

ers of Zion), the main protagonists of proletarian Zionism. The Histadrut (dominated throughout its existence by MAPAI, the largest Party in the Zionist labor movement and in the Yishuv, as well) represented right-wing Poalie-Tzion and had its main bases of support in the United States as explicitly anti-Bolshevik. Hashomer Hatzair represented left-wing Poalie-Tzion; it centered in East Europe. It regarded itself the bearer of orthodox Borochovism and tried to mobilize the Comintern support, for what it conceived to be the "integration of pioneering Zionism within revolutionary socialism: colonization with class struggle."⁹⁸

The kibbutzim established by Hashomer Hatzair (whose founding fathers belonged to the Third Aliyah) organized into a federation (Hakibbutz Haartzitzi) in 1927 and formed the base of this movement overemphasizing Halutzit (pioneering) and voluntarism in constructing the new Jewish Society in Palestine.

With its members protected in their communal settlements from Arab competition, Hashomer Hatzair could afford to oppose the Histadrut labor policy and advocate what appeared to be more progressive slogans: "the problem of cheap Arab competition must be met in a more constructive way" (instead of the 100 percent Hebrew labor and the separate labor organization advocated by the Histadrut and MAPAI). "A program of a common organization of Jews and Arabs in single unions is essential for reducing the amount of unorganized labor within the country."⁹⁹

Realizing that cooperation with the Arab worker could not come about so long as the program of "only Jewish labor" is followed to the point of excluding all Arab workers from the Jewish economy, Hashomer Hatzair proposed the following tradeoff: "acceptance of the principle of mass Jewish immigration to Palestine," for "the affirmation of the equal rights of