

<whoh might have rivalled his and his party's prestige; he had therefore given instructions to limit the granting of credit and the issue of import licences to African businessmen, so that they would be forced to buy tjrrouah large firms or Government alienoica.

As a result of Mr. Ayeh-Kumi's disclosures, the N.L.C. appointed a commission of inquiry to investigate (a) the circumstances surrounding the establishment of Nadeco Ltd. (the National Development Company) and its relationship with the C.P.P., and (6) alleged malpractices in the granting of import licences during the past three years.

A decree signed by General Ankrah on March 10 prohibited Dr. Nkrumah and his former aides from withdrawing money and other assets from Ghanaian banks without the consent of the N.L.C., the penalty being a fine of £1,250 or two years' imprisonment or both. The persons named in the decree included all former Cabinet Ministers, Mr. Ayeh-Kumi, Mr. W. M. O. Halm (the former Governor of the Bank of Ghana), and Mr. A. R. Boakye (the former chairman of the State-owned Black Star Line). The decree was later extended to cover also the assets of party officials, district commissioners, former M.P.s, the C.P.P., the Young Pioneers, and other organizations.

Dr. Nkrumah's Promise to return to Ghana as Head of State. - Appointment as Head of State of Guinea.

As stated above, Dr. Nkrumah was on a visit to China when the coup took place. Accompanied by a suite of 60 persons, including Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey (the Ghanaian Foreign Minister) and Mr. Kwesi Armah (the Minister of Trade), he had left Accra on Feb. 21 to travel via Cairo to Peking, with the intention of later visiting Hanoi at the invitation of President Ho Chi Minh of North Vietnam. Reaching Peking from Rangoon late on Feb. 24, he was officially welcomed by President Liu Shao-chi and was later informed of the coup, the news of which was, however, not at first published in China. In a statement read by Mr. Quaison-Sackey the next day (Feb. 25), Dr. Nkrumah declared that he was still the head of State of Ghana and that he would return there soon, in the knowledge that the people of Ghana were loyal to him.

The same day President Sekou Toure of Guinea, after a special meeting of the Democratic Party of Guinea condemning the coup in Ghana, offered the ex-President political asylum in Guinea. The North Vietnam News Agency stated on Feb. 26 that his visit to Hanoi had been postponed.

A statement issued by Dr. Nkrumah in Peking on Feb. 28 read as follows: "I am sure you have all heard that some men of my Armed Forces in Ghana have attempted to usurp political power in Ghana while I was on my way from Ghana on a mission to Hanoi. What they have done is in fact an act of rebellion against the Government of the Republic of Ghana. This rebellion does not deserve the support of any government. I am determined to stamp out the rebellion without delay and in this I count on the support of the Ghanaian people and friends of Ghana all over the world.

" By the arrest, detention, and murder of Ministers, party officials, and trade unionists, and by indiscriminate killing of defenceless men and women, the perpetrators of these wanton acts of brigandage, violence, and lawlessness have added brutality to treason. Never in the history of our new Ghana have citizens, men and women, been murdered in cold blood and their children orphaned for political reasons. Never have our Ghanaian people been riddled with bullets because of their political convictions.

" This is a tragedy of monstrous proportions. The inordinate personal ambitions and wanton acts of these military adventurers, if not checked now, would not only destroy the political, economic, and social gains which Ghana has made in recent years but also turn the tide of the African revolution.

" All that the people of Ghana have achieved in the way of economic and social progress, with the assistance of friends all over the world, is now in jeopardy because of the perfidious act of a few military adventurers. As I go back to Ghana I know that friendly nations and men of good will will support any action I take to restore the Constitution of the Republic of Ghana. —"

After cabling the O. A. U. Foreign Ministers' meeting in Addis Ababa that he would be represented there by Mr. Quaison-Sackey, Dr. Nkrumah left Peking for Moscow in a Soviet aircraft on Feb. 28 and from the Soviet capital flew to Conakry (the capital of Guinea) where he was welcomed by President Toure on March 2.

At a large open-air meeting Dr. Nkrumah declared: " I have come here purposely to use Guinea as a platform to tell the world that very soon I shall be in Accra, in Ghana. I am not going to say anything against anyone, because I understand perfectly well the factors at work in the world today. What has happened in Algeria has happened in Ghana. We are not surprised—we understand the problems. . . . All we have to do is to stand firm and see how we can counteract these factors."

President Toure' announced at the same meeting that Dr. Nkrumah had been appointed head of State of Guinea and

secretary-general of the Guinean People's Party, the country's sole political party [see 21260 A].

It was explained in Addis Ababa on March 3 by M. Abdoulaye Diallo (the roving ambassador of Guinea) that Dr. Nkrumah had been a Guinean citizen since the union of Guinea and Ghana in 1958 [see 16630 A], just as President Toure had been a Ghanaian citizen. [The proposed union of the two States had, however, never been implemented.] M. Abdoulaye said on the following day that President Toure would remain Guinea's chief executive.

The immediate result of this development was the decision by the N.L.C. in Accra to close the Ghanaian Embassy in Conakry, to recall Ghana's diplomatic mission, and to send a sharp protest to the Guinean Government. The Note alleged that the Ghanaian Embassy staff had been under house arrest since March 1, accused Guinea of harbouring " one of the most notorious tyrants and criminals in Africa, Kwame Nkrumah," and reminded Guinea that it still owed Ghana £5,000,000 lent by Dr. Nkrumah in 1958.

Speaking over the Guinean radio on March 6, Dr. Nkrumah again said that he would soon be back in Ghana as leader of the Ghanaian people and would put to death all the military leaders now in power, as well as all those who had helped to bring about the coup. He added: " I know that when the time comes you will crush the new regime. I know the Ghanaian people will remain faithful to me as well as to my party and my Government."

On March 7 President Toure and Dr. Nkrumah flew to Bamako for talks with President Modibo Keita of Mali.

The Foreign Minister of Mali, M. Ousmane Ba, said in Paris the same day that " President Nkrumah's revolutionary work cannot be replaced, and we do not accept that some musical comedy general, helped by policemen, should question the Ghanaian people's 20 years of struggle." Although he expressed his country's " total and resolute support " for Dr. Nkrumah, he did not consider it necessary for other countries " to be summoned to liberate Ghana," as " the Ghanaian people are sufficiently strong and aware of their responsibility to solve the problem."

President Toure stated on March 10 that " 20,000 Guinean ex-servicemen who had been in the French Army, as well as 50,000 soldiers recruited from women members and youths of the Guinean Democratic Party " would be going to Ghana " in military convoys to help the Ghanaian people free itself from the dictatorship of the military traitors." [Guinea is separated from Ghana by 300 miles of Ivory Coast territory.]

Measures to protect the Ivory Coast frontier with Guinea were taken immediately by President Houphouet-Boigny, who announced on March 17 that troops of the Ivory Coast had been moved to the frontier with Guinea with orders to repulse any attempts by Guinean troops and volunteers to march through to Ghana; on the previous day he had described any such attempt as " a fatal adventure " and had reminded Guinea that the Ivory Coast had a defence agreement with France, which would immediately come to her assistance if she was attacked. A statement by Radio Conakry on March 17 that " so-called French teachers, professors, and engineers " who had been " flooding " the Ivory Coast were " in reality soldiers in civilian clothes," and that " thousands of French troops " were " pouring in " as " new forces of French colonial conquest," were dismissed in Paris as merely a reaction to President Houphouet-Boigny's attitude towards the Guinean plans.

In Accra Mr. Harley (the vice-chairman of the N.X.C.) said on March 10 that he had " initiated certain actions aimed at recapturing the former President and bringing him back to Ghana to stand trial."

Dr. Nkrumah, in a broadcast on March 13, urged the people of Ghana to " prepare to revolt " against the N.L.C., but the Ghana Trades Union Congress the next day warned President Toure that the workers and all the people of Ghana did " not want Kwame Nkrumah or anything of him " and would " stand solidly by our new progressive Government." The T.U.C. at the same time threatened to disaffiliate itself from the All-African Trade Unions Federation unless the latter ended its recognition of Dr. Nkrumah. [The other trade unions affiliated to the Federation are in Algeria, the Congo (Brazzaville), Guinea, Mali, Morocco, Tanzania, and the U.A.R., the Ghanaian trade unions accounting for about one-third of the Federation's total membership].

Mr. Quaison-Sackey's Return to Ghana.

Mr. Quaison-Sackey left Peking on Feb. 27 for Hong Kong where he stated that Dr. Nkrumah had been unwilling to believe the news of the coup until it had been confirmed by Mr. Chou En-lai, the Chinese Prime Minister. He added that he did not know what Dr. Nkrumah was going to do, as " he has his own mind and does not tell us about his plans." On Feb. 28 Mr. Quaison-Sackey flew to Frankfurt, whence he did not, as expected, proceed to Addis Ababa, but instead flew to