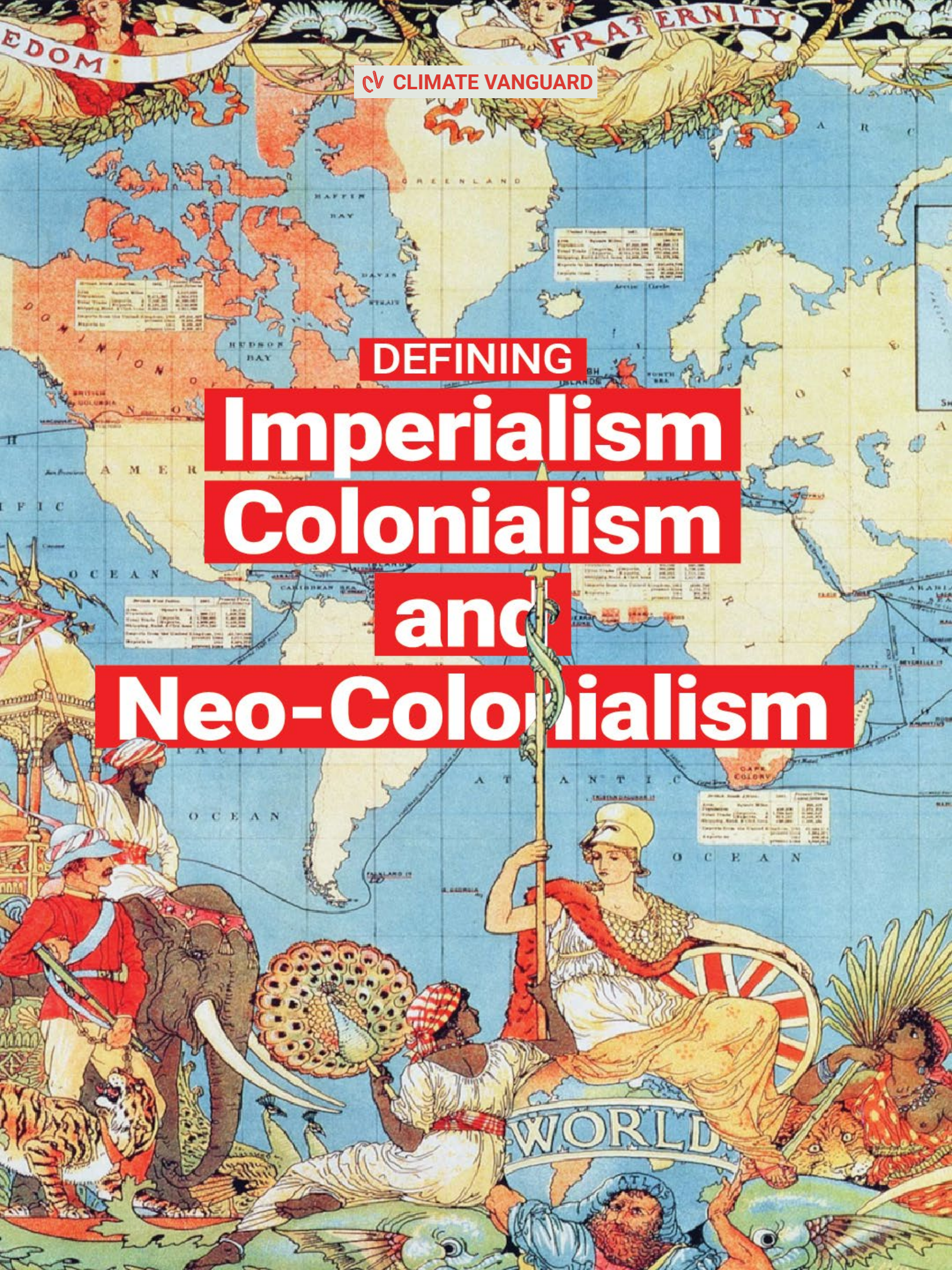

CLIMATE VANGUARD
DEFINING
Imperialism
Colonialism
and
Neo-Colonialism

Defining Imperialism, Colonialism, and Neo-Colonialism

About Climate Vanguard

Climate Vanguard is a youth-led organisation empowering the youth climate movement through radical political education.

Please cite as

Climate Vanguard (2024). *'Defining Imperialism, Colonialism, and Neo-Colonialism,' Climate Vanguard:* London.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank Jason Hickel for his generosity of time and invaluable feedback on this brief.

Copyright

© Climate Vanguard. Published in 2024, edited in 2026.
This publication and its contents may be reproduced as long as the reference source is cited.

Definitions at a Glance

Imperialism

The arrangement that enables the systematic transfer of value from the Global South to the Global North, or, in other words, from the periphery to the imperial core of the capitalist world system.

Colonialism

The forced integration of a nation’s economy and society into the capitalist world system, administered through the formal political control by one nation over another nation or territory.

Neo-colonialism

A political arrangement in which Southern states appear to have political independence, but are economically subordinated to the dictates of Northern capital.

Introduction

Imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism have been brought to the forefront of popular consciousness. While an analysis of these systems has long been central to political movements in the Global South, they have increasingly entered progressive discourse in the Global North, especially through the genocide in Gaza. Nevertheless, it can be difficult to understand what these systems actually are and how they relate to each other.

In this brief, we define imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism in relation to the capitalist world system. A clear analysis of the systems we are up against is essential for developing strategies to defeat them.

Imperialism



Figure 1: Political cartoon depicting John Bull, the personification of England, grabbing land on every continent (1882).

Imperialism is a system in which core capitalist states (i.e. the Global North) deny sovereignty to peripheral states (i.e. the Global South) in order to transfer value from the periphery to the core.[1,a,b] This transfer of value is integral to the capitalist mode of production and, indeed, cannot be understood apart from capitalism's laws of motion. Below, we first outline why capitalism requires imperialism before turning to how imperialism is maintained.

---

a This definition describes capitalist imperialism specifically. Pre-capitalist empires are similarly defined by core political entities denying sovereignty to peripheral entities in order to reorient the use of their land, resources, and labour to serve the interests of the core power (Gill, 2025). However, pre-capitalist empires were based on tribute (i.e. a direct appropriation of a proportion of production), rather than capitalist accumulation, which involves a more complex process of transforming and integrating peripheral production into a global system of accumulation (Amin, 2010). Tributary systems allowed for the establishment of imperialist relations on a regional scale at most, but never the world scale of capitalist imperialism.

b Henceforth in this brief, these terms (Global North/core and Global South/periphery) are used interchangeably. See *Hyper-Imperialism: A Dangerous Decadent New Stage* for a review of which states belong to which group.

Capitalism's Dependence on Imperialism

Capitalism is a system in which a small group of people privately owns the means of production (e.g. land, factories, machines).[2] Private property relations compel capitalists to compete with one another for more and more profit. If they fail to compete in this process of capital accumulation, they risk losing their material privileges and slipping into the working class. This makes capitalism an inherently *expansionary system*.

Capitalism's laws of motion produce a number of contradictions that require an 'outside' from which value can be drained in order to manage these pressures and sustain accumulation.

1. Primitive Accumulation

First, capital accumulates through the exploitation of workers. Workers produce more value than they are paid in wages, and the difference is appropriated by those who own the means of production (i.e. capitalists). But this process depends on a prior condition: capitalists must already own the means of production, while workers must already be separated from them, forced to sell their labour power in order to survive. In other words, capital accumulation presupposes the very class relations that it creates. As Marx writes, "the whole movement, therefore, seems to turn in a vicious circle."[3] The answer to this problem is primitive accumulation.



Figure 2: The Industrial Revolution in the core was only possible through the mass enslavement of African people. For example, they produced the necessary cotton for textile mills without compensation. As Jason Moore described, *"behind Manchester stands Mississippi."*

Primitive accumulation refers to the 'extra-economic' force that capitalism depends on to separate peasants from the land and concentrate the means of production in the hands of the few.[4,c] Enclosure, slavery, colonialism, and privatisation are all processes of primitive accumulation.[d]

Primitive accumulation took place in the core, but "in the periphery, primitive accumulation has been more intense and continuous."[5,e] Not only did primitive accumulation provide the initial injection of capitalist stock needed to kickstart industrial competition in Europe, but it has remained a critical source of value drain from periphery to core throughout capitalism's development.[6]

2. Value of Money

Second, value transfer maintains people's purchasing power in the core.

Because capitalism is expansionary, it leads to an ever-increasing demand for essential commodities, such as raw materials and food. However, given the finite nature of land and natural resources, ever-increasing demand puts upward pressure on the price of these commodities. This would result in massive inflation, reducing people's purchasing power and eroding the basis for sustained accumulation.[7]

However, by suppressing wages in the periphery, core states are able to minimise demand for these essential commodities in the Global South and keep their prices low in the core.[8] Wage suppression occurs in many different ways, but one prominent method is the destruction of local production in the periphery. This leaves a large portion of the population unemployed, which increases competition for a limited number of jobs,

---

c Extra-economic force is any coercive action that takes place outside of the marketplace, which is where workers incur economic exploitation by their boss.

d Enclosure is the privatisation of common land. This deprives the peasants of access to the means of production, transforming them into the working class who must seek wage-labour in order to survive.

e An example of primitive accumulation in the core is the mass enclosure of common land in England during the 16th century (Marx, 1992). For Indigenous people in settler colonies of the imperial core, primitive accumulation has been an ongoing process (Glen Sean Coulthard, 2014).

enabling capitalists to decrease wages and lower the price of goods bound for Northern markets.[9]

3. Class Conflict

Third, value transfer from periphery to core stabilises the general labour-capital contradiction in the core. Capitalists have moderated class conflict in the core by conceding to some working-class demands, such as higher wages, reduced working hours, and expanded welfare services.[10] However, these concessions could only be granted, without cutting into profits, by appropriating more value from the periphery. Without this pressure valve, it is hard to imagine how capitalists would have avoided working-class revolutions in the Global North.



Figure 3: The 20th century saw the rise of social democratic parties and governments across the Global North, which helped fend off working-class revolution by promising improved living standards. *Gamma-Keystone/ Getty Images.*

–

This drain of value has been essential for stabilising all three of these contradictions throughout the history of capitalism, and it remains a world-shaping force today.[f] It is because of imperialism that the average annual income in Pakistan is $1,500, while it is $54,550 in the UK.[11] It is because of imperialism that 24% of the world's agricultural land is in Africa, yet the continent is a net food importer and is the hungriest in the world.[12] And it is because of imperialism that in 2026, life expectancy at birth in France is nearly 20 years greater than in Haiti.[13]

f Imperialism also provides a means of managing new contradictions that arise at different stages of capitalist development. For example, Lenin famously diagnosed the role of imperialism in stabilising capitalism's contradictions as it reached its monopoly stage in the late 19th century (Lenin, 1917). As larger firms outcompeted smaller ones, capitalism tended towards the consolidation of monopolies. With all sectors of the economy controlled by monopolies, there were limited new investment opportunities in the core. Monopolies then turned towards the periphery as a new frontier to invest capital and continue accumulating.

Imperialism Walks on Two Legs

The conditions for imperial value transfer are not natural; they are created and maintained through economic and military force.[14,g]

The military aspect is plain to see. Wars, coups, and genocides are all central mechanisms for enforcing political and economic regimes that facilitate value transfer from periphery to core. The case of Iran is a prime example. In 1951, Iran's first democratically elected leader, Mohammed Mosaddegh, began nationalising the country's oil industry, including the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (today known as British Petroleum, or BP). In response, the US and British governments orchestrated a coup that deposed Mosaddegh in 1953, replacing him with the Shah, who promptly restored Western control over Iranian oil.[15]



Figure 4: The Iranian prime minister Mohammad Mosaddeq, left, is sentenced to prison in December 1953 after a CIA-backed coup cemented the rule of the Shah. *AP.*

The economic aspect is more pernicious. The imposition of free-market policies on countries of the Global South via structural adjustment programmes (SAPs), free trade agreements, and development aid enables Northern firms to dictate the terms of trade and conditions of production

g Sovereignty is also denied through ideological and cultural means, i.e. the distortion and destruction of the Indigenous and national identities of the colonised (Fanon, 1961). While important, this rests on top of the military and economic foundation. One cannot reclaim sovereignty simply by reclaiming culture. Rather, reclaiming economic and military sovereignty is the foundation for reclaiming cultural sovereignty.

in the South.[h] These economic and military legs ultimately work together to deny sovereignty to countries in the Global South.

In recent years, Southern states have begun challenging the economic dominance of US-led imperialism. The majority of productive capacity now exists in the South, and China has made significant inroads into high-value production, including computers, electric vehicles, renewable energy, aircraft, and pharmaceuticals.[16] This has pushed core states to increase their reliance on military force in order to maintain imperial control. This new, hyper-imperialist phase explains the proliferation of violent outbursts in recent years, including the proxy war in Ukraine, the genocide in Palestine, the bombing of Lebanon, Yemen, and Syria, the war against Iran, and the abduction of Venezuelan President Maduro.[17]

We explore the economic and military facets of imperialism in the following sections on colonialism and neo-colonialism, which are the real-historical political systems that have enabled imperial value transfer from the periphery to the core.

h Structural adjustment programmes are loans provided by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund that require countries to implement specific policies focused on privatisation and trade liberalisation.



Figure 5: The US has over 800 military bases around the world, serving as the material foundation to maintain and reproduce the imperialist world system.

Colonialism

Colonialism is a form of imperialist domination in which one state exercises formal political control over another territory, forcibly integrating its economy and society into the capitalist world system.[18] This one-to-one relationship forms a part of, and helps maintain, the broader imperialist system.

The first period of colonial expansion lasted from the late 15th century until the end of the 18th century, coinciding with the rise of capitalism.[19] This stage began with the violent expansion of Spanish and Portuguese settlements across the Americas, as well as the mass enslavement of Africans. Colonial domination reached its peak in the 19th century, as the Industrial Revolution gave European powers new capacities (e.g. steamboats, railroads, and telegraph lines) to conquer lands previously beyond reach.[20] The turn of the 20th century saw the final expansion of European colonialism into the interior of Africa and West Asia.[21]



Figure 6: Paintings of Christopher Columbus (left) and Portuguese colonisers reaching Brazil (right).

Importantly, the history of colonisation was also shaped by resistance from the colonised. For example, it was the Haitian Revolution (1791 - 1804) that spearheaded the abolition of legal slavery.[22]

Colonialism facilitated imperial value flows in two ways. First, it enabled the direct appropriation of value from the periphery to the core through slave rents (i.e. unpaid labour) and by taking control of existing mechanisms of surplus value extraction. For example, the British took control of revenue collection in India from the Mughal emperors and

then diverted these resources to the North.[23] Between 1765 and 1938, trillions of dollars' worth of goods were appropriated from Indian producers by British colonists.[24]



Figure 7: The British colonised India from 1757-1947.

Second, colonialism enabled Europeans to control production and consumption in the Global South. Colonisers destroyed local subsistence economies through enclosure, dispossession, and the imposition of taxation in colonial currency. This in turn forced people to seek wage labour in European mines and plantations or to produce goods for export to Europe.[25] Colonisers also destroyed industrial production in the Global South, which eliminated competition and created dependence on Northern goods.

The co-constitutive relationship between capitalism and colonialism should be understood as both producing development in the core *and* driving underdevelopment and de-development in the periphery.[26,i]

---

i Underdevelopment occurs when a country's economy is systematically stunted because its production is organised around export rather than domestic development objectives. In some cases, economies in the periphery are de-developed (i.e. their productive forces are destroyed) in order to open up markets for imperialist domination. China, for example, was among the most advanced economies in the world before a century of imperialist domination turned it into the 11th poorest country globally (Prashad and Ross, 2021). Libya stands out as a contemporary example of imperialist de-development.

Settler Colonialism vs Franchise Colonialism

A note needs to be made on the distinction between colonialism's two basic forms: settler colonialism and franchise colonialism.

Settler colonialism is a process in which the settler population is "intent on making a territory their permanent home while continuing to enjoy metropolitan living standards and political privileges."[27] This requires the displacement, ethnic cleansing, or assimilation of the native populations, while denying their claims to the land. Examples of settler colonies include the US, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Israel, South Africa, Ireland, and Algeria.



Figure 8: Palestinian refugees violently expelled from their homes and land by Zionists during the 1948 Nakba. *Reuters*.

In addition to establishing imperialist relations, settler colonialism also helped alleviate the social contradictions in Europe. Between 1815 and 1930, over 50 million Europeans emigrated to the colonies, relocating many of the most exploited and revolutionary layers of the European working class.[28]

By contrast, franchise colonialism forcibly attaches itself to existing social, political, and economic structures to extract value through the collaboration of local elites.[29] Examples include the British in India and the Dutch in Indonesia.

Patrick Wolfe distinguishes the two forms by describing settler colonialism as the drive to *eliminate* the native population (either by displacement or genocide) and franchise colonialism as the drive to *exploit* the native population.[30] While this can be a helpful way to conceptualise the central logic of each form, the elimination/exploitation divide is not so clear in practice.

The exploitation of native peoples, for example, through forced labour regimes, was central to the establishment and reproduction of many settler colonies (e.g. Algeria, Bolivia, South Africa).[31] Equally, the elimination of native populations also occurred in franchise colonies (e.g. the Bengal famine of 1943).[32] In practice, both the exploitation and elimination of Indigenous communities have been used at different times in settler and franchise colonies "depending on strategic necessities, interactions with indigenous resistance, or changing economic relations with the metropolis."[33]

Without understanding this historical reality, we risk only focusing on the most advanced forms of settler colonialism (e.g. US, Canada, Australia) where the process of elimination is most extreme. As a result, we obscure cases where settler colonialism was defeated, as in many African and South American nations.[34] This more complete view of colonial history shows the fragility of settler-colonial projects. Indeed, the trajectory of less-developed settler colonies, like Israel, is far from pre-determined.

While colonialism still exists, the post-WWII period saw a wave of decolonisation during which over 80 nations won political sovereignty.[35] This, however, was not the end of imperialism.



Figure 9: People of the Republic of Congo celebrate their independence on July 7, 1960, one of 17 states in Africa to gain independence that year.

Neo-Colonialism

In place of colonialism, neo-colonial relations were established to maintain imperialism. Ghanaian revolutionary Kwame Nkrumah defines neo-colonialism as a system in which Southern states are denied economic sovereignty despite having political independence.[36]

Through the denial of economic sovereignty, Northern capital organises Southern production to cheapen Southern labour power and resources.[37] As goods are exchanged on international markets, a "hidden transfer of value" occurs from periphery to core, which is estimated at $10.8 trillion annually.[38] This process is called unequal exchange.

There are five primary methods used by the North to establish and perpetuate neo-colonialism: regime change, sanctions, debt, aid, and trade institutions.

Regime Change

Many post-colonial states pursued an ambitious programme of sovereign development. This included economic protection via tariffs, subsidies, and capital controls, land reform, industry nationalisation, public services, and wage increases.[39] Gains in the South meant higher costs for the North, imperilling unequal exchange, eroding profit margins, and straining the social-democratic compromise.[40,j]

In response, the North used 'hybrid war' tactics (economic blockades, sanctions, cultural propaganda, assassinations, coups) to depose popular leaders pursuing sovereign development, including Árbenz in Guatemala, Sukarno in Indonesia, Nkrumah in Ghana, Allende in Chile, and Sankara in Burkina Faso.[41] In fact, since WWII, the US has assisted in overthrowing

j After WWII, a social-democratic compromise was struck between Northern labour and capital. This was a compromise insofar as the working class did not pursue socialism, but a 'regulated' form of capitalism that promised real gains for workers. These gains, most importantly wage increases and welfare programmes, depended on the super-exploitation of Southern labour, yielding the cheap commodity production necessary for Northern profit-making and welfare funding. In effect, social democracy is imperialist class collaboration.

over 35 foreign governments.[42] More recently, the hyper-imperialist US has attempted regime change operations in Venezuela and Iran.[43]

Sanctions

An equally violent mechanism used by Northern states to discipline Southern economies is sanctions. Sanctions are commercial or financial restrictions, ranging from travel bans and asset freezes to arms embargoes and trade restrictions. They are often designed to pressure foreign governments by imposing collective punishment on their populations. Between 2010 and 2021, unilateral sanctions caused an estimated 564,258 deaths annually, more than five times the number of people killed in direct armed combat.[44]

Most sanctions are imposed unilaterally, that is, without UN approval, and therefore illegally by the US and European countries.[45] And the most heavily sanctioned countries in recent decades include many states pursuing sovereign development projects: Cuba, Iran, Syria, North Korea, Venezuela, and Russia.[46]



Figure 10: Activists participating in the People's Summit for Democracy rally outside the Los Angeles Convention Center in June 2022 to demand the end of sanctions on countries like Cuba and Venezuela. *Midia Ninja.*

Core states are able to leverage such heavy sanctions because of their economic dominance, which has been established through centuries

of imperialism. Not only do Northern firms exert significant power over key supply chains, but the US also controls the global financial system. After being elevated to the position of leading imperialist power after WWII, the US established the dollar as the world's reserve currency.[47] With roughly 85% of global trade denominated in US dollars, the US has the power to cut off any country's access to dollars and therefore to essential commodities.[48]



Figure 11: Venezuelan president Nicolás Maduro in New York City on January 5th, 2026 after being abducted in Caracas by the US military. *Northeastern Global News.*

A recent example of this tool of economic coercion is the decades-long sanctions regime against Venezuela, which, coupled with the US's abduction of President Nicolás Maduro in January 2026, has forced the Venezuelan government to compromise on key pillars of its economic sovereignty.[49] In August 2026, the US and Venezuela struck a deal granting the US majority control over Venezuela's 65 billion barrels of proven oil reserves – the largest proven reserves in the world and the foundation of Venezuela's economy.[50]

Debt

The instrumentalisation of debt has been a more covert method of establishing control over Southern economies.[k] After the post-WWII decolonisation wave, Wall Street lent huge amounts of money to newly independent Southern states, which were "hungry for capital" to fund development.[51] In the early 1980s, these loans became unpayable after US interest rates (which the loans were based on) were increased to lower domestic US inflation.[52]

With the South in a state of economic turmoil, the North conditioned emergency debt relief on SAPs imposed by the International Monetary

k Debt, in and of itself, is not imperialist. For example, Chinese loans do not carry policy conditionalities designed to orient Southern economies towards value drain (Albright, 2025). Debt should be understood as a tool that can be used to reproduce imperialist relations.

Fund and the World Bank.[53] SAPs required that public spending be cut, public assets privatised, capital controls abolished, and labour and environmental regulations axed.[54] This reoriented Southern economies in service of capital accumulation in the North. Those who resisted, like Burkinabé revolutionary president Thomas Sankara, were swiftly ousted by imperialist powers.[55]



Figure 12: Burkinabé leader Thomas Sankara called for a "united front against debt" in a speech at the 25th summit of the Organization of Africa Unity in July 1987. He was assassinated three months later.

Additionally, debt repayments have themselves been a mechanism of value transfer from South to North. Between 1980 and 2015, Southern countries paid over $4.2 trillion in interest payments to the North, far exceeding the total aid received over the same time period.[56]

Aid

Development aid has also been vital to establishing Northern control over Southern economies.[l] Like debt relief, aid often comes with conditionalities. For example, a study of the US Agency for International Development's (USAID) development assistance in Nigeria between 1985 and 1999 found that financial support *required* Nigeria to purchase American goods and services, stunting domestic industry.[57] USAID also used its leverage to shape government institutions, "embedding policies that favored economic liberalization and foreign investment at the heart of Nigeria's governance structures."[58] This was reinforced by funding journalist training programmes that helped shape public opinion in support of neoliberal policies.[59]

l Recently, core states have begun reducing development aid. In the case of the US, USAID was effectively gutted. This shift is part of the turn towards hyper-imperialism in which resources are being redirected towards the military. In the case of the UK, for example, the current Labour government announced that the country's aid budget would be cut from 0.5% of gross national income to 0.3%, "fully funding the investment in defence" (Nevett and Francis, 2026).

In other cases, aid is weaponised by withdrawing it, or threatening to withdraw it, when countries pursue sovereign development projects. Earlier this year, the US threatened to withdraw funding for life-saving malaria, tuberculosis, and HIV programmes in Zambia if it did not get preferential access to the country's mineral resources.[60]

Trade Institutions

Trade institutions are a fifth vector for perpetuating neo-colonialism.[m] In 1995, imperialist powers restructured the global economy through the World Trade Organization (WTO). The WTO conditioned country membership on the reduction of tariffs, elimination of subsidies, and deregulation of capital flows. This deprived the entire South of the exact tools that the North had used for its own development.[61]

The creation of the WTO was flanked by a profusion of free trade agreements (FTAs) between the North and South. Most FTAs include a provision known as Investor-State Dispute Settlement, which allows a private corporation to sue a state over a sovereign policy action that threatens future profits (e.g. a wage increase).[62] Investors have won 57% of cases, with an average payout of $438 million, funded by taxpayers.[63] If states refuse to pay, their foreign assets can be seized.[64]

This brings Nkrumah's formulation into sharp relief: Southern political sovereignty is subordinated to neo-colonial imperialism.

---

m Similar to debt, trade is not de facto imperialist. It only becomes so if wielded for the maintenance of unequal value flows between the South and North.



Figure 13: IMF Managing Director, always a European appointee, Kristalina Georgieva (left) and World Bank President, always a US appointee, Ajay Banga (right) at the 2025 Annual Meetings of the World Bank Group and International Monetary Fund. *IMF Photo/Joshua Roberts.*

Conclusion

Imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism are world-shaping systems responsible for unequal development, the denial of Southern sovereignty, widespread immiseration, famine, systemic poverty, and genocide. As expressions of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism are integral to the development, maintenance, and reproduction of capitalism. Together they form *the* system that is oppressing the global majority and driving ecological collapse.

Armed with this analysis, it is clear that all movements struggling for liberation must be anti-imperialist. In the South, anti-imperialism requires fighting imperialism on both legs. This means developing the economic and military force to delink from the imperialist system and reclaim sovereignty.

In the North, anti-imperialism requires building internationalist organisations that can help create more oxygen for sovereign development in the South. Critical demands include demilitarisation, debt cancellation, and ecological reparations.

While recognising that the frontlines of anti-imperialist struggle exist in the periphery – Palestine, Iran, Venezuela, Cuba, China – imperialism will only be defeated through the unified action of all working and oppressed peoples across the world. Recalling Thomas Sankara, “the only thing you need to remember is that when the people stand up, imperialism trembles.”

Endnotes

1 Donald Clelland, 'Global Value Transfers and Imperialism', in *The Palgrave Encyclopedia of Imperialism and Anti-Imperialism,* ed. Immanuel Ness and Zack Cope (Palgrave Macmillan, 2020).;

Arghiri Emmanuel, *Unequal Exchange: A Study of the Imperialism of Trade* (Monthly Review Press, 1972).

2 Karl Marx, *Capital Volume 1* (Penguin, 1992).

3 *Ibid.*

4 Sam Moyo, et al., 'Imperialism and Primitive Accumulation: Notes on the New Scramble for Africa', *Agrarian South: Journal of Political Economy*, 1, no. 2 (2012).

5 *Ibid.*

6 *Ibid.*

7 Utsa Patnaik and Prabhat Patnaik, *Capital and Imperialism: Theory, History, and the Present* (Monthly Review Press, 2021).

8 *Ibid.*

9 *Ibid.*

10 Torkil Lauesen, *The Global Perspective: Reflections on Imperialism and Resistance* (Kersplebedeb Publishing, 2018).

11 'Average income around the world', *World Data,* n.d., accessed 7 September 2026.

12 Dailes Judge, 'Africa is so rich in farmland – so why is it still hungry?', *Oxfam*, 18 July 2022.

13 ‘Life Expectancy of the World Population,’ *Worldometers,* n.d., accessed 23 September 2026.

14 Samir Amin, ‘Contemporary Imperialism,’ *Monthly Review,* 67, no.3 (2015).

15 Jack Taylor, ‘How Britain Crushed Democracy in Iran’, *Tribune*, 19 August 2023.

16 ‘Hyper-Imperialism: A Dangerous Decadent New Stage’, *Tricontinental: Institute for Social Research,* 23 January 2024.;

Mia Nurmamat, ‘China moving up the industrial value chain’, *South China Morning Post,* 20 July 2026.

17 ‘Hyper-Imperialism: A Dangerous Decadent New Stage’, *Tricontinental: Institute for Social Research,* 23 January 2024.

18 Bipan Chandra, ’Colonialism, stages of colonialism and the colonial state’, *Journal of Contemporary Asia,* 10, no. 3 (2008).

19 Sai Englert, *Settler Colonialism: An Introduction* (Pluto Press, 2022).

20 *Ibid*.

21 *Ibid*.

22 *Ibid*.

23 Utsa Patnaik and Prabhat Patnaik, *Capital and Imperialism: Theory, History, and the Present* (Monthly Review Press, 2021).

24 Shubhra Chakrabarti and Usta Patnaik, *Agrarian and Other Histories* (Columbia University Press, 2019).

25 Utsa Patnaik and Prabhat Patnaik, *Capital and Imperialism: Theory, History, and the Present* (Monthly Review Press, 2021).

26 Ali Kadri, *The Accumulation of Waste: A political economy of systemic destruction (Brill, 2023).;*

Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Verso, 2018).

27 Caroline Elkins and Susan Pedersen, *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century* (Routledge, 2005).

28 Dudley Baines, *Emigration from Europe 1815-1930* (Cambridge University Press, 2012).

29 Sai Englert, 'Settler colonialism and the birth of global capitalism', *rs21.org,* 7 November 2023.

30 Patrick Wolfe, 'Settler colonialism and the elimination of the native', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 8, no. 4 (2006).

31 Sai Englert, 'Settler colonialism and the birth of global capitalism', *rs21.org,* 7 November 2023.

32 *Ibid.*

33 Sai Englert, 'Settlers, Workers, and the Logic of Accumulation by Dispossession', *Antipode,* 6, no. 52 (2020).

34 *Ibid.*

35 'List of former Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories', *United Nations,* n.d., accessed 23 September 2026.

36 Kwame Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism* (Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1965).

37 Arghiri Emmanuel, *Unequal Exchange: A Study of the Imperialism of Trade* (Monthly Review Press, 1972).

38 Jason Hickel, et al., ‘Imperialist Appropriation in the World Economy: Drain from the Global South through Unequal Exchange, 1990–2015’, *Global Environmental Change,* 73 (2022).

39 Jason Hickel, ‘The Age of Imperialism Is Not Over - But We Can End It’, *Current Affairs,* 5 December 2021.

40 *Ibid*.

41 Jason Hickel, ‘The Age of Imperialism Is Not Over - But We Can End It’, *Current Affairs,* 5 December 2021;

José Novaez, ‘Marxism and Colonialism: An Interview with Vijay Prashad,’ *Counterpunch*, 19 April 2023.

42 William Blum, ‘Overthrowing other people’s governments: A Master List’, *William Blum,* n.d., accessed 19 December 2025.

43 Ben Becker and Mazda Majidi, ‘The Unipolar Era of Imperialism and Its Potential Undoing’, *Liberation School,* 27 July 2018;

Chris Gilbert, ‘Where Danger Lies: The Communal Alternative in Venezuela’, *Monthly Review,* 75, no. 3 (2023);

Joshua Goodman, ‘Alleged Maduro Co-Conspirator Says CIA Knew about Coup Plans’, *AP*, 29 January 2022.

44 Francisco Rodríguez, et al., ‘Effects of international sanctions on age-specific mortality: a cross-national panel data analysis’, *The Lancet,* 13, no. 8 (2025).

45 Ana Vračar, ‘Every year, sanctions kill more people than wars’, *Peoples Dispatch,* 2 August 2025.

46 ‘The Most Sanctioned Countries’, *Forbes*, 15 July 2024.

47 ‘The Architecture of Power: The Dollar, Financialisation, and the Struggle for Sovereignty’, *Tricontinental: Institute for Social Research,* 7 July 2026.

48 ‘How Global Trade Runs on U.S. Dollars’, *Wall Street Journal*, 22 January 2020.

49 Manolo De Los Santos, ‘Tactical retreats: Why Venezuela’s revolution still stands’, *Peoples Dispatch,* 3 March 2026.

50 ‘Fact Sheet: President Donald J. Trump Announces Historic Oil Agreement to Secure American Energy Dominance and Drive Venezuela’s Economic Recovery’, *White House,* 31 August 2026.

51 Jason Hickel, *The Divide: A Brief Guide to Global Inequality and Its Solutions* (Penguin, 2018).

52 *Ibid.*

53 *Ibid.*

54 *Ibid.*

55 Benjamin Talton, ‘Thomas Sankara Gave His Life Fighting Neocolonialism’, *Jacobin*, 17 April 2021.

56 Jason Hickel, ‘Aid in Reverse: How Poor Countries Develop Rich Countries’, *The Guardian,* 14 January 2017.

57 ‘USAID and the Neocolonial Entrapment of Nigeria: Economic Manipulation, Political Engineering, and Sovereignty Undermined’, *Susa Africa,* 9 February 2026.

58 *Ibid.*

59 *Ibid.*

60 Mishal Khan, ‘US pressure on Zambia shows that Western aid has become nakedly transactional’, *Chatham House,* 26 March 2026.

61 Jason Hickel, *The Divide: A Brief Guide to Global Inequality and Its Solutions* (Penguin, 2018).

62 *Ibid.*

63 ‘Investor-State Dispute Settlement Cases: Facts and Figures 2020’, *UNCTAD*, September 2021;

Mathew Hodgson, et al., ‘2021 Empirical Study: Costs, Damages, and Duration in Investor-State Arbitration’, *Allen & Overy,* June 2021.

64 Cecilia Olivet and Pia Eberhardt, ‘Profiting from Injustice: How law firms, arbitrators and financiers are fuelling an investment arbitration boom’, *Transnational Institute,* 27 November 2012.