

self-labor, its original interpretation of labor-Zionism, but also the principle of Hebrew work by hiring non-Jews. This is to say, the hiring of Arab labor in the kibbutz does entirely distort the socialist-Zionist character of the kibbutz. Subcontracting, which reduces merely the visibility of this distortion, is therefore a form of remedy to restore the kibbutz potential to serve the Aliyah objective. This, indeed, exposes the essentially exclusivist character of the kibbutz as a socialist-Zionist institution, let alone the mythology of its socialism. To be more precise, subcontracting to factories in Arab villages represents an adaptation to accommodate the troublesome conflict between its ideologically and politically-based exclusivism, on the one hand, and the urge for profit, for hiring the cheaper Arab labor, on the other. Notice, however, the predominance of the economic instance over the ideological and political ones in this phase of the kibbutz development, as a micro-cosmic picture of what is happening in the Israeli social formation as a whole.

The development of the Regional Factories of all the kibbutzim and the subcontracting to factories situated in Arab villages is consistent with the current conflict between the economic instance and the political/ideological instances. Furthermore, it simultaneously represents the institutionalization of the violation of the two-fold principle of self-labor/Hebrew-work, through the use of hired labor in the Regional Factories, and the hiring of Arab labor by means of subcontracting, on the one hand, and the masking of these two-fold violations by externalizing the contradictions, pretending no distortion in its socialist-Zionist character, on the other.

Since its very inception, the kibbutz as a configuration of labor-Zionism has had to constantly and innovatively cope with its internal contradic-