

lation does not occur. Also, of competitive struggle among capitalists which in turn increases the socialization of production that culminates in the multi-national firm and an international division of labor. Stimulated by these two simultaneous tendencies, this competitive struggle leads to capital combination, hence the displacement of small capitalists. It is less the Law, per se, and more the "counteracting causes" that reduce it into mere tendency that concerns our analysis.

Marx points out the cheapening of elements of constant capital, intensity of exploitation, depression of wages below their value, relative overpopulation, and foreign trade. Lenin emphasizes the export of capital and the formation of monopoly; others emphasize state intervention and trade unions, etc. Knowing how these actually operate exposes not only the essence of modern colonial policy in its three various forms, but also the periodization, or stage development, of capitalism.

Two of these counteracting causes, i.e., monopoly formation and the growth of relative overpopulation are of special significance for explaining specifically the rise of settler colonialism.

#### B. The Transition from Competitive Capitalism to the Imperialist Stage

This transitional phase, lasting from the end of the 19th century up to the inner-war period, is, according to Lenin, characterized by "unstable equilibrium between competitive capitalism and monopoly capitalism." One of the prominent features in the passage between these two stages in the development of capitalism is the displacement of the small capitalist and the petty bourgeoisie from their previously strategic positions in the social division of labor, resulting in the growth of "relative overpopulation." This growth of "surplus" population (superfluous to the newly domi-