

a capitalist transformation of an essentially socialist relations of production. This is also misleading; since the kibbutz cannot be said to offer a socialist alternative when its main role and reason for existence as a configuration of labor-Zionism is precisely to create a Jewish class society. A socialist alternative is one which promotes the emergence of a classless society. The current change in the economy of the kibbutz represents rather a capitalist transformation of pre-capitalist relations of production. The capitalist mode of production is predominating the petty bourgeois small-scale commodity mode, a shift from primitive into modern accumulation.

A closer look at the dynamics of social change currently occurring in the kibbutz reveals a greater complexity with regard to objective class locations of different kibbutz communities and sometimes of different segments of the labor force in the individual kibbutz; this is especially true in the cases of merger with other sources of capital. For example, the kibbutznic labor force increasingly combining management and economic ownership positions in the social division of labor within the kibbutz production process. The kibbutz, in other words, is becoming simultaneously a self-employed collective management and an employer. Management is itself an essentially capitalist labor category, but self-employed management, whose labor is exchanged neither against capital nor against revenue, is external to the realm of capitalist relations of production. The comprehension of such reality does, indeed, call for Olin Wright's conceptualization of the objectively contradictory class locations. (Recall debate in Chapter I.)

Equally complex is the determination of the objective class-location of kibbutznics who are laboring productively or unproductively in another kibbutz or even non-kibbutznic capitalist enterprise: a phenomenon that is