

Nkrumah's councils and has recently had his term extended, at the Prime Minister's personal request, for an additional eight months to one year.

15. Much may depend on the outcome of the struggle now going on between Mr. Botsio and Mr. Gbedemah for the deputy leadership of the party, which carries with it the post of Deputy Prime Minister. At present the struggle between them has only been postponed because of the Independence Ceremonies. Both men have been associated with Nkrumah since the early days and were in prison with him in 1951. It seemed to us that Botsio had more popular appeal and political shrewdness, but that Gbedemah, who is Minister of Finance, would be the indispensable man so far as Nkrumah is concerned in persuading the West of the responsibility of his government towards the prospects of foreign investment. He struck us as very capable and alert and a good administrator. We gained the impression that while, from an emotional standpoint, Nkrumah may feel closer to Botsio, he recognizes that he needs Gbedemah even more. Should Gbedemah's influence decline, this would perhaps be a serious matter for the West — and for Ghana.

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16. That Nkrumah has ambitions for a West African Federation is no secret. He states so in his autobiography [*The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah*] published on March 6. At his press conference in Accra on March 7 he said that the West Africa Federation is "a favourite idea of mine and one that lies very close to my heart". So long as this meant that he would use his influence and his on the whole highly responsible example, to encourage and also to steady such politicians as Dr. Azikiwe and Mr. Awolowo of Nigeria and to bring Sierra Leone and Gambia forward towards independence, this is all to the good. Sir James Robertson, the Governor of Nigeria, told us that Awolowo, of the Western Region, was possible Prime Ministerial timber but that he would "never trust" Azikiwe, of the Eastern Region. In the light of Azikiwe's categorical triumph at the recent Nigerian election, this is interesting. However, should Nkrumah entertain ambitions to be himself Prime Minister of a West Africa Federation, this might not only involve him in conflict with his colleagues in Nigeria (which compared with Ghana's five millions can muster close to 35 millions of whom perhaps 15 millions are politically mature); it might also lead him to neglect necessary economic tasks at home for the pursuit of grandiose ambitions in the area.

17. Nkrumah also has definite aspirations to be a leader of independent Africa, and insofar as this might lead to his urging emergent African territories to follow his example, this again is healthy. He stated at his press conference that he would like to call a conference in Accra of all the independent African countries, not excluding, he added with a smile, South Africa "if it would do any good". He would include Morocco, Tunis, Libya, Egypt, the Sudan, Ethiopia, Liberia, and Ghana.

18. In both private and public statements Nkrumah has expressed a strong preference for the Commonwealth connection and for an Atlantic orientation. On March 7 he said, "It is not in my mind that we should ever be a Republic within the Commonwealth, but if the country were to force me to go to that, then it is the furthest that I will ever go. At present we are a dominion within the Commonwealth". He added, "I am an internationalist. I am not against any race or creed but I am [for] a principle, the principle of anti-colonialism". He had frequently said in his autobiography and elsewhere, that it is better to be free and mismanage your affairs than to have them managed for you by someone else and not to be free. It is this curious combination of sober constitutional responsibility and a burning passionate belief in the right of the African to freedom that makes his appeal so powerful.