

rule of feudalism and the men of religion, and regards the Arab toilers (the worker and small farmer) as the natural allies of the Jewish workers in their struggle to develop the country and to establish a bi-national socialist society within it...." 103 (emphasis added)

It was also this extreme left of the Zionist movement that formulated the ideas of a socialist bi-national State in Palestine in which "the Jewish people returning to their homeland and the Arab people living in it" would have equal rights.

It is difficult to find the appropriate words for characterizing these implausible positions taken by the extreme left of Zionism on the question of native labor: on what basis did they conceive of the community of economic and social interests of the Jewish and Arab toilers in Palestine? The Arab toiler was to be necessarily supplanted by the Hebrew toiler and dispossessed from the land (his only instrument of labor, of toiling) on which the kibbutzim of Hashomer Hatzair were to be erected in order to create exclusively Jewish toilers!

It is true that Zionism has, in effect, "freed" Arab tenants and small peasants from the bond to the land, their source of exploitation under feudal relations of production; yet, adhering to the proletarian strategy, it deprived them of the "coersive" freedom to sell their labor power, prohibiting their actual proletarianization, denying them the possibility of becoming a potentially self-emancipating class.

The economic and social interests of the Jewish and Arab toilers were absolutely counterposed under the hegemony of proletarian Zionism. In this respect, left-wing proletarian Zionism did, in effect, provide not an alternative to, but rather legitimization for, right-wing proletarian Zionism.

The distinction between right- and left-wing proletarian Zionism is, therefore, practically irrelevant. The actual practices of right-wing pro-