

forced to join the army of the unemployed labor surplus and indirectly reduce the bargaining power and subsistence cost of the employed labor force, thus enabling capital to reap super profits.

In settler-colonialism, foreign settlers with capital are usually brought in to settle the land, not only extract value. They are expected to find their workers among the indigenous population. This was the case, for example, when the English appeared in the Cape Colony of South Africa in 1906. They came as potential capitalists in need of a class of laborers to be exploited.

According to Bernard Magubane, from the beginning of white settler colonization in South Africa, and in the process of harnessing the indigenous labor, a policy of conquest was begun that would not destroy the population but that would rather deprive it of its land and subsistence and thus reduce it, in effect, to a mere instrument in the process of capitalist prosperity. The Africans were subjected to both expropriation and appropriation. That was the secret both of the conquest and the setting up of reservations in which it was difficult for the Africans to maintain independent subsistence. Hence, they become wage-workers, reproduced cheaply over and over again.<sup>9</sup>

In this case, using Archie Mafeje's expression, the logic of predatory capitalism has not been replacement of the old social formation by a new one but rather establishment of a "hybrid" social formation.<sup>10</sup> Although Mafeje uses the creation and perpetuation of hybrid forms to describe the objectives of West European capitalism in the colonies in general, I find this idea more uniquely applicable to settler colonial social formations, specifically in Africa, with the co-existence of an alien bourgeoisie with