

to do so, since we showed all those who invested in industry how smooth it is to do so when they buy land from us....During the past 5 years, around one million Francs were invested in our company. The Land Development Company sold to individual investors, land of the value of one and a half million Francs and the Urban Branch of our company has sold land of the value of one million Francs. (cited in Gozansky,1986:58)

In other words, the owner/controller of the land within the co-operatives, while not the individual member, was nonetheless a political agency whose aims were not entirely antagonistic to private ownership and capitalist principles. This agency was an integral part of the larger European Jewish economy in Palestine.

Wage Labour and the Co-operatives

The second dubious assumption made by many previous analyses of the kibbutz movement concerns the supposed absence of hired labour in the co-operatives. They argue that the ideals of "Jewish Labour" and "Jewish Land" were the guarantors for the socialization of labour and the absence of relations of exploitation (Eisenstadt,1974; Tabenkin,1985).

However, as with the claims for the absence of private land ownership, a closer look at the evidence fails to support this position. The principles of "Kibbush ha-Adama", (occupation of land) and "Kibbush ha-Avoda" (occupation of labour), or what was otherwise known as "Adamah Ivrit" (Jewish land) and "Avodah Ivrit" (Jewish labour) were, indeed, advanced by the Zionist leadership to promote the co-operative forms of agricultural colonization. Yet, the materialization of these principles did not result in socialism. On the contrary, these policies were aimed primarily at creating a nationalistic exclusivist economy for the Jewish community in