

ly the competability of these conflicting class interests in relation to settler colonial enterprises.

Formulated as such, we explain settler colonialism (including secession from mother countries) in the context of alliance, not antagonism, between the settler community and the metropolitan bourgeoisie. It points out explicitly the crucial role of settler colonialism (so strategically located), at least transitionally, in furthering the internationalization of capital; in the self-reproduction of capitalism as a world order. Put this way, colonial settlement is conceived simultaneously as a result of, and as an instrument for, capitalism's imperative to externalize the effects of its main contradictions; to transfer them from the "center" to the "periphery". That is why, in order to accumulate, capitalism necessarily needs a periphery.²⁴

Correcting Marx, Rosa Luxemburg emphasizes primitive accumulation to be not only a prior stage of capitalist accumulation, but as something needful throughout its maturity.²⁵ This conceptualization also highlights more than any previous reference the centrality of the class determination of the petty bourgeoisie in the rise of settler colonial phenomena.

The latter point carries special significance in the analysis of Jewish settler colonialism in Palestine (given the class locations of Diaspora Jewry), as demonstrated later on. In order to clarify this further, it seems necessary to identify the nature of class struggle in the transitional phase.

Monopoly formation involves two simultaneous processes:

- (1) Concentration of capital refers to the increase in the quantity of capital under each one's control; this in turn makes possible an enlarged scale of production and is necessarily the result of accumu-