

1. **The market & communalism.** (Adam) Is the kind of structure envisioned in the classical kibbutz ultimately incompatible with the market? Does the market inherently erode the communal quality of real utopias like the kibbutz?
2. **Labor, Industry & communal equality.** (Adam, Zeynep, Patrizia, Chang) The kibbutz was founded on the ideal of labor, but perhaps toilsome labor (eg in a factory) is inherently alienating in ways that will undermine such organization. The erosion of this ideal seems pivotal to the erosion of the kibbutz as a whole – but why did the ideal itself change? Is there something about agricultural labor that is more supportive of communalism than industrial labor?
3. **The problem of Heterogeneity.** (Richard, Stuart, Change) To what extent does a sustainable kibbutz require internal value homogeneity to give it cohesion? Markets can function well with people who have very different values, but can a kibbutz function with such heterogeneity? Or, is the only real issue that the members of the community must share a value-commitment to the ideal of communalism, but they need not be more generally homogeneous?
4. **Complexity, division of labor.** (Cesar) Is the factor which destroyed egalitarian rules/values the problem of increasing organizational complexity requiring greater division of labor? Did this generate an intensified contradiction between equality & efficiency?
5. **Openness/closure.** (Zeynep) Does sustainability of a highly communal society depend upon relative closure to the outside world?
6. **Private property on the kibbutz.** (Richard) Private property in some goods was introduced to solve certain incentive problems. Does this reflect a general problem in communal property? Does introducing private ownership of private goods undermine an ethic of communal property?
7. **Zionism & stability of the Kibbutz.** (Stuart) Perhaps the kibbutz needs the cultural support of an ideology like Zionism in order to be sustainable? Perhaps it needs a mechanism that blocks instrumental comparisons with privatized ways of life – basically it needs backing by transcendent commits in which it is “sacred”.
8. **Intergenerational dynamics.** (Linda) Is a critical factor the loss of hardship and intensity of mission of second and third generations?
9. **Communalism & individual freedom.** (Stuart, Zeynep, Linda) How are the communist demands of the kibbutz reconciled with the value of individual freedom? Does the continued existence of the kibbutz as a real community depend upon the priority of collectivism over individualism, of the priority of the group over the individual? Did the presence of the individual-freedom element ultimately lead to an erosion of the communal element?
10. **Political equality & economic equality.** (Jay) Why does radical political/governance equality seem more robust than the economic communal equality?
11. **Market competition.** (Richard, Cesar) In general would one expect a kibbutz organization of production to be at a competitive disadvantage to capitalist firms? It seems that they would have trouble competing on even terms. Alternatively, perhaps the kibbutz would be especially good at “flexible specialization” forms of competition.
12. **Crisis and Planning capacity.** (Matias) One aspect of the erosion of the kibbutz is the collapse of its planning capacity in the face of adaptations to the economic shocks of the 1980s.
13. **Scale.** (Richard). Is a form of organization like the kibbutz only relevant to small scale, intimate, face-to-face social organization (reference to the Hayek quote about micro- vs macro organization)?
14. **Demand-side vs supply-side kibbutzim.** (Richard) Can Kibbutz values only be implemented in a demand-side manner?

15. Alternative Explanations for the crisis of the kibbutz contained in the interrogations

- market/capitalistic *values* enter the kibbutz
- market competition
- increasing heterogeneity
- decline of transcendent ideology/commitments (eg. Zionism)
- rapid addition of new members not sharing the ideology
- intergenerational rebellion
- intergenerational attrition of commitment (later generations didn't share the hardships)
- individualism triumphs over collectivism
- "temporary shocks" generate irreversible changes that undermine capacity for planning
- speed of technological change
- shift from agriculture to industry
- increasing complexity, increasing division of labor