

What is peculiar about this process is that by virtue of mere possession of land and not actual economic ownership of the means of production Jewish "farmers" are now hiring labor for profit, for capital accumulation; a situation not much different from processes occurring during the land enclosures in the transition from feudalism to capitalism in Europe.

It was then the rentiers, not the proprietiers, who were first to make a profit in the process of primitive accumulation by means of employing non-family labor on that rented land. It can be said in both cases, of these rentiers and these Jewish leasers, that it was precisely the time-limitness of access (in the form of possession) to the land underlying the urge to maximize its use through profit-making. It is, in other words, the fear of proletarianization that the consolidation of capitalism generates, that urged Jewish farmers in that critical moment (1967, which represents a turning point in the capitalist transformation of the Israeli economy) to redefine their relation to the "national land" they possessed as one of ownership, in an attempt to form part of the bourgeoisie.

This strategic move obviously represents a choice of a particular class transformation. Unlike that, proletarianization is never the result of one's own choice. How did this capitalist transformation of semi-subsistence Jewish rural Israel occur? And what has transformed co-operative land from a means of subsistence into capital? To answer these questions is to recall Karl Marx on primitive accumulation, in which the transformation of the means of subsistence into capital takes place, and how through capital surplus-value is made and from surplus-value, more capital. Marx writes:

"This transformation can only take place under certain