

an all-embracing Federation of Labour in Palestine, consisting of two cooperating labour organizations -- Jewish and Arab..." 89

It is obvious from the above that the Histadrut's urge to organize Arab labor was motivated by the needs and aspirations of the Zionist movement, not of Arab labor, and that it follows from the "left-wing" proletarian strategy, not from other postulates of Zionism.

Notice the Histadrut's emphasis on separatism as opposed to organizational unity of Arab and Jewish workers. This separation was institutionalized in the resolutions adopted at the Third Histadrut Convention in 1927, which provided for the creation of a Confederation of Palestine Labor (Brith Poale Eretz Israel), whose aim was stated to be: "The union of workers of Palestine, regardless of religion, nationality or race, into one league for the purpose of improving their economic, social and cultural position." Under this Confederation there would be Jewish unions and Arab unions and each national group would constitute an autonomous section within the Confederation.<sup>90</sup>

As put by Abbu Khushi, a leading Zionist advocate of Arab-Jewish cooperation:

"We want to help the Arab workers found an Arab labor organization which will have a fraternal bond with our Histadruth. We do not intend to make a Jew or a Zionist out of the Arab, any more than we mean to conceal our Zionist aspirations from him." 91

This emphasis on autonomous organization of Jewish and Arab labor is often euphemistically interpreted to express the bi-national attitude on the part of the Histadrut. It is bi-nationalism, however, in the context of a Jewish Commonwealth program which explicitly denies the validity of bi-nationalism in the sense of a political parity, but assumes bi-nationalism in the cultural and communal sense.<sup>92</sup> It is not only that cultural and communal