

in the notions "village overpopulation" and "underdevelopment" used to describe the pre-capitalist economy (Arrighi,1973, Carmi and Rosenfeld,1980).

Another major criticism launched against the articulation of modes of production thesis is its failure to explain why capitalism necessarily needs this unstable labour force (Burawoy,1976). In his *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*, Lenin pointed out that the great advantages provided by this semi-proletarian class to the agricultural and industrial capitalist are only temporary. In the long run, Lenin states, capital prefers the stable and totally free proletariat over this class (Lenin,1977).

The application of the articulation of modes of production framework to the Palestinian economy is particularly problematic because of the historical specificity of Zionist colonization. As pointed out in earlier chapters, the expropriation of the Palestinian peasants from their land and, in some cases, their eviction from their villages was a condition of the transfer of the land to the Zionists. The emergence of a class of totally free proletarians was a necessary feature of the expropriation process.

In order to understand why the indigenous Palestinian labour power was cheap one must go beyond the mere economics of the village/employer relationship. Economic considerations were not the only factor in the exploitation of indigenous Palestinian workers. The colonial state and the Zionist authorities played a crucial role in the exploitation process.

Finally, characteristic of these frameworks is their failure to identify the political character of the migrant class. By avoiding