

More importantly is to point out that the hiring of labor in the case above was not yet to free kibbutz labor force for capitalist commodity production, but only in pre-capitalist small-scale commodity production as a self-employed petty bourgeoisie not in the creation of surplus-value. Kibbutz members are, by definition, incapable of performing capitalist productive labor. They can either labor productively in the context of pre-capitalist relations of production, or be unproductive capitalists. This point leads us into the imperative of hired labor in the extended self-reproduction of kibbutz capital.

We argue that as an integral part of the essentially capitalist settler-colonial social formation in Palestine, the kibbutz, specifically for its extended self-reproduction must hire non-kibbutznic capitalist productive labor. It is so because kibbutz members cannot labor as wage-workers in their own kibbutz, given the nature of their relation to the collective means of production. The kibbutznic labor force can increase the surplus-product but not create surplus-value. This is another way of pointing out the inconceivability of proletarianization of kibbutznics as long as they are kibbutz members; this membership does, by definition, give them access to the means of production, and prevent their alienation from the latter. It is in this sense that the kibbutz as the institutional configuration of left-wing socialist-Zionism have played a crucial role in extending the prevalence of the petty bourgeoisie in Israel, and in the formation of its principal capitalist classes; providing for reproduction of capitalist relations.

Many people view the current transformation in the political economy of the kibbutz, specifically the use of hired labor on a massive scale, subcontracting and the regionalization of its industrial production, etc., as