The third All-African People’s Conference at Cairo in March 1961 (after the Congo experiences) defined the real meaning of neo-colonialism and urged the need for united action to combat this menace. Since then there has not been a single conference of the African national movements. All discussions have been confined to conferences of ‘Heads of State’. *This has been the most costly blunder since 1961 of the African liberation movements.*

Even in face of the Cairo resolution against neo-colonialism the illusion still persists that constitutional independence *in itself* is sufficient. There has grown the practice of African governments ruling above the heads of the masses, and of using one-party systems to uphold and justify government decisions instead of drawing in the African mass movements to assist in moulding and carrying out agreed decisions.

The serious setback in Ghana is a lesson to all independent African states and African mass movements. Unless this lesson is taken to heart there is serious danger that the strategy of neo-colonialism will win more successes. But if early and energetic action is taken to ensure that African mass movements unite together, and are brought into closer co-operation with the decisions of independent African governments, the better the prospect of defeating neo-colonialism and quickening the pace towards all-African freedom.

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**Document of the Month**

**DECLARATION OF THE COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE REVOLUTION IN GHANA**

*People of Ghana! Soldiers of the African Revolution! Activists of the Convention People’s Party!*  

*This is the* Committee for the Defence of the Revolution calling.  

The Ankrah-Kotoka-Harley coup is the beginning of counter-revolution in our motherland. We shall destroy this counter-revolution. Our revolution will certainly resume its forward march.  

The Ankrah-Kotoka-Harley coup was directed by British and American secret services and helped by West German intelligence. The coup is meant to serve the interests of Anglo-American imperialism. Inside Ghana the coup used the following forces—Ga and Ewe tribalism; personal vendetta; foreign religious missions; foreign business firms; and traitors in the government and leadership of the CPP.

The policies of the National Liberation Council help imperialism. Some of these are—free hand for foreign investors; mortgage of Ghana’s economy to the World Bank run by British and American interests; close down of corporations...
and handing over others to private interests; cut in government expenditure; gradual elimination of foreign exchange control and import licences; ejection of socialist technicians and invitation of more technicians from the Western capitalist countries.

The result of all this will be increased unemployment; increased dependence of Ghana's economy on Britain and America; a falling standard of living for the majority of the people, side by side with a more than comfortable living for a small class of businessmen, top civil servants, top army and police officers and privileged intellectuals.

In Africa, NLC's Ghana is serving the interests of colonialism and neo-colonialism. It has re-established diplomatic relations with Britain, thus letting down our fellow Africans in Rhodesia. It has ejected all freedom fighters formerly staying in Accra whether they came from colonial or independent Africa. It has refused assistance to all liberation movements. As a result, Ghana is already losing the pride of place in Africa won for her by the dynamic anti-imperialist policy of Nkrumah.

To cover its betrayal of Ghana, the Ankrah-Kotoka-Harley NLC (men who served British imperialism when Nkrumah led the CPP into the fight against British rule) is frantically engaged in playing tricks upon tricks in the hope that one of these will confuse the people of Ghana. Some of these tricks are—abuse and vilification of Nkrumah; promises of cuts in the prices of consumer goods (even though everybody knows that these prices are rising rather); promise of salary revision for civil servants only (even though one-tenth of these, i.e. some 10,000 persons, will lose their jobs as a result of the planned cuts in government expenditure); enquiries into the properties of a few people but excluding theirs and those of their friends and collaborators. These tricks are bound to fail, because soon everybody will see that the NLC men are there to serve the interests of their capitalist and foreign business friends. Already tax on rents has been abolished, tax on cars has been reduced; proposed increase in tax on incomes above £1,600 a year has been revoked; transmission of money overseas has become easier to permit these top men to take out their ill-gotten money.

THE REVOLUTION, our revolution, will fight back. All the advances made in Ghana have been brought by the CPP of Nkrumah—Independence, free education, good health services, good roads, many factories, better conditions for all, including the army and police.

But in fighting back we have to be vigilant. We must get rid of the so-called 'activists' who plotted with the Ankrah-Kotoka-Harley clique. Can you understand why the former Minister of Forestry, Mr. B. A. Bentum, is now Secretary-General of the Ghana TUC? Can you understand why Tettegah, Ayeh-Kumi and more to come spoke the way they did? Can you understand why Commissioner of Police Harley says that the party leaders and ministers, etc., now in custody, will be sorted out and some released? Can you understand why businessmen are so happy with the NLC? Can you understand why Britain, USA, and West Germany are so happy with the NLC?

These things are happening because the capitalists and their imperialist masters think they have won. They supported imperialism when we fought for independence. But now they want to control the destiny of this country they could not fight for, through treachery and violence.

But they certainly have not won, although we must admit that the coup is a setback for our socialist
revolution. And we have suffered all over the country and keep the flag flying.

Tell your comrades to be steadfast.
Prepare yourself for battle.
Give no assistance of any kind, more especially information, to the army or police.
Don't trust the old capitalist-minded activists in the party.

KWAME WILL WIN! AFRICA WILL WIN! FORWARD EVER—BACKWARD NEVER!

This document is issued by the Committee for the Defence of the Revolution.

SOVIET COMMUNISTS IN CONGRESS

Andrew Rothstein

OVER a month before the 23rd Congress of the CPSU opened, the Central Committee’s draft of ‘Directives on the Five-Year Economic Development Plan for 1966-70’ were circulated for public discussion. They certainly provoked it. One delegate at the Congress—Kurbanov, Prime Minister of Uzbekistan—mentioned that in his Republic ‘over 1½ million workers, collective farmers, scientists and cultural workers took part in meetings to discuss the Directives. About 100,000 people made proposals and remarks on the draft’. There is no reason to doubt that the same took place in the other fourteen Constituent Republics of the USSR.

Delegates therefore came with a full view of the present economic, political and intellectual achievements of their country, the plans for taking it further—and some very pronounced ideas on what is lacking still. Even the children who, in their Pioneer uniforms, greeted the delegates on April 1 struck that note:

Houses grow quicker than children, and the asphalt around them is smooth. But there aren’t any playgrounds nearby: and nowhere for us to play football. Still we do play—so don’t be angry if we score a goal in your windows!

However, it was not the frequent critical notes that dominated the discussion on the political report made by Brezhnev (29 March) for the Central Committee. What stands out, as one reads it, is the supreme confidence expressed by delegate after delegate—confidence