FROM THE VERY start of the recent disturbances an uninterrupted discussion of the Arab problem has appeared in the Zionist press of this country. Very few of the articles printed have evaluated the problem in terms of Palestinian realities, and needless to say they have had no effect on the finding of a concrete solution to this problem in Palestine, the only place where this question will be decided. The articles may have served to give a certain emotional satisfaction to the writers and perhaps to the readers as well, but they were also instrumental in stirring up among Zionists, and particularly the youth, a hypersensitivity to this problem, based less on realistic, political considerations than on psychological complexes. Writers of these articles either forgot or were unaware of the fact that there existed within the Histadrut certain definite stands on this problem, stands which have been crystallized after a struggle lasting many years among the three main groups comprising the Histadrut.

These three main groups make up the "flesh and blood" of the Histadrut and are engaged in a severe struggle to shape the entire ideology of the Palestinian labor movement and particularly of its Arab policy. The friends of Labor Palestine in America and other countries should realize that the Histadrut has become what it is today not because it is infallible or sanctified so that one may not question it, but because it has always presented a united front to the outside world, a unity based on a common halutz mission in Palestine in spite of the fact that there have been within the Histadrut various political groupings and that there has been going on an unceasing ideological struggle.

The Histadrut is not a socialist toy to be exhibited by this party or another and certainly not a totalitarian organization in need of a dominating single stand. The Histadrut is the legitimate home of all groups today comprising the Palestinian labor movement and particularly of its Arab policy. The friends of Labor Palestine in America and other countries should realize that the Histadrut has become what it is today not because it is infallible or sanctified so that one may not question it, but because it has always presented a united front to the outside world, a unity based on a common halutz mission in Palestine in spite of the fact that there have been within the Histadrut various political groupings and that there has been going on an unceasing ideological struggle.

The Histadrut is not a socialist toy to be exhibited by this party or another and certainly not a totalitarian organization in need of a dominating single stand. The Histadrut is the legitimate home of all groups today comprising the Palestinian labor movement and particularly of its Arab policy. The friends of Labor Palestine in America and other countries should realize that the Histadrut has become what it is today not because it is infallible or sanctified so that one may not question it, but because it has always presented a united front to the outside world, a unity based on a common halutz mission in Palestine in spite of the fact that there have been within the Histadrut various political groupings and that there has been going on an unceasing ideological struggle.

The Histadrut is not a socialist toy to be exhibited by this party or another and certainly not a totalitarian organization in need of a dominating single stand. The Histadrut is the legitimate home of all groups today comprising the Palestinian labor movement and particularly of its Arab policy. The friends of Labor Palestine in America and other countries should realize that the Histadrut has become what it is today not because it is infallible or sanctified so that one may not question it, but because it has always presented a united front to the outside world, a unity based on a common halutz mission in Palestine in spite of the fact that there have been within the Histadrut various political groupings and that there has been going on an unceasing ideological struggle.

The Histadrut is not a socialist toy to be exhibited by this party or another and certainly not a totalitarian organization in need of a dominating single stand. The Histadrut is the legitimate home of all groups today comprising the Palestinian labor movement and particularly of its Arab policy. The friends of Labor Palestine in America and other countries should realize that the Histadrut has become what it is today not because it is infallible or sanctified so that one may not question it, but because it has always presented a united front to the outside world, a unity based on a common halutz mission in Palestine in spite of the fact that there have been within the Histadrut various political groupings and that there has been going on an unceasing ideological struggle.
which affected many hundreds of Arab workers and received their support. In those strikes the Arabs revealed a solidarity that might well serve as an example to workers in other countries. It is to be regretted that this ferment and spontaneous awakening were not utilized by the Histadrut for a systematic and consistent policy and for permanent trade union organization.

The principle of 100% Jewish labor in Jewish-owned farms (particularly citrus groves) has given birth to many misunderstandings and misconceptions. In America I have met "radicals" even among the General Zionists who see in the Histadrut principle of 100% Jewish labor the very same sort of chauvinism which anti-Semites utilize against us in Europe. This is unwarranted, and the "radicals" referred to merely demonstrate their lack of understanding of Palestinian reality. It has been shown in sufficient degree that except for the Jewish economy established by Jewish capital, all other agricultural and industrial enterprises are closed to us, and if we want to have any kind of labor aliyah we must safeguard certain labor positions for that aliyah. This is the justification for 100% Jewish labor; but that principle has also brought us untold harm, politically and economically. The Jewish worker has had the Histadrut exerting all possible pressure to force the power of the Histadrut into an international Jewish-Arab trade union. Un- til that time it is our duty to establish such forms of international solidarity as will not becloud the national aspect of the Histadrut and will not weaken it in its fulfillment of the specific needs of the Jewish worker (settlement on land, productivity of Jewish youth, the entrenchment of Jewish-Arab solidarity). That is why we have the Zionist Organization.

In the future, when the Jewish National Home will have become a fact, and the two peoples in Palestine will have equal rights, then it will be possible to turn the Histadrut into an international Jewish-Arab trade union. Until that time it is our duty to establish such forms of international solidarity as will not becloud the national aspect of the Histadrut and will not weaken it in its fulfillment of the specific needs of the Jewish worker (settlement on land, productivity of Jewish youth, the entrenchment of Jewish-Arab solidarity). The stand of Left Poale Zion that boycotts the Zionist Organization and its funds, that does not cooperate with the Histadrut in its constructive, colonizing activities, and that does not participate in the halutz tasks of the country, is in our opinion a harmful one, even from the point of view of Jewish-Arab solidarity.

The decision of the Histadrut to organize the Arabs in separate unions parallel with those of Jewish workers, both comprising the Jewish-Arab Workers' Alliance, affiliated with the Histadrut, is a decision based upon the realities of Palestine. The important thing today is to enlarge and intensify the organization of Arab workers in those unions. We have never agreed to the separatist policy of Left Poale Zion of organizing Arab workers in Jewish-Arab clubs. Such experiments have inevitably resulted in failure, for the Left Poale Zion without the Histadrut can give the Arabs very little. And the chances are that disillusionment is the more likely to come about. That is why Hashomer Hatzair has all these years fought for a change of policy within the Histadrut exeriting all possible pressure to force the powerful institutions of the Histadrut to engage in the organizing of Arab labor. For only then will the Arab workers have the fullest confidence in activity of this kind, and only the sturdy shoulders of the Histadrut can withstand the opposition and interference of the Palestinian government to Jewish-Arab organization. The problem of building up Jewish-Arab solidarity is a very complicated and difficult one, and it has become even more difficult after the
last disturbances. The problem will not be solved by mere resolutions, and we must not have any illusions as to the difficulties involved. We are very glad to hear Yussef Najib claim that he is not the only Arab who has been drawn to our cause, but the fact remains that he represents as yet a very insignificant minority among the Arabs.

Difficulties should not deter us. Activity along the lines of Arab organization has been very much neglected, and it must not be neglected any longer. It is no longer a matter of "principles." We must do pioneer work among the Arabs as well. All our objectives in Palestine have been gained by a determined and stubborn halutz exertion. The same spirit is needed in this activity; otherwise we will not succeed.

In Six Countries

I VISITED six countries in three continents: Egypt, in Africa; Palestine, in Asia; France, England, Germany and Poland, in Europe. The pyramids and the sphinx told me nothing about Jewish life in Egypt today. An ancient synagogue in Cairo would have left pleasanter memories with me if it had not been used as a moneymaking show house. My guide, born in Constantinople, of Russian-Jewish parents, was unable to tell me, in any of his nine languages, anything of importance about the Jews, except that they are comfortably situated, and—making no history. As I was leisurely walking in the streets of Alexandria, without a guide, in order to get local color, a Hebrew Gan Yeladim (kindergarten) sign caught my eye. It was a private and physically unattractive school. The schoolmaster was a youngish looking skull-capped Yemenite Jew. He was probably older than he looked. We conversed in German. He gave me a copy of a "dictionary" and conversation book of his own authorship, in six languages, including Latin charactered Hebrew. It was a pamphlet of a few dozen pages. The English and the German versions were not always correct. Beyond the information that there were thirty-five thousand Jews in Egypt, all contented, I was able to get no light from the schoolmaster. His language of instruction and conversation with the children was Arabic.

In my deep ignorance of contemporary Jewish life in Egypt, my mind wandered back to the history of the Jews in that country as my old and stern Rebbe taught it to me in Cheder.

History has immortalized the name of a great public official in ancient Egypt, who had made an immense contribution to the civilization of that country. He had promulgated an economic principle, which is vital in our own time. We call it today, unemployment insurance. That official's name was Joseph.

Pharaoh had had a disturbing dream. Seven lean cows had devoured seven fat ones, and still remained lean. What was the meaning of that? Joseph's interpretation was a flash of genius: depression eats up prosperity; therefore, build up food reserves at times of prosperity in order to keep from starving at times of depression. And Joseph kept the granaries of Egypt full while those of other countries were empty. The Jewish minister in Egypt won a place in the history of mankind.

Later, when the Pharaohs had forgotten Joseph, and before the historians had perpetuated his name, the Jews in Egypt enacted the first strike recorded in history. The Exodus was a general strike of the Jewish slaves for the freedom of conscience, the right to serve their own God, in their own way. Thus, the beginning of the struggle for freedom of the highest order, freedom of the spirit, was made thousands of years ago by the Jews. Mankind is still to attain that great goal.

After Egypt, the making of Jewish history was continued in Palestine. For centuries, great achievements and great tragedies were recorded. Then the scenes of Jewish history shifted from country to country, to the practical exclusion of Palestine. Our own generation has brought Palestine back into Jewish life; or, Jewish life to Palestine. In that ancient land, the glory of the distant past is merged with the idealism of today.

The visit in Palestine by the Jewish Trade Union delegation from America was a powerful demonstration for that idealism. I doubt whether the full significance of it is realized in our own ranks. We are physically too far removed from the Palestine scene. The Yishuv was most appreciative of the message of good will brought in person by the representatives of the organized Jewish workers in America. I am inclined to think that in this country, the opponents of our work for Palestine have a much better understanding of the significance of the labor delegation's visit than our friends have. That would probably explain the eagerness with which the opponents have seized upon a hasty and unreasoned act by some of our friends. To organized Jewish labor in Palestine our visit has brought much encouragement, and will be gratefully remembered.

To those members of the delegation who were there for the first time, Jewish Palestine was a revelation. A full account of their visit would make a good sized book. No brief account would be an adequate one. An article must be brief, and, therefore, inadequate. With this warning,