

rights on the upper Galilee. (in Rayman, 1981:33)

The fact that the European Jewish settlement in general and the Kibbutz in particular was a colonizing and imperialist movement was not disputed by Zionist leaders. Writing on the Kibbutz as a colonizing movement, Tabenkin said:

We were the pioneers to work on the sea. None of our members were born sailors or fishermen. Yet the very fact that we were a colonizing movement, made us realize that Jews do not require only the land but the sea as well. We have to conquer the sea with our fishing boats and our merchant ships. Only thus can the country be protected from the sea.

Moreover, under the title "Our Imperialism", Tabenkin wrote:

...How does the Kibbutz.. "Imperialism" manifest itself? It is through our striving to always be the first to tackle any hard or dangerous job. The Kibbutz.. never neglects any pioneering prospects. This is why our Kibbutzim were the first to settle by the sea, start the fishing industry, join the [British] police force, work in the stone quarries or in Sdom (the lowest spot on earth), where the temperature is unbelievably high, and where salt and other minerals... We were imperialists in that ours was the initiative to organize illegal immigration and to do everything in order to enhance the prosperity of the country and of our collectives at the same time.. The power of our Kibbutzim is not measured by their numbers but in their places on the map...(Tabenkin, 1985: 61-62)

The Kibbutzim played a major role in furnishing political leadership and military bases for the Jewish state. By carefully selecting their members, the Kibbutzim accorded special priorities to the Jewish intelligensia from the "Achkenazi" (European) origin, who were considered as the true representatives of "Zionist Socialism".

The Kibbutzim were rapidly turned into bases from which most Zionist leadership was drawn. This trend became more obvious after the establishment of the state of Israel. Members of Kibbutzim, as Rosen