

bi-nationalism with the elimination of the political dimension is irrelevant, but also that it was not practiced in fact. According to the same source:

"The Histadrut advocates common unions among Government employees, particularly the railway and telegraph workers where the cultural level between the Arab and Jewish groups is not very different and where common wage levels may be achieved without reducing the standard of the Jewish worker." 93 (emphasis added)

Common unions were thus advocated when they served the interest of Jewish labor, when Oriental Jews were the ones involved, and when cost was not inflicted on the Histadrut. In the case of British Mandatory Government employees, it was, of course, in the interest of Jewish workers to demand higher wages for Arab labor, so that Arab labor ceases to be more competitive and loses the potential of displacing Jewish labor. Furthermore, wage increase for Arab workers in this case does not come from Zionist funds and, therefore, is not at the expense of the welfare of Jewish labor.

Reducing its competitiveness was not the only real rationale for organizing Arab labor. One cannot disregard the elements of co-optation and legitimization involved in this action. The Histadrut was urged to provide an alternative to the militant Arab labor movement emerging in Haifa, Jaffa, Jerusalem, Nazareth, Migdal and Nablus in response to Zionist conquest of land and labor policies. The co-optation element is very clear in the methods the Histadrut employed for this pursuit. In Abbu Khushi's words:

"...a nucleus of Arab workers must be formed to be prepared for the task of spreading propaganda among the mass of Arab workers. ...They must be made to understand that a strike is to be used as a last resort...and that a strike, if inevitable, must be the consummation of long and careful preparations. A great deal of time will have to be devoted to forging a solid body of workers ready for sacrifices and risks....The medical service rendered the Arabs by the Kupat Holim [the public health care system; over which the Histadrut exercise full monopoly] is important both as a means of attracting them to the Histadrut and as an educational force. The poor Arab, whose medical needs are entirely unprovided for, is grateful in the extreme for medical