

an adequate description of pre-capitalist formations; nonetheless there is one basic theme which unites both concepts, namely, their equation of late nineteenth pre-capitalism, whether in Africa or in Asia, with "pure," "natural" (Saed,1985; Gozansky,1986), "lineage," "traditional" (Rey,1982;1980) or "purely redistributive" (Wolpe,1980) economies. The concept of a natural economy, normally used to characterize Third World peasant societies, must be differentiated from the notion of a "pure" non-capitalist economy. A "pure" pre-capitalist economy has long ago ceased to exist (Lenin,1960; Saleh,1979; Bagchi, 1982). This economy which denotes a complete bondage between the direct producer and the land, on the one hand, and between him and his overlord on the other, is characterized by the total stagnation of its social and technical forces. Writing on this point, Bagchi observes that after the development of capitalism in Europe, most Third World "pure," "tribal" or "communal" organizations have, in some form or other, already been penetrated by some kind of commodity or money economy (Bagchi,1982:8). Referring to one of the least developed provinces in India, prior to British colonization, Bagchi observes:

The village communities...were not by any means self sufficient. They were involved in various cash transactions in buying salt, handicraft products, etc., from the outside world, and selling their grain and other crops which could be marketed outside the village or group of villages concerned. (Bagchi,1982;11)

Lumping together all African or Asian social formations as "lineage" or "natural" is ahistorical. In fact it is this ahistoric and static approach to pre-capitalist formations which has formed the basis for criticism of the articulationist approach to pre-capitalist