

this case it is the latter which is determined in defining the places of social classes, that is to say, the places of the dominant and exploiting class.<sup>21</sup>

In Jewish rural Israel there is an ambiguity as to who really owns the land. The kibbutz and the co-operative moshav lease the land from the superstructure for ninety-five years. During this period of time they have possession over their parcels of land. This way they are entrusted by the State to put these leased parcels of land into use exclusively by Jews.

Prior to the 1967 war, many Jewish farms, be they collective (kibbutz), co-operative (moshav shitufi), or family units (non-co-operative moshavs inhabited mainly by Oriental-Jews), used hired labor especially during harvest. In most cases, hired labor was then similar to domestic service, mainly in the form of extra consumption on the part of the household, be it family unit, co-operative, or collective. It did not necessarily involve profit-making. This is because agriculture was primarily for subsistence and secondarily for exchange. Hired labor, in many of those cases, was not engaged in commodity production and it was mainly exchanged against revenue not capital. The Jewish employer in these cases was still a direct producer himself. In such cases, hired labor was not employed in the context of capitalist relations of production.

In the post-1967 era, with the availability of abundant reservoirs of dispossessed Palestinian refugees in the occupied territories and an increasing number of landless citizen-Palestinians, this very land in the possession of self-employed Jewish farmers turned overnight into capital; capital as a social relation, not a thing.