

7. One of the things that strikes one about Accra, Kumasi, Koforidua and the smaller centres is the large amount of money which has been put into the improvement of roads and railways, the building of schools and hospitals, housing projects, health and sanitation measures, and rural mass education. It seemed to us wholly to Nkrumah's credit that he should have chosen to spend his money that way rather than follow the arbitrary and personalized role of President Tubman of next door Liberia whose £ 2 million U.S. subsidy has been largely frittered away on uneconomic and irresponsible projects. The test comes now with the fall in cocoa prices.

8. It would thus appear that the pace towards independence has indeed been breath-taking, granted the extraordinary mass appeal of Nkrumah's party, which could not be withstood. At the same time, once Arden-Clarke had advised the British Government to grasp the nettle by treating with Nkrumah when, while in jail, his party secured an overwhelming electoral majority, the rest followed naturally. Now that the country is independent, serious but not insurmountable problems remain.

### *Political Problems*

#### *(a) Regional Separatism*

9. Undoubtedly the most tricky problem is the working out of some kind of reasonable relationship between the broadly conservative tribal, and hierarchical society of the Ashanti, and the radical populist movement on the coast represented by the CPP. To the leader of the opposition, Professor K.A. Busia, the initials of his National Liberation Movement mean liberation for the Ashanti from the tyranny of the arrivistes represented by Nkrumah and the CPP. Prior to and during the 1956 elections, animosity between the two reached serious proportions. There were accusations on the part of the CPP that the Asantehene and the paramount chiefs of the Ashanti were using their semi-feudal power to prevent legitimate electioneering by the CPP in the Ashanti. There were also counter accusations from the NLM that city toughs from Accra, Sekondi and Cape Coast known as "Verandah boys" had used, with Nkrumah's connivance, strong arm methods in the Ashanti. Though feeling seems to have died down, it at one time ran high. It had the regrettable effect, among others, of alienating the intellectuals from the CPP. Most of them are now to be found in the NLM whose leader, Dr. Busia, is professor of Sociology at Ghana University. Nkrumah's personal representative in London, Joe Appiah, husband of the former Peggy Cripps, found Ashanti family connections conflicting with his political loyalties, and is now an MP for the opposition.

10. On the other hand, in the 1956 elections, the CPP did gain eight of the twenty-one Ashanti seats, and this constitutes no mean minority. When we were in Kumasi, we listened to a lengthy and heated argument between the National Chairman of the NLM, Baffuor Osei Akoto and the leader of the CPP in Ashanti, Joe Manioo. It seemed to us that there were very real differences of opinion but that if they were capable of being discussed in this disputatious but friendly fashion, they were also capable of being solved, granted good will and a reasonable degree of statesmanship on both sides.

11. It will not do, however, for the CPP to continue to make rather crude political gestures such as the building in Kumasi of a £ 2 1/2 million hospital which cannot be effectively operated because of the critical shortage of trained doctors and nurses. In the same way, Dr. Busia may have to recognize that while he is a first class intellect, his political appeal is restricted. Nkrumah reaches down to the masses and the strength of his party is that it is a mass party with simple slogans and election cries. It may be that some of the heady strength of the CPP may turn sour if the steep fall in the price of cocoa causes a slowdown of the developmental programme. Similarly, there may also be a realization on