

to develop Jewish agriculture and industry (financially sponsored by millionaire Baron Rotchilde) and were to capitalize by exploiting native labor. Not significantly different from settler-colonial initiatives elsewhere in the world except for being vanguards of a political movement (Zionism) aiming at a specific objective, the creation of a Jewish State in Palestine.²⁸ The conquest of land was, in their conception, the only basic prerequisite for such an enterprise. Unlike the first, the second Aliyah, guided by the socialist Zionist movement, was to operate in the context of a well-defined strategy, "colonization through Jewish class struggle" and a clear strategic objective: the creation of an exclusively Jewish proletariat, this in order to "normalize" the "inverted pyramid" of Diaspora Jewish socioeconomic structure. This strategy was translated into two principles: the "conquest of land" (kibbush hakarka'a) was coupled with the "conquest of labor" (kibbush ha'avodah) as the dual aspects of Zionist policy. In practice, these twin principles were specified further in the twin slogan of exclusive "Hebrew work", expressed in the boycott of Arab labor; and "Jewish produce", expressed in the boycott of Arab produce. Those were the cornerstones of "economic separateness" motivated by the urge to suppress the competition of the increasingly abundant, and therefore cheap, native labor, so that an exclusive Jewish proletarianization by Jewish capital (recall the Borochovist strategy) could be actualized.

Several objective contradictions seem to be inherent in the Labor-Zionist strategy which (as demonstrated in the previous chapter) is the theoretically consistent approach to the realization of Zionism in the form of a bourgeoisie Jewish State. These contradictions lie in the very requirements for exclusive Jewish proletarianization in Palestine. On the