

in the process of transition, some of these "elements," are totally destroyed while others persist (Wolpe,1980:40).

In his "theory of articulation," Wolpe does not address the issue of which elements compose pre-capitalist relations of production, nor does he provide an answer to the same question posed earlier, i.e., whether capitalism can predominate over pre-capitalist relations of production. One thing, though, is clear from Wolpe's "theory of articulation," that is, his rejection of "...the inevitability of capitalism..." Instead, he suggests that pre-capitalist relations may or may not be transformed by capitalism (Wolpe,1980:41).

Empirical studies on socio-economic change in South Africa (Wolpe, 1980; Burawoy,1976) and Rhodesia (Arrighi,1973) provide a more elaborate version of which pre-capitalist "elements" or "agents" capitalism is capable of destroying and which are preserved. All authors concerned here agree that through competition, capitalism in both economies had ruined African independent production and transformed the African natural economy into one dependent on the market.

Most important, however, is that all three authors also agree that the "expropriation of land and peasants" was only partially affected by capitalism (Burawoy,1976; Arrighi, 1973; Wolpe,1980). Articulationists, in general, agree that it is in the interest of capitalism to maintain some aspects of pre-capitalist relations. The partial expropriation of the land, expressed in the creation of the "Reserves" and the creation of a class of wage-labourers which is only partially dependent on the capitalist, is explained in terms of the specific needs of South African and Rhodesian capitalism (Burawoy,1976; Wolpe, 1980; Arrighi,1973). Commenting on this point,