

outlooks and political perspectives such as Kautsky and Chayanov, and - in more recent years - Banaji, Patnaik, Thorner, Kerblay and Shanin.

At best there is a consensus today, if one can speak of a consensus here, that Lenin's model of differentiation - leading towards expropriation of petty commodity producers into agents of capital as free wage-labour - is not 'the sole or necessary form of development', but one possible variation within it (Bernstein, 1977:69). In the so-called Indian Debate on the nature of capitalist agriculture and differentiation of the peasantry in South Asia, the status of the small-holder as a land-locked proletarian became the subject of intense theoretical and methodological discussions (see especially Rudra, Thorner, Patnaik et al., 1978; for an excellent summary of the debate cf. Goodman and Redclift, 1981:81-99).

In this debate, Jairus Banaji (1977) and Bhaduri (1973) - whose position we discuss in more detail in Chapter 5 - take a more modified Leningist position which regards peasants basically as 'concealed wage-workers'. In contrast to the classical conception of the European model, however, where the peasantry was presumed to be fully expropriated and a labour market was formed, Banaji held that in the colonial world, capitalist production 'dependend not on the constitution and automatic functioning of the labour-market, but on the coercive subjugation of the small commodity producer' (Banaji, 1977:36). Goodman and Redclift (1981) summarize the essence of this argument as follows:

Capitalist class relations remain concealed by direct producers' formal possession of the means of production, which imparts certain 'external attributes' to the production unit and its immediate labour process. Yet the relationship of small 'peasant' enterprises to capitalist production in the social division of labour is such that these household producers effectively are subsumed by capital as a rural proletariat. Their social reproduction is determined by capitalist production and exchange and requires, if we strip away the