

after the creation of the state of Israel, industrialization and the hiring of wage labourers both from within and from outside the Kibbutz became indispensable to the existence of all Kibbutzim. Rosenfeld observed that "class..differentiation in the Kibbutz occurred as early as 1951" (in Rayman,1981:83). By 1959, it was reported that 20 per cent of the total income of all Kibbutzim was drawn from industrial enterprises, which employed both Arab and Jewish labourers. In the same year the Kibbutz industrial wage labourers made up 7 per cent of the total industrial labour force in Israel. (39)

Gender inequality in the Kibbutz, as various writers admit, was always a serious problem without a solution. Women continued to be relegated to household related functions, such as kitchen -dining room work, baby houses, children houses, etc., while men worked in factories, agriculture, Kibbutz administration and the army (Rayman, 1981:203).

Also, racial exploitation was a structural feature of the Kibbutz. The exclusivist policy of selecting the Kibbutz members did not only affect the indigenous Palestinians. Racism was also practiced against the "Sephradic" Jews (Jews who immigrated from Arab countries). Kibbutz members, Spiro pointed out, despised Arab Jews and often referred to them as "Shechorim", i.e., blacks (Spiro,1972: 109).

The Kibbutz: A Settler Colonial Society

The Kibbutz was established not as a means to transform an existing social order but rather as a means to create a new political order. The Kibbutz served as the embodiment of the Zionist ideology of conquering land and labour. Cooperation and socialism, in the Zionist lexicon were synonymous with the colonization of land, labour and the market in Palestine. (40)