

the essentially uneven development of capitalism in Palestine.

Transformations in the class nature of the kibbutz community can occur only in the embourgeoisment direction: kibbutznics becoming a faction of the bourgeoisie, representing more the national and less the compradore Israeli bourgeoisie.

It is a well known claim that, owing to its essentially labor-Zionist ideological base, the kibbutz possesses an immunity against embourgeoisment; transformation into the bourgeoisie itself. However, the contrary is evident in retrospect, the kibbutznic labor force seems immuned precisely against proletarianization. It is by virtue of their equal share in the collective ownership or possession of the means of production and consumption that the latter type of immunity prevails. Once the principle of self-labor is translated into Hebrew work, hired labor is legitimized and the kibbutz is transformed into a bourgeois collective. This is to say, eventually it becomes a collective capitalist enterprise.

Since its very inception, the kibbutz has had to cope with this paradox of hiring labor without an embourgeoisment effect. In kibbutz Hazore'a, for example, one of the early industrialized kibbutzim, an interesting resolution was concluded: to use hired labor in construction, arguing that in the kibbutz, housing is not a commodity; therefore, construction labor does not involve creation of surplus-value. It can, however, replace the kibbutznics, whose labor can then be more fully devoted to industrial production not for direct consumption.<sup>11</sup>

It is important to remember that such ingenious adaptation was possible only earlier, when the kibbutznics were still proficient in Marxism and when the ideological-political instances still predominated the economic.