

## **Internal Developments. - Strike against Government's Austerity Programme. - Government Changes. - Detention of Opposition Leaders. - Mr. Sandys' Visits to Accra. - Nkrumah-Sandys Statement on Anglo-Ghanaian Relations. - Decision on Queen's Visit to Ghana.**

Strikes involving thousands of railway, dock, and other workers broke out on Sept. 4, at the twin towns of Sekondi and Takoradi, subsequently spreading to Accra and Kumasi. While some of the strikers returned to work after a week, most did not go back until Sept. 22, after appeals and warnings by President Nkrumah, who had cut short a holiday in the U.S.S.R. to return to Ghana on Sept. 16. The strikes were in protest against rises in the cost of living following the introduction of an austerity budget in July, and notably against a compulsory savings scheme.

President Nkrumah announced on Sept. 28 that he had asked six members of his Government, including two Cabinet Ministers (Mr. K. A. Gbedemah and Mr. Kojo Botsio), to resign in view of their "varied business connexions"; that six other Ministers and members of the Government had accepted his request that they should surrender parts of their assets to the State; and that he had drawn the attention of the Speaker of the National Assembly to "the extensive nature of his business interests." Dr. Nkrumah carried out an extensive governmental reorganization two days later.

A number of prominent Opposition personalities, leaders of the recent strike, and others, were arrested on Oct. 3 under the Preventive Detention Act after the discovery of an alleged plot to murder Dr. Nkrumah and other Ministers. Those arrested included Dr. J. B. Danquah, United Party candidate in the 1960 presidential election; Mr. Joe Appiah, deputy leader of the Opposition and son-in-law of the late Sir Stafford Cripps; other leading United Party members; and Mr. Patrick Quaidoo, who was a member of Dr. Nkrumah's Cabinet until May 1961.

Mr. Duncan Sandys, U.K. Commonwealth Relations Secretary, visited Ghana from Oct. 2-5 for talks with President Nkrumah on the existing state of relations between the two countries. Following his return to Britain, Mr. Sandys rejected demands by some Conservative, Labour, and Liberal M.P.s that the Queen's projected visit to Ghana should be postponed.

These and other recent Ghanaian developments are summarized below under cross-headings.

The Ghanaian Government's new financial and economic measures were announced by President Nkrumah at the opening of the Assembly session on July 4, and by the Finance Minister, Mr. F. K. D. Goka, in his Budget statement on July 7, as follows:

(1) As a matter of long-term policy, all internal development expenditure, as well as all recurrent expenditure, would be financed entirely from internal sources. External loans, and (as a last resort) external reserves, would be used for the purchase abroad of plant, equipment, etc., and for other external development expenditure. Dr. Nkrumah expressed his conviction that Ghana could increase her exports sufficiently to carry this policy into effect.

The Exchange Control Ordinance would be amended so that control would apply to all foreign countries, instead of only to non-sterling area countries as hitherto. It was stressed that this measure would not affect guarantees given to foreign investors, or regular family remittances by expatriates working in Ghana.

(2) Revised estimates for 1960-61, with recurrent expenditure at £74,000,000, showed a deficit of £6,000,000, instead of the original estimate of a surplus of over £3,000,000—the two main reasons for this change being wage increases granted after the introduction of the 1960-61 Budget, and a revenue decrease resulting from a fall in world cocoa prices. It was expected that development expenditure for 1960-61 would total only £30,000,000 against an original estimate of £33,000,000.

(3) The estimates for 1961-62 would fall under two headings:

(a) Both the recurrent and development expenditure of Government departments would be financed from the Consolidated Fund, with which the Development Fund would be merged. Estimated recurrent expenditure would total £81,400,000 and development expenditure £46,600,000—the latter including £7,000,000 local expenditure on the Volta River project and £5,000,000 held in reserve for agriculture and industry, but excluding estimated external expenditure of £8,700,000 on the Volta project.

(b) Expenditure of the Railways and Harbours Administration, including recurrent expenditure of nearly £6,500,000, would be financed from that Administration's funds, leaving an estimated surplus of £400,000.

(4) To meet internal expenditure of over £104,000,000 and provide £1,000,000 for any urgent supplementary expenditure, an additional £31,000,000 would be required. Against this, it was proposed to raise an estimated £21,000,000 from new or increased taxes, Customs and Excise duties, and motor and driving licence fees, and £11,000,000 from a compulsory savings scheme. The principal changes were:

(a) Import duty on beer and spirits would be raised by over 100 per cent, and on tobacco, cigars, and cigarettes about 50 per cent; the excise duty on local beer and cigarettes would also be increased. An additional import duty of 6d. a gallon would be placed on motor spirits, and a new duty of 1s. a gallon on diesel oil. Duty on more expensive textiles would be raised, a new duty placed on sugar and flour, and duties on a number of other foodstuffs increased.

(b) Purchase tax would be levied for the first time, ranging from 15 per cent on the landed value of bicycles to 66 <sup>2</sup>/<sub>2</sub> per cent on imported furniture, refrigerators, air conditioning units, cameras, and "similar luxury items." The rate on radios, typewriters, sewing machines, cookers, and

clothing would be 33 1/2 per cent, while on motor vehicles it would be graduated from 10 per cent of the retail price for small vehicles to 66 2/2 per cent for large models, with a 15 per cent tax on motor cycles and scooters.

(c) A single uniform schedule of income-tax would be introduced, applicable to all employees with an income of over £480 per annum irrespective of family circumstances, but excluding benefits in kind or payments which were reimbursements. All tax-free allowances were abolished, but to compensate for this the rates of tax would be reduced (e.g., an income of £960 Would be liable for £12 tax, and one of £6,000 for £522). Tax would be deducted at the source.

In the case of self-employed persons and businesses provisional assessments would be made, subject to the taxpayers' right to appeal; in the case of foreign companies operating in Ghana, or resident subsidiaries of foreign companies, the total profits of the group would also be taken into account. (Mr. Goka commented that "all we want is a fair share in the profits—a share of 40 per cent.") The new provisions would not affect special privileges given to such companies under earlier legislation, or under agreements already entered into by the Government.

(d) A new urban property tax would be based on rateable values.

(e) Under the compulsory savings scheme, five per cent of all wages and salaries, and 10 per cent of other types of income (including cocoa farmers' incomes, but not those of other members of the farming community), would be retained for investment in non-transferable National Development Bonds, carrying two per cent tax-free interest and redeemable in 10 years (or earlier if the holder died, reached the age of 60, or left Ghana permanently). Two per cent of the amount levied each year would be used by the Government to finance a lottery among bondholders. Exemption from these provisions might be granted to any foreign national specifically applying for it.

(f) The Government would "not countenance" any wage or salary increases, since (Mr. Goka stated) any increase in burdens imposed by the Budget would be small in comparison with recent increases in incomes and living standards.

As stated above, strikes broke out on Sept. 4 in protest against the Government's compulsory savings scheme and the price increases on sugar, flour, and other basic commodities, which it was claimed would reduce the workers' living standards below an adequate level.

The strikes began among railway workers at Takoradi-Sekondi, spread rapidly to port workers in the twin towns and to railwaymen at Kumasi, and virtually paralysed the country's rail system, thereby forcing other employees in the Takoradi area to stop work. Appeals by the Government and leaders of the Ghana T.U.C. for a resumption of work prior to a discussion of the workers' grievances were unsuccessful, and on Sept. 6-7 the strike spread to municipal bus workers in Accra and to employees of the trading firm of A. G. Leventis and Co., which is heavily backed by Government loans.

Mr. Gbedemah—who, with Mr. Botsio and the Chief Justice, Sir Arku Korsah, formed a Presidential Commission acting for Dr. Nkrumah during his absence abroad—visited Takoradi on

Sept. 7 in an effort to bring about a return to work by the rail and port strikers, then estimated to number some 6,000. At the same time T.U.C. leaders met representatives of the Accra branch of the Industrial, Commercial, and General Workers' Union for discussions on grievances concerning both the Budget and other matters; it was stated afterwards that both sides were resolved to maintain law and order, "more especially" since the President was "on a peace mission to European countries."

Some strikers returned to work in Accra and elsewhere on Sept. 8, and a threatened strike of postal and telecommunications workers did not take place, but the railways remained severely affected and the port of Takoradi was at a standstill. The Government alleged that some of the Takoradi strikers were being forced to stay away from work by intimidation, and promised "full and ample protection" to all who wished to return to work.

A limited state of emergency was proclaimed on Sept. 9, covering both the area of Takoradi-Sekondi and the country's railway system. This measure gave the Government power to requisition vehicles in order to maintain the movement of essential supplies, to control traffic, and to ban meetings; convicted saboteurs became liable to up to 10 years' imprisonment; and senior police or military officers were empowered to detain suspects without a warrant.

At an emergency conference of the ruling Convention People's Party, Mr. Tawia Adamafio (Minister for Presidential Affairs) declared that the Government was determined to maintain law and order and would take immediate action if it found that foreign companies were "trying to exploit the present situation by inciting employees to stay away from work and so embarrass the Government"; he warned Government employees, including railwaymen and port workers, that they would be dismissed without reinstatement if they stayed away from work for more than ten days.

Mr. John Tettegah, secretary-general of the T.U.C., described the strike as "a counter-revolution" and declared that "a mob bent on indulging in an illegal strike" could not be given trade union support. The conference passed a resolution urging the Government to "deal ruthlessly with any unruly activities in the country."

Bitter attacks on the strikers were also made by newspapers supporting the Government, which described them as "tools of big businessmen scheming and conspiring with reactionary foreign forces," and declared that "foreign enemies, ... agents, plotters, saboteurs, internal detractors and traitors, confusionists and obstructionists" were "doomed."

Strong forces of police went on duty in Takoradi-Sekondi on Sept. 10; a train manned by an emergency crew was able for the first time to travel from Kumasi to Accra; and on Sept. 11 about 1,000 railwaymen at Kumasi (one-quarter of the total number of rail strikers) returned to work, enabling a skeleton rail service to be restarted, although the strike situation at Takoradi was virtually unchanged. On Sept. 12 the Government appealed to all retired railway workers to register at police stations in case their services were required, and on Sept. 14 a dusk-to-dawn curfew was imposed in Takoradi-Sekondi to "facilitate the operation of essential services" and "prevent further intimidation and sabotage"; it was stated that a train which had left Takoradi in defiance of the strike had been derailed by saboteurs.

Dr. Nkrumah returned to Accra on Sept. 16 from his holiday in the Soviet Union (after having been abroad for nine weeks); on the following day he announced that he had revoked the state of emergency, and called upon all strikers to return to work immediately.

The President said that his decision entailed the immediate withdrawal of all measures taken under the emergency declaration, including arming of the police; the ending of the curfew in Takoradi-Sekondi; and the release of all persons arrested for infringement of the emergency regulations or any other activity connected with the strike. He called upon all those on strike to return to work “forthwith,” declaring that “by 7.30 a.m. on Sept. 19 there should be a full resumption of work throughout the country.”

Despite the President's appeal, a protest strike involving 3,000 workers in the petrol and motor industry occurred in Accra on Sept. 18, while the Takoradi strikers ignored the Sept. 19 deadline laid down by Dr. Nkrumah; their leaders insisted that the Government should make a full statement on its financial policy before they ended the strike, and appealed for financial support from dock and railway unions in Britain, the U.S.A., Liberia, and Nigeria. The Ghana T.U.C. on the other hand, issued a statement again condemning the strike, asserting that it was “a political manoeuvre to undermine constitutional authority,” and reiterating the charges against “foreign elements in alliance with certain subversive individuals and groups,” and “some” foreign companies.

The strike ended on Sept. 22, when the dock and rail workers at Takoradi-Sekondi returned to work after a further broadcast by President Nkrumah, in which he again called on the men to go back and denounced the strike as “illegal” and “subversive.”

The Ghana T.U.C. announced on Oct. 11 that its executive board would take over executive management of the National Union of Railway and Harbour Workers for six months, and that the Union's headquarters would be moved from Takoradi to Accra. On Oct. 23 the executive council of the Industrial, Commercial and General Workers' Union expelled 12 union officials who had taken part in the strikes, relieved six others of their duties, and dissolved the Takoradi-Sekondi branch and nine local branches in Takoradi and Accra. Meanwhile the Government had issued detention orders against a number of the strike leaders. [see below]

Dr. Nkrumah announced on Sept. 28 that he had requested the resignation of six members of the Government and the surrender of some of their private assets by six others. The resignations requested, in addition to those of Mr. Gbedemah (Health Minister) and Mr. Botsio (Agriculture Minister), were those of Mr. E. Ayeh Kumi, executive director of the Development Secretariat; Mr. E. K. Dadson, a Parliamentary Secretary; Mr. W. A. Wiafe, an Under-Secretary; and Mr. S. W. Yeboah, a Regional Commissioner. On Sept. 30, however, the President announced that he had rescinded his request for Mr. Yeboah's resignation.

Four Ministers—Mr. Inkumsah (Interior), Mr. Edusei (Transport), Mr. Bensah (Works and Housing), and Mr. de Graft Dickson (Defence)—and two Regional Commissioners—Mr. E. H. T. Korboe and Mr. J. E. Hagan—agreed to surrender to the State properties in excess of the following limits: (1) more than two houses of a combined value of £20,000; (ii) more than two cars; and (iii) plots of land of a total value greater than £500.

The President had also written to the Speaker of the Assembly, Mr. Joseph R. Asiedu, drawing his attention to “the extensive nature of his business interests” and asking him “to consider his own position in the light of this and of the principles adopted concerning members of the Government.”

The President stated that his requests had been made in view of the report of the investigating Commission set up in May [see 18139] following his broadcast of April 28 [see 180432]. After stating that the Commission had found that some members of the Government had “varied business connexions,” Dr. Nkrumah went on:

“Although there is no evidence to support any allegation that these... interests led to any irregularity in their ministerial conduct, I have come to the conclusion that it is undesirable that men with varied business connexions should be members of a Government which must from now on be increasingly animated by socialist ideals. Constant examination and correction is necessary if we are to fulfil great purposes for which we suffered so much in our early struggle.... If [However] some comrades who were prepared to suffer persecution, imprisonment, and poverty for the sake of independence have since fallen victims to some temptations of the capitalist world which surrounds us, we must understand the pressure to which they have been exposed and ask ourselves honestly how many of us would have done better.”

In a statement on Sept. 29 announcing his formal resignation, Mr. Gbedemah claimed that his business interests had been cited only as a pretext for his dismissal.

Mr. Gbedemah told reporters that his only main business was a poultry farm, which he had built up during the last four years and now had some 25,000 birds; he had offered in April to sell the farm to the State for “fair compensation,” but had received no reply. In his resignation letter to Dr. Nkrumah he had written: “I can only come to the conclusion in the light of these facts, and... of the events of last week in the central committee, that there must be other reasons than what you have given in your letter for asking for my resignation.... It is most unfortunate that your new-found addiction to Socialist principles, mentioned in your letter, should, after 13 years of close and almost brotherly comradeship, cause a breach between us. In all these 13 years not once have you impugned my integrity and ability as a lieutenant and loyal comrade.... Today we come to the parting of the ways.”

Mr. Gbedemah also stated that Dr. Nkrumah had asked him if he was plotting against the Government, and “I denied it.” He had last seen the President two days before his resignation was requested, but had been given no hint that his dismissal was imminent, although his relations with Dr. Nkrumah had been strained since the latter's return from the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, he felt no ill-will towards Dr. Nkrumah personally. He added that “this is not the end of the story” and that he was “inclined to continue” in politics.

It was announced on Oct. 25 that President Nkrumah had relieved Mr. Gbedemah of his office as chairman of the Interim Council of the University of Ghana and had replaced him by Mr. Ofori-Atta. At the same time Mr. Botsio was removed from his post as chairman of the Interim Council of the Technological University of Kumasi.

**Mr. Gbedemah** (51) had been one of Dr. Nkrumah's closest associates, and was Minister of Finance until the Government reorganization of May last. One of the founders of the Convention People's Party, he was sentenced to eight months' imprisonment for libel and sedition in 1949, and later headed the C.P.P. while Dr. Nkrumah and other leaders were in prison. He played a major role in the C.P.P.'s victory in the 1951 general election.

**Mr. Botsio** (45), another of the President's oldest associates, became secretary of the C.P.P. on its foundation and was gaoled with Dr. Nkrumah in 1950.

An extensive reorganization of the Government was announced by President Nkrumah on Sept. 30, its membership becoming as follows:

Mr. Ako Adjei	Foreign Affairs.
Mr. Kwako Boateng	Interior and Local Government.
Mr. Kofi Baako	Defence.
Mr. F. K. D. Goka	Finance and Trade.
Mr. A. E. Inkumsah	Health.
Mr. L. R. Abavana	Agriculture.
Mr. A. E. A. Ofori-Atta	Justice.
Mr. E. K. Bensah	Construction and Communications.
Mr. Krobo Edusei	Light and Heavy Industry.
Mr. A. J. Dowuona-Hammond	Education.
Mr. O. Owusu Afriyie	Labour and Social Welfare.
Mr. Tawiah Adamafio	Information and Broadcasting.

\* No change.

The new Government also included eight Regional Commissioners and 12 Deputy Ministers (formerly Ministerial Secretaries).

The reorganization, which reduced the membership of the Cabinet from 14 to 12, included the following changes: (1) the creation of two new Ministries—Construction and Communications, and Light and Heavy Industries; (ii) the re-establishment of the Ministry of Justice under Mr. Ofori-Atta, who had held the portfolio until its abolition in May 1961 and had since been Minister of Local Government; (iii) the re-establishment of a Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare—formerly two separate Ministries which had both been abolished in April 1961, Social Welfare being then attached to the Ministry of Education; (iv) the abolition of the Ministries of Presidential Affairs and Parliamentary Affairs; and the renaming of the former Information Ministry, which became the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting.

Mr. Baako was formerly Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, Mr. Adamafio Minister of Presidential Affairs, Mr. Inkumsah Minister of the Interior, and Mr. Edusei Minister of Transport and Communications. Mr. Bensah had held the Works and Housing portfolio, Mr. Abavana was Minister of Trade, and Mr. Afriyie a Regional Commissioner. Mr. Goka took over the Trade portfolio in addition to that of Finance, which he had held previously. Mr. Boateng, previously Deputy Attorney-General, became Minister of the Interior (*vice* Mr. Inkumsah) and of Local Government (*vice* Mr. Ofori-Atta).

Two women were appointed Deputy Ministers for the first time—Mrs. Susana Al-Hassan (Education) and Mrs. Regina Asamay (Labour and Social Welfare). It was stated that Mr. C. de Graft Dickson (the former Defence Minister) would be given a diplomatic post, and that Mr. Imoru Egala (former Minister of Information and African Affairs) had been appointed chairman of the new Cocoa Marketing Company (Ghana) Ltd.

Mr. G. C. Mills Oriel, hitherto Solicitor-General, was appointed Attorney-General *vice* Mr. Geoffrey Bing, who, however, had agreed to stay in Ghana “to carry out certain assignments.” Mr. Bing, formerly Labour M.P. for Hornchurch, was constitutional adviser to Dr. Nkrumah before independence and had been Attorney-General since September 1957.

On Oct. 2 President Nkrumah announced the setting-up of two new Commissions under his own chairmanship—a State Planning Commission and a State Control Commission—with wide powers to “ensure proper planning, co-ordination, and control in all the activities of the Government.”

Dr. Nkrumah stated that the Planning Commission would have the duty of (a) examining and evaluating all existing development projects in accordance with a system of priorities which it would lay down; (b) directing and supervising “the formulation of a new comprehensive economic plan”; and (c) recommending urgent new projects pending adoption of the new comprehensive economic plan. Mr. Ofori-Atta was appointed vice-chairman of the Commission.

The Control Commission would be responsible for (a) keeping the financial position of the State under constant review; (b) recommending adjustments in expenditure and taxation in the light of the general economic situation; and (c) reviewing the organization of the State administration, including public boards and corporations. Mr. Adamafio was appointed vice-chairman.

Projects involving new Government expenditure would require the approval of the Control Commission, with the prior approval of the Planning Commission in the case of development expenditure, before being considered by the Cabinet.

A Convention People's Party spokesman stated on Oct. 21 that party branches were to be set up in all Government departments, business houses, workshops, farms, and churches in the country; the spokesman commented that “the formation of party branches in churches will help to chase away unnecessary suspicions, promote peace and happiness in Ghana, and forever stabilize the churches, with their music and sense of mission, as an important wing in Ghana's move to create work and happiness.” Dr. Nkrumah himself had previously stated, when announcing the strengthening of the party organization in his broadcast of April 28, that all the “wings” of the party—the T.U.C., the United Ghana Farmers' Council, the National Co-operative Council, and

the National Council of Ghana Women—would be brought closer together, and that the C.P.P. party card would be the only qualification for membership of all “wings.”

On Sept. 29, immediately before the Cabinet reorganization, the Ghanaian Government issued a strong warning against any illegal attempts to overthrow the Government, and announced the forthcoming establishment of a special court to try offences against the security of the State.

The statement said that “in the light of recent events” it must be clearly understood that “any attempt to overthrow the Government by unlawful means, or to try to procure by force any alteration to the policies of the Government, is a most serious offence which is punishable by death.” The Government would “not hesitate to invoke the law in this regard in order to safeguard the security of the State or to prevent any subversion of institutions of the State, either from within or from without. In order that no one may be in any doubt as to the law, the Government calls attention to Section 180 of the Criminal Code.” [i.e. the section covering treasonable acts]"

The Government further pointed out that it was also a serious criminal offence, punishable by up to 10 years' imprisonment, “for anyone not to disclose any knowledge which he has of any proposal to attempt to overthrow the Government by unlawful means or to alter its policy by force.” It was emphasized that a person “can be guilty even if he disapproves of what is proposed unless he immediately tells the police or Government what he knows is being planned.”

The announcement said that a Bill had been prepared, and would be introduced when Parliament reassembled on Oct. 10, providing for the setting-up of a special division of the High Court to deal with crimes against the State.

The Bill, published on Oct. 6 under the name of the Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Bill, laid down that the new court—to be known as the Special Criminal Division of the High Court—would have power to try accused persons, without the normal preliminary hearing before a magistrate, on specified charges, viz., “offences against the safety of the State such as treason and sedition, and offences against the peace such as rioting, unlawful assembly, and other serious breaches of the peace.” The President would be empowered to add “by legislative instrument” other offences to the above list at his own discretion.

It was stated that the Court would comprise three members (a judge and two others), to be appointed by the Chief Justice in accordance with the President's request; that its procedure would be “similar to that applicable to a summary trial, subject to the directions of the court and to any legislative instrument made by the President adapting or modifying that procedure”; that decisions would be taken by majority vote, the existence of any minority opinion not being disclosed; and that the verdicts of the Court would be final and would not be subject to any appeal.

The legislation was strongly attacked by Mr. Gbedemah when the National Assembly debated the Bill on Oct. 16.

Mr. Gbedemah said that the Preventive Detention Act, which Parliament passed “in all sincerity” in 1958, had become “an instrument of terrorism”; there were “people parading in the villages of the country threatening people with preventive detention, people walking the streets of our towns telling innocent people that if they spoke their minds they would be detained.” The Assembly was now being asked to approve a Bill which would mean “a premature nailing of the coffin of Mother Ghana,” and if the legislation were passed “the low flickering flames of freedom in Ghana will be extinguished.” He “solemnly asked” members to “protect the freedom we fought for by not making provision for summary trials and conviction which will lead men to the firing-squad.”

Mr. Gbedemah protested particularly against the absence of any provision for appeals against the court's verdict, even to the President for a reprieve from a death sentence. He declared: “Why must we create special courts? In some places they are called ‘people's courts.’”

Despite Mr. Gbedemah's appeal, the Bill was passed by the National Assembly on Oct. 30, the voting being 36 in favour and five United Party deputies against.

In a sudden move against opponents of the Government, orders under the Preventive Detention Act were issued on Oct. 3 against 50 persons, the majority of whom were arrested on the same day. Those detained included Dr. Danquah, Mr. Appiah, two other United Party M.P.s (Mr. Victor Owusu and Mr. S. G. Antor), and other U.P. leaders; a C.P.P. member of the Assembly—Mr. Quaidoo (Social Welfare Minister until April 1961); leaders of the recent strikes; and the editor of the *Ashanti Pioneer*, the independent Kumasi newspaper from which government control had been lifted in May, but in whose offices a government controller had again been installed on Sept. 10 in connexion with the strikes.

The Government stated that the arrests followed the uncovering of a number of subversive activities, including a plot to murder Dr. Nkrumah and other Ministers and to overthrow the regime. Subsequently (Oct. 7) the Government announced that it intended to publish a White Paper giving the full circumstances leading up to the arrests.

Mr. Appiah (whose wife is a daughter of the late Sir Stafford Cripps) was arrested at Kumasi with four local leaders of the U.P., and Dr. Danquah and Mr. Quaidoo at their homes in Accra. Eighteen railwaymen who had been involved in the strikes were detained at Takoradi-Sekondi; five market women were detained in these two towns, and three more in Kumasi, following the action of market women in organizing the supply of food to the strikers; the city editor of the *Ashanti Pioneer* was arrested in Accra, in addition to the editor himself in Kumasi; while others detained included a number of teachers and merchants.

It was announced immediately after the arrests that one of the wanted men, Mr. Obetsebi Lamprey (a barrister), had escaped; although Government statements implied that the other 49 persons had all been detained, it was reported on Oct. 18 from Lome (capital of Togo) that four other men had also reached Togolese territory, including Mr. Kwow Richardson, secretary-general of the U.P., and Mr. J. R. Baiden, secretary of the Maritime and Dock Workers' Union in Takoradi-Sekondi. [Twelve prominent political refugees from Ghana, including a U.P. Member of Parliament, had previously escaped to Togo in 1960— 17357 B.] According to statements by

U.N. officials in Lome, a total of 5,800 refugees, mostly of the Ewe tribe, had fled from Ghana to Tote during the past three years, for fear of being detained on the grounds of their membership of the United Party or their opposition to the incorporation of former British Togoland in Ghana. Dr. Busts [but] stated in a press interview on Oct. 26 that nearly 8,000 Ghanaians had taken refuge in neighbouring countries such as the Ivory Coast and Togo.

The four detained Members of Parliament were subsequently deprived of their seats and by-elections ordered in the four constituencies affected, on the ground that the members had automatically lost their seats because of the detention orders issued against them.

Reports that an expulsion order had been issued against Mrs. Appiah were denied on Oct. 7 by Mr. Boateng.

Earlier in the day Mrs. Appiah had told the Press, from her home in Kumasi, that "a C.I.D. chief here just came round and said I had to leave as soon as possible"; she had asked to stay until her seven-year old son Kwame, who was undergoing medical treatment, was able to leave hospital in about two months' time. Mr. Boateng described the incident as a "misunderstanding" and added: "The Government's intention was to inform her that she could remain in the country as long as she desired. But if she felt in present circumstances that she would like to move to Britain, the Government would be prepared to provide passages for herself and her [Three] children. It would also offer to pay the costs of moving household effects." [Dr. Danquah, one of Ghana's most respected lawyers, was himself chairman of the Ghanaian section of the Commission.]

Sir Leslie Munro, secretary-general of the International Commission of Jurists, announced in Geneva on Oct. 11 that he had cabled Dr. Nkrumah expressing the Commission's "profound concern" at the recent arrests; "in view of the disquiet these reports are having on the world legal community and in response to requests received by the Commission," Sir Leslie asked for information "concerning the charges against the above-named lawyers and other persons."

Much concern was also expressed over the arrests in the British Press, where they were widely reported; in consequence the pro-Government Press made strongly-worded attacks on a number of British newspapers, while sections of the British Press were also criticized on Oct. 10 by the Information Minister, Mr. Adamafo, following their publication of the reported expulsion order against Mrs. Appiah.

The *Ghanaian Times*, in a full-length article on Oct. 11, denounced *The Times*, the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Guardian*, the *Daily Mail*, and the *Daily Express* for "fanning the international conspiracies aimed at undermining the independence of African States." It continued: "But we can assure them that none of their imperialist crockery and capitalist blackmail can do Ghana any harm.... We in Ghana are so happy with the steps being taken by our leader to purge our nation of quislings and imposters. We shall actually shed tears if tomorrow the British Press started praising Nkrumah.... When that time comes we shall have critically to examine ourselves, because we would have been going off the course of our gigantic Nkrumahist reconstruction programmes of socialist transformation.... We would like this to sink home into the thick skulls of the British capitalist Press.... We in Ghana are friends to all—East and West—and enemies to none.... We as a people are fighting hard... to destroy and remove all traces of the British

colonial system and erect in its place a new system.... That system, that philosophy, that ideology, that scientific teaching, is Nkrumahism, the people's movement of Africa.”

Dr. K. A. Busia, Leader of the Opposition in Ghana until his flight from the country in June 1959, announced on Oct. 10 that he had resigned the two academic chairs which he had since held in the Netherlands as Professor of African Sociology and Culture at Leiden, and Professor of Sociology at The Hague. [see 16975 A] He stated that he had done so because of the recent political events in Ghana; that he did not, however, intend to organize a political movement in London; and that his future plans would depend on the course of events.

Dr. Busia said that his decision was “an act of faith” that democracy could still flourish in Africa. Africans (he said) always claimed to be the equals of Europeans, and standards should not be lowered for them; he believed that in spite of what was happening in Ghana “we are still capable of providing evidence of equality with other members of the human race” and that “the African countries can develop not only economically but economically in freedom.” He added that he had recently made several tours of West Africa but did not intend to return to Ghana yet, having no doubt that if he did so he would be imprisoned. Finally, he appealed to all Ghanaian Members of Parliament, when they came to consider the Bill setting up the new special court, to “ask yourselves... whether the passage of this Bill will help towards those high ideals with which we started out on the road to independence.”

Asked by a reporter if the Queen's projected visit to Ghana [see below] might seem to imply [see above] an endorsement of anti-democratic policies, Dr. Busia said: “I do not think that it is possible to say that the Queen's visit can be divorced from any approval or admiration of what is going on in Ghana.” He wished the Queen could visit Ghana under happier circumstances; if steps were not taken in Ghana to change the circumstances before the visit, “it will be exploited for political purposes.”

Dr. Busia subsequently paid a short visit to Togo, stating on his return to London on Oct. 18 that he had met the five men who had escaped arrest a fortnight previously and that he had been able to obtain first-hand knowledge of recent events in Ghana.

It was reported on Oct. 26 that Mr. Gbedemah had secretly left Accra for an unknown destination; a few days later a report from Lome said that he had passed through the Togolese capital *en route* for Nigeria.

It was announced in London on Sept. 29 that Mr. Sandys would leave for Ghana on Oct. 1 for talks with Dr. Nkrumah. The decision that Mr. Sandys should visit Accra, taken on the U.K. Government's initiative, followed a number of signs of rapid deterioration in relations between the two countries.

After President Nkrumah's anti-British and anti-Western statements during his visit to the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and China in July-August [see 18350 A], frank and critical reports in the British Press about the strikes in Ghana had caused hostile reactions among certain Ghanaian papers close to the Government; moreover, after the death of Dr. Hammarskjold in the Ndola air crash, [see 18331 A] violent attacks and allegations of “murder” were made against the British

Government in the Ghanaian Press, though subsequently disowned by the Ghana Government. The sudden dismissal on Sept. 22 of General Alexander and of other British officers serving with the Ghanaian forces was also the subject of critical press comment in Britain.

An editorial in the pro-Government *Ghanaian Times* on Sept. 20 alleged that the United Kingdom was responsible for “history's number one international murder—the murder of... Dag Hammarskjöld.”

Asserting that “Britain succeeded in luring Hammarskjöld to meet Tshombe,” the paper wrote: “The plane in which Hammarskjöld was travelling on his peace mission was sabotaged either through direct attack by jet fighters of the Katanga-Britain- Rhodesia conspiracy or by the planting of some explosives in the plane by British officials in Leopoldville. We declare with the gravest conviction that Hammarskjöld was the victim of a deliberate attack inspired by Britain and executed by Roy Welensky and that African traitor Melee Tshombe....”

A strong protest was immediately made by the U.K. High Commissioner in Accra, Sir Arthur Snelling, in a letter to Mr. Adamafio (then acting Foreign Minister), in which Sir Arthur said that he “would be glad to be informed whether the Government of Ghana dissociate themselves” from the “disgraceful” *Ghanaian Times* editorial. In reply, the Government of Ghana said that it “completely dissociated” itself from the allegations made by the paper and regretted “the substance and language” of the editorial. At the same time, however, the Government said that “while appreciating and understanding the strength of feeling which motivated the High Commissioner's protest letter,” it regretted that Sir Arthur “felt compelled to describe the allegation as disgraceful,” adding that “you are of course aware of the freedom enjoyed by the Press in Ghana, and it is a matter of deep concern to us that such freedom should have been abused....”

Despite the tributes paid to General Alexander by President Nkrumah, and Mr. Armah's statement in London that the general's dismissal had not been intended as a “snub” to Britain, *The Times* commented on Sept. 27:

“Coming on top of other incidents, the manner of General Alexander's removal should cause concern to the British Government. No one denies Ghana the right to ‘Africanize’ its forces. The fact is, however, that General Alexander was given only two hours’ notice of his dismissal, and the British Government were not consulted.” *The Times* later observed (Sept. 30) that the General's dismissal “may well be connected with Ghana's wish to have Accra as the headquarters of the African joint command, and the unwillingness of the other African countries concerned to agree to that if non-African officers remained in positions of command in Ghana”; even if this were so, however, “the manner of the dismissal, without the prior consultation that a fellow Commonwealth Government had the right to expect, was deplorable.”

The future position of the remaining British officers in Ghana, moreover, remained uncertain, in view of the fact that the Ghanaian Government's statement that “expatriate personnel” (i.e. mostly British and Canadian officers) would be formed into an advisory military mission had been made without consulting the British Government.

The War Office in London announced on Oct. 3 that 70 British officers were returning immediately to the U.K., but that there was “no information about other officers returning or any of the other ranks.” There were at the time some 200 British officers in Ghana, all seconded from the British Army except about 20 who were on direct contract; in addition there were a number of other ranks, mostly technicians.

Another factor in this connexion was an announcement after Dr. Nkrumah's Soviet tour [see 18350 A] that he had accepted a Russian offer to train Ghanaian military cadets in Soviet academies. Mr. Adamafio stated on Oct. 10 that the Government had decided to send 400 Ghanaian cadets for officer training in the U.S.S.R., “and we shall send more if we find it necessary to do so.”

In the light of these developments, the question of the visit of the Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh to Ghana [announced on May 16, 1960—see page 17449 following the cancellation of the visit which was to have taken place in November 1959] was also the subject of much press comment in Britain. On the other hand the Accra *Evening News*, in a violently-worded article, stated on Sept. 11 that if criticism of Ghana continued in Britain “we shall be compelled to call on the Government to reconsider our friendly invitation to their Head of State.” Mr. Armah, however, said in London on Sept. 26 that there was “joyful anticipation” in Ghana of the Queen's visit, and that she was assured of a “hilarious and dignified” welcome.

Mr. Sandys arrived in Accra on Oct. 2 and had eight hours' private conversation with Dr. Nkrumah before returning to London on Oct. 5. A joint statement on the talks, published in Accra and London on the latter date, said that “President Nkrumah welcomed the visit of Mr. Sandys,... which afforded an opportunity to clarify various points on which it appeared that misunderstandings were arising.” The statement was worded as follows (cross-headings inserted):

**Ghana's Policy of Non-Alignment.** “President Nkrumah re-emphasized that the main objective of Ghana's foreign policy was the independence and unity of Africa and the speedy ending of the remaining colonial regimes. Ghana wished to keep the ‘cold war’ out of the African continent and her policy had always been and continued to be based on the principle of non-alignment, neither leaning towards the East nor... the West.

“Mr. Sandys said that he was glad to receive this assurance and wished President Nkrumah to know that the British Government fully understood and respected Ghana's desire to remain unaligned in the same way as a number of other Commonwealth countries.

**British Colonial Policy.** “President Nkrumah assured Mr. Sandys that he appreciated the fact that since the Second World War Britain had given independence to nearly 600,000,000 people and had thereby set an example in the peaceful transfer of power which had been followed to some extent by other colonial Powers. The President welcomed Britain's decision to give independence to Tanganyika before the end of the year.

“Mr. Sandys assured the President that it is the determined policy of the British Government to grant independence to its remaining dependent territories in Africa as soon as practicable, and in

the meantime to take all necessary steps to prepare the peoples of these territories for the responsibilities of nationhood. In this connexion stressed that it was not the practice of the British Government to attach 'strings' to... economic and technical aid.... and that accusations against Britain of 'neocolonialism' were therefore not justified.

"President Nkrumah welcomed this statement and expressed the hope that the British Government would exert their influence with other colonial Powers in Africa to follow the same policy. He assured Mr. Sandys that he does not doubt the sincerity of the British Government's approach to the colonial problem. At the same time [he] re-emphasized the view that an early target date should be fixed for the achievement of independence by all remaining colonies in Africa.

"Mr. Sandys explained that having regard to the importance of transferring power in an orderly manner, and of the special problems existing in some cases, the British Government see difficulty in fixing a target date applicable to all territories, but, as an earnest of their intentions, they have announced their readiness to provide the U.N. with the fullest information about the steps they are taking to bring their remaining colonies to independence.

"While regretting the inability of the British Government to fix a target date, President Nkrumah recognizes the sincere determination of the British Government to find, as quickly as possible, a just and final solution of the colonial problem. He accordingly advises the peoples of the remaining British colonies to rely on the declared intentions and good faith of the British Government and to press their case for early independence by constitutional means.

**The Congo.** "President Nkrumah and Mr. Sandys reviewed developments in the Congo. They noted that while there have been from time to time differences about methods, the objective of both Governments is the same—namely, to support the United Nations in securing the early re-establishment of the unity and territorial integrity of the Congo, the establishment of a democratically chosen Central Government free from outside interference, and the peaceful solution of internal problems through conciliation. In this connexion Mr. Sandys made it clear that it has always been the policy of the British Government to promote the inclusion of Katanga in the Congo.

**British Military Personnel in Ghana.** "President Nkrumah expressed warm appreciation of the services rendered to Ghana by the British military personnel who have been serving with Ghana's armed forces. He referred to the request he had made for the establishment in Ghana of a British military training team. Mr. Sandys undertook to examine this request.

**Disarmament.** "President Nkrumah and Mr. Sandys emphasized that Britain and Ghana are united in their desire to work together for the achievement of total world-wide disarmament, and they reaffirmed the principles set out in the joint declaration issued by the Prime Ministers... last March [see 17987 A].

**Commonwealth Co-operation.** "President Nkrumah and Mr. Sandys stressed the importance of strengthening the collective influence of the Commonwealth for peace. They were convinced that the Commonwealth, as a multi-racial association of free peoples, could play a unique part in

providing a bridge between races and continents and in helping to create trust and understanding between them.... [They] expressed their hope that this statement will help allay misunderstandings between their two countries. They appeal to all who play a part in forming public opinion in each country to show understanding for the point of view of the other country, to take the utmost care to avoid misinterpretation of the other's policies and intentions, and thereby help to strengthen confidence and friendship between Ghana and Britain.”

Mr. Sandys commented on his return to London that “it often happens that official statements do not quite record the true atmosphere of what took place behind closed doors, but in this case I can assure you that the talks were every bit as cordial as the statement itself.”

Mr. Sandys expressed confidence that there would be a lasting improvement in the atmosphere between the two countries as a result of the talks. On the Queen's forthcoming visit, he said that “it was not one of the main subjects we discussed, but President Nkrumah told me how much he and the people of Ghana were looking forward to the Queen's visit, and I saw some of the many preparations being made for it.”

Questioned by reporters about the arrests in Ghana, Mr. Sandys said: “This is a domestic matter. I would like to think very carefully before expressing any opinion. I doubt whether it would be helpful to our relations with Ghana or to the people concerned.”

Simultaneously with the Government changes, it was announced that Mr. Kwesi Armah, acting High Commissioner in London, had been appointed High Commissioner in the United Kingdom in succession to Sir Edward Asafu-Adjaye.

Mr. Armah (32) joined the High Commission staff in 1960 as Political Attache, subsequently became Deputy High Commissioner, and had been Acting High Commissioner since the expiration of Sir Edward Asafu-Adjaye's term earlier in the year. His activities as chairman of the Committee of African Organisations in London were the subject of questions in the House of Commons in February last; he announced after his appointment as High Commissioner that he had relinquished the Committee chairmanship.

It was announced in London and Accra on Oct. 20 that the Queen had approved the appointment of Mr. Geoffrey de Freitas, M.P., as U.K. High Commissioner in Ghana in succession to Sir Arthur Snelling, who would be returning in December to take the post of Deputy Under-Secretary of State in the Commonwealth Relations Office. The conferment of the K.C.M.G. on Mr. de Freitas was announced at the same time.

Mr. de Freitas (48), a barrister, entered Parliament in 1945 as Labour M.P. for Nottingham Central and has represented Lincoln since 1950. He was Parliamentary Private Secretary to Mr. Attlee in 1945-46, and subsequently served as Under-Secretary for Air and Under-Secretary at the Home Office in the post-war Labour Government.

The question of the Queen's visit to Ghana was raised during a House of Commons debate on African affairs on Oct. 19, following urgent appeals by two Liberal leaders for the cancellation of the Queen's projected visit.

Mr. Frank Byers (chairman of the Liberal Party's organizing committee) said on Oct. 15: "The Ghana Press is still attacking Britain, and who knows but that some lunatic... will find himself prompted to make a serious and devastating anti-British gesture. But apart from the personal risk, there is another important reason why the monarch should not visit Ghana now. The Head of the Commonwealth cannot be placed in the position by her own advisers of condoning the arrest of Opposition members without charges being brought against them, and the imprisonment of men and women who are inconvenient to the ruling power.

"Democracy, justice, and personal freedom distinguish the Commonwealth from the totalitarian regime behind the Iron Curtain and some countries of the Western Alliance. Dictatorship is a far greater enemy of social progress than racial discrimination. As Liberals we cannot condone either."

Mr. Jeremy Thorpe, Liberal M.P. for North Devon, who had recently returned from a visit to Ghana, spoke on Oct. 14 of the "very real risks that I have been able to judge at first hand." He declared: "It has become the inescapable duty of every statesman in the Commonwealth... to advise Her Majesty that for political and security reasons this is not an opportune moment to carry out her proposed visit to... Ghana."

During the debate M.P.s of all three parties called for the Queen's visit to be postponed or cancelled. Mr. Sandys, however, said that the U.K. Government would not be justified in advising a change of plan unless there were some significant change in the situation, while the cancellation of the visit was also opposed by two senior Labour spokesmen, Mr. James Callaghan and Mr. Patrick Gordon Walker.

**Mr. Callaghan** said that "considerable anxiety" had been aroused by the recent arrests in Ghana, and urged the Government to consider "pressing on the Ghana Government, in any diplomatic way it can, the advantages to all of us who are friends of Ghana of setting up a judicial commission of inquiry." On the other hand, he found it "very difficult to believe" that the Queen was in danger, as had been suggested by Liberal spokesmen. The visit was to be made by the Queen as Head of the Commonwealth, and he was "confident that the Government will do whatever they think necessary and appropriate in discussions with other Commonwealth Governments, and the Ghana Government will of course take their part in this matter." It had also been said by the Liberal spokesmen that the Queen's presence in Ghana "would be used to bolster up the regime of the present Government." He did not take that view, and thought it would be "utterly wrong for advice to be offered to the Queen that would mean an irreparable and permanent breach between Ghana and other members of the Commonwealth." There were elements in Ghana which would welcome a breach, but it was known that Dr. Nkrumah was anxious to maintain a close association with the Commonwealth. At the same time Mr. Callaghan appealed to Dr. Nkrumah, "as one friend to another," to "assuage our anxieties by ensuring that no steps are taken that would lessen the liberties of the people of Ghana or deprive politicians of their freedom because they speak their minds."

**Mr. Robin Turton** (C.) expressed the view that "this is not the moment for the Queen to go to Ghana.... If President Nkrumah has been wise to take these precautions, then quite clearly there is grave danger to the Queen if she makes the visit. If he is acting not out of wisdom, then I think

the rest of the Commonwealth would prefer her to postpone her visit for a year and not to visit him when he is acting unwisely.”

**Mr. E. L. Mallalieu** (Lab.) similarly urged that the Queen should not be advised to go to Ghana. Declaring that for the past five years Ghana had been in “the grip of a vile dictatorship,” he said that President Nkrumah had used the whole machinery of the party and State to make himself “a candidate for Pan-African leadership”; had altered the Constitution “so that he might perpetuate his power”; and had “swept away” the Opposition. It would be “tragic” if “H.M. Government were to advise the Queen to put herself into the position where she has to appear gracious and smiling in public with the man responsible for this state of affairs in Ghana.” Nor was it possible to say that there would not be a grave danger to the Queen, since there were “feelings of pent-up frustration and fury in people who had suffered persecution under Dr. Nkrumah's dictatorship.”

**Mr. Thorpe** (Lib.) said there existed in Ghana “a one-party State in which opposition is crushed and democracy has ceased to exist.” A Ghana Government White Paper, “at present being drafted by that evil genius Mr. Geoffrey Bing,” would “show a massive assassination plot” to overthrow the Government and murder the President. Mr. Thorpe commented: “There have been massive murder plots alleged ever since 1958, and if the [Ghana] Government is right, there is in Ghana an inexhaustible supply of would-be assassins. Nkrumah himself is frightened of assassination.... He may be right that an attempt may be made on his life, but bombs and bullets are not very selective. Would it not be better if the Queen went to that country when there are happier times...? The regime at the moment is evil and totalitarian, and the effect of the Head of the Commonwealth going would be to show that the Commonwealth approves of this evil and vicious regime

**Mr. Gordon Walker** (Lab.) supported Mr. Callaghan's view, while stressing that “events in Ghana are highly disturbing” and had alarmed “the best friends of Ghana not only in the U.K. but in other parts of the Commonwealth.” If, however, the visit were stopped, it would be the “final break” with Ghana; Commonwealth countries had to be particularly careful not to get into the habit of sitting in judgment on one another, lest the Commonwealth be “destroyed very fast.” It was also wrong to argue that the Queen's visit would be a condonation of the things Britain condemned; when the Queen set foot in Ghana she would be there as Head of the Commonwealth. She should therefore be advised to continue her plans, and any advice that was given should come not only from the U.K. Government but also from her other Commonwealth advisers.

**Mr. Sandys**, replying to the debate, reiterated that the U.K. Government “understand and respect Ghana's desire to remain uncommitted, like many other Commonwealth countries.” He added: “It is a good thing—I believe it adds to the influence and representative character of the Commonwealth as a whole—that there should be among its members a certain number who are neutral and uncommitted.” On the other hand “I must say that in recent months we have been considerably disturbed by some of the words and actions of President Nkrumah and his Ministers. We received the impression that Ghana was becoming more and more antagonistic to Britain and increasingly willing to support Soviet attacks against Britain and the West.”

However, the Joint statement issued after the Accra talks “certainly contained some very helpful declarations.” He particularly welcomed President Nkrumah's declaration that Ghana's policy would continue to be based on the principle of non-alignment, and also especially valued the President's advice to the remaining British colonial peoples to rely on Britain's good faith and work through constitutional means. He believed that these and other statements in the communique reflected “a genuine desire” by Dr. Nkrumah to improve relations between Ghana and Britain.

Referring to the “anxieties which have arisen over the internal measures recently adopted by the Ghanaian Government,” Mr. Sandys said that he did not propose to comment on these measures since it had always been the practice of British Governments, so far as possible, to refrain from expressing opinions, whether favourable or unfavourable, upon the domestic policies of other Commonwealth countries.

The Government, however, were well aware of their responsibilities in connexion with the Queen's visit. The date for it had been fixed a long time ago, and to cancel it now on political grounds would have “a most serious effect” on relations between the two countries. Nothing would better suit those in Ghana who disliked Britain than the cancellation of the royal visit “and the crisis in our relations which would result.”

Turning to the “more important aspect” of the Queen's safety, Mr. Sandys said: “I can assure the House that if it should appear to us that the visit would involve abnormal risks, we would not hesitate to advise cancellation. In such circumstances I am sure that everyone in Ghana would understand and would agree that this was the Gulf proper course. We have, however, examined the position most thoroughly and have considered all information available to us. As a result the Government have reached the conclusion that unless there is some significant change in the

situation we would not be justified in advising any alteration in Her Majesty's plans. Whatever doubts some Members may feel about the timeliness of the visit, one thing is quite certain—that the Queen will receive an enthusiastic welcome from the warm-hearted and hospitable people of Ghana, who have a very real affection for Britain and, I believe, a deep respect for Her Majesty.”

Mr. Kwesi Armah said in London on Oct. 22, on returning from a week's visit to Accra, that the suggestion by some M.P.s that the Queen's visit would be unwise was “just an imaginary conspiracy on their part.” There was “a fever of enthusiasm everywhere” in Ghana for the Queen's visit, and “no question” of President Nkrumah using the royal visit for political advantage.

Fresh concern, however, was aroused in Britain following two bomb explosions in Accra on Nov. 4, the first of which blasted away the feet of the life-size statue of President Nkrumah outside Parliament House, and the second slightly damaged a storeroom at the foot of the large “Freedom and Justice” archway in Black Star Square, where the Queen was to take the salute at a military parade in her honour; a night watchman was injured in the latter explosion.

After consultations between Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Sandys, and an exchange of telegrams with Sir Arthur Snelling, it was decided on Nov. 5 that Mr. Sandys should immediately leave by air

for Accra to talk to President Nkrumah about the arrangements for the Queen's visit, the Cabinet's final decision as to whether or not the tour should take place being made dependent on Mr. Sandys' report.

An announcement by the Commonwealth Relations Office quoted a statement issued by President Nkrumah in which the latter said that he welcomed Mr. Sandy's visit, "which will enable him to see for himself and allay any anxiety in connexion with the Queen's visit."

Mr. Sandys arrived in Accra on Nov. 6 and had a 45-minute talk with President Nkrumah. On Nov. 7 the President and Mr. Sandys drove together through the city in an open car along the route to be taken by the Queen, receiving everywhere an enthusiastic welcome and inspecting the security arrangements made by the Ghanaian Government; they also drove to Tema harbour and new town before returning to Accra.

After discussing the arrangements with many officials concerned with the royal visit, Mr. Sandys left Accra the same afternoon, returning to London in the morning of Nov. 8. After he had reported to the Cabinet, Mr. Macmillan informed the House of Commons in the afternoon that the Cabinet had advised the Queen that she should proceed with her visit to Ghana. The Prime Minister's statement was as follows:

"... I thought it right that the Commonwealth Secretary should pay a second visit to Ghana. This has been done. He returned to this country this morning. My colleagues and I have had from him a full appreciation of the position based on his personal inquiries on the spot.

"Of course, no Royal tour is without risk. Her Majesty knows this as well as any Member of the House. But she has never been deterred in undertaking previous tours because of the personal risk to herself which is inevitable, especially when great crowds are assembled. Happily, she has come triumphantly through these trials with the enhanced affection and admiration of all.

"After considering carefully and anxiously all the information before us, collected and assessed by those best qualified to do so, the Government have reached the conclusion that the degree of risk attaching to this tour is no greater than those which have been present in many of Her Majesty's previous journeys.

"There are those who will ask how this conclusion can be reconciled with the explosions which have taken place in Accra during the last few days. That was one of the questions which was in the forefront of my mind when I decided it would be right for the Commonwealth Secretary to visit Ghana again.

"He has given us his first-hand assessment of the significance of these incidents. While he was in Accra he took the opportunity to tour the Royal route in company with President Nkrumah, and he saw for himself the unmistakable friendliness of the crowd.

"We have also had the expert advice, based on a thorough investigation on the spot, of those in this country best qualified to do this sort of work. We have had the ready co-operation of the Ghanaian authorities.

“I can assure the House that, on the information and advice available to them, the Government have formed the view that the explosions did not indicate any intention by those concerned to perpetrate acts of violence during the Queen's visit which would endanger Her Majesty's safety. We have, therefore, no reason to fear that this journey will involve any additional risk to Her Majesty's safety.

“On the other hand, the cancellation of this visit, so long promised and awaited by the people of Ghana, would impair the invaluable contribution made by Her Majesty's Journeys to the strengthening of the ties which bind together the peoples of the Commonwealth. The Government have therefore advised the Queen that she should proceed with her visit to Ghana.

“We of course at once informed the other Commonwealth countries, with whom we have been in touch throughout. May I, therefore, on behalf of the whole House, send Her Majesty our warmest good wishes for the success of her West African tour and a safe Return”

Replying to Mr. Turton (C.), Mr. Macmillan said that the Government had been in touch with all the Commonwealth Prime Ministers and had sent them personal messages; he thought he could say that no Commonwealth Government had expressed a contrary view.

Mr. Gaitskell and other Members joined with the Prime Minister in wishing the Queen a “very happy and successful tour.”

The Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh accordingly left London Airport in the morning of Nov. 9 on their 3,600-mile non-stop flight to Accra.—(Times - Daily Telegraph - Guardian Sunday Times - Observer - Commonwealth Survey) (Prev. rep. Ghana, 18350 A; 18335 B; 18139 A.)