

FOOTNOTES

1. Tom Kemp, Theories of Imperialism, Dobson Books, London, 1967.
2. V.I. Lenin, Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism, International Publishers, New York, 1974.
For reference on pre-capitalist colonial policy, see, for example, K. Marx, Pre-capitalist Social Formation, International Publisher, 1975, and Grundrisse, Pelican Books, 1973.
On the relation between colonial policies in the competitive versus the imperialist stages of capitalism, see Samir Amin, Unequal Development: An Essay on the Social Formations of Peripheral Capitalism, Monthly Review Press, New York, 1977.
3. Lenin, ibid., pp. 81-82.
4. As Lenin wrote already in 1916, describing capitalist imperialism:
"...Finance capital is such a great, such a decisive, force in all economic and international relations, that it is capable of subordinating to itself even states enjoying complete political independence. The deception, systematically practiced by imperialists, under the guise of politically independent states, which are wholly dependent upon them economically, financially, and militarily." Quoted in Kemp, op. cit.
5. Based on Paul Sweezy, The Theory of Capitalist Development, Monthly Review Press, New York, 1970, Chapters IV and VI.
6. Ibid.
7. Lenin, op. cit., p. 79. Lenin describes Cecil Rhodes as millionaire, king of finance, the man responsible for the Boer War. At the end of the 19th century, heroes of the hour in England were Rhodes and Joseph Chamberlain, open advocates of imperialism, who applied colonial policy in the most cynical manner. His views, therefore, can be said to represent the interests of the financial bourgeoisie.
8. Wahl, France in the Colonies, quoted in Lenin, ibid., pp. 84-85.
9. Arghiri Emmanuel, "White Settler Colonialism and the Myth of Investment Imperialism," New Left Review, May-June, 1972.
10. Ibid.
11. Fawwaz Trabulsi, "The Palestine Problem: Zionism and Imperialism in the Middle East," New Left Review, No. 57, Sept.-Oct., 1969, p. 63.
12. Maxime Rodinson, Israel: A Colonial Settler State? Monad Press, New York, 1973.
13. Emmanuel, op. cit.