

represents simultaneously both the general trade union of Jewish labor and the single largest employer of Jewish labor in the Yishuv. This double interpretation and practice of the "conquest of labor" by the Histadrut (in the sense of only Jewish labor can be employed by Jewish capital and only by Jewish capital can Jewish labor be employed) constitutes the most precise application of the Borochivist formula of labor strategy for the consolidation of Jewish political class struggle and the actualization of Zionism.

This, however, can also be counter-productive in that "Jewish labor by Jewish capital only" is likely to reduce the bargaining power of Jewish labor against the Histadrut as its major employer; so that Jewish capital, not labor, dominates the labor process and, of course, wage determination. This is only to notice how essentially anti-proletarian "proletarian" Zionism actually is. With the latter principle, the Histadrut can then not only "see to it that Jewish labor gets what it deserves," but that it also "behaves" (its task as a capitalist employer)!

It is interesting to examine how the Histadrut tries to manage the contradictions inherent in its dual role as employer, on the one hand, and as trade union, on the other. As the General Federation of Trade Unions for Hebrew Workers (until 1955), the Histadrut (often referred to as the labor sector) allowed only Jewish labor to be organized labor, hence the problems it faces as the employer of Hebrew labor only in disciplining its labor force and controlling the labor process and wage determination.

The above provides only one example of this kind. Another important mechanism enabling the Histadrut to fulfill its basic task, namely, the "conquest of labor" for the formation of Jewish proletariat and farmers, is its monopoly over the Yishuv's health care system, "Kupat Hulim" (Sick Fund). This not only controls the reproduction of labor force on a generational and