8 November 1965

MEMORANDUM FOR: Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

SUBJECT: Book Review: Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism by Kwame Nkrumah

1. This memorandum is for information only to call your attention to the just-published book *Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage Of Imperialism* by Kwame Nkrumah. The book is published in London by Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, 1965, and it is this edition which is also being utilized in Accra.

2. Nkrumah's thesis is stated in his introduction as follows:

"The essence of neo-colonialism is that the State which is subject to 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 outside." (p. ix)

To support this view that neo-colonialist control is to a considerable extent exercised through economic or monetary means, Nkrumah devotes the major part of his book to a description of his views on neo-colonialist economic control of the African continent and includes chapters on such subjects as Imperialist Finance, Monopoly Capitalism, Mining Interests, Diamond Groups, and Economic Pressures.

3. Chapter 18, "The Mechanisms of Neo-Colonialism," (pp. 239-254) is the one which has most caught the eye of the press and is of greatest interest to CIA. Here Nkrumah explains how the imperialist powers achieve their modern objectives which they formerly achieved by naked colonialism. The U.S. is the worst offender in Nkrumah's opinion, utilizing

"... the extended tentacles of the Wall Street octopus. And its suction cups and muscular strength are provided by a phenomenon dubbed 'The Invisible Government', arising from Wall Street's connection with the Pentagon and various intelligence services." (p. 240)
Nkrumah then regales the reader with a quotation from Wise and Ross' *The Invisible Government* and cites them to the effect that the intelligence network employs about 200,000 people and spends billions of dollars a year.

4. Nkrumah notes the imperialist use of labor through various international labor organizations, including the Africa-American Labour Centre "under AFL-CIO chief George Meany and the well-known CIA man in labour's top echelons, Irving Brown." (p. 244)

5. Nkrumah finds Hollywood's movies to be "loaded," but effective. He notes that:

"... along with murder and the Wild West goes an incessant barrage of anti-socialist propaganda, in which the trade union man, the revolutionary, or the man of dark skin is generally cast as the villain, while the policeman, the gum-shoe, the Federal agent--in a word, the CIA-type spy--is ever the hero. Here, truly, is the ideological underbelly of those political murders which so often use local people as their instruments." (p. 246)

6. Nkrumah envisages a huge American ideological plan, commencing in 1961, which utilizes all facilities "from press and radio to Peace Corps." He cites various international conferences to accomplish these aims in which the participants allegedly included CIA, USIA, the Pentagon, the International Development Agency (AID), the Peace Corps and others. "Programmes were drawn up which included the systematic use of U.S. citizens abroad in virtual intelligence activities and propaganda work." (p. 247)

7. Stressing the U.S. efforts to lead the propaganda offensive of all Western countries, Nkrumah notes that:

"Among instruments of such Western psychological warfare are numbered the intelligence agencies of Western countries headed by those of the United States 'Invisible Government.' But most significant among them all are Moral Re-Armament (MRA), the Peace Corps and the United States Information Agency (USIA)." (p. 248)
Nkrumah notes further that several newspapers, including some in the West, have claimed that MRA is actually subsidized by CIA. However, feeling that MRA's influence was on the wane, President Kennedy established the Peace Corps under Sargent Shriver,

"a millionaire who made his pile in land speculation in Chicago, was also known as the friend, confidant and co-worker of the former head of the Central Intelligence Agency, Allen Dulles. These two had worked together in both the Office of Strategic Services, U.S. war-time intelligence agency, and in the CIA." (p. 249)

Nkrumah states that Shriver made a mockery of Kennedy's instruction to keep the CIA out of the Peace Corps, noting, in support, that all of the latter's members are carefully screened by the FBI!

8. Nkrumah then turns his fire on USIA, noting its close coordination with CIA as well as "even armed forces intelligence centres." (p. 250) USIA, Nkrumah concludes, is "a top intelligence arm of the U.S. imperialists." (p. 250) Among USIA's alleged activities are the organization of networks of monitors for radio broadcasts and telephone conversations, recruiting informers from government offices, and collecting secret information. It allegedly supplies arms to anti-neutralist forces such as those of Tshombe and General Pak in Korea! (p. 251)

9. Nkrumah notes that:

"It is by no means unusual for U.S. Intelligence to set up its own business firms which are merely thinly disguised espionage centres." (p. 251)

Citing an article in the Soviet magazine International Affairs, he avers that CIA established Western Enterprises Inc., in Taiwan to send spies and saboteurs to South China and the New Asia Trading Company in India to camouflage agents in South-east Asia. However, Nkrumah assures the reader that neo-colonialism can and will be defeated.

10. Copies of this book have been sent to the DDI, as well as CA
Staff, CI Staff and the African Division/DDP for study and whatever action these components consider advisable.

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