

that it is essentially the coercive "freedom" to sell one's own labor power that defines the proletariat. Accordingly, wage labor is the determining criterion of proletarian class locations.

In contrast with both arguments, still others argue that although all proletarians are wage-workers, not all wage-workers are proletarians.¹⁸ Implicit in this view is that the separation from the means of production and wage-labor are necessary but not sufficient criteria for defining proletarian class locations. Accordingly, the proletariat is defined by specific form(s) of wage-labor. What forms of wage-labor are proletarian is also controversial. Some Marxists argue that only productive (produces surplus value directly) labor is proletarian;¹⁹ other Marxists argue that not only productive labor is proletarian.²⁰

Before entering the controversy regarding what wage-labor is proletarian, let us first conclude the initial debate on the more general criteria.

Of course, the three different arguments have different implications on the size of the proletariat. The proletariat is the largest by the first criteria, as it includes all non-owners regardless of whether they perform wage-labor or not. There is a good reason for this criteria in the Third World, where the majority of the population is displaced peasantry with no access to employment, and is maintained this way precisely subject to the logic of capitalist accumulation. They are dispossessed and made free of property relation but not "free" to sell their labor power. This can be more appropriate a criterion in defining proletarian class position than in defining proletarian class location, which is objectively determined by the class antagonism inherent in the very creation