

specifically wage-labor, that is, the negation of the capitalist relations of production; secondly, the reliance on Hebrew work only (Avoda'h Ivrit), negating not wage-labor per se, but rather the employment of nonJewish wage-labor, i.e., specifically Arab labor; the latter was made very explicit in the "Boycott Arab Labor" and "Boycott Arab Produce" slogans and practices. It advocated the capitalist mode of production to be generalized, but for Jews only.

It is this dual meaning and practice of "self-labor" that provided for the accommodation of the contradiction mentioned above. It did so by restoring for a segment of the Jewish settlers their petty bourgeois class-location, by consolidating a sector of the Jewish economy based on self-employment, on petty commodity forms of production; that is, on pre-capitalist relations and/or primitive accumulation. Concretely, the "self-labor" sector, specifically the co-operative moshav, based precisely on petty commodity form of production for exchange, as well as the kibbutz at its stage of primitive capitalist accumulation, constituted the equivalent of the "traditional sector", a pre-capitalist periphery indispensable for the essential unevenness of capitalist accumulation in the country-at-large.

The pre-capitalist sector (the co-operative sector, including the moshav and the kibbutz) is thus maintained as functionally equivalent to the so-called "traditional sector" co-existing with, and providing for, the extended reproduction of the "modern capitalist sector" which is the urban sector, including the coastal citrus plantations based entirely on a laissez-faire pattern of development.<sup>29</sup> This way, the Jewish capitalist economy can have self-sustained growth as a "closed" economy, closed in the