

It is precisely this transition (from capitalism of competition to capitalism of monopoly) that provided the objective and subjective conditions for the rise of settler colonialism. The three forms of modern colonial policy thus correspond to three different periods in the development of capitalism; settler colonialism, however, unlike classical colonialism and neo-colonialism, corresponds to a period which is essentially transitional. Does it, therefore, follow that the actual settler colonial formations in Africa and the Middle East, for example, are necessarily transitional phenomena? In other words, does this transitional origin put in question the long-term viability of settler colonialism? Are the current transformations in the balance of forces within white settler colonial regimes in Africa and in the class nature of Israel indicative of transcendence of settler colonialism, as it is becoming historically superfluous and potentially an impediment to the restoration of the international hegemony of U.S. monopoly capital, shaken in the seventies?

For examining any of these questions, it is imperative to have a closer look at the specific aspects of uneven development that gave rise precisely to this settler colonial form, and more importantly, the essence of unevenness in capitalist development and specificity of cases.

A. Capitalist Uneven Development

The unevenness of capitalist development is rooted in two fundamental tendencies inherent in the logic of capitalist accumulation:

- (a) the rising tendency of the organic composition of capital;
- (b) the falling tendency of the rate of profit.

The two tendencies are seen by Marx as inversely related, hence con-