

THE SEASON'S
GREETINGS
TO ALL
OUR READERS

THE SPARK



Notes of the
Week 2
Book
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"Akwapim
Six"
Art
Exhibition 4

A SOCIALIST WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

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THE MYTH OF CAPITALISM (4)

The True Nature of Imperialism

EDITORIAL

SOCIALISM

There is only one socialism—scientific socialism. Kwame Nkrumah declared at the first meeting last weekend of the newly-constituted National Executive Committee of the Convention People's Party. He called for the resolute rejection of the false theories of so-called "African Socialism" which are now being widely peddled in Africa.

Our party's Constitution has been amended to make clear that the Convention People's Party knows only one socialism—scientific socialism; the study of scientific socialism as enriched and advanced in Nkrumaism is now among its aims.

Our ideology is scientific socialism as applied to African conditions. We reject what has become known as "African Socialism" because it is neither African nor socialism.

It is not African because it has been introduced to our continent by the emissaries of right-wing West European Social Democracy.

Right-Wing Social Democracy in Western Europe is the off-spring of imperialism. It was imperialism which created the material basis for the emergence in the West European capitalist countries of an "aristocracy of labour" whose leaders came to share with the imperialists themselves a common interest in the continued exploitation of the colonies.

As a result, these leaders became the apologists of imperialism, and when in power vied with their more openly reactionary conservative opposite numbers in the enforcement of repressive colonial policies.

In France, for example, self-styled "socialists" the leaders of Right-Wing Social Democracy, were for long among the most zealous advocates of war against the people of Vietnam and Algeria.

In Britain, it was a Labour Government—a government made up of representatives of right-wing Social Democracy—which waged colonial war in Malaya and threw Kwame Nkrumah into jail. Today it is a Labour Government which is appeasing Smith and backing the U.S. war against the people of Vietnam.

It is the "theories" of these people that the advocates of "African Socialism" are now peddling.

Socialism means political power in the hands of the working class and its allies, and the public ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange.

But the "African Socialists" deny the existence of classes and argue that the society bequeathed by colonialism can be radically transformed without any transformation of the state machine fashioned by imperialists to serve their interests.

They reject the public ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange, and call for a "mixed economy", not as a transitional phase in the advance along the road to socialism, but as an end in itself.

They advocate a social order in which the state will provide what is called the "infra-structure"—the roads, the railways, power and other services—while the much more profitable branches of industry and commerce will be in the hands of private owners.

They furthermore see no objection to the unchecked penetration of foreign Big Business—penetration which can only lead to the further draining of Africa's wealth into the strong-rooms of the monopolies.

This, we repeat, is neither African nor socialism. We reject it completely.

Socialism is, as Kwame Nkrumah has many times declared, the only alternative for Africa. Only through socialism can Africa build up the economic strength from which will come genuine economic independence and a richer, fuller life for the common man.

For it is the well-being of the mass of the common people which must be the prime concern of our party, and it must be upon the mass of the common people that our party must rely in the struggle to build a socialist Ghana.

The myth of 'the end of imperialism' is addressed to many audiences; it therefore has many faces. When it is presented to the people of newly liberated countries it is a face of regret for the past, of agreement that the past was bad, and of promise of change for the future. When presented to the working people of developed imperialist countries and accepted by many of them, it has at least a passive acquiescence in what cannot be reversed, combined with an assurance that there need be no fear of any recrudescence of imperialism.

Of course some of those who have donned the new face find it fits uncomfortably—the underlying bone and flesh is too marked with the memories of the fruits of exploitation, of privileged lives under the good old days—and would readily abandon it. Perhaps most dangerous of all are those who one day wear the face of contrition and repugnance for the past, but when asked to liquidate its remnants, remove the mask. Mr. Wilson is revealed in his speech to the United Nations on December 16th last, as a masterly exponent of the two faces.

A former member of 'the left' in the British Labour Party and therefore, so many Africans believed, an opponent of imperialism, he now falls back, as a leader of the Right wing, into all the traditional attitudes of his predecessors. "I believe" he said "that it is a tragic commentary upon the European record in Rhodesia that there is not in Rhodesia, as elsewhere, an African national movement capable of the responsibility of self-government at this moment... It is for these reasons that I have had to make it clear that, so far as we are concerned, a return to constitutional rule would not and could not mean an immediate advance to majority rule... Time will be needed and time will be measured not by clock or calendar..." This is a well known, and old-fashioned

face: Not Fit To Rule. Then comes the face of Superiority.—"I recognise the deep feelings, the passions, that have been engendered among our African friends... But this is a time when calm, cool counsels are more likely to settle the issue".

(Another well-worn face "The African cannot think, he can only feel") We can calculate, yes, with a passion of which we are not ashamed, the costs of oppression. We recognise, in Mr. Smith and Mr. Wilson, the deepest feelings of the bankers and monopolists, their passion for profits. Then the final face: "In our long proud record of ending British colonial rule..." Presumably Mr. Wilson must be referring to his distinguished predecessors in office in the Labour Government of 1945-51. Take the Foreign Secretary Mr. Bevin in Parliament January 22 1948:

"In the first place we turn our eyes to Africa, where great responsibilities are shared by us with South Africa, Belgium and Portugal... The organisation of Western Europe must be economically supported. That involves the closest possible collaboration with the Commonwealth and with overseas territories, not only British, but French, Dutch, Belgian and Portuguese... If Western Europe is to achieve its balance of payments... it is essential that these resources should be developed and made available..." (quoted in D. N. Pritt: The Labour Government 1945-51 p. 207). The events of the 28th February 1948, the arrest and detention of ex-servicemen and political figures, and later the arrest and imprisonment of Kwame Nkrumah, were the logical outcome in practice, of this policy. Or take Mr. Morrison, the next Labour Foreign Secretary in the spring of 1951 whose attitude to the Mossadeq government, nationalisation of Anglo-Iranian is given in his autobiography: "My own view was that there was much to be said for sharp and forceful action. The Cabinet was, however, left in little doubt

that mounting an effective attacking force would take a lot of time and might therefore be a failure". No moral or political scruples, only a cynical calculation that repression might not work.

It is not to the Wilsons Morrisons and Bevins that we need address ourselves. There are many honest people in Europe, genuinely ashamed of the past who believe the myth to be true. There are many people in Africa who believe it, in whole or in part, and usually in the following form: "Almost all the former colonial countries have been given (or taken) political independence. They can now, without political intervention from outside, and with aid from their former rulers, set about and end within a reasonable time the division between rich and poor countries. The former imperialist countries on their side are no longer dependent on, or interested in, tribute from overseas investment, and if the terms of trade received by the newly independent countries are both bad and deteriorating, that is simply the operation of supply and demand, which will be automatically rectified as economic structures are changed."

Roll of Honour

AS we go to press, nine African states have severed relations with Britain because of her failure to take effective action against Ian Smith's racist regime. A tenth—Somalia—had already severed relations with Britain, but has affirmed its support for the O.A.U. resolution calling upon African states to break off relations.

The Roll of Honour of what Guinea's President, Sekou Toure, has called the "really independent states of Africa" reads:

- Algeria
- Congo (Brazzaville)
- Ghana
- Guinea
- Mali
- Mauretania
- Somalia
- Sudan
- Tanzania
- United Arab Republic

Not only among the well-meaning, but among some who claim a much greater political sophistication and some anti-imperialist sentiments and are likely to be read with less caution, does one find reflections of this attitude. Mr. Strachey's *End of Empire* will perhaps not impress those who know his record as Minister of War in the anti-liberation war in Malaya. But there has been among some intellectuals in Britain and in Ghana, a certain influence exercised by Mr. Barrat-Brown's *After Imperialism*. Because it contains some useful information and is not unmarked by an anti-imperialist standpoint (though hardly consistent—since he can refer to the activities of a powerful British firm in British Guiana as "the West Indian trading group under the progressive leadership of Sir Jock Campbell"), and because on the other hand it seems marked by the confusion implied in its title, we propose to illustrate some crucial points by reference to it.

The author proposes to advance "arguments which challenge accepted findings, as in the case of Lenin's *Imperialism*". He speaks of the "end of political empire", i.e. a chapter entitled "Capitalism without Empire" (p.291), and also the statement that "Britain had liberated almost the whole of her colonial empire by that date (1955)" p.294—which is not only surprisingly inaccurate but attributes to the British what should be attributed to the liberation movement. In the same vein we also read of the "dissolution of empire".

It is instructive to compare such phrases as "the end of political empire" with Kwame Nkrumah's conception of the present position of many former colonial countries which he defines as neo-colonialism.

"When a country is subjected to neo-colonialism", he writes at the very outset, "it is in theory independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality

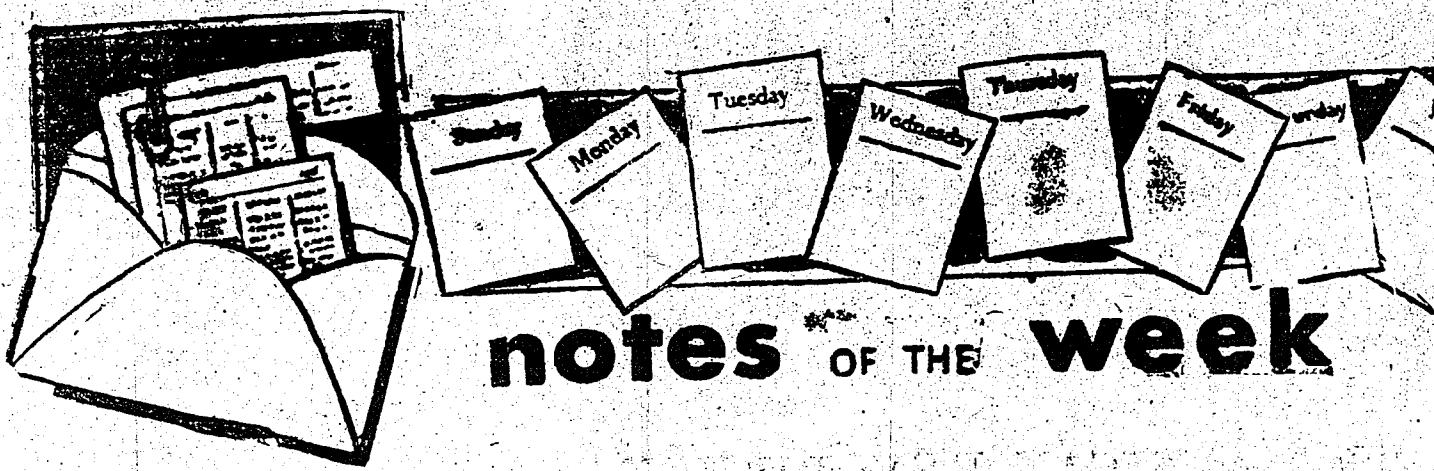
its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from the outside" (Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism, p.ix emphasis added R.B.).

This makes abundantly clear the source of mental confusion of Barrat-Brown. He identifies imperialism with colonialism. When therefore 'empire', in the particular form of colonialism, is almost liquidated, for him imperialism is also liquidated. One would have thought that someone who was going to challenge Lenin, apparently from a left, even quasi-marxist, viewpoint, would have shown more acquaintance with the methods of marxist thought. For in Barrat-Brown imperialism is seen as an ossified system, with only one form, that of colonialism, and apparently incapable of any development. Not only, as we shall show precisely by reference to Lenin, is this concept historically inaccurate in relation to the past (and marxists pride themselves above all on a historical approach to social processes), but it fails to base itself on what is coming into being, what is new.

Lenin had already in 1916 shown that: "finance capital and its corresponding foreign policy give rise to a number of transitional forms of national dependence. The division of the world into two principal groups—of colony-owning countries on the one hand and colonies on the other—is not the ordinary typical feature of this period: there is also a variety of forms of dependence: countries which, formally, are politically independent but which are in fact enmeshed in the net of financial and diplomatic dependence—the semi-colony. Another example is provided by Argentina... South America, and especially Argentina, is financially dependent on London that it ought to be described as almost a British commercial colony. (Lenin Selected Works, 1936 edn. Vol. p. 78) "The semi-colonial states provide an example of the transitional forms which are to be found in all spheres of nature and society.

"Finance capital is such a great, it may be said, such a decisive force in all economic and international relations that it is capable of subordinating to itself, and does subordinate to

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MR. Harold Wilson, British Prime Minister, spoke last Friday in the United Nations General Assembly. The majority of the African delegations walked out in protest. Their action was effective, and they certainly missed nothing in their absence.

The speech was a mixture of impudence and platitudes. Wilson's main appeal was for the United Nations and its members to leave everything to Britain in handling the Rhodesian crisis because "We have the right to ask for fullest support".

While whitewashing Britain, he attached impartially the Smith regime on the one hand, and the Zimbabwe National Liberation movement on the other.

For seven good reasons we say that Wilson has no right to expect support.

1. He has flouted the spirit and intention of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Resolution on Rhodesia.
2. He has ignored the Organisation of African Unity.
3. He has allowed the Smith regime time to build up supplies of oil and arms, under the cover of negotiation.
4. He makes no propositions for dealing with Portugal and South Africa who will assist Smith in every way.
5. He has never opposed the imprisonment of the Zimbabwe leaders.
6. He will not guarantee effective protection of the Kariba Dam.
7. He declares his opposition to independence for the Zimbabwe peoples now.

How can a Government with this record expect to command confidence?

We have already warned in The Spark that Wilson is carrying on a very clever diversionary game. He hopes that if he mouths platitudes long and loud enough we shall all get weary and give up the struggle.

He hopes by bustling about pretending to defend Zambia that we shall forget that he is obstructing the independence of Zimbabwe. Having retreated time after time in face of

Smith, he now sheds his crocodile tears over the problems he has handed over to Zambia, faced with attacks of all kinds from Smith's racist regime.

The speech was an insult to the Zimbabwe Liberation Movement. Wilson claims that they are not fit to govern themselves. One of the compelling reasons for this according to him, is that they are divided—they are united in their demand for independence now.

The people of Britain are just about evenly divided in their allegiances between Labour and Tory, but we don't advocate that they should lose their right to self-government.

How often have we heard from British Governments, Labour and Tory, that "a return to constitutional rule (i.e. in Rhodesia, ed.) would not and could not mean an immediate advance to majority rule"? Wilson cannot seriously expect Africans to support him when he gives out these old familiar, worn-out, imperialist excuses.

His attack was not confined to Z.A.P.U. and Z.A.N.U., even. He suggests that those African states which are pressing for decisive action against Smith, are blinded by emotion and passion. If Mr. Wilson is incapable of honest feelings we are not. We are not ashamed of feeling passionate about injustice and tyranny and racialism.

Our reason and our experiences as well as our emotions, tell us that Wilson's policy of prevarication, manoeuvring and compromise is not only despicable, it is terribly dangerous.

With every day that passes without decisive action to bring down the Smith regime, Wilson is assisting the racists to consolidate themselves. Every day will help them to launch a more powerful attack on Africa.

The voice in New York last week was the voice of a Labour Prime Minister, but the words were the words of British Imperialism. Wilson's performance shows that he is no friend of Africa. We are learning in the crucible of this experience who our friends are, and we shall not forget.

Season of Peace

THE Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation met in Paris last week. Perhaps they thought they should cheer us up over the Christmas season of peace and goodwill to all men by a demonstration of H-bomb rattling.

The United States delegate, Mr. MacNamara, who probably regards himself as an upholder of what are sometimes called Christian values, contributed the main carol by outlining a perspective of ten years of struggle against the People's Republic of China with the prospect of all-out war.

The other delegates then has a pre-Christmas ball, dancing to the United States tune and discussing ways and means supporting the American Government in Vietnam and in its plans against People's China.

Opinion everywhere in the world has been alarmed by this aggressive policy statement from the United States Government. A growing number of people are beginning to understand that it is the United States and their allies who stand in the way of a settlement.

This further statement of aims which includes the subjugation of South and North Vietnam and then the extension of the war against China is a measure of the danger to

world peace.

MacNamara's aim was to bring pressure on United States allies to participate more actively in the Vietnam war. Estimates of U.S. troops now fighting in South Vietnam, range from 180,000 to 240,000. The United States is pressing for an immediate increase to 400,000 and needs troops from more countries to achieve this.

United States casualties are mounting and bringing growing uneasiness to the American population. In the first 11 months of this year, 1,100 Americans were killed as compared with 455 over the previous four years period.

The National Liberation Front, formed five years ago, is actually probing the very outskirts of Saigon itself. Mutinies are reported in the South Vietnamese puppet army. The United States sees its only way of avoiding defeat, by an extension of the war.

As the thin edge of the wedge, Britain has been requested to send doctors, teachers and engineers to South Vietnam. With the present crisis in British education and in the Health Service, one would have thought they would be needed at home. The move is intended to pave the way for the despatch of British troops at a later stage.

The British Government

bears a heavy responsibility for the continuation of the war. It has refused to fulfil its responsibilities as Co-Chairman of the Geneva Conference of 1954.

It has openly supported the United States who refused to sign the Geneva Agreement, it has consistently repeated the United States lies that the North Vietnam Government was responsible for the war.

A collection of documents dealing with British policy and concern in Indo-China over the past twenty years has been published by the British Government. It omits three crucial documents which are known to exist. One document reveals an agreement between Britain and the United States, that the former would do everything to preserve South Vietnam as a

sphere of Western interests.

The other two are from the North Vietnam Government and the South Vietnam Liberation Front respectively, which outline a four point policy on which peace can be won and which pledged support for the 1954 Geneva Agreement.

On the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the founding of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front we salute their courageous fight for liberation and we pledge our fullest support for their heroic struggle.

We can never for a moment forget that they have been fighting for freedom for twenty long years, and we must never relax our efforts in the attempt to impose peace on the imperialists who are ravaging their land.

Have things changed since Lenin's time? Certainly they have. They have changed because imperialism has ceased to be the overwhelmingly "decisive force in all economic and international relations..." Lenin wrote imperialism in the middle of the first imperialist world war.

"The 1914-18 war" writes Kwame Nkrumah, "brought a redivision of the globe's colonial sectors. At the same time it created the opportunity for a socialist break in the chain of imperialism that enriched the world. A heavy blow was dealt to international monopoly capitalism with the triumph of the Russian October Revolution. From then on, it was faced not only with a struggle for hegemony within its own ranks but, which was worse, it was forced to engage in a defensive struggle against an opposing ideology..." (Neo-Colonialism p.38)...

"the recurrent crises that were tearing at the very heart of capitalism and sharpening the bitter contentions between rival imperialisms... erupted into a second global war in 1939.

From this holocaust, socialism emerged as a much more threatening challenge to imperialism than ever before. At the same time we, the people of imperialism's "far flung empires" had come to realise that we could have control over our own destiny and began to make our bid for independent nationhood. Thus imperialism came to be challenged on another front, the colonialist front...

Challenged thus by anti-colonialism and socialism, imperialism is now engaged in a "to-the-death" trial for survival against the

forces that are antagonistic to it and that are building up across the globe even while the internecine struggle within itself is becoming more and more brutal. In this multi-sided struggle, imperialism has been forced into the use of many artifices to maintain itself in being by continuing the colonialist process without the benefit of colonial control (Neo-Colonialism p.38-39 emphasis added RB). "In place of colonialism as the main instrument of imperialism we have today neo-colonialism." (op.cit. p.iii).

In short, the change since Lenin's time is the change from a stage of imperialism in which "it was possible to convert a country upon which a neo-colonial regime had been imposed—Egypt in the 19th century is an example—into a colonial territory" when direct political control over and occupation of colonies was the typical, (but as Lenin had shown by no means the only) form of imperialism, to a new stage in which direct political control and occupation is the dying, untypical form of imperialism, and the dominant typical form of imperialism is neo-colonialism—neo because it has new features which arise from the new world balance of forces described above by Kwame Nkrumah, colonialism because it continues economic, political, military and ideological domination, but over states which are "in theory, independent and have all the outward trappings of international sovereignty".

This new form of domination is not confined to countries which were formerly colonies—indeed the appetite of imperialism is insatiable, and attempts are continually made to subjugate new countries, including industrialised and developed countries, to the same kind of domination. Lenin had already pointed to this: (op.cit. p.83). "The characteristic feature of imperialism is precisely that it

strives to annex not only agricultural regions, but even highly industrialised regions (German appetite for Belgium; French appetite for Lorraine), because (1) the fact that the world is already partitioned obliges those contemplating a new partition to stretch out their hands to any kind of territory, and (2) because an essential feature of imperialism is the rivalry between a number of great powers in the striving for hegemony i.e. for the conquest of territory not so much directly for themselves as to weaken the adversary and undermine his hegemony".

Again, there is a difference from Lenin's time in that the countries which imperialism strives to annex now include the socialist world. Indeed they hope (through experience has shown that they cannot agree even about that) that they can dissolve their rivalries by a joint attack on socialism which would at a single blow give them new territories to annex, and rid them of the constant example of a system without economic and national oppression.

So far we have attempted to show the general features of what is new in the stage of neo-colonialism, and to do so by placing it in the historical context of world social development. But that is not enough. Reality is always particular, concrete. For the analysis of that particular concrete reality in every country is the basis for struggle against it, there is no substitute for detailed study of the book Neo-Colonialism itself, and its creative application to the problems of each country.

It is planned in later issues of The Spark to devote a series of articles to its detailed, concrete analysis, so that those who cannot obtain the book itself shall have the opportunity to study its contents. Here in a short article we can only summarise some of the most important forms of domination by which neo-

colonialism continues the task of imperialism. Basically it does this by a combination of two methods: all forms of pressure from outside, and infiltration from within. These pressures are exerted in the economic, political, military and ideological fields.

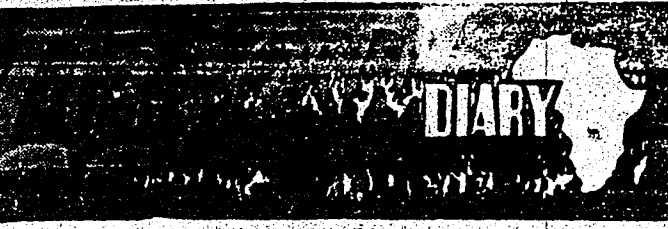
The aim of external economic pressures is to prevent the politically independent state from using its state power in such a way as to transform the colonial structure of its economy and thus become progressively more able to resist pressures. Since industrialisation on the basis of modern techniques requires large markets and large capital resources, the deliberate creation of small states (and of federal structures in the larger ones) at the stage of "granting" political independence, the process of balkanisation, is a key part of the strategy. Every effort is made to persuade (and the persuasion is reinforced by the granting of aid only on such conditions) the new government to use its scanty capital resources for agriculture and for infrastructure, and leave industrialisation to foreign capital. The industrialisation then rarely takes place, and never in a way such that a state can co-ordinate the simultaneous building of several large projects which, combined, could help to reduce a country's vulnerability to foreign pressure.

Where industries are built by foreign capital outside the traditional raw material sectors, they are usually in the consumer goods sectors and do not assist in what is crucial for long term development, the building of producer goods industries. Large international monopolies which operate simultaneously in a number of small countries are able to play off one against another by sifting different stages of a complex process in different countries. The very economic structure of colonial economies has tied them to a limited

range of exports for which the world market is by no means favourable. They are then confronted on that market by a small number of powerful monopolistic buyers of their products, and a small number (sometimes the same people, or linked with the same people through financial interests) of sellers of the manufactures they buy for industrialisation. Those countries which keep their currency as part of the currency systems of imperialism powers find that this hampers them in mobilising financial resources for their chosen purposes and may even leave the control of their rate of development in foreign hands.

Internal economic pressures are exerted by those expatriate companies who, at liberation, control key sectors of the nation's economy through their ownership of its means of production. Because of their strategic position they demand conditions for their continued operation which prevent the new government from mobilising the internal accumulation for industrial development. If measures are taken against them, their friends abroad turn off the tap of aid on the grounds that the climate is unfavourable to foreign investors. This threat becomes particularly severe where the aid is provided by the collective neo-colonialism of large private monopolies or of groups of states such as the European Common Market.

At the same time every attempt is made to draw in the indigenous capitalist class where it exists into co-operation with and attitudes favourable to foreign capital, and thus to divide the national movement. Where a bourgeois class does not exist, every effort is made during the "period of preparation for self government" (and indeed this is one of the reasons why imperialism wishes to make such a period a condition of the granting



DECEMBER 3:

GHANA: Mr. Washington Malinga, Information Secretary of Zimbabwe African National Union, declared at OAU talks in Addis Ababa that Ghana's military preparedness and mobilisation programme on Rhodesia has given inspiration to the people of Zimbabwe in their time of peril.

DECEMBER 4:

SOUTH AFRICA: A group of African and Asian countries at the United Nations formally proposed that the U.N. General Assembly recommend Security Council to invoke mandatory economic sanctions against apartheid South Africa, today adoption of the draft in the U.N. Political Committee is a forgone conclusion.

SOUTH-WEST AFRICA: Twenty-three African countries have tabled a draft resolution asking the United Nations Security Council to keep watch on the "artificial situation" in South-West Africa in view of the Rhodesian crisis.

CONGO (Leo): Chad has recognised the new Congo (Leopold-

vile) Government of President Leonard Mulamba, an agency Joseph Mobutu and Premier report quoted Radio Leopoldville as saying today.

MALI: President Leopold Senghor of Senegal today arrived in Mali on a six-day visit, which will reinforce co-operation between the two neighbour countries.

CAMEROON: Cameroun President Alimadou Ahidjo has been re-elected President of the ruling Union Camerounaise Party by acclamation at the Party's sixth congress held at Bafoussam today.

DECEMBER 5

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: Britains Commonwealth Secretary, Mr. Arthur Bottomley, returned home from hop-step and jump to Zimbabwe today to declare in London Airport: "Britain has no intention of being pushed around by people who want us to take irresponsible decision".

* The Sixth extraordinary session of the Organisation of African Unity's Ministerial Council meeting ended today in Addis Ababa with the adoption of resolutions empowering the

O.A.U.'s five-member committee on Southern Rhodesia to adopt all possible measures to quell racist Smith rebellion.

MALI: President Leopold Senghor of Senegal today continued an official visit to Mali with a trip to Sikasso.

UDAN: The Sudanese Constituent Assembly has passed a motion calling on all tribal chiefs in the South to take part in a conference to discuss preparations for elections due in March next year.

DECEMBER 6:

NIGERIA: Nigeria's Federal Information Minister, Chief Ayo Rosiji, will today begin a two-week good will tour of six West African Countries with a visit to Senegal.

CONGO (Leo): Five African and two European states have so far recognised the new Congo Government headed by General Joseph Mobutu according to reports published in the Congo capital, Leopoldville today.

ETHIOPIA: African News Agency experts today began a two-day meeting in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, at which they will try to prepare concrete proposals for setting up of a continent wide organisation to be known as the Pan-African News Agency.

TOGO: Nearly 100 people were killed and 114 injured when a lorry plunged into a crowd in the town of Sotoubona about 300 miles north of Lome, Togo.

True Nature of Imperialism

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itself, even states enjoying complete political independence." "Naturally, finance capital finds it most 'convenient' and is able, to extract the greatest profit from a subordination which involves the loss of political independence of the subjected countries and peoples." (Lenin, op.cit. p.74)

Have things changed since Lenin's time? Certainly they have. They have changed because imperialism has ceased to be the overwhelmingly "decisive force in all economic and international relations..." Lenin wrote imperialism in the middle of the first imperialist world war.

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strives to annex not only agricultural regions, but even highly industrialised regions (German appetite for Belgium; French appetite for Lorraine), because (1) the fact that the world is already partitioned obliges those contemplating a new partition to stretch out their hands to any kind of territory, and (2) because an essential feature of imperialism is the rivalry between a number of great powers in the striving for hegemony i.e. for the conquest of territory not so much directly for themselves as to weaken the adversary and undermine his hegemony".

Again, there is a difference from Lenin's time in that the countries which imperialism strives to annex now include the socialist world. Indeed they hope (through experience has shown that they cannot agree even about that) that they can dissolve their rivalries by a joint attack on socialism which would at a single blow give them new territories to annex, and rid them of the constant example of a system without economic and national oppression.

So far we have attempted to show the general features of what is new in the stage of neo-colonialism, and to do so by placing it in the historical context of world social development. But that is not enough. Reality is always particular, concrete. For the analysis of that particular concrete reality in every country is the basis for struggle against it, there is no substitute for detailed study of the book Neo-Colonialism itself, and its creative application to the problems of each country.

It is planned in later issues of The Spark to devote a series of articles to its detailed, concrete analysis, so that those who cannot obtain the book itself shall have the opportunity to study its contents. Here in a short article we can only summarise some of the most important forms of domination by which neo-

colonialism continues the task of imperialism. Basically it does this by a combination of two methods: all forms of pressure from outside, and infiltration from within. These pressures are exerted in the economic, political, military and ideological fields.

The aim of external economic pressures is to prevent the politically independent state from using its state power in such a way as to transform the colonial structure of its economy and thus become progressively more able to resist pressures. Since industrialisation on the basis of modern techniques requires large markets and large capital resources, the deliberate creation of small states (and of federal structures in the larger ones) at the stage of "granting" political independence, the process of balkanisation, is a key part of the strategy. Every effort is made to persuade (and the persuasion is reinforced by the granting of aid only on such conditions) the new government to use its scanty capital resources for agriculture and for infrastructure, and leave industrialisation to foreign capital. The industrialisation then rarely takes place, and never in a way such that a state can co-ordinate the simultaneous building of several large projects which, combined, could help to reduce a country's vulnerability to foreign pressure.

Where industries are built by foreign capital outside the traditional raw material sectors, they are usually in the consumer goods sectors and do not assist in what is crucial for long term development, the building of producer goods industries. Large international monopolies which operate simultaneously in a number of small countries are able to play off one against another by sifting different stages of a complex process in different countries. The very economic structure of colonial economies has tied them to a limited

range of exports for which the world market is by no means favourable. They are then confronted on that market by a small number of powerful monopolistic buyers of their products, and a small number (sometimes the same people, or linked with the same people through financial interests) of sellers of the manufactures they buy for industrialisation. Those countries which keep their currency as part of the currency systems of imperialism powers find that this hampers them in mobilising financial resources for their chosen purposes and may even leave the control of their rate of development in foreign hands.

Internal economic pressures are exerted by those expatriate companies who, at liberation, control key sectors of the nation's economy through their ownership of its means of production. Because of their strategic position they demand conditions for their continued operation which prevent the new government from mobilising the internal accumulation for industrial development. If measures are taken against them, their friends abroad turn off the tap of aid on the grounds that the climate is unfavourable to foreign investors. This threat becomes particularly severe where the aid is provided by the collective neo-colonialism of large private monopolies or of groups of states such as the European Common Market.

At the same time every attempt is made to draw in the indigenous capitalist class where it exists into co-operation with and attitudes favourable to foreign capital, and thus to divide the national movement. Where a bourgeois class does not exist, every effort is made during the "period of preparation for self government" (and indeed this is one of the reasons why imperialism wishes to make such a period a condition of the granting

Continued on page 4

African studies in the U.S.S.R.

I consider it a great honor to be invited to address scholars of the Institute of African Studies of the Ghana University. Being a representative of Soviet Science, I fully realize the responsibility of my mission to give this distinguished audience in this short report, as full a picture as possible, of the development of African studies in the U.S.S.R.

It is of great importance for us to know what our Ghanaian colleagues think of works by Soviet scholars in the fields of African history and economics, as well as in ethnography, sociology, culture and art. African studies in the Soviet Union are deeply rooted in the past. The nature of Africa, the African peoples' way of life, their culture, arts and crafts have long been of special interest to scholars in the Soviet Union.

We have never had any mercenary motives, for our country never had colonies in Africa and never aimed at seizing African lands. No Russian soldier has ever been to Africa.

Moreover, many Russian progressive intellectuals strongly protested against any form of exploitation and slavery. More than once they spoke in support of Africans and blamed the slave trade and the policy of turning the vast regions of Africa into what Karl Marx called "reserves" for hunting of Africans.

RESPECT FOR AFRICANS

Thus, the fundamental motives of modern Soviet African studies are mainly humane; Soviet scholars and scientists are interested in the destinies of the enslaved peoples of Africa. Inhuman theories justifying colonial robbery, racial discrimination, genocide and extermination of various peoples are denounced by progressive Russian scholars.

In Africa our scholars and travellers have always respected the peoples of Africa, for their customs, religious beliefs and culture. They have greatly sympathized with the Africans, who have suffered immensely from the colonialists.

Soviet Africanists share this feeling of respect for the African. Therefore they are guided by a strong desire to make friends with the peoples of Africa to make closer contacts with African scientists and scholars, to investigate deeply its material and spiritual values.

Marxism-Leninism is in our opinion the most progressive world outlook and underlies the Soviet approach to African Studies.

This revolutionary teaching has already helped many peoples of the world to create socialist societies. It helps to make clear the objective basis of processes which take place in human society.

Marxism-Leninism arms Soviet scholars with methods of investigation which enable us to penetrate deeply into the heart of phenomena, to find out their original nature, the causal connexion between these phenomena, the laws governing their origin and the tendencies of their development.

Marxism-Leninism shows the only possible way of revolutionary world transformation, of abolishing all exploitation of building up a harmonious society free from poverty, wars, national oppression and inequality.

Many years ago Lenin foretold that the historical epoch to come would bring new victories to Marxism. Convincing examples of this great prophecy are indeed those magnificent revolutionary transformations which are now going on throughout Africa and the rest of the world.

As I have said, our country took a great interest in Africa long ago. Information on African countries began to circulate in Russia as far back as the XVIIIth century. In the XVIIIth century

several interesting books on Algeria and Tunisia, written by M.G. Kokovtsev on the basis of his own experience, were published in Russia, and at the end of the XVIII century the study of African languages was started.

In 1790-91 the Russian Academy of Sciences published *The Comparative Dictionary of World Languages*. It included information on the following languages: Arabic, Coptic, Berberic, Fulbe and some other languages of Western Sudan.

In the XIXth century there appeared in Russia many works by Russian travellers and scientists on the ethnography and biology of Africa. During the same XIXth century the serious study of African languages and, above all, the ancient Ethiopian language Ge'ez started.

After the October Revolution African Studies in our country was given added impetus by the establishment in 1934 of the Oriental Department of Leningrad University, where four African languages were regularly studied. These were Swahili, Zulu, Hausa and Amharic.

The Africa section of the Ethnography Institute was the first centre in the U.S.S.R. Academy of Science organized to study African problems. Professors Potekhin and D. A. Olderooge were in charge of the training of students.

In 1956 the Africa Section at the Institute for Oriental Studies of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences (now the Peoples of Asia Institute) was organized.

There are various research centres and higher educational institutions dealing with Africa.

African languages such as Hausa, Swahili, Amharic, Bambara and Malinke are taught and studied under Professor Olderooge at the African Languages Section of the Oriental Department of Leningrad University.

The Oriental Languages Institute of Moscow University and the Institute for International Relations both teach the following African languages: Hausa, Swahili, Zulu, Amharic, Bambara, Somali, Yoruba and Fulfulde.

THE MAIN CENTRE

The syllabuses of these higher educational institutions like those of various Pedagogical Institutes, include apart from African languages the history of Africa from ancient times up to the present day, and the ethnography, economics, geography and literature of African countries.

As a rule, many university and institute lecturers combine teaching with research work. For example, many linguistic problems are being studied in the Oriental Languages Institute of the Moscow State University. These include *Morphine structure of the word in languages*, *Comparative description and morphological and lexicological aspects of Swahili dialects*, *The system of nominal clauses in the Fulfulde language*, *Essay on Hausa syntax*, *Essay on Ibo languages*, etc.

In addition problems of social and economic development of the countries of Magreb and of Africa south of the Sahara are being studied.

The main centre for the study of African problems is the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences. It unites a great number of various institutions. The following are engaged in African research: Institute of World Economy and International Relations, Ethnography Institute, Institute of State and Law, Philosophy Institute, Archaeology Institute, and the Institute of World Literature.

(The problems studied are vast and various. The number related to Africa is very large in the neighbourhood of 180. Here are some of the problems, divided according to the Institutes.)

1. The Institute of World Economy and International

From a Lecture delivered by Professor V.G. SOLODOVNIKOV, Director of the African Institute of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, at the Institute of African Studies, Legon, during the celebrations held to mark the sixth anniversary of the Ghana Academy of Science.

nal Relations is engaged mainly in economic research. The following works will be published in the near future: *Problems of Economic Development of Newly-Independent Countries*, *Disintegration of the Colonial System and the World Capitalist Economy*, *Struggle of African Peoples for Economic Independence and Problems of African Unity*, *Problems of Foreign Trade of Newly-Independent African Countries*, *Currency and Finance Problems of the Republic of Ghana*, etc.

II. *Geography Institute*. This studies the problems of physical and economic geography of the countries of Africa. Its members are preparing work on the natural conditions and natural resources of West, Central and East Africa, and studies of the economic and geographical characteristics of specific African states—Ghana, Ivory Coast, Mali, Senegal.

III. *Institute of Asian Peoples*. This Institute is mainly engaged in the study of the history, contemporary political situation, literature and culture of the countries of North Africa. Among many problems which are being studied there, one may name the following: *British Colonial Policy in Asia and Africa*, *French Colonial Policy in Asia and Africa*, *The Origin and Development of Arab Socialism in U.A.R.*, *History of Morocco 1917-1965*, *History of Tunisia 1917-1965*, etc.

IV. Another important centre of African Studies is the *Ethnography Institute*, where problems related to the ethnography of African peoples, social relations and African history in the pre-colonial period are being investigated. The Institute conducts investigations in the fields of African philosophy and linguistics. Here are some of the problems being studied, *Village Communities in the Relations in Western Sudan*, *Social Relations of the Lake States of the Congo Basin (Luba, Ngala, Congo) and East Africa (Swahili)*, and the preparation of Russian-African Languages Dictionaries.

V. *The Institute of State and Law* conducts investigations in problems of the emergence of national states in Africa, and researches in various branches of law in African states (civil law, land law, criminal law), and studies problems of law regulation relating to economic activity in African countries, etc.

VI. *The Institute of Philosophy* is preparing works on the theoretical ideas of socialism in the developing countries and critical works on contemporary racial theories in Africa. Research into African problems is just beginning at such institutes as the Linguistics Institute, the Archaeology Institute, and the Institute of World Literature.

Great interest in Africa exists among some research workers of the Academies of our national Republics—Turkemenian, Ukrainian, Kazak and also the teachers at some Universities (Kazak, Azerbai-

jan, etc.

Now I am going to speak about the structure and activity of the Africa Institute.

The African Institute of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences was established in October, 1959. It consists of the following departments:

1. History.
2. Culture.
3. Country-to-country studies.
4. Economic research and planning.
5. International Relations.
6. Social Problems.
7. Law.

We do not engage in research into African languages, though our post-graduate students should know one of the following African languages—Swahili, Hausa or Amharic.

What are the aims which Soviet African studies now set themselves? A very important problem is the re-establishment of the truth about the historic role of the African peoples, the exposing of the myths about the alleged lack of African culture and of African history before the arrival of colonizers.

It is very important to study that period of history when the peoples of Africa waged wars against the colonizers.

The colonizers managed to establish their rule in Africa, but the African peoples carried on an unceasing struggle which had the full support of the peoples of the Soviet Union and which finally led to the end of colonial rule.

MAKE CONTRIBUTION

The works on this period of African history are important. Soviet scholars think that it is their humble duty to make their contribution in this matter and together with African scholars, help to restore the truth about the heroic part played by the African peoples.

In Soviet studies of Africa much attention is paid to the culture and life of the African peoples, languages, religion and political and public institutions.

Apart from this, we study physical and economic geography, problems of economic development of the co-operative movement, etc.

The investigation of ways of overcoming economic backwardness, attaining economic independence and securing an effective and diversified development of productive forces in Africa is in the foreground of our economic studies of Africa.

Finally Soviet Africanists take a profound interest in current theories of political and social development in Africa; these theories have become of particular interest especially now, in a period when the anti-imperialist revolution is gaining momentum. We know that socialism is among the theories of social development currently circulating in Africa and this undoubtedly brings the aims of our scholars closer together in their studies of Africa and it also brings closer the peoples of Africa and the Soviet Union.

Painstaking and extending over many years, the studies by Soviet Africanists have already yielded some results. We have a right to say that Soviet scholars have made a contribution in the studies of African history, ethnography, languages and culture, economics and social relations of African countries.

Some of the work of our scholars has received worldwide recognition and acknowledgement. Some of these works may serve as an example of the profoundness of the scientific research carried

out by Soviet scholars.

Among them are such works as *Antiquities of Benin* (Moscow, 1953, 1957) which shows a new approach to the peoples of the Guinea Coast.

Another book that may be mentioned here is a monograph on *The Western Sudan in the XV-XIX Centuries* (1960). Such books as *The Hamitic Problem in African Studies* (1949), *The Origin of the People of the Central Sudan* (1952) display a new approach to the very intricate problems of the ethnogenesis and cultural history of Africa. All the above-mentioned works are by the eminent Soviet Africanist A. D. Olderooge.

Much has been done in the studies of Semitic, Hamitic and Bantu languages. Two dictionaries—*Swahili-Russian* and *Hausa-Russian*—have been already published while a third one—*Malinke-Russian*—is now in preparation.

Another work by Soviet Africanists—the handbook *The Peoples of Africa*—is also well-known. It was translated into German in 1961. The handbook covers such aspects as history, everyday life, culture, economics and social relations in Africa.

A prominent feature of Soviet studies of Africa are the works by the late Prof. Potekhin. His investigation of the pre-feudal history of the African people has resulted in a book on the military democracy of the Matabele. He also studied the feudal history of Africans.

Prof. Potekhin also had some other works published, one dealing with the formation of a nation under colonialism. It is entitled *The Formation of the National Entity of the South African Bantu*, (1954).

Very soon his posthumous *History of Ghana* will come out. The book is based on a considerable number of documents held in the archives of Ghana or belonging to Ghanaian scholars.

The writing of this book was a real act of courage by the author, who worked on it while suffering from a severe disease and brought it to an end two days before he died.

Prof. Potekhin came to Ghana several times and I believe he is well-known here. After his first visit here in 1957 he wrote a book *Ghana Today* (1957). In December, 1962 Prof. Potekhin attended the First International Congress of Africanists.

OLDER GENERATION

Speaking of the "older generation" of Soviet Africanists, I may mention the works of the late Prof. Lutsky on the history of North Africa, *The Mahdi Uprising in Sudan* by Prof. Smirnov, and *The Indigenous and New Religions in Tropical and Southern Africa*—by Prof. Sharvskaya.

A large body of Soviet Africanists comprising historians, economists, ethnographers, linguists, geographers and literary critics have prepared a reference work, *Africa*, in two volumes, published in 1963-1964.

The book has been widely acclaimed in many African countries and is likely to be translated. Another book by Soviet Africanists published recently is concerned with the contemporary history of Africa. The editors—Smirnov, Davidson and Neresov are Soviet Africanists and members of the African Institute.

There has been a good number of articles published in our magazines and collective works. Prior to the establishment of the African Insti-

tute, some writings on economics, social relations and the formation of national entity in East and Central Africa were produced and published in the U.S.S.R.

Some were concerned with the role of chiefs and tradition. Research work on land problems has resulted in the publication of *The Land Problems and Peasantry in Some Countries of Tropical Africa*.

The book gives an account of the immediate pre and post independence period: some features of land relations were brought into prominence, such as the characteristic features of private, feudal and state land tenure; the position of peasants and farm hands; co-operative movement, food problem, etc.

In the field of ethnography two works may be mentioned, *Peoples of Nigeria* by R. Ismailova, and *Peoples of Ethiopia* by M. Rait.

The latest research of Soviet Africanists has been marked by a keen interest in the problems of economic development and the analysis of social relations in present-day Africa.

Works in this field are: *Independent African States. Economic and Social Problems*; *The Village in Western Mali*; *Some Economic Problems of the Guinean Republic and Agriculture of Zambia*.

Two collections of articles dealing with African economics include some writings about West Africa and Ghana in particular. They are *The Development of Ghana's Agriculture* by P. Kuprianov, *The Exploitation of Ghanaian Farmers in the Colonial Period*, *Immigration of Labour Into Ghana*, etc.

TRANSACTIONS

Finally, criticism of imperialist policies in Africa and other developing areas, as well as criticisms of bourgeois economic concepts has a place in the writings of our economists. The following works may be mentioned: *The Imperialist Scramble for Africa and the Liberation Movement of the African People* (1953); *French Imperialism in West Africa* (1956); *West Africa under French Domination* (1961); *Imperialist Exploitation of the British Colonies in Africa* (1961); *Economic Expansionism of the German Federal Republic in Africa* (1962); *British Imperialism in East Africa* (1963); *New Forms of Colonialism 1963*; *The U.S. Policy in Africa* (1964); and others.

In 1964 there was published a large bibliography that comprises all books, booklets and collections of articles on Africa that have appeared in our country from the beginning of 18th century up to 1962. A bibliography of published articles and other publications is being compiled now, and will soon come out.

Both Soviet scholars and public men hold that translating African works into Russian and other languages spoken in the Soviet Union is a matter of primary concern.

Statements of major value pertaining to the struggle of the African peoples for independence and to the programmes for building up new societies have been translated.

A new two-volume edition of constitutions of the African States is at present being prepared.

Works dealing with the Suez crisis, and with the political situation prevailing in African states are of major significance in terms of exposing colonialists' policies.

Thus, for instance, *The Truth about Portuguese Colonies in Africa* contains declarations by leaders of the National Liberation Movement as well as documents on the struggle of the so-called "Portuguese Colonies" against imperialism.

Books by leaders of new states, and of the National Liberation Movements such as *Autobiography, I Speak of Freedom and Africa Must Unite* by the President of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah,

articles and speeches by the President of the Guinea Republic Sekou Toure, the President of the Mali Republic, Modibo Keita and others are being translated into Russian.

On a number of occasions Russian editions have been provided with prefaces by the authors.

Our periodicals print unabridged publications and speeches of African statesmen, politicians and public men on all sorts of international issues and on the domestic problems of their countries.

Works of the famous scholar and politician Dr. Du Bois are rated high in our country. His book *Africa: An Essay Towards A History of the Continent of Africa and its Inhabitants*, was translated into Russian in 1961.

FOLKLORE

The work of contemporary African scholars, however, is being translated on an insufficient scale as yet. We have got a number already translated, such as books by E. A. Boateng *Geography of Ghana* (Moscow 1961); R. Rabemandsara *Madagascar: History of the Malagasy Nation* (Moscow, 1956) etc.

African folklore is being translated on an ever increasing scale for reasons quite obvious. Fairy tales, fables, stories, songs and legends of African origin not only attract scholars specializing in respective fields but prove to be of interest also to the Soviet public at large.

African fiction and poetry have also been translated, the authors including Peter Abrahams, Mongo Beti, Ferdinand Oyono, Ekweni, Onuora, Nzekwu, Chinua Achebe, Semben Ousman as well as writers and poets of Ethiopia, Somalia, Angola, Mozambique, Algeria, U.A.R., etc. I would like to emphasize that apart from Russian, African fiction is put out in the Uzbek, Estonian, Moldavian, Armenian and other languages of the Soviet Union.

Let us hope that with African scholars growing in number, our opportunities of providing translations of African scholarly works will also expand.

Scientific contacts between the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences with research centres of African countries are also developing successfully.

The forms of these contacts are varied. Many research workers of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences are going to African countries for research meetings, work, delivering lectures and taking part in the meetings of African research organisations.

They also invite scholars from Africa to our research establishments in the U.S.S.R. and to participate in various conferences and symposia organized in our country.

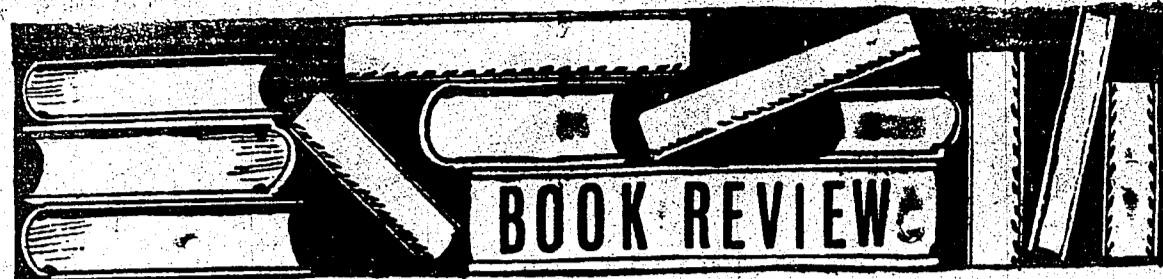
A regular exchange of scientific literature is taking place between research centres and libraries of the U.S.S.R. and Africa.

I would like to refer in this connection to only a few concrete examples. Many of our research workers have been in recent years to Mali, Guinea, Senegal, Dahomey, Algeria and to a number of other African countries.

Last year a prominent Soviet scientist, President of Uzbek Academy of Sciences, U. A. Arifov, delivered lectures at Legon University and at the Universities of Kumasi and Cape Coast.

At the invitation of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences Prof. Dike, Rector of the Ibadan University, leading professors of the East African Academy of Sciences, Doctors M. Haidar and Odhiambo, the Director of the African Culture Centre and Institute of Swahili in Tanzania, Doctor Rejun-jumele, G. K. Johnson, Director of the National Institute of Arts in Togo, Dr. A. Hulton, Secretary of *Encyclopaedia Africana* and other African scholars have visited our country.

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MARXIST PHILOSOPHY

The Life and Teachings of Karl Marx by John Lewis. Lawrence and Wishart, price 4.50 286 pp.

THERE is perhaps no philosopher, economist, political writer, about whom so much has been written as about Karl Marx.

Ours is indeed as the writer of this book claims the Marxian Era, for on the basis of scientific socialism which Marx constructed, along with his comrade Frederick Engels, we have seen the growth of a dynamic theory by which men all over the world have been guided in building socialism. It is a living science which others, such as our own Kwame Nkrumah, have enriched as they have applied its methods and basic laws to new circumstances and new times.

It is necessary to present again for new generations of readers coming to the science of revolutionary political theory, the major ideas of the founder of scientific socialism, so that the confusion deliberately created by reactionary writers, politicians and theoreticians can be cleared away. Another important reason for a work of this kind is to show the continuity of scientific revolutionary theory from Marx to modern times.

We should however begin this review by a word of warning. The reader might assume from the title that the intention of the work is to give us

mainly a biography of Karl Marx in which some of the main features of his theoretical work will be explained in very simple terms. This book is not a "Marxism-made-easy" kind of book. Indeed the arguments are very closely argued with wide ranging reference to philosophers, thinkers and political activists of Marx's day or just preceding him. The writer assumes some acquaintance already with Marxism and with other socialist writers, and he assumes a willingness to concentrate hard on some of the far from simple ideas which Marx propounded.

The book is perhaps a salutary lesson to some ardent socialists who think it is necessary only to pick up the most general ideas to become fully fledged scientific socialist theoreticians.

If nothing else, John Lewis emphasises that to obtain a grasp of this theory it is necessary to come back to it again and again, to read all the newest contributions to scientific socialism, and to work constantly to apply it correctly to our own situation. It is this that Kwame Nkrumah himself has done and which has resulted in the enrichment of the theory which Marx first founded and developed through its application to Africa.

The anti-Marxists, the reactionaries, who fear the influence and power of scientific socialism have a number of

methods of trying to combat its influence.

Some of them pretend that his discoveries no longer have relevance to the modern world. Others misrepresent them and then having constructed a false picture proceed to demolish them as absurd and irrelevant. Others take some aspects of Marxism and try to tame them.

The real Marxists are those who fight for socialism.

This revolutionary science, must be placed at the service of the people who see in it a means of transforming their societies, a means of improving their political practice. It is such men and women organised in revolutionary political parties who collectively apply and enrich scientific socialism and on the basis of whose practice skilled theoreticians base their new contributions. They are the true interpreters of scientific socialism, not the academic pundits who never submit their theories to the test of practice.

Another method, rather more childish, of discrediting Marxism, is to write about Marx the man, and present him as a sinister figure, constantly plotting and conspiring, harsh and unkind.

Those of us who know what a deep and burning love for humanity shines through his work can easily demolish this distorted representation. John Lewis assists us by giving us descriptions of Marx

by his friends and comrades.

Perhaps the most inspiring was written by his own daughter, herself a revolutionary.

"To those who are students of human nature it will not seem strange that this man, who was such a fighter, should at the same time be the kindest and gentlest of men. They will understand that he could hate so fiercely only because he could love so profoundly; that if his trenchant pen could as surely imprison a soul in Hell as Dante himself, it was because he was so true and tender, that if his sarcastic humour could bite like a corrosive acid, that same humour could be as balm to those in trouble or afflicted."

Although a member of a rich and influential professional family in Germany, Marx very rapidly grew to identify himself closely with working people because he saw in them the victims of exploitation, the creators of wealth by their labour and yet the poorest of the earth. In 1844 he wrote "Among these people the brotherhood of man is not a phrase, but truth, and from their faces hardened by affliction, the whole beauty of mankind looks upon us."

The working people and revolutionaries of his day repaid this love by devotion and honour. In 1848 immediately after the Revolution in France, Marx was honoured by

the following letter.

Brave and Faithful Marx, The soil of the French Republic is a place of refuge for all friends of freedom. Tyranny has banished you; France the free, opens to you her gates—to you and to all who fight for the Holy Cause, the fraternal cause of every people. In this sense every officer of the French Government understands his duty: Salut and Fraternite.

Ferdinand Flocon
Member of the Provisional Government.

There could be perhaps no greater proof of the affection which Marx was capable of inspiring in his comrades than that which Engels held for him. Engels worked in his family's business in Manchester though much against his own desires, to earn enough money for Marx to go on working at his scientific research and keep his growing family.

Referring to the completion of *Capital* Marx showed his appreciation of this affection and sacrifice by the following "So this volume is finished. This has been possible thanks to you alone. Without your self-sacrifice for me I could never possibly have done the enormous work for the three volumes. I embrace you, full of thanks."

There emerges then in this book a picture of a warm-hearted, passionate man who

hated tyranny and oppression and can't because he loved the oppressed, the ordinary man and woman so deeply. This constitutes an example to us all today.

The book outlines Marx's intellectual growth and development. It shows how the young Marx was influenced by Hegel, and by the French socialist writers, and how Engels turned his attention to economics.

This is a very valuable aspect of the book, because we see Marxism growing, unfolding before us, as Marx deepened his studies and made a synthesis of dialectics and historical materialism, how he applied his discoveries to a study of philosophy, history and economics and immediate political problems.

We see the importance of *The Communist Manifesto* as a work which brought the new philosophy into direct contact with the revolutionary movement of the time. Marx never immersed himself exclusively in research and writing but worked constantly to create and strengthen organised revolutionary movements and parties in many countries.

It is sometimes alleged that Marx was interested only in Europe. John Lewis shows quite conclusively by reference to the works themselves and the many articles which Marx wrote that he was concerned with revolutionary movements all over the world. Of course

he worked before the emergence of modern imperialism, but he still understood how important the colonial, countries were to be in the world revolutionary movements as can be seen from his discussion of India and China. He also understood the problems of the Afro-American in the United States both during and after the American Civil War.

A most interesting passage of the book, so relevant for countries like our own is John Lewis's comment in the Chapter on 'German Ideology'.

"When Marx says that the origin of social change is not in ideas as such, ideas derived from speculative thought, from metaphysical reflection, he does not mean that social change takes place automatically, apart from ideas, but that the ideas that are effective arise out of actual situations, as the result of thinking about the problems that arise, and striving to understand the dangers and possibilities involved. Marx is not saying that thought is impotent in changing history, but that fundamentally it is a seeking answers to questions set by the conditions of contemporary society. Once it reaches a correct understanding of the situation and what needs to be done, thought becomes the force which reshapes the economic basis."

In the introduction to *Consciousness* Kwame Nkrumah shows how he was drawn to scientific socialism because he wanted to use his knowledge, his thought, his skills for the liberation of his people. In scientific socialism he found an answer to his problems.

We recommend this book, though not without the warning that it will require determination and concentration. The rewards, however, will be rich.

AFRICAN STUDIES IN THE U.S.S.R.

Continued from page 3

A year ago, in November of 1964, a citizen of Bechuanaland, Kenneth Koma, defended his thesis *Lessons of the Congo, 1960-1963*, at the

African Institute of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences. He is the first African to have received a degree at our Institute. I may mention many other examples of our contacts with scientific centres in

Africa. Soviet Africanists agree that all that has been already done is not enough for broadening scientific contacts with African scholars. We hope to increase and expand these contacts in the future.

The Soviet people are showing great interest in Africa. They want to be acquainted with the historic background of African peoples, with their struggle against foreign invaders.

Great interest is aroused by the processes taking place in Africa now that the struggle against the colonial heritage and a search for a way of development, socio-economic transformations, etc., is under way.

PIONEER WORK

The Soviet people are interested in the life and working conditions of the Africans, their customs and traditions, culture, art, literature, etc. To satisfy this great interest is one of the noble tasks of the Soviet Africanists actively participating in spreading scientific knowledge about Africa.

In 1963 a two-volume encyclopaedia entitled *Africa* was published in our country. It was the first encyclopaedia on Africa published in the world. I consider this work as contribution by Soviet scholars to the cause of popularizing knowledge about Africa in our country.

POPULARIZATION

Many scientific and popular brochures dealing with general problems of the African continent and also with particular countries are published in our country annually.

Millions of Soviet people acquaint themselves with articles published by our scientists in the national newspapers, in the specialist and popular magazines as well as

in the local press of all the Soviet Republics.

Our scholars are regularly delivering lectures devoted to various aspects of life in Africa. Several thousand such lectures in different parts of our vast country have been delivered in the past five years by research workers of the African Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

GREAT WORK

There is no place in our country where people are not interested in Africa and where lectures on Africa are not given.

Great work on popularizing knowledge about Africa is being done by Soviet scientists who are active members of the Soviet Association of Friendship with peoples of Africa. The Association arranges exhibitions, evening parties and celebrations.

The Union of Soviet Writers and the Union of Soviet Composers organize evenings of African literature and music. The participants are our specialists in literature and music. The evenings of African culture are also organized by the African Institute of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences.

A scientific conference, on the history of scientific and cultural ties between the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and Africa held in Moscow in May, 1965 was of no less significance for popularizing knowledge about Africa. The papers aroused great interest among the Soviet public.

All these examples which I have mentioned by no means cover all forms of participation of the Soviet scientists in spreading knowledge about Africa. But they do, I hope, vividly testify to the endeavours of our scientists to take a feasible part in this noble cause.

The Soviet scholars and Africanists and their African

colleagues have one common aim: to contribute by their research to the growth of the national consciousness of African peoples and to promote deeper understanding by them of that rich heritage which African history and culture represent. This in turn will facilitate the rise of the national liberation struggle of the African peoples to a new step.

SOLIDARITY

The main aim is to secure as soon as possible the complete liberation of the African continent from all forms of racial, political, economic and social enslavement and from all consequences and remnants of such enslavement.

The Soviet Africanists see their tasks as seeking by joint efforts with scholars of African countries, the achievement of this aim.

At all international forums, conferences and meetings in which the Soviet scientists take part they unreservedly speak in support of that just and courageous struggle in which the African peoples are engaged. We are confident that it will lead to the liberation of Africa from all forms of exploitation of man by man.

We, the Soviet scholars, and Africanists, are inspired by the fact that our work and our researches serve the noble cause of acquainting the Soviet people with the past and present of Africa. It will undoubtedly contribute to strengthening friendship between our peoples.

Good relations have been lately established between our respective Academies. Soviet scholars gave a cordial welcome to your President Dr. Kwame Nkrumah at the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences during his official visit to the Soviet Union in summer of 1961.

THE ACADEMIES

We have had the pleasure of twice welcoming delegations of the Ghanaian Academy of Science headed by Vice-President, Dr. Abraham and Dr. Yanney-Ewusi, General Secretary.

The reciprocal visits as well as scientific contacts are a

sign of warmth and friendliness displayed by scientists of our countries. And now on the day of the anniversary of the Academy of Sciences, I wish to express my firm belief that

scientific bonds should ever increase in scope and grow ever more solid to the advantage of scientific venture both in Ghana and the Soviet Union.

'Akwapim Six' Art Exhibition

by David Buahin

THE Thirteenth Annual Akwapim Six Art and Craft Exhibition at the Central Library was opened on December 3rd, by Dr. N. G. Bakhoon, Principal of the University College of Cape Coast. The Exhibition is sponsored by the Ministry of Art and Culture.

The purpose of the exhibition is to publicise the talents and experience of some groups of painters, sculptors, wood engravers, weavers and potters to schools and teachers' training colleges. They give training to younger generations in all forms of art.

The members who are not directly teaching art in schools and colleges have close contact with the general public, educating and proclaiming the great reawakening in the arts of Ghana.

The account of the birth and growth of the Akwapim Six is a story of the earliest organised post-war modern art society in Ghana. The society was formed in 1954 by a handful of trained artists resident in Akwapim.

The founder of the society is Dr. Oku Ampofo who is its President. Dr. Oku Ampofo who so ably combines medical work with his artistic work, is showing his work abroad.

The society had made it clear that the name Akwapim Six fortunately carries no tribalistic implications. Rather it suggests that the foundation members numbered six and lived or worked in the lovely district of Akwapim with its hills and valleys and extensive views, full of beauty. In fact the membership has now increased to fourteen, one of whom is a woman.

The works of the members of the Akwapim Six shown at the Central Library are remarkable because of the differences in techniques contributed to the individual and collective progress of the society.

Members' efforts are always directed towards complete independence in developing their own personalities in their artistic expression.

The exhibits include the work of the following Mr. E. Addo-Osafo, Mr. M. B. Adi-Dakom, Mr. D. Agyei Henaku, Dr. Oku Ampofo, Mr. B. A. Asare, Mr. Kobina Asmah, Mr. A. O. Bartimeus, Mr. Daniel Cobblah, Mrs. Edner Fianko, Mr. L. O. Oboobisa, Mr. J. C. Okyere and Mr. Owusu Dartey.

A traditional sculpture (death mask) in bronze by Mr. J. C. Okyere shows a mother and a child and one depicting a proverb. "If a porcupine goes to Ashanti he need not carry food" are some of the sculptures richly embodying the Ghanaian artistic tradition.

Other exhibits include "The Great Sign" (Flagstaff House Incident) "Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute", and "Osagyefo the President" by E. Addo-Osafo (painting); "African Home Scene", "Exposition on Man (Palm Wine)", by Mr. A. O. Bartimeus (Secretary of the Society) some wood carvings "Youth in Ebony", "Head in Black Ebony" by Dr. Oku Ampofo and "Twin sisters" by Mrs. Edner Fianko.

The exhibition reflects the spirit and outlook of modern Ghana. It will be of interest to those concerned about the development of our art.

Nature of Imperialism

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of independence) to create an embryo one. Nationals of the country, hitherto kept out of high positions in the civil service find themselves recruited at high salaries, which already begin to differentiate them, in mode of living and outlook from the mass of their fellow citizens and, less frequently, provide the initial sums which can put them on the road to existence as capitalists.

The numbers need not be large. For everyone so recruited there are ten who have similar aspirations. Hence the progressive demand for Africanisation and for parity of status with the remaining expatriate servants of the colonial regime can be distorted into an ideological weapon for the import of capitalist mentality and thus of divisions in the national front.

The political methods are perhaps better known. The very failure to train experts under colonialism leaves the newly independent country vulnerable to offers of free or cheap technical, administrative and military assistance.

Thus key positions in the new administration in all spheres will be in the hands of foreign personnel who, even if not specially selected for their outlook by the donors, will normally have been the servants of foreign monopolies or of imperialist governments. Consciously or unconsciously, they will imbue their subordinates and colleagues with their own ideology. It is thus possible to leave behind a class of 'responsible people' with a vested interest in the retention of their own privileges, and with an outlook, and often an education, which is not unsympathetic to the outlook of those who have left.

It is all these factors, not singly, but in their combination and interconnection, that give neo-colonialism its force. External pressures and internal penetration are not so obvious as gunboats and armies. Nor is economic construction as dramatic as the attainment of political independence. That is why the defeat of neo-colonialism demands deeper theoretical understanding and greater discipline in action.