

2. These misgivings, and their accompanying strains and tensions, were of course masked during the Independence Celebrations during which, at a cost of £ 3 million, a remarkable demonstration of efficiency and unity was created. Nevertheless they remain; and now that the hand of the British has been withdrawn and the steadying influence of the Governor General, Sir Charles Arden-Clarke, is shortly to be withdrawn, the next six months or so will prove a critical testing time for Dr. Nkrumah and his party. Specifically, they will have to tackle certain acute political, internal, economic and administrative problems outlined below (paras. 9-34). They will also have to decide whether or not to taste more of the heady wine of Pan West Africanism or of Pan Africanism generally, and the extent to which they are going to permit extreme left wing and anti-West tendencies to gain any control of government policy.

3. The next few months are also likely to prove a testing period for the West in its relations with Ghana. Ghana is at present oriented towards the West, but over-caution, hesitation, or an attitude of patronage on the part of the West may tend to make this orientation change. There is at present, however, no reason to count Ghana as a solid member of the Arab-Asian bloc. Its economic and political interests rest either with Black Africa, or with the Atlantic.

*The Speed of the March to Independence: Nkrumah and Arden-Clarke*

4. We heard the view expressed by certain United Kingdom civil servants, but also by politicians and intellectuals in the Ashanti, that the march toward independence had been too swift. Much of this may perhaps be dismissed as a mere longing for the dear dead days. It was suggested to us that Arden-Clarke, a man of very firm and vigorous personality, having taken the risk of treating with Nkrumah in 1951, was also determined to crown his lifetime of colonial service with the achievement of independence for Ghana. (Similar charges, involving the heightening of personal prestige, were also made against Earl Mountbatten in the days leading to the Independence of India.) There may be some truth in this; on the other hand, Nkrumah owes, and is aware that he owes, a great deal to the steadying influence, firm hand, and above all the robust common sense of Arden-Clarke.

5. The political role of Nkrumah himself, so far as one can see, has been during the past five years without any element of dubiety. That is to say, while never departing from the political goal of complete independence for Ghana which he has kept constantly and consistently in view, he has worked within a constitutional framework, and the march to independence, at least since the riots of March, 1949, has been attended with singularly little violence. Nkrumah, strikes one as a man of inflexible purpose, but flexible as to tactics; and while excited at, he does not give the impression of being intoxicated by the prospect of Pan-Africanism under Ghanaian leadership. Having secured his people their freedom, he is now dedicated to the task of improving their economic lot which, while markedly superior to that of India, is still abysmally poor by our standards.

6. We heard it said that had it not been for the high price of cocoa in 1951-1954 and the stick to beat the United Kingdom which this dollar-earning capacity gave to Nkrumah, the British would have delayed independence by perhaps as much as ten years. In this they would have found powerful allies in the Ashanti, a semi feudal society the role of whose paramount chiefs is broadly analogous, in microscopic form, to that of the maharajahs and nawabs of undivided India. All this, however, is might-have-been. The price of cocoa was high and this not only enabled Nkrumah to pile up a surplus of close to £ 230 million for his Cocoa Stabilization Fund, but at the same time to embark on a highly necessary and perhaps, in this context, not too overly ambitious programme of economic and social betterment for his people.