

the 'differentiation debate' on the nature of peasant household mobility and proletarianization in Russia (1920s) and India (1960s) as a consequence of structural change in the rural sector; and thirdly, conceptualizations of the mechanisms of rural transformation and its multi-variate typology adopted for the analysis of Turkish agriculture by Keydar.

### 'Internal Colonialism' and Cheap Labour

There are two facets of Wolpe's theory of internal colonialism that concern us here: his formulation of the articulation between capitalist and pre-capitalist modes of production with the consequence of generating cheap labour power for the capitalist mode; and his elaboration of the changing ideological system necessary to sustain and reinforce such a system. The 'articulation' argument is centred around the appropriation of the Reserves in South Africa which, through the preservation of a pre-capitalist peasant community and its kinship structure, provides and underwrites the source of cheap labour for the industrial economy (Wolpe, 1972; 1975). Wolpe draws on Meillassoux's distinction between the means of subsistence drawn by the labourer in the form of direct wage, and those drawn indirectly (in the form of social benefits, etc.). In the case of the African Reserves, the capitalist sector is freed from the latter form:

Under certain conditions the capitalist mode of production is able to avoid, to a greater or lesser extent, the payment of indirect wages; that is, it is obliged to pay only immediate sustenance of the labourer but it can avoid paying for his subsistence during unemployment, or for the subsistence of children or cost of education, etc.

The most important condition enabling capitalism to pay for labour-power which is produced and reproduced outside the capitalist mode of production.

In South Africa this condition was (and still is, although to a decreasing extent) met by the presence of a non-capitalist mode of agricultural production in the areas of African concentration (particularly, but