

Kibbutzim pioneers and alone: The National identity of a collective minority

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What are we coming to do in the Land of Israel? To redeem and to revive the people. These however, are not two separate aims, but two aspects of the same thing. The land can not be redeemed without reviving the people and the people cannot be revived without redeeming the land. The monetary purchase of land cannot be redemption in the national sense as long as it is not cultivated by Jews.

Aaron David Gordon, 1912¹

Which parts are more essential for creating the body of a nation? The land is a prerequisite, geographical space for the nation to define its borders. Then you need the strongholds, the keepers so manpower comes to occupy and defend the territories and finally military institutions will fortify the fortress. One piece though is missing and that is the Idea, which will feed the masses that will construct it in the end. The meeting point of these factors in the case of Israel's establishment was the kibbutzim movement, as a comprehensive process of societal guidance, national planning forms the critical linkage between ideology and implementation, ideology dictates national planning, Zionist Ideology hand in hand with settlement implementation through the kibbutzim and the defense forces.

The technocratic guidance and organization of the Zionist institutions paved the way for the laboring movement of the kibbutzim to excel in every task given for the creation of the national home in Palestine. Their accomplishments fortified their

¹ Shlomo Sand, *The Invention of the Land of Israel: From Holy Land to Homeland*, Verso Books, 2012, p. 197

significance but also increased the sacrifices that had to be made in the expense of others and of the society as a whole. The aspirations, dreams and ideals of the kibbutzim met with the strategic colonization project of the formal Institutions, the imagery of a wasted land, the need to monopolize the labor economy so that the pioneer would feel safe with no external antagonism, the status given to them as a cohesive European vanguard movement amassing the majority of funds² available for the settlement of Palestine, created the ruling hegemonic mentality of the Western settler³, which prevailed among the kibbutzim.

Zionist- Socialism was a religious surrogate whose system of symbols and values dominated in the Yishuv during the British Mandate in Palestine⁴. Labor had rejected from the beginning the Orthodox Marxist idea of non-collaboration with the essentially middle-class Western European Zionist Leadership, but saw workers' organizations and settlements as the engine driving Zionist enterprise⁵. Labor's idea of the nation building process was based on two independent principles: Conquest of Labor 'Kibush Ha-Avodah' and Conquest of Land 'Kibush Ha-qarqa'ot'⁶. These two principals were the two defining steps towards the Jewish "liberation" process. The collective settlement was a pragmatic choice and not an ideological one, concept that derives from the means that funded them⁷. The kibbutzim and the moshavim⁸ resulted from the old capitalist agriculture's inability and unwillingness to give priority to national considerations, and to take on Jewish workers in place of Arab ones. The implementation of this segregationist policy led to the development of the Jewish economy organized on rigidly national lines (nationalistic trade unions,

² ²"In its name budgets were provided by the Zionist Organizations and in its name national funds were collected for the Histadrut's enterprises" Zeev Sternhell, *The Founding Myths of Israel*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey 1998, p.59

³ The kibbutzim were as dependent on the Jewish National Fund, the Zionist movement (for manpower), the Mandate authorities (both for land and as target for resistance) as they were on their own resources (mainly manpower and ideas).

⁴ Labor Zionists conveniently, yet sincerely rationalized using Marxian terminology. The first Jewish settlers aided by Baron Rothschild and the Jewish National Fund, had bought land from the feudal owners, and exploited the fellaheen who had formerly tilled the land in a typical colonial fashion.

⁵ Aaron David Gordon, the Zionist ideologue and the spiritual force behind practical Zionism and labor Zionism, stated: "We did not come to Eretz Israel on behalf of socialism and it was not for its sake that we came here to labor and to live on the fruits of labor-Here the only thing possible is a slow imperceptible transition from socialism to nationalism in its new Zionist form and that is why we are closer to our own bourgeois than to all the foreign proletariats in the world".

⁶ Ze'ev Drory, *The Israel Defense Force, and the Foundation of Israel -Utopia in Uniform*, Routledge Curzo, London 2005, p.50-52.

⁷ The kibbutzim were as dependent on the Jewish National Fund, the Zionist movement as a whole (for manpower), the Mandate authorities (both for land and as target for resistance) as they were on their own resources (mainly manpower and ideas).

⁸ The moshavim's structures were different from those of the kibbutzim on economic organizational base of its members.

militia, schools, and social and political institutions, embodying the embryo of the future Jewish state⁹).

These agricultural settlement practices were set up on national land constituting a viable solution of land conquer through labor. In this very sense labor had become both a spiritual and a national value, it was the expression of self-realization and of national rebirth, all portrayed in the face of the laborer/conqueror of the kibbutz¹⁰. The kibbutzim and the moshavim became the sanctuaries of the new national religion, the “holy” Zionist service was performed there in its purest form, cultivating the nation’s land, settling the country’s distant frontiers guarding it against attackers and living a life of cooperation and communal solidarity. The kibbutzim had a special place in the Zionist “ethos” the weapon-bearing farmers were an outstanding symbol of the land’s conquest and its settlement with the economic and moral assistance of the entire people. This wonderful vanguard, which also realized the dream of an egalitarian society, was the labor’s movement supreme weapon-an egalitarian utopia coming to life in the land of the Bible¹¹, for achieving its cornerstone goal of establishing the nation.

Zionist Ethos Conquering the Homeland

Following the trail of settlement activity, one must focus on the foundational factors that shaped the process, them being, Arthur Ruppin and the Halutzim¹² of the 2nd Aliyah, this blend of idealism and realization created the epitome of the dominance of the agricultural settlements. As Head of the Palestine Office Ruppin managed to adjust the settlement planning, through experimentation, to the pioneering needs¹³.

The 2nd Aliyah immigrants were carrying very specific expectations and aspirations concerning their future activity and building of a new life in Palestine, traditional Jewish beliefs in the sanctity of the physical land of Israel blended with an activist productivization ideology to produce a sentimental yearning for the agrarian life in

⁹ The Zionist movement intended to replace the Palestinian population rather than to exploit it according to the classical colonial pattern.

¹⁰ There was a sense of choseness between the people of the Second Aliya, regarding themselves as a tiny minority carrying on their shoulders the fate of the entire people of Israel.

¹¹“In its name budgets were provided by the Zionist Organizations and in its name national funds were collected for the Histadrut’s enterprises” Zeev Sternhell, *The Founding Myths of Israel*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey 1998, p.59.

¹² Hebrew word which appears in the Bible in a military sense, meaning vanguard, the troops who move in advance of the camp and its head.

¹³ “Ruppin succeeded in reconciling the interests of Western Zionism and the east European bourgeoisie leadership and the demands of the young pioneers to give Zionism a ‘socialist character’” Etan Bloom, *Arthur Ruppin and the Production of Pre-Israeli Culture*, BRILL, Leiden, 2011, p. 165.

the land whose soil was inherently fruitful, perceiving themselves not as refugees from persecution, but as self-sacrificing idealistic vanguard engaged in an act of national revival¹⁴.

Their salvation lay in building their own society, literally from ground up, building it with their own hands, it was almost as a religion of manual labor and it is the fundamental link in a chain of ritualized values held in the kibbutzim. 'Halutzit' the pioneering spirit as practiced in the kibbutzim has a compulsive character. It was in part a ritual of expiation for the personally perceived sin of parasitism, so the focus was on the subject of labor to reconstitute oneself. Thus, the ideal stirring was to create a community that had, almost monastic quality blended with the value of asceticism¹⁵.

For the pioneers, land became the focus of mystical desire, the land therefore conceived as having been metaphorically empty until the long-awaited arrival of the pioneers coming to redeem it. The image of a desolate land was integral in the redemption process. Desolation signified a special, boundless, virginal environment enthusiastically awaiting the Yishuv (the organized Jewish community in Palestine) to penetrate and fertilize it¹⁶. The reality was very different from what they have been expecting.

By 1900 in the veteran moshavot¹⁷, the Arab workers had become part of the local scene, so much that many of them came to live in the moshavot, the men working in the fields and the women as domestic servants¹⁸, so in the time of the pioneer's arrival the functionality of the first colonies had been based on Jewish settlers employing Arab workers. The presence of mixed Arab and Jewish labor¹⁹ on the lands presented problems to the pioneers, for economic and ideological reasons. Given that Arabs were more accustomed to agricultural labor than of the Jewish

¹⁴ Derek Penslar, *Zionism and Technocracy: The Engineering of Jewish Settlement in Palestine 1870-1918*, Indiana University Press, Indianapolis, 1991, p.19

¹⁵ Dealing with a highly selective group of people who by no means represented one of the major directions or viewpoints existing among European Jewry. Stanley Diamond, "Kibbutz and Shtetl: The History of an Idea", *Social Problems*, Vol. 5, No. 2, Special Issue on the Kibbutz (Autumn 1957), pp. 71-99

¹⁶ Shlomo Sand, *The Invention of The Land of Israel: From Holy Land to Homeland*, Verso Books, 2012, p. 197

¹⁷ The displacement of Arab workers after all was by and large unsuccessful in the moshava Gershon Shafir, *Land Labor and the Origins of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict 1882-1914*, University of California Press, 1996, p.82

¹⁸ Henry Near, *The Kibbutz Movement A History: Origins and Growth 1909-1939 Vol.1.*, Oxford University Press, 1992, p.15

¹⁹ The children of settlers of the 1st Aliyah were working side by side in the fields with Arabs speaking Arabic with them. The idealistic immigrant's plans for a new Hebrew language and culture were threatened by the prospect of absorption by the native Arabic way of life. Derek Penslar, *Zionism and Technocracy: The Engineering of Jewish Settlement in Palestine 1870-1918*, Indiana University Press, Indianapolis, 1991, p. 34

immigrants and were willing to work for lower wages, the pioneers began to form the view that only through a policy of exclusive Jewish labor 'avoda- ivrit' could Jews be guaranteed employment.

The first settlers introduced the idol of exile to the temple of national rebirth, and the creation of the homeland was desecrated by 'avodah zara', employment of Arab workers, 'alien work'. 'Avodah-zara' in its religious sense is idol worship, is a notion pregnant with meaning in Judaism, it was one of 3 sins. Application of this concept to describe work of Arabs in Jewish colonies depicted it as being equivalent of breaking a taboo. In the eyes of the young immigrants, for whom physical labor had the status of a supreme value, the employment of Arabs appeared as a desecration of the sanctity of the land²⁰. The 2nd Aliyah pioneers, were the dominant group in shaping the mentality of reserving all jobs created by Jewish capital for the Jewish workers. Their moral pathos imbued them with confidence in the righteousness of their path, as the socialist pioneer settler rejected the self-image of a European who was usurping the rights of the native population.

Therefore, he created a model that interpreted this reality differently, making use of a complex amalgam of ideas and behavioral patterns that have been termed as the defensive ethos²¹, which blurred the fact that there was a basic clash of interests in Palestine between the Jewish immigrants and the inhabitants. The idealistic young workers initiated the 'struggle' for the 'conquering of labor'. On one hand it was a political and economic expression encompassing the effort to compete with the Arab worker, to persuade the Jewish farmer that it was his duty to employ only Jews. On the other hand, it also became a moral term, it was the duty of the Jewish worker to conquer himself for labor by changing his nature to bring about salvation for himself and for the Jewish people.

Convinced by their 'moral' cause the pioneers began organizing themselves in contract-working and guarding communes with the assistance of the Palestine Office, Arthur Ruppin was the pioneering technocrat that gave to these idealistic youth the pragmatic solution to their problems. The technocratic management was the key factor of organization and mobilization of the future to be kibbutzniks, through contract work, working groups training and preparatory farms. There were 3 different types of contractual groups: Defence groups of Hashomer, working groups such as Degania(as Um- Juni was known since 1911), and settlement groups, the only example was Merhaviva. The contract working groups had many functions, most important ones was to serve as a conquest group; a temporary group highly

²⁰ Anita Shapira, *Land and Power: The Zionist Resort to Force 1881-1948*, Stanford University Press, California, 1999, p. 64

²¹ Anita Shapira, *Land and Power: The Zionist Resort to Force 1881-1948*, Stanford University Press, California, 1999, p.356

mobilized, whose role was to cultivate and safeguard the lands of the Jewish National Fund in order to preserve ownership rights and prepare them for future permanent agricultural settlements. The ground had been paved but still the social structure of these communities had not been decided²², during the initial formative years of the labor Zionist movement in Palestine, their main concern was to endure the hardship conditions centering their power to labor and survival²³.

This exact predicament gave prominence to the devoted members, the 'few' who managed to arise themselves to the needs of the national rebirth, it was as if an inner selective process was distinguishing them, as the only suitable human force able to carry the burden of nation building. This process of selection²⁴ and self-election which weeded out all but the toughest mentally and physically, clustered the concept of redemption of self and homeland through manual labor, a novel synthesis of elements of Judaism, Zionism, and socialism into a new ideology, which took the place of a new religion.

Arthur Ruppin became one of the first believers of this new form of 'religious' order, concentrating all his efforts and power into persuading the formal Zionist Institutions to materialize the settlement activity on the lines of the pioneering ideal. The funds available for the settlements were limited, since priority had to be given to land purchase, agricultural colonies had been costly taking into consideration that the profits were not the desirable ones, so a stance not so favorable was taken by the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish National Fund. The mastery of Ruppin succeeded in altering their views, stating in 1913, "How can one imagine that work which aspires mainly to change the character of the Jews and to make the urbans into rurals, will take place according to demands of the profit. In the same way we could demand that our schools be profitable²⁵." The desired settlement pattern, based on which Ruppin orchestrated the pioneering settlement implementation, was originated from Franz Oppenheimer, who in 1896 wrote about 'the cooperative

²² Mendel Portugali wrote: 'I do not remember any discussion about these questions in the general meeting. It was obvious to all of us that this should be our way of life, for it was dictated by the realities of the situation'.

²³ The young 2nd Aliyah immigrants, the pioneers, did not for the most part come in organized groups. They arrived individually, generally in rebellious state of mind and deeply influenced by the Russian Revolution ethos, although with no clear formed class theory. The theoretical superficiality of the young immigrants of the 2nd Aliyah indicate that in most cases they related to Marx more as a prophet or a culture hero than a social, economical and political theoretician. Many Jews in the Pale called Marx the 'zadik'- saintly person- from the Jewish street, Marx was seen as a Messianic figure. Etan Bloom, Arthur Ruppin and the Production of Pre-Israeli Culture, BRILL, Leiden, 2011, p.190

²⁴ 'in the selection of the human material... lies the structure of the Jewish population of the Land of Israel in the future', Arthur Ruppin, Etan Bloom, Arthur Ruppin and the Production of Pre-Israeli Culture, BRILL, Leiden, 2011, p. 177

²⁵ Etan Bloom, Arthur Ruppin and the Production of Pre-Israeli Culture, BRILL, Leiden, 2011, p. 181

settlement, an attempt to reject communism in a positive way through a solution to the cooperative and agrarian question²⁶.

The kibbutzim and consequently Arthur Ruppin came to symbolize the vanguard technocracy of the colonizing enterprise in Palestine, not so as groundbreaking in terms of colonization planning but as a form of cultural and social development. The pioneering aspect of this coalition lays in the dichotomy of the labor market legality by creating an exclusive Jewish agricultural sector settled on the kibbutzim²⁷.

The 2nd Aliyah immigrants legitimized the substructure of the collective agricultural settlements, but it was the members of the European Zionist youth movements of the 3rd Aliyah that molded the kibbutz image into a national pillar. The preparatory ideological base of the pioneers was fostered on the ranks of these youth movements bridging the gap between European mentality and the pragmatic national needs in Palestine. The Hehalutz movement “the Pioneer” was the largest and the most influential among the Zionist youth, noting that by no means represented the major directions or viewpoints existing among the great majority of the European Jewry²⁸. The Hehalutz supervised their psychological preparation for the tasks awaiting for them in Palestine and offering agricultural training. The pioneer was learning Hebrew, receiving instructions in the geography and nature of Palestine, and was energetically educated in the spirit of discipline and cooperative effort²⁹.

In this cultural and social framework of preparation, readiness, and colonizing mobilization, flourished the elitist mentality of the kibbutzim. They believed, they were the only ones³⁰ making the choice of freedom and redemption, living behind the “parasitic” way of life in the Diaspora³¹, separating themselves from all the

²⁶ His ideas were finally unanimously accepted at the 9th Zionist congress in Hamburg in 1909, Etan Bloom, Arthur Ruppin and the Production of Pre-Israeli Culture, BRILL, Leiden, 2011, p. 138

²⁷ The Zionist enterprise represents a deviant pattern of colonization in comparison with the usual schema- exploitation of the indigenous labor force by the settlers. Jewish settlement in Palestine was to take on a new form, conveniently rationalized by the use of Marxian terminology. The implementation of the economic separateness along with exclusive Jewish labor, led to the development of a quasi-autarchic Jewish economy organized on rigidly national lines. Nathan Weinstock, “The Impact of Zionist Colonization on Palestinian Arab Society before 1948”, *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (Winter 1973), pp. 52

²⁸ Zionism was influencing a great number of idealist, nationalist youth but it did not hold the status that one might have in mind. We should not forget the impact that Communism had among the European Jewish masses, and also the assimilationists, and the traditional Orthodox communities.

²⁹ Walter Clay Lowdermilk, *Palestine Land of Promise*, Victor Gollangz Ltd, London, 1944, p. 91

³⁰ Hehalutz acquired a semi-official status as the department of the Zionist movement responsible for training and selection of working-class immigrants.

³¹ . The religion’s sense of superiority, the forceful rejection of Diaspora in order to underscore the superiority of pioneer-zionist culture. At the center of the anti-Diaspora ethos was a moral distinction between Diaspora Jew and the new Jew- the Israeli Jew. Oz Almog, *The Sabra: the creation of the new Jew*, University of California Press, California, 2000, p.76

others who did not want to follow or even could not³², they were the Zionist workers “army” on the quest for national rebirth. Upon their arrival in Palestine, in the beginning of the 1920’s this closed revolutionary coterie that the pioneers had developed during their shared experience in the youth movement became the norm through the kibbutzim, enabling them to keep their selective group image. The most characteristic depiction of this attitude of European superiority³³ can be traced to their laboring ethos. They called themselves the Laboring Yishuv as if they had a monopoly of labor, as if no one else worked apart from them. In fact, the communal agricultural settlements could not have survived without financial support from the national Zionist Institutions. In this sense they were closer to the “Old Yishuv” of Jerusalem and its dependence on ‘chalukkah’ money than to the new society they were claiming to create³⁴. Their claim though, throughout the pre-state period became the unwritten law of the Labor Zionist movement in Palestine³⁵, committed to the religiosity of labor, they became the guards of Zionist Land³⁶ and also had a powerful effect on the Zionist self-image, David Ben Gurion described the halutzim as the army of Zionist Fulfillment³⁷.

The cult of personal fulfillment and of redemption through physical labor took the place of socialization of the means of production. The Zionist revolution was

³² Some of them dropped out in the course of the rigorous training, but those who went through it to the end turned out to be exceptional human material. Owing to this organized training, the human element in the upbuilding of Palestine fully matches in its constructive capacity the best of the pioneers who developed the New World. Nathan Weinstock, “The Impact of Zionist Colonization on Palestinian Arab Society before 1948”, *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (Winter 1973), pp. 91

³³ The settlers conceived themselves as bearers of an advanced European civilization in a backward land. Derek Penslar, *Zionism and Technocracy: The Engineering of Jewish Settlement in Palestine 1870-1918*, Indiana University Press, Indianapolis, 1991, p.20

³⁴ Tom Segev, *One Palestine Complete: Jews and Arabs under the British Mandate*, PALGRAVE MACMILLAN, e-book edition, p.285

³⁵ For them the quantitative aspect was always secondary, and the founders knew from the beginning that only few would be attracted to the task of building the nation. Thus, all efforts were directed toward the few thousand, who were organized in the Hehalutz movement and in the various other youth movements. All their hopes were centered on this pioneering minority. To them, the masses of Jews who were not Zionists or who were not organized for immigration to Eretz Israel were of minor importance. Ze’ev Sternhell, *The founding myths of Israel: nationalism, socialism, and the making of the Jewish state*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1998, p.51

³⁶ Nation and Land were frequently substituted for God. The traditional phrase “Who can retell the glories of God”, the opening phrase of one of the most popular of all Hannukah songs was transformed into one kibbutz Haggadah to “Who can retell the glories of Israel”. Even the most sacred of all passages “Hear O Israel, the Lord our God, the lord is One”, was transformed also into one kibbutz Haggadah to “Hear O Israel, Israel is our destiny, Israel is One”. Eliezer Don-Yehiya, Charles S. Liebman., “The Symbol System of Zionist-Socialism: An Aspect of Israeli Civil Religion”, *Modern Judaism*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (September 1981), pp. 128

³⁷ Tom Segev, *One Palestine Complete: Jews and Arabs under the British Mandate*, PALGRAVE MACMILLAN, e-book edition, p.286

personal and national, it was a cultural not a social revolution³⁸ and the kibbutzim became the highlighting example after their failing to encompass into their ranks workers, youth and immigrants of a different political³⁹ and social backgrounds from theirs.

The great victim, of the unwillingness of the kibbutzim to alter their societal base and of the Zionist institutions to preserve a democratized labor mobility process for all the Jewish immigrants, was the Jewish population coming from Yemen⁴⁰. The Yemenite Jew was perceived as the ideal answer to the lacking of manpower in the laboring economy of the Yishuv, being Jewish 'enough' for the racial standards of the institutions for him to work on the land, but not being Jewish 'enough' for him to be included in the settlement activity ruled by the kibbutzim⁴¹.

The Yemenite Jewish workers remained employed in the mixed private sector of the economy and were casted as quantity, thus the European kibbutzniks were casted as quality, undertaking the land conquering. It cannot be denied that the two groups held very different positions in the hierarchy and for that reason more attention was being paid to the claims of the 'quantity' workers, in a letter written by the Palestine Office to the Federation of the Agricultural workers of Judea one may read, "We came to recognize that the Ashkenazi are unhappy with the association with the Yemenites and they see no benefit from such partnership, and only their respect for the board of the Workers Federation restrains the expression of their opposition⁴²." On another instance of claim with a totally different context, this time on behalf of the Yemenite workers based on Petah Tikvah (a pillar kibbutzim) a worker made an eye-opening remark, "one thing we have to commend is the difference in the price of labor. We are one people and one language and why is it that the smallest of our Ashkenazi brethren receives 2 francs, some 2,5 and

³⁸ Ze'ev Sternhell, *The founding myths of Israel: nationalism, socialism, and the making of the Jewish state*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1998, p.77

³⁹Expulsion of every kibbutz member suspected of communist sympathies; the kibbutzim were one's party affair institution. Eli Tzur, "The Silent Pact: Anti-Communist Co-operation between the Jewish Leadership and the British Administration in Palestine", *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 2 (April 1999), pp. 128

⁴⁰ Yemenite Jewish workers were ideally suited to satisfy both nationalist and capitalist interests since they were Jewish workers who were to be paid Arab wages, Aharon Eisenberg, was the first one to suggest catalysis of Jewish immigration from Yemen through propaganda initiated from Eretz Israel.

⁴¹ Zeev Smilansky stated: 'the Yemenite workers are less capable of performing cultured tasks, then the young Ashkenazi workers, most of whom are educated and quick to grasp the tasks which require intelligence and attention more than physical strength.', Gershon Shafir, "The Meeting of Eastern Europe and Yemen: 'idealistic workers' and 'natural workers' in early Zionist settlement in Palestine", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol.13, No.2 (April 1990), pp.181

⁴² Gershon Shafir, "The Meeting of Eastern Europe and Yemen: 'idealistic workers' and 'natural workers' in early Zionist settlement in Palestine", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol.13, No.2 (April 1990), pp.183

some 3 francs, while we-even the oldest amongst us receives 9-10 piastres per day⁴³?”.

Parallel to the appearance of the Yemenites as a new marker of the East, a new link came into being between the East European and West European Jews, between whom until then, there had always been a state of tension and hostility. The unification of west and east European Jews under the category Ashkenazi took place simultaneously with the emergence of the category Eastern or Oriental Jews, the modern Hebrew identity in Palestine was perceived as a European identity⁴⁴. The kibbutzim depict the totality of this hegemonic distinctiveness, becoming the sanctuaries of the new national religion, the holy Zionist⁴⁵ service was performed there in its purest form, cultivating the nation's land, settling the country's distant frontiers, guarding it against attackers and living a life of cooperation and communal solidarity.

Militarism of the Kibbutzim on the road to Conquest

The symbiosis between the military logic and the civil order has characterized the Israeli national organization from its inception structuring the foundation of a close relation between the two pre-state entities. The core of this ideal can be traced very early on in the pioneering mentality as already mentioned, the image of a guard-worker, settler protecting and fighting for his land and his peers. The first attempt of realization came from some group of workers, who established independent producer's cooperatives in the form of contractors' groups such as Hahosresh "the Plowman" in 1907, and Hashomer "the Guard" in 1909, offering their services to the farmers, striving to replace the Arab guards employed by the colonies. They were

⁴³ Gershon Shafir, "The Meeting of Eastern Europe and Yemen: 'idealistic workers' and 'natural workers' in early Zionist settlement in Palestine", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol.13, No.2 (April 1990), pp.187

⁴⁴ Etan Bloom, Arthur Ruppin and the Production of Pre-Israeli Culture, BRILL, Leiden, 2011, p.229

⁴⁵ David Ben Gurion in March 1936 stated: "The kibbutz is the form of settlement par excellence. No form of colonization can be more Zionist; there is nothing like it." (in a period in which no more than 8.5% of the Histadrut members were living in kibbutzim), Ze'ev Sternhell, *The founding myths of Israel: nationalism, socialism, and the making of the Jewish state*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1998, p.220

organized in communes, but its members moved around the country to wherever guards were needed following the path of contractual working groups⁴⁶.

In these guarding communes one can recognize the primary formation of a defense body, the worker-guard who eventually became the worker-fighter, the amalgam military and civil logic. In 1919 the General Assembly of Hashomer expressed the need to begin widespread settlement close to the existing boundary lines for the purpose of defending the country and laying the groundwork for revolutionary national education, on this basis the Assembly has decided to found a string of special cooperative settlements in the spirit of the ideas and principles of the Hashomer, which will serve as guard posts along the frontiers of the country⁴⁷.

In 1921 anti-Jewish outbursts led to the founding of the Haganah⁴⁸ (Hebrew Defense Organization in Palestine). This organization was set up by the United Labor, Ahdut Ha'avoda Party and was seen as a kind of citizen's defense group which was not officially recognized by the Mandatory Government, but it was never seen as an enemy. Haganah was designed merely to protect settlements against sudden attacks by Palestinians until the arrival of police or the army to take over and fulfill their proper function in other words it was there to defend the lives and property of Jews in a land ridden with insecurity and strife, but it ought not to aspire to a political role as long as its place was more passive than aggressive. The foundations had been set, economical political and military institutions had been mobilized and the Mapai administration had already started paving the path to stabilization.

Throughout this very crucial period the labor movement gained the bourgeoisie's cooperation in the area it believed was most important, the financing of the agricultural settlement that was conquering the land⁴⁹. Settlements served as a common ground for all, workers, and middle and upper-middle classes, united in their national aims presenting a front against the Palestinian threat. The entire Jewish bourgeoisie, including the one emerging in Palestine, knew that the collective settlement had grown as a response to the needs of the time as a necessary improvisation and not as the model of an alternative society. This tool in the hands of Zionism far exceeded its idea, kibbutzim monopolized the only means necessary for a future state establishment, the land, and the manpower. In 1927 the United Kibbutz Movement (Ha-kibbutz ha-Meuchad) was formed and accelerated its key role, it gave protection, guidance support and shelter both to the civilian and the

⁴⁶ Amir Ben-Porat, "Immigration, Proletarianization, and Deproletarianization: A Case Study of the Jewish Working Class in Palestine, 1882-1914", *Theory and Society*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (Apr. 1991), pp. 233-258

⁴⁷ Ze'ev Drory, *The Israel Defense Force and the Foundation of Israel -Utopia in Uniform*, Routledge Curzon, London 2005, p.44-45

⁴⁸ Yehuda Bauer, "From Cooperation to Resistance 1938-1946", *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (Apr. 1966), pp. 182-210.

⁴⁹ During 1920-1935 the number of the kibbutzim had raised.

military entities of the Yishuv, Haganah, kibbutzim and later Palmach became the underpinnings for the future state.

During the late 1930s the reevaluation of the Yishuv's administration concerning the state building process is depicted. The Arab general strike during 1936-1939 worked as a catalyst for an organized Jewish army, independent of the Mandatory and ready to meet the Palestinian challenge once Haganah failed to stand to the demands of the times while caught military unprepared. This seemed not to be the only difficulty thus in 1936 the British support for the Zionist enterprise waned, the idea of partitioning the country between Jews and Palestinians began to emerge. So, the soil didn't feel amicable to the aspirations of the Zionist cause and this was the main reason why during the Arab strike a policy of restraint was pursued toward both the Palestinians and the Mandatory.

A path of moderation and a policy of restraint (Havlagah)⁵⁰ was followed which dictated cooperation with the British and defense against the Palestinians, as long as they realized that the worsening relations between the three claimers of the land could work to their advantage for enhancing its position in the Yishuv by defensive operations. This was an expression of the hope that co-operation with the British would continue, and of the conception that nothing should be done to endanger it, on that account the Yishuv assisted the British authorities for the restraint of the strike.

By the end of 1936 Haganah began changing the concept of Havlagah with the assistance of the British Government which in its fear of regional and international complications, was in need of manpower assistance in order to ease the situation. At the end of 1936 the Mandatory therefore allowed the setting up of various types of Additional, Temporary and Special Constabulary. One luminous example of this cooperation was the Jewish settlement police was entrusted with the defense of the villages and their surrounding areas. The police were under nominal British command and received their training at the hand of British experts, but in fact most of them were active Haganah member, in such manner the Hebrew military organization became at least in part legalized. Different types of collaboration aspects portray the quick adjustments the Jewish authorities were willing to make. This tremendous period remodified the relation between the Yishuv administration and the colonial authorities. These circumstances at the urban areas recreated the territorial concept and that was the preparation of a national settlement map focusing on the plains and valleys⁵¹.

⁵⁰ Ze'ev Drory, *The Israel Defense Force and the Foundation of Israel -Utopia in Uniform*, Routledge Curzo, London 2005, p.72-78.

⁵¹ Yehuda Bauer, *From Diplomacy to Resistance*, VARDA BOOKS, Illinois 2001, p. 95-105.

The Zionist authorities replaced their focus on the kibbutzim since a commune was more likely to be mobilized for defense purposes than the city⁵². As long as new British restrictions implemented on further settlement activity, new measures had to be taken in order to create a new type of frontier settlement. The selected members of the kibbutzim would arrive at dawn under the protection of armed police and erect a stockade and a watch tower to protect themselves. The settlement of Tel-Amal in this way went on without a hitch and became the model for establishing more than 50 settlements of this kind up to the outbreak of World War 2. This was a radical departure in settlement policy, up to now the major factor in deciding the order of settlement of available land have been its economic possibilities together with a general aim of creating geographic blocs of Jewish villages, from now on such decisions would be taken in the framework of a generally agreed settlement strategy aimed at expanding the boundaries of any future possible Jewish state as much as possible and increasing the security of the existing population⁵³.

These regional points, point up this massive effort at settlement made in the map of Palestine and in the lines which any future partition of the country would have to follow. It was the 53 tower and stockade (Homa Umigdal) settlements which determined the shape of the geographic nucleus of the Jewish State. Numerically, 36 kibbutzim were established in this period as against 18 moshavim. The legends which were created in and about this period referred to the kibbutz rather than the moshav, the best-known example is that of Hanita, founded in March 1938 kibbutz Hanita marked the northern border of Palestine. It became a contemporary national shrine, embodying the individual, social, political, and national values of courage and devotion, patriotism, and self-sacrifice.

The kibbutzim became the most important pillar in the development of an independent defense force. Their human composition, their structure and socio-economic base, made possible internal recruitment of many of their best "Sabras"⁵⁴ to the British army during World War 2 and in the near future in the Palmach.

While every detail was being calculated the Yishuv authorities wanted to facilitate their plan and for that reason they organized an expanded physical education program, Chagam⁵⁵ in 1939. Chagam provided preliminary training for military

⁵² Setting up a kibbutz required less capital since less land was available for the Jewish National Fund.

⁵³ Aharon Kellerman "Settlement Myth and Settlement Activity: Interrelationships in the Zionist land of Israel", *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (1996), pp. 363-378.

⁵⁴ Oz Almog, *The Sabra the Creation of the New Jew*, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles California 2000.

⁵⁵ Chagam was founded by Arthur Biram, philosopher and educator, this program was the incarnation of the future Gadna program.

service, funding under the sponsorship of Haganah⁵⁶, a new type of symbiosis between schools, settlements and army was the volunteer work and military training performed by urban youth on the kibbutzim. The aim was to educate people of discipline responsibility courage and precision in their movements, decisive in their actions who prepare themselves for maximal physical exertion, who will be prepared to make every effort and to endure any suffering for the rebirth and the liberation of the nation⁵⁷.

The youth movements were entitled the role of the conductor to provide Jewish, Zionist and pioneering education and cultivating an authentic Israeli experience, with the intention of creating a pedagogical environment within the army framework capable of elevating the soldier's spirit and culture forming an army which devotes part of its time to nation-building. Correspondingly they educated citizens for combat and settlement, a sort of synthesis between a pioneer who is prepared to settle the wasteland and build the homeland and a soldier who possesses the quintessential martial characteristics and is prepared under emergency conditions to sacrifice himself for his country. This form of pioneering Zionism was incorporated into the settlement planning in the form of a slogan "dispersal population"⁵⁸, this blending of work and military training exercises, agricultural instruction, contact with nature, the fortifying of body and spirit through work and field conditions, marches and field trips, familiarity with the country, acquaintance with the Hebrew village and its economic, social and cultural accomplishments, the bequeathing of the Hebrew language to new immigrants, formulated a complete system of military training and preparation.

The pavement from the previous period to this one is originated in 1939. On the September 1st British and French declared war against Germany and on the 3rd of the same month Chaim Weizmann⁵⁹ announced the support of the Jewish people of Palestine for the war effort, while David Ben-Gurion and the Jewish Agency called upon Jews to enlist in the British army and to serve with the Allied Forces. These turbulences in international level could not leave the Mandate untouched on this wise the British authorities of Palestine left lacking manpower in order to control the colony. Concerning this gap, a fruitful era opened for the Jewish defense forces, to take advantage of the lacking colony soldiers in order to be organized for the attainment of the land. The Palestinian threat posed as an excuse if we consider the

⁵⁶ Jewish paramilitary organization established in the British Mandate of Palestine in 1921, which became the core of Israel Defense Forces.

⁵⁷ ⁵⁷Oz Almog, *The Sabra the Creation of the New Jew*, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles California 2000, p.125-130.

⁵⁸ Alison M. Bowes, "The Experiment That Did Not Fail: Image and Reality in the Israeli Kibbutz", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (Feb. 1990), p. 85-103.

⁵⁹ Amos Perlmutter, "The Israeli Army in Politics: The Persistence of the Civilian Over the Military", *World Politics*, Vol. 20, No. 4 (Jul. 1968), p. 606-643.

lack of Palestinian political organization tactics which could not have been enough to justify the Yishuv's persistence on "defensive" operations against the Palestinians throughout the mandate.

Justified or not the policy was kept the same as when the British protected the Jewish settlements from the Palestinians but now the Jewish population had to do it on its own. The connection between the two is not irrelevant thus it was actually the British who helped for the formulation of a strong defense body on behalf of the Zionist now Yishuv. It is wise at this point to stress a little bit more the linkage between the "ruler" and the "ruling" so we will return a few years back.

In 1938 the British Mandate posted Orde Wingate⁶⁰ to Jerusalem as an intelligent officer, which meant to be a crucial evolution on account of the Jewish fighting force. Wingate was the British army officer, who designed the "Special Night Squad", to take back the control of the night from the Palestinian gangs and to remove any security that the night once held for them. According to its creator the Special Night Squad was a counter gang tasked with terrorizing the terrorists filling them with a dread of the night, arresting was not an option, elimination was the goal. As an experienced officer he understood the importance of ideological motivation in warfare and for that reason he emphasized on the Zionist aspirations of his squad⁶¹ and this was reflected on the choosing place for the stationing of the squad.

Kibbutzim came to Wingate's rescue providing them with lodging and food supplies and as a return the members of the settlements were trained and guided by him. The members of the squad recruited by Wingate himself from the kibbutzim dealt with everything during his commanding period, from specific equipment issues to tactics of village fighting signaling between the squad and cooperation with different fighting forces. Later Palmach would follow the example led by the Special Night Squad that was in accordance with the "biblical pattern" of Nehemiah's laborers who worked with one hand and hold a weapon in the other.⁶²

On these same footsteps after the beginning of the war the most suitable time found in order to implement this kind of expertise training into an independent Jewish fighting force⁶³. In the 15th of May 1941 Palmach was established, an elite force of the Haganah, known as "assault companies" or "strike companies", and principally founded by Yitzhak Sadeh a Russian-born soldier and former member of the

⁶⁰ Passionate militant and uncompromising Zionist.

⁶¹ He worked closely with Yigal Allon and Moshe Dayan during this period.

⁶² Monty Noam Penkower, "VLADIMIR (ZE'EV) JABOTINSKY, HILLEL KOOK-PETER BERGSON, AND THE CAMPAIGN FOR A JEWISH ARMY", *Modern Judaism*, Vol. 31, No. 3 (October 2011), p.332-374.

⁶³ Dr. Chaim Arlozoroff, the head of the political department of the Jewish Agency said: "In view of the present circumstances there is no way to fulfill Zionism without a transition period in which the Jewish minority takes over control of Palestine as an organized revolutionary elite".

Haganah⁶⁴. Palmach was designed to be an elite force with two primary aims, first to defend the Yishuv against Palestinians and second to defend the country against Axis invaders. The Special Operations Executive (S.O.E) established that same year a special training center at Mountain Carmel in Palestine in order to train selected candidates for the facing Axis danger⁶⁵.

Palmach was trained under British commands and the syllabus of the training covered a wide range of topics including demolitions, map reading, weapons training, silent killing, field crafts, tactical night movements, and assault course along with planning and writing of operational orders. The training took place in the kibbutz Mishmar Haemek and included the use of explosives and also methods of approaching to targets in general a mindset and a theory of special warfare was imported for the ultimate distraction of the enemy.

After the Allied victory at the second battle of El-Alamein in 1942 the British ordered the dismantling of Palmach which practically meant seize of funding towards the military training of the organization automatically leading the Palmach underground. Under these new conditions, Yitzhak Tabenkin(head of the Kibbutz Union Ha-Kibbutz Ha-Meuhad) suggested that the Palmach could be self-funding by having its members work in the kibbutzim. The proposal was simple, each kibbutz would host a Palmach platoon and supply them with home, food supplies, and resources in return the platoon will safeguard the kibbutz. The decision was a financial solution to continue the existence of the Palmach while integrating the soldiers into the economic social cultural system of the settlements. Another impetus for the decision was the labor shortage that the settlements were beginning to face due to that a great amount of their members have gone to fight along with the Allied Forces. The program proposed by Tabenkin⁶⁶ combined military training to the members of the kibbutz and Zionist education which became the future basis of the Nahal⁶⁷. The great emphasis was given from the Palmach on training independent and broadminded field commanders who would take the initiative to set an example for their troop's soldiers.

⁶⁴ Uri Ben-Eliezer, "A Nation-In-Arms: State, Nation, and Militarism in Israel's First Years", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 37, No. 2 (Apr. 1995), p.264-285.

⁶⁵ Joseph Heller, *THE STERN GANG: Ideology, Politics and Terror, 1940-1949*, Routledge, Great Britain 2004, p.115-120.

⁶⁶ In Tabenkin' words: Two people for labor and one for training. The worker will support the recruit. Our economy will drink them in as parched ground does the first rain. A standing army for the Hagana will also be able to work. But, in principle, it must be mobilized, subordinate to its own military command and not subject to the work regime; not like members in their kibbutz, but like Cossacks who work at home on a temporary basis. We need an army of Jewish Cossacks now.

⁶⁷ Israel Defense Forces Program was calculated to motivate Zionist youth movements the opportunity for military service combining the establishment of agricultural settlements often in peripheral areas.

In 1944 Palmach signed an agreement with the pioneer youth movements, according to which each group youth movement graduates that was sent for agricultural training at a kibbutz would automatically enlist in the Palmach. The program imbued the youngsters with a fierce sense of duty to the organization that had demonstrated its confidence in them from a very young age guiding them on how to liberate their land. The members of the Palmach old and young were made into men of the field, thus the outdoor life was a routine changing their bases throughout the kibbutzim, and their home was the mountain and the valley⁶⁸. The crucial claim of this program was that this working army must live in the very heart of the collective agricultural establishments, both for Zionist and military reasons.

The soldiers' residency at the kibbutzim, the daily contact with kibbutz mentality and experience (and also the fact that the kibbutzim supplied the Palmach with a reasonable number of its commanding officers) imprinted on these forces' values and concepts of the working agricultural settlement. Voluntarism and self-discipline, teamwork, and mutual help – all this was an important part of the formation of an esprit de corps and motivating force among the Palmach companies. In 1942 45% of the Palmach members were from the United Kibbutz Movement, which particularly dominated the Palmach headquarters, the commander his deputy and the entire general staff except of two officers all came from the Movement⁶⁹.

The importance of the Palmach as a pioneering intellectual and organizational training ground for the future elite of the Israeli army and the Israeli state can be seen in the later careers of its members. On the same notion of coexistence between civil and military order of the Yishuv the Palmachniks portray the pragmatic continuity of this bond through the subsistence of the Jewish state. The Palmach was an army with a civilian mentality, based on idealism of its members and on its social cohesion, an ideal type of warrior was cultivated; fighters who took their cue from the models of anti-fascist under-ground groups, guerilla units from the Russian and Yugoslav partisans striking the German Wehrmacht. That type of fighter was supposed to be more sensitive to humanistic values and less subject to a framework demanding blind discipline. The Palmachnik who lived by his labor in the kibbutzim, became the symbol of fighter-citizen.⁷⁰

Between 1944 and 1946, the Palmach established five "security villages" in sensitive areas in the northern part of the country – Beit Keshet, Biryat Yehonatan, Ramot-Naphtali, Ein-Zeitim and HaHoshalim (later Ammiyad). General Yosef Avidar, one of the leaders of

⁶⁸ This also contributed decisively to the tradition of expertise with the country's landscape.

⁶⁹ Efraim Ben-Zadok "National Planning -- The Critical Neglected Link: One Hundred Years of Jewish Settlement in Israel", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (Aug. 1985), p 329-345

⁷⁰ Anita Shapira, *Land and Power: The Zionist Resort to Force 1881-1948*, Stanford University Press, California 1999, p.365.

the Hagana and a leading architect of the concept of “conquering settlement”, provided a good description of the connection between settlement and security, including the development of the Yishuv: The settlement strategy throughout the period before the establishment of the State could not have been realized without the potential of the pioneer-driven settlers who were prepared to face the most difficult economic conditions and grave security dangers.

This conquering settlement strategy was in fact the main combatant factor which won out in the struggle for obtaining control over the land throughout the country⁷¹, the “mailed list” of the Jewish state, an armed force ready to defend and conquer. In sum, from 1943 until its dismantling at the end of 1948, the Palmach organized 111 training groups. Of the 2,500 combatants in its services at the outbreak of the War of Independence, the majority, if not all, had undergone this training. During the course of the war, the Palmach expanded from one brigade to three. Its ranks were filled by many who had been members of these agricultural training groups, as well as quite a few recruits from abroad.

As liberation day was approaching, during the War of Independence in 1948, the cornerstone of the chain was formed, the Nahal Corps⁷². This special army unit was designated as an army unit that would combine military service with preparation for agricultural settlement and train its draftees for a life marked by volunteer activity, as the succeeded Palmach-Kibbutzim program⁷³. Nahal continued the legacy of farmer-soldiers working in border kibbutzim while serving in the army, so after a period of intensive military training the groups were assigned to agricultural settlements usually at the most sensitive spots to eliminate any possible Palestinian threat. The program was designed to facilitate the recruit of the mobilization of 17-year-olds, those born in 1931, with instructions to give them army training for two months and prepare them as reserve forces its first contingent consisted of 1,500 youth. Among the thousands of 17-year-old draftees were several hundred comrades belonging to the settlement core groups of the pioneering youth movements those were linked to the kibbutz movement.

With this ideological underpinning, pioneering youth movements were able to gain the appreciation and support of the contemporary political leadership and some of the political parties.

Moreover, they had an influential role not only in the very establishment of Nahal but also in the formation of Nahal’s structure, the determination of its goals, the ways in which it was organized, its activities and all the remaining characteristics which marked its path over time. The founding of Nahal took place while the

⁷¹ Yehuda Bauer, *From Diplomacy to Resistance*, VARDIA BOOKS, Illinois 2001, p. 260-264.

⁷² “Nahal” is the Hebrew acronym for Pioneering Fighting Youth (Noar Halutzi Lohem).

⁷³ Ze’ev Drory, *The Israel Defense Force and the Foundation of Israel -Utopia in Uniform*, Routledge Curzo, London 2005, p.86.

Palmach was being disbanded⁷⁴ and in fact this created a schismatic atmosphere among the recruits and the establishment though it was not enough to harm the core plan of this initiative.

The first head of the Department of Youth and Nahal was Eliahu (Elik) Shomroni, a member of Kibbutz Afikim, and a staunch supporter of David Ben-Gurion. He was among the conceptual formulators of Nahal, played a central role in the establishment of the corps, and left his imprint on its way of life. The first Nahal soldiers consisted of five settlement core groups from Working Youth, the United Kibbutzim Movement, Bnei Akiva, the Scouts and Young Maccabees. Prior to the recruitment stage, two additional core groups were at the training base – the Immigration Camp Movement and the Young Guard⁷⁵. The objectives and principles of this program remained the same as Chagam's forming an army, educating youth for combat and settlement cultivation of pioneering values.

David Ben-Gurion in 1948, lectured the young soldiers on the topic "An Army for Defence and for Construction" and brought to their attention the essence and purpose of Nahal. He gave an historical survey of the intertwined problems of The Israel Defense Force and the Foundation of Israel settlement and security, from the period of the first encampments through the 'HaShomer' organization, the Hagana, the Jewish Legion and the Palmach and then placed Nahal in the line of descendants of these earlier undertakings: "The security of the state will not be founded on the army's defensive strength alone. The ways in which we undertake settlement will determine state security no less than the building up of the army. Only dense agricultural settlement along the borders can serve as the most reliable shield for the country's defense against external attack. Our security settlements in the Negev must remain military security settlements. We will have to defend all this with the might of our weapons for a very long time. But security settlements alone are not enough – every location where we can guarantee a constant flow of water must be turned immediately into an agricultural settlement manned by soldiers. This is the special mission of the settlement core groups inducted into Nahal – a mixture of military training and physical prowess with agricultural and settlement training"⁷⁶.

The kibbutzim highlighted the elevation of space to an all assuming Kernel of national identity constructed through territorial struggle and socialization. For

⁷⁴ According to some researchers, the youth movements' request served as a pretext for Ben-Gurion to create a new military–state framework that would inherit the Palmach's crucial integration of security and settlement, while disassociating itself from the clear-cut political linkage to the upper echelons of the Palmach and from the influence of the Mapam Party.

⁷⁵ Edna Lomsky-Feder and Eyal Ben-Ari, *The Military and Militarism in Israeli Society*, State University of New York Press, New York 1999, p.145-146.

⁷⁶ Ze'ev Drory, *The Israel Defense Force and the Foundation of Israel -Utopia in Uniform*, Routledge Curzo, London 2005, p.94-95.

Zionist culture, the “frontier” became a central icon, and its settlement was considered one of the highest achievements.

Conclusion

The kibbutzim were the compounded concrete of nationalistic idealism and militarism that armored the foundations of Israel. Their achievements dictated a national identity, imposing their hegemony to the society, demonstrating its positions and limits, imprinting their morality and ethos as a higher principle, justifying their superiority through their accomplishments, memorializing their existence as a prerequisite of national belonging. In an attempt to decompose the mythicized imagery of the kibbutzim,

one may first realize that from their inception, their elitist character and zealotry was unsuited to large social movements. For that reason, the collectives are not wise to be seen as socialist settlements, having pointed out their detachment from the economic and social reality of the community, they operated unconcerned of the needs of the labor market, being guided by the technocratic establishment of the labor-Zionist institutions,

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