

in some of the most fertile areas of the country).

During this period, virtually all of the land acquired by the settlers was privately held, whether in the form of a group of families in a colony, or in plantations, both of which hired Arab labor. However, we witness the evolution of an ideological and institutional framework that would define and shape Zionist policy towards land and labor, with the major components of that policy, especially in the case of land, persisting to the present. The ideological part was reflected in the twin elements of the strategy of the “conquest of labor” (i.e., the employment of only Jewish workers, exclusion of Arab workers), and the “conquest of land” (i.e., the acquisition for settlement of land that would become the “inalienable property of the Jewish people,” alienation of land from the Palestinian Arabs).¹¹³ The evolution of such a strategy was a response by the second wave of immigrants (1904-1914) and the Zionist movement to what they perceived to be the failure of the first wave of immigrants in establishing a solid foundation for the goal of establishing a Jewish state in Palestine. The early settlements, by hiring low-paid Arab labor, was seen as undermining the effort to attract sufficient Jewish immigrants who would opt to stay in the country, assuming that they needed higher

¹¹³For a treatment of this time period that explores the evolution of that strategy in the context of the settlers’ conflict with the Palestinians and internal history of the settlers that goes beyond the romanticism so characteristic of most Israeli histories of this period, but also goes beyond ideological explanations (e.g., the claim that the socialist ideology of the second wave of immigrants would not allow them to exploit cheap Arab labor), see Gershon Shafir, *Land, Labor and the Origins of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, 1882-1914* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).