

nant mode of accumulation), precisely through monopoly formation, becomes the foremost steering factor for secessionist settler colonialism. Secessionist settler colonialism, therefore, conforms both with the struggle of the petty bourgeoisie and small capitalist against extinction, and the imperative of political stability for metropolitan big bourgeoisie in the face of increased intensity of internal contradictions in monopoly capital. Hence comes the urge to export this potentially risky "surplus" population to settle new lands. To substantiate the latter, it is best to quote Cecil Rhodes (after whom white settler colonial Rhodesia is named), expressing his imperialist ideas in 1885:

"I was in the East End of London yesterday and attended a meeting of the unemployed. I listened to the wild speeches, which were just a cry for 'bread', 'bread', 'bread', and on my way home I pondered over the scene and I became more than ever convinced of the importance of imperialism....My cherished idea is a solution for the social problem, i.e., in order to save the 40,000,000 inhabitants of the United Kingdom from a bloody civil war, we colonial statesmen must acquire new lands to settle the surplus population, to provide new markets for the goods produced by them in the factories and mines..." 7

A French bourgeois writer, developing and supplementing these ideas of Cecil Rhodes, writes that social causes should be added to the economic causes of modern colonial policy:

"Owing to the growing difficulties of life which weigh not only on the masses of the workers, but also on the middle classes, impatience, irritation and hatred are accumulating in all the countries of the old civilisation and are becoming a menace to public order; employment must become for the energy which is being hurled out of the definite class channel; it must be given an outlet abroad in order to avert an explosion at home." 8

The quotations above do clearly express the vested interest of the metropolitan bourgeoisie in secessionist-settler colonialism. This, however,