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**positive action conference
for peace and security
in africa**

accra, 7th to 10th april, 1960

16

**opening and closing speeches by
Dr. the Rt. Hon. Kwame Nkrumah,
Prime Minister of Ghana**

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the conference**

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**community centre
accra, ghana**

SPEECHES BY
THE PRIME MINISTER OF GHANA
AT THE OPENING AND CLOSING SESSIONS
ON 7th AND 10th APRIL, 1960

RESOLUTIONS AND MANIFESTO



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**CONFERENCE ON POSITIVE ACTION AND SECURITY
IN AFRICA, ACCRA, 7th TO 10th APRIL, 1960**

OPENING SESSION—7TH APRIL, 1960
SPEECH BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF GHANA
DR. THE RIGHT HONOURABLE KWAME NKRUMAH

Fellow Africans, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is a pleasant duty, on behalf of the Government and people of Ghana, to welcome here to-day our distinguished guests who have come from all over this vast but turbulent continent of ours to confer together in this conference on Positive Action for Peace and Security in Africa. We welcome also the many fraternal delegates and observers who have come to join us in our deliberations at this historic conference.

Once again it has fallen to me to play host to this gathering of dedicated sons of Africa, and, in welcoming you, fellow Africans, I would like to express my sincere appreciation of the promptness with which our invitations to this emergency conference were accepted.

As you are all no doubt aware, the beginning of the year 1960 has seen the climax of ruthless and concerted outrages on the peace-loving people of our continent. The explosion of an atomic device in the Sahara by the French Government and the wanton massacre just over a fortnight ago in the Union of South Africa of our brothers and sisters who were engaged in peaceful demonstrations against humiliating and repulsive laws of the South African Government, are two eloquent events in this climax, a climax which is a sign-post to the beginning of the end of foreign supremacy and domination in Africa.

In spite of several protests to General de Gaulle by the whole African Continent and the United Nations General Assembly against exploding an atomic bomb on our continent, the French Government arrogantly exploded this nuclear device on our soil. As a result of this callous and inhuman attitude, the Government of Ghana took immediate action by freezing the assets of French firms in Ghana. Other African leaders and Governments, indignant at this outrage, took other decisive measures against the French Government. I hope our reactions and protests will prevent the Government of France from exploding further atomic bombs on our continent.

Faced with this threat, the Government of Ghana, in consultation with other Independent African States, have invited you to this conference; first to discuss and plan future action to prevent the further use of African soil as a testing ground for nuclear weapons; secondly, to consider effective means to prevent further brutalities against our defenceless brothers and sisters in South Africa, brutalities which are the result of the South African Government's racial policy of apartheid. Thirdly, this

conference must consider the ways and means whereby Algeria can be helped to bring an end to this dismal flow of human blood consequent upon this lingering physical conflict which does neither of the combatants any good. That Algeria, a country in Africa, is French, is a ridiculous concept. France is French and Algeria is Algerian. France belongs to the continent of Europe; Algeria belongs to the continent of Africa. The fact that there are a million Frenchmen in Algeria is a mere accident of history which does not, and can never make Algeria French. And the sooner this fact is realised, the better will the French Government be able to adjust itself to the idea of negotiating peace with our valiant fighting brothers in Algeria. This conference must discharge this pressing duty.

Lastly, but by no means the least important matter to be considered, is the great issue facing the whole of our people, namely, the total liberation of Africa and the necessity to alert the people of Africa against the new form of colonialism and its attempts to balkanise the continent and so prevent African unity. This conference is called therefore to plan concerted positive action for peace and security in Africa.

Fellow Africans, you all know that foreign domination in Africa effectively disintegrated the personality of the African people. For centuries during which colonialism held sway over our beloved continent, colonialism imposed on the mind of Africans the idea that their own kith and kin in other parts of Africa were aliens and had little, if anything, in common with Africans elsewhere. It was in the interests of the colonial and settler rulers to perpetuate the subjection of us, the indigenous people, by pursuing a policy not only of "divide and rule", but also of artificial territorial division of Africa. It played upon our tribalistic instincts. It sowed seeds of dissension in order to promote disunity among us.

It is therefore with great pride and happiness that we note how resurgent Africa is witnessing to-day what is by no means a humble beginning of the process of re-integration of the African personality, and forging closer and stronger bonds of unity which are bound to bring us to our ultimate goal: the attainment of a union of African States and Republics which, to my mind, is the only solution to the problems that face us in Africa to-day.

Fellow Africans and friends: there are two threatening swords of Damocles hanging over our continent, and we must remove them. These are nuclear tests in the Sahara by the French Government and the apartheid policy of the Government of the Union of South Africa.

It would be a great mistake to imagine that the achievement of political independence by certain areas in Africa would automatically mean the end of the struggle. It is merely the beginning of the end of the struggle. We must watch out for and expose the various forms of the new imperialism with which we are

threatened. Among these, we must mention nuclear imperialism that dawned upon Africa on a tragic day last February when the French Government exploded an atomic bomb on our soil. Winds carried the poisonous debris from the explosion to various parts of Africa, including Ghana, and thus confounded the confident forecasts by so-called meteorological experts of France who claimed that there was no wind that could carry radio-active debris more than 700 miles from the site of the explosion. From the point of view of genetics, these atomic tests are extremely bad and can have the most disastrous effects.

The French test last February resulted in a very substantial increase in radio-activity. This was proved by British and Canadian scientists who were manning our monitoring stations here in Ghana. Their observations were confirmed by a French scientist who was invited by us to Ghana to observe things for himself.

Fellow Africans: on this matter of the evil effects of atomic tests we refuse to allow anyone to throw dust in our eyes. I must emphasise that five eminent physicists—three Japanese, one American and one French, two of them Nobel Prizewinners—have announced that more than one million people will die as a result of such explosions. They stated also, among other things, that "elementary calculation" showed that the fall-out from each "superbomb" provoked the birth of fifteen-thousand abnormal children. How can we, in the face of these facts, keep quiet? We must all with one voice vehemently protest against the holding of any more nuclear tests in the Sahara.

In spite of world protests and condemnation of its first test, the Government of France has actually carried out its intention by exploding the second bomb in the Sahara. This is an act of stubborn and inhuman defiance that not only challenges the very conscience of mankind, but also undermines the United Nations.

The action of the French Government in defying world considered opinion and exploding these atomic bombs becomes more heinous when it is considered that at the present moment the three leading world powers of atomic strength, themselves conscious of the grave dangers to human life of these tests, are leaving no stone unturned to arrive at an agreement to stop all tests and ultimately to abolish all nuclear weapons.

The Government of Ghana, as I have said, has already taken action by freezing all French assets until the extent of the damage to the life and health of her people becomes known. Since the explosion of the second bomb, she has also recalled her Ambassador to France. But a critical situation such as this calls for concerted action and it will be for the committees of this conference to discuss what action can be taken to prevent further nuclear outrages in Africa. Another committee will discuss Positive Direct Action to prevent further tests.

Last December and January an international team consisting of representatives from Ghana and other parts of Africa, as well as members from Britain, the United States and even from France itself, attempted to enter the testing site at Reggane in the Sahara. They left Ghana under the leadership of the Reverend Michael Scott, but were prevented from proceeding beyond the Upper Volta border by armed guards under the direction and control of French authorities. In order to make further attempts impossible, their vehicles and equipment were seized and have been kept by the French authorities up to now. Although they did not reach Reggane, they aroused many people to the dangers of nuclear imperialism. The team brought home to us the fact that the victims of these bombs are not less human just because they would probably never be known.

Positive action has already achieved remarkable success in the liberation struggle of our continent and I feel sure that it can further save us from the perils of this atomic arrogance. If the direct action that was carried out by the international protest team were to be repeated on a mass scale, or simultaneously from various parts of Africa, the result could be as powerful and as successful as Gandhi's historic Salt March. We salute Mahatma Gandhi and we remember in tribute to him, that it was in South Africa that his method of non-violence and non-co-operation was first practised in the struggle against the vicious race discrimination that still plagues that unhappy country.

But now positive action with non-violence, as advocated by us, has found expression in South Africa in the defiance of the oppressive pass laws. This defiance continues in spite of the murder of unarmed men, women and children by the South African Government. We are sure that the will of the majority will ultimately prevail, for no government can continue to impose its rule in face of the conscious defiance of the overwhelming masses of its people. There is no force, however impregnable, that a united and determined people cannot overcome.

Future positive direct action against French nuclear tests might, for instance, take the form of a mass non-violent attempt to proceed towards the testing area. It would not matter if not a single person ever reached the site, for the effect of hundreds of people from every corner of Africa and from outside it crossing the artificial barriers that divide Africa to risk imprisonment and arrest, would be a protest that the people of France, with the exception of the de Gaulle Government, and the world could not ignore. Let us remember that the poisonous fall-out did not, and never will respect the arbitrary and artificial divisions forged by colonialism across our beloved continent.

In my view, therefore, this conference ought to consider the setting up of a training centre where volunteers would learn the essential disciplines of concerted positive action. Such an establishment might also become the centre for such needed research

into the philosophy and technique of positive action which, in the age of nuclear madness and apartheid arrogance, offers the greatest single hope for peace, security and brotherhood among mankind.

General de Gaulle is reported to have said recently that while other countries have enough nuclear weapons to destroy the whole world, France must also have nuclear weapons with which to defend herself. I would say here, and no doubt you all join me, that Africa is not interested in such "defence" which means no more than the ability to share in the honour of destroying mankind. We in Africa wish to live and develop. We are not freeing ourselves from centuries of imperialism and colonialism only to be maimed and destroyed by nuclear weapons. We do not threaten anyone and we renounce the foul weapons that threaten the very existence of life on this planet. Rather we put our trust in the awakening conscience of mankind which rejects this primitive barbarism, and believe firmly in positive non-violent action.

But while we consider the new forms of imperialism and colonialism, let us not forget its crude blatant forms that wreak havoc in parts of our continent such as Algeria, Angola, Kenya, Ruanda Urundi, Nyasaland and in South Africa. The passive sympathy of the African masses must be converted into active participation in the struggle for the total emancipation of Africa. Africa is too sacred a land to harbour hypocrites. Sooner or later, but sooner rather than later, our continent will be purged of all forms of colonialism, for the fire of intense nationalism is blazing all over Africa and burning to ashes the last remnants of colonialism. The civilised world stands aghast at the brutal massacre of unarmed Africans in South Africa. Yet this wanton outrage of the Government of South Africa is hardly more terrible than the explosion of French atomic bombs in the Sahara.

It is ironical to think that the rulers of South Africa call themselves Christians. If Christ were to appear in South Africa to-day he would be crucified by them if he dared to oppose the brutal laws of racial segregation. Apartheid and nuclear weapons must shake the conscience of the christian world. But what are the churches of the world doing about these very contradictions of Christianity?

Fellow Africans: it is a misconceived view that Africans are incapable of shouldering responsibility for their own affairs and that it is in the African's own interest that European tutelage should continue. In the light of such artificial doubts and antiquated ideas about Africa and her people, the need for a dispassionate presentation of Africa's case for complete freedom now cannot be over-emphasised.

The problem of peace and security on this our beloved continent of Africa, is not an academic question. Even while we deliberate to-day, men, women and children die daily as a result of military action or police massacre. The Algerian refugees

are an ever present reminder of this grim tragedy. At the southern end of the continent, the defenders of apartheid, the worst form of racial arrogance, have not only boasted openly of the new military equipment they are assembling to intimidate Africans who resort to non-violent positive action against that iniquitous system, but they have recently unleashed the murderous fire of Saracen tanks upon them, an action which has hit the conscience of the world. In eastern and central Africa, our heroic leaders and thousands of our Freedom Fighters suffer detention and banishment for daring to ask to be free.

Fellow Africans: the violence and threats of violence of the present day are but the continuation of a pattern which has been developing during the past ten years with an intensity both cumulative and alarming. The memories of the tragedy of Sakiet, and of the relentless harassment from ground and sky of the people of Kenya, are still vivid in our memory.

At this juncture, Comrades, I would like to ask you to stand up and observe two minutes' silence for all those Africans who have been the victims of colonial and racial brutality.

We who are gathered here to-day wish to see all violent conflicts stopped; we wish to secure freedom and ensure security in Africa. In order to do so we must mobilize all of the forces of peace for non-violent positive action in protest against these outrages, and for making the social and political changes which are necessary to prevent future conflicts. This is the sacred task to which all of us are devoted, and the sublime objective to which every true lover of Africa must be dedicated.

I have often stressed the fact that Africa is not an extension of Europe or of any other continent, and that the attempts to balkanize her is inimical to African unity and progress.

We should not be so pre-occupied with the urgent problems of political independence as to overlook a scarcely less vital sphere—the economic sphere. Yet it is here, more than anywhere else, that we must look for the schemings of a politically frustrated colonialism. On the other hand, it is in the economic field also that we find the key to fruitful co-operation with other nations—at a functional level in the first instance—but leading to full political as well as economic unity that could be built up over wide regions, to extend finally throughout the length and breadth of our beloved continent.

A striking instance of the New Imperialism to which I referred earlier, is the inclusion of certain parts of Africa in Common Market and Trade Preference areas set up by industrial Europe, for example, the inclusion of Congo and the French Community states in the European Common Market. The main benefit of this is reaped not by the people of these parts of Africa, who cannot afford the expensive products of industrial Europe, but by European industry which is assured of cheap, tariff-free

raw material. Furthermore, the arrangement prevents the building up of industry in Africa which, to survive, needs the protection in the early years of its growth from the unequal competition of the industrialized nations.

But Africa must be developed industrially, for her own sake and ultimately for the sake of a healthy world economy. This can only happen if the artificial boundaries that divide her are broken down so as to provide for viable economic units, and ultimately a single African unit. This means an African common market, a common currency area and the development of communications of all kinds to allow the free flow of goods and services. International capital could be attracted to such viable economic areas, but it would not be attracted to a divided and balkanized Africa, with each small region engaged in senseless and suicidal economic competition with its neighbours. This international capital would more than offset any loss of capital from those who want to invest in Africa only when they can see quick and immediate profit in it for themselves, and who fear the industrial competition of a developed Africa.

I believe that independent African States should be able, even before actual political union takes place, to enter into an African Treaty Organization whereby experts can work out details of the measures and the fields in which co-operation can take place immediately, and the elimination of waste through harmful competition can be realised first in the economic and social fields and later in others.

These measures cannot be put into force all at once. But a start could and should be made by the development, for instance, of better road and telegraphic communications between neighbouring African states and the setting up among the Independent States of a Common Market in industrial products. This last may involve a little loss of revenue to any state but would certainly set the pattern for the whole future industrial development of Africa.

These questions may perhaps be raised among the matters to be discussed at the meeting of Heads of Independent States at Adis Ababa next June. The technical details would be for expert commissions to work out. It seems desirable, however, that the occasion of this meeting of Government representatives, political parties and other organisations throughout Africa, should not be allowed to pass without preliminary discussions on issues that so vitally affect the future of our continent. It is hoped that the discussions at this conference, by underlying the economic needs and problems that we face, will pave the way to future co-operation.

The cardinal principle upon which the peace and security of this continent depends, is the firm insistence that Africa is not an extension of Europe or of any other continent. A corollary of this principle is the resolution that Africa is not going to become a cockpit of the Cold War, or a marshalling ground for

attack on either West or East, nor is it going to be an arena for fighting out the East-West conflict. In this particular sense, we face neither East nor West: we face forward.

For the last ten years the tone of international politics has been set by the Cold War. We understand the fears on both sides that have led to this tragic polarisation, but Africans have no intention of becoming a part of it. We have seen what happens when small nations become involved in it. We have also seen, on the other hand, what can happen when the spirit of Bandung prevails and the powers who stand outside this conflict use their good offices as conciliators and mediators through the United Nations, as in the stopping of the Korean War. That is the role which we Africans wish to play. I refuse to accept that dictum that if you are not for me you are against me. Our slogan is "Positive Neutrality". This is our contribution to international peace and world progress. It is in this context that military pacts and defence agreements between African states and former colonial powers and non-African nations are ultimately inimical to the interests of the continent as a whole. Since there is no suggestion that any African state has aggressive intentions, such pacts and agreements can only draw the states concerned into the Cold War strategy of the bigger powers. Furthermore, they introduce one more obstacle in the way of harmonising our policies towards the achievement of African unity.

There can be no peace or security in Africa without freedom and political unity. So long as one inch of African soil remains under colonial rule there will be strife and conflict. So long as any group on this continent denies the principle of one-man one-vote, and uses its power to maintain its privilege, there will be insecurity for the oppressors and constant resentment and revolt on the part of the oppressed. These are the elementary facts of life in Africa to-day. No man willed this situation and no man can stem the tide or divert the "winds of change". We decry violence and deplore it. We are devoted to non-violent positive action. Experience has shown that when change is too long delayed or stubbornly resisted, violence will erupt here and there—not because men planned it and willed it—but because the accumulated grievances of the past erupt with volcanic fury.

It is in this light that we must view those fortunately rare, but no less tragic episodes which have confronted us—the Mau Mau war in Kenya, the costly struggle in Algeria, events in the Cameroons and occasional riots here and there. The defenders of colonialism and settler domination should have eyes to see and ears to hear. Unless they respond to the pressures of non-violent petition and protest, they will ultimately reap a harvest of violence that no one wants. Where, as in Algeria, the bloody struggle still proceeds, it would be the essence of wisdom on the part of those who defend the privileges of colonial rule to negotiate a cease-fire now rather than to prolong a conflict which, should they even win, will in the long run raise its head again. Peace in Algeria must take first priority in the consolidation of peace and in laying the foundations of security.

Our emphasis upon Africa bespeaks neither chauvinism nor isolationism. We who pioneered the development of Pan Africanism have done so with a vision. History has described to us the tragedies which have beset every other continent upon this planet—the international wars, the rebellions and revolutions. We must be determined that this continent of ours shall not repeat that dismal history. The continent of Africa has been drenched with blood in the past, it has been raided for slaves, it has been partitioned, exploited and looted. Precisely because it has had this kind of past it is determined not to have that kind of future. If we succeed, and succeed we must, the whole of mankind—not Africa alone—will reap immense benefits. Men with great foresight and knowledge all agree that the future of the world will be decided in Africa.

We welcome men of goodwill everywhere to join us, irrespective of their race, religion or nationality. When I speak of Africa for Africans this should be interpreted in the light of my emphatic declaration, that I do not believe in racialism and colonialism. The concept "Africa for Africans" does not mean that other races are excluded from it. No. It only means that Africans, who naturally are in the majority in Africa, shall and must govern themselves in their own countries. The fight is for the future of humanity, and it is a most important fight.

Fellow Africans: Africa is marching forward to freedom and no power on earth can halt her now.

Our salvation and strength and our only way out of these ravages in Africa, lies in political union, and those who doubt the feasibility of such a union appear to have forgotten their history lesson too soon. The vastness of Russia and all the towering obstacles of her beginning did not prevent that country from building its greatness in unity by the union of eighteen different republics. The sprawling spread of America and her original colonial difficulties have not stopped that country from building a union of forty-nine states. If these countries can do this, why cannot Africa? I repeat that nothing but our own groundless fears and doubts can stop us from building a real practical political union. But remember—"Our fears are traitors and make us lose what we might often achieve by fearing to attempt."

If, as African territories emerge into independence, they declare their intention to form a union among themselves, and countries like Congo, Nigeria, Ghana, Guinea, Liberia for instance, as well as others, come together in an effective political union in the West for a start, it is not difficult to imagine the impact that such an African union would create on the world. Then consider the weight of our influence if later our brothers of the East throw in their lot into the union, and greater still, the influence if our brothers of the North throw in their lot, too.

This is not a mere dream. This is an objective worthy and capable of achievement and I for one am prepared to serve under any African leader who is able to offer the proper guidance in this great issue of our time.

So dear is this African unity to our hearts, that in our proposed republican constitution a definite provision has been incorporated by a concrete proposal that Ghana's sovereignty should be surrendered in whole or in part as a contribution towards the attainment of the great objective. Fellow Africans: permit me the liberty of stating in categorical terms that the greatness of this objective so transcends all other purposes and its sublimity is so profound, that it behooves each and everyone in the leadership of this struggle to endeavour to subdue his own little interests, his individual pride and ego and other petty considerations which merely serve to create needless obstacles in our path. The overriding importance of African unity demands the sacrifice of all personal, tribal and regional objectives and considerations.

In my view, conferences, protests and petitions may have their usefulness, but such usefulness is undoubtedly limited. The only answer to the several difficulties facing our continent is actual union of our various states and territories. If we cannot make an effort in this direction, we might as well begin to throw up our hands in despair and forget about Africa. But dare we do so?

I firmly believe without the possibility of contradiction that the only and the best solution to our problems is union—real political union which will provide the necessary complement required to augment the efforts of other people for the consolidation of peace and security in the world.

Finally, by our concerted non-violent positive action, we can help to ensure that this march forward is a swift and peaceful one, and the formulation of the necessary plans to effect this must be the responsibility of this Conference. I thank all of you for your devotion, which your presence here indicates, to this great cause, and wish for God's guidance and success in our deliberations.

Again, I welcome you all to Ghana.

POSITIVE ACTION CONFERENCE FOR PEACE AND
SECURITY IN AFRICA HELD IN ACCRA
FROM 7TH TO 10TH APRIL, 1960

First Committee

RESOLUTION ON THE FRENCH ATOMIC TESTS
IN THE SAHARA

Chairman: DEY OULD SIDI BABA, MOROCCO

Considering that the Government of France, in defiance of African and world public opinion as expressed at Accra, Tunis, Monrovia, Saniquellie and by the United Nations General Assembly, has exploded atomic bombs in the Sahara Desert on African soil on the 13th of February and the 1st of April, 1960, not daring to explode these bombs on her own soil but choosing a region which does not belong to her,

THIS CONFERENCE

1. **Declares** that the Government of France, by exploding atomic bombs in the Sahara, has committed an act of hostility and an infringement of the sovereignty and dignity of the peoples of Africa;

2. **Vehemently condemns** the action of the Government of France which, in carrying out atomic tests in the Sahara—thereby endangering the health, life, security and posterity of the African peoples and of mankind—has disregarded all peaceful efforts and world public opinion;

3. **Calls upon** all Governments, particularly Governments of Independent African States, to use all legitimate and constructive means at their disposal to mobilize world public opinion and sympathy against further nuclear tests in general, against the existence of atomic missile bases in Africa, and for total disarmament by collective and concerted actions through the United Nations;

4. **Calls upon** our brothers and sisters in French Community States in Africa who are equally and directly endangered by these lethal atomic tests in the Sahara to join us in our struggles and efforts to bring pressure to bear on the Government of France to stop further nuclear tests and thereby save the security, health, life and posterity of all peoples of Africa and of mankind;

5. **Commends** the economic and financial sanctions imposed upon the Government of France by some Governments and organisations in Africa, such as boycotting of French goods and freezing of French assets, and appeals to all Governments and organisations particularly in Africa, to adopt in so far as possible, these and other sanctions against the Government of France;

6. **Urges** all Independent Afro-Asian States to call immediately for an emergency meeting of the United Nations General Assembly with a view to stopping the Government of France from carrying out further nuclear tests on African soil;

7. **Calls upon** the Big Powers meeting in Paris in May for the Summit Conference to use their influence to stop the Government of France from carrying out further nuclear tests on African soil;

8. **Salutes** the International Sahara Protest Team led by the Rev. Michael Scott, for its effort to stop the French atomic tests in the Sahara and calls upon all Independent African States and people to continue these noble efforts by the establishment of Volunteer Training Centres for future concerted non-violent demonstrations against further nuclear tests in the Sahara;

9. **Calls upon** all Afro-Asian States to mobilize world public opinion against further tests anywhere in the world by sending teams to different parts of the world to educate and enlighten people on the real dangers of nuclear tests and thereby enlist more public opinion against further tests.

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Second Committee

RESOLUTION ON THE WAR IN ALGERIA

Chairman: FOUAD GALAL, U.A.R.

Considering that the war in Algeria has been causing much loss of human life, suffering and bloodshed for over five years;

Considering the various appeals which have repeatedly been made to the French Government by the General Assembly of the United Nations;

Considering that the French Government has ignored the repeated appeals to end the present war and grant the Algerian people their legitimate right to independence;

THIS CONFERENCE

1. **Recommends** effective support for the militant Algerians in their fight for independence;

2. **Salutes** the gallant soldiers of the Algerian army and bows with respect before the thousands of Algerians who have fallen in the liberation war;

3. **Calls upon** the French Government once again to enter into free negotiations with the provisional Government of the Algerian Republic for the complete independence of Algeria;

4. **Recommends** that the next independent African States Conference to be held in Addis Ababa next June, consider the formation of African volunteer corps to fight side by side with their Algerian brothers. Meanwhile this conference commends the efforts of those volunteers who spontaneously have formed a volunteer corps to fight for that cause;

5. **Urges** all independent African States which have not yet recognised the provisional Government of the Algerian Republic to do so;

6. **Calls upon** the African Independent States to instruct their representatives at the United Nations to co-ordinate their efforts with all those countries likely to support the Algerian cause;

7. **Recommends** that at the next Independent African States' Conference to be held in June this year in Addis Ababa, an Algerian War Refugee Fund be created towards which every independent African State will be required to contribute and

8. **Recommends** that this Addis Ababa Conference set up a Standing Committee to deal with all matters concerning the Algerian problem.

POSITIVE ACTION CONFERENCE FOR PEACE AND
SECURITY IN AFRICA HELD IN ACCRA
FROM 7TH TO 10TH APRIL, 1960

Third Committee

RESOLUTION ON SOUTH AFRICA

Chairman: M. O. YASSEIN, SUDAN

Considering the situation arising out of the large scale killings and massacres of unarmed and peaceful demonstrators against racial discrimination and segregation in the Union of South Africa,

Recognising that such a situation has been brought about by racial policies of the Government of the Union of South Africa,

THIS CONFERENCE RECOMMENDS

1. That the Independent African States shall contribute financially to the aid of victims of racial repression in South Africa, and provide other means of help to counteract the effects of Apartheid policy;

2. That an appeal shall be made to religious and humanitarian organisations to condemn the policies of the South African Government and give every possible help to its victims;

3. That the Independent African States shall consider imposing economic sanctions on South Africa until the Government of South Africa desist from its present policy of racial oppression;

4. That all the peoples of Africa should consider boycotting South African goods;

5. That the Independent African States shall consider the desirability of severing diplomatic relations with South Africa;

6. That when implementing the resolutions of the Security Council, the Secretary-General of the United Nations shall consult the leaders of the oppressed people of South Africa;

7. That the representatives of the Afro-Asian Group in the United Nations shall continue their efforts to press for more positive action against South Africa;

8. That the countries of the British Commonwealth expel South Africa from their community; and

9. That in view of the recent atrocities committed in South Africa, the South African Government has proved its unfitness to be entrusted with the mandate in South West Africa, and therefore that steps should be taken to revoke the mandate immediately.

POSITIVE ACTION CONFERENCE FOR PEACE AND
SECURITY IN AFRICA HELD IN ACCRA
FROM 7TH TO 10TH APRIL, 1960

Fourth Committee

RESOLUTION ON THE LIBERATION OF AFRICA

Chairman: BARRY BOCAR BIRO, GUINEA

THIS CONFERENCE

1. **Agrees** with the principle that all Independent African States should consider it an obligation to contribute substantially to the African liberation "Freedom Fund" and that the near-independent States should be apprised of the existence of this Fund to enable them to adhere to this principle;

2. **Recognises** that the Independent African States are the main source of revenue and, that the Conference of Independent African States should determine how such revenue should be disbursed;

3. **Calls upon** all Independent African States to implement the Resolution adopted at the 1958 Accra Conference of Independent African States regarding the economic and cultural relations among African countries and expresses its gratitude to those Independent African States who are already doing so;

4. **Requests** the United Nations to call a conference to consider the problem of the liberation of Africa with a view to working out a specific time table for the total liberation of all African countries;

5. **Calls upon** Territories outside South Africa to prohibit the recruitment in their territories of labour for South Africa for the purpose of exploiting African natural resources for the benefit of a racialist minority;

6. **Recommends** that the Pan-African Movement be established in every territory in Africa;

7. **Urges** all Independent African States to consider the constant and regular award of scholarships and bursaries in their colleges and universities to nations of dependent African States as an important instrument in the liberation movement;

8. **Recommends** the establishment of training centres for the effective training of freedom-fighters in non-violent positive action for carrying on the struggle to a successful end, and

9. **Places on record** its wholesome appreciation of the work done by the Independent African States in stimulating, promoting, and expediting by financial and other means the total liberation of the African Continent and urges them to go ahead with this noble task until success has been achieved.

SPEECH BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF GHANA
DR. THE RIGHT HONOURABLE KWAME NKRUMAH

Fellow Africans, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Four days ago, I welcomed you to this historic conference for Positive Action and Security in Africa. This morning I have come here again to bid you farewell.

The enthusiastic response that has been given to this conference indicates beyond all doubt the intense desire of Africans not only for independence and unity, but also to come together to work for their common destiny.

There is much gratification in the knowledge that all of us are keenly alive to our great responsibility in regard to the struggle for the total liberation of Africa. It is also reassuring indeed that the dependent African territories are becoming bolder in their fight for freedom and are prepared, more than ever before, to undergo sacrifices and deprivations.

We have all spoken with one emphatic voice and in no mistaken terms of the stand we have taken regarding the vital issues we have discussed during this Conference.

The question now is: What must we do ?

We have a clear answer in resolutions which have this morning been adopted by the Conference. It behooves each and every one of us—governments, political parties, trade unions and all other organisations—to play our part nobly, sincerely and valiantly for the realisation of these resolutions.

There must be no hesitation. There must certainly be no vacillation. This is Africa's finest hour for positive action. The struggle is titanic, and the sacrifices are great, but it is through sacrifice and suffering that victory can be assured.

We must put into operation without delay the practical and concrete proposals in the Manifesto and the resolutions. Fellow Africans: If we can do this, the battle is won. As I look upon this determined gathering before me, I have not the slightest doubt that this will be done.

I should like to express my great satisfaction at the proposal contained in the resolutions concerning the establishment of Positive Action Training Centres. Let us all pay great attention to this proposal and to the recommendations for its implementation.

I must particularly ask leaders of the delegations from the independent and near-independent African States to convey to my brother leaders of their respective countries, my grateful thanks for their co-sponsorship of this important gathering and for their co-operation, without which there could not have been such outstanding success at this Conference.

Our thanks also go to the delegates who are here from the dependent territories.

We all know how difficult it is for those in dependent territories to attend a conference such as this, as has been experienced by our brothers in Nyasaland. To them I say: Go back to your countries revitalised and resume the struggle with renewed vigour until victory is won. Rest assured that the whole of Africa and all peace-loving and freedom-loving people throughout the world are solidly behind us. *The wind now blowing in Africa is no ordinary wind: It is a raging hurricane.*

The issue confronting the world in the remaining half of this 20th Century is the African Question. The world must answer this question, and it must answer it our way: the total liberation of Africa.

Fellow Africans: Today is the end of your deliberations, but not the end of the struggle. It is good to remind ourselves of this cardinal fact. As you leave for your homes I ask you to take with you my very best wishes. Let the importance of our unity re-echo constantly throughout Africa as a concrete reminder of this Conference. Let us re-dedicate ourselves to this noble cause.

I wish you all god-speed.

Long live the forward march of the people of Africa for their rightful and just inheritance.

Long live African Independence and Unity.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

MANIFESTO SUGGESTED FOR THE POSITIVE ACTION CONFERENCE FOR PEACE AND SECURITY IN AFRICA BY THE INTERNATIONAL SAHARA PROTEST TEAM ACCRA: APRIL 7-10, 1960

We, representatives of African States and territories, representing Governments, political parties, and trade union organisations, having deliberated here for the past few days on the stirring events taking place in Africa today, declare as follows:

We have reached a point in history when we in Africa who are struggling for and achieving independence after hundreds of years of oppression face, with the rest of mankind, a common danger of annihilation through nuclear warfare. To deliver ourselves from old forms of oppression and terror only to live under the perpetual threat of extinction would be a tragic destiny.

We in Africa may, in giving reality to our hard-won freedom, now become a new force on the world scene by Positive Action and by giving leadership in the fight to end the new barbarism of nuclear war.

True independence for Africa requires that all military bases of foreign powers on African soil be abandoned without delay.

The action of France in developing its main base for nuclear and missile warfare in the Sahara, at the very time when colonialism and imperialism are being liquidated by the struggles of Africans for liberation, is an affront to the peoples of this entire Continent. It represents an effort by an overwhelming display of power to establish a nuclear imperialism which will be a constant massive threat to African unity and independence, as well as a constant menace to all Africa's peoples who will be the chief victims in any major war in which France may become involved.

The fact that the French Government has deliberately exploded two nuclear devices in the face of all protests, official and otherwise, should not blind us to the tremendous effect that these protests have had:

in uniting the African peoples confronted with a common danger,

in gaining world support not only for opposition to the Sahara tests, but for the freedom of the African Continent,

in deepening world concern against nuclear warfare in general,

and in creating within France a growing opposition to their government's policy by the French people themselves.

Hence this Conference resolves that greatly intensified non-violent positive action against French military activity in the Sahara shall be mounted in order to strengthen the campaign to avert the threat of nuclear war from our people.

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ACTION

1. The new mass non-violent movement must be based at two points, France and Africa. It must enlist those people in France who oppose the nuclear policy of the de Gaulle Government, along with the people of Africa, in a common struggle against that policy. That policy is a menace to both peoples and there are already elements in France who have staged protests in Paris and at French nuclear establishments and who are confident that large numbers of their fellow citizens can be inspired to join them. Thus the attack now becomes two-pronged.

2. In France demonstrations will take place not only at Government offices in Paris but especially before French nuclear establishments, with non-violent efforts to enter these establishments and to stage sit-down strikes as one form of protest.

3. In these demonstrations Africans living in France and in nearby countries may join, so that Africans and Frenchmen standing shoulder to shoulder will appeal to the conscience of the French people and their traditional humanitarianism to compel change in Government policy. Volunteers from Africa itself may also go to France to take part in such peaceful action.

4. In Africa we call for at least 1,000 volunteers for a new Sahara protest movement. These volunteers should come from all parts of Africa. A strong initial effort should be made to enrol volunteers from the French African Community and we urgently appeal to our fellow Africans in these countries, who are indeed most directly menaced by the tests and other French military developments in the Sahara to join the protest. By joining with Africans from other parts of our Continent in positive non-violent action against nuclear imperialism they can make a decisive contribution to the liberation of all Africa.

5. When preparations have been made, new marches on Reggane from both north and south shall be undertaken. As the volunteers move forward, they can enlist the support of the people in the country through which they pass. France can be confronted with thousands of Africans on the Sahara border demanding that the test be stopped and the French base in the Sahara abandoned.

6. A fund for the defence of those who may suffer in these mass protests shall be established. Localities from which volunteers come shall assume responsibility for the welfare of their families.

7. As the move to Reggane proceeds, a Call shall go forth for supporting rallies and demonstrations throughout the Continent.

8. Experience in India, in the struggles of Americans of African descent in the Southern part of the United States and in other non-violent actions, as well as in the Sahara Protest, demonstrates that careful attention must be given to the training of volunteers, and responsibility for this shall be assumed by those who are appointed to carry out the resolutions of this Conference.

GOVERNMENT ACTION

1. To establish a clear moral base for African protest against not only French but all nuclear preparations, this Conference calls on the Independent African States formally to divorce themselves from this new barbarism by renouncing any intention to build nuclear warfare establishments for themselves. The Conference calls upon the political parties in non-independent states to make a similar declaration.

2. This Conference re-affirms the policy of non-involvement in the deplorable East-West power struggle and arms race. This Conference calls upon other nations in all parts of the world to join Africa in similarly renouncing any purpose to build nuclear military establishments.

3. Furthermore, the huge nuclear military establishments of the United States, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom are a most serious menace to themselves, to Africa and to all mankind. They also provide the Government of France with the excuse that France is only doing on a small scale what they are doing on a much larger scale.

This Conference therefore calls upon the Governments of the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., and the U.K. to put an end—immediately and permanently—not only to nuclear testing but to the production of nuclear, biological, chemical, and all other weapons of mass extermination, and to liquidate or convert to peaceful uses all existing stocks of such weapons.

4. This Conference calls on all nations to join at once in new action through the Security Council of the United Nations to put an end to the French testing programme and its violation of African soil. It will seriously endanger the United Nation's future if, in defiance of previous resolutions, France is allowed to explode a third atomic bomb and presently perhaps an H-Bomb.

This Conference cherishes the hope that through their own peaceful but determined struggle against French nuclear imperialism the people of Africa may provide a new dynamic and inspiration to *all movements for peace throughout the world.*

We call upon all these movements and all Trade Unions, civic, educational and religious organisations concerned to give moral and financial support to our Positive Action in France and Africa; to provide volunteers for this programme; and to intensify all efforts to influence their own governments, especially nuclear powers, to renounce nuclear war unequivocally.

Action against the French bomb and the whole menace of nuclear annihilation is a part, and an integral part, of the African liberation struggle. The heroic struggle of Algeria for Independence, the struggle of the people of South Africa against apartheid policy, and the liberation struggles in other parts of Africa, all will be helped tremendously if we can develop a mass movement such as we now envision to strike a mortal blow at French nuclear imperialism and to banish all foreign bases from our soil. By the same token all these movements are hindered—and may be decisively hurt—if France succeeds in establishing permanently in Africa the basis of its power for nuclear aggression.

The methods of action used against the bomb can be adapted, and volunteers effectively trained to work in our project can use their training and experience in other projects. Thus the whole drift towards freedom, justice and peace shall be raised to a new level and imbued with new and irresistible purpose and power.

IMPLEMENTATION

- (i) This Conference directs that a Committee be established to give general direction to the carrying out of this programme of positive action. The Committee shall be composed of representatives of the Independent States of Africa and of organisations in countries not yet independent.
- (ii) This General committee shall designate a small Working Committee of experienced and competent persons who shall immediately set about practical implementation of the programme.
- (iii) The Working Committee shall contact those persons in France who have signed the National Appeal which calls on the Government of France to renounce all nuclear tests and to ban nuclear weapons, and shall invite them to establish a Working Committee to carry out those portions of the programme adopted by this Conference which are to take place in France.

The Working Committee for France shall work in close liaison with the Working Committee and the General Committee in Africa.

- (iv) A centre shall be established and maintained in Ghana to co-ordinate the day-to-day activities, to provide training for volunteers, and to disseminate throughout Africa materials about the project, as well as other literature dealing with the theory of non-violent action and illustrations of its practice in various countries and times.
- (v) An initial fund of £50,000 must be found to finance the planning, training and execution of the mass-non-violent action by the volunteers. The Working Committee is authorised and directed to appeal for this fund to the Governments of Independent African States, to trade unions and political organisations, as well as other organisations and individuals, in Africa and elsewhere.
- (vi) This Conference directs that a Freedom Fund be established which shall provide also for aid to refugees from Algeria, to victims of the brutality of the government of South Africa, and to others throughout Africa who suffer as a result of their struggle against oppression and war.

APPENDIX II — ANNEXE II

LIST OF COUNTRIES AND OF ORGANISATIONS
REPRESENTED AT THE CONFERENCE

LISTE DES PAYS ET DES ORGANISATIONS REPRESENTES
A LA CONFERENCE

Algeria — Algerie

Délégation du Gouvernement Provisoire de la République
Algerienne

East Africa, Zanzibar — Afrique Orientale, Zanzibar

Zanzibar and Pemba Peoples Party
Afro-Shirazi Party

South Africa — Afrique du Sud

African National Congress

South-West Africa — Sud-Ouest Africain

South-West African National Union

Angola

Union des Populations d'Angola

Basutoland

Basutoland Congress Party

Southern Cameroons — Cameroun (Brit.)

Kamerun National Democratic Party

Congo

Mouvement National Congolais

Abako

Syndicat National des Travailleurs Congolais

Dahomey

Parti Republicain Démocrate
Union des Travailleurs Maritimes

Ethiopia — Ethiopie
Governmental Delegation

France
Comité d'Action Directe contre l'armement atomique
Internationale des Résistants à la guerre, (Branche française)

Gambia — Gambie
Gambia Labour Union
Gambia Workers Union
Gambia National Party

Ghana
Governmental Delegation
Voluntary Work Camp
Society of Friends, Ghana
Women's International League for Peace, Ghana Branch.

**Federal Republic of Germany — Republique Federale
d'Allemagne.**
Staendiger Kongress aller Gegner der atomaren Aufrüstung

Guinea — Guinée
Délégation gouvernementale

India — Inde
Shanti Sena Movement

West Indies — Antilles
All West-Indian Peoples Conference

Japan — Japon
Japan Council against A and H-Bombs

Kenya
Kenya Independence Movement
African National Union
Kenya National Party
Kenya Federation of Labour
Kenya Distributive and Commercial Workers Union
Kenya Anti-Colonial Movement.

Kamerun
Union des populations du Cameroun

Liberia
Governmental Delegation

Libya — Libye
Governmental Delegation

Morocco — Maroc
Délégation Gouvernementale

Nigeria
Federal Parliament Delegation
Zikist National Vanguard
National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons
Northern Elements Progressive Union
Dynamic Party
Action Group
Northern People's Congress
Democratic Party of Nigeria and the Cameroons.

Northern Rhodesia — Rhodesie du Nord
United National Independent Party

Southern Rhodesia — Rhodésie du Sud
African National Congress, Southern Rhodesia

Sénégal
Union Générale des Etudiants d'Afrique Occidentale

Sierra Leone
Sierra Leone Peoples Party
Peoples National Party
United Progressive Party
Independent Peoples Party
Sierra Leone Council of Labour.

Somalia — Somalie
Somali Youth League

British Protectorate Somaliland — Somalie Britannique

United Somali Party
Somali National League

French Somaliland — Somalie Francaise

Union Démocratique Somalie

Sudan — Soudan

Governmental Delegation

Sweden — Suède

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (Swedish Branch.)

Tanganyika

Tanganyika Federation of Labour
Tanganyika African National Union
African National Congress, Tanganyika.

Togoland — Togo

Juventu

Tunisia — Tunisie

Délégation gouvernementale

U.A.R. — R.A.U.

Governmental Delegation
Federation of Workers.

United Kingdom — Royaume-Uni

Direct Action Committee against Nuclear War
Students' Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament
Friends Peace Committee
New Left Review
Movement for Colonial Freedom.

U.S.A.

Committee for Non-Violent action
Montgomery Improvement Association
American Friends' Service Committee

Yugoslavia — Yougoslavie

Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence and Equality

Pan-African and International Organisations

Pan-African Federation for Eastern and Central Africa,
Dar-es-Salaam.

Pan Somali National Movement, Mogdicho

World Assembly of Youth, Bruxelles

World Peace Council, Vienna

International Sahara Protest Team.

Africa Association, Cairo

Africa Bureau, London

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