

of surplus value.

Moreover, it follows from this argument that the great majority of the Palestinian population has become proletarian since its expulsion from Palestine and that the Palestinian refugee camps have been proletarian communities. The proletariat, however, is the exploited class under capitalist relations. The class exploited within particular dominant relations of production is the class which, under these relations of production, performs what is defined to be productive labor. Under pre-capitalist relations, the performers of productive labor can be owners. Under capitalist relations, however, only non-owners can perform productive labor; all non-owners are not thereby proletarian. Furthermore, exploitation under capitalist relations is the appropriation of surplus labor in the form of surplus value; proletarians are, therefore, only those engaged directly in the production of surplus value, and only by wage-labor can surplus value be created. All wage-earners do not thereby produce surplus value.

Thus far, we identified theoretical reasons against the first and second arguments and in support of the third. According to the third criteria, however, the size of the proletariat shrinks substantially depending on the specificity of the form(s) of wage-labor that defines the working class. At this level, the controversy regarding the defining criteria of proletarian class locations gets more tense.

All Marxists agree that manual workers directly engaged in the production of physical commodities for private capital fall into the working class.²¹ There is no such agreement about any other category of wage-earners. Some Marxists argue that only productive manual workers belong to the