

process of the proletarianization of the petty bourgeoisie (in the case of kibbutz Magen) and a contradictory location between the petty bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie in the process of embourgeoisment of the petty bourgeoisie (in the case of kibbutz Nirim). It is more likely that objectively contradictory locations be only conjunctural; kibbutzim may end forming either part of the bourgeoisie or of the working class. Such class polarization is promoted by the merger of kibbutz capital with other sources of capital, especially foreign investment capital and national cooperative (mainly Histadrut) and private capital. Abraham Yassour, a well-known kibbutznic theoretician indicates that the financing of industrialization has derived only in part from sources within the kibbutz itself.¹⁵

The merger with external sources of capital is, undoubtedly, a prerequisite for this large-scale, high technology, and rapidly growing industrialization. According to the same source, this process has resulted in the establishment of some 200 very modern (most likely military-related) industrial plants in a period of ten to fifteen years. What is taking place in the kibbutz today seems an irreversible transformation that negates all potential restoration of self-labor. This merger of capital can only intensify the dependence on non-kibbutznic labor force to create surplus-value. A situation that promises further proletarianization of Palestinian Arabs and Israeli-Jews and, in effect, promotes the material conditions for cross-national proletarian alliances.

According to Samuel Pohoryles, while the number of workers in kibbutz industry rose by 184 percent in the years 1960-74, the increase in the whole of Israeli industry rose by about 56 percent. Consequently, the percentage of workers in kibbutz industry, as against the country's overall industrial