

daily basis, it also constitutes a material incentive for proletarianization upon which it becomes a disciplinary mechanism for pacifying the Jewish proletariat.

Another approach for fulfilling its task and accommodating the contradictions inherent in it is the adherence to ideological incentives that embody nothing but material interests, both economic and political. The Esco Foundation of Palestine provides numerous examples, as stated below:

"The Histadrut defends its advocacy of the policy of Jewish labor in Jewish enterprise on the ground that the Jewish homeland can be built up only on the cornerstone of large working class immigration. If the principle of one hundred percent Jewish labor is relaxed, the tendency will be to drive the Jewish worker out of the Jewish market altogether. Arabs do not employ Jewish labor. If for no other reason than because it is more expensive...to permit Arabs to penetrate the Jewish labor market would mean that the influx of Jewish capital would be used mostly for Arab development and would defeat the Zionist purpose of providing for the Jewish immigrants."<sup>80</sup> (emphasis added)

The actual material reasons underlying these ideological rationalizations are made explicit in Palestine: Problem and Promise (1946), an economic study by R. Nathan, O. Gass, and D. Creamer. On "labor organization and enterprise" they state:

"The protection of the Jewish worker on the job has been one of the three principal branches of Histadrut activity....In view of the lower standard of living of the Arab population, job protection started by insulating the Jewish worker against this type of competition. This could be assured by stipulating that Jewish-owned enterprises must employ Jewish workers exclusively. ...This attitude conforms both to Zionist needs and to socialist beliefs. As socialists, Jewish workers are opposed to the idea of Jews constituting themselves a master class exploiting native labor....As Zionists, they feel compelled to pursue a policy that will lead to the maximum absorption of Jews into the Palestinian economy. Otherwise, they cannot hope to constitute a majority in their own homeland. Without a majority, Jewish Palestine would be only another typical Jewish community in a non-Jewish country." 81

The material motives here relate, in the first instance, to the economic