

(periodization) of capitalism are viewed here as manifestations of the essential unevenness of capitalist development: In its early competitive stage following the Industrial Revolution, capitalism gave rise to classical colonialism, characterized by the actual presence of colonial administration; an extension of the capitalist state apparatus in the metropolis. The colonial state in the colony as strictly administrative, its top positions being monopolized by metropolitan colonial administrators, both civilian and military, relying on indigenous semi-feudal and tribal leaders as collaborators in the pursuit of raw material and surplus-value extraction in behalf of the metropolitan bourgeoisie.

Competitive struggle among capitalists becomes, itself, an agent of concentration; "free" competition thus leads into monopoly formation, its very opposite. The emergence of monopoly capitalism represents a different stage in the development of capitalism, said to be the highest.

In its highest stage, the stage of monopoly, capitalism gave rise to a new form of foreign domination concomitant with or following decolonization. To distinguish it from capitalist colonialism in the previous stage, it is called neo-colonialism. This is capitalist, as opposed to pre-capitalist, imperialism. It is characterized precisely by the absence of colonial state superstructure. Political, economic, and ideological domination/subordination exercised directly through the alliance between classes formed by earlier colonialism in pre-capitalist social formations and the international bourgeoisie. Neo-colonialism, thus, operates under the very guise of political independence in the post-colonial nation-states, subordinating them to its ultimate objective, the internationalization of capital.⁴