holy Land to devote ourselves to the tilling of the soil. We have no money, but we are certain that once we are there, help to establish us on a sound basis can be obtained....The most important facts about our organization are as follows: its name is BILU; it numbers 525 members, and is composed of many units under the administration of the central Kharkov group.....The aim of the organization is to establish a model colony to serve as an example for all of Jewry."

Thus much for an introduction into the nature and plan of the group. We skip now to an entry dated Jaffa, August 21 (1882). Here we find described the first efforts of the group to acclimate itself to the new life. Chissin writes: "Our group has arranged with Hirsch, principal of the agricultural school at Mikveh Israel, to work not more than eight hours per day, from six to ten in the morning, and in the afternoon from 2:30 to 6:30."

Here we see that the Biluim tried, from the very beginning, to put into practice that idealism which brought them to Palestine.

But it was not easy, for the Biluim were unprepared for their new duties: "There we stood all in a row, for we had no idea of what we had to do, how to do it, or why. Nevertheless, I began to ply the spade, zig-zagging this way and that. In less than an hour, big blisters appeared on my hands....Summoning courage, I grabbed the spade again and in spite of the excruciating pain in my hands...I dug without pause for two hours straight...Following this, I could do nothing for a whole day. My back pained me unbearably. My hands were covered with wounds. Those four hours in the morning were like eternity."

Such was the road toward rehabilitation through labor. Not only was the work itself difficult, but the workers were given no encouragement. Instead, the ideas of the Biluim regarding self-labor were ridiculed. "The foreman drives us, won't let us rest a minute; those are his orders. Hirsch is doing this purposely in order to drive the 'foolishness' out of us and compel us to leave." Also, food was scarce, and the Biluim were in debt. "...bread, grapes, and in the evening, bean soup. Tea we have only at night; the thought of meat never even occurs to anybody."

With the death of Carl Netter, the founder of ~~the~~ Mikveh Israel, who had been very sympathetic with the work of the Biluim, many of them became discouraged. In an entry marked September 25, Chissin notes: "Yesterday, six people returned to Russia, and three went to Jerusalem. In all, fifteen of us remain. It is hard to say which has shown greater courage, we, for staying, or they in going back. On what, after all, do we pin our hopes? Yet it would be disgraceful to leave the place, vanquished, and flee

from the scene after three months of battle." It was suggested that the group disperse. There seemed to be no reason for their obstinacy in staying on; some, therefore, did leave, while a faithful remnant remained. In an entry dated October 2, Chissin writes: "We now number but 14 people. Of these, the following are not at work: the three girls, the representative, and the toran (the buyer). Beside this, it is found that from one to three people are always ill."

By March of the following year, the future of these Biluim was no more clear than before. They found employment digging ditches and laying foundations, however. They undertook the planting of trees in Rishon le Zion. Their material conditions had improved slightly, at any rate, and they began "to allow ourselves herring and eggs for breakfast". And so the small remaining group held on, trying to make the most of the not too pleasant circumstances.

By 1885, the Chovevei Zion Society had come into being and had begun to collect money for land purchase. The Biluim looked forward to the coming of their representative, who, they felt, would help them settle on the soil. J. M. Pines agreed to become the head of the organization of Biluim, and purchased 2,500 dunams of land for a colony in which they might settle. In November, 1884, "nine Biluim were transferred to their own land, and in this way the foundation was laid for the new colony, to be called Gedera..." For the purchase of vines and for daily sustenance Pines distributed the funds received from time to time from various sources. Two of the founders of the New colony at Gedera were Schlomo Zukerman and Zevi Horowitz, who arrived at the colony in 1885. This colony at Gedera represented the beginning of the labor colonization in Palestine.

The life of the Biluim was trying; trying even for men better adapted to its hardships than were these pioneers. Moreover, the fact that they had to depend on large grants from the "Baron" could not readily be accepted by these stalwart spirits. Eventually, it was this fact which caused the breakdown of the first aliya. The Baron placed officials in the settlements; these regarded themselves not as helpers but as supervisors.⁷ Thus there was friction; there were strikes, and there were punishments for the offenders.

The lack of self-dependence caused a diminution of the feeling of responsibility among the settlers, gradually serving to demoralize them completely. Some of the settlers, as a consequence, ceased to work themselves, and brought in cheap Arab labor. And so many of the Biluim, who had come to Palestine with the concept of self-labor uppermost in their minds, became plantation-owners, living on the exploitation of cheap Arab labor. Truly, the Biluim became "pioneers without offspring."⁸

However, an effort had been made; Jews had met the challenge of the soil, and, despite defeat, the effort was eventually to bear fruit. While it is true that Palestine had been brought to the attention of a certain element of Russian Jewry through the activities of the Biluim, and that this resulted in land speculation and all of its accompanying evils,⁹ it is also true that certain members of the Bilu evidenced remarkable idealism and fortitude in the face of incomprehensible difficulties, and a few men of genuine pioneering spirit, such as Yechiel Michal Pines,¹⁰ an active worker and an experienced writer in the Jewish labor movement, were discovered. This fact alone made the efforts of the Biluim worthwhile.

BEGINNINGS OF LABOR ORGANIZATION

One of the shortcomings of the Bilu was the fact that it had no national organization to strengthen its activities. When, in 1886, more land was bought in Rishon le Zion, the purchasers followed Rothschild's request that they employ Jewish workers, and the workers increased in number, by virtue of small groups of Jewish immigrants entering the country after the Bilu. The workers of Rishon le Zion, now more numerous than before, began to lay plans for an organization of Jewish workers, and in 1887 the Agudath Hapoalim (Society of Workers) was formed.¹¹ This organization embraced not only the workers of Rishon le Zion, but also embraced the workers of Petach Tikvah.

This organization sought to serve the Jewish workers of Palestine in several ways. It sought to supply work for its members, rendered assistance to those who were unemployed, and organized cooperative kitchens for them. Already in this, the first workingmen's organization of Palestine, was the idea of mutual help and collective economic activity put into practice. In his diary, in an entry for March 21, 1887, Dr. Chissin states¹² that "with a full realization of the important role of the Jewish worker in the colonization activity and with a deep understanding of its great task, the organization started out to conduct its affairs with much energy." However, the Agudath Hapoalim was not destined to last long, and existed for only a few years after it was organized.

The immigration of 1890, however, brought about the formation of a new labor organization, known as "Ha-aretz Veba-avodah", (Land and Labor). In its name, it expressed its aims: the conquest of the soil for Jewish labor, and the penetration of Jewish labor into all of the activities of the building of the

Jewish colonization of Palestine. With the establishment of new settlements at Rehoboth and Chedera, the number of Jewish workers had greatly increased. In 1891, there ^{was} ~~and there~~ a total of ~~nix~~ 1200 workers in Palestine. Thus, in the summer of 1891, the workers of Rehoboth sought to unite all of these new workers into this one organization.

The expressed purpose of the "Land and Labor" workers' organization was two-fold: "first, to improve working conditions and to provide for the worker spiritually and materially, as Jew and as citizen, and secondly, to consider his future and make such provision that after working in Palestine for a certain period of time he might become a settler."¹⁴ The slogan which the "Land and Labor" organization adopted was, "Bead Artzeinu Va'amal Kapeinu" ("For our land, through the toil of our hands").

In the preamble to the constitution of Haaretz Veba-avodah, signed by Aryeh Leib Gordon, Meier Dizengoff, Moshe Ratner, and A. Eisenberg, the two forms of colonization then in existence (philanthropic and commercial) were presented and criticized, and an attempt was made to work out a plan of colonization which would embody the ideal of self-labor. The preamble contains the following statements:¹⁵ (1) "The first settlers came here, some with money and some without, but none with the idea of doing actual work....The colonists were in great need of support, and the Chovevei Zion in the Diaspora were generous enough to come to their help....This support...Developed a tendency to rely on others." (2) "Within the past year, something new has taken place in our midst. Capitalists from the Diaspora have bought land....but the work is to be done not by them-

selves but by hired labor. This new system has a grave defect, for it has commercialized the colonization....Therefore we do not consider these wealthy people to be actual settlers." (3)

"There is another problem, the most important of all, the problem of the workers;...Experience has taught us that without Hebrew workers the Hebrew settlements will never rest upon a firm foundation." These words were written by Yechiel Michal Pines, mentioned above.

The "Land and Labor" organization lasted until 1904.¹⁶ Its ideas of colonization were influential in shaping the course of labor colonization that followed. Its own disintegration was due to the fact that (a) it lacked the insight to connect its work with the general labor movement, and (b) a lack of ideological clarity.¹⁷ Only time, however, could produce a labor organization properly organized and guided by a clear vision of its aims and ideals. And the time for such an organization to spring into existence had not yet arrived.

WORKING CONDITIONS IN THE BARON'S SETTLEMENTS.

There were, in October, 1891, sixteen colonies in Palestine, 8 in Judea, and 8 in Galilee and Syria.¹⁸ Of these various colonies, some were private colonies, some had been founded by societies, and the rest were those of the Baron and of the Chovevei Zion.

The colonies supported by the Baron and by the Chovevei Zion could hardly be called successful. Investigating the reasons for this condition, (1893), E. H. D'Avigdor, head of the English Chovevei Zion, and Baron Rothschild came to the following conclusions:¹⁹ 1. There is plenty of available land in Eastern Palestine well-fitted for producing rich crops of cereals

and fruits. (2) The Jews are, as a race, no less fitted for agricultural pursuits than are other peoples. (3) The climate of Palestine suits them well, and they can work hard and thrive in it. (4) The causes of failure or ill-success in the colonies are one or more of the following: bad selection of the colonists (old people, etc), bad selection of the sites (unhealthy and sterile land), bad management and ignorance, and, finally, quarrels among the settlers themselves.

When Rothschild visited the country in 1899, the number of Jewish workers in the settlements was almost insignificant, and even these were on the verge of starvation. He pleaded with the Jewish plantation owners to employ more Jewish laborers. In 1900, when the Baron's settlements were transferred to the Jewish Colonization Association (ICA), there were 532 worker's families in these settlements.²⁰ Of these, 170 worked in the winepresses, the rest at agriculture. Their wages were low--so low, in fact, that a number of workers were compelled to leave the country. Indeed, the officials of the Jewish Colonization Association even provided the workers with money^{might} so that they/leave the country.²¹

In the year 1900, a census of all of the workers of the settlements was taken. There were listed 12 settlements, in which there was a total of 473 workers.²² These were distributed as follows: 161 in Zichron Yaakov, 81 of whom were wine-pressers; 103 in Rishon le Zion, 80 of whom were wine-pressers; 52 in Petach Tikvah; 40 in Rosh Pinah; 25 in Acron; 22 in Rehoboth; 20 in Chederah; 16 in Ness Zionah; 14 in Yesod Hama'aleh; 12 in Metullah; 4 in Machanaim; 4 in Mishmar Ha-~~Emek~~Yarden. Seven of these colonies--Zichron Yaakov, Yesod Ha-Ma'aleh, Metullah,

Petach Tikvah, Acron, Rishon le Zion, and Rosh Pinah--were largely supported by the Baron, at a tremendous cost.

Achad Ha'am, in his essay on "The Jewish Community and its Trustees",²³ reveals what these colonies cost Baron Rothschild until 1900 (when the ICA took over their administration). The annual budget amounted to 1,500,000 francs,--a sum of 4,000 francs per family, apart from the expenses of the wine-presses, in Rishon le Zion and Zichron Yaakov (the cost of these alone was 1,200,000 francs per year). In other words, the community in Palestine cost the Baron 40 million francs up until 1900. And most discouraging of all was the fact that, after spending a sum of 40 million francs over a period of eighteen years of colonization, only one hundred families were self-supporting.

THE SECOND ALIYAH (1904-06)

Only the Russian revolution of 1905 brought to Palestine men who had national and social ideals of lasting value. And it is only from then on, as a consequence, that we may properly speak of a labor "Movement". For only beginning with the immigration of 1904-06 did the Jewish workers of Palestine achieve any lasting degree of organization or any enduring ideological pattern to guide their program. Those whom the second aliyah wave had brought into Palestine were men who had experienced pogroms of exceeding proportions; moreover, they had witnessed, and even participated in, a great upheaval of the Russian working classes. It is not surprising, therefore, that it was this aliyah which contributed the real leaders of the labor movement, those who were to play so prominent a part in its development.

The immigration of this period may rightly be termed the beginning of the second period of the history of the Jewish labor movement in Palestine, extending from 1905 to 1914.²⁴ It was at the beginning of this period that the socialist-zionist ideology gained strength, and that the Poale Zion, devoted to definite ideals of Jewish labor, began to make its influence felt. In 1904, the first group of these Poale Zion workers entered Palestine. The employment of Arab labor by the Jewish colonists, the widespread practice, favored the development of the Poale Zion ideology, concretized its aims, and set off the Jewish laborer in Palestine for the first time as a member of a definite "party" with well-delineated objectives.

One of the leading personalities of the second aliyah is Yitzchak Ben Zvi, who first came to Palestine in 1904, and returned to active participation in the problems of Jewish labor in Palestine in 1907.²⁵ Born in south Russia, he was educated in Poltava, where he met Borohov. Coming to Palestine, he was not satisfied with the situation of the Jewish workers. He therefore set himself to the task of improving their lot. With the help of a few friends, he founded Hashomer, ^{a group of men organized} (The Watchman), to protect the colonies of the Jewish workers in Palestine. Both Ben Zvi and Ben Gurion, present leader of the Histadruth, spent some time studying at the university at Constantinople, and both he and Ben Gurion were later exiled from Palestine by the Turkish government. Coming to America, he endeavored to organize a chalutz movement, and was instrumental in the organization of the American Jewish legion.

Ben Zvi provides us with a striking insight into the conditions of the period of the second aliyah.²⁶ In Russia, Syrkin

had begun to publish the Hebrew magazine, "Hashachar", the first attempt to create a socialist-zionist literature in the Hebrew language. At the same time, a chalutz movement began, starting in Homel and drawing recruits from Lodz and other Polish cities. In Palestine, two parties were already in existence, the Poale Zion and the Hapoel Hatzoir, the former the more radical of the two.²⁷ The central office of the Poale Zion was located at the home of Ben Gurion. After a conference of the members of this party (1907), a ~~new~~ paper was undertaken, Anfang (The Beginning), in Yiddish. In the very adjoining room, Turkenitz was editing Hapoel Hatzoir. Anfang gave as its place of publication, Alexandria, Egypt. And Hapoel Hatzoir gave Cairo as its place of publication. Both, in reality, were being published in Jaffa, but such subterfuges were necessary to prevent the Turkish officials from seizing the printing-presses, and destroying these publications.

These were the conditions under which the leaders of the Jewish labor movement in Palestine labored. Despite the prospect of deportation "with the condition that they never return to this country", if they were caught hatching plots which the Turkish government felt might be dangerous to its interests, despite the hardships involved in organizing the Jewish workers and conducting meetings to outline their program, the leaders of the second aliyah were not deterred. Stubbornly and persistently they continued in their efforts, for theirs was a task difficult but necessary.

Coming from a country in which they had but recently witnessed both pogrom and revolution, desperate in their efforts to realize their vision of an organized Jewish working-class in Palestine, born of both necessity and idealism, these men gave of themselves unsparingly to attain their goal.

"KIBBUSH HA-AVODAH"

The first battle was for "kibbush ha-avodah", the conquest of labor, a battle on the part of Jewish labor for the right to work in the Jewish settlements. The chief aim of Jewish labor in this period was to prevail over hired Arab labor, and to replace it by Jewish labor, in order to preserve the Jewish character of the settlements, as well as to provide work for the Jewish workers.²⁸ This could not easily be achieved. There were frequent disputes between Jewish employers and Jewish workers in the plantations. Thus, owners did not employ Jews, except under great urging and protest. So acute did the situation sometimes become, that we find in 1908 not only a boycott against Jewish workers, but also that the farmers of Petach Tikvah forbade the letting of rooms and even the extension of medical help to the Jewish workers.²⁹

There had been, of course, some emphasis placed on Jewish self-labor even before the immigration of the second aliyah. We find a visitor to Rishon le Zion describing in glowing terms the conditions in that colony already in 1896. He writes:³⁰ "All these works (which he has described) have been executed solely by Jewish hands. Jewish hands built the houses and wine-cellars in the colony, and only Jewish hands are employed in the factory. As a matter of fact, there is only one non-Jewish official in Rishon le Zion." But circumstances were now different. Jews were entering the country in increasingly large numbers. And they were insistent that they receive employment in preference to the Arabs, even to the complete exclusion of the Arabs. Thus friction was inevitable.

Jewish labor was now militant. In 1904, the Uganda project was being considered by official Zionism. This threatened

the cherished ideal of a Jewish rebirth through labor in a Jewish land. Because of this threat, Joseph Vitkin, teacher and labor leader, summoned the Zionist youth of the world, despite the miserable situation in Palestine, to settle there. "Serve and help the nation", was the slogan of his call.³¹ On the eve of the meeting of the ninth Zionist Congress, Hapoel Hatzoir took up the cudgels in defense of Jewish labor in Palestine, in a plea that the Congress pay more attention to the needs of the Jewish workers in Palestine. Hapoel Hatzoir reiterated the two-fold platform on which the party stood, namely, 1. the conquest of work, and 2. the conquest of the soil, by Jewish labor.³³ Conscious of the necessity of creating a Jewish proletariat if Jewish colonization was to continue on a firm foundation, Jewish labor made every effort to achieve this goal.

It insisted not only that all the work in Palestine should be done by Jewish hands, but that "everything made for use in Palestine must be made by the people of Palestine," and not outside the country."³⁴ It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that Ben Yehuda writes, in 1908:³⁵ "I was convinced that ere long there would be no Jewish workers in them (the settlements), not because the work they did was badly done, nor even because it cost more, but because of their ways and customs and the demands they made of their employers." He felt that "the farmer can under no circumstances submit himself to the demands of the Jewish worker merely on grounds of organization." Here we find the class struggle, among Jews, in its grim realities!

What was the response of Arab labor to the demands of the Jewish workers? This was practically negligible. Except for a

few scattered attacks, Jewish labor met with very little resistance on the part of the Arabs during the period of the second Aliyah. Arab anti-Jewish propaganda really started only after the World War, when the land-owning Arabs encouraged the resentment of the Arab worker against the increasing Jewish immigration in order to assure themselves of a permanent cheap supply of Arab labor. The Effendis felt that the higher wages that Jewish employers were paying might deprive them of their cheap labor supply as the Arab entered into Jewish employment. But this friction was unknown in the pre-war period. Whatever Arab-Jewish friction did exist resulted rather from the inherent contradictions in the Jewish colonization in the land, i.e., the simultaneous employment of both Jews and Arabs in the plantations, leading to Jewish protests against the employment of Arabs, and resulting in Arab resentment.³⁶

THE KEREN KAYEMETH

The first attempt at ameliorating the situation of the Jewish workers was the attempt of groups of Jewish laborers to undertake the cultivation ~~of~~ and harvesting of the fields of Jewish farmers under contract, instead of by day-labor.³⁷ This avoided some of the friction between Jewish employees and Jewish employers, as the employees were no longer under the direct supervision of the employer, but were responsible, instead, to their own contracting organization. But this plan was not entirely satisfactory inasmuch as the employers feared they might lose control completely over their workers. The first real possibility for Jewish labor to achieve its ends, therefore, came when the Zionist organization began to acquire land in Palestine.

Jewish labor had for a long time recognized the necessity

of national ownership of the land for the achievement of a zionist-socialist state in Palestine. Finally, in the year 1901 this need was filled by the creation of the Keren Kayemeth, (the land-purchasing agency of the later-established Keren Hayesod). The colonizing activities of the Keren Kayemeth date from the year 1907, making possible the expansion of Jewish labor settlements that took place during the period of the second aliyah. The plan for such a fund was the creation of Professor Hermann Schapira, a professor of mathematics at the University of Heidelberg. Already in the 80's had Schapira made known his plan for a national land-purchasing agency.³⁸

Schapira, realizing that a people could not exist without a land, submitted his plan for the first time to the Chovevei Zion Convention at Kattowitz in 1884. But the plan went unnoticed, at least as far as practical consequences are concerned. He again presented the plan at the first Zionist Congress at Basle (1897), again without results. Finally, at the fifth Congress of the Zionist Organization (Basle, 1901), under the aegis of Herzl, the plan was adopted.³⁹ By that time, Schapira was, however, already dead.

The Fund, as organized, based itself on two principles: the land (a) to place/at the disposal of the Jewish people, and (b) to cultivate the land by Jewish workers. In these two aims were harmonized the nationalistic and the socialistic ambitions of the Jewish workers in Palestine. The colonies heretofore had no national character. Neither were they primarily concerned with the welfare of the Jewish worker. Now, however, the demands of the Jewish worker for land and labor were officially

recognized and validated. Moreover, the achievement of these demands was now, for the first time, made possible. So much did the demands of labor influence the administration of the Fund, that A. Granovsky, financial secretary of the Jewish National Fund (of which the Keren Kayemeth L'Yisroel is the land-purchasing agency), in expressing its purpose, could say,⁴⁰ **that its intention was** "To create a Jewish commonwealth which shall not be merely an ingathering of the exiles, but will be an opportunity for freeing the national life from the social and economic ills of the capitalistic order."

Settlement on the land, according to the program of the Jewish National Fund, was to proceed in two ways: by putting individuals on individual lots, or by putting them in collective settlements. The land on which these Jewish workers were to live and work was to remain in perpetuity the possession of the Keren Kayemeth L'Yisroel, and each family was to receive only that amount of land which its own labor could cultivate. There was to be no^x hired help on any of the land belonging to the Keren Kayemeth.⁴¹ Thus was the principle of non-exploitation of the labor of others built into the very framework of the Zionist colonization which was to follow.

THE FIRST LABOR COLONIES

In 1908, the first real cooperative colony was founded in Sedjera in Galilee. This settlement was, of course, all-Jewish. Near the settlement was the farm. On it were workers and farmers of various types, Sephardic, Kurdic, and Ashkenazic. This experiment, the first communal workers' settlement in Palestine, lasted only a year and a half, then was abandoned. / It was the

first achievement in self-management on the part of the Jewish worker in Palestine. From this it was only one step to self-settlement. This was the process, from the collective in Sedjera to the kvutzah settling permanently on the land.⁴² And the collective at Sedjera, despite its short life, was to set the pattern for collective Jewish colonization.

In the same year, (1908) a colony was founded at Ein-Ganim, near Petach Tikvah. This colony was based on the plan that each member should receive a small plot of land, while working as a hired laborer in the city to secure an income for himself and his family. And in the very same year another colony of Jewish workers was founded at Merchaviah, under the leadership of Franz Oppenheimer, a German sociologist who had done some work in labor colonization in Germany. This colony was supervised by an appointed director, and the workers received varying wages according to their productivity. In 1909, another colony, destined to be the example par excellence of the achievements of Jewish collective settlement on the soil, was founded. Joseph Bussel, one of the founders of Daganah, for this was the name of the most remarkable colony in the history of the labor settlements, in speaking of its founding, says: "The concept of chalutzuth needed expansion. And when we beheld the colonies which lived by hired labor, the recognition was strengthened in us of the need to find a new way of life, in which we could work without employer or overseer, and not have others work for us."⁴³

The founding of these first labor settlements, despite the aid received from the funds of the Keren Kayemeth, was by no means an easy task. "A barren wasteland, full of malaria-

infested swamps, was Daganian in 1909, when this small group of pioneers first stepped upon its soil." Nevertheless, undismayed by the immensity of their task, they set to work, draining the swamps, working the soil, building their colony. In the face of almost insurmountable obstacles they applied themselves with stupendous effort to the task of reclaiming the barren land. They sought "to prove, first to themselves, and then to others, that the Jew was capable of working the soil, and that the Jewish worker was capable of managing a settlement."⁴⁴

One of the worst enemies that these early pioneers had to meet was the locust. Benari describes the onslaught of this most dreaded enemy of the kvutzah: "He who has not seen these armies of crawling locusts can hardly visualize the horror of this destroying invader. Not only the fields, but also the yards were full of them. They sat on all the walls, on the tables, glutting everything they found. Many of the trees in the garden were covered with the shirts of the comrades for protection, and appeared like dead in ghostly shrouds; but the uncovered trees were left standing without leaves within a few scant minutes...."⁴⁵

Despite the locusts, and despite the swampland, the group in Daganian persisted. It was small, consisting originally of only 12 men and women. But these men and women succeeded in achieving their aim in coming to the country, "to build and to be built" by it. The history of the colony at Daganian is a glorious chapter in the history of the Jewish labor movement in Palestine. Not only did it serve as a prototype for the truly collective kvutzoth which were to follow, but its endurance and success gave impetus to the formation of these

collective colonies which were to follow, and which were to provide a firm basis for the efforts of Jewish labor in Palestine, demonstrating that Jewish labor was capable not only of idealism, but also of making that idealism the basic pattern of their lives. In this sense, the history of Daganía is in truth "the history of the whole labor movement in Palestine."⁴⁶

Not a small part of the success of the ^{first labor} colonies was due to the inspiring presence and indefatigable toil of their leaders, men like Gordon, Brenner, Tabenkin, Trumpeldor, Ben Zvi, and others. It was their clear vision and courageous example which encouraged the Jewish workers in their conquest of the soil, and enabled the work to go forward. In Kinnereth (and later in Daganía), A. D. Gordon "lived in his small room near the large dining hall, and late at night a faint ray of light emerged" from his window. Tabenkin and other thinkers were to be found there. Between Daganía and Kinnereth, a small group settled to carry on experimental work in gardening. Among them were Zvi Schatz and Berl Katzenelson. Later there came to these new colonies "Ossyah", as Joseph Trumpeldor was known, who "harbored visions of large workers's colonies, comprising thousands of families."⁴⁷

EFFORTS AT ORGANIZATION

Not only did the second aliyah pave the way for the later development of collective labor colonies (kvutsoth), but it also paved the way for the eventual formation of the Histadruth, the General Federation of Jewish Labor in Palestine, organized in December, 1920. The second aliyah recognized the value of organized effort on the part of Jewish labor, and was responsible

for new forms of labor organization.

Among the early achievements of organized Jewish labor was "Hashomer", an organization founded by the Jewish workers to fulfill the functions of self-defense and watch. It was preceded by a few experiments. In 1908, the organization "Bar-Giyora" was founded, through the efforts of Ben Zvi and others, for the protection of Jewish life and property in the colonies. Up until that time, the Jewish settlers, forbidden the use of arms, had relied entirely on Arab watchers in the colonies. The group Bar-Giyorah took over this function. It was more than an organization for self-defense, however; it was also a group of men interested in the expansion of Jewish labor. Thus it was the Bar-Giyorah group that created the collective in Sediera.⁴⁸ And the same was true of Hashomer, the organization which followed Bar-Giyorah, whose basic functions were labor and self-defense. Among the organizers of Hashomer must be mentioned Yisrael Shochat, who had studied with Ben Gurion and Ben Zvi at Constantinople. In Judea, the fact that the watch had consisted of non-Jewish workers had hardly mattered, for the Judean colonies were large, and there was hardly any ammunition among the Arabs, plus the fact that the fear of the government was great. But in Galilee it became increasingly necessary to have a Jewish watch because of frequent Arab raids.⁴⁹

The members of Hashomer would take over the guarding of a colony on condition that Jewish labor was used exclusively in that colony. These guards would be at their posts from six in the evening until six in the morning. "All night long they circled the walls on the qui vive, listening for the slightest stirring out in the fields." With the coming of the Jewish

guards, and the admission of more Jewish workers in the colonies, "a new spirit was born in the colony. There was singing and dancing in the evenings....The apathy which had brooded over the place was dispersed, and those colonists who had fought for the Jewish guards felt themselves ^{completely} vindicated."⁵⁰ If for nothing else, the work of Hashomer must be remembered for its resulting spiritual strength, as an agency for the bolstering of the morale of these early Jewish colonies.

But equally important was the colonizing activity of the Shomrim. The Shomrim stationed at Meschach, for example, consisting of Gileadi (after whom Kfar Gileadi was named), Gad-Kurakin, Seid, and others, resolved to found a settlement of their own in Upper Galilee. Arrangements were made with Kalvarski, representative of the ICA for Upper Galilee, and these colonists were soon settled in Metullah.⁵¹ Thus the Shomrim, through such undertakings as the colonization at Metullah, served as a real force for the expansion of Jewish labor colonization.

THE HISTADRUTH HACLAITH

With the expansion of labor colonization in Galilee, there arose the need for labor organization. Thus one of the earliest workers' organizations, Hachoresch, arose in Galilee, in Sedjera. This was a federation of the workers of Galilee,⁵² which "strove to raise a generation of peasants, healthy in body and soul." In rural Galilee, in the work of the fields, they saw the means of creating the Palestinian laborer. Hachoresch did not last long, but from it developed (also coming to life in Galilee), the first agricultural federation in Palestine.

This greater achievement was the Histadruth Haclaith. Driv-

en by their struggle for work, and by the need of caring for the newly-arrived Jewish workers, the workers of Galilee and Judea banded together to form this farm laborer's organization. (1910-1911). This was the first trade union in Palestine, and was the forerunner of the present Histadruth. All of the workers in the Moshavot, hired or independent, (including those in handicraft as well as those engaged in agriculture) were affiliated with this union.

A. M. Kolar, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of its founding, describes its beginning:⁵³ "We were a few workers scattered throughout the country. A number of us were in the large colonies of Judea and Galilee, and others on the two national farms at Ben Shemen and Huldah. There was no organization or any connection between one group of workers and another. Every newcomer was left to his own fate---The two existing parties, Hapoel Hatzoir and Poale Zion, were then very weak, and their information bureaus gave no practical assistance."

The first meeting of this organization took place in Ein-Ganim (near Petach Tikvah). A few dozen delegates and a number of guests were present. The program adopted called for mutual aid and the establishment of labor institutions. It was decided to form the Histadruth Poale Jehuda (Federation of the Workers of Judea). Shortly before, there had taken place the meeting of the workers of Galilee (at Daganah). A few years afterward, there was established the Histadruth Poale Shomron. It was these three organizations which later gave rise to the Histadruth Hapoalim Ha-haclaim, which in turn became the nucleus of the present Histadruth.⁵⁴

A difficult problem confronting the Histadruth Haclaith was the relationship between the two parties, (Hapoel Hatzoir and Poale Zion), whose membership it embraced. Many of the workers were unaffiliated with either party, and wanted to enlarge the field of activity of the Histadruth Haclaith, to include cooperative colonization, cultural activities, and political activity (such as representation in the Zionist Congresses). The individual parties resisted this program of expansion, but its supporters gained their objectives,

Since the state made no provision for the protection of workers, the Workers' Fund (Kupath Cholim) was founded. The need for a fund for the care of sick workers had already long before been recognized, and already in 1908 had Hapoel Hatzoir agitated for the establishment of such a fund.⁵⁵ The chief deterrent to the founding of the fund was the inner strife that was prevalent among the workers. Finally, in 1912, the Kupath Cholim was founded to meet this need.

In the following year, 1913, the Palestine Workers' Fund (begun through the efforts of Poale Zion) was founded. In connection with the Fund, a bureau of information and employment was established. The Fund's services were made available to all of the workers, regardless of individual party affiliations.⁵⁶ For many years it was to meet the needs of the Jewish workers of Palestine, to provide employment for them, to carry them over periods of unemployment with financial aid, and the like. Without the aid rendered by the Kupath Cholim and the Palestine Workers' Fund, the Jewish workers of Palestine could hardly have overcome their many difficulties.

IN THE CITIES

A distinctive feature of the Jewish labor movement in Palestine is its emphasis on agricultural labor. This is, of course, entirely understandable in view of the conditions of Jewish labor in the diaspora, motivating the Jewish worker in Palestine to return to productive labor on the soil. Thus, while land-labor in Palestine was already being well organized, we do not find organization proceeding at so rapid a rate among the urban workers. A contributing factor to this situation was the fact that considerable capital was available to those settling on the soil, which encouraged most of the labor immigrants to enter into agricultural work. The consequence was that most of the Jewish laborers that were to be found in the cities were Sephardic or Oriental Jews, who were hard to organize.⁵⁷

The first effort at the organization of urban workers in Palestine was the printers' union, formed in Jerusalem already in 1897. As is usually the case, the organization resulted from some very definite needs of those employed in the printing of Hebrew books, etc. The conditions under which these men worked and against which they protested were: a 12-hour day, at a salary of only 15 francs per week, making it necessary for some of them to impose upon charity in the effort to augment their incomes. The original printers' organization, formed to fight against these conditions, lasted only two weeks. A new organization, formed in 1902, demanded and succeeded in receiving a ten-hour working day, and dissolved immediately afterward. In 1907, another attempt was made at alleviating the labor conditions of the printers in Jerusalem. After strike-breaking, police interference, and a rabbinical ban against the workers,

(who were engaged in printing Prayer-Books, etc.), the printers' strike ended in defeat. It had lasted 11 days.⁵⁸

Very similar was the situation in other branches of industry. With the beginning of building in Tel Aviv (1908 and onward), workers arrived in the city in considerable numbers to engage in building-work. Recognizing the need of organization of these workers, a group of Jewish laborers proposed that all new building operations be entrusted to its hands. But there was no unity among the building-workers, and quarrels amongst themselves resulted in a mass employment of Arabs. In the building of the Technikum at Haifa, a further problem presented itself. There arose a conflict between the Jewish immigrant labor elements and the non-Jewish laborers, the latter claiming that they had prior right to whatever work was available because of the fact that they were long-established residents of Haifa.⁵⁹

Organization of urban labor continued to be difficult. This was, as has been pointed out, at least partially the fault of the workers themselves, who were divided by inner strife. The existing labor organizations exerted very little effort in behalf of urban labor, concentrating their attention on the agricultural settlements, and the problems of city labor were not on the ⁱⁿ way toward a satisfactory solution until after the World War. There were, however, a series of labor conferences, at which Jewish labor showed an awakening consciousness of its problems. In 1911 and 1912, there was extensive participation also in the May 1st ^{demonst} /rations. And Haifa and Jaffa could already boast of Information and Employment bureaus.⁶⁰ Thus, at the outbreak of the war, the soil had been prepared for the seeds of development that were later to follow, and

although urban labor had not achieved the degree of organization that already marked agricultural labor, its problems were already clear, and their solution seemed not far off.

* * * * *

Progress had been made during the periods of the first and second aliyoth, 1881-82 and 1904-06. Many of the difficulties encountered by the members of the first aliyah were successfully dealt with by the innovations of the second. To the genuine idealism of the first aliyah, the members of the second aliyah added fortitude, and practical cooperative effort.

The achievements of the second aliyah were two-fold: (a) The achievement of successful, self-initiated, and self-managed cooperative colonies. (At the outbreak of the World War, there were 11 such kvutzoth).⁶¹ (2) The formation of effective labor organizations and institutions to cope with the many problems of the Jewish laborer in the cities. There still were many problems left unsolved: difficulties in lack of funds, the need of hiring Arab workers in the colonies during certain seasons, inadequate crops in periods of drought, the place of woman and the family in the cooperative colony, effective unionization of the urban workers, who were split in factions, and the like. But these problems too were on their way to solution.

Then came the war.....

CHAPTER III.
TRIALS AND TRIUMPHS**
(1914- 1932)

CHAPTER III. TRIALS AND TRIUMPHS

THE WAR

The Palestine Office census of 1913 revealed that the number of workers in the settlements before the outbreak of the World War was 801,650 of whom were men and 151 women. On the farms of the Jewish National Fund, there were also 170 workers, distributed as follows: in Kinnereth, 23; in Daganian, 28; in Ben Shemen, 56; in Huldah, 23; in Gan Shmuel, 6.¹ This, then, represented the status of labor colonization in the Palestine settlements before the war. How did the war affect these workers?

Although Palestine was not immediately drawn into the arena of the World War, the economic and social effects of the war very early made themselves felt in the Jewish colonies. This was evidenced by three resultants: depression, unemployment, and emigration. Productive upbuilding in the cities as well as in the colonies came to a halt. The Zionist Bank shut its doors, making credits for new enterprise difficult to obtain. Unemployment overtook the workers of the Jewish colonies, and of the urban centers in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv as well. To add to the hardships of the situation, the prices of foodstuffs and other necessities rose to unprecedented heights.

The situation in the colonies of Galilee, which were better equipped with grain, raising a good deal of their own produce, was better than that in the colonies of Judea and in the cities. Thus Galilee became a source of food-supply for the workers of Judea, and some of the workers came to ^{Galilee} ~~Judea~~ to live. Daganian, one of the Galilean colonies, was, for example, able to flourish and develop because of the great demand for grain. But the situation throughout the country remained difficult.

The continued existence of Palestinian Jewry, indeed, became, during the progress of the war, dependent on aid from America. American funds aided greatly in tiding the Palestinian workers over the period of crisis. The money, it must be said to the credit of the Jewish workers, was rarely used for direct relief. Instead, it was given as loans to private employers, making it possible for them to undertake new enterprises and sustain old ones, which were able to absorb some of the Jewish labor. This was a particularly fortunate arrangement, since the institutions of labor, some of which were already organized before the war, were as yet in their infancy, and were unable to cope with the crisis to provide work for those who were unemployed.

Many fled from Palestine. Confusion was widespread. Some of these who attempted to escape the country were forcibly brought back. There was a weeding-out of citizens of enemy countries, and eventually, the complete evacuation of Jaffa and Tel Aviv, ordered by Hassan Bek, the Turkish leader, in order to keep the populace of Jaffa and Tel Aviv away from the front.²

IN THE KVUTZOTH

Of the 100,000 Jews in Palestine in 1914, 12,000 lived in a total of fifty agricultural settlements.³ Eleven of these settlements were cooperative labor settlements, or Kvutzoth.⁴ The situation in these kvutzoth during the war may be readily seen from the records of some of the pioneer women. One woman writes:⁵ "There were in hiding among us (in Kvutzoh Achvoh) comrades from every corner of the country. They were hiding from the agents of the Turkish government, from the periodic searches and seizures." Almost broken by the miseries that these expulsions brought, she

relates how she was called, at two o'clock one morning, to a meeting concerning "our responsibility to the homeless...we could not be content with giving them shelter merely as long as they stayed with us...we had to look after them until they had found some sort of permanent refuge."

"The brutality of the government increased day by day...The arrests increased, and among the chief sufferers were the leaders of the Poale Zion and the comrades of Hashomer (the Jewish watch)."
Then the government issued a last warning to all of the members of the Jewish settlement, that "All ~~mf~~ men of military age should report to headquarters." In this connection must be mentioned an heroic episode in the life of the kvutzo. Among the workers in Petach Tikvah, there were some of Austrian citizenship. In order "to make up the tally of the number of men who were expected to report, they decided to give themselves up as hostages, (Being the nationals of an allied power, they thought they would be safe from harm). Three of them died in the Damascus prison."⁶
After the war, when a new workers' settlement was established in Petach Tikvah, it was named Givath Ha-Shloshah, "The Hill of the Three," in memory of the three comrades who died to protect others.

In Tiberias, the situation was particularly severe. Hunger and disease became widespread. A relief committee was formed, headed by Meier Dizengoff (late Mayor of Tel Aviv), to aid the sufferers.⁷ Dizengoff went up to Damascus, to maintain communications ~~with~~ between the Palestine settlements and world Jewry. Joseph Bussel, still alive at that time (Bussel, one of the founders of Dagania, died in 1919 at the age of 29), was the representative of the workers on the committee, and on him fell the

difficult responsibility of settling the immigrants in some new location.

Those who suffered most, perhaps, throughout the war period, were the women, particularly the unmarried women. Hunger was widespread, and work was nowhere to be had, so that life lost all meaning to some of them, who became hopeless and despondent. Tiberias was "filled with soldiers, mostly Germans (who were masters in Palestine at the time). Money and provisions were plentiful among them, and a fearful wave of prostitution spread through the starving town."

EFFORTS AT SELF-HELP

In this situation, the workers of Palestine could not and would not remain passive. On the contrary, they were spurred on to new emergency efforts at self-help. This consisted ~~xx~~ of the centralization of agricultural organization and activity, the development of new forms of communal settlement, the founding of the consumers' cooperative Hamashbir, the intensification of the work of the Kupath Cholim, and the beginning of systematic agricultural activity.

An innovation to meet the needs of the girls in the colonies was the women workers' kvutzah. Hannah Chisik was instrumental in creating such a kvutzah in Tiberias. She relates:⁸ "I worked out the details, prepared a budget,.... Joseph Bussel obtained for us a loan of a hundred francs with which to lease the garden which we were to work. No sooner was the information out, than dozens of young girls, the daughters of immigrant families, applied. But the number of free places was limited, and the list was at once filled." The lot of these girls in the first women's kvutsoth was not an easy one. Hardship and privation

were their constant companions. However, progress was made.

A similar attempt was undertaken near Kinnereth. The suicide of one young woman⁹ served as a warning that something had to be done. When Bussel suggested a women's kvutzh, a plot of land for this purpose (near Kinnereth) was acquired. The girls were to live on the land, but their chief income was to come from outside work. Some of the women would cook for the men who were at work draining the Kinnereth swamps. Others found seasonal employment in the neighboring kvutzh of Kinnereth and Daganah. Some women were able to augment their incomes by doing sewing. Money for tools and other initial expenses of the kvutzh of unemployed girls was obtained from the Zionist Bureau in Jaffa as an "advance."¹⁰ It is interesting to point out that a new feature of this kvutzh was the fact that the members were, to a great extent, strangers to each other. Heretofore, the kvutzh (like Daganah) had been made up of members who came from the same place, knew each other, and held common views. The development of this tendency of the kvutzh to absorb outsiders, therefore, is a direct consequence of the conditions produced by the war.

In the attempt to cope with the problems of this period, not only were women's kvutzh organized, but other new kvutzh came into being, such as Amal, Achim, Esrah, Asid, etc. These varied in form. Most of them, however, were true kvutzh, whose members lived together in one commune, shared a common kitchen, common household, etc. This attempt at discovering new forms of communal settlement bore fruit in the colonies that were formed after the war. Many of the features of these earlier kvutzh, born of necessity, were later to be embodied

into the post-war kvutzoth as permanent features of these colonies. (i.e., the inclusion of persons who were total strangers before admission to the kvutzoth, etc.)

Another important effort at self-help during this period was the organization of the consumers' cooperative Hamashbir. This organization, founded in 1916, was born out of an effort to eradicate speculation in the food market, which made use of the terrible situation to extort high prices for food-stuffs from those in need of food. Bales of cloth, grain, sugar and oil were stored away in cellars, while hunger prevailed. This organization was formed to buy these goods during the months of plenty, and to resell them at cost to those in need during the months of scarcity. Through the agency of Hamashbir, marmelade, oil, salt, clothing, etc. were supplied to the workers of Judea by those in Galilee. In its second year of existence (1918), Hamashbir already had 130,000 francs worth of goods in its warehouses.¹¹

While the original purpose of this cooperative was the maintenance of a cheap supply of foodstuffs for agricultural laborers, Hamashbir later extended its activities to include the supplying of household goods, clothing, and agricultural products, machinery and tools. It opened cooperative kitchens and bakeries, arranged for the sale of grain, honey, etc. and for the purchase of seeds, fodder, fertilizer, etc. in bulk, becoming the purchasing agent of the Palestine Zionist Executive eventually. Since then the character of Hamashbir has undergone much change also. It has, to some extent, lost the semblance of a consumers' society which it may have had at first, and has become as well a colonizing institution and wholesale store. In March, 1927, Hamashbir organized also a company for the sale of Textiles, called Hamashbir-

Textile. This was first a partnership, and later was registered as a limited company, completely independent of Hamashbir.¹²

The Kupath Cholim (Workers' Sick Fund) also expanded its activities during the war years. Brought into existence by the initiative of the Jewish agricultural workers of Judea and Galilee in 1913, in the attempt to aid these workers in adjusting themselves to the hardships of the climate and the needs of pioneer life, it was called upon to engage in more extensive activity during the war years. When the Jewish community was more or less cut off from the outside world, the Kupat Cholim was called upon not only to serve its members, but also to combat the disease which hunger and deprivation brought in their wake. It was not until the establishment of the Histadruth in 1920, however, that the united sick fund of today, under one central management with branches throughout the country was established.¹³

Another labor institution that witnessed development during the war years was the Palestine Workers' Fund, (Kupath Poalim Eretz Yisroel). This fund, founded in 1908 by the Poale Zion, was in reality the "first financial instrument for proletarian action in Palestine."¹⁴ Its actual work dates from 1913. During the first 10 years of its existence, this fund helped to raise half a million dollars for Palestine. One of its primary achievements during the war years was the assistance it rendered in the founding of four kvutzoth in upper Galilee: Kfar Giladi, Ayeleth Ha-Shachar, Machanayim, and Tel Chai.¹⁵ Here, where heretofore only a few weak colonies had existed, Jewish labor was given an opportunity to settle and cultivate new land. And this at a time of widespread crisis.

Kaplansky lists,¹⁶ as its achievements, (besides the colonization work in upper Galilee), the building of Shechunath Borochov, (a workers' settlement), the tool-campaign (to provide tools for the workers of Palestine, the development of the industrial labor cooperatives in the cities, and, what was most important during the War, the relief activities it rendered Jewish labor during the war crisis. The Palestine Workers' Fund was the first institution of the Poale Zion organization in Palestine. Its history is intimately bound up with the entire history of the Jewish labor movement in Palestine.

The original program of the Palestine Workers' Fund was outlined in the Articles of the Palestine Workers' Fund as follows:¹⁷"The Aim of the Palestine Workers' Fund is to facilitate the immigration of Jewish workers into Palestine and adjacent lands, and to make secure their economic position." To achieve this end, the fund sought to "(a) establish information and employment bureaus, (b) support and maintain immigrant sheltering homes, lodgings, and kindred institutions for workers, (c) aid the trade, cooperative and political organizations of the Jewish working class in Palestine and adjacent lands, (d) support the cultural institutions, such as libraries, reading rooms, newspapers, book publishing, etc." To these aims was appended the following notice: "The Palestine Workers' Fund assists only institutions of organized workers, but in no case private individuals."

With the development of the Histadruth and its institutions, the work of the Palestine Worker's Fund had to be redefined. During its continued existence as a separate organiza-

tion (up until 1925), it accomplished much along the lines of its work as outlined above. In the year 1925 it became a subsidiary organization of the Hevrath Ha-Ovdim, (the Society of Workers), Thereafter, it conducted the Tool-campaign (already mentioned) in collaboration with the League for Labor Palestine. Preuss, in speaking of this Fund, says,¹⁸ "The Palestine Workers' Fund is an unique ^{instru} ~~achivement~~ment of labor on the road to economic and financial independence. Without its enduring strength, an independent position for labor is unthinkable."

Through these channels the Jewish workers attempted, during the war period, to provide employment, and to provide for all of the needs of the Jewish workers of Palestine. All of these activities strengthened the Jewish labor movement considerably, preparing the way for unified effort. This was finally brought about with the formation of the Histadruth after the war. The war had tested the endurance and strength of the Jewish labor movement. It had, to be sure, diminished the number of workers in Palestine, but had produced new ventures in co-operative effort on the part of labor, and shown that Jewish labor was capable of united effort.

THE THIRD ALIYAH.

At the outbreak of the World War, the Jewish population of Palestine was 100,000 as against 600,000 Arabs.¹⁹ After the war, the Jewish population had fallen to only 60,000--the lowest point in the entire decade of 1910-1920.²⁰ However, soon after the war was over, the Jewish population of Palestine increased. In the year 1919, 2,618 Jews entered the country, and in the following year 7,729 new immigrants arrived. Up until the fourth aliyah (1924-25), the growth continued as follows: 8,517 immigrants in

1921; 9,481 in 1922; 9,478 in 1923.²¹ This increase of immigration into Palestine, beginning in 1919, is known in the history of the colonization of Palestine as the Third Aliyah.

The third aliyah of 1919 was the first mass aliyah. In this sense, it differed from the aliyoth of 1881 and 1905. Two factors were responsible for this mass immigration into Palestine: the Balfour declaration and the Russian revolution of 1917. The Balfour declaration of Nov. 2, 1917, gave new assurance to the Jewish settlement in Palestine, and the favorable attitude of the British labor party²² toward the efforts of labor in Palestine gave new impetus to the labor movement there. While aware of the imperialistic interests of England in Palestine, the labor movement was ready to take advantage of the security offered by England's presence in the land for constructive work. The Russian revolution of 1917, and the unsettled state of affairs of Jews in large Jewish centers, not only in Russia but in all of Eastern Europe, which ~~was~~ ^{was} the natural consequence of the war, brought thousands into the country to seek a livelihood and to attempt a reconstruction of their lives in Palestine.

At the end of the war, there had been hardly more than 1500 organized workers in Palestine. With the new influx of immigration, 12,000 (out of about 30,000 immigrants of the third aliyah) were added to this number.²³ Naturally, this tremendous increase in the labor population of Palestine, particularly because it had so quickly taken place, produced many problems for the organized labor movement in Palestine. There were the problems of finding work for these new laborers, organizing them, etc. Between 60-70% of these labor immigrants had come to Palestine to settle in agricultural work, which

made it necessary for labor to make new efforts along the line of agricultural expansion.²⁴

Only the harnessing of all of the forces of the labor movement could suffice to cope with the problems presented. Hence the attempt at unifying the various labor groups. However, a great difficulty presented itself in the constant strife which existed between the two major workers' parties, Hapoel Hatzoir and Poale Zion. The former, an indigenous group, was less radical than the Russian-born Poale Zion organization. There was the danger that the strife between them might carry over into whatever united organization might be formed, and that the parties, even after unification, might proceed by themselves in their undertakings.

A commission of ~~the~~ representatives of the Poale Zion, Hapoel Hatzoir, and the "unaffiliated" was finally called together to plan a unified program. Another commission was formed for the unification of the already existing agricultural workers' organizations of Judea, Samaria, and Galilee.²⁵ Hapoel Hatzoir refused to submit to the plans for a unified organization, yet a new organization was formed, called "Achduth Ha-Avodah". In this organization, the unification was not complete. Trumpeldor, for example, suggested, in view of the difficulty of achieving unity, that the parties be allowed to retain their individuality and work cooperatively with each other rather than as a unit.²⁶ Actually, this is approximately what happened. The conference of the newly-formed Achduth Ha-Avodah resolved on cooperation in the achievement of workers' health insurance, the establishment of employment bureaus, and similar undertakings.

THE HAIFA CONFERENCE: THE HISTADRUTH

On the fifth of December, 1920, at Haifa, the unification of the Jewish labor groups in Palestine was finally achieved. The new organization that was established was called the Histadruth ^{HaOvdim} HaIvrim Haclalith (The General Federation of Jewish Labor).

At the time that the organization was founded, there were 9,800 Jewish workers in Palestine. Of these, 4,433 (or 64%) joined the Histadruth at its very beginning.²⁷ Two years later, at the second conference of the Histadruth, in Tel Aviv, the number had already risen to 6,581 members (or 78.3%), and at the third general conference (1926) the number had risen to 17,183 (or 80.3% of Jewish labor in Palestine.). In other words, the membership of the Histadruth had increased to two and one-half times its size in a period of four years.

The newly-organized General Federation of Jewish Labor consisted of the following party representation:²⁸

(party)	(1920)	(1923)	(1926)
Achduth HaAvodah.....	37	69	108
Hapoel Hatzoir.....	26	36	54
G'dud HaAvodah.....		6	
Hashomer Hatzoir.....	16	4	8
(and Hechalutz)			
Left Poale Zion (unaffiliated with Achd. Haavod)	6	4	14
Labor Bloc (left wing)....		3	8
Various unaffil. Grps.....	2	8	5
Left opposition.....			4
Total.....	87	130	201

The two strongest groups within the Histadruth were the Achduth Haavodah and the Hapoel Hatzoir. Their relative strength may be seen from the following table:²⁹

	(year)	(Membership)	(Strength in Hist.)
Achduth Ha-avodah.....	1920	1850	41.7%
	1923	3,085	47.1%
	1926	9,064	53.2%
Hapoel Hatzoir.....	1920	1,544	33.7%
	1923	3,085	23.0%
	1926	4,561	26.5%

Of the minor parties that were represented in the Histadruth, the Gdud Ha-Avodah (Legion of Labor) arose as a consequence of the war, under the aegis of Trumpeldor, to aid in the conquest of Palestine. In 1923, Ain Harod, a large settlement in the Valley of Jezreel, was established by the members of the Legion of Labor as a kvutzah. The organization Hashomer Hatzoir (The Young Watchman) is ~~an~~ the result of a youth movement which arose in Poland and Galicia, bearing a Zionist-socialist stamp, and stressing the training of youth in scouting and chalutzith.³⁰ Hechalutz, with which it is affiliated, is a world-wide organization of Jewish youth preparing to take up residence in Palestine as workers.³¹ Of the Left Poale Zion, the more radical interpreters of Socialist-Zionism, we have already spoken. These are the followers of Borochof's dialectic.

The Histadruth can rightly be said to have united all of the labor elements in Palestine. The Communist group, ever obstreperous, has hardly interfered with its progress. Thus it has grown to include all of the labor unions in Palestine, including the early Agricultural Workers' Union, and the later Building-worker's and Transport Workers' unions. So all-embracing is the scope of the Histadruth today, that it includes not only the labor population of Palestine, but also school-teachers, doctors, lawyers, etc., embracing all of the manual and intellectual pursuits of the country. As a special chapter in this thesis is devoted to the Histadruth and its activities, we shall leave any further discussion of the Histadruth for the time being. Suffice it to say at this point that the Histadruth, since its inception, has not only colored the character of the labor movement in Palestine, but has set its stamp upon the entire colonization in the country.

FURTHER DEVELOPMENT

The period of the Third Aliyah was one of expansion for Jewish labor. During the period between 1920 to 1923 the number of organized Jewish workers in Palestine increased from 4,500 to almost 8,000, nearly doubling in size.

The first phase of the expansion of labor activities was that involving the growth of new cooperative labor colonies. During the period of the third aliyah there arose in Galilee, in the Valley of Jezreel, (in which there had been only one labor settlement before the war, namely, Merchaviah), the beginnings of several new collective settlements. In 1921-22 the large settlement near Nahalal got under way. In a period of a year and a half, more than 1,000 workers were placed on 45,000 dunams of land, and the total ~~number~~ number of agricultural workers settled in the cooperative colonies amounted to about 1700.³² Not only was there a growth in the number of persons settled in these cooperative colonies, however, but this period witnessed also the development of new forms of labor colonization. Unlike the homogeneous small-type colony (such as Daganah), there arose large colonies maintaining hundreds of persons, girls' settlements, and a new form of settlement known as the Moshav Ovdim. In this latter type of colony, each family was to have a plot of land to work without the aid of hired labor, as contrasted with the kvutza form of colonization, in which the life was entirely communistic in organization.

Another realm of expansion was invaded in the growth of the urban proletariat after the World War. Before the war, the urban proletariat was almost insignificant in number, and dif-

difficult to organize. With the advent of British control of Palestine, the government undertook the building of roads and other public enterprises. A new style of life on the "Kvish" (highroad) under construction was created, with camps consisting of scores of tents, communal kitchens, etc. It is from this that the larger kibbutzim (collectives) of this new period originated, including large groups of persons previously unacquainted with each other. In work of a directly urban nature, the building trades had become an important sphere for Jewish labor during this period. By 1924, the building workers of the various cities numbered 4,500 (in 1926, the number reached as much as 6,000).³³ This new demand for building workers, born of the increased immigration of this period, made for the strengthening of the Building Workers' organization. On the other hand, the attractiveness of the higher wages paid for work done in the cities, causing many workers to flock to the building trades, caused, for the first time, the rise of the problem of "soil versus city" in the history of Palestine colonization.

The third realm of expansion during this period of the second aliyah was the development of entirely new branches of labor activity. Such new forms of occupation as factory-work, transportation, chauffeuring, railway work, postal employment, etc. were opened to Jewish labor. During the period of 1922-23, the distribution of Jewish workers by industries was:³⁴

Metal-machine-textile-building-work.....	62%	of Jew. urban labor.
Wood- work leather-paper-chemical-work.....	17%	" " " "
Clothing-foodstuffs, etc.....	21%	" " " "

These figures are interesting not only in that they reveal the distribution of Jewish urban labor, but also in that they give us an insight into the new realms of employment that were developed during this period.

SET-BACKS: TEL CHAI

In connection with the establishment of the northern Palestinian boundary by France and England, and the rise of the so-called Moslem-Christian party, there occurred, in various parts of Palestine during the period of 1920-21 riots directed against the Jewish settlements. The attacks made against the Jewish colonies of Tel Chai and Kfar Giladi in upper Galilee served to almost nullify the expansion made with so much difficulty during and shortly after the war. And the attack against Tel Chai cost the life of one of the leading spirits of labor colonization in Palestine: Joseph Trumpeldor.

Trumpeldor (1880-1920)³⁵ came from Northern Caucasia, an environment far removed from Jewish life. He was brought up in the Russian military tradition. He fought with the Russian army in the Russo-Japanese war, and in 1905, returned to Russia to devote himself to the study of law. At this time he became enamored of the Communist ideology then on the ascendency; he read and wrote much on the subject of collective settlements in Palestine. In 1911, at a meeting at Romny, at which he was the moving spirit, plans were laid for the establishment of such settlements in Palestine. Believing in "Hachsharah" (preparation for life on the soil in Palestine), he studied Hebrew and engaged in farm labor to prepare himself for the task ahead.

In October, 1912, he went to Palestine. He worked with friends for a time in the commune at Migdal. But the conditions of life were hard, and the members of the group were weak, so the experiment ended unsuccessfully. He remained in Palestine, however, and worked for a time in Daganian and in Galilee. With

the advent of the World War, he formulated the idea of a Jewish regiment to help conquer Palestine. Thus, the "Zion Mule Corps" was founded. Trumpeldor was stationed at Galipoli, but by the middle of 1916 the regiment at Galipoli was disbanded. The reports of the Russian revolution in 1917 brought Trumpeldor back, for a while, to Russia.

Here he dreamed of the creation of a Jewish Battalion to go to Palestine. But by the end of the war this plan too had been fruitless. He then changed his tactics; he now became the inspiring force behind the chalutz movement, preparing for a mass aliyah to Palestine. "Nothing can be achieved without work," he wrote, "without preparing thousands of young men and young women for work."³⁶ To this new task he devoted himself with all of his energies. In November, 1919, he was back in Palestine, to investigate the conditions there, and to pave the way for the new immigration of chalutzim which he envisioned.

While there, he saw the split in the workers' organization, and the dissension that divided the workers. He made every effort to reconcile the groups, and it was largely as a result of his efforts that the General Federation of Jewish Labor finally came into existence. Trumpeldor went to Galilee, intending to remain only a week, planning to leave the country thereafter to continue the work of organizing the chalutzim. But there in Galilee, at Tel Chai, in March, 1920, he fell at the hands of the Arab attackers.³⁷

Although Trumpeldor was a soldier, he was above all the social idealist. "Not the sword but peace are we bringing to Palestine, and only extraordinary circumstances will force us to relinquish the ploughshare and take up the gun." He was

careful to caution those who were to follow after him in the conquest of the soil of Palestine for Jewish labor: "Remember, that to Palestine one does not go to achieve heroic deeds or to sacrifice oneself, but to work." This was the message of Trumpeldor, today recognized as the founder of the organized chalutz movement.

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SET-BACKS

As a result of the riots which took the life of Joseph Trumpeldor, there was widespread unrest in Jaffa and Jerusalem. This, of course, hindered the progress of organized labor. But with the ~~st~~ purchase of land in the Valley of Jezreel by the Jewish National Fund in 1921, the situation was somewhat ameliorated. And the colonies of upper Galilee were slowly being rebuilt with the aid of the Jewish Colonization Association.³⁸

The continued mass immigration, however, absorbing all of the attention of organized Jewish labor in Palestine, was to result in only more trouble. On May 1st, 1921, Arab riots broke out in Jaffa. In these riots was slain another man who had played a prominent role in the Jewish labor movement in Palestine, a man who had been a great source of strength and inspiration to the Jewish settlers, Joseph Chaim Brenner, of whom we have already spoken. While these disturbances were taking place in Jaffa, riots broke out against the colonies also, particularly in Chedera and in Petach Tikvah. The most serious effect of these riots, perhaps, was the intercession of the British government, with the resultant restriction *of* Jewish immigration into the country. As a result of these riots, the British government laid down the rule that henceforth Jewish immigration

would have to proceed in accordance with the "economic possibilities" and the "absorptive capacity" of the country.

This decision on the part of England naturally led to protests on the part of Jewish labor, for the laboring elements considered themselves a body of pioneers of a large mass-immigration of Jews. No Jewish community of any strength could be achieved in Palestine without the existence of a large mass base, consisting of Jewish workers. Yet the certificate system was introduced to control immigration. This the workers particularly resisted, inasmuch ~~as much~~ as it did not serve to limit the number of capitalists entering the country but did limit the number of those who had come to live on the soil. The labor element felt that "the great mistake is to take the absorptive capacity of a country as something fixed and immutable; it rises and sinks according to the phase of development in which the country happens to be."³⁹

Even worse than the limitation of immigration of 1921 was the situation which presented itself in 1923. Palestine, at this time, faced its first severe test of unemployment. This was brought on partly by the general European situation, and partly by difficulties within Palestine itself, such as the cessation of bank credits and the diminution of expansion in the settlements. In 1923, there were about 1500 unemployed in Palestine, the number reaching as high as 2,000 in some months.⁴⁰ Thousands of Jewish workers were compelled to work only two or three days a week. Although the Histadruth, faced with the greatest crisis in its short existence, made frantic efforts to provide both work and money for those who were unemployed, there took place a demoralization *by* the working elements, who could not

withstand the severe strain upon their resources, and even some emigration from the country took place.

In that year of difficulty, the Histadruth held its second general conference, in Tel Aviv.⁴¹ This resulted in some internal changes within the Histadruth: (a) the elaboration of the constitution of the organization, (b) the founding of the Chevrath Ha-ovdim (Society of Workers), which has since played a prominent part in the work of the labor movement, and (c) affiliation with the Amsterdam International Labor League, an important step in Jewish labor's attempt to gain acceptance by the world labor movement. The meeting, occurring as it did in a time when the strength of labor was being severely tested, served to bolster the morale of the labor forces.

THE FOURTH ALIYAH

Early in 1924, the crisis and unemployment began to subside. Many Jewish workers were being employed in growing tobacco for the first time in Palestine. Others undertook to work in groups in the plantation colonies. In Tel Aviv, there was a spurt in building enterprise, and many found employment in the building trades. All of this was brought about by the fresh influx of immigrants in 1924-25, known as the fourth aliyah.

These immigrants were largely from Poland, and came to Palestine because of increased anti-semitism there. They consisted mainly of bourgeois or lower middle class elements. In 1925, more than 36,000 immigrants entered Palestine. As a consequence, the following two years saw a great increase in the number of organized workers in Palestine. There were 8,000 of these on January 1st, 1923; 10,500 by Jan. 1st, 1924; 14,000

the following year; 18,500 in January, 1926, and 22,500 in January 1927.⁴²

The year 1925 marked a peak of prosperity, and also danger. The immigration had been great, and the Zionist Organization was not prepared for directing the immigrants into economically healthy channels. Thus, certain inevitable consequences followed: "land prices rose, by reason of uncurbed speculation, rents rose beyond the ordinary man's capacities, and the balance between town and country become continually less healthy." Also, the new concentration of the immigrants in the cities led to "an unhealthy situation in many branches of industry and trade, and building carried on in a speculative manner, overshot itself."⁴³ This situation could continue only so long as persons of means entered the country. Once this ceased to be the case, the crisis was inevitable. In 1926 came the crash.

The result was, another period of unemployment, which was this time worse than in 1923. By January 1st, 1926, the number of unemployed reached the height of 4,500; by the middle of the same year the number had risen to 6,500.⁴⁴ During the year 1926, the emigration from Palestine actually exceeded the immigration into the country. It must be pointed out, however, that the workers' emigration was proportionately smaller than the general emigration.⁴⁵ Several attempts were made to rectify the situation. The government furnished money for the undertaking of public works on a new scale, the Zionist organization provided funds for the relief of the unemployed, and those workers who were employed undertook to contribute to a fund for the unemployed.

One of the salutary effects of the widespread unemployment situation was the expansion of the kvutzoth. New settlements of

agricultural workers, in the form of both kvutzoth (communistic settlements) and moshavei ovdim (cooperative settlements) sprang into existence in the district of Nahalal, which had long awaited more intensive development. It must also be pointed out that, although the building industry had suffered tremendously during the crisis, other industries were not similarly affected. Such was the case, for example, with the chocolate, cigarette and other industries. Indeed, the number of Jewish factory workers in Palestine rose from 2,000 in 1923 to over 4,000 in 1927.⁴⁶

The distribution of city labor, and its changes after the crisis, are best indicated by the following chart:⁴⁷

<u>Category</u>	<u>1926</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>1929</u>	<u>%</u>
a. Industry, handwork, and productive occupation.....	4,801	36.5	5,941	40.0
b. Transportation.....	534	4.1	782	5.2
c. Building and outdoor occupations (streetcleaning, etc.).....	4,498	34.2	2,326	15.6
d. Institutional employment (government, hotels, etc.).....	2,772	21.1	4,385	29.3
e. Housework.....	544	4.1	1,483	9.9

From this table it can be seen that, from the various categories of urban employment, only the building trades decreased. All other categories of employment, on the contrary, increased, after the crisis of 1926.

The Fourth Aliyah had, however, "yielded a spiritual recipe: the lesson that a mass aliyah must be regulated and directed nationally," and that, for the achievement of a national settlement on a sound basis, there must be "a striving back to the land and the colonies"⁴⁸ where alone a strong foundation might be laid for a healthy Jewish colonization. Since the period of the fourth aliyah, this fact has gained growing recognition.

THIRD CONFERENCE OF HISTADRUTH

In the summer of 1927, (July 3-15), the general conference of the Histadruth convened, for its third meeting, at Tel Aviv. The amount of time required for the meeting is ample indication of the many serious problems which confronted the conference. The voting strength of the various parties within the Histadruth at this conference was as follows: Achduth Ha-avodah, 53.2%; Hapoel Hatzoir, 26.8%; Hashomer Hatzoir, 5.6%; while the Left Opposition (consisting of three different groups) had 13.2% of the voting strength.⁴⁹ While the Achduth Ha-avodah group had gained in strength, (having 47% of the voting strength in 1923), Hapoel Hatzoir had declined in power (from 33.7% in 1920).

The chief questions before the third conference of the Histadruth were of a political and organizational character. The crisis was discussed, and the conference made the following demands:⁵⁰ no restriction of immigration into Palestine, as this affected workers disproportionately; more protective legislation for the workers; more employment for Jews in public works; government action against unemployment; government land to be provided for workers' colonization; change of the land-tax legislation; and an adequate system of police.

Most important, perhaps, was the attitude expressed by the conference on that ever-troublesome problem, heretofore never given adequate consideration, the problem of Jew versus Arab in the labor market. On this question the conference issued the following statement:⁵¹ "If we wish to secure the peaceful existence of different races inhabiting the same country, we must regard as a preliminary condition the necessity of insuring absolute equality, not merely between individuals of different races, but also between the different races themselves. For this

purpose, every race or nation should be permitted to conduct its internal affairs, particularly education, in its own way. Such a step would certainly lessen friction, and greatly facilitate their peaceful existence on terms of equality."

"The labor movement can assist to that end by organizing the labor elements of all nations and races for combined effort to raise the cultural level and social status of these workers and by introducing adequate social and agrarian legislation. Such organization must pay due regard to the rights and culture of each of the races involved, and assist the autonomous development of each section of the population on the basis of absolute equality."

Recognizing that a mere expression of fellowship was inadequate, the conference drew up a platform for Arab-Jewish labor relations. It read as follows:⁵²

"(1) This conference recognizes the urgency of cooperation between Arab and Jewish working men within the scope of the vital interests common to them both.

"(2) Any scheme of such cooperation should include as its basis the recognition of the right and value of Jewish immigration into Palestine.

"(3) To achieve these ends, an International Federation of the Workers of Palestine should be established on the basis of autonomous national sections.

"(4) The official language of the International Federation should be Hebrew and Arabic.

"(5) All the Jewish sections are united to form the General Federation of Jewish Labor in Palestine (The Histadruth), which is to remain unchanged after the formation of the Federation.

"(6) All other national sections are also invited to unite as autonomous land-labor organizations within the International Federation."

Already in 1908, during the first attempts of Jewish labor at "kibbush ha-aretz" and "kibbush ha-avodah", Ad D. Gordon had discussed the possibility of Arab-Jewish cooperation in agric-

culture.⁵³ However, the declaration of the third general conference of the Histadruth was the first real effort toward the achievement of such cooperation. That this program of the Histadruth was adopted in utmost sincerity is evidenced by the fact that the General Federation of Jewish Labor undertook the publication of a newspaper in Arabic for Arab workers (Itachad el Amal--Workers' Unity),⁵⁴ and aided the actual work of organizing the Arab workers, as in the case of the Railway Workers, who were still unorganized as late as 1930.⁵⁵ In this declaration adopted at the third conference, and in its subsequent activities, the Histadruth showed its profound sympathy with the aims of Arab labor, an attitude that it has not forsaken until the present day, despite subsequent Arab riots and race-hatred.

STRIKES

The immigration of the fourth aliyah had been, as has already been pointed out, of a lower middle class type. These immigrants were, to a considerable extent, not particularly sympathetic to the aims of Jewish labor, being particularly opposed to the socialistic tendencies of sections of the labor organization. This growing animosity between the two camps, under the tension of the unemployment situation of 1926, ultimately led to clashes between labor and its employers. There were several street clashes, demonstrations, protest meetings, ~~strikes~~ and strikes as a consequence.

One such strike took place at the "Nur" match factory in Acre. Describing the conditions leading up to the strike at this factory, one woman writes:⁵⁶ "...The owners of the Nur match factory always ~~employed~~ preferred unorganized woman workers (the

cheapest labor available).....The working conditions in the factory were ghastly. Many of the women~~x~~ received between 5 and 10 piastres (25 to 50 cents) a day. Sanitary conditions were unspeakable. There were no Jewish doctors. We could not make use of the Kupath Cholim (Sick Fund) because the bosses did not recognize the labor organization. Among the Arabs there were children of six and eight who were employed in the most dangerous part of the work.

"The strike broke out February 16th, 1927. The strikers made the following demands: improvement of sanitary conditions; hiring of a Jewish doctor; some sort of payment during sickness; a fifty percent. increase in wages for workers now earning from five to ten piastres a day; an increase of twenty-five percent. to those getting ten to twenty piastres~~s~~ a day; children were not to be put to dangerous work."

There were, in this single strike, sixty Jewish and forty Arab strikers, and the strike lasted for over four months. Nor was it a very peaceful affair. Some of the strikers picketed the factory with dire consequences to themselves.⁵⁷"We were tired, so we sat down to rest. In a little while, we heard the noise of ~~xx~~ automobiles. The Irish police! The officers sprang out, approached the boss, and asked him what was to be done. He told them that he was sick and tired of having us around. He wanted us removed.

"We heard a whistle of command. In an instant the soldiers were let loose upon us. The street became a battlefield. We were thrown to the ground and murderously beaten. Blood stains began to show on the earth. And when we had been beaten into submission, we were thrust into the automobiles. A few women remained

where they were....they had fainted."

This strike at the Nur match factory is but one of the strikes that occurred in 1927. In Zichron Jaakov, the orange-pickers struck as the result of pay-reduction.⁵⁸ The strikers took their stand at the gate of the orchard to stop the strike-breakers. Then came the soldiers. "We were given 15 minutes to think the matter over. But we only closed our ranks, one behind the other, to guard the gate. The 15 minutes passed, and then the soldiers, who had been standing ~~guard~~ woodenly at attention, advanced on the workers and began to strike them with the butts of their rifles." And at Petach Tikvah there was a similar occurrence, when the Jewish workers put up a struggle for their right to be employed in the picking of oranges.⁵⁹ In the course of the struggle, there was a clash between strikers and police, and the former were brutally treated. One woman remarks ironically, "They brought^{us} ~~me~~ mail to the prison, and I received a post-card from my home, back in Europe. My father wrote that one sister had been sent to Siberia for being counter-revolutionary. And here I was in prison for being too revolutionary!"⁵⁹

LABOR LEGISLATION

In the midst of this period of class-strife and unemployment, the government enacted, in 1927, a series of labor laws protecting the workers of Palestine. These laws were known as the "Workmen's Compensation Ordinances of 1927." Since the expressed goal of the Jewish labor movement regarding labor legislation is⁶⁰ (a) to fix a minimum wage to enable a worker to support his family, ~~and~~ (b) to limit the number of hours of labor, and, (c) to insure the worker against sickness, accident, unemployment, and old age, these ordinances of 1927 fell far short

of labor's goals. The laws of 1927 hardly provide for the adequate fulfillment of even one of these demands, dealing with compensation for industrial accidents only. Yet they were a real gain for the labor movement in Palestine.

These 1927 ordinances provided:⁶¹ "for the protection of workers employed in manual labor, whose remuneration does not exceed LP 350 a year." The ordinances apply to the following categories: 1. Building workers, including operations for the destruction, alteration, repair, installation, of appliances for gas, water, and electricity. 2. Transport, by railway and motor vehicles, and works connected therewith. 3. Blasting, excavation, quarrying, boring, mining. 4. Manufacturing operations using machinery. 5. Work in supplying water, gas, electricity, telegraph and telephone, and drainage. 6. Constructing and maintaining roads (this provision was added on August 16, 1927). 7. Handling goods at docks, or warehouses (added June 29, 1928).

As may be readily seen, only certain types of employment were subject to this law. Agricultural and non-manual laborers were entirely excluded. For those categories which the provisions of the ordinance covered, however, the conditions of compensation were as follows:

(a) in case of death from injury, LP 100 was to be paid to the dependents of the deceased.

(b) where total or partial incapacity has resulted, a weekly payment, during the ~~month~~ period of incapacity, of not more than 50% of the salary was to be made, not to exceed L 1.0.

On October 20, 1931, an ordinance was passed⁶² including in the Workmen's Compensation law those occupied in "the handling of goods by manual or mechanical means, on lighters at shipside and on board ships, within the area of a port, by persons other than the members of a ship's crew." And on December 11, 1931,

a committee was named⁶³ to consider the operation of the existing labour legislation in Palestine, and to make recommendations for its amendment if necessary, or for the introduction of new legislation." But there has been little change in the Workmen's Compensation law, either in the inclusion of more categories of workers or in the increase of the compensation allotted, since the Workmen's Compensation ordinance was passed.

In the same year as the passage of the Workmen's Compensation Ordinance, however, there was passed another ordinance regarding the "Industrial Employment of Women and Children." Its regulations were as follows:⁶⁴ "The following are declared to be dangerous trades: (a) one using white lead, (b) making and finishing mirrors, (c) manufacturing of asphalt and bitumen."

1. No child under 16 or woman may work in any dangerous trade.
2. No child under 12 may work in any industry.
3. No woman or child under 16 may clean machinery while in motion.
4. A record is to be kept by the employer, of each child in his employ (age, parents, nature of employment, etc).
5. No child under 16 may work longer than 8 hours per day.
6. No child under 16 may work longer than 5 consecutive hours.
7. Every child engaged in industry must have one day of rest in seven.
8. No child may work in industry between 7 p.m. and 6 a.m. No woman may work between 10 p.m. and 5 a.m. or any eleven consecutive hours including those hours.

These two sets of labor legislation, emerging in the presence of labor difficulties of unprecedented proportions, constitute the first attempt of the Palestine government to grapple with the problem of social legislation in Palestine. Of course, these regulations fall far short of those in force in England, and hardly meet the requirements of the organized labor movement, yet they do constitute a step forward. It is to be hoped that these laws will eventually be elaborated, so as to include more categories of workers, higher compensation rates, and such features as old age pension, unemployment insurance, etc.

THE FIFTH ALIYAH
(1929)

In the months of April-May, 1927, the number of unemployed in Palestine reached its highest point, namely, over 8,000.⁶⁵ A plan worked out by the Zionist Organization under the pressure of the workers, whereby work would be made for the unemployed, remedied greatly the situation in Jerusalem, Haifa, and Afuleh, reducing the number of unemployed to 4500 in September-October. The development of the unemployment situation from 1927 to 1929 may be seen at a glance from the following chart:⁶⁶

Month	1927	1928	1929
January	6,780	4,973	1,446
July	7,250	1,284	810
December	5,100	1,400	334

Thus there was an almost regular decline in the number of unemployed persons from 1927 to 1929, so that by the end of 1929 the unemployment situation in Palestine was practically negligible.

This it is not surprising that, whereas in 1927 there had been 2,713 immigrants compared to 5,071 emigrants (almost twice as many leaving the country as there were entering), in 1929 the situation was actually reversed, with 5,339 immigrants as over against 1746 emigrants.⁶⁷ This new wave of immigration, beginning in 1929, is known as the fifth aliyah.

The fifth aliyah, when it began in 1929, was an immigration wave unlike the fourth (which was a middle-class immigration) in that it consisted largely of chalutzim, willing to settle on the soil as workers, and, to a great extent, previously prepared for this new life. Among these members of the fifth aliyah came those of "the first successful German chalutz-aliyah," that which settled in the kvutza Givath Brenner, near Rehoboth. This group from Germany preceded the later tides of German immigrants that were to flock to Palestine in 1933 and thereafter.

These workers of the fifth aliyah were readily absorbed by the orange plantations, and by the new industries that had developed over the previous few years. The growth of these orange plantations, which were so useful in absorbing the labor immigration of 1929, may be seen from the following table:⁶⁹

End of 1922.....	32,000 dunams.....	10,000 dunams owned by Jews.
End of 1926.....	42,000 dunams.....	17,000 dunams owned by Jews.
End of 1928.....	70,000 dunams.....	30,000 dunams owned by Jews.
1930 (estimate)...	110,000 dunams.....	60,000 dunams owned by Jews.

From this table it may be seen that the Jewish-owned orange plantations increased six-fold between the years 1922 and 1930, supplying work for a great number of Jewish workers. The labor census of 1930 showed that the orange plantations hired about 8,000 Jewish workers, and 4,000 to 5,000 Arab workers. In 1932, between 25 and 30 percent of all Jewish wage-workers in Palestine worked in the orange-groves. Of these, fully seventy percent were organized.⁷⁰ (In Petach Tikvah, however, a struggle took place between the planters and the organized Jewish workers in 1929 because the planters preferred to employ unaffiliated workers, even though these workers had to be brought from a distance.)

In industry also, the same growth took place during this period. This was largely in the textile, printing, wood, metal, and cigarette industries of Tel Aviv. Whereas the number of Jewish workers in industry and handwork in 1926 was 4,801, at the ~~end of~~ beginning of 1929 it reached 5,941, and at the beginning of 1930 it reached between 6,000 and 6,500, which was about 60 percent as many as those employed in the fields.⁷¹ Only a small percentage of Jewish workers found employment with the government, which has always preferred to employ unaffiliated cheap labor.

The decrease of unemployment and emigration of 1929 was, as has been pointed out, due to the chalutz character of the members of the fifth aliyah. Of the 5,239 immigrants of 1929, for example, 71.7% settled in the colonies, 8.2% in the collective settlements, and 19.2% in the cities. Of the immigrants of 1929, 71.6% had entered the country as organized groups of chalutzim; 2.1% had come to settle in the women's collectives; and only 25.5% of the total came as individual workers, without previous organization and preparation for a life of labor in Palestine.⁷²

The overcoming of the crisis of 1926-27 had proved the necessity of a well-organized workers' movement, and of a prepared and well-organized workers' immigration. The immigration of the fifth aliyah fitted the latter description.

THE RIOTS OF 1929

The problem of Jewish-Arab labor relations, which had already been recognized and coped with by the Histadruth, was again brought sharply into the forefront by the riots of the summer of 1929. With the expansion of the labor-base of the Jewish immigration since the outbreaks of 1920-21, (with the penetration of Jewish workers into government employment, in the new railway work, in the building-and factory-work, and, finally, in the plantations), the problem became more pronounced than before. And since a fundamental principle of Jewish labor was to provide a solid mass-base for the Jewish colonization of Palestine by penetrating every realm of labor for the Jewish workers, Jewish labor had been compelled to face the problem of Arab-Jewish labor relations squarely.

The principle which the Jewish workers arrived at was,

"Jewish labor in the Jewish Economy". That is, places owned by Jews were to employ Jewish workers; places owned by Arabs were to employ Arab workers. This, the Jewish workers felt, was in no way a contradiction of socialist theory, (though some accused Jewish labor of being more ~~xxx~~ nationalistic than socialist), because it would not be depriving Arabs of employment. Indeed, since the employers generally preferred cheap Arab labor, it was difficult for Jewish labor to get its proportionate share of employment. Considering also the fact that Jewish labor would be working on land bought by Jewish capital and in factories created by Jewish initiative and funds, the Jewish workers felt that the slogan, "Jewish labor in the Jewish economy" was not at all unfair to Arab labor.

Indeed, Jewish labor had made efforts to organize the Arab workers, and had, on several occasions (during the strikes of 1925 through 1928, in which Arab workers struck in various industries in Jaffa and Tel Aviv for higher wages and shorter hours),⁷³ actually aided the Arabs in their struggle for a higher standard of living. This was a wholly logical procedure, for if the Arab workers were organized, the Arabs would receive higher wages, and would no longer provide ~~as~~ such great competition for Jewish workers. Moreover, the cheap labor of the Arab workers, Jewish labor felt, was dangerous to the political and economic stability of the country. This consideration was of particular importance in the cities, where there was industrial employment, while in the rural area the Arabs were employed mainly as small peasants (Fellahin).

The motivation for the outbreak of 1929 came when a religious issue was made of the troublesome Wailing Wall. In the riots, 25 members of the labor organization were killed.⁷⁴ The Jewish settlements, however, were not particularly harmed. The kvutzh Huldah put up a defense against the onslaught of the Arab mob. In the colonies of Safed and Hebron, however, no defense was made at all.

The response of Jewish labor to these riots was its insistence that Jewish immigration be permitted to enter the country freely. And Jewish immigration did proceed, for in the winter of 1929-30, there were 3,000 new immigrants who entered the country as workers.⁷⁵ To the boycott undertaken by the Arabs, the Jewish labor organization did not respond with a counter-boycott. Instead, it sought to introduce into the country new social reforms, and to advance the cause of Jewish immigration. Indeed, shortly after the riots, Jewish-Arab relations were again established, and in the May 1st demonstrations, Jewish and Arab workers participated side by side.

In the memorandum submitted to the Socialist International and to the International Labor Organization, the Jewish labor organization stated that⁷⁶ "The bloody outbreak was not the fruit of faulty relationships between Jewish and Arab settlers," but that it was due to the nationalistic propaganda of the Effendis and the clergy, who considered the increased immigration of Jews dangerous, fearing that the Arab masses might some day free themselves from their yoke. The memorandum further pointed out that the British administration, accustomed to dealing with colonies of a primitive and backward nature, did not like the high standards being set by the Jewish immigrants, and that the

administration had encouraged the riots through its own negligence and laxity.

THE CONGRESS FOR LABOR PALESTINE

World Jewry had awakened to a recognition of the aims of the Jewish labor movement to a remarkable degree during the decade between 1920 and 1930. And the Jewish labor movement ~~had~~ in Palestine began to receive not only moral but also financial support from working Jewry in Europe and America. Beginning in the year 1924, the "Tool Campaign" (Gewerkschaften) was undertaken to provide funds for the purchase of tools for the Jewish laborers in Palestine. Soon afterward began the formation of the League for Labor Palestine. This sought to embrace persons of varying political and economic views under a single organization for the advancement of the work of Jewish labor in Palestine.

In September, 1930 (Sept. 27-October 1), there met in Berlin the first "Congress for Labor Palestine." In this congress were representatives of various labor organizations from all parts of the world, delegates from Palestine, the United States, Canada, Poland, Galicia, Lithuania, Lettland, Czechoslovakia, Bessarabia, England, Belgium, Germany, Bulgaria, France, Austria, Argentina and Mexico. Representatives were present from twenty-four different countries, representing a quarter of a million Jewish workers in these various lands.⁷⁷

Among the resolutions of the Congress were the following:⁷⁸ that there is no conflict between the interests of the Jewish and Arab masses in Palestine, and that there should be "an autonomous national existence for Jews and Arabs in Palestine, free from the rule of one people by another"; that the British administration had not helped the upbuilding of the Jewish na-

tional home in Palestine, and had "neglected the true interests of the laboring masses in Palestine to the advantage of the ruling class"; that the government must take an active part in increasing the Jewish immigration into Palestine, supply a sufficient land-reserve for intensive colonization, assure a proper place for Jewish workers in Palestine in government and public works; assist the Fellahin to develop their economy, remove the oppressive land tax and introduce a progressive system of taxation, etc.

The principles of the Congress for Labor Palestine were,⁷⁹: "Chalutz-and broad folk-immigration of Jews into Palestine; labor colonization with the help of national capital on the basis of cooperative self-labor in the city and in the country; acquisition of land through the National Fund; organized Jewish labor in all of the branches of the Jewish economy in the land; education for children and young people under the direction of the workers: economic, political, cultural and organizational self-determination for the Jewish workers of Palestine; creation of a fund for the assistance of labor to conduct its activities independently; protective legislation for workmen, women and children; cooperative organization of Jewish and Arab workers on the basis of national autonomous sections; permanent assistance for the raising of the standard of living and culture of the Arab workers." All these principles were aimed at the creation of a "Society of Labor in Palestine."

Out of this Congress was created the "World League for Labor Palestine." This World League, represented by sections active in the support of Jewish labor in Palestine, has done much to acquaint world Jewry with the work, the problems, and the progress of Jewish labor in Palestine, and is destined to play an even more important role in the strengthening of the movement.

1931 AND 1932

In the years 1931 and 1932, labor's efforts were largely directed toward the defense of the gains made after the crisis of 1926-1928. During this difficult period of world crisis, (namely, 1931-32), there was some unemployment in Palestine, but it did not reach any large proportions. In the fall of 1930, there were 400-500 unemployed in the cities; by the end of the year this number had risen to 800-1000. In January, 1931 it amounted to 1400, and in February 1700. Through the remainder of 1931, the number of unemployed stood between 1400-1500. By May, 1932, the number had already fallen to 700-800.⁸⁰ Considering the fact that a relatively large immigration continued to pour into the country, the unemployment crisis can hardly be considered a severe one. The economic development ^{tinued} ~~continued~~ satisfactorily, with hundreds of workers being absorbed in the building trades and in factory employment, both of which underwent considerable growth during this period.

The aims of labor during this period concerned themselves with the establishment of a minimal wage, the establishment of a minimal quota of Jews in government employment (public works and the like), the establishment of more legislation to protect the workers of the country, and the founding of a fund for the Jewish unemployed. The first of these aims was partly achieved when the government set a minimum wage for workers employed on the Haifa harbor project. The achievement of a Jewish minimum of workers (the plea was made for 40 to 45% Jewish employment) in public works has not yet been realized. Regarding the ~~third~~ demand of Jewish labor, a commission of inquiry was appointed. Thus far, however, little progress has been achieved.

The situation in the colonies during these years was more difficult than that in the cities. Despite the growth of the acreage of Jewish-owned land in the orange plantations, there was little growth of Jewish employment in these colonies. Again there arose the tendency to boycott organized Jewish labor in preference to the unorganized and cheaper Arab labor. The plantation owners again brought in police to protect their cheap labor against the demonstrations ~~and~~ of the Jewish workers. As a result, during the course of 1931, the number of Jewish unemployed in the plantation colonies stood at 1200 to 2,000.⁸¹ Nevertheless, by June, 1932, the number of Jewish unemployed workers in these colonies was only 500 to 600, despite the continued immigration of Jewish workers into these colonies, and the growth of the ^{number of} non-Jewish workers in the colonies. That the colonies provided a large field for Jewish employment is seen from the fact that the number of Jewish workers in the plantations in 1932 was between 9,000 and 10,000.

In the Jewish agricultural labor settlements, there was little progress made, because of the lack of money for new undertakings on the part of the Jewish National Fund. Nevertheless, in the existing settlements, particularly in the labor settlements of the Valley of Jezreel, considerable progress was made. New ways of tilling the soil were developed, electrification was expanded, etc.

During the period of 1931 and 1932, a period of stabilization, several conferences of the Jewish workers took place. There was a conference of Railway Workers, attended by both Jews and Arabs, a conference of the women workers of Palestine, and several conferences of the Histadruth. New organizational

developments also took place. There was an attempt made to organize the working mothers, the beginning of a workers' youth organization, the founding of Hapoel, the sport-organization of Jewish youth, etc. These two years constituted a period of self-analysis and inner strengthening for the labor movement. The labor forces, during this period, sought to maintain whatever ground had been gained during previous years and to develop also new channels for expansion. Some of these efforts were successful; others failed. But the strength of Jewish labor in Palestine was incontestible, and the path was clear for new conquests.

PART TWO
DESCRIPTIVE

CHAPTER IV.
THE COMMUNISTIC AND COOPERATIVE
SETTLEMENTS IN PALESTINE

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We stop now in the narration of the history of the Jewish labor movement in Palestine to examine the development of the labor colonies (kvutzoth and moshavei ovdim). Of all the phases of the development of Jewish labor in Palestine, the development of these settlements is perhaps the most interesting. In this chapter, therefore, we will present an analysis of the various types of labor colonization in Palestine, pointing out the salient features of each of these, with a view to a better understanding of their nature, and a more thorough appreciation of their problems.

The beginnings of Jewish labor colonization in Palestine can hardly be dated before the opening of the twentieth century. The Jewish colonization before the turn of the century was largely that of the "planter" type. The struggle of the Jewish worker to find a place in the agricultural economy of Palestine, during the early period, encountered the ~~the~~ opposition of the old individualist planters, who had built their system on the use of cheap and unorganized Arab labor. In the last few decades, with the establishment of Jewish workers' colonies, the plantation colony and the labor colony have existed side by side, and the workers' colonies have been gradually increasing in number.

According to Ruppin,¹ there are four distinct periods of Palestine colonization, namely, (a) the period of the Rothschild administration and plantation settlements, 1882-1900; (b) that marked by the founding of the settlements of lower Galilee on units of 250 dunam under ICA administration, 1901-

1907; (c) the period of the first colonizing experiments of the Zionist Organization, 1908-1920, which adopted a smaller unit of land and differentiation of produce (i.e., crops, dairy, vegetables, poultry, etc.). The types of farms of this period were the "training-farm" and the "kvutzoh" (communistic settlement). The final period of labor colonization extends (d) from the acquisition of the Emek, with the beginning of settlement on extensive areas, with the aid of a regular income from the Keren Kayemeth and the Keren Hayesod. (In contrast to the previous irregularity of income).

Wilkansky differs² with Ruppin in this periodization, dividing the colonizing activity in Palestine into two periods: (a) the idyllic period of the "return to the land", under the influence of the writings of Rousseau, Tolstoy, etc., and (b) the more practical period of the second aliyah and onward, the period of a "return to work."

One can hardly judge between the two views. Perhaps, however, both are correct. For if the periodization presented by Ruppin is historically accurate, presenting the changes in the material conditions of the Palestinian colonization, the periodization presented by Wilkansky is equally true in depicting the difference in the type of settler and the difference in attitude between the members of the second aliyah and their successors, on the one hand, and the predecessors of the second aliyah on the other.

RISE OF THE KVUTZOTH

What were the reasons for the beginning of the cooperative and communistic settlements in Palestine? While taking into ac-

count the idealism of the founders of these colonies, and certainly much genuine idealism went into their formation, one must recognize the very practical conditions which gave impetus to collective colonization. These were, according to Ruppin:³(a) the lack of means for settling individuals, and the necessity of working the ground occupied in order not to lose the title to it, (b) the lack of men trained in agriculture, making it necessary to organize farms of inexperienced workers under expert guidance (such as, for example, the Merchaviah undertaking): (c) an administrative system which led to friction (in the Baron's colonies) between workers and supervisors, impelling the workers to find an arrangement that would eliminate such friction.

In other words, this cooperative plan of living was "not born of theory", but was "the result of the conditions of life and the elementary needs of the Jewish worker. The hard, uncertain and low-paid work in the Moshava welded the pioneer workers into groups....The conditions of a new settlement started by such a group made complete cooperation in economic life, child education, etc. advisable and imperative." The necessary idealism was present--influenced by the Russian revolution of 1905, and the activities and aims of the Poale Zion of Homel and the Romny group, the immigrants of the second aliyah did not lack idealism. However, only the conditions that were encountered in attempting to adjust their lives to the conditions of the new land brought that idealism into realization.

This is clearly indicated by the words of Joseph Bussel, one of the leading spirits in the founding of the kvutzo at

Daganiah, who said,⁵ "The founding of the kvutzoh was an answer to the needs of life, and if a time shall come when it must disappear, it will not be through the fiat of an assembly.... When we saw the colonies which subsisted on the exploitation of hired labor, the need was strengthened in us, of finding a new form of life, in which we would work without masters and overseers, and allow no others to work for us."

THE FIRST KVUTZOTH

We have dealt in a previous chapter (chapter II) with the history of the early kvutzoth. Here, however, we shall analyze these early kvutzoth from the standpoint of their differences in ideology and form.

The form of the early group settlements was determined by three distinct emphases,⁶ which have been termed (a) sectarian idealism, (b) occupational strategy, (c) economic rationalism. These three factors influenced the individual character of the labor colonies which arose, each of the kvutzoth emphasizing one or more of these features in its make-up.

Daganiah, which was the first enduring kvutzoh (in the strict sense of the term, a truly communistic community), established in 1908, embodied the principle of "sectarian idealism." It was, from its very inception almost 30 years ago, a communistic settlement. It was the first settlement of this kind in Palestine, and "as it was the first, so it was the best, in virtue of the harmony both of spirit and of action with which it was pervaded."⁷ This group recognized the need of communal ownership of the soil even before the Jewish National Fund had actually put the principle of nationalization

of the soil into operation. Only after the war did the Jewish National Fund acquire large tracts of land⁸ where cooperative settlements of Jewish workers might be made, in the Valley of Jezreel. Yet such a communistic settlement had already been formed in Daganiah years before.

In its first stage the settlement of Jewish workers was intermediate between a contracting kvutzoh and a settlement kvutzoh. Each member received fifty francs per month, and shared also in the net profit of the kvutzoh.⁹ This condition did not continue long, however, and the communistic settlement kvutzoh came into existence. As the principle of common partnership on the soil was incorporated into the life of Daganiah, so too did the cooperative and communistic principle extend to every sphere of life among its members. They were genuine idealists, influenced by the dream of a return to the soil; they were, moreover, greatly influenced by the genuine enthusiasm and idealism of men like A.D. Gordon (who lived in Daganiah for a time) and Joseph Bussel (one of its founders).¹⁰ They sought to embody in their own lives the transformation that they hoped all human society would one day undergo. Whether or not they could do much to effect that widespread transformation of society mattered little, however. They had, at least, resisted the strong current of influence of the universal social pattern, and had, for themselves at least, created a new pattern of life.

The colony at Daganiah was organized on two basic principles,¹¹ namely, (a) selection of members similar in mind and spirit, in their views upon life and in their conception of economic forces, and (b) strict equality in work and wages. The nucleus consisted of seven members and a few others who worked

as day laborers in a private settlement, a total of twelve. Though the colony has grown since, (60 souls being numbered among them in 1931), the above principles have been maintained. Indeed, "for a long period, it was the custom at Daganiah to permit a comrade to work on the farm for two and even three years without requiring him to decide whether or not he wished to become a permanent member."¹² Later, however, an end was put to this excessive freedom, and one year was set as the trial period for both parties.

In 1920, the area of Daganiah was divided into two sections, Daganiah A and Daganiah B. Daganiah B took over 1500 dunams, or half the original tract of land. The membership of Daganiah A, the original settlement, consists of members, their relatives, apprentices, and comrades who have come from other kvutzoth to gain experience. In all, there are about twenty families, with 36 children, in the colony. In Daganiah B, the situation is closely parallel.¹³

Daganiah, and similar communistic settlements which followed, might be called, as they have been called, "Robinson Crusoe Islands". And such they are, being experiments in new forms of social living in a world based on the principles of private property and exploitation of labor. Nevertheless, the members of these communistic colonies are not deterred by this fact, for "a spirit of revolt is in the hearts of the members of these settlements, a spirit which has never known what it is to make compromises or concessions."¹⁴

THE FIRST OCCUPATION GROUPS

After Daganiah, the next labor settlement to be formed was that of Ben Shemen Huldah (founded in 1909), afterwards

transferred to Beer Tuviah. This colony was motivated in its origin by the second principle enumerated above, that of "occupational strategy," rather than by "sectarian idealism". Its prevailing object was educational. It served as a transitional kvutzoh, having no fixed administrative policy. Nor was this kvutzah definitely linked to any particular parcel of ground. It regarded the land it inhabited as a temporary, rather than a permanent home. It was to serve merely as a school in which the members were to learn to work, and in which they were being prepared to take up work on the soil elsewhere. For this purpose, they had a supervisor. But the work of the supervisor was concerned only with organizing the work, and fixing the general outline of the group's program, not dealing with the details of internal management.¹⁵

The mistakes of the director were to leave no permanent mark on the character of the settlement. Rather, from these mistakes it was possible to learn, and as they were not of vital importance, the mistakes of the director were not examined too closely or too harshly criticized. Thus this type of settlement differed, for example, from the Merchavia settlement, where the director played an all-important role in the work of the colony. In the kvutzoh of Ben Shemen Huldah, there was more freedom for the individual than in the director-managed colonies. Regarded as a training-school, this kvutzoh allowed its pupils absolute liberty.¹⁶

In the settlement at Ben Shemen Huldah, since it was founded on an experimental-educational aim, new developments were made possible. Here, for example, the first modern Jewish dairy was established, and the first attempts were made at poultry-

raising, (in scientific fashion). In 1918, the administrative form was abandoned, and separate kvutzoth were established in Ben Shemen and Huldah. In 1921, the Ben Shemen kvutzoh became a moshav (a non-communistic, cooperative colony). This was done for a three-fold purpose, namely,¹⁷ (a) to avoid any possibility of friction between the manager and the workers; (b) to make the worker a partner in the creative work. On his own plot of land, he would not have just one function to perform, but would learn to care for the ^{variant} needs of cultivating a parcel of land; and (c) to increase his capacity and efforts for work, by supplying greater motivation for his work.

THE FIRST COOPERATIVE SETTLEMENT

We turn now to the third type of labor colonization in Palestine, that characterized by "economic rationalism", as represented in the first colony of this type, the colony at Merchaviah.

The colony at Merchaviah differed in outlook from the two already-mentioned labor settlements (Daganiah and Ben Shemen Huldah) in that its outlook was purely one of economic expediency. It was intended to be an example of efficiency and organization, and to set up a new pattern for kvutzoh administration. The colony at Merchavia is always associated with the name of Franz Oppenheimer, its founder. Oppenheimer,¹⁸ a recognized German Jewish sociologist, had made previous experiments in land-settlement in Germany. Herzl brought him to Zionism, and the Zionist Congress assured him of a parcel of land for cooperative colonization in Palestine. This was Merchavia, which was founded on the Oppenheimer plan.

Oppenheimer's views were, roughly, as follows:¹⁹ labor cooper-

ation can only be successful when the capitalistic principle of organization and discipline is applied. This required a centralization of responsibility in the hands of one man, free competition among the workers, with differences in wages according to the work produced. (The members of the cooperative farm were to be employed strictly as wage-earners.). The size of the farm was not to be fixed, but was to be determined by the director, the central figure in the Oppenheimer plan. The administrator was to serve for a transition period until the members were sufficiently trained to appoint an administrator from among themselves.

This plan Oppenheimer put into effect in Merchavia on an area of 3,000 dunam of land. He chose 3,000 dunam in preference to 10,000 in the hope that the colony might grow according to the capacity of the workers and its director. The presumed advantages of the Oppenheimer plan were, (a) the greater use of machinery (as the farm grew in area); (b) the sale of produce and purchase of requisites without the use of middlemen; (c) the greater distribution of labor, due to a greater degree of specialization; and (d) paving the way for communal ownership (as the system of the future) and communal management. These supposed advantages of the Oppenheimer plan are not universally conceded, however. Wilkansky, for example,²⁰ is unwilling to accede to the value of these factors. It was under this general plan, however, that the colony at Merchavia was undertaken.

The first five years that the colony was in existence resulted in heavy losses.²¹ The plan of management, in short, did not succeed, and the colony finally came to an end. Although the administrator himself had chosen the members with

special care, the colony was torn by conflicts between the administrator and the members. The administrator abandoned his position; the management was placed in the hands of a committee of members. Still there was no peace, and "this which should have been the most harmonious settlement, according to Oppenheimer, became the least so."²² Thus, in 1915, five years after its establishment, the Oppenheimer settlement broke up. In its place was established a settlement of the type of Daganiah, without a director of a progressive wage-scale. In this form does the present kvutzah at Merchaviah exist today.

AFTER THE BRITISH OCCUPATION

The three colonies described above were singled out as the best representative of their particular types. It is not to be imagined, however, that only these colonies of laborers existed before the British occupation of Palestine in 1920. Up until that time the following settlements had already been established: (a) Daganiah, (b) Kinnereth, (c) Merchavia, (d) Tel Adas, (e) Hulda Ben Shemen, (f) Gan Shmuel, (g) Beer Tuviah, (h) Tireh, (i) Ayeleth Hashachar, (j) Kfar Giladi.

After the British occupation in 1920, however, the development of the kvutzoth proceeded more rapidly. In 1921, the Jewish National Fund began the acquisition of land in the Emek Jezreel. This made a new and more extensive labor colonization possible. And it was this new colonization which produced the workers' settlement forms that we find in Palestine today.

These fall, more or less, into three categories: (a) the communistic settlements, known as kvutzoth, carrying the cooperative idea not only into land ownership but into every act of

daily living--communal kitchens, schools, etc; (b) the moshavei ovdim, cooperative groups in which separate parcels of land were privately owned, with cooperation in certain phases of group life; (c) women-workers' groups, in which which women are either preparing to take up life in one of the above-mentioned types of labor settlements or are permanently settled to engage in agricultural activity.

The growth of these forms of labor-colonization between the years 1921 and 1930 is readily seen from the following table:²³

type	no. of settlts.			no. of workers.		
	1921	1927	1930	1921	1927	1930
a. Kvutsoth	12	26	25	404	1,612	1,693
b. Moshavei ovdim	4	12	12	160	982	1,064
c. Women's settlts--		6	5	---	98	124
Totals:	16	44	42	564	2,692	2,881
	Total populat. (souls)			Total area (dunams)		
a. Kvutsoth	?	2,178	2,566	14,775	75,220	78,150
b. Moshavei ovd.	?	1,831	2,750	2,811	50,500	57,230
c. Women's settlts --		98	124			
Totals:		4,107	5,440	17,586/125,700/135,380		

In 1932, the number of male and female workers in the kvutsoth rose to 2,278; in the Moshavei Ovdim they totalled 2,061; the the total number of souls in these two forms of settlements in 1932 was 6,500.

To a considerable extent, this development was due to the interest and efforts of the Histadruth, which made clear from its very beginning that it looked upon Jewish ~~labor~~ colonization in Palestine as "essentially a workers' movement, for which they are primarily responsible. To them the essential thing is to facilitate and the penetration of a Jewish working class into these colonies." Because it recognized the need of a strong basis in the labor colonies, the Histadruth

laid down the following conditions for labor colonization:²⁵

- (a) it favored the settler without means over one with capital.
- (b) it stipulated that no agricultural worker can control more land than he and his family can operate, and that
- (c) no worker shall be permitted to accumulate beyond the living needs of himself and his family.

With the development of the Immigration Office of the Histadruth, and with the rise of "Nir" as its colonizing agency, these instruments were faithfully applied to the carrying out of the above-mentioned aims.

WOMEN'S KVUTZOTH

From the time that women first arrived to settle in the colonies in Palestine, they were faced with difficult problems. Because of their sex, certain avenues of employment were closed to them. In periods of unemployment, they were the first to suffer. Thus we find an extraordinary development in the Palestinian labor colonization, the development of women workers' kvutzoth. These first began as "wandering kvutzoth, which had neither soil nor plan nor budget", on the shore of Galilee, in the Emek Jezreel, and in Judea.

The year following the war, these wandering women's kvutzoth disappeared. They had been born of the difficulties of the war crisis, during which period women encountered particularly great difficulty in securing employment. The war over, these wandering kvutzoth had naturally outlived their usefulness, and soon disappeared. Thus, after these primitive kvutzoth, came the meshek ha-poaloth, the women's training farms. These, in contrast to the wandering kvutzoth, were planned, stabilized,

and landed units. Such a farm was created in Petach Tikvah, soon after the war, and a women's tree nursery was undertaken in Jerusalem in 1921.²⁷

The purpose of the meshe~~k~~ was largely an educational one. It was to prepare the woman for the general meshek or farm settlement, the kvutzoh. The work was divided among the women, and the responsibilities were communally shared. Not only did the meshek ha-poaloth serve an educational function, however, but it also showed that woman could successfully engage in agricultural enterprise. Moreover, the founding of tree-nurseries and tobacco plantations by these women workers gave impetus to the development of Jewish horticulture which subsequently took place in the labor colonies generally.

One successful tree-nursery was that undertaken by the women workers at Nachlath-Jehuda. This was founded in the year 1922, ~~by~~ under the direction of Hannah Chisik.²⁸ In the same year, a tobacco-farm was undertaken by a group of women at Kfar Tabor (Meshach).²⁹ This was begun at the instigation of the Agricultural Office of the Histadruth, which felt that a tobacco-farm might supply a suitable means of employment for women. This group at first encountered many difficulties, and was aided by Jewish National Fund money. The women were compelled, however, to seek outside employment to sustain themselves. Under these conditions, the kvutzoh soon dissolved, a failure. But these women, and others like them, had, through these attempts at farming, learned to work under inauspicious conditions. Moreover, they had been steeled for the undertaking of new efforts at women's colonization.

The crisis of the years 1925-1926 produced new efforts on the part of woman to find employment, and again the women workers who were unemployed were the last to receive consideration. A mood of despair overcame the women workers. A few of them, of course, had been absorbed in the women's training farms, but many in the cities were compelled to remain idle. The Women Workers' Council of the Histadruth sought a remedy for the situation, but found none.

It was at that time (1926) that Hannah Chisik suggested the formation of the Chavurah form of commune in the towns and colonies.³⁰ While agriculture was the principle occupation in the meshe~~ck~~ (the training farm), in the chavurah the main support was to come from outside employment. Evenings, after finishing her work in the nearby community, the woman would return to the chavurah. There she made her home, and engaged also in light agricultural activity. The latter served not ~~not~~ only to aid in the support of the group, but also gave to the group a semblance of permanence, binding the members more closely together.

So appealing did the chavurah arrangement become, that many women left the siyua~~h~~ (the dole) to join such women workers' groups. The work of founding these chavuroth was sponsored by the Women Workers' Council, and financial aid was received from the newly-founded Pioneer Women's Organization of America. The first chavuroth had been those of Tel Aviv, including sixty women workers. During 1926 and 1927 several more arose. In the year 1932, there were, in the women workers' settlements, a total of 190 young women.³¹ Of course, some of the groups had disbanded after the period of crisis of

1926 and 1927.

An interesting development following upon the development of the chavurah, and one of especial importance, is the women's settlement at Ness Ziona, in Judea. This single farm provides for from 100 to 200 young women, and has given the women workers' movement great impetus. Owing to the success of this and similar women's kvutzoth, the women workers' kvutzoh has become more than merely an educational institution; it has become a permanent organization, and an accepted part of the labor colonization activity in Palestine.

THE NEW KVUTZOTH

The recent workers' settlements in Palestine are all governed by four broad basic principles. These are: (a) national ownership of the land, (b) self-labor without exploiting the labor of others, (c) mutual assistance among the settlers, and (d) mutual purchase and sales. These labor settlements, most of which are on land belonging to the Jewish National Fund, and many of which were founded with the assistance of the Keren Hayesod, are classified according to the application made of the general principles enumerated above, and fall into two distinct types: the kvutzoh and the moshav ovdim.

The fundamental principles of the first type, the kvutzoh, as we have already seen in the case of the colony at Dagan, are: communal ownership of the land, communal responsibility for the management of the colony (both for directing its economic life and for the distribution of the fruits of labor), and collective cultural recreation. In the kvutzoh, all profits, whether earned in the settlements or by wage-work done

outside the kvutzoh, belong to the entire kvutzoh. All of the members of the kvutzoh, called "Chaveering" ("Comrades") are equal, as regards the satisfaction of their wants. Expenses for such things as lodging, food, clothing, and the education of the children are all provided by the kvutzoh's common treasury. If there is a surplus in the treasury, the members get the benefit of it.

How is the kvutzah organized? Much in the following manner:³²

"In the center of a kvutzah settlement stands the communal mess-room and kitchen and children's houses. In the new kvutzoth, these are mostly still temporary wooden houses; in the oldest ones, they are big concrete buildings. To the communal establishment belong the bakery, the clothers-store, the sewing-room, and the shoe-shop." Most kvutzoth have also reading and music rooms.

In the older kvutzoth, the majority of the Chaveerim are married, and have their family rooms. The unmarried young men and women live in groups of three or four. The children have their own sleeping-quarters, though in some kvutzoth the children sleep in a room adjoining that of their parents. The larger kvutzoth each have their own schools, while the smaller kvutzoth build joint schools.

The following rules are generally regarded as the "Law of the Kvutzoh":³³

- (a) duty of all to work.
- (b) cooperative work under the self-management of all workers.
- (c) communal life under equal living conditions in the kvutzoh.
- (d) equality of rights in society and economy.
- (e) autonomous adoption of members, within the regulations of the General Workers' Organisation (the Histadruth).
- (f) responsibility of the individual to the community, and the

responsibility of the community for everyone.

- (g) discipline in all branches of economy and cooperative life.
- (h) freedom for the individual in matters of politics, religion, party, etc.
- (i) ban on the employment of hired labor in the kvutzoh.
- (j) communal education and maintenance of children up to working age.
- (k) education of the children for a life of cooperative labor.
- (l) maintenance of the old and weak.
- (m) conquest of new branches of work for women.
- (n) equal duty of all members (men and women) to work in the household (bakery, kitchen, laundry, etc).
- (o) penetration of the members into problems of the collective's economy, scope and branches of work; training in specialized work.
- (p) continuous efforts to increase production.
- (q) extension of the kvutzoh within the framework of the economic possibility and the limits of the internal situation in the kvutzoh.
- (r) mutual help between the kvutzoth as an extension of the idea of the kvutzoh.

STANDARD OF LIVING

A question often asked is: "Is the standard of living in the kvutzoth up to the standard of living of the independent workers in Palestine?" This question is best answered by a study made by G. Cidrowitz, a Palestinian economist.³⁴ Cidrowitz bases his study on the kitchen-accounts and book-keeping systems of six kvutzoth, namely: Beth Alfa, Tel Yosef, Ein Harod, Geva, Mishmar ha-Emek, and Gan Shmuel. His study reveals the following facts:

The kvutzoh spends on its members an average of L41 a year (\$4.00 a week). The highest per capita expenditure is in Gan

Shmuel, a citrus plantation (L53.51 per year), and the lowest in Mishmar ha-Emek (L33.1 per year). These differences are largely due to guests, sickness, excursions, etc. In Petach Tikvah, on the other hand, the expenses of a wage-earner (as of February, 1934) are between L60 and L80 a year. Thus there is a considerable disparity between the expenditures of city wage-earners and that of the kvutzah members.

What accounts for this difference? Fundamentally, the difference lies in the amounts spent for food and supplies. The individual wage-earner spends between L30 and L36 a year for food. The kvutzah, on the other hand, spends only about L16 a year for food for each member. The purchase of large quantities of foodstuffs, the communal kitchen, the use of kvutzah food products (dairy products, eggs, and vegetables raised in the kvutzah), clearly indicate that a considerable saving is effected in the kvutzah. Thus, we find that there is hardly any difference in the expenditures for food between individual workers and those of the six kvutzah considered in this study.

Whereas the food expense in the kvutzah amounts to fifty percent of the total expenditures, that of the individual worker (in Petach Tikvah) amounts to 55-60% of his total expenses. Moreover, there is the factor of rent. In the kvutzah, each member's share is about 8%, contributed to an amortization and expansion fund, (there being no actual rent), while the city worker pays 12 and 1/2% of his income for rent. As for such commodities as clothing, and shoes, these expenditures are about the same in both cases, except that in a few kvutzah these are made by the members themselves, helping to

reduce the expenses.

The extent of such activities in the kvutsoth may be gathered from a report in the Palestine Economic Review.³⁵ This report reveals that perambulators are made at Naana; shoes and furniture at Givath ha-Shlosha; underwear at Ein-Harod; upholstery fabrics at Habacharuth. Moreover, Ein Harod has its own printing shop; some kvutsoth bake bread and sell it to the neighborhood. The Palestine Manufacturers' Association, the Palestine Products Organization, and the General Federation of Jewish Labor have given impetus to the productivity of the kvutsoth by sponsoring "Totzereth Ha-arets", the movement for the consumption of Palestine-made products.

In the analysis made by Cidmowitz, there is also a comparison of the diets in the kvutsoth mentioned with the diets of the workers independently employed. He finds that in the kvutsoth more bread is consumed, and so with sugar, and fat-containing foods. Less dairy products and fruits are eaten in the kvutsoth. Bread constitutes 39 and 1/2% of their total calory-containing diet. This is due to the East European origin of most of the kvutsoth members, bread being a principal part of the diet in these countries. However, as time goes on, with the rise of a new generation and the spreading of the modern conceptions of dietetics, the situation is sure to change.

SMALL VERSUS LARGE KVUTZOTH

For some time now there have been two distinct attitudes as regards the proper size of the kvutsoth. One group maintains that the large kvutsoth (represented in such post-war colonies as Ein Harod in upper Galilee) is preferable as a social unit;
~~thaxax~~

it will be the conditions of today and tomorrow in Palestine which shall, in the last analysis, determine whether the large or small kvutzoh shall prevail. That the problem is already more theoretical than practical is seen from the fact that³⁸ (a) the small kvutzoth are, to a certain extent, open to new settlers, and (b) the new settlers are receiving training in the countries of their origin intended to enable them readily to adapt themselves to the new life in the kvutzoh, be it large or small. Moreover, to offset any advantages the large kvutzoh may claim as a result of its larger organizational set-up, it must be pointed out that the small kvutzoth have banded together into kibbutzim (groups of kvutzoth) so that they too can reap the benefits of large-scale buying, selling, etc.

WOMAN IN THE KVUTZOH

Women have played not a minor role in the development of the kvutzoh colonies in Palestine. In the early days of the founding of the first kvutzoth, woman partook equally of the work and hardships involved in the pioneering existence. We find women carrying stones and building roads, suffering the ravages of fever and sickness, undergoing privation and hunger in the building of these kvutzoth on the barren and swamp-ridden soil. We find her fighting for acceptance on an equal footing with men, generally to be rejected, at least as far as the opportunities for employment are concerned, until finally accepted for the first time in the colony of Sedjera for employment as a worker with equal rights.³⁹

The same idealism which brought many of her male companions to the kvutzoth of Palestine led many of the women settlers to these new colonies. The same sense of incompleteness, the same

desire to recreate their lives along more significant lines, gave them the strength to endure the hardships of pioneer life. We find one woman, who was active in her village council in Russia, reporting,⁴⁰ "My life, my whole life, has been a mistake until now! The people to whom I have dedicated myself till now is not my own. I am a stranger in its midst. And that other people, my own people, is a stranger to me....I know the little tailor, the little shopkeeper,--but they are not the people. Among the Russians I know the stevedores, on the docks, the peasants who hunger, amidst their harvests, the lean, staring women and children who stream out evenings from the factory when the bell rings. But where are the masses of my own people? I must begin again from the beginning."

And many women, her sisters, began "again, from the beginning" in the kvutsoth. They have contributed much to the life of the kvutsoth. What has the kvutsoth done for them? It has given many of them that independence of spirit for which they longed. "Only yesterday I was a thing torn by doubts and hesitations. In the noisy city, in the great library, in the museum, in the classes, the question would suddenly confront me: why are you doing these things? Who needs you?....But now? My comrades are out in the field, mowing the harvest which we have sown. Close by I hear the mill grinding out grain. And the flour from the mill comes straight to me, and I bake the bread for all of us.... Bread is surely needed."

Woman has been made a full partner in the work of the kvutsoth. She shares its responsibilities and enjoys the fruit of her labor on an equal footing with man. She is not burdened down by ~~the~~ oppressive demands on her time on the part of her

children. She has hours of leisure for reading and self-improvement, and, what is more important, she is free to ~~plan~~ plan her life. Because of this new freedom of woman in the kvutsoth of Palestine, the concept of the family has undergone some change. Indeed, it ~~is~~ has been said that "the problem of the family seems to be on its way to a reasonable solution in the collectives, for personal attraction rather than economic considerations are the basis for relationship between man and woman."⁴¹ At any rate, the economic dependence of woman, an important factor in family relationships, is replaced by equality between the sexes. Both work for the commune, and receive their support from the commune. Nor are there family quarrels as to how the children should be raised, as this is a group affair. Thus the relationship between husband and wife is, to a great extent, free of many of the petty difficulties of married life, and the self-dependence of woman gives her a certain sense of poise and dignity.

CHILDREN IN THE KVUTZOH

The group-training of children in the kvutzoh has aroused much comment, both favorable and unfavorable. It must be remembered at the outset, however, that this practice was as much the result of the exigencies of group-life as of social theory. However, there are two motives which prompted the adoption of group-upbringing of children as a feature of kvutzoh life, namely,⁴² (a) the will to deepen the relationship and strengthen the bond between the individual and the group, and (b) the will to make woman free in social and family life.

Although the situation varies from kvutzoh to kvutzoh,

the care of the children is handled, generally, in much the following manner: Shortly after the child is born, it is placed in the children's home, a building which is generally the best-built and the best-equipped in the entire kvutzah. There the child is placed in the care of nurses and teachers until adolescence. Infant mortality in the kvutzah is lower than anywhere else in the country,⁴³ and "the upbringing of the children is now generally admitted to be superior to anything the private family or school can offer." There is no estrangement between children and parents, as the parents come in daily contact with their children, and are thus able to retain considerable influence over them.

The ~~general~~ training of the children follows the general pattern of life in the commune. They are trained to help each other in work and study; tasks are generally assigned to small groups of children rather than to individuals. From infancy on, everything is shared by the children. Their toys, they are taught, are theirs only so long as they are using them. Not only do the children execute their tasks cooperatively, but they also plan their tasks together. Thus there is a kitchen committee, workshop committee, garden committee, etc. among the children. ~~Not~~ No type of work is stigmatized, but all work has equal status. "Self-labor, particularly in agriculture, and cooperative living, the twin principles of the collectives, thus become the natural way of living for the new generation."⁴⁴

One very well organized kvutzah school is that of Ben Shemen. From its report of February, 1933, the plan of education may be clearly seen:⁴⁵In 1933 (the sixth year of its existence), the school had 250 pupils, ranging in age from 4 to 17 years. The

children are divided into 4 groups: kindergarten, intermediate, folk-school, and agricultural school. Each group has its own home, with its dining-room, bed-rooms, etc. In the course of one year the school had acquired 60 additional pupils (during 1933), 20 of whom were sent there by parents from Poland, Germany, and America.

The charge has been made that the children produced by this type of collective education are "too dry" and too "formal", that they "lack softness". One woman answers these charges by saying that those who make these charges "forget that our children have virtues which we lacked as children: the being accustomed to work, the discipline with regard to the group, the sense of responsibility with regard to tasks, the strong love of nature, a strong, authentic love, without the sentimentalism of the past."⁴⁶ As for the charge that the children are too presumptuous, she replies: "Do we pause to distinguish between ^{spiritual} ~~farther~~ freedom, forthrightness and strength, on the one hand, and 'cheek' on the other?"

A woman of Ein Harod, examining the progress of the children's education in that colony over a period of ten years, recognizing how difficult it is for a mother to relinquish her child to the care of others during the first three years of its life, still is an ardent protagonist of group-rearing of children. She says:⁴⁷ "It has become clear to us that for school children the richest and most harmonious form of upbringing is the children's home as it exists in our midst--not an isolated little world, but a children's community integrated with our own, growing with us, nourished with the spirit of our soil, lovingly watched over and cared for not only by the parents, but by the commune as a whole."

However, this communal system of education is fraught with problems. There is, first of all, the "struggle between intelligence and instinct" on the part of mothers of infants, who prefer to have their offspring under their constant supervision; the problem of the training of teachers for these children, for the training received by the teachers is often inadequate or unsuited to the kvutzoh life; and the problem of getting the members to understand the value of the work of those in charge of the children's upbringing. These are problems which only time will solve.

THE KIBBUTZ

An interesting variant of the kvutzoh idea, and one linked closely with the kvutzoh, is seen in the kibbutzim. These differ from the individual autonomous kvutzoh in that they represent larger economic units. While a good many of the members of such kibbutzim are already settled on the soil, the kibbutzim consist largely of members in absentia, members who are urban workers, and hope eventually to take up their residence in the kvutzoh. These urban members save money, and send it to the kibbutzim to pave the way for their later advent. Of these kibbutzim, Re-vusky remarks: "The phenomenon of an urban worker who is saving furiously--sometimes by sacrifice of the actual necessities of life--and putting those savings not into an individual bank account or an individual parcel of land, but into a future collective home, of which he too will some day be a member, and entrusting those savings wholeheartedly to comrades already on the land, is, in my opinion, one of the most amazing proofs of the wonderful cooperative spirit of new Palestine."⁴⁸

There are two different variations of the kibbutz plan.

In one type, there may be 30 agricultural workers preparing a settlement for 100 members, the other 70 being employed for the time being in urban work, and living in the city. In the second type, a group may be established on the outskirts of a private colony; in that colony, most of the members of the kibbutz are working for wages. The others, however, are already settled on the soil nearby. In the latter type, often referred to as a "settled" kibbutz, all of the members live together in the colony, though the majority may be employed in the private colony.

By way of illustration of the working of a typical kibbutz, we have a letter from Naana, a kibbutz of Hanoar Haoved, the working youth organization of Palestine. A young settler who has just arrived at the kibbutz writes:⁴⁹ "Naana is two miles from Rehobot and Raamleh, twenty-two miles from Tel Aviv...we have 242 dunams of land surrounding our buildings. This land consists of vegetable and flower gardens, Pardess, woods, green fodder; and 428 dunams on the other side of the Arab village are planted entirely in wheat....Most people do outside work, such as Pardess, government, and Yam Hamelach jobs, and as Haifa longshoremen and policemen....The working day schedule is: rising, 5:45; tea and bread and begin work, 6:30; breakfast at 8:00; work from 8:30 to 11:30; lunch from 12 to 1:00; work from 1:00 to 4:00; supper at 6:00....The eight-hour day prevails here, but work goes on when necessary."

As regards the social life in the kibbutz, the young man writes: "There is a good library, a theatre-group, an orchestra, but the success of social existence depends entirely on the individual....Now let me explain about the Machsan. Every

Chaveer hands all his clothes to the Machsanit. Sox and handkerchiefs go into the common Machsan. The chaveer gets back four dress shirts, two work shirts, and pants, four suits of underwear, etc....The excess goes into the reserve, and when he becomes used to the place and makes up his mind to stay, it goes into the Machsan." In case of illness, a doctor and nurse are always at hand; for special care, specialists are brought to the kibbutz, or the patient is taken to Tel Aviv.

From the above description it may be seen that life in a kibbutz is very much like that in a kvutzah. The essential difference is that the kibbutz cannot supply labor to all of its members, and that many must therefore rely on outside wages. This creates a problem, in that, regardless of the differences in the earnings of the members employed outside the kibbutz, each is expected to contribute equally to the kibbutz treasury. However, it is not the highly-paid worker who enters the kibbutz; if however, a well-paid worker enters the kibbutz, he is idealistic enough to meet its requirements.

Another problem has been encountered in the desire of some wage-earners to help their parents or relatives in other lands out of their earnings. To obviate this difficulty, there have been established in some kibbutzim "Help to Parents" organizations, which undertake to meet the responsibility collectively. However, the problem still arises from time to time to vex the members of the kibbutzim.

We cannot close this section on the kibbutz without mention of another use of the term "kibbutz". This term is applied also to a group of kvutzoth working together cooperatively for the purchase of supplies, the education of children, etc. This de-

velopment has appeared since the war, in the effort of the kvutzoth to achieve a higher degree of cooperation and mutual assistance. At present there exist three such federations of kvutzoth, namely: Hakhibutz Hameouchad, Chever Hakvutzoth, and Hakibbutz Haartzi shel Hashomer Hatzair.⁵⁰ These kibbutzim guide and strengthen the member groups, in order "to open up new fields of work, to absorb the ever-increasing stream of Jewish immigration, and to guide that group into collectivist channels."⁵¹ Experts are sent to the groups to counsel them; members are transferred from one group to another for special training; unemployed members are sent wherever openings occur; and new projects for the absorption of labor are undertaken, such as laundries, bakeries, etc.

The most communistic of these kibbutzim (economically), is the Kibbutz Artzi. At the end of 1935, its membership totalled 3,300 and it included 41 kvutzoth scattered over the country.⁵² Its members are also members of the party "Hashomer Hatzair". Most of them are still employed as wage-earners in the villages. Its enterprises include not only its farms but also workshops and factories. These, the original purpose of which was to supply the kibbutz members with manufactured goods, have already expanded and entered the open market.

The leaders of the kibbutz Hameouchad belong to the Palestine Workers' Party.⁵³ It recognized the inequalities existing between the new and the old kvutzoth, and between the kvutzoth and the kibbutzim. Each of the member kvutzoth and kibbutzim contribute to a central fund, from which money is lent to those kvutzoth which need assistance. This kibbutz, like the Kibbutz Haarzi, also has established workshops and factories.

Its membership, at the end of 1935, consisted of 5,072, comprising 17 kvutzoth and kibbutzim.

The Chever Hakvutzoth is an association of small kvutzoth. It differs from the Kibbutz Artzi in that the latter advocates medium-sized groups. It differs from the Kibbutz Hameouchad in that the latter advocates large farms, limited only by the absorptive capacity of the farm.⁵⁴ Although the existence of these central kibbutzim has greatly assisted the work of the member kvutzoth, it is regrettable that, owing to political and ideological differences, three separate kibbutzim should exist. It is to be hoped that these three kibbutzim may some day be united into one all-embracing federation of kvutzoth.

Oct. 1, '35 Membership in the Kibbutz Hameouchad⁵⁵

<u>rr</u>	<u>male</u>	<u>female</u>	<u>total</u>	<u>total*</u>
1. Kfar Giladi, Tel Chai	81	69	150	276
2. Ayeleth Hashachar	87	61	148	208
3. Kibutz Kineret	92	96	188	289
4. Geshar	157	129	286	373
5. Kineret Hakvutza	39	47	86	92
6. Tel Yosef	146	125	271	463
7. Ain Harod	184	180	364	695
8. Hachugim Ain Harod	99	88	187	203
9. Givat	59	52	111	204
10. Yagur	220	220	440	617
11. Givat Chaim	116	98	214	243
12. Herzlia	73	104	177	216
13. Hachugim Ranana	86	56	142	152
14. Hakovesh	114	107	221	269
15. Machar	21	9	30	38
16. Givat Hashlosa	143	141	284	389
17. Kvutzat Habacharut	45	43	88	89
18. Kvutzat Batelem	43	30	73	80
19. Hasode Rishon le Zion	72	56	128	141
20. Nes Ziona	37	37	74	76
21. Naana	153	118	271	312
22. Givat Brenner	200	182	382	545
23. Ramat Rachel	69	72	141	195
24. Gedera	61	39	100	104
<u>25r</u>				

2,397 2,159 4,556 6,269

*The last column of figures is the total including those members undergoing Hachshara outside the country, and their families.

THE MOSHAVEI OVDIM

In contrast to the kvutzah and kĕbbutz forms of settlement, there is the type of labor settlement known as the moshav⁵⁶ ovdim. This type of settlement first made its appearance after the war, (1921).⁵⁶ The moshav ovdim is based on cooperative rather than communistic principles. Every settler is allotted an equal area of land, which he cultivates himself. The area is limited, so as to preclude the possibility of hired labor. Buying and selling, and ownership of the heavy machinery, are on a cooperative basis. There is also mutual help among the settlers in case of illness~~xxx~~ or in times of harvest, etc.

The chief difference between the moshav and the kvutzah lies in the fact that the households are individually managed. Each settler and his family have their own home, on their own plot of land. As this partial individualism tends to produce economic differences between the settlers, the last conference of the members of the moshavim decided to take steps to organize institutions for mutual assistance, and for equalization of economic standards.⁵⁷ Suggestions have even been made for the collectivization of certain activities, such as cereal-raising, and citrus-growing in the moshav, and for the formation of childrens' day nurseries, etc. What the eventual outcome of these projected innovations will be is difficult to predict; as the situation now stands, however, the general principles of the moshav might be thus formulated:⁵⁸(a) the land is for labor, not for purchase or sale. (b) the farmer must do his own work, and the size of the farm may vary with the number of workers in the family, (c) cooperative buying, selling, and use of heavy tools, (d) mutual aid in seasonal work, (e) comm

munal education and economic institutions, (f) personal freedom in creation.

Examples of the moshav ovdim are to be seen in Kfar Ezekiel and Nahalal. These colonies consist of from ten to several hundred families, each family receiving its parcel of land, house, barn, livestock, etc. The necessary investment funds used to come from the Jewish Agency, but are now being supplied more and more by the workers themselves.⁵⁹ The land generally belongs to the Jewish National Fund, to which the farmer pays, after a few years of grace, a rental of 2% of the value of the land. A settler may sell his lease to another only "provided that the buyer is approved by the other members of the community."⁶⁰ Mixed farming, consisting of cereals, fruits, vegetables, dairy products, poultry, etc. is practiced in most of the moshavim.

The internal management of the moshavim is conducted along democratic lines. Schools, synagogues, and other community institutions are operated by the village through elected committees. Women share responsibilities and privileges on equal terms with the men. The government is carried on by an executive committee, and a council elected by the men and women of the village in an annual election. This committee, represents the moshav before the Histadruth, the Jewish National Fund, and the Jewish Agency. The General Assembly, consisting of all voters of the moshav community, decides important matters of public policy, levies taxes, and selects the various committees to supervise the work of the moshav.⁶¹

As in the case of the kvutzoh, there is a preparatory organization which paves the way for settlement in a moshav ovdim. Workers who are able to save money with the intention of settling in a moshav may do so through an "Irgun". The farmers thus settled on Jewish National Fund land are subject to all of the rules of moshav settlements, regarding self-labor, etc. The Irgun is to the Moshav Ovdim much as the Kibbutz is to the kvutzoh.⁶²

These cooperative homesteads "seem to have discovered the secret of appropriating the good and avoiding the evil inherent in private enterprise and private property. The incentives of private ~~enterprise~~ enterprise, such as freedom, initiative... being your own master, reaping the reward of your own efforts, are all present in the workers' villages. Members also have the joy of privacy and personal possession which comes with private property."⁶³ And with these gains, the outstanding evils of private property are, at the same time, eliminated. The principle of self-labor prevents members from exploiting the labor of others; nationalization of land ownership prevents the evil of land speculation. Periodic reassessment of land value by the Jewish National Fund assures that the whole community will get the benefit of increased land values. The initial apportionment of equal amounts of land and materials prevents great economic differences from arising between the members.⁶⁴

WOMAN IN THE MOSHAV

Ordinarily, the work in the moshav ovdim divides itself automatically between the husband and wife. While the man works in the field, the woman works in and around the house.

However, this is not a strict division, and often the woman works in the field alongside her husband, or he with her in the house.

The household arrangement of the moshav is often preferred by women settlers because a woman is better able to understand the problems of, and work effectively in, her own household, rather than in a commune. One woman writes that "for me the principle advantage of the moshav (over the kvutzoh) is that it gives the woman a chance to feel free and to live her own life. More than this, the moshav forces a certain independence on the woman. It brings the woman directly face to face with life itself, and there is nothing to shield her from the contact with hard reality. It is true that the woman in the moshav pays heavily for her independence. Her burden is heavy--but we ought to understand that the carrying of a life-burden does not necessarily mean oppression, any more than comfort necessarily means freedom."⁶⁵

The conditions under which the women in the moshav work vary. A universal problem, however, is the fact that the work cannot always be limited to 8 or 10 hours a day, for various reasons. This, of course, works a hardship on the woman. If the woman is also a mother, she has additional responsibilities. When the children are older, and already attend school, the woman is more free for the work of the moshav. While the children are young, however, she can do very little for the farm. For her, life is rather hard; "she does not know a moment's freedom during the day, and she is never permitted to sleep the night through! Often, there is not money enough to lay in a stock of provisions, so that the woman must make daily trips

to the cooperative store. There, she is often compelled to wait her turn in line. Sometimes she is compelled to take her child to the clinic, and there again is a line ahead of her.

The rearing of children in the moshav presents a real problem. In the kvutzoh, there is group up-bringing. But in the moshav, during the early years of the child's life, either a teacher would have to be employed by the family, or the woman would have to forsake her other duties and devote herself to her children. Again, in the kvutzoh the teacher would be paid in produce, while in the moshav the pay would have to be in cash, on the scale fixed by the Histadruth. Should the woman become ill, new problems arise. Generally neighboring women will look after the children; but when her illness is protracted, the Mutual Aid Committee is compelled to hire an outside person at its own expense. "But this is not the right way out. In the first place, the children suffer under this arrangement; in the second, we are averse to using hired help."⁶⁷ It has been suggested that a children's house be established to solve the difficulty. However, the idea has, as yet, not gained much ground.

KVUTZOH VERSUS MOSHAV

There has been much comment concerning the respective merits of the kvutzoh and the moshav. Some of the criticisms of the kvutzoh have been rather caustic. One criticism constantly encountered, for example, is that immorality prevails in the kvutzoh. Regarding this accusation, Revusky remarks, "On the basis of personal observation, that 'the sanctity of marital ties is respected in the kvutzoh no less than anywhere else, and the attitude of unmarried members to each other is on an

exceptionally high level."⁶⁸ It is true that some of the couples have not been married by a religious ceremony; whether this is to be condoned or condemned, however, it must be recognized that "it would be utterly unfair to construe it as a reflection on their morals" since it is a reflection, instead, of their attitude toward religion.

More real and more practical criticisms, however, have been directed at the kvutsoth. It has been charged that the kvutsoth retard their own expansion by virtue of the very principles on which they are founded. This is due to the fact that, owing to a high degree of selection of its members, the kvutsoth does not allow for adequate increase in membership. The answer of the kvutsoth to this argument is the same as its answer to those who favor the large kvutsoth over the small kvutsoth (previously considered), for the same reason. A more potent argument, perhaps, is the argument that the kvutsoth curtails its expansion by virtue of its refusal to use hired labor, which is almost necessary in time of harvest. Yet a third argument that has been heard is that the kvutsoth curtails its expansion by not permitting the settlement of trades-people and other non-agricultural persons, whose presence aids in the expansion of the private colonies.

The answer of the kvutsoth to these arguments is two-fold:⁶⁹ (a) that the greatest expansion (by population increase) occurs, in the private colonies, in the citrus-belts, whereas the kvutsoth engages mainly in grain and dairy farming, and (b) that the kvutsoth will be better able, with the adoption of more intensive methods of agriculture, to make way for new settlers; thus Daganiah, for example, gave up part of its area for the founding of a new settlement (Daganiah B).

In the report of the Palestine Joint Survey Commission, Sir John Campbell came to the following conclusions regarding the respective merits of the kvutzoh and the moshav ovdim: "The moshav settlement is unquestionably better as an economic organization."⁷⁰ He presents the following five arguments in defense of his point of view: (a) there is more liberty in the moshav, (b) personal friction arises in the kvutzoh, (c) the woman in the kvutzoh does not have the privacy she desires, (d) there is some resentment toward complete sharing in the kvutzoh, (e) there is a tendency in the kvutzoh to lose interest in the work. Sir John goes on to analyze the problem further, and concludes with that the kvutzoh be gradually eliminated and the moshav ovdim take its place.⁷¹

This opinion is upheld by Elwood Mead, in his report on "Jewish Agriculture".⁷² He feels that "the permanent success of colonies organized on the communistic basis is doubtful," and advises no further expenditures on the kvutzoh, with the view of ultimately transforming them into moshavim. Wilkansky⁷³ agrees with Sir John Campbell and Elwood Mead that the ultimate form of labor colonization in Palestine must be the moshav. He states that "the permanent method ~~is~~ to be adopted in national colonization must of necessity be the Moshav Ovdim." He feels, after a thorough analysis of the problem,⁷⁴ that the kvutzoh should be regarded as only a temporary form of settlement, to be completely replaced in the future by the moshav ovdim.

What will be the actual fate of the kvutzoh in Palestine is hard to predict. Circumstances, rather than recommendations, will be the determining factor. In September, 1935, the total population in the moshav ovdim type of settlement was 7,070,

as compared with a population of 5,293 in the kvutzoth.⁷⁵ While it is true that of the many settlements that have sprung into existence during the past few years the majority seem to be of the moshav type, the fact remains that it is now nearly a decade since the recommendations of Wilkansky and those of the Palestine Joint Survey Commission were made, and that, numerically, at least, the kvutzoh has succeeded in holding its ground.

GROWTH OF LABOR COLONIZATION

The following chart, adapted from a chart of all of the Jewish colonies in Palestine, (by Hugo Herrmann),⁷⁶ shows at a glance the extent of Jewish labor colonization in Palestine, up until the early part of 1935:

Name	Type	Founded	Pop. (end of '33)
<u>Upper Galilee</u>			
Ayeleth Hashachar.....	kvutzah	1916	120
Kfar Giladi.....	kibbutz	1917	100
Tel Chai.....	kvutzoh	1916	20
<u>Lower Galilee</u>			
Kfar Chitim.....	M. O.	1923	20
Kinnereth.....	kibbutz	1908	120
<u>Jordan Valley</u>			
Bithanya.....	Exper. farm	1913.	40
Daganiah A.....	kvutzoh	1909	140
Daganiah B.....	"	1920	140
Gesher Nechalim.....	"	1922	150
Kfar Nathan Laski.....	"	1926	100
<u>Valley of Jezreel</u>			
Beth Alfa (Cheftzibah).....	kvutzoh	1922	110
Be'ha Alfa (Hashomer Hatzoir).....	kibbutz	1923	160
Dscheda.....	kvutzoh	1926	10
Ain Harod.....	kibbutz	1921	500
Geva.....	kvutzah	1921	120
Gevath.....	kvutzoh	1927	95
Gevath (exper. station)		1926	30
Ginegar.....	kvutzoh	1922	110
Kfar Baruch.....	M. O.	1926	175
Kfar Gideon.....	M. O.	1923	50
Kfar Hachoresht.....	kvutzoh	1931	
Kfar Yechezkel.....	M. O.	1922	430
Kfar Yehoshua.....	M. O.	1927	275
Kfar Yelodim.....	kvutzoh	1924	30

Merchavia.....kibbutz	1911	90
Merghavia.....M.O.	1923	300
Mishmar Haemek.....kibbutz	1927	122
Misra.....kvutzoh	1923	90
Nahalal.....M.O.	1921	650
Ramath David.....kvutzoh	1927	105
Ssarid.....kibbutz	1926	65
Scheych Abreych.....kvutzoh	1928	40
Tel Adashim.....M.O.	1922	260
Tel Yosef.....kibbutz	1921	260

Valley of Zebulun

Yadshur.....kvutzoh	1924	120
Kfar Chassidim.....M.O.	1925	420
Kfar Atta.....M.O.	1925	30
Sichron Chayim.....Shechunath ovdim	1930	700
Uscha.....kvutzoh	new	

Valley of Sharon

Cheruth.....M.O.	new	
Ain Chai.....M.O.	1912	235
Ain Ganim.....M.O.	1908	350
Ain Hachoresh.....kibbutz	1932	
Ain Wered.....M.O.	new	50
Gan Shmuel.....kvutzoh	1912	30
Gath Rimon.....M.O.	1929	160
Givath Chayim.....kibbutz	new	
Givath Schapira.....M.O.	1933	
Givath Hashlosa.....kibbutz		
Hachajalim Ham'		
suchrarim.....M.O.	1933	
Irgun Brenner.....M.O.	new	
" El Hakfar....."	new	
" Cheruth....."	1933	
" Hagoel....."	1933	
" Hakfar....."	1933	
" Hapoel Hamisrachi "	new	
" Hateymanim....."	new	
" Hazionim hakla-		
liyim....."	new	
" Herzlia....."	new	
" Intensivi....."	1933	
" Yisreel....."	new	
" Raanana....."	new	
Yarkona....."	1933	
Kalmanya.....Farm	1927	120
Kerkur.....kvutzoh & M.O.	1925	900
Kfar Yahud.....M.O.	new	320
Kfar Witkin....."	1932	1450
Kibbutz Hashomer		
Hatzoir Artzi.....kibbutz	1932	
Cooparative shel		
Yehuda Litau.....M.O.	1933	40
Coop. Pardess.....M.O.	1933	

Kvutzath Hakovesh.....	kvutzoh	new
Merkaz Ziona Russia.....	M.O.	new
Ramath Tyompink.....	M.O.	1932
Zofiah.....	M.O.	new

In the Shefelah

Beer Tuviah.....	M.O.	1896	210
Ben Shemen.....	M.O.	1906	100
Beth Chanan.....	M.O.	1929	180
Beth Oved.....	M.O.	new	
Chuldah.....	kvutzah	1909	50
Givath Brenner.....	kvutzah	1930	
Irgun Lehisvashvus			
Hadrachthis.....	M.O.	new	
Irgun Maas.....	M.O.	new	
Kfar Bilu.....	M.O.	new	60
Kfar Marmoreh.....	M.O.	1930	
Kvutzath Schiller.....	kvutzoh	1927	100
Naama.....	kvutzoh	1926	260
Nachlath Yehuda.....	M.O.	1921	1500
Netaim.....	M.O.	new	3500
Tirath Shlomo.....	M.O.	new	

In Judea

Ataroth.....	M.O.	1922	120
Kiryath Anavim.....	kvutzoh	1920	110
Ramath Rachel.....	kibbutz	1926	150

This chart reveals the difference in the membership of the average kvutzoh as against the average moshav ovdim. It reveals also the new tendency to favor moshavim over kvutzoth as forms of labor colonization. Finally, it reveals the distribution of these labor settlements, showing that most of them are in the Valley of Sharon, the Valley of Jezreel, and the Shefelah.

The number of these labor settlements is constantly growing. During the year 1935, twenty-two new settlements of this type were established in Haifa Bay, the Emek, Samaria, Wadi Hawaret, Judea and the South.⁷⁷ The growth since that time has been equally great, and Jewish labor in Palestine today finds that it has a solid bulwark in these many labor colonies.

CHAPTER V.

THE HISTADRUTH.
ITS AIMS AND ACTIVITIES.

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THE HISTADRUTH: AIMS & ACTIVITIES

Just as the entire labor movement in Palestine is unique, so is the Histadruth, its crowning achievement, an unique institution. If one were to call the Histadruth a labor union, it would be only for want of a better term, for there is no labor union like it anywhere in the world.

What is there unique about the Histadruth as a labor union? Here several features might be mentioned.¹ To begin with, the Histadruth is "remarkable in its very organization." Ordinarily, the class of workers hardest to organize are the agricultural workers. The Histadruth, per contra, derives the largest element of its support from agricultural labor. As a matter of fact, it was the agricultural laborers of Palestine who constituted the original nucleus of the Histadruth and gave it its greatest impetus (the Agricultural Workers' Union, etc.).

A second point which differentiates the Histadruth from most labor unions is the fact that the Histadruth has "a greater percentage of the population of Palestine enrolled beneath its banner than any other national workers' federation." None of the more highly industrialized countries, with centuries of trade union activities behind them, can equal Palestine in the extent of unionization. Thus, more than of its numbers, the Histadruth may feel proud of the unity which it has achieved in trade unionism.

AIMS

The achievement of such unity by no means implies that the Histadruth is merely a compromise organization, seeking to appeal to all groups and representing no positive policy.

On the contrary, the strength of the organization emerges from its ideology. Its primary concept, already voiced early in the struggle ~~for~~ of the labor movement in Palestine, is that of self-labor. The Histadruth has declared it wrong for one man to employ another, i.e., to exploit the labor of another for profit. Where more than the work of a single individual is required for a certain undertaking, the method to be employed must be that of cooperation.

The ideal of self-labor and cooperation has given birth to the second of the Histadruth's tenets, namely, the socialization of living and goods. This ideal is behind the formation of the kvutzoh, a type of settlement in which the concept of private property has been totally eradicated, and in which "the individual, at least so long as he remains a member of the group, has abandoned all expectation of personal wealth and possession, and lives entirely for and through the well-being of the group."²

The ideal of cooperative living has produced yet a third phase of the Histadruth ideology, namely, the emancipation of woman. In the kvutzoth, and in urban employment as well, woman has been raised from her status of inferiority and has been assigned a new place, a dignified and productive position in the new society which is being born in Palestine. Woman in Palestine is today the equal partner of man in all undertakings, whether it be in the field or in the factory. And woman in Palestine, as a consequence, has achieved a new sense of independence and usefulness--largely through the efforts of the labor movement and the instrumentality of its unifying organization, the Histadruth.

When the existing political and economic differences were overcome, and the Histadruth was organized, (Dec. 1920), it was established on the following basis:³ "The organization embraces all workers who live by their own work. Its task is the representation of all the colonisational, economic, and cultural interests of the worker in the country, for the purpose of building up the Jewish Society of Labor in Palestine." This "Society of Labor in Palestine", the Histadruth intended to achieve through⁴(a) nationalization of land, (b) self-work, (c) mutual responsibility between the settlers, and (d) the establishment of a permanent bond between the workers settling on the land and the organized workers in the towns and villages.

The question is sometimes raised, "Is the Histadruth a socialistic organization?" The Histadruth has itself answered this question in a report made in response to an inquiry by Great Britain.⁵ It was asked: "Has the labor movement adopted the socialization of the means of production, distribution and exchange as its objects?" To this the General Federation of Jewish Labor (the Histadruth) responded: "The labor movement in Palestine is striving to establish a free community of workers, in which the land and all natural resources and means of production shall be owned by the workers."

Its answer is clear; the Histadruth remains faithful to the concept of a Jewish-socialist state, the dream of those whose inspiration gave birth to the labor movement in Palestine. It is, in the last, analysis, the consciousness of a class mission combined with a national mission--the feeling

that the class needs and national needs for the Jewish rebirth in Palestine are identical--which is the most characteristic element in the variegated activity of the Histadruth. It is indeed working toward a "Jewish Society of Labor", one in which a new Jew will be born through the medium of labor, and in which a new society will come into being through the medium of the Jew.

ORGANIZATION.

The Histadruth, correctly viewed, is a federation of trade unions. Each trade union embraces those working at the same trade, whether working for themselves or employed by others. Thus the Agricultural Workers' Union, for example, includes the independent small farmholders, the members of the cooperative settlements, (kvutzoth, moshavim, and kibbutzim), and farmworkers in the employ of others. Each member of the Histadruth belongs to one or another of the trade unions within the Histadruth.

There are, thus far, four national trade unions. These are: the Agricultural Workers' Union, the largest, having today about 20,000 members;⁷ the Transport Workers' Union, ~~including~~ including railroad, post and telegraph workers; the Builders' Union;⁸ and the Clerks' Union, consisting of employees in offices and stores. At the head of the Histadruth is the General Executive (Havaad Hapoel), consisting of 11 members. These are elected by the General Council (Moatzah). The latter consists of 31 members, and is, in turn, elected by the General Conference ~~of the Histadruth~~ (Haavedah Haclalith).

This General Conference consists of delegates elected by all members of the Histadruth by a general, secret, direct and proportional vote.⁸ It is the highest legislative body of the Histadruth. The General Executive is invested with considerable power. It actually controls all of the activities of the Histadruth, and, by subjecting individuals ~~to~~ and groups to the will of the organization as a whole, it is able to secure unity of policy and action.

The General Executive elects a Secretariat. This Secretariat, (as in the case of the Histadruth branch Secretariats), consists of various divisions, bureaus, and committees. One important division, for example, is the Statistical Bureau, which gathers and publishes data on the economic and social activities of the Histadruth. Two censuses of the Histadruth membership have already been conducted by this division, and much information has been assembled and published.

The Executive Committee has a Foreign Division, whose activities consist largely of organizing Leagues for Labor Palestine, organizing the Hechalutz movement (for the training of immigrants in the country of emigration for a life in Palestine), and in spreading the Labor-Zionist ideology, throughout the diaspora. There is also a Center of Immigration, (Merkaz Haaliyah), which organizes labor groups in the diaspora, makes provision for their entrance into Palestine, and provides for them after arrival in the country until they find employment.

An important part of the organizational set-up is the Employment Center (Merkaz Haavodah). This agency provides

and creates work for members and immigrants both in the city and on the farm. This department of the Histadruth carries the burden of the struggle for Jewish labor in the Jewish economy and for Jewish employment in government jobs and in the municipalities. In conjunction with the statistical bureau, it furnishes information on the employment situation, on labor conditions generally, on the distribution of employment in the country, and on prospective economic possibilities. This department is important in that it suggests to the Jewish Agency the number of immigration certificates which are to be asked of the government, basing its figures on researches into the absorptive capacity of industry and agriculture. It serves also as a clearing-house for the local employment bureaus which exist in all of the Histadruth branches.

INSTITUTIONS OF THE HISTADRUTH.

THE SICK FUND.

The Kupath Cholim (previously referred to) is the oldest institution of Jewish labor in Palestine. It was organized in 1912 by the Agricultural Workers' Union, the forerunner of the Histadruth. At the time of its founding, it consisted of 150 members.⁹ Since that time its membership has increased as follows: 2,000 in 1920; 12,350 in 1925; 18,045 in 1930; 50,000 in 1935. Including the workers' families (which it also serves), the total membership numbered 90,000 in 1935.¹⁰

The Kupath Cholim is the Workers' sick fund of the Histadruth. It is a voluntary organization, based on the principle of mutual aid in case of illness. It renders aid to the workers through its own medical institutions. This is impor-

tant since there is no compulsory health insurance in Palestine. A proposed law to meet these needs was submitted to the government by the Histadruth, but nothing has yet been done.¹¹

The activities and services of the Kupath Cholim are: (a) medical aid (medical advice, medicaments, hospitalization, X-ray, electro-therapy, dental treatment, etc.); (b) convalescence (provided by the Kupath Cholim in its own sanatoria); (c) sick benefit (paid according to category of disability and family circumstances); (d) maternity aid (both monetary aid and hospitalization); (e) preventive and hygienic work (infant and child welfare stations, advice to rural and industrial centers on hygiene and sanitation); (f) aid to members' families is also rendered by the Kupath Cholim.

It is worthy of mention that aid to non-members is also given in such parts of the country where there are no other medical institutions. First aid is rendered to all applicants free of charge, regardless of membership, race, or class. In places of work employing both Arabs and Jews, medical aid is extended to all of the workers. Many Arab workers, as a matter of fact, have joined the Kupath Cholim as regular, dues-paying members.¹²

The staff of the Kupath Cholim consists (1935) of 175 physicians, 120 nurses, 35 pharmacists, 31 dentists, and 230 general attendants. Its sources of income are: (a) dues from workers and labor settlements, ~~83%~~ 83%; (b) employers' contributions, 15%; (miscellaneous, 2%). Its funds are allocated as follows: medical aid, 61%; convalescence and sick benefit, 13%; maternity aid and preventive work, 4%; administration, 11%; investments, 11%.

The institutions of the Kupath Cholim are the following: Central Hospital of the Emek (Afuleh); Arzo sanatorium, at Motza, near Jerusalem; Borochoy sanatorium on Mt. Carmel; 3 central dispensaries at Tel Aviv, Haifa and Jerusalem; 70 village dispensaries and first-aid stations; 3 X-ray institutes in Tel Aviv, Haifa and the Central Hospital; seasonal hospital in Tiberias for rheumatic cases; a central storehouse for drugs; 4 district pharmacies at Tel Aviv, Haifa, Jerusalem, and Afuleh; 14 dental dispensaries; 8 institutes of electrotherapy; 32 infant welfare stations; 5 consultation stations for adults and adolescents; a division of hygiene and preventive medicine.¹³

The large immigration of the past few years and the growth of membership of the Kupath Cholim have made new expansion necessary. In 1935, a new hospital was built in Judea (near Petach Tikvah), and other dispensaries at Tel Aviv and ⁱⁿ other communities. The government has in recent years assisted the Kupath Cholim in the erection of its hospitals. The Kupath Cholim hopes eventually to receive government aid also for the maintenance of its institutions.

"NIR"

Nir, (The Field), which is actually the Agricultural Union incorporated by the government as a cooperative association, owns and controls the property of all of the cooperative farms. This is not strange when it is remembered that most of the colonization of the Zionist Organization in Palestine for over a decade has been done in close cooperation with the Histadruth. "Nir" has thus become the Workers' Col-

onization Society. (by which title it was registered by the government in December, 1925)¹⁴ of the Histadruth. It accumulates funds which are used "to stabilize the existing settlements and to assist the organized groups of farmworkers in the colonies (kibbutzim and irgunim) to settle on the land."¹⁵ Despite the fact that it was already organized in December, 1925, it began operations only recently when the national funds were exhausted and colonization almost came to a standstill.

The underlying idea of "Nir" is: that the readiness of the workers to invest a certain part of their own money in a desirable colonization project may prove to be a powerful inducement to richer outside organizations and funds to tackle the project and to invest in it a greater amount of money.¹⁶ By the beginning of 1933, fifteen thousand shares were sold, mostly on instalments, through a campaign conducted only in Palestine.¹⁷ Most of these shares were sold to workers.

By the end of 1935, the paid-in capital of "Nir" reached L91,575, and its outstanding loans L207,796.¹⁸ By that time, it had supplied financial assistance to fifty-two groups, for such purposes as building, drilling, etc.¹⁹

Beside creating a fund for workers' colonization, the "Nir" has devised the "Land by Savings" plan. Persons contribute to a fund (by this name), and the money is turned over to the Jewish National Fund to buy land for these persons. Once the land is bought, and the individual is settled on it, the money is returned to the settlers on installments. Thus, the land remains the property of the National Fund, the settlers having merely loaned the money to the National

Fund to buy land for their own settlement on the soil.

The chief problem of "Nir", as Wolman points out,²⁰ is in effectuating its contracts upon making loans. Since the collective farms have prior obligations to the Jewish National Fund, which has supplied the money for the land purchase in most cases, "Nir" runs the ~~risk~~ risk of non-collection of its loans. Revusky feels,²¹ however, that the Jewish National Fund in actuality might forego its claims in some cases and thus aid the process of rural development.

YAKHIN.

The idea of an Agricultural Contractors' Bureau, for carrying out works primarily for absentee land-owners, was initiated by the Central Committee of the Agricultural Workers' Federation and the Colonization department of the Palestine Zionist Executive. The Bureau was established in the early part of 1926, its activity being limited to horticulture. Viteles²² describes the development of the organization as follows: "At the outset the administration, particularly the central secretariat work, was provided by the Agricultural Workers' Federation, but was later replaced by a permanent staff. Branches were opened in the various colonies, particularly in the new plantation belt in the plain of Sharon.

"The works accepted comprise preparation and plantation of the ~~anti~~ nurseries, orange-groves, vineyards, banana groves, almond groves, etc., development and supervision of fruit-bearing plantations, seasonal harvesting works, afforestation and general supervisory activity. The Bureau charges a commission of 5% for expenditure, and ^{its} 1% for reserve fund, the remainder

being turned over to the group to which the actual carrying out of the work is handed over. The only permanent employees of the cooperative are the technical staff--instructors and foremen."

In the middle of 1928, the Bureau was transformed into and registered as the "Yakhin" Agricultural Contracting Cooperative Society, Ltd. Its membership was limited to persons who were affiliated with the Histadruth, through ~~the~~ membership in the Hevrath HaOvdim, (the General Cooperative Association of Jewish Labor in Palestine). Its rules provide that new members are accepted into the organization "by the managing committee or by its representatives." The number of members is not limited, and membership is open to both men and women. Each member holds one share (amounting to L1) in the organization.

The principle benefit received by a member is employment through the society or its enterprises. However, the society does not guarantee employment. Members or groups of members are not permitted to accept work at rates lower than those set by the Managing Committee or by "Nir". The "Nir", moreover, has the right to veto certain undertakings, and receives 10% of the net profits of such undertakings. The "Yakhin" organization may borrow or receive money on deposit from its members, and may extend loans to its members up to a fixed limit.

The growth of the undertakings of "Yakhin" is indicated by the following chart:²³

<u>year</u>	<u>area worked</u>	<u>receipts</u>	<u>men employed</u>
1927.....	195 dunams	L 8,043	80
1928.....	1,000 dunams	17,310	110
1929.....	1,500 "	23,599	200
1930.....	2,140 "	31,523	240
1931.....	2,215 "	30,488	392

During 1932, Yakhin cultivated over 3,000 dunams of orange-

groves, receiving L40,311; in 1933, it contracted for the cultivation of 4,538 dunams, for L66,971; in 1935 the total area of citrus groves under cultivation by Yakhin reached as much as 6,400 dunams, and the value of the work contracted for was L120,000. It employs today about 800-1,000 workers.²⁴ Through Yakhin, therefore, the Histadruth is able to secure work for a considerable number of farm workers, and through Yakhin is the Histadruth better able to supply better working conditions for these workers.

Yakhin operated chiefly through "Plugoth" (hired workers' collectives). It entrusts a complete contract to a Pluga under the supervision of one of the Society's experts, and tries to procure land for the settlement of the group in the vicinity of its work. Sometimes the individual for whom the work is being done will give a grant of land to the Pluga; at other times, the Jewish National Fund may purchase such land. This is a method of assuring faithful and responsible work, and is also a way for promoting cooperative labor colonization.²⁵

Just as Yakhin contracts for planting, another important cooperative, "Misrad Laavodahh Ziburioth" (Office for Public Works), undertakes building jobs in the cities. It is regionally divided into 3 cooperatives, one for Tel Aviv, another for Jerusalem, and the third for ~~Tel Aviv~~ Haifa. In 1932, this organization did work totalling L108,000; in 1935, the three misradim accomplished work amounting to L700,000. In Tel Aviv alone the misrad undertook work am-

ounting to L360,585 in 1935. 70% of this work was ordered by private home-builders and the remainder by municipalities and other public bodies.²⁶

These contracting cooperatives have a two-fold purpose: (a) they insure steady employment for Jewish workers, and (b) they raise the workers' wage level and teach him a trade. The cooperatives employ over 1,000 workers; they receive assistance financially from the Workers' Bank.

Until 1929, there was ~~also~~ a national contracting association for building enterprises, called Solel Boneh, which built many roads and houses throughout the country. However, it was compelled to liquidate after the crisis of 1926-1927. It had consisted of a guild of men employed in the building trade and public works, the two largest fields of employment in Palestine. It undertook and carried out during the 9 years of its existence contracts totalling L1 and 1/2 million. It built factories, roads, railways, bridges, and drainage-works. The work was contracted for on the responsibility of managers elected by the workers themselves. At times Solel Boneh employed as many as ~~2,000~~ 2,000 to 3,000 workers.²⁷

Solel Boneh, which began operations in 1920, failed, according to Viteles,²⁸ for the following reasons: (a) absence of sufficient operating capital, (b) the collapse of the building-boom in 1926, (c) the protracted negotiation for a special loan, (d) pressure urging the discontinuance of accepting contracts, and (e) too much centralization, making for inadequate contact of the workers with Solel Boneh. ~~It was~~

T'NUVAH

T'nuvah, ("The Farm's Yield") is the central Marketing Cooperative of Palestine. It looks after the sale of goods produced in the workers' settlements and is the main source of supply of produce and foodstuffs for the Jewish population of Palestine. Just as Yakhin is the contracting department for the agricultural enterprises of "Nir", so is T'nuvah the co-operative selling organization of the cooperative farms of "Nir". The products of the farms are sent to the stores of T'nuvah, which are found in every community having a Jewish population. No cooperative farm may sell its products outside of T'nuvah.²⁹

T'nuvah has been remarkably successful, from the time of its founding, in 1925. Originally, "Mashbir" (Palestine Workmen's Cooperative Society for Supply and Marketing of their Products) undertook the cooperative marketing of the milk produced in the labor settlements. But beginning in 1925, the department for the sale of milk and dairy products was made independent of the parent organization. In 1927, the branches of this department in Jerusalem and Haifa were made independent central co-operative dairies. These were later incorporated into the Cooperative Marketing Association of Jewish Agricultural Settlements in Palestine, Ltd.³⁰

The growth of T'nuvah may be readily seen from the following figures:³¹

1926-27.....	L58,067	L46,670
1927-28.....	70,379	53,620
1928-29.....	96,210	64,110
1929-30.....	139,102	83,453
1930-31.....	146,649	90,115
Total sales		Milk & milk products.

At present, its sales of milk, eggs, and vegetables exceeds L500,000 yearly.³²

T'nuvah maintains several modern dairies, well equipped. It is very popular in the domestic market for the good quality of its products, and is beginning also to export goods to the neighboring countries. Important work is being done by T'nuvah in developing an agricultural industry in Palestine. Lately it has expanded its activities, and is producing a soft drink made from honey, and has also done some work in canning. The reputation of T'nuvah is best seen from the fact that the government uses T'nuvah for marketing the dairy products of its experimental farms.

HAMASHBIR

Hamashbir ("The Provider"), is the Central Wholesale Consumer's Society of the Histadruth. Its membership consists of consumers' cooperatives in the cities and in the villages. It supplies its members with all the necessary products, even with machinery from abroad.³³ It is one of the oldest cooperative societies of the Histadruth, originating during the War period (previously mentioned in that connection), when it actually saved many of the workers from starvation.

This cooperative is of great importance to workers and settlers who depend on credit, and would otherwise have been the prey of individual merchants. It has a chain of local workers' consumers' societies, which enables the worker to get his supplies at low cost. In 1934, it had 26 such consumers' societies, with a total membership of 6,000 persons.³⁴

The rapid growth of Hamashbir may be seen from the following chart:³⁵

1917.....L 640	1923.....L102,549
1918..... 3,652	1924..... 97,034
1919.....55,164	1925..... 119,657
1920.....28,794	1926..... 141,820
1921.....85,245	1927..... 93,199
1922.....108,864	1928..... 88,357

The figures expressed in pounds are the total sales for the year. The drop in 1927 is due to the fact that the marketing was separated from Hamashbir, when the marketing agency now known as "T'nuvah" was established.

Hamashbir does not sell to individuals directly, but conducts its business only with local cooperatives and collective farms. In 1931 Hamashbir's sales totalled L64,000, but by 1934 they had grown to L175,000.³⁶ In the year 1935, Hamashbir sold merchandise amounting to L270,000.³⁷ Viteles remarks of the work done by Hamashbir: "The Mashbir introduced into the marketing of milk and dairy products such anti-cooperative practices as sales on credit, distribution through middlemen, (working on a commission basis), the payment of the producers in scrip instead of cash, thus directly compelling them to purchase at the Mashbir stores. These trade traditions have been taken over by the new cooperatives and are impeding the development of cooperative marketing of milk. But were it not for the spadework done by Mashbir, it is doubtful whether about two and a half million litres of ~~we~~ milk would be sold cooperatively today."³⁸ (written in 1930).

As Revusky points out,³⁹ consumers' cooperation in Palestine lags behind producers' cooperation. This is explainable in view of the fact that the cooperatives in Palestine grew out of the "necessity of establishing the workers' agricultural

settlements on a more profitable basis and of encouraging in this way the further colonization of the country. The collective farms could not wait until a net of local consumers' co-operatives should be ready to absorb their products."

THE WORKERS' BANK.

The Workers' Bank is the principal financial institution of the Histadruth (Bank Hapoalim). No economic project is or can be undertaken by the settlers without the assistance of this bank. A report of this bank's activities, therefore, is really a report of the economic activities of labor in Palestine, both in the city and in the country. Since its establishment in 1921, this bank has granted loans aggregating over ~~one~~ ten million dollars,⁴⁰ to the institutions named above.

After the World War, the labor movement recognized the need of a financial agency for its activities. The Palestine Workers' Fund (previously discussed) had been organized, but it did not fulfill all of the needs of organized labor. It was primarily an investment agency, and did not deal with credits, which was the basic need of the newly-organized Histadruth. Thus the Workers' Bank was founded. And by 1932 its active capital already amounted to L96,456.⁴¹

The task the bank set before itself was: the increasing of the number of Jewish workers in the land, and the development of Jewish labor in all branches of activity. This function the bank has fulfilled largely through credit loans. Over the first ten years of its existence the total credit granted amounted to L1,603,377, which was distributed as follows:⁴²

For land-settlement.....	L512,122
For buildg. & outdoor wk..	308,350
For producers' societies..	359,368
For credit societies.....	39,161
For labor institutions....	329,770
For miscellaneous needs...	54,606

From the nature of these expenditures, we can see how the aid of the Worker's Bank has been of value to every enterprise on the part of organized labor in Palestine.

During the first ten months of 1935, the Workers' Bank issued loans amounting to L480,000, distributed as follows:⁴³

1. Agricultural settlements.....	L 82,000
and cooperatives in colonies	
2. Collectives (kibbutzim) and	
labor employt. offices.....	58,000
3. T'nuva Agricultural coop.	
marketing society.....	15,653
4. Consumers' cooperatives.....	77,000
5. Workers' Savings and Loan societies..	55,500
6. Construction, contracting and	
transport cooperatives.....	110,000
7. Workers' Organizations, housing	
cooperatives, etc.....	82,000

Today, therefore, just as during the early period of its existence, the Workers' Bank is fulfilling an indispensable function for the labor institutions and enterprises.

Besides the Workers' Bank, there are also Workers' Loan and Savings Societies (see item no. 5 above). These exist in 9 villages and 3 cities, and the total membership of these 12 societies is over 10,000.⁴⁴ Loans are granted for constructive projects such as the purchase of land, the building of homes and the establishment of farms and other cooperative enterprises on the part of the members. As the nature of these loans is long-term credit, these societies depend on the Workers' Bank for assistance.

WORKERS' SECURITY

"Hasneh" is the cooperative life insurance company of the Histadruth. Established with the assistance of the Jewish National Workers' Alliance in America, in 1924, and though still in its first stage of development, it has already made remarkable progress. It issues mainly life-and endowment-policies, and has already granted loans to a number of its policy holders. In 1934, there were 1,400 workers insured by Hasneh, paying a total annual premium of LP 25,000. More than 800 members have made use of its loans, which totalled LP 15,000 by 1935.⁴⁵

Already in 1923, at the General Conference of the Histadruth in Tel Aviv, it was decided to separate the functions of the Workers' Savings and Loan Societies and that of Unemployment Insurance, which had been previously combined.⁴⁶ It was not, however, until the following year that the Unemployment Insurance fund was organized, and it was not until the year 1933 that the present Unemployment Fund was put into operation.⁴⁷ The maintenance of this fund is derived from workers' dues, and from other national institutions. It is known as the Central Unemployment Insurance Fund. The workers' contributions to this fund, based on the monthly earning capacity of these workers, is as follows:⁴⁸

<u>Wages</u>	<u>Dues</u>	<u>Wages</u>	<u>Dues</u>
6 to 13 dollars	....23¢	50 to 66 dollars	...\$1.05
13 to 20 "	....36¢	66 to 82 "	... 1.15
20 to 30 "	....52¢	82 to 99 "	... 1.32
30 to 40 "	....66¢	99 to 115 "	... 1.65
40 to 50 "	....82¢		

By April, 1936, the Fund amounted to over L 35,000. Out of this sum, L 25,000 was contributed by workers' dues, L 4,000

came from the institutions of the Histadruth, and L 8,000 came from donations.⁴⁹

Besides Hasneh, (the Workers' Insurance Fund) and the Unemployment Insurance Fund, there has also been organized recently the Workers' Mutual Aid Society (Mish'an) in Tel Aviv. All of these institutions for workers' security have already shown, and continue to show, considerable growth.

DEPARTMENT OF WORKERS' QUARTERS

This department of the Histadruth, known as the Merkas Schechuneth Ovdim, is the department of urban colonization of the Histadruth. It provides for the building of cooperative residential quarters for workers. In these quarters they live in their own environment, according to their common aspirations. The movement toward the building of these workers' homes was stimulated by the rising rents in the cities, and the difficult position of the urban workers. Today, workers' quarters exist in all of the cities, and in the larger colonies as well. In 1934, more than 2,650 families were already thus provided for, and the number is undoubtedly much higher today.⁵⁰

So eager has the Histadruth been to supply residences at reasonable rates for the Jewish workers, that today most of the building associations of Tel Aviv are working under the guidance of its Merkas Schechunoth Ovdim. By the beginning of 1936, the Merkas had thus enabled the settlement of 2,010 of its members in their own dwellings. In Tel Aviv alone there had been erected 880 workers' homes, and 300 others (in 1936) were in the process of construction. Moreover, 2,126 of the members of the Histadruth had been assi-

igned building-plots to begin construction as soon as possible.⁵¹ Outside of Haifa, there have been built recently (during the last three years) 780 workers' residences, on a piece of land bought by the Jewish National Fund.⁵²

The most recent tendency, however, has been toward the erection of cooperative apartments, where each member owns his own apartment in the building, but shares the ground and surrounding gardens with the other members of the apartment. The Palestine Economic Review, speaking of the recent progress in the building of Workers' Homes, says:⁵³ "Low cost cooperative houses are being constructed by the Schichun Workers' Housing Co., Ltd., in Kiryath Avodah, South Tel Aviv." The plans call for the building of 100 apartments. 30 of these are at present (July, 1936) in process of construction, and the construction of the remainder was to commence in August, 1936. The arrangements are as follows: each occupant is to invest LP 90 in cash, the balance to be paid in monthly installments for the building of houses, road paving, water, electricity, ~~and~~ a garden, and the construction of a school and kindergarten.

Individuals who wish to participate in the cooperative apartments, and who have only LP 60 to 70 at their disposal, are aided by the Kupath Milveh Vehisachon (Workers' Loan and Savings Fund) in Tel Aviv. 200 individual houses for workers were also being constructed in Kiryath Avodah (City of Labor). 145 of these were to be completed by August, 1936, and the construction of 80 additional houses was to be begun in July of that year. In Kiryath Chayim (named after Chayim Arlos-off, labor leader who was recently murdered), a suburb of

Haifa, 48 apartments were being built in cooperative houses, 100 new individual houses were to be started in July, and 52 new cooperative apartments were to be undertaken in September.⁵⁴

Actually, the kinds of dwellings built through the Histadruth are of three types, rather than two. These are:⁵⁵(a) workers' dwellings, removed from the city, individual homes where each worker has a plot of ground also for a garden, (b) workers' dwellings in or near the city, also individual homes, as in the first case, (c) workers' cooperative apartments in the city. The tendency at present, as has been pointed out, is toward the building of the third type. Outstanding among examples of the cooperative apartment are:⁵⁶Shechunas Borochoy (named after Ber Borochoy, whose contribution to the labor ideology we have already discussed), at the outskirts of Tel Aviv; those apartments North of Tel Aviv, housing 700 families; Kiryath Chayim, at Aho. The latter was built as a workers' city, to house 30,000 souls.

DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIAL COOPERATIVES

This department of the Histadruth, known as the Merkaz Hacoöperatziah, is the center of cooperatives in industry and transportation. According to its latest report (of December, 1935),⁵⁷ it consisted of 76 member-cooperatives, engaged in urban production and services. Of these, 46 were engaged in the actual work of production, 25 in transport, and 5 in restaurants. Among the producers' cooperatives are included ten factories for building materials (mostly cement products), nine wood-working shops, two printing shops, two shoe factories, three clothing shops, five metal factories, two electrical contractor groups, and five bakeries.

The aggregate capital of these 76 producers' and service cooperatives ^{amounted} ^u _A, on December 31, 1935,⁵⁸ to L 286,610. Their total investment in plants, merchandise, land, and buildings, amounted to L 671,353. The total amount of business done by these cooperatives during 1935 amounted to L 1,239,149. The larger part of this sum, namely, L 759,747, represents the gross revenue of the transport cooperatives, L 408,046 the annual production of the 46 producers' cooperatives, and L 71,356 the sales of the five cooperative restaurants. These 76 producers' and service cooperatives number 2,792 members in all.

The rapid and continuing growth of these cooperatives may be seen from the fact that in 1934, only a little over a year before the report mentioned above was made, the number of their members was only 1967.⁵⁹ In a period of little over a year, 7 new cooperatives were added, and 825 new members. The aim of the Histadruth in connection with the growth of the cooperatives has been two-fold: to achieve mutual aid between the existing cooperatives, and to stimulate wage-earners to open their own shops on a cooperative basis.

Since the cooperative movement is so integral a part of the new society in the making in Palestine, it might be best to speak briefly here of the advance of the cooperative movement generally in Palestine, for the cooperative movement has by no means been limited to the labor movement in Palestine. An ^{indication} ~~example~~ of the extensiveness of the cooperative movement may be seen from the report of the number of cooperative societies that were registered in the three months April thru June, 1936. This reveals the following information:⁶⁰

<u>Society</u>	<u>April</u>	<u>May</u>	<u>June</u>
Credit societies:			
Urban.....	----	1	---
Rural.....	----	---	---
Agricultural Societies:			
Settlement.....	4	1	5
Marketing.....	1	1	---
Irrigation and water supply.....	1	---	---
Cattle Insurance.....	---	---	---
Citrus Packing Houses.....	---	---	---
General Agricultural.....	1	2	---
Industrial Producers & Contractg. Socs. 1	1	2	
Garden cities and communal bldg. Socs.. 4	---	10	
Transport & Travel Service Socs..... 1	---	---	
Consumers' societies.....	---	---	---
Misc. and Professional societies..... 1	---	1	
Mutual Insurance societies.....	---	1	
Audit Unions.....	---	---	---

Thus in the month of ~~May~~ April, 1936, there had been established 14 new cooperative societies; in May, 6 new societies; and in June, 19 new societies. Such speed in the development of cooperative enterprise is probably unparalleled anywhere in the world. These cooperative ventures, unlike in other countries, have not received financial assistance from the government. The government has given them only legal status and certain privileges. The financial agencies for these undertakings have been:⁶¹(a) The Central Bank of Cooperative Institutions in Palestine, Ltd. (of which Mr. Viteles is General Manager); (b) The Palestine Jewish Colonization Association; (c) The Anglo-Palestine Co.; (d) The Workers' Bank. These have provided both advice and financial assistance to the cooperative enterprises.

While the strong belief of the labor movement in Palestine in cooperative undertakings was and still is an important factor in accounting for the growth of cooperative undertakings in Palestine, (particularly in its work of stimulating the devel-

opment of cooperative industrial producers' and consumers' societies), the other classes of the Jewish population have done and are doing not less in this direction. This is a point that must be borne in mind, for the impression created abroad by some of the literature on the cooperative movement conveys the impression that labor alone is responsible for the growth of the Jewish cooperative movement in Palestine. ^PActually, there are three causes for the unprecedented development of the cooperative movement in Palestine. These are:⁶² (a) cooperation was practically necessary, because of the physical characteristics of the land. (For bringing water from a distance, for draining swamps, etc. cooperation was almost a necessity); (b) the labor movement made cooperation one of its basic principles, thereby giving impetus to the cooperative idea in general enterprise; (c) many of the Jewish immigrants had previous contact with cooperative undertakings in the lands of their origin, and brought these ideas and techniques with them.

CULTURE AND EDUCATION

Formerly there was a single Committee on Culture (Vaadath Hatarbuth) in the General Executive of the Histadruth. Recently this was reorganized into two separate committees, a Committee on Educational Institutions, (Merkas L'chinuch), supervising the education of the children in the schools, and a Division on Culture, (Mach'lokeh L'tarbuth), for adult education.

The original Vaadath Hatarbuth, founded in 1920, had set for itself a two-fold goal: (a) to aid the immigrant learn the Hebrew language and orient him to a constructive understanding of the labor ideology; and (b) to pave the way for a labor-con-

trolled school-system in city and country, which would introduce the child into both the practical and the theoretical aspects of the work of the Jewish labor movement. Much was done during the next decade toward the achievement of these aims. Of the large influx of 1924-25, for example, it is estimated that thousands of immigrants were reached by the adult education program of the Histadruth. And as for the schools for children, these increased from 7 schools and 8 kindergartens with a total of 153 children and 15 teachers in 1923, to a total of 26 schools and 44 kindergartens with 2,200 children and 110 teachers in 1932.⁶⁴

This rapid growth, and the recognition of the need of special training after the close of the period of schooling, prompted the Executive Committee of the Histadruth to separate the functions of children's and adult education, in 1931, under the supervision of the two separate committees already named. The children up to 12 years of age were thereafter to be taught in the labor-childrens' schools, those from 12-18 years of age in special courses for working-youth, and those from 18 years and upward in general evening courses.

It is interesting to notice the cultural backgrounds of the labor immigrants over 18 years of age (according to the General Labor census of Sept. 1, 1926):⁶⁵

1. University education.....4.4%
2. Gymnasium training.....40.4%
3. Volkshule background.....30.0%
4. Home or private cheder education.....21.8%

Later statistics show very much the same situation. In 1932, of 3,935 registered chalutzim, 2,009 had a public school edu-

cation; 1,121 a high school education; 70 a college education; 331 a domestic education; 128 a trade education.⁶⁶ We thus find an unusual number of persons with advanced education entering the Histadruth as workers. It is also interesting to note that a majority of the better-educated labor immigrants prefer land-labor to city-employment.⁶⁷ This is, to a great extent, a tribute to the idealism of these immigrants, for whom a return to labor means also a return to the soil.

In the adult evening Hebrew courses, there were in 1923 about 1350-1450 students. In 1926, this number rose to 4,000. During the next two years this number dropped considerably, in compliance with the drop in immigration. In 1931, however, of 900 registered labor immigrants, 672 could already speak Hebrew, 804 could read, and 689 could write Hebrew.⁶⁸ This indicates to what extent the Hechalutz organizations in the countries of their origin had been preparing these chalutzim for life in Palestine. The same is true today as well; the immigrants are being trained in both Hebrew and Agriculture before leaving for Palestine. Despite this work on the part of the world chalutz movement, however, there is a continued need for adult education, and, recognizing this need, the Division on Culture seeks to meet it. Evening courses on many subjects are provided, including courses on the labor ideology. From time to time, seminars are held. In the summer of 1932, for example, there was held a three-months seminar on the labor movement and its problems, for workers from all parts of the country.

Of special importance for the education of labor youth is the Labor Youth Organization (Hanoar Haoved), founded in 1925 with 185 members and having in 1935 as many as 3,729

members.⁶⁹ It is the organization for working youth under the age of 18, and is built on the model of the Histadruth ideology. This organization has two farms settled by its members, Naanah (with 200 members) and Kfar Yonah. For these young workers, evening lectures and seminars are conducted, and a bi-weekly paper, "Bamaaleh" is published. There are also special schools for labor youth, such as the school in Tel Aviv. Again, they have their clubs, reading-rooms, libraries, etc. in various cities. They have organized choirs, orchestras, and theatre-groups. Especially worthy of mention is "Ohel", the workers' theatre, founded in 1925. It has ^{performed} ~~presented~~ the works of Peretz, Heyermanns, Kraschininikov, Stefan Zweig, Karl Czappek, etc. Also worthy of mention is the Young Workers' Sports Organization, (Hapoel). It publishes a paper of its own, "Usenu"; its membership in 1934 was 4,000.⁷⁰

The growth of labor's educational institutions for the younger children may be seen from the following table:⁷¹

1921.....	1 school	1 kindergarten	19 pupils
1922.....	7	7	94
1923.....	8	9	145
1924.....	10	14	354
1926.....	12	26	908
1929.....	19	36	1,499
1932.....	26	44	2,206

In 1934, these had increased to 73 kindergartens, with 1,747 youngsters; 49 schools, with 3,780 children; a total of 122 institutions, with 5,527 children and 250 teachers.⁷²

The aim of these elementary schools of the Histadruth is two-fold: (a) to teach the child the value of self-labor, and (b) to prepare him for cooperative group living. Although these schools (as well as the separate schools of the Mizrachi Movement in Palestine) are under the general supervision of the

Education Department of the Jewish Agency, the Histadruth enjoys a great deal of autonomy in their management.

PUBLICATIONS

The Histadruth publishes a daily newspaper, "Davar", which is the official organ of the Jewish labor movement in Palestine. This was founded on June 1st, 1925. It is the most widely read and most widely circulated of Palestinian newspapers, and is issued twice daily, morning and evening. It is, according to Revusky, "an excellent paper that compares very favorably with the best labor dailies of Europe."

This newspaper has several correspondents outside of Palestine, and carries also a fine literary supplement. Between the years 1929-1931 it issued also weekly supplements in English and in German. It has also weekly supplements for trade, such as the Railway Workers' and Building Workers' supplements, that appear from time to time. The Kupath Cholim also issues from time to time its "Workers' Health". Davar has also a bi-weekly supplement for the cooperative movement, the "Cooperative Bulletin." All these supplements are expected to become independent publications eventually.⁷⁴

The Agricultural Union publishes a technical monthly, called "Hasadeh". The secretariats of the Histadruth branches also publish annual reports, containing much valuable information on the labor movement. The Young Workers, and Hapoel, the sport organization, publish a bi-weekly, "Bamaaleh", and a monthly, "Usenu" respectively. There is, moreover, an abundant supply of literature published by the various groups and political parties within the Histadruth.

THE WOMEN WORKERS' COUNCIL

One of the many unusual features of the Histadruth is the fact that the wives of workers are included in the organization on an equal footing with the men, even if these women are only working in the kitchen or nursery. Thus a considerable section of the members of the Histadruth are listed as "wives of the workers, who are occupied ~~only~~ in housework." The number of such women (who are not engaged in outside work), was, at the last census of the Histadruth (taken in October, 1935) 18,689.⁷⁵

The specific problems of the woman in the movement as a worker, wife and mother gave rise to the Women Workers' Council of the Histadruth. At their general conference, the women members of the Histadruth elect the representatives to this Council. The Council, in turn, elects a secretariat, which cooperates with the General executive of the Histadruth. Its sphere of activities is the organization of the working mothers, care of the women immigrants, organization of Girls' Farms (Mishke Hapoaloth, see above), where girls are trained for farm work, the organization of girls' groups in the cities as well as on the farms, building of day nurseries for the children of working mothers, and raising the cultural and social level of the woman in the Palestine labor movement.⁷⁶

Jointly with the agricultural department of the Histadruth, the Women Workers' Council maintains ten school farms for girls, where a total of 300 girls were in training at the end of 1934. The course of training being generally one year, these farms have prepared a great number of experienced women agricultural workers for the collectives and for individual farm households.

The capital invested in these training farms up to 1933 has been approximately L 60,000. This money came from the Jewish Agency, the Women's International Zionist Organization, and the Pioneer Women's Organization of America.⁷⁷

Most of the revenues of the girls' farms--about 50%--comes from tree nurseries and poultry-raising. Next in importance are vegetable gardens, dairy products, grain culture, apiculture, and hired work on neighboring farms. It is interesting to note that in spite of their educational aims, these farms are often able to cover their operating expenses, and most of them ended the year 1935 with a profit.⁷⁸

In the towns and in the larger private colonies, the Women Workers' Council has succeeded in founding cooperatives for unemployed women, establishing day nurseries and kindergartens, and creating evening courses for women in general, as well as supplying trade education for women workers. There are also a number of cooperative restaurants, laundries, and tailoring shops established with the help of and under the control of the Women's Secretariat.

The influence of the Women's Organization of the Histadruth lies "not only in its immediate work, but to a still greater extent in the great moral influence it exercises on Jewish women outside its ranks." Even in the prosperous private colonies have the wives of the colonists begun to take pride in poultry raising, vegetable gardening, etc. There are also "more flower beds and vegetable patches in Tel Aviv today than could be seen there ten years ago."⁷⁹

GROWTH OF THE HISTADRUTH

The growth of the Histadruth, its membership and activities, can be readily seen from the following chart:⁸⁰

	<u>Dec. 1920</u>	<u>Dec. 1933</u>	<u>Oct. 1, 1935*</u>
Number of Jewish workers in Palestine.....	5,000	51,500	
Members of the Histadruth.....	4,433	42,000	85,818
Members of Kupath Cholim.....	3,200	26,000	50,000
Branches of Kupath Cholim.....	20	102	140**
Population of the Labor settlements as a whole.....	950	9,500	12,363
Number of Labor settlements....			
(a) agricultural communes (kvutzoim and kibbutzim)...	13	40	25 kvutzoim
(b) individual-cooperative settlements (M.O).....	6	25	
(c) women workers' farms and groups.....	6	10	10
Acreage of labor settlements..	15,586 dun.	152,481 d.	
Turnover of "Hamashbir".....	28,794LP	89,360LP	270,000LP

The table below relates to those activities that were begun in the years following the foundation of the Histadruth:

Members of Labor Youth Org...	1925: 185; 1933: 2,650; 1935: 3,729
Members of Hapoel.....	1924: 50; 1933: 2,450;
Circulation of Davar.....	1925: 2,500; 1933: 12,000;
Paid Capital, Workers' Bank	1922: 30,000L; 1933: 100,000L; [REDACTED]
Loans given by " " " " " "	1922: 150,000L; 1933: 370,000L; 1935: 480,000L (1st 10 mos.)***
Turnover of T'nuva.....	1924: 19,700L; 1933: 200,000L; '35: 500,000L
Workers employed by	
Yakhin.....	1927: 80; 1933: 450; 1935: 800-1,000
Paid capital of "Nir"...	1927: none; 1933: 18,000; '35: 91,575L
Persons engaged in industrial and transport coops...	1924: 277; 1933: 1,540; '35: 2,792
Members of Workers' Loan & Savings societies.....	1927: 2,078; 1933: 8,542; '35: 20,734
The unemployment fund....	founded 1933; in 1933: 6,000LP
Arlosoroff Memorial fund..	collected in 1933: 18,000LP

* These figures (for 1935) are from Revusky, "Jews in Palestine".

**From pamphlet "Kupath Cholim", December, 1935, page 2.

***From Palestine Economic Review, January, 1936, page 2.

It is, of course, impossible to get complete or accurate figures for all of these activities of the Histadruth for 1935 and for 1936.

Some idea of the rapid rate of increase of the membership in the Histadruth may be received from the following figures:⁸¹

Tel Aviv	'32: 8,914;	'35: 32,650;	266% increase
Haifa	4,158;	18,554;	405%
Jerusalem	4,128;	6,665 ;	69%
Other towns	1,615;	2,350 ;	19%
Colonies	7,814;	19,391 ;	148%
Workers' settlts.	3,449;	6,208 ;	80%
	30,078;	85,818 ;	185%

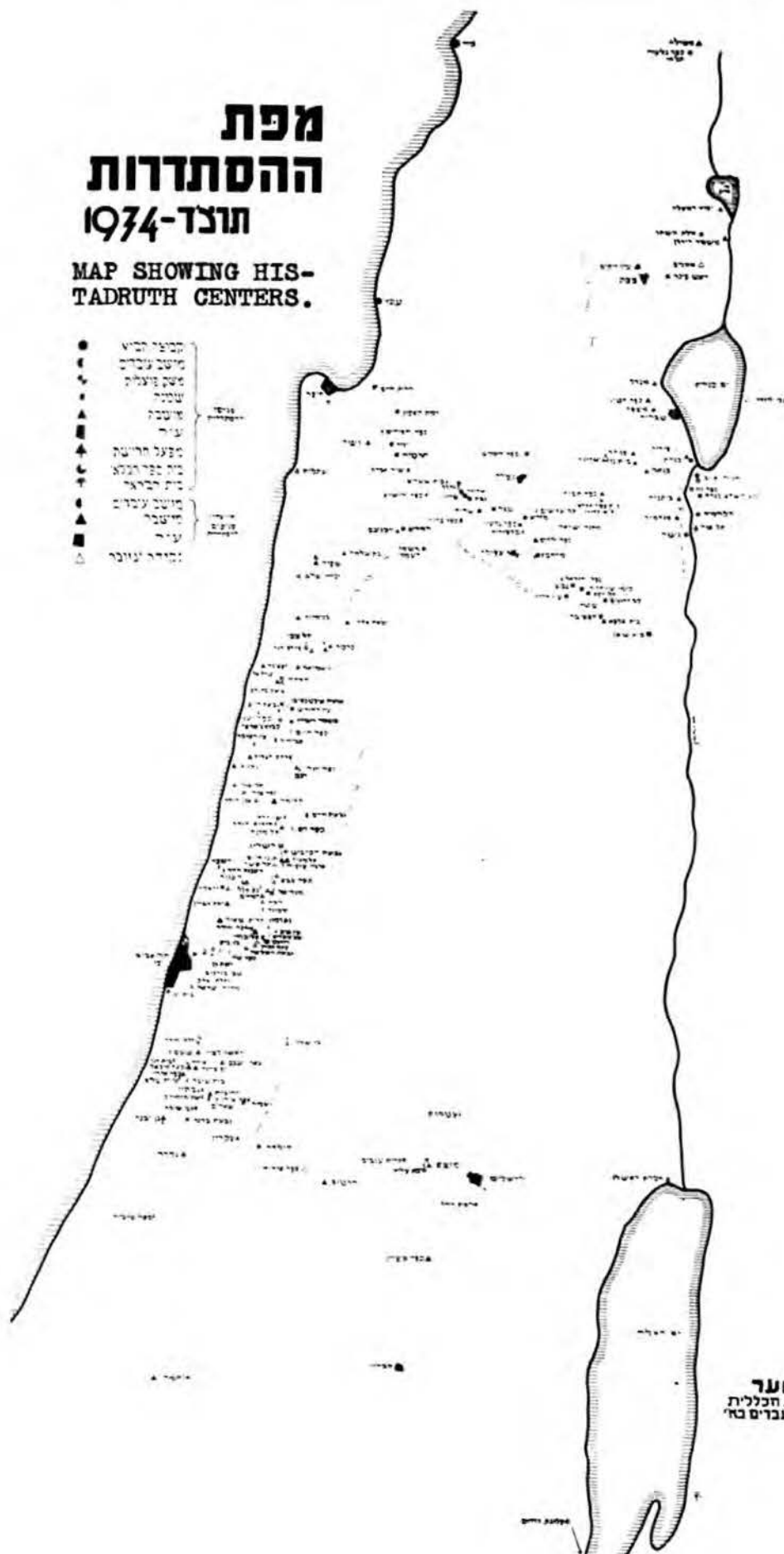
The distribution of the membership in the urban trades at the beginning of 1935 was:⁸²

Buildg. & bldg. materials....	8,150
Wood industries.....	2,436
Metals, plumbing, electricity.....	3,461
Painting.....	824
Textiles.....	755
Needle trades.....	1,144
Leather.....	466
Baking and butchering.....	556
Printing and cartilage.....	906
Various factories.....	1,870
Restaurants & hotels.....	1,084
Domestic service.....	1,020
Clerking & selling.....	2,966
Technical & mechanical trades.....	332
Medicine & allied professions.....	962
Education, science, art.....	545
Porterage, stevedoring, etc.....	1,494
Railroad, postal & telegraph.....	319
Kibbutzim in town limits.....	480
Miscellaneous unskilled.....	1,620

This chart reveals the all-embracing nature of the Histadruth, (i.e., including in its membership professional workers as well as physical laborers); moreover, it reveals also the more natural distribution of Jewish employment in Palestine, (i.e., as many Jewish stevedores and porters as in the needle trades, and more in each of these than in the medical and other professions).

**מפת
ההסתדרות
תוצד-1974**

MAP SHOWING HIS-
TADRUTH CENTERS.



הוצאת המרכז לנוער
של ההסתדרות הכללית
של העובדים העברים בא"י

CHAPTER VI.
TODAY AND TOMORROW.

CHAPTER VI.

TODAY AND TOMORROW

Palestine today is a country experiencing rapid industrial and economic advance. It is worthy of mention that in the year 1931, a year marked by financial disaster and depression in so many countries of the world, more than four thousand Jews were absorbed into Palestine, and the same was the case during the four years following the Palestine depression of 1926-1927.¹ Exports and imports, while they did not increase during those years, declined much less than in the neighboring countries. Extensive public works projects were undertaken to prevent unemployment, and withal, the budget of the Palestine government was balanced.²

Between the years 1932 and 1936 Palestine experienced another mass immigration, owing, in great part, to the immigration of large numbers of Jews from Germany. How large that immigration was may be seen from the fact that between 1931 and 1936 the number of Jews in Palestine increased from 174,610 to over 375,000.³ During the year 1935 alone there was a total of 65,000 immigrants. It is of particular interest to note that, whereas the entire Jewish community doubled in the years 1932 to 1936, the Jewish/^{labor}population in Palestine increased almost threefold over the same period. In 1932, there were 30,000 men and women workers, while in 1936 the number reached 88,000. Whereas in 1932 the Jewish/^{labor}population was 16% of the entire Jewish population, in 1936 it comprised (with dependents) about 40% of the total Jewish population.⁴

Since this great amount of Jewish labor has entered the country in the past four years, it is of particular importance

to ask: Where have these new labor immigrants settled, and what occupations have they entered?

DISTRIBUTION OF LABOR

The answer to the first of these questions may readily be ascertained from the following chart:⁵

	<u>Nov. 1931</u>	<u>Begin. 1936</u>	<u>%of total Yishub ('31)</u>	<u>%of total Wishub ('36)</u>
Tel Aviv & suburbs	46,332	135,000	26.5%	36.0%
Jerusalem & "	53,746	70,000	30.7	18.7
Haifa & "	16,020	50,000	9.2	13.3
Tiberias, Safed, Afulah, Acre, Hebron..	8,618	11,000	5.0	2.9
<hr/>				
Total for urban centers	132,445	284,000	75.9%	75.7%
Settles. & rural dists.	42,155	91,000	24.1	24.3
<hr/>				
Total.....	174,610	375,000		

From this table it may be seen that the proportion of workers absorbed in rural and urban communities has remained fairly constant, about 25% to 75%.

Because of this constant proportion, the occupational structure of Jewish labor in Palestine has changed very little in the past few years. However, there has been a decrease in 5% of the Jewish agricultural wage-earners. In 1936, the total farm population was 13.5% of the total Jewish population in Palestine, whereas in 1931 it constituted 15.4%.⁶ This decline is not due to an unwillingness on the part of the immigrants to settle on the soil, but is largely due to external factors, refusal of farmers to employ Jewish labor, inadequate national farm credit, and the like.

Of the 10,000 additional farm workers who came to Palestine in 1932 to 1936, one half of these have been absorbed by

labor cooperatives. In 1932, 4,500-5,000 adults were engaged in cooperative agricultural labor; in 1936, the number was 9,500. In contrast to these figures, private citrus-growing during that period absorbed only 4,000 workers, among whom were 2,900 additional ~~grove~~ grove owners and only 1,000 hired Jewish workers. In other words, it has been cooperative agriculture rather than private agricultural enterprise that has maintained the proportion between urban and rural labor in Palestine.

The ~~increase~~ decrease in opportunities for Jewish labor in finding employment in the citrus-plantations (from 15.4% of rural Jewish labor in 1931 to 8.9% in 1936) has been compensated for in part by the increased membership of the cooperative farms (10,000 adult members in 1936 as compared with 4,135 in 1932). This represents a 250% increase over the ^{four}~~two~~ year period.⁷

IN THE INDUSTRIES

According to the government census of November, 1931, industries, crafts, quarries and mechanics furnished employment to 16,500 persons (42,770 including dependents). About 1/4 of all Jewish labor in Palestine was represented in these occupations. In 1936, crafts and industries alone employed nearly 25,000 persons. When there is added to this figure the number of persons employed in home-crafts, such as shoe-makers, tailors, dressmakers, laundresses, etc., the number rises to 35,000. With their dependents, they numbered 89,000 in 1936, or 23.9% of the Jewish population in Palestine. These fields of activity absorbed 46,730 new immigrants, of whom 18,500

were heads of families. From these facts it may be seen what a large role crafts and industries played in absorbing Jewish labor during the four years of 1932 to 1936.⁸

Particularly noteworthy has been the development of the building trade. According to the government census of 1931, building and public works occupied 6,511 persons (with dependents, 19,000, or 9.77% of the total Jewish population in Palestine.). By 1936, those occupations had absorbed 50,000 (with dependents), or 13.2% of the total Jewish population. This inordinate growth in the building trades is due to the failure of the government and private agriculturists to provide adequate employment. Although labor leaders bemoan the unnatural increase in the building trades, it has really been necessary. Dwellings in urban centers in Palestine, even with this rapid growth, are still overcrowded, and rentals are still too high. This is perhaps the primary reason why the Histadruth has undertaken the building of cooperative housing projects.

There has been a marked increase also in the number of workers engaged in transit and transport work. The census of Nov. 1931 showed 3,278 persons thus occupied; 1,790 in road transport (chauffeurs, cabbies, clerks, etc.), 629 porters and messengers, 403 postal and telegraph workers, 275 railway workers, 111 shipowners and agents, boatmen and dock laborers, 61 road and bridge repairmen. With their dependents, these totalled 9,629, or 5.5% of the total Jewish population in Palestine. In 1936, the number thus employed were 8,500 which with dependents, amounts to 25,000 or 6.6% of the Jewish population.

GOVERNMENT AND PROFESSIONAL OCCUPATION

In November, 1931, there were 1,901 Jewish government employees, representing 2% of the Jewish wage-earners in Palestine, or, with dependents, 1.9% of the entire Jewish population. In 1936, the number was estimated at 1,700 to 2,000, or 1.4% of all the Jewish wage-earners (1.4% also, of all the Yishuv, when dependents are included). In November, 1931, 419 Jewish policemen and 78 Jewish watchmen were employed by the government. In August, 1935, only 286 Jews were thus employed. In 1936, the number thus employed was estimated at 400. There were also 510 Jews employed in the civil service in November, 1931. Of these, municipalities and rural administrations employed 283 Jews. This number has since been greatly increased in Jewish municipal institutions, but has ^Snot increased to a corresponding extent in administration and police activities.

In the liberal professions too we find a considerable increase during the past four years. In 1931, there were 1,748 in medicine; in 1936 the number was estimated at 4,000. In 1931, the schools of Palestine employed 1,670 teachers; in 1934, the number rose to 2,101. This increase is not in proportion, however, being an increase in 26% compared with a 90% increase in population during those same years. In the legal profession, the increase has been more proportionate to the population increase. And the same is true of the clerical profession. The number of persons engaged in the fine arts (writers, musicians, actors, etc.) has increased considerably; these amounted to about 3,000 in 1936. The total number of wage-earners in the liberal professions, however, was estimated at 13,500, which is a smaller percentage of the pop-

ulation than in 1931.

The comparative occupational distribution of labor in Palestine in the years 1931 and 1936 may be seen from the following tables:⁹

	<u>End 1931</u>		<u>Providers</u>	
	Number	% of	Number	Beg. 1936 % of
Agriculture	12,306	18.5	23,000	16.1
Building	6,511	9.8	19,000	13.3
Industry	16,455	24.6	35,000	24.5
Transp. & transit	3,278	4.9	8,500	5.9
Lib. Professions	7,442	11.1	13,500	9.4
Admin. and army	1,303	2.0	2,000	1.4
	47,295	70.9	101,000	70.6
Commerce	10,919	16.4		
Housework	3,398	5.1	42,000	29.4
Miscellaneous	5,071	7.6		
Total	66,683		143,000	

	<u>End 1931</u>		<u>Population</u> (Providers and their dependents)	
	Number	% of	Number	Beg. 1936 % of
Agriculture	27,017	15.6	50,500	13.5
Building	16,948	9.7	49,600	13.2
Industry	42,770	24.5	89,500	23.9
Transport & transit	9,629	5.5	25,000	6.6
Lib. Professions	17,490	10.0	31,800	8.5
Admin. and army	3,428	2.0	5,200	1.4
	117,282	67.2		67.1
Commerce	33,796	19.4		
Housework	5,264	3.0	123,400	32.9
Miscellaneous	18,268	10.4		
Total	174,610		375,000	

ANALYSIS OF POSSIBILITIES

Palestine's capacity for absorbing labor at the present time seems almost unlimited. However, the immigration^s is restricted by the English government to conform with the "economic capacity" of the country. The method used for ascertaining the number of workers the country needs is as follows: Twice a year (spring and fall), the Jewish employers are asked concerning their needs for new workers. On the basis of the information thus received, the Jewish agency presents its demand for labor immigration certificates to the English government.

That the Jewish labor immigration is not in excess of the needs of the country is seen from the fact that during the years 1933-35, Palestine actually had a shortage of workers.¹⁰ This had two consequences: Jewish workers went to the towns, where labor was better paid, and many Arab workers came from the surrounding districts to enjoy the higher wages in Palestine. One cause for labor's entering urban occupations to so great an extent was the fact that the extent of the immigration and the composition of its members (lower middle-class Jews) tended to direct them toward urban occupations. Nevertheless, the balance between urban and rural labor has been fairly well maintained.

PLANTATION WORK

In plantation employment, the situation is far from satisfactory. In 1932, the area of Jewish-owned plantations was 65,000 dunams, and 4,500 Jewish workers were employed on them. In 1935, the area had increased to 150,000 dunams, an increase of 130%, whereas the number of Jewish workers in the plantations

increased by only 11%. These workers in 1935 numbered only 5,000, whereas it is estimated that the plantations were capable of giving employment to 13,000-14,000 Jews.¹¹

What are the factors making for this situation and preventing a greater employment of Jews in the private plantation colonies? Smilansky, head of the Farmers' Federation (an owners' organization), names three obstacles:¹² the economic, the psychological, and political. The chief obstacle, of course, is the economic one. The higher wage of the organized Jewish workers is a real factor in this situation. This difference in wage during the period of cultivation and preparation of the orange groves amounts to about 8% of the total cost of cultivation. From the sixth year of the grove and onward, the grove becomes productive. Its greatest productivity follows the tenth year. During that period (between the sixth and tenth year), the difference in labor costs is: 20 piastres per day for Jewish labor as compared with 12 piastres per day for Arab labor. The total difference between the cost of Jewish and Arab labor for the cultivation, picking, and packing of one case of oranges amounts to 33 mills.¹³

Important as is the economic factor in making for the limited use of Jews in the citrus plantations, the psychological factor is also of considerable importance. Mr. Smilansky writes: "As soon as we have 100% Jewish labor (in the plantations), the workers' wage will in no time reach such a level that it will overpower us. We find two neighboring orange groves. One has mixed labor, the majority being Jewish. Everything runs smoothly. And in the other, where the work is done wholly by Jewish labor, there are always negotiations about one thing or

another."¹⁴In other words, the plantation owner feels that he needs Arab workers along with the Jewish workers to serve as a check on the aggressiveness of organized Jewish labor.

At a recent meeting of the Agricultural council of the Histadruth, the problem of assuring the continued employment of the 9,000 Jewish workers who found their way into the private plantations as workers ^{during the riots of 1936} was seriously discussed.¹⁵ For some time, negotiations had been going on between the Planters' Union and the Agricultural Executive. Finally, the Agricultural Executive of the Histadruth accepted the Planters' proposal to employ 80% Jewish labor--outside, of course, of those places where 100% Jewish labor was already being employed,--and to pay the standard wages.

UNIFICATION OF THE KIBBUTZ MOVEMENT

The three different associations of kvutzoth and kibbutzim, whose policies we have previously presented, have recognized for a long time the need for some sort of unity between them. However, because of political and ideological differences, this unity has never been attained. That such unity would be of inestimable value to the development of the labor settlements is indisputable, and it is not surprising that steps in this direction have recently been undertaken.

At a recent conference of the Kibbutz Hameuchad (the largest of the kibbutzim), principles were set forth which aimed at the further unification of the three existing kibbutzim; these were:¹⁶

- (a) The Kibbutz Hameuchad (United Collective) by its very nature has the purpose of uniting the collective movement in to a large collective association, to increase the colonizing power of the whole movement.....

- (b) As a basis for the union of Hakkibbutz Hameuchad, Hakibbutz Haartzi (national collective) founded by Hashomer Hatzair, and Chever Hakvutzoth (federation of small collectives), the council proposes the union of independent labor on the collective and hired labor; the union of agriculture handicrafts and manufacture; mutual aid and responsibility;.....in other words, the reception of new immigrants into old collectives rather than the founding of new and necessarily small collectives....the continuous absorption of new immigration; the construction of large and growing communistic settlements on the basis of the maximum expansion and development of all the fields of work and all the economic resources.....the authority of the unified collective movement over all its settlements and members: the Zionist-socialist education of its members.
- (c) The council instructs its secretariat to create a form together with other parts of the collective movement for ~~the~~ transitional cooperation towards the hastening of the unification.

The second section of this statement, however, proved to be little more than a reiteration of the general policy of the Kibbutz Hameuchad, which advocates large and expanding kvutzoth. At the meeting of the Chever Hakvutzoth, therefore, there was possible only a negative reaction to the unification proposals of the Kibbutz Hameuchad. The executive of the Chever Hakvutzoth stated:

"The ways of building the commune in Eretz Yisroel are different, and experience has not yet demonstrated the ~~p~~preferability of either of the two basic forms. Many thousands live in the small commune.....On the other hand, thousands live the life of the large collective....It was therefore our opinion that serious negotiations concerning unification would ensue only on the basis of fully and unqualifiedly equal rights for both forms and absolute freedom of opinions and methods of work within the framework of the Federation of Workers and its basic ideas.....But the council of Yagur (of the Kibbutz Hameuchad) went, to our sorrow, in another ~~d~~irection.....The resolution of Yagur destroys the chance of union"

And the reaction of the Kibbutz Haartzi of Hashomer Hatzair was somewhat similar. Thus it seems that for the time being the unification of the kibbutz movement, which would greatly strengthen the communistic settlements in Palestine, is not in sight.

However, since the council of Yagur, meetings have taken place between the representatives of the three kibbutzim for the discussion of unified labor in ports, at the Dead Sea, and in the police and other government occupations. It is yet possible that from the practical needs of cooperation differences may some day be sufficiently reduced to permit a unification of the labor settlements.

PUBLIC WORKS

Labor leaders in Palestine are not at all satisfied with the absorption of Jewish labor in government works. They claim that the future development of Jewish labor must be guaranteed through the penetration of Jewish workers into permanent avenues of employment, one of which is employment in government administration and public projects. Voicing the complaint of Jewish labor, Frumkin states:¹⁷ "today thousands of workers including Hauranese and Egyptians are employed in them (public works) while the number of Jewish workers is insignificant, in spite of the fact that the Jews are responsible for an income to the government equivalent to two-thirds of the cost of public works."

The income of the Palestine government during the past few years has indeed greatly increased, and the scope of government undertakings has increased correspondingly. By 1936, there were as many as 20,000 government employees. These were distributed as follows:¹⁸ railway workers, 4,500; telegraph and telephone workers, 1,500; sea-port workers, 3,000; In that total there were only 300 Jewish railway workers, and 500-600 employed in working to supply water and to pave roads. Thus

the number of Jewish employees in Government work~~s~~ is actually quite small. The reason given by the government, of course, is the fact that Jewish contracting groups have refused to accept government work, and rejected the offers made by the government. This, of course, is due to the higher Jewish wage scale. As a consequence, not only Palestinian Arabs, but Arabs from Hauran and Syria have flocked into government employment, serving to exclude the Jews, to a great extent, from public works.

The suggestion has been made that the Jewish Agency undertake political negotiations with the government with two purposes in view:¹⁹ (a) that the government should adopt the principle of accepting Jewish workers, and (b) that instructions to that effect should be given by the central government to all branches of the government which act as employers. A particular demand has been made for the increase of the number of Jewish railway and postal employees. Moreover, it has been demanded that the government contracting work be let out to Jews without competition, taking into consideration the quality of work done and also the needs of the Jewish worker.

Even if the government is prevailed upon to accept more Jewish workers, and if, in compliance with the request of Jewish labor, 3,000 Jewish workers (request of 1935) will be placed in government employment, the fact remains that fully 1/3 of these workers, as unskilled labor, will have to accept a day-wage of only 150 mills per day, hardly enough for the Jewish worker to live on.²⁰ In 1935, the Histadruth contracting agency actually undertook several government projects (a pipe-line for water from Ras el Ain to Jerusalem, road building in Sharon, etc.), at a loss. The Histadruth accepted these

contracts only because it gave Jewish labor an opportunity to expand into new positions. This procedure, however, can hardly be continued for any length of time. Some arrangement must ultimately be arrived at, whereby Jewish labor may secure its quota of employment in government projects at a livable wage. Already in 1931, Mr. MacDonald, in a letter to Dr. Weizman,²¹ to which labor leaders constantly point ~~aford~~ in justification of their demands, recognized England's ~~demands~~ obligation to provide Jewish labor with a proportionate share in employment in government works. However, a definite agreement between the government and Jewish labor on the percentage of Jewish labor to be employed in public works has not yet been arrived at.

TOWARD A PROGRAM

With the ingress of thousands of new immigrants, and with the rapid growth of agricultural and industrial enterprise in Palestine in the past few years, there has been laid the foundation for a new expansion of Jewish labor activities. To make such labor expansion possible, however, will require organized effort. Frumkin makes eight points that must be followed in the development of a program of expansion for Jewish labor. These are:²²

(a) A national loan must be procured and invested in long term credit for agriculture, industry, and building. The Jewish agency must issue the first national loan, and national credit organizations, such as the Anglo-Palestine bank, must render support to this loan.

(b) Firm political measures must be taken to insure constructive assistance from the Palestine government. The govern-

ment can be helpful by extending long term credits for agriculture, industry, and constructional enterprise, by freeing agriculture and other branches of enterprise from oppressive taxation, by protecting industry and agriculture from foreign dumping, and by giving Jewish labor a proportionate share in public enterprise.

(c) The organization of Totzeret Haaretz ("Buy Palestine products") consumption must be intensified. The central organization of Totzeret Haaretz must receive not only moral support, but the backing of the major credit and economic institutions as well.

(d) The Histadruth and the Yishuv must be made conscious of the need for penetration and reintegration in civil service, railway and maritime jobs. Those workers who have secured such employment should have behind them the support of organized labor in their children's education, housing, immigration certificates for relatives, health, accident insurance, etc.

(e) Financial and organizational forces must be mobilized to establish a firm position for Jewish labor in maritime docking and shipping. The Jewish Agency, the Histadruth, and national credit bodies should create and sustain institutions advancing these activities.

(f) The appearance of anti-Jewish labor sentiment in the orange plantations must be counteracted by creating a national company for selling fruit produced by all-Jewish labor. Propaganda must be issued in defense of the rights of Jewish labor, credits advanced to farmers employing Jewish labor, etc.

(g) Popular building and the construction of workers' dwellings should be intensified.

(h) Jewish foreign commerce must be well organized to provide adequate protection for Jewish exports and to obtain long-term credit for settlement, industry, and building. Work must be done toward increasing Jewish exports and toward preventing dumping.

(i) Finally, it is necessary to guard the very foundations of Jewish life in Palestine--Jewish immigration. Efforts must be made to secure entry for new immigrants and to provide for them upon arrival.

INTER-PARTY STRIFE

Within the framework of the Zionist movement, the labor group does not stand unchallenged. There are conflicting ideals among the Zionist settlers and the Zionist leadership, which are sometimes marked by acrimonious dispute. The groups whose ideals often run counter to the ideals of the labor element in Palestine are the Revisionists, the Misrachi, and the Communists. (The latter, however, is not a recognized party within the Zionist movement). Where are the points of difference which make for the all-too-frequent clashes between these groups?

Turning our attention first to the Revisionists, we find that the conflict between labor Zionism and revisionism is, in a sense, heir to an older incompatibility between what was formerly known as "small colonization" versus "large colonization"/Zionism.²³ In the earlier period of Zionist achievement in Palestine, the one group advocated small-scale colonization and gradual expansion; the other was interested in a Jewish political state, with a maximal colonization program. The revisionists of today are those who still advocate the maximal program.

The riots of 1929, and more recently those of 1936, the obstacles constantly being placed before Jewish immigration, the formation of the "Brith Shalom" group, which seeks peaceful Arab-Jewish relations through compromise in colonization enterprise and other matters, have acted as factors to lend weight to the claims of the revisionists, who are impatient to see the Zionist ideal achieved, and believe that these deterrents would not arise, should a Jewish homeland, politically recognized, be established immediately in Palestine.

The Labor group, however, will not accept the revisionist program. It feels that the immediate needs of colonization are of utmost importance, and that only through the gradual conquest of the land can the proper economic balance and proper occupational structure be achieved in Jewish Palestine. Without necessarily renouncing the ideal of a Jewish state in Palestine, Jewish labor has set itself to the concrete tasks of colonization. "Its realism consists in this: that it bears in mind the limits of political action, that it does not believe in the magic of potency of maximum slogans, and that it is convinced that the more Jews enter Palestine, and the stronger their social and economic conditions in the land, the more solid ground will be created for maximum political demands."²⁴ To the revisionists, however, it appears that the labor group has renounced the maximal aims of the Zionist movement, and that the activities of the labor group amount to only a liquidation of Zionist aspirations.

Another group with whom the laborites often come in conflict is the Mizrahi organization. This, the orthodox religious faction in the Zionist movement, was born in Vilna in 1903,

under the leadership of Isaac Jacob Reines. The name Mizrachi, an abbreviation of the Hebrew, "Merkas ruchani" expresses the ideals of the group. It aims at the establishment of a religious center in Palestine for world Jewry. This was expressed in Rabbi Meier Berlin's famous slogan: "Eretz Yisroel L'am Yisroel al Pi Torath Yisroel", ("The land of Israel for the people of Israel through the Torah of Israel"). While able to cooperate to a certain extent with other Zionist groups, they have insisted on separatism in Jewish education, and have (just as the labor group) their own schools in Palestine.

The complaint sometimes made by the Mizrachi leaders is that the labor movement is entirely secular in nature, and is, moreover, even anti-religious. Actually, however, the literature of the labor movement in Palestine expressed no anti-religious sentiments. Indeed, the labor organization has endorsed every effort to make Saturday the universal day of rest in Palestine.²⁵ Another charge has been that labor elements violate the dietary laws. Actually, however, in such labor institutions as the Kupath Cholim hospitals, the dietary laws are strictly observed. The labor movement, by and large, might, however, be termed non-religious in its orientation. That is where the basic conflict lies between the Mizrachi and the labor movement. It is due to a fundamental difference in their ideologies, ideologies not easily harmonized.

It is interesting to notice, however, that there is a youth movement known as Hapoel Hamizrachi (Religious Labor Youth.). This is an organization founded in 1922, and embracing 4,000 members in Palestine as well as 40,000 in the diaspora in 1935.²⁶ Its seventh convention was held in January,

1935. At the convention, three factions revealed different opinions as regards affiliation with the Mizrachi or the Histadruth. The section called Torah V'avodah, the majority group, favored continued affiliation with both the Mizrachi and the Histadruth. El Hamakor, the fundamentalist group, favored severing connections with the labor movement and retaining connection only with the Mizrachi. A more radical element within the organization, Yetzirah U'vinyan, takes the opposite view, and desires affiliation of the organization with the Histadrut and not the Mizrachi.

Yet another group which sometimes comes into conflict with the organized labor movement in Palestine is the left-wing Poale Zion faction. As its name indicates, it is also a labor-conscious group, but is more orthodox in its socialism than is the Histadruth. It charges the Histadruth with readiness to compromise, willingness to deal with bourgeois Jewish elements in Palestine rather than foster whole-heartedly the ideal of a socialist state. The same charges are heard also from the small group of Jewish communists in Palestine. Just as the revisionists are nationalistically orthodox in their views, and just as the Mizrachi are religiously orthodox in theirs, so are the left-wing Poale Zion and the communist groups in Palestine socialistically orthodox in their outlook. Because of these three orthodoxies, the General Federation of Jewish Labor in Palestine is often subjected to criticism and attack.

JEWISH AND ARAB LABOR

From the very beginning of the organized Jewish labor movement in Palestine, as has already been indicated, the rights of the Arabs have been taken into consideration by Jewish labor. At the third conference of the Histadruth, resolutions were adopted (quoted previously) expressing the sympathy of Jewish toward Arab labor, and expressing the desire for Jewish-Arab labor cooperation. An Arab newspaper (~~Et~~ Itachad El Amal) was undertaken by the Histadruth, and an invitation was extended to the Arab workers to form a similar organization, which, together with the Histadruth would form an International Federation of the Workers of Palestine.²⁷

Today, that attitude on the part of Jewish labor, despite the riots of 1936, remains basically unchanged. The "good neighbor" policy is expressed by Jewish labor leaders as the only key to Arab-Jewish rapport. "Our path is to make the Jewish colonizational enterprises also a source of social value for the Arabs of the country. We must seek an Arab mass support."²⁸ From what source among the Arabs does the Jewish labor group seek its support? Clearly, from the Arab workers, whose interests are not different from the interests of the Jewish workers in Palestine.

The chief objective is the elimination of the difference in the Arab and Jewish standards of living. For this goal, the Arabs need, as the Jews already have, (a) a settlement with a mass base, instead of the antiquated feudalism ~~whereby~~ which they are still enslaved, and (b) a revolving fund, similar to the Jewish National Fund, to enable colonization on the part of Arab workers.²⁹ Lowering the standard of living of the Jew-

ish workers is certainly not the answer to the problem of equalizing Jewish and Arab living standards. Thus the raising of the standard of living of the Arab worker is the "Arab Program" of the Jewish labor movement in Palestine.

Besides the efforts of Arab labor to acquire a mass base and a revolving fund, besides the efforts of Jewish labor in aiding the Arab worker to raise his standard of living, there is a third party which shares the responsibility of aiding Arab labor, namely, the British government. The government must do its part through a program of public works, schools, technical education, hospitals, labor laws, (especially for the protection of Arab women and children), etc. All of these activities must be directed toward the breaking down of the feudalism under which much of the Arab population lives, and toward the raising of the standard of living of the Arab workers in Palestine.

The recognition of this three-fold responsibility, that of the Arabs, the Jews, and the government, is the Jewish labor movement's answer to the question of Arab-Jewish relations. In the statement submitted by the Histadruth to Sir John Hope Simpson in 1930,³⁰ there was the explicit recognition of the necessity of organizing the Arab workers in the common struggle for the betterment of labor conditions. Ben Gurion, leader of the Jewish labor movement, issues, after the riots of 1936, a fourfold challenge to the government of Palestine to cope with the problem of an Arab-Jewish rapprochement. Among the conditions he expresses the following:³¹

- (3) Have the inhabitants participate in the government, not only giving them the right of criticism and of expressing an opinion, but have them participate in the executive organs of the government.

- (4) Encourage a Jewish-Arab rapprochement and encourage cooperative enterprise between Jews and Arabs.

Elsewhere,³² Ben Gurion elaborates the idea of copartnership with the Arabs. He says: "We approve of co-partnership ~~of the~~ in organization between the Jewish worker who should build the Jewish economy and the Arab worker working in the Arab economy, and we also approve of co-partnership between all workers who work for the State or City". Indeed, so much is the idea of co-partnership a part of the Jewish labor outlook, that it has been criticized by both the Revisionists and the Communists, both of which groups see an essential contradiction in the simultaneous fight for Jewish labor and co-partnership with the Arabs, though from different vantage-points, to be sure.

POLITICAL GOALS OF LABOR

This brings us to a consideration of the question: "What are the political goals of the labor movement in Palestine?"

As regards the type of government to be established in Palestine, there are two general points of view held among the Jews of Palestine. One group would postpone the creation of any kind of parliamentary institution until the Jewish population has achieved a majority in Palestine, so that the Jews might receive adequate representation in that parliament. The second group is ready to accept the proposed "Legislative Council" (proposed by Sir Herbert Samuel in 1920 and again proposed by Passfield in 1930).

ⁱⁿ Examining these two views, Berl Katzenelson feels that neither solution is the correct one.³³ Regarding the first view, he remarks: "...it is nothing more than Hottentot national ethics ---proposing to someone else what is not good enough for oneself."

According to this view, what seems unacceptable today may be acceptable tomorrow. Moreover, it is "based on a childish faith that.....under the shelter of the absolute rule of the British administration we shall always be able to live peacefully, to grow and create to our heart's content." Finally, Katzenelson argues, this attitude is based on "a faulty concept of the nature of ~~our~~ our influence on the government."

As for the acceptance of the Legislative Council as proposed, Katzenelson argues that the set-up would be an undesirable one. First, almost half of the members of that Council would be representatives of and appointed by the government. Moreover, the number of Jewish and Arab representatives would be determined in advance, not allowing for changes in population proportions. Finally, such an arrangement would not guarantee popular government, as no budgetary matters could be dealt with unless introduced by the High Commissioner and every decision of the Council could be vetoed by the High Commissioner. Again, the proposed legislative council does not recognize the rights of woman to participate in the election of its membership. Thus the proposed legislative council can hardly be the answer to the democratic ideals of Jewish labor in Palestine.

There are men in Palestine (like Ben Avi), who wish to see the fulfillment of the idea of a Jewish State, and for such political recognition are willing to designate the Arabs as 'Jews', i.e., members of the Jewish State. Labor is disinclined to accept this attitude, however. The political aim of labor is the establishment of a bi-national state of Jews and Arabs in Palestine, each with equal rights. It defines

this bi-national state as "one in which two nations have equal rights to freedom and autonomy, equal share in government and representation."³⁴ Such a state, labor contends, can be built only by the creation of new forms of government based on absolute equality. Such a state would not recognize the inhabitants of the country as such, but as two national groups, both of which enjoy equal participation in the country's government. The basis of such a state, according to Katzenelson, would be "municipal democracy, national autonomy, and the participation of the population by its exerting an influence on the administration of its affairs. This participation should increase on a basis of parity between both national sections."³⁵

Jewish

Despite the ultimate political goal of Jewish labor in Palestine, it is necessary to recognize that the form of government is not the basic question in working out the destiny of the two peoples in Palestine. Jewish labor in Palestine realizes that there are many more important problems to be solved, that poverty, ignorance, usury, cheap labor, etc. must first be removed. "It is much too naive to think that any particular form of government as such.....can be the solution to this involved situation."³⁶ Some urgent social reforms, such as land for the Arab workers, water-supply for irrigation, cessation of slavery, protection of women and children workers, lessening the tax burden on the agricultural workers, are infinitely more important at this time.

LABOR LEGISLATION

Of the urgency of the above-mentioned needs, the Histadruth has long been aware. It has always earnestly espoused new labor legislation. Not content with the labor laws of 1927 (see above),

it advocated in 1930 the establishment by law of an 8 hour working day in industry, public works, building and transportation.³⁷ With regard to the child labor situation, it advocated the promulgation of a special ordinance to deal with all phases of child labor legislation. It has agitated as well for the improvement of conditions in agricultural labor, and for lessening the burdens of workers in the cities.~~xxxxxxx~~

Joseph L. Cohen,³⁸ analyzing the present labor legislation in Palestine, points out that such legislation always develops along three main lines: Prohibition, Regulation, and Compensation. The ordinances of 1927 deal mainly with the third of these categories of social legislation, and the other phases of such legislation have been very much neglected.

As regards the child labor legislation of Palestine, it is far from satisfactory. The minimum age for the employment of children is twelve years; many trades (agriculture, domestic service, etc.) do not even come within the scope of the existing legislation. But worse than the inadequacy of the legislation is its inefficacy. What is needed is "a more effective administration of the law. Even government departments employ children contrary to the provisions of the ordinance. This is the situation among the Jewish children, in spite of the vigilance of the General Federation of Jewish Labor. One can easily imagine the position in districts with a population mainly Arab. The law there virtually does not exist."³⁹ Systematic factory inspection would aid greatly in guaranteeing the efficacy of child-labor (and other) labor legislation.

As for the Workmen's Compensation ordinance (of the 1927 legislation), this too is inadequate. It excluded many categories

of workers, such as those employed in agriculture, commerce, sanitation works, clerical positions, etc., from its benefits. Since much of the work done in Palestine is done by man or animal power, particularly among the Arabs, the many workers engaged in non-mechanical labor are not protected by law. Moreover, until recently, only industrial accidents, and very few industrial diseases, were covered by the existing legislation.

¶ In 1936, an ordinance was passed⁴⁰ amending the term "worker" (of the 1927 legislation) to include eight additional categories of employment. And in this new ordinance the word "injury" was likewise amended, to include anthrax, lead poisoning, mercury poisoning, and others. To enable a more effective application of the ordinance, the amendment further provided for penalties to be inflicted upon employers refusing to pay the stipulated compensation.⁴¹ Only recently, therefore, has workmen's compensation been made compulsory. Even with this advance, however, the compensation law is inadequate. The maximum compensation per week is L 1, whether the injured worker is single or married, and no provision is made for medical treatment.

The needs of the modern worker involve not only legal protection at employment, but also the recognition of the right to organize and strike. The Palestine Government has done very little in this direction. The local trade unions are compelled to register separately as independent organizations, an obstacle to the unified development of the labor movement. It is true that in the 1927 labor ordinances there is included a provision entitled "Prevention of Intimidation", yet under the old Ottoman law of strikes,⁴² the government still has the power to prosecute the strikers as criminal offenders.

The labor element in Palestine is aware of these many defects in the existing labor legislation, however. It is making constant efforts to secure improvements in this direction, and as its strength increases, is sure to make new gains.

LABOR IN THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT

It should be of interest, at this point, to ask just what role the labor faction plays in the work of the World Zionist Organization. Is labor a real force in the organized Zionist movement?

The history of the labor group within the Zionist organization is one of a rapid rise to prominence. Beginning with the fourteenth Congress of the Zionist organization, (1925) the democratic method of election of delegates to the Congress was adopted. Each shekel-holder was entitled to a vote.⁴³ With the right to vote granted, public interest and participation in the Zionist elections grew rapidly. And with the growth of the number of voters in the Zionist organization over the years, there was a similar growth in the number of votes cast for the labor delegates.

Up until the 16th Congress, the majority power in the Zionist Organization was held by the General Zionists. Only in Palestine had labor gained a majority. Labor and the Mizrachi each had 1/5 of the delegates. At the 17th Congress, Labor had 75 out of the 254 votes. And at the 18th congress, the labor bloc became the most powerful group in the Zionist Organization. In the 19th Congress (1935), the Laborites had an absolute majority in the voting. Whereas in 1933 the Laborites received majorities in five countries, in 1935 they received majorities

in eight. These were: Poland, Palestine, Bessarabia, Lithuania, France, Brazil, Esthonia, and Chile. In Eastern Galicia, America, Czecho-Slovakia, and Belgium, though not receiving an absolute majority, the Laborites led in the total count of the votes.⁴⁴

Interestingly enough, Labor Zionism came into the ascendancy simultaneously with the development of zionism as a mass movement. Ben Gurion attributes this to the new or "realization" Zionism.⁴¹ This he defines as "Work for great masses of Jews in the country...Jewish labor in the city and country, on land and sea^a and in the air; Jewish labor in the field and in the vineyard....in short, in every phase of human endeavor...this is the content of Realization Zionism."⁴⁵ Under this conception of Zionism as the conquest of the land through the conquest of labor, labor becomes the very backbone of the zionist movement; and such it is today, if the elections to the zionist congress are any indication.

In the first twenty-five years of practical work in Palestine, the General Zionists were the chief force in the Zionist movement. These represented, more or less, a middle-class point of view. Now, however, the romantic "love of Zion" has been converted into the realities of a Jewish Palestine, based on a firm foundation--Jewish labor. This has been achieved, in great part, as a consequence of the situation in Germany. "The abstract zionist ideal became overnight a burning daily issue for the dispossessed and despairing masses, whose only hope was to become re^bhabilitated in Palestine through labor and productivity."⁴⁶

Not only has the Jewish Labor Party gained strength within the Zionist Organization, but it has also gained sympathetic endorsement from non-zionist bodies as well. In 1935, a statement endorsing the work of the labor movement in Palestine was signed by 241 American Reform Rabbis. This statement ends with the words: "....as we see it, Liberal Judaism, in addition to its general sympathy with the rehabilitation of Palestine as the Jewish homeland, should feel an especial enthusiasm for labor Palestine. We commend ~~it~~ to our colleagues and to our followers hearty support for the Histadruth and the League for Labor Palestine."⁴⁷

The Rabbinical Assembly of America, representing the conservative Rabbinate of America, gave utterance to a similar sentiment. It concludes with the words: "We see in the labor movement in Palestine the only instrument for obviating in that land the economic sins which have beset the modern world. As religious men we must give our whole-hearted support to the idealistic aspirations of the labor movement in the upbuilding of our homeland."⁴⁸

Thus the labor movement in zionism has gained not only greater strength within the zionist organization, but increasing support also from various branches of Jewry, representing widely varying points of view. Moreover, it might be added, it has gained the endorsement and support of the labor-conscious elements outside of the Jewish faith as well.

JEWISH LABOR & THE WORLD MOVEMENT

We come now to a consideration of the place of the Jewish labor movement in Palestine in the general world labor movement, and its relationship to the second, or socialist, international. It is highly significant that the Jewish labor movement in Palestine has gained the endorsement of the Labor and Socialist International, ^{of} ~~by~~ the International Federation of Trade Unions, and ^{of} ~~by~~ the American Federation of Labor.⁴⁹ So universal, indeed, has been the endorsement of the work of the Jewish labor movement in Palestine, that only the Communist International ^{has} ~~and the Soviet Union have~~ withheld ~~their~~ endorsement of its efforts.

In tracing the position of socialist-zionism in the Socialist International, it must be pointed out that before the World War the socialist International did not accept the principle of nationalism, but regarded it rather as a necessary evil. Socialist theoreticians, indeed, rarely coped with the problem of nationalism. In contrast to Marx's statement that "The proletariat has no fatherland", however, Jaurès was able to write: "When the proletariat curses the fatherland, it only curses the poverty which disgraces the fatherland, the wrongs which divide it, the hatreds which madden it, the lies which exploit it; and this apparent malediction is merely an appeal to the new fatherland which can develop only through the autonomy of nations, the growth of democracies, and the application of the whole force of the national genius to the new problems, that is, by extending the idea of fatherland until it merges into humanity."⁵⁰

Nevertheless, his was a minority view. It was only the effects of the World War which brought international socialism to a recognition of nationalism. Thus for a while, despite the efforts of the Poale Zion to gain recognition, such recognition was withheld by the Socialist International. The first application on the part of the Poale Zion was made in 1907.⁵¹ The request was repeated in 1908, with a proposal to create a Jewish section of the International, embracing the "Bund" of Russia, Lithuania and Poland, the World Jewish Socialist Labor Party of Russia (SERP), and the Zionist Socialist Labor Party of Russia. In 1911, the request to be formed into a Jewish section, signed by the above groups, was again presented to the Socialist International.

Shortly after the revolution of March, 1917, in Russia, plans were made for a general Socialist Conference in Stockholm. The Poale Zion again submitted a memorandum of their demands. These were supported by other groups, such as the British Labor Party, which has always been warmly sympathetic with the aims of Jewish Labor in Palestine. And in October, 1917, the committee issued its peace manifesto, in which the rights of "national-personal autonomy in the various countries of Jewish residence" were upheld, and to which the statement was appended: "The promotion of Jewish colonization in Palestine will have to be internationally and legally safeguarded."⁵² Thus International Socialism abandoned its original opposition to Zionism, and recognized the labor movement in Palestine.

More specifically, however, was the recognition of Jewish national rights stated at the Socialist Conference of February,

1918. It advocated that Palestine should be freed of Turkish rule and "be transformed into a Free State under international guarantee, to which the Jewish people may return...and where they may develop their own civilization free from the influence of alien races and religions."⁵³ A similar statement was made in April, 1919, at the Amsterdam Conference, and in January, 1921, the Poale Zion entered the Vienna International as a recognized party. At the Amalgamation Congress in Hamburg (May, 1923), the Poale Zion were officially represented by seven delegates.

In December, 1929, the two Palestine labor parties, Achduth Haavodah and Hapoel Hatzair united to form the Miflegeth Poale Eretz Yisroel. This new party, recognized as the "Labor Party of Palestine", was accepted (May, 1930) by the Executive of the Socialist International as the "Jewish Section of the Labor and Socialist International in Palestine."⁵⁴ The Labor Party of Palestine was recognized as the chief section of the World Poale Zion Confederation. Thus the Socialist International has granted full recognition to the ideals of Jewish labor in Palestine. Indeed, its pro-Palestine committee has raised its voice in behalf of Jewish labor colonization during periods of crisis such as that recently passed through, when England was compelled to send troops to Palestine to maintain the peace. The world labor movement has given Jewish labor in Palestine its heartfelt endorsement, and has accepted the worker of Palestine as a comrade in the march toward the socialist society of the future.

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The Jewish labor movement in Palestine today has untapped resources of inner strength. It has faced both opposition and

crisis, yet has emerged victorious. As its ranks have swelled in number, so have its achievements multiplied. It has colored the entire Zionist movement, but more than that, it has deeply affected the society in the making in Palestine.

A people is being reborn in Palestine. A Jewish proletariat is forging its own destiny. Behind its efforts is the memory of suffering and long-nourished hopes for freedom, ~~the~~ of the sacrifice and idealism of its pioneers. To the fortitude of these brave spirits, who dare to venture upon new paths and create new patterns of life, world Jewry gives its blessing, and civilized humanity its praise.

NOTES.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. Gottheil, Richard--Zionism, J.P.S., Phila. 1914. Pg. 52
2. Hess, Moses--Rome and Jerusalem
Paul Wentzke. in paying tribute to Moses Hess on the fiftieth anniversary of Hess' death, says of him, "Stronger than Marx and Lassalle, he remained a Jew, and must be counted at one and the same time as a pioneer and a champion of both socialism and zionism." (in The New Palestine for April 8, 1925, page 488).
3. Ben-Gurion, David--Jewish Labor (translated from the Hebrew by E. Werbner and G. Cashman), Hehhalutz Organization of England, London, London, 1935. Hebrew edition, Tel Aviv, 1932. Page 3, English edition, contains this quotation.
4. Revusky, Abraham--Jews in Palestine, revised English edition, Vanguard Press, New York, 1938. Pages 4 to 8.
5. The Narodniki represented the "Populist" movement in Russia. The word Narodniki is taken from the Russian narodnichestvo, from the word narod, meaning "people". This Populist movement was a democratic movement in favor of the down-trodden masses, particularly the Russian peasantry. (See Dubnow, - The Jews in Russia and Poland, Vol. II, page 222).
6. Tartakower, A.--Toddor Tenias Hapoalim Hayehudis. (Hebrew), 3 volumes, Warsaw, 1929-31. See pages 28 and 44, vol. I. (This is not to be found in the HUC Library, but may be secured from the New York Public Library or the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York).
7. Dubnow, opus citus (see note 5) Vol. III, page 56
8. See article "Bund" in the Encyclopedia Judaica, Berlin, 1929. Vol. 4, page 1206, art. by Oskar Wolfsberg.
9. Dubnow, opus citus, Vol. III, page 57
10. See art. "Bund", op. cit., same page.
The Bund was the first Jewish socialist labor party. Originally non-national, it later assumed national interests to the extent of demanding Jewish autonomy in Russia and elsewhere. Unlike zionist-socialism, the Bund conceived of the Jewish problem not as a social-economic, but as a politico-cultural problem. Therefore it denied territorial ambitions. The Bund is still prominent in Poland, Lettland, and the United States. (see Appendix to the German translation of Borochoy's essay "Klasse und Nation", Hechalutz organization of Berlin, 1932).
11. Fineman, H.--Poale Zionism: An Outline of Its Aims and Activities, published by the Jewish Socialist Labor Party Poale Zion of America, New York, 1918. See appendix C, page 48, the principles of the International Jewish Socialist Labor Confederation Poale Zion.

12. opus citus (note 11) page 11
13. You and the Jewish Problem, a pamphlet published by the Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America, (New York) presents this line of reasoning. The pamphlet is undated.
14. See article "Syrkin" in the Encyclopedia of Social Studies, for a summary of his life and views.
15. According to Dubnow, (op. cit.) this meeting was held at Vilna. In "Essays on Socialist Zionism", by Nachman Syrkin, published by the Young Poale Zion Alliance of America, N.Y., 1935, Waraaw is given as the place of meeting (page 6). It is possible that two different meetings are referred to, the first being the secret meeting one month after the Zionist Congress (of which Dubnow speaks) and the other being shortly thereafter.
16. See article "Syrkin" in Encyc. of Social Studies. (op. cit.)
17. Essays on Socialist Zionism, by Nachman Syrkin. Translated from the Hebrew and published by the Young Poale Zion Alliance of America, N.Y., 1935. Page 15.
18. op. cit. (note 17) pages 16-21
19. op. cit. (note 17) pages 22-27
20. op. cit. (note 17) page 28
21. op. cit. (note 17) essay on "National Independence and International Unity", pages 31-64
22. The New Palestine, magazine, issue of September 12, 1924 (Vol. 7, no. 10). Editorial on the Death of Syrkin.
23. article, "Borochoy" in the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, volume II, page 644, by Hayim Fineman.
24. Borochoy, Ber--Poale Zion Shriften (Yiddish), in 2 volumes. First volume published 1920 by Poale Zion, New York. The second was published by the Jewish National Workers' Alliance, N.Y., 1928, under the title Gekliebene shriften. See essay on "Die Klassen Interessen und die Nationale Frage", vol. II, pages 29-83.
25. op. cit. (note 24) p. 30f.
26. op. cit. (note 24) p. 55.
27. op. cit. (note 24) p. 67.
28. op. cit. (note 24) p. 142, essay entitled "Unser Programm".
29. op. cit. (note 24) p. 143, essay entitled "Unser Programm".
30. op. cit. (note 24). The characterization by Isaac Zar is under the title "Borochoy als Teoretiker". ~~page~~ page 11. A biographical sketch of Borochoy is contained in the same

volume, written by A. Volhiner, pages 11-25. A more complete presentation of Borochov's life and work, particularly of his place in the general Jewish labor movement, is to be found in Tartakower, Aryeh, Toldos Tenuas Hapoalim Hayehudis (Hebrew, cited above), on pages 74-92. Borochov became the spiritual leader of the left-wing socialists, the so-called "Linke Poale Zion", while Syrkin became the leader of the less radical element. And as Syrkin became the leader of the Poale Zion movement in the West, Borochov became its recognized head in Russia.

- 30a. An appreciative biographical sketch of Gordon is to be found in "Daganiah", (translated from the Hebrew) by Joseph Baratz, vol. 1 of the Jewish National Fund library, Tel Aviv, 1931. See also the article on "Gordon" in the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. VI, page 702, by Hans Kohn.
31. Translated in the collection, "Rebirth", by Ludwig Lewisohn, N. Y., 1935. The citations are from pages 73-77.
32. Translated in the collection, "Rebirth", by Ludwig Lewisohn, N. Y., 1935. The citations are from pages 77-86.
33. This letter is published in "Die Pioneer Froy" (Yiddish), for February, 1933, on page 7.
34. Margolin, Raphael,--article on "Gordon's Place in the Zionist Movement". Contained in "Die Pioneer Froy" (English section), for February, 1933, on pages 1 and 2.
35. op. cit. (note 34) page 2.
36. Katzenelson-Rubashow, Rachel--The Plough-Woman: Records of Pioneer Women of Palestine, translated from the Hebrew by Maurice Samuel, N. Y., 1932. Page 28. (This volume is not obtainable at the HUC library, but may be secured from the New York Public Library or the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary.)
37. op. cit. (note 36) page 111.
- ~~38. op. cit. (note 34) page 3.~~
- 37a. op. cit. (note 30a). See appendix III, page 68.
38. Op. cit. (note 34), page 3.
39. See essay entitled, "Two Heretics", in "Hebrew Reborn" by Shalom Spiegel. New York, 1930, pp. 375-389.
40. During the war, the magazine was discontinued, and another publication, "Ba-shooh Zo" took its place. Brenner continued his connection with the latter.
41. See Encyclopedia Judaica, article on "Brenner". vol. 4. ~~pages~~ cols. 1037-1039, (Berlin, 1929). by Jacob Rabinowitsch, for a description of Brenner's literary activities.
42. op. cit. (note 36), page 119.
43. op. cit. (note 39), page 378.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II.

1. Revusky, Abraham--Jews in Palestine, (revised edition) N.Y., Vanguard Press, 1936. page 9.
2. op. cit., same page.
3. Ben Gurion, Jewish Labour (trans. from the Hebrew), Hechalutz of England, London, 1935. (First Hebrew edition, Tel Aviv, 1932). Page 3, English edition. A good description of the Chovevei Zion colonies is to be found in Palaestina, published by the English Organization of Chovevei Zion, for Dec. 1894 (pages 12-15); March, 1895 (pages 14ff); June, 1895 (page 15f).
4. "Lovers of Zion". The first conference of this organization was held at Kattowitz, in 1885. Its leaders were Rabbi Zvi Hirsch Kalischer, Zeev Jabetz, Mordecai Eliasberg, and L. L. Pinsker. Its program was as follows:
 - (a) to foster the national idea in Israel.
 - (b) to promote the colonization of Palestine and neighboring territories by Jews, through establishing new colonies or assisting those already established.
 - (c) to diffuse the knowledge of Hebrew as a living language.
 - (d) to further the moral, intellectual, and material status of Israel.
 (See: Palaestina, December, 1897, page 4.)
5. The Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) was founded in 1891 by Baron Maurice de Hirsch, Rothschild, whose benevolences antedated the formation of this fund, administering organization, was a great contributor to the ICA.
6. Chissin, Chaim--Diary of a Bilu (excerpts, translated from the Hebrew), in Hechalutz, vol. III, no. 2, New York, 1935. Pages 8ff.
7. Palestine, its Pioneers, its Problems, published by the Hechalutz organization of England, London, 1936. Page 11.
8. Preuss, Walter--Die Juedische Arbeiterbewegung in Palaestina. Vol. I, Die Entwicklung der Bewegung von den Ersten Anfaengen bis 1932. Published by the Hechalutz organization of Germany, Berlin, 1932. Page 7, first volume.
9. op. cit. (note 7), page 12.
10. op. cit. (note 3). Ben Gurion, Jewish Labour, page 6.
11. Ben Gurion, op. cit. (note 3), gives 1887 as the date of its founding. Preuss, op. cit. (note 8) gives 1887 also. Tartakower, Aryeh, in his Toldos Tenuas Hapoalim Hayehudis, gives 1884 as the date. (Warsaw, 3 volumes, 1929-31).
(paged successively)
12. op. cit. (note 6)
13. Tartakower, Aryeh, op. cit. (note 11), page 70.
The following year, however, this number fell to 400.

14. Ben Gurion, Jewish Labour (op. cit. note 3), page 4.
15. op. cit. (note 3), cited on page 5.
16. According to Preuss (op. cit. note 8). According to Ben Gurion (op. cit. note 3), the date given is 1890 (for the demise of the organization). The latter must be an error, for the organization was formed in 1891, as both agree. There seems, however, to be some confusion also as to the name of the organization. This can hardly be explained by saying that there were two separate organizations, as it seems impossible that two separate organizations should have arisen in Rehoboth (as both agree) in the same year.
17. op. cit. (note 8), cited on page 8.
18. Palaestina (op. cit. note 3), issues of June, 1893 (page 25); Sept. 1893 (page 24); and Dec. 1893 (page 23).
19. Palaestina (op. cit. note 3), issue of March, 1893.
20. These figures are supplied by Ben Gurion, (op. cit. note 3), page 7.
21. op. cit. page 8.
22. op. cit. page 8.
- ~~23. Achad Haam--Al Poroshat Drochim, volume II.~~
23. Achad Haam--Al Poroshat Drochim, volume II.
24. Preuss so treats it. (op. cit. note 8, page 10)
25. Hechalutz, (magazine), ~~vol. IV.~~ vol. IV., no. 2. Published by the American Hechalutz, April, 1936. New York. Contains a speech delivered by Ben Zvi on his fiftieth birthday. In the same issue, Moshe Shertok presents some reminiscences of the period of the second aliyah.
26. Ben Zvi--In the Beginning (op. cit. note 25), pp. 29-32.
27. These parties were united in 1930.
28. Tartakower, Aryeh--(op. cit. note 11, Hebrew), page 71. The reasons the owners gave for refusing to employ Jewish labor were: (a) Jewish workers do not stay long at one job or in one place (b) the Jew cannot really give himself completely to agricultural work (c) the Jew cannot work at Arab wages, and (d) the socialistic ideas of some of the Jewish laborers made them obnoxious. (See: Hapoel Hatzoir, --Hebrew, published by the party by that name, Heshvan, 1908, page 13, cols. 1 and 2). (Jaffa).
29. Ben Gurion, (op. cit. note 3), page 14.
30. Palaestina, (op. cit. note 3), page 23, issue of Sept. 1896.

31. Preuss, (op. cit. note 8), page 12.
32. Hapoel Hatzoir (Hebrew, op. cit. note 28). Issue of Ellul, 5669, no. 22, page 5, column 1.
33. Hapoel Hatzoir (op. cit.), issue of Ellul, ~~5669~~⁵⁶⁶⁸, no. 12, page 1.
 (Both the Poale Zion party and the Hapoel Hatzoir were founded in Palestine in 1906 by the immigrants of 1904-06. While the Poale Zion had its actual origins in Russia with the work of Borochoy and others, about 1901, Hapoel Hatzoir was a Palestine-born organization. The latter's views were not as clearly developed as Poale Zion's clear conceptions of socialist-zionism.)
34. Hapoel Hatzoir (op. cit.), issue of Sivan, 5668, page 2.
35. Ben Gurion, (op. cit.), page 14.
36. Preuss (op. cit.), page 12.
37. Tartakower (op. cit.) page 71
38. Kottlar, S.--Le Keren Kayemeth Le Israel, ses Principes, ses actions, sa prochaine mission, published by the Keren Kayemeth, Jerusalem, 1925. Pages 7 and 8. The history of the Keren Kayemeth is here narrated.
39. Kottlar, S. (op. cit. note 38), page 8.
40. Report of the Palestine Joint Survey Commission, Boston, Massachusetts, 1928. Section on Jewish Agriculture, by Elwood Mead, page 38. (This is not contained in the HUC library, but may be obtained in the Jewish Theological Seminary Library or at the New York Public Library.)
41. Kottlar, S., (op. cit. note 38), page 12.
42. Hechalutz, (op. cit.), vol. II, no. 2, March-April, 1934. Article entitled, "The Beginning", page 28.
43. Benari, Nachum,--Zur Geschichte der Kvuza und des Kibbuz, (German), Hechalutz of Germany, Berlin, 1934. Page 15.
- ~~44. Benari, Nachum--article, "Dagania", in~~
44. Guthman, Sidney S.--article, "Dagania after 25 years", in the Young Judean magazine for March, 1936, page 8.
45. Benari, Nachum--article, "Dagania", in Hechalutz, vol. IV, no. 1, Jan-Feb. 1936, New York. Hechalutz of America, (page 12).
46. Guthman, Sidney S., (op. cit.) note 44, page 8.
47. Benari, Nachum, (op. cit. note 45), page 12f.
48. op. cit. note 42, page 29.

49. For a good description of the activities of the Shomrim both as colonizers and defenders of the Jewish colonies, see The Plough-Woman (op. cit. in notes to chapter I), pages 33-36 and pages 44-48.
50. op. cit. page 34.
51. op. cit. page 44.
52. op. cit. note 42, page 29.
53. Kolar, A. M.,--art. in Hashomer Hazoir, vol. III, no. 7, October, 1936, published by Hashomer Hazoir, N.Y., 1936. The article is entitled, "The Agricultural Workers' Federation Celebrates its 25th Anniversary". Page 40, 41.
54. op. cit. note 53, same pages.
55. Hapoel Hazoir (op. cit.), issue of Nissan, 5669. No. 12, page 5, column 1.
56. Preuss (op. cit.), page 33.
57. same, page 34
58. same, pages 36, 37.
59. same, pages 38, 39.
60. same , pages 39, 40.
61. Tartakower, op. cit., page 72.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III.

1. Ben Gurion, Jewish Labour (op. cit., see notes to chap. II), pg.17
2. Rachel Katzenelson-Rubashow, The Plough Woman (op. cit. notes to Chapter II,) , page 94. A fine description of the effect of the world war on the Jewish colonization in Palestine is to be found in Preuss (op. cit.), from which much of this material is taken.
3. Revusky, Abraham (opus citus)
4. Tartakower, (op, cit.) page 72.
5. op. cit. note 2, page 94.
6. same, page 95.
7. same, page 96.
8. same, page 96.
9. same, page 89, related by Jael Gordon.
10. same, page 90. A good description of the settlement in Dagania during the war is given by Judith Brontman, pages 116-118.
11. Preuss, vol. I, op. cit., pages 48 and 49.
12. The Jewish Cooperative Movement in Palestine, by Harry Viteles, Tel Aviv, August, 1929. (Reprinted from Palestine and the Near East, vol. 4, no. 10 and 11, Tel Aviv, July, 1929.). This brochure is unobtainable in the HUC library, but may be obtained from the Jewish Theological Seminary Library or the New York Public Library.). Citation from pages 89-98, section on Hamashbir. history and statistics on the organization.
13. Kupath Cholim, a pamphlet published by the Palestine Workmen's Sick Fund, Tel Aviv, 1935. See page 2.
14. Palestina Arbeter Fond, Fuftzen Yohr (Yiddish), Tel Aviv, 5688, by Melech Neustadt, with a foreword by Shlomo Kanlansky. See introduction, page 3.
15. Preuss, Walter.--"The Jewish Labor Movement in Palestine, its Aims and Achievements" (pamphlet), Poale Zion, Berlin, 1928. Citation from page 32. For a good description of the conditions of life in one of these colonies at this time, see the description of life in Kfar Giladi, in The Plough Woman, (op. cit.), pages 47-49.
16. op. cit. note 14, page 4 of introduction.
17. Fineman, H.--"Poale Zionism: An Outline of its Aims and Achievements", pub. by Poale Zion, New York, 1918. See Appendix D, page 53.

18. Preuss, Walter,--Der Juedischer Arbeiterbewegung in Palaestina, (op. cit.), vol. II, page 87.
19. Sereni, Enzo and R. E. Asher, editors--Jews and Arabs in Palestine, published by American Hechalutz, New York, 1936.
See page 17a.
20. same, page 69a.
21. these figures are from the Report of the Palestine Joint Survey Commission, Boston, 1928. Section on Jewish Agriculture, by Elwood Mead, page 494. (not available at HUC library).
22. Preuss, Walter.--op. cit., note 18, vol. I, page 54
23. same, page 56.
24. same. page 57.
25. same, page 59. The Agricultural Workers' Unions of Judah, Galilee and Samaria had separated during the war, and acted independently to provide aid because of the difficulties involved in communication during the period of the war crisis.
26. same, page 61, 62.
27. Documents and Essays on Jewish Labor Policy in Palestine, pub. by the Histadruth, Tel Aviv, 1930. See page 4. (Not available in HUC library).
28. Preuss, op. cit. note 22, page 64.
29. same, page 64.
30. A historical sketch of the Hashomer Hatzoir movement may be found in the magazine Hashomer Hatzoir (in two sections, English and Hebrew), published by Hashomer Hatzoir, New York. See volume 1, no. 5-6, March-April, 1934. A survey of the membership of this organization (by countries) is to be found at the back of this issue. For a discussion of its conception of chalutzith, see vol. 3, no. 7, dated October, 1936.
31. The American offices of Hechalutz are at 1225 Broadway, N.Y., which act as a center of their activities. Their magazine, "Hechalutz", presents their program and progress.
32. Preuss, op. cit., note 18, vol. I, page 66.
33. same, page 69.
34. same, page 71.
35. The Story of Tel Chai, publ. by the Tel Chai Memorial, Zionist Youth Council, New York, 1935. This brochure contains the story of the life of Trumpeldor, told by M. Poznanski (pages 31-43). It also contains interesting historical material on the colony at Tel Chai.

36. same, page 40.
37. Among the victims of the attack were also Schneour Shaposhnik, Aaron Sher, Sarah Chisik, Deborah Drachler, Sharf, Tokar, and Munter. Pen portraits ~~xxx~~ of each of these persons are contained in Tel Chai, (see above).
39. Palestine, its Pioneers, its Problems (op. cit. notes to chapter II), page 41.
38. Preuss, op. cit. note 18, vol. I, page 74.
40. same, page 76.
41. same, page 77. For a complete treatment of the relations (historically sketched) of the Jewish labor movement in Palestine with the world labor movement as represented in the socialist international, see pamphlet, "The Socialist International and Zionism", by M. Jarblum (trans. by M. Hurwitz), published by Poale Zion, N.Y., 1933.
42. Preuss, op. cit. note 18, vol. 1, page 79.
43. op. cit. note 39., page 15.
44. Preuss, op. cit. note 18, vol. I, page 81.
45. same, page 81/.
46. same, page 83.
47. same, page 84.
48. op. cit., note 39, page 16.
49. Preuss, op. cit., vol. 1, page 85.
50. same, page 86.
51. op. cit. note 27, page 11.
52. same, page 43f.
53. Hapoel Hatzoir (magazine, Hebrew), op. cit. chapter II, issue of Tamuz, 5669, no. 17, page 5, column 2.
54. op. cit. note 27, page 43.
55. same, page 22.
56. The Plough Women (op. cit.), page 121. Art. "The Strike in Acre", by Malcah.
57. same, pages 122, 123.
58. same, "The strike in Zichron Yaakov", by Carmelah, pg. 124f.
59. same, "Fighting for Work", by Rebecca, pages 127ff.

60. Bar Shirah, --Dine avodah u'foalim b'mishpat haaretz-yisroeli.
(M'forash u'mvukarim al y'dey Yisroel Bar Shirah). (Hebrew),
With an introduction by Isaac ben Zvi. Jerusalem, 5689. Here
in this volume is presented not only the text of the labor
legislation of 1927, but also an analysis of that legislation.
Citation from page 1.
61. Workmens' Compensation Ordinances, 1927. pub. by Tarbuth,
Jerusalem, 1929. These provisions are also to be found in
Bar Shirah (note 60). The volume issued by Tarbuth gives
the Hebrew and English translation of the text; the volume
by Bar Shirah gives only the Hebrew.
62. Palestine. Statutes, Proclamations, Regulations, Rules. pub.
by the Palestine Government, Jerusalem. Vol. of 1931, page
476. (These volumes of statutes run from 1925/26 to the present).
63. same, volume of 1931, page 561.
64. same, volume of 1927, page 412.
65. Preuss, op. cit., vol. I, page 88.
66. Adapted from Preuss, (op. cit.), vol. I, page 92.
67. see table in Preuss, (op. cit.), vol. I, page 92.
68. op. cit. note 39, page 17.
69. Preuss, op. cit., vol. I, page 93.
70. same, page 93.
71. same, page 94.
72. same, page 95.
73. These strikes are described in Preuss (op. cit.), vol. 1,
pages 117, 118.
74. same, page 121.
75. same, page 121.
76. This memorandum is to be found in Documents and Essays on
Jewish Labor Policy in Palestine (op. cit.)
77. Ershter Kongress far'n Arbetenden Eretz-Yisroel (published
by the World League for Labor Palestine, Tel Aviv and War-
saw, 1931. Page xxxiii. (Yiddish).
78. same, sect. on Politische Zielen fun'm Kongress, pgs.
xxxiv and xxxv.
79. same, page xxxii.

80. Preuss, op. cit., vol. 1, page 142.

81. same, page 145.

Notes to Chapter IV.

1. Quoted by Wilkansky, in "The Communistic Settlements in Palestine," (op. cit.). pages 6ff.
2. same, page 10.
3. same, page 16.
4. Palestine, its Pioneers, its Problems. (op. cit.), page 34.
5. Benari, Nachum, --"Zur Geschichte der Kvuzo und des Kibbuz (eine Monographie)", Hechalutz, Berlin, 1934. Page 15.
6. Wilkansky, op. cit., page 18.
7. same, page 18.
8. The Jewish National Fund was founded in 1901 by the Zionist Organization to buy land in Palestine. Land was first acquired between 1905-07. But this land was either permitted to remain fallow or farmed out to Arabs. The Palestine Land Development Company, founded in 1908. intervened. The company leased these territories from the JNF and started farming activities with its own means. (See Daganah, pages 11,12)
9. Wilkansky, op. cit., page 33.
10. See Daganah, (op. cit.), for characterizations of both and their role in the colony.
11. Wilkanskv, (op. cit), page 32.
12. Daganah, (op. cit.), page 50.
13. same, page 51.
14. Wilkansky, (op. cit.), page 23.
15. same, page 24.
16. same, page 27.
17. same, page 55.
18. Benari, Nachum--Zur Geschichte, etc. (op. cit.), ~~22~~ page 20, describes Oppenheimer's views.
19. same. For more information on Oppenheimer's views, see: New Palestine (magazine), vol. XI, page 227, "An Interview with Oppenheimer." See also, New Palestine, vol. XI, page 186, "A report on Agricultural Colonization." Likewise vol. XI, pages 186 and 245, which contain editorial comment on Oppenheimer's work.
20. Wilkansky, op. cit., page 31.

21. Wilkansky, who was asked to make a special investigation of the reasons for this situation, here presents his findings, (op. cit.), page 51.
22. Wilkansky, op. cit., page 52.
23. Preuss, (op. cit.), vol. II, page 10.
24. same, page 11.
25. Report of Pal. Joint Survey Commission, op. cit. Section, "Jewish Agriculture", by Elwood Mead, page 42.
26. The Plough Woman, op. cit., page 137, Rachel Janaith.
27. same, page 139.
28. same, page 160, by Miriam Schlomowitsch.
29. same, page 163ff. Article, "The Tobacco Kvutzoh", by Tovah Jaffa.
30. same, page 170ff. Article, "The Birth of the Chavurah", by M. Sh.
31. Preuss, op. cit., vol. II, page 29.
32. Palestine, its Pioneers, its Problems, (op. cit.), page 35.
33. same, pages 38, 39.
34. Reported in Hechalutz, vol. IV, no. 1, Jan-Feb. 1936, published by Hechalutz of America, N.Y., 1936. Pages 24 and 25. Originally reported by Cidrowitz in Davar.
35. Palestine Economic Review, January 1936. Tel Aviv., Page 4.
36. Revusky, -- Jews in Palestine, op. cit., page 135.
37. Wilkansky, op. cit., page 94.
38. Preuss, (op. cit.), vol. II, page 17.
39. This kvutzoh, later abandoned, was the first to accept women workers. See The Plough Woman, op. cit., page 31.
40. See The Plough Woman, op. cit., "My Coming to Palestine", by Deborah Dayan, pages 51-55.
41. Cooperatives and Collectives in Palestine, by Rose N. Stoloff, pub. by the League for Labor Palestine, N.Y., 1935. see page 44.
42. The Plough Woman, op. cit., page 189.

43. Stoloff, Rose N., (op. cit. note 41), page 46.
44. same, page 47.
45. reported in "Die Pioneer Froy", magazine, (Yiddish), issue of Feb. 1933, page 12. Pub. by Pioneer Women's Organization of America, N.Y., 1933.
46. The Plough Woman, op. cit., page 148.
47. same, article "Group Upbringing and the Child", by Eva Tabenkin, page 197.
48. Revusky, -- Jews in Palestine, op. cit., page 137.
49. Hechalutz, vol. IV, no. 2, April, 1936. pp. 37, 38.
50. Palestine, its Pioneers, etc. (op. cit.), page 37.
51. Stoloff, Rose N., (op. cit. note 41), page 48, 49.
52. Revusky, op. cit., page 141.
53. same, page 141. For figures on the countries of emigration, and the preparatory period before settlement of these immigrants, see Hechalutz, vol. IV, no. 2, April, 1936, page 59.
54. Stoloff, op. cit., pages 48, 49.
55. From Hechalutz, vol. IV, no. 2, April, 1936. Page 60. This lists 24 member units, with a total of 6,269 persons, while Revusky (see above) credits it with only 17 member units and 5,072 persons at the same date.
56. The Plough Woman, op. cit., page 150.
57. Palestine, its Pioneers, etc., page 40.
58. Wilkansky, op. cit., page 134.
59. Stoloff, op. cit., page 22.
60. same.
61. same, pages 24, 25.
62. Revusky, op. cit., page 142.
63. Stoloff, op. cit., page 25
64. same.
65. The Plough Woman. Article, "The Woman in the Moshav Ovdim", by Shoshanah Rechthout-Jaffa, page 151.

66. same, page 152.
67. same, page ~~133~~ 154.
68. Revusky, op. cit., page 144.
69. same, page 146.
70. Report of Pal. Joint Survey Commission, op. cit. Report on the Jewish Settlements, by Sir John Campbell. Page 444.
71. same, pages 445,446.
72. same, report of Elwood Mead on "Jewish Agriculture", pg. 40.
73. Wilkansky, op. cit., page 134.
74. same. His arguments are presented in pages 126-128.
75. Revusky, Op. cit. provides these figures on pages 143, and 131 respectively.
76. Adapted from a chart in Palaestina-Kunde. by Hugo Herrmann. Vienna, 1935 (second edition, with many maps and charts). The chart is to be found on pages 326-339, and contains all of the Jewish settlements until 1935. This book also provides maps showing the location of each of these colonies.
77. Hechalutz, vol. IV, no. 1, Jan-Feb. 1936. New York, 1936. On page 46, these new colonies are listed and classified according to their type. Also their location is given.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V.

1. From the mimeograph: "What is the Histadruth?", by Dr. Jacob S. Golub, pub. by the League for Labor Palestine, February, 1935, page 1ff.
2. same, page 3.
3. Palestine, its Pioneers, etc., op. cit., page 25.
4. Documents and Essays on Jewish Labor Policy, etc., op. cit., page 14.
5. same, page 13.
6. error, no note.
7. op. cit. note 3, page 27.
8. A full description of the organizational principles may be found in "The Histadruth", (A labor commonwealth in the making), Hechalutz Library, no. 1, pub. by Hechalutz of America, with cooperation of the League for Labor Palestine, New York, 1934. Pages 28f.
9. Megillas Hahistadruth, (Hebrew), pub. by the Histadruth, Tel Aviv, 1935. M. Bogdan. Page 67.
10. Kupath Cholim, pub. by Kupath Cholim, Tel Aviv, 1935. Page 3.
11. i.e., in 1935. See op. cit. note 10, page 1.
12. op. cit. note 10, page 5.
13. For additional information. see Megillas Hahistadruth, Op. cit. note 9, ~~pages 672-679~~ section on Kupath Cholim; for statistical material, see sect. Labor Movement, by Leo Wolman, in Report of Palestine Joint Survey Commission, page 531; also conclusions and recommendations on pages 678, 679.
14. According to Revusky, Jews in Palestine, op. cit., page 250. According to The Histadruth (op. cit. note 8), it was incorporated in 1924. See page 30, The Histadruth.
15. op. cit. note 8, page 30.
16. Revusky, page 250.
17. According to Revusky, page 250; according to Megilas Hahistadruth (op. cit. note 9), only 14,000 sold by end of 1934, (see page 36).
18. Revusky, op. cit., page 250/.
19. op. cit. note 9, page 36.

20. Wolman, section "Labor Movement", in Report of Palestine Joint Survey Commission, op. cit., page 532.
21. Revusky, page 251.
22. Viteles, The Cooperative Movement in Palestine, Tel Aviv, 1929, page 108.
23. Preuss, Die Juedische Arbeiterbewegung in Palaestina, op. cit. vol. II, page 46.
24. These figures are from Revusky, page 118.
25. Stoloff, Rose--Cooperatives and Collectives. etc.. page 57.
26. Figures from Revusky, page 118. See also Megillas Hahistadruth, op. cit., pp. 24-27 for Yakhin, and pp. 46-53 for Misradim Kablanim.
27. Documents and Essays, etc.. op. cit., page 15.
28. Viteles, The Cooperative Movement in Palestine, op. cit., pages 129, 130. Viteles provides a complete description.
29. For complete description, see Megillas Hahistadruth, op. cit., pages 27-30.
30. For historical sketch, see Viteles (op. cit.), pages 69-71.
31. Preuss, op. cit., vol. II, page 78.
32. Revusky, page 111.
33. The Histadruth, op. cit., page 31.
34. in 1934; Megillath Hahistadruth, op. cit., page 31.
35. Preuss, op. cit., vol. II, page 73.
36. Megillath Hahistadruth, page 31.
37. Revusky, page 114.
38. Viteles, The Cooperative Movement, op.cit.. pg. 71.
39. Revusky, op. cit., page 112. See also Report of the Palestine Joint Survey Commission, op. cit., pp.529,530 for analysis of reasons for lack of success in this field of effort.
40. The Histadruth, op. cit., page 31.
41. Preuss, op. cit. vol. II, page 81.
42. same, page 82.
43. From: Palestine Economic Review, January, 1936, Tel Aviv, Page 2.

44. The Histadruth, op. cit., page 31.
45. Megillas Hahistadruth, op. cit., page 71.
46. Preuss, op. cit., vol. II, page 127.
47. The Histadruth, page 34.
48. Die Pioneer Fröy, (Yiddish), article on "Arbeitslosigkeit-fond", Feb., 1933, New York. Page 11, 12.
49. Hechalutz, vol. IV, No. 2, April, 1936. Page 40.
50. op. cit.. note 44, page 30.
51. Revusky, page 98.
52. same, page 106.
53. Palestine Economic Review, Tel Aviv, June-July, 1936.
Page 6.
54. same.
55. op. cit. note 45, page 60.
56. same, page 61.
57. Revusky, page 114.
58. same.
59. op. cit., note 45, page 53.
60. Palestine Economic Review, June-July, 1936, page 11.
61. Viteles, op. cit., pages v.vi.
62. same, pages 2, 3.
63. Preuss, vol. II, page 133.
64. same, page 133.
65. same, page 135.
66. Revusky, page 235.
67. Preuss, vol. II, page 136.
68. same, page 137.
69. op. cit., note 44, page 34.
70. same, page 32.

71. Preuss, vol. II, page 140.
72. Megillas Hahistadruth, op. cit., page 87.
73. Revusky, page ~~244~~ 169.
74. The Histadruth, op. cit., page 32.
75. Revusky, page 240/.
76. op. cit., note 74, page 32.
77. For amodnts contributed by each, see Revusky, page 245.
78. same, page 245.
79. same, page 245.
80. The set of figures for December, 1920 and for December. 1933, are from The Histadruth, op. cit., page 34 (see chart). The second chart is also from this source (that is, all figures through 1933). Figures for 1935 are from Revusky, unless otherwise indicated by asterisks.
81. modified from Revusky, page 240.
82. from Revusky, page 241.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI.

1. Report of the Palestine Government, quoted in The Socialist International and Zionism, by M. Yarblum (trans. by M. Hurwitz) pub. by Poale Zion-Zeire Zion, N. Y., 1933. See page 2.
2. same.
3. The figure for today is somewhat over 400,000. (Feb. 1937)
4. Tempo of Palestine Today, by H. Frumkin, pub. by League for Labor Palestine, N.Y., 1936, page 17.
5. same, page 7.
6. same, page 8. The statistics which follow are also from this same source.
7. The total membership increase of the Histadruth for that period, however, was 300%. It is only natural that the higher city wages of a prosperity period should have drawn many to urban employment.
8. These figures and those which follow are from Frumkin, op. cit. note 4, pp. 10-15.
9. same, page 15.
10. Hechalutz, vol. IV, no. 2, April, 1936. Article "Palestine Faces a New Era," page 5.
11. Ben Gurion, Jewish Labor, op. cit., page 47. From speech of H. Frumkin, before Zionist Actions Committee, April, 1935, which is included in this publication.
12. Bustenai, no. 32, 15th of Kislev, 5692.
13. Jewish Labour, (op. cit. note 11), pages 33-34.
14. op. cit. note 12.
15. Labor Zionist News Letter, pub. by Hechalutz, vol. II, no. 1, January 3, 1937. pp. 5,6.
16. same, pages 8-10.
17. Jewish Labour, (op. cit.), page 49.
18. Hechalutz, vol. IV, no. 1, Jan.-Feb. 1936., page 15.
19. same, page 16.
20. same, page 16.

21. Hechalutz, vol. IV, no. 2, page 5.
22. op. cit. (op. cit. chap. VI, note 1), page 25ff.
23. Revisionists and Misrachi, by H. Greenberg and J. Sprinzak, (tr. by Hurwitz), pub. by Milwaukee br. Poale Zion, 1934. page 2 (Hayim Greenberg)
24. same, page 4, by Hayim Greenberg.
25. same, page 13, article, "Misrachi", by Joseph Sprinzak.
26. Hechalutz, vol. III, no. 2, March-April, 1935. Page 48.
27. Documents and Essays, etc., op. cit., page 43.
28. Jews and Arabs in Palestine, ed. by Sereni and Asher. Hechalutz of America, 1936, N.Y. Page 172. Article, "Problems of a Jewish-Arab Rapprochement" by Moses Belinson.
29. same, pages 17 182-184.
30. Simpson, Report on Immigration, Land Settlement and Development, 1930. Quoted by Sereni, op. cit. note 28, page 75a.
31. op. cit. note 28. Art. by Ben Gurion, on "Planning Zionist Policy", page 152.
32. Jewish Labour, op.cit., page 38.
33. Hechalutz, vol. IV, no. 2, April, 1936. Page 12,13.
34. same, page 18.
35. same, page 19.
36. same, page 12.
37. Documents and Essays, etc., page 114.
38. Mr. Cohen, for many years on the advisory committee of the International Labor Organization and labor candidate for Parliament at one time. Article in Every Friday, Cincinnati, O., Sept. 2, 1932. Page 1.
39. same.
40. Palestine Economic Review, June-July, 1936, Tel Aviv. Page 1.
41. same.
42. Cohen, op. cit. note 38,
43. Hechalutz, vol. IV, no. 1, Jan-Feb. 1936, page 7.
44. same, page 10.

45. Hechalutz, Vol. IV, no. 2, April, 1936. page 24.
46. same, page 27.
47. The Rabbis of America to Labor Palestine, pub. by League for Labor Palestine, N.Y., 1935. Page 8.
48. same, page 13.
49. Jews and Arabs in Palestine, op. cit., page 16a.
50. L'Armée Nouvelle, quoted by M. Yarblum, in op. cit. (note 1, chap. VI.), page 7.
51. same, page 9.
52. same, page 13.
53. same, page 14.
54. same, page 16.

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In the notes, the books referred to were referred to by title, author, publisher and year. The bibliography which follows is intended as a more complete guide to the literature on the Jewish Labor Movement in Palestine. The books and pamphlets referred to are also listed in this bibliography. Of course it must be pointed out that many of the pamphlets here named are exceedingly difficult to obtain. Most of them, however, are to be found in the Jewish Division of the New York Public Library.

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erman, Poale Zion Chapter of Milwaukee, Wisc. (no date).
(Yiddish).