

T H E W O R L D W I T H O U T T H E B O M B
S T O R Y O F T H E A C C R A A S S E M B L Y

b y

Frances W. Herring



● Last night chairman of the preparatory committee of the Accra Assembly entertained delegates to the Peace Talks at his residence. And seen in the picture are some of the guests having a peaceful chat. They are

(left to right) Mr Harriman, Acting High Commissioner for Nigeria, Dr Chike Obi, Nigerian mathematician, Ibadan University, Mr Krobo Edusei, M.P., and Mr Eric Kwame Heymann, Editor/Director, Star Publishing Company.



PARLIAMENT HOUSE, ACCRA, WHERE THE ASSEMBLY MET



The emblem of the Accra Assembly

The emblem of the Accra Assembly, designed jointly by two distinguished Ghanaian artists, Mr. Kofi Antubam, the well-known authority on Akan Culture, and Mr. Amon Kotei, head of the Government's process engraving plant, combines traditional Akan lore with the accepted international concept of peace—the dove and the olive branch.

Mr. Antubam explains the three Akan symbols in the following terms. The uppermost symbol is ADWOE and represents the place of peace. The left-hand symbol is NSEREWA and indicates living together in peace and happiness. It is in fact a stylish concept of four birds perched on one tree. The right-hand symbol is MPATAPO and indicates the actual process of reconciliation. Mr. Kotei has, in this emblem, welded together the three Akan symbols into the concept of the international dove of peace bearing down upon mankind laden with her gifts of peace, happiness and reconciliation.

WORLD WITHOUT THE BOMB
STORY OF THE ACCRA ASSEMBLY

by
Frances W. Herring
July, 1962

CHAPTER 1: How the Accra Assembly Came to be Held

In July 1961, President Kwame Nkrumah proposed to the Parliament of Ghana that a sum of money equivalent to one-and-a-half percent of its defense budget be dedicated to an international disarmament conference. Drawing primarily on representatives of the nonaligned countries, this conference should aim to propose new and bold solutions to disarmament questions. One of its principal purposes should be to fire the imaginations of the peoples of the world with the possibilities for development in a world without the bomb.

To make sure that the conference should not be under the thumb of the Government of Ghana, President Nkrumah invited Canon L. John Collins, Precentor of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, and Chairman of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and of Christian Action, to nominate a Preparatory Committee which would work out the agenda and procedures of the conference and decide who should be invited to attend.

Accordingly, the following five internationally known persons were appointed to serve as a Preparatory Committee:

Heinrich Buchbinder, Vice-President of the European Federation against Nuclear Arms, a German-Swiss writer, and leader of the Minority Socialist Party;

Prof. Ritchie Calder, Edinburgh University, former member of the staff of UNESCO;

Prof. Josue de Castro, Director of the Institute of Nutrition in the University of Brazil, former Chairman of the Council of the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO);

D. Chaman Lall, Member of the Parliament of India and Chairman of Indian Parliamentarians for Peace; and

E. C. Quaye, Chairman of the Ghana Council for Nuclear Disarmament and Chairman of the City Council of Ghana.

The Preparatory Committee held meetings which resulted in a statement of principles for the conference, published October 25, 1961, and an addendum, published January 10, 1962. They then called 25 internationally distinguished persons to work out an agenda and prepare background papers. This group held a pre-Assembly meeting at Zagreb in Yugoslavia, February 24-28, 1962.

It was decided to entitle the gathering "The Accra Assembly on The World Without the Bomb," and to convene it from June 21 to 28, 1962, at Accra. About 100 persons chosen solely on the basis of individual merit, and with a preponderance from the African, Asian, and South American continents, were to be

invited to participate.

It was also decided to invite a small number of experts chosen both from the leading nuclear powers, and from organizations working for the lessening of world tensions. These consultants would not be expected nor invited to subscribe to conclusions reached by the Assembly, but would be at hand to give their view, when asked, on proposals being advanced.¹

A number of observers representing international peace movements were to be allowed to be present.² Their travel costs would not be borne by the Assembly budget, but like participants and experts they would be guests of the Assembly after their arrival.

A fund of £50,000 (\$140,000) was voted by the Ghana National Assembly and put at the disposal of the Preparatory Committee to spend at their discretion on behalf of the Assembly.³

The beautiful and competently run Ambassador Hotel was given over to the accommodation of Assembly guests, with overflow into University and Government guest-houses and other available places. A fleet of cars was provided, on the basis of one for every two or three persons, and undergraduates from the University of Ghana volunteered to act as liaison officers with the guests to aid them in getting about the city and country.

The able Secretariat directed the work of 42 technicians of various sorts--translators, typists, mimeographers, printers, and so on--providing prompt translation of all working documents in three languages. This Herculean task often required round-the-clock service. It enormously accelerated the work of the Assembly.

Fifteen interpreters provided simultaneous translation into English, French and Spanish. Full press facilities were available for a large group of accredited overseas press, film and radio representatives, photographers, news-reel and film cameramen.

¹In the event, in the opinion of this observer, it would be worth trying, another time, to exclude experts from the great nuclear powers until a later stage of the deliberations. The presence of certain of the experts at Accra tended to color the thinking and divert the discussions in committee, working against the efforts of representatives of nonaligned countries to search for fresh solutions to disarmament difficulties.

²Women's International Strike for Peace, USA, requested and was granted the privilege of sending four observers. The request accorded with policy adopted at the first national WISP meeting of June 9-10, 1962, to send observers to every possible international peace congress from now on.

³So that no one invited should be debarred from attending because of travel costs, those who could not pay their own fares were provided for by the budget of the Assembly. Other governments, organizations and individuals were asked, however, to help support the Accra Assembly, and the Yugoslav League for Peace and Equality of Peoples underwrote the whole cost of the pre-Assembly meeting in Zagreb.

To those accustomed to makeshift conference arrangements, it was a revelation to see how work for peace can be facilitated when governments decide it is important enough to be accorded the support given other serious business.



A number of social functions were arranged, among them a civic reception at the home of Mr. E. C. Quaye; a reception by President Kwame Nkrumah at the Arch in Black Star Square in Accra (see above); an African Night as guest of the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ghana at Legon, nine miles outside Accra; a reception at the State House by Mr. Kofi Baako, leader of the National Assembly; and a farewell banquet by the Government of Ghana at the Ambassador Hotel (see next page 4).

A thrilling "Ballet of Ghana" was presented in honor of the Accra Assembly by the Obadzeng Group at the Baden Powell Memorial Hall, and an International Festival of Music and Dancing was put on by the YWCA at the Sports Stadium.

Some time was left for private visits, sightseeing, shopping and discussions.

On Sunday, a free day, busses and private cars conveyed guests to Tema Harbor, the Volta Dam at Akosombo, and the Botanical Gardens at Aburi-- a 100-mile drive which gave visitors a fine opportunity to see Ghanaian villages and the fine hill country above the coastal plane on which Accra lies.

Those invited to The Accra Assembly were provided with initial documents resulting from the preliminary work of the augmented Preparatory Committee. This booklet set forth the aims of The Assembly.

The proposed Accra Assembly is an attempt at a new departure in international affairs. Its object is to approach from a fresh angle those tensions and disputes which today not only threaten Peace but even endanger the very existence of mankind...

...no one holding political office in any Government will be invited, but otherwise there will be no restriction on grounds of political belief, religion, race or country of origin.... In short, the Assembly will be a meeting of non-aligned individuals whose international distinction demands respect.



Madame Fathia Nkrumah, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and Mr. Charles Carl Dellberg (Dean of the Swiss National Assembly and Chairman of The Accra Assembly) drinking a "toast of peace" proposed by Osagyefo at the farewell banquet for participants of The Accra Assembly at Ambassador Hotel, Accra

It is intended that the majority of those attending the Assembly should come from Africa, Asia and Latin America. These Continents contain the vast majority of mankind but the collective voice of the leading citizens from many of the States of these areas has as yet not had adequate expression....The object of the Assembly is not to duplicate the work already done at Government level but to make proposals of a new and bold type in those matters where no solution has yet been found. The aim of the Assembly should be to put forward suggestions which may not have been as yet advocated by any nation but which in the opinion of the participants have a reasonable chance of obtaining sympathetic consideration by the Governments concerned.

....Above all, the object of the Assembly is to make suggestions as to the future of a World Without the Bomb. This involves not only a study of the economic problems which may arise through disarmament, but also an examination of the fundamental problems of the world--hunger, disease, ignorance, poverty and servitude--which might be solved by liberating those resources now wasted in armaments of every type....Ultimately, it will be through arousing the conscience of mankind that The World Without The Bomb can be established....

CHAPTER 2: Report of First Plenary Session
Including the Opening Address by President
of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah

At 9:45 a.m. on Thursday, June 21st, Mr. E. C. Quaye opened THE ACCRA ASSEMBLY with a short report on the work of the Preparatory Committee. Promptly at 10:30 Dr. Kwame Nkrumah entered the Chamber and was conducted to the platform by the chairman.

The Ghanaian Times for Friday June 22, 1962, described the event as follows:

A five-minute standing ovation greeted Osagyefo the President at the end of his 80-minute speech yesterday.

The President, smartly turned out in a grey suit and shining black shoes, smiled broadly in acknowledgment of the tribute from more than 100 eminent personalities from all over the world....

The assembly hall was a scene of color and gaiety. Multi-colored kente cloths contrasted with smart Western suits, with species of Oriental attire for good measure.

Outside could be heard the cheers, drums, and songs of Young Pioneers and of the crowd which lined the streets as we drove to Parliament House. As President Nkrumah entered the hall with three or four attendants, the audience in the benches and gallery, most of them women dressed in shining white starched dresses and head-dresses, rose and clapped rhythmically, chanting "Yeh-yeh, Yeh-yeh!" and calling out greetings. One who sat near me told ~~me~~ they were familiar pleasantries, at once teasing and congratulatory. They soon broke into a song, "We shall make ye fishers-of-men", in which we all joined.

Then Nkrumah spoke, while open French doors and long windows suddenly blossomed with the faces of those outside, pressing close to hear. As the long speech continued, there seemed no movement among the attentive audience, but young children, wearying of the incomprehensible words, quietly lay down in the aisles and went to sleep. It was very hot, although the great fans on the ceiling turned the air lazily. Occasionally great gusts of wind, presaging a thunderstorm, blew through the hall, drying the sweat on our bodies. In the oval bank of seats at the center of the hall where the participants sat, earphones were on for those who needed translation of the address into French or Spanish. Behind the speakers tall brown carved wood panels showing African figures toiling in the fields, or at tasks of building, stood in handsome contrast to the all-white walls and columns of the intimate hall.

Excerpts from Nkrumah's address follow.

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Friends of the Assembly:

You are meeting at a time when the United Nations Committee of eighteen nations at Geneva is still engaged in its task of attempting to draw up a treaty for general and complete disarmament. Anything that can be done to assist in this work is of the utmost importance to mankind.

....The Powers developing the atom bomb for war purposes claim that their actions are dictated by the instinct of self-preservation. Experience has shown, however, that the stock-piling of armaments as a basis for "negotiation from strength" is the very soil from which the seeds of war constantly break out. The old maxim--"if you wish for peace prepare for war"--is outmoded in our time. A serious peril stares mankind in the face. Who can save us from this peril? A voice--a bold and courageous voice resounding across the world with man's yearning for peace and calling upon the Nuclear Powers to end forthwith the stockpiling of nuclear weapons for man's destruction.

Let us hope, distinguished friends of this Assembly, that yours will be that voice, and that those who hold the fate of mankind in their hands will pay a timely heed to **the sincerity and fervour of your voice.**

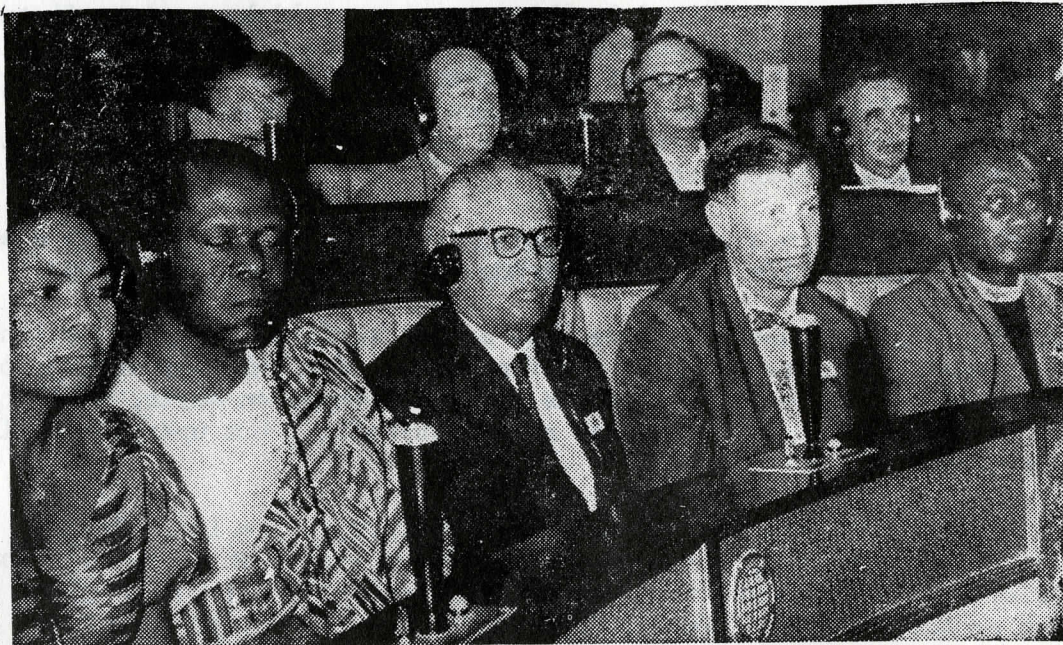
You have assembled here not as representatives of countries or of political parties or organizations, but as individuals who are determined to save the human race from those who would condemn it to destruction. The fact that you have come here as individuals will, I believe, allow you to do that new thinking and make that fresh approach which is today



ACCRA, Tuesday.

The Council of the Accra Assembly on "the World Without The Bomb's" today accepted Osagyefo's proposals for a delegation to be sent to President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev to present conclusions and proposals of the Assembly."

The Chairman of the Council, Canon John Collins, Precentor of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, presided over the meeting.



A section of delegates from all over the globe, listen with wrapt attention to Osagyefo Dr Kwame Nkrumah's epoch-making opening address to the Accra Assembly yesterday.

On the left are two Ghanaian partici-

pants. They are Sussan Al-Hassan, Deputy Minister of Education and Dr R. P. Baffour, Vice-Chancellor of the Kwame Nkrumah University, Kumasi.

About 130 world-famed participants are attending the eight-day assembly.

so essential to the survival of mankind.

In thinking over the problems which you will be considering, what strikes me most forcibly is this. What the world today lacks is a code of international morality which measures up to its technological progress.

To tell the truth; Love your neighbour as yourself; Succour the poor and needy; Waste not the bounty which nature and science have provided; Do no murder; These are the maxims of all religions and moralities and the principles which men try to apply in their private lives.

Can one honestly say that the nations of today try to apply these principles to international life?

Instead of the truth being told, whole peoples are deceived and led to believe the exact opposite of the truth, namely, that by the use of shelters, or the like, many people could escape death in an atomic war. In reality, the survivors are likely to be confined to those engaged in directing and waging nuclear war, since those who think in terms of a "hot war" automatically accept that these are the only lives which must at all cost be saved.

Ideological differences between the nations have unfortunately become the basis of a campaign of hate between peoples, and the whole apparatus of science is employed on both sides in this campaign. The result of this can only be the obliteration of the human race with all its achievements. The vast sums of money consumed in this campaign could be used to finance national and international programmes for the eradication of disease, poverty and want. It is believed that about One Hundred and Fourteen Million Pounds (the equivalent of Three Hundred and Forty-two Million Dollars) is spent every day--every single day, mark you--on the production of weapons of mass destruction.

Surely what we need is a new public morality, which will teach that what is wrong in private life is equally wrong in international relations.

I would say this because I believe that in the world of today no nation, great or small, will be saved by its armaments. Not only the defence of small nations, but the defence of the greatest powers on earth, ultimately depends not on weapons of mutual mass destruction, but upon the collective conscience of mankind.

....It must be realized that in the world of today there is no longer that conflict between morality and national expedience which up till now has bedevilled any attempt to permanently solve international problems without recourse to war. Peace, disarmament and banning of atom bomb testing are today practical policies. The obstacle to their implementation is no longer based on the economic or political needs of national states. The obstacle is solely the persistence of that out-moded attitude of mind which still regards war as a continuation of political policy by other means.

Let me illustrate what I mean by referring to the history of the abolition

of slavery.

Nations as a whole never are able to abide by a moral code which, if respected, would seriously impede their economic well-being.

....Some of the bravest spirits of each age of the past condemned slavery, but their voices were few and their moral appeal went unheeded for centuries. Then suddenly, so it seemed, that moral appeal which had for so long fallen upon deaf ears, touched men's hearts and, first the slave trade and then slavery itself, were abolished.

Why this sudden change of attitude? Was it not because slave trading and slavery, though still a considerable source of profit to those who practised it, had ceased to be a prime economic necessity for the Powers of the day?

The abolitionists' task still remained difficult and arduous as they had to overcome ingrained habits of mind, but it was no longer impossible and by courage and perseverance, they won their day.

I believe an almost exact parallel exists with the issue of war and peace in our own time.

...there are today powerful groups who believe that only through armaments can their own civilizations be preserved. But objective truth is not on their side. World war is no longer a practical economic policy. In this age, there is no single objective which can be gained through world war. Conversely, in this age, there is no single objective which cannot be gained by the peaceful use of the world's resources.

Today, those who advocate disarmament, the abolition of the threat of nuclear conflict and the ending of the cold war, are the realists and history is on their side.

Therefore, you can not only stir the conscience of the world; you can teach a new doctrine of hope. It is because war has thus ceased to be an essential instrument of policy that moral opposition to it has a real possibility of success, particularly if it is organized and developed on the basis of hard practical argument, and upon the teaching of a new international morality.

This new morality should teach primarily a sense of individual responsibility. The menace of nuclear warfare could be removed tomorrow if every individual in every country were convinced that he had a personal duty to prevent the destruction of mankind in an atomic holocaust.

At the moment, in my view, the greatest danger to peace is apathy. An attitude of mind exists among a great part of the peoples of many of the nuclear powers, that the issue of peace or of nuclear war is a matter not for them but for the politicians, the generals and the technicians. By propaganda they have become indoctrinated with the idea that the greatest issue in the world today, the survival of the human race, is not a question upon which they can act, but is something which must be left to a small group of supposedly military experts to decide. Such a view is not only

untrue; it is immoral. The issue of peace and war in this nuclear age is the concern of every human being. The future of the human race is a responsibility no man or woman can delegate.

....The menace of nuclear warfare could be removed tomorrow if every individual in every country acted as though he had a personal duty to preserve mankind from nuclear war.

....The people of the world, therefore, have a duty to carry on a positive campaign to awaken the conscience of the world, to secure the banning of atomic tests, the destruction of all weapons of mass slaughter and the reduction of conventional armament.

If this campaign is to be successful, the men and women of all countries throughout the world, including the scientists, the leaders of religious faiths and the writers, must work to influence public opinion and to arouse the conscience of mankind against nuclear war.

Above all, the humble people who are to be found in every country upon earth and who believe in the dignity of the human race, and who realize that man was not created to destroy himself, and that mass suicide is the most deadly of all sins, must join in this crusade.

In ridding the world of the threat of nuclear warfare, vehement protest is an essential ingredient in arousing man's conscience. I should like to express my admiration and respect for those among you here, and to all those others who cannot be with us today, who have led such protests. I admire the courage of scientists, religious leaders, writers and others who have braved scorn, and often persecution, for speaking out boldly against nuclear warfare.

We must convince the bulk of mankind that nuclear war is not only against all morality, but is economic and political suicide for all who attempt to base their policies upon it. We must show that world war has no longer any economic or political justification and that the things which it is supposed might be gained by war can, in fact, be gained only by peaceful means.

For this reason I am particularly happy that this Assembly contains a number of individuals skilled in economics and politics, and who have given detailed study to the technical problems of disarmament. It is by marrying their technical knowledge to the moral force of those who have protested against nuclear warfare that we shall find a solution.

I am delighted to see participants from so many different parts of the world. No country has a monopoly of ability and it is therefore of the utmost importance that those from the countries of Europe and North American should confer with distinguished men and women from Africa, Asia, Latin America and Australia. We should by no means under-estimate the effect on world opinion of the views of the non-aligned individuals and nations from these four continents. If a common policy can be put forward by them, it would have a decisive effect.

Success or failure in your task will, I believe depend on how realistic

a manner you tackle the root causes of the conflicts of interest in the world today.

....In my view, the tensions which have produced the "World with the Bomb" can be divided into roughly four classes.

First, there are the tensions resulting from the problems left over from the Second World War.

Secondly, there are the tensions arising out of the striving of the peoples of the less developed parts of the world to better their future and to throw off the burdens of imperialism, colonialism and racial discrimination.

Thirdly, there are the tensions resulting from a conflict of ideologies.

And fourthly, there are the tensions caused by the possession by some Powers of weapons of mass destruction.

However, before beginning to criticize the policy of those Powers whose actions have led to the "World with the Bomb", it is always most important for States and individuals to bear this in mind. We have neither the responsibility nor the experience of conducting the policy of the nuclear powers, and therefore we cannot say for certain how, if we were placed in their position, we would act. In making any criticism it is right for us to remember that we have been spared the weight of responsibility that rests on their shoulders; each one of us should say to himself, before condemning any policy: "There but for the Grace of God might go I".

Let me now deal with the first of my points--the tensions resulting from the problems left over from the Second World War.

....The consequence of these last two wars have been the very opposite of what either victor or vanquished anticipated when they entered the conflict. Looking back on the First World War, its two most important consequences can now be seen to have been the establishment of the Soviet Union and the building up of the industrial might of the United States of America. Both these events have since profoundly affected the world for good, but they were neither aimed at, nor even anticipated, by those who went to war, in 1914, and in fact both would, in all probability, have occurred in any event without the senseless mass slaughter on the battlefields.

In the same way, the outcome of the Second World War was the direct opposite of anything intended by the aggressors or indeed by any of those who first joined in the conflict against them.

Looking back on this last war its most dramatic result was certainly never anticipated by those who entered it in 1939. Its most important consequence was to set in motion a train of events which led inexorably to an irresistible movement for colonial freedom. A great part of the globe previously under colonial domination has, within less than a score of years since the end of the Second World War, become free.

This, coupled with the establishment of socialist states in China and

Eastern Europe, has profoundly affected the balance of power in the world in a way never contemplated in 1939. In consequence, in the post war period, the Great Powers were confronted with problems for which they were unprepared, and this has added to the tensions in Europe which the war provoked.

Foremost among these is the German question which has been no more settled by the Second World War than it was by the First...those powers which, in unity, could fight the war, cannot to this day--seventeen years after the war has ended--agree among themselves on the terms of a German peace treaty. This is converting the German question into a potential source of a third World War.

At the moment the German issue is high-lighted in the Berlin problem. ...why cannot this problem be solved?...there is substantial agreement between the Great Powers on three major points.

...both power blocs are agreed that there should be no nuclear weapons in Germany;...that there should be no increase in the numbers of the military units now stationed there...that access to West Berlin should be internationally guaranteed...the dispute over Berlin boils down to whether or not the East German authorities should or should not supervise the passage through Berlin territory of the internationally guaranteed traffic. In other words, the world is threatened with nuclear war because the Great Powers cannot decide who should stamp whose passport on the route to Berlin.

Anyone who studies the detailed documentation of this Assembly must be struck with how few points in fact divide the Great Powers when these are compared with the points upon which they are agreed. It seems to me that one of the tasks of this Assembly might be to isolate these points of disagreement and then boldly suggest possible solutions other than those already advanced by either of the power blocs.

....Let me come now to my second point--the tensions arising out of the striving of the peoples of the less developed parts of the world to settle their future and to throw off the burden of colonialism, neo-colonialism and racial discrimination.

...this Assembly must face the fact that the less developed parts of the world are in a state of change...

It may be able greatly to assist in arriving at possible solutions for one of the most difficult of questions, namely, how to reconcile the maintenance of balance of power between the Great Powers with the need for change in the African, Latin American and Asian continents.

The United Nations cannot survive as an organ dedicated to preserving the existing order of things. If an injustice is universally recognized, as it was, for example, in the case of the continued Portuguese occupation of Goa, then the United Nations can only avert military action by initiating peaceful change.

The world is going to change. No power on earth can stop it, short of destroying all humanity. The choice before us is, therefore, peaceful change or change brought about by force. No international organization, however powerful can stop the clock of history. I am a strong believer in peaceful change. In the Positive Action campaign which I initiated in Ghana during colonial times, and which led to a realization by the British authorities that the time had come to end colonialism here, I always insisted upon non-violent action.

I am, however, sufficiently a realist to understand that change cannot always, at every period in history, be brought about by non-violent action. It is no coincidence that every single one of the five nations to whom permanent seats on the Security Council are allotted have had their revolutions or rebellions, which they look back to with justifiable pride and upon which, indeed, their present constitutions are based.

The fact is that in certain periods of history the masses of the people in some particular country have no other means of escaping from a regime which is intolerable to them except by armed revolt.

....One of the great difficulties of our age is that peace has become equated with compulsory political stagnation. The theory of balance of power results in this or that State being arbitrarily assigned to the zone of influence of one or other of the great power blocs.

In consequence, any attempt by the people to alter the regime, whether it be by democratic or revolutionary means, is regarded not, as it should be, as a purely internal matter, but as an attempt to alter the balance of power between the Power blocs.

It is unrealistic, however, to hope that the people most intimately concerned will see the issue in this light. Oppressed peoples in a less developed country, made desperate by tyranny and corruption, are not going to be deterred from getting rid of an objectionable government on the ground that it might upset the balance of power between the Great Powers. People struggling to free themselves from colonial oppression are going to get help wherever they can find it. People artificially divided in the interest of the balance of power are going to continue to strive for reunification, and those suffering from racial discrimination are going to end it irrespective of the interests of those Powers.

It is utterly unreasonable for the Great Powers to say to the less developed countries: "It is true we revolutionized our social systems. It is true that some of us executed our kings and emperors in the name of liberty, but this was a luxury to which we were entitled and to which you are not. You must bear all your present misfortunes because otherwise you will upset the balance of power on which we depend for our safety."

We must be realistic and understand that such a policy is in fact impossible. We must accept change, even violent change in the less developed countries of the twentieth century....General and complete disarmament must presuppose complete and total liquidation of colonialism.

Let me now turn to my third point; the tensions arising from a conflict of ideologies.

I should have thought that history, at least, has taught us the futility of ideological wars. When we look back, for example, upon the great conflict between Christianity and Islam what positive benefit to humanity was secured by it? It deprived the Christian world of the benefit of Arab science and agricultural techniques and set back for perhaps four hundred years the technological and industrial development of Europe. It imposed on the Arab world a militaristic pattern which in the end destroyed the splendid early flowering of Islamic science and culture. The Christian world, which at the time of the crusades, believed that it was fighting for a clearly defined ideology, was soon to discover that Christianity itself--which had appeared to them as a universal monolithic faith--was capable of splitting into rival ideological groupings which fought the most bitter wars against each other.

Today the religious faiths, at least, have learned that co-existence is essential if any religion is to survive. The lessons of history have shown that no faith can prosper if it attempts to impose its tenets by force of arms upon those who will not, of their own free will, accept its teachings. Today, as the composition of this Assembly shows, it is possible to bring together people of the most diverse faiths in order to discuss the problems of mankind. Indeed, the wheel has turned the full circle and the most eminent religious leaders now consider that their faith demands of them that they meet and discuss with others of quite different religious persuasions the questions which must be settled in order that mankind can live a full and happy life.

In an age of nuclear warfare we cannot wait for that long period of time which had to pass before the religious faiths realized the importance of living together in peace with those who believed in conflicting religious ideologies. We must make the world realize here and now that ideology can only be imposed by example and argument, and not by force. You do not make a man change his opinion by killing his fellow countrymen with an atom bomb, any more than you can alter a man's secret religious beliefs by burning his co-religionists at the stake.

...co-existence does not only mean that the two power blocs will agree to tolerate each other; it also means that every nation both great and small shall be entitled to choose and follow the path best suited to itself.

Let me illustrate what I mean by referring to the problems of the African continent.

The unity of Africa, which is to me and to many others, the most important single international issue, may follow from either the system of capitalism, as practised in the United States today, or the system of socialism, as practised in the Soviet Union.

To say this does not of course mean that those who think in these terms condemn either of these two systems, or suggest in any way that they are not suitable for the countries in which they are practised. Since, however, owing to Africa's colonial background, there is no class of indigenous African capitalists, it is impossible to build up a capitalist system in the same way as, for example, Japan has done. A capitalist system in Africa upon the United States model, if it could be constructed at all, which is doubtful, would be essentially a system of the domination of Africa by foreign capital.

On the other hand, we have throughout Africa, indigenous institutions as, for example, our traditional forms of co-operative undertakings in agriculture and commerce, which provide us with a basis upon which we can build. But in order to do so we must construct social and political systems of our own type and it would be quite unrealistic to think that this could be done by adopting wholesale the economic and political system of the Soviet Union.

We wish to learn from the capitalist and the Socialist systems. In so far as is practicable, we want to adapt to our own circumstances what is best in both of them, but we are not prepared to be forced to say we belong irrevocably to either camp. Unfortunately, this is often what the Eastern and Western blocs attempt to force us to do. They accept the view that he who is not for them wholeheartedly is at heart their opponent. This is not true. All that we wish to do is to live in friendship with all countries of the world, irrespective of their political ideologies. All we ask in return for our friendship is that we are left alone to work out our own destiny.

The emerging States of Africa do not present either a military or an economic threat to any other nation. Why, therefore, must we become the battleground of rival ideologies?

At present there are crying evils calling out for remedy in Africa. These can be solved by the African peoples themselves without any threat to the peace of the world, but unless the African people are allowed to deal in their own way with these evils, sooner or later they will imperil the peace of the world.

Monstrous injustices, such as racial persecution, and in some colonial territories the virtual enslavement of a great part of the population, will not be for ever endured. Unless they can be remedied peacefully, they will erupt into war.

....The greatest danger facing us is the balkanization of Africa into States too small to maintain real independence, much less to expand their economies and be able to stand on their own feet. The example of Latin America is before us. Balkanized Africa, like the Balkans in 1914, could constitute a political tinder box which any spark could set alight and involve the whole world in flames. The struggle for African unity and independence is therefore an essential part of the struggle for world peace.

Co-existence and disengagement run together. The Great Powers cannot co-exist and at the same time compete for spheres of influence in the less developed parts of the world.

It may therefore be of value to you if I explain in a little detail how I envisage disengagement on the African continent.

.... Disengagement is impossible so long as former imperial powers retain in practice control over their former colonies. In the case of a number of African States, the former colonial power continues to control the Civil Service and the administration generally. It has a strangle-hold over the economy by maintaining its control of the central banking system...states have been created which are so small as not to be economically viable, and these countries in fact are compelled to depend upon their former colonial rulers for subsidies in order to meet the ordinary expenses of administration. Under such circumstances, of course, there can be no disengagement as the former colonial power in fact retains every attribute of government except for the purely nominal attitude of sovereignty.

Even where the former colonial power does not retain this degree of control, there may be an indirect control exercised in other ways.

.... African independence is quite incompatible with the control of the African economy by expatriate finance capital. A way must be found by which this capital can continue to be used in Africa and give a fair return to those supplying it, and yet be used within the framework of a policy formulated by the people of Africa and designed to promote their well-being. Ultimately, any foreign firm which works in partnership with the African people is bound to share in the prosperity which our economic expansion will bring.

Disengagement also involves the cessation of ideological pressures. For example, both the capitalist and the socialist countries are agreed on the value of Trade Unions, and they both believe that Trade Union organization should include an international organization. Unfortunately, they cannot agree on the composition of that international organization, and in consequence there are two rival bodies both claiming that they are the only true world organization of trade unionists. How can we possibly build a strong trade union movement in Africa if we are under continuous pressure to join either one or the other of these rival groups? We want fraternal assistance from trade unionists from all over the world, but we want it without ideological strings attached to it.

.... This trade union question is merely one example of the type of pressure which creates instability in Africa. Much more serious is the ideological assumption that Africa is merely an extension of Europe. In Africa we regard with sympathy and understanding the desire of European nations to achieve a closer union and establish a Common Market. But why must it be necessary to divide Africa in order to unite Europe? If a Common Market for Europe is the right policy, why should there not be a Common

Market for Africa? The plans for a European Common Market, however, as at present formulated, contain proposals for perpetuating the old unnatural pattern of colonial trade by which commerce was not on an inter-continental African basis but was almost exclusively between the imperial power and the colony. The colony produced the raw materials, the cash crops and the minerals, whose price was in effect determined by the importing monopolists of the imperial power. In return, the colony had to receive the manufactured goods of the imperial country, paying a price which in practice the commercial interest of the imperial power could dictate. This may or may not have enriched the imperial power. It certainly kept the colony in poverty.

It is essential to realize that the continuance of such a system is in itself a threat to world peace. Colonial revolts are not only occasioned by the desire of a people to control their own political government. In fact, they are more often produced by economic oppression.

....If the European powers use their present economic strength to impose a similar system upon their ex-colonies, sooner or later the relationship will become intolerable, and there will be a peoples' revolt against the neo-colonialist regime. Since such regimes are backed by military pacts with the former imperial power, such a revolt would assume at once an international character. There will then arise the grave danger that the State or States in revolt against neo-colonialism would follow the classic pattern set by the American colonies, and call in outside powers to give them aid, which in many cases has strings attached to it.

For this reason alone, I believe that it is in the interests of world peace for all the Great Powers to disengage themselves from Africa. This, of course, will not solve all our problems. African unity, which is the prerequisite for solving both the economic and the political problems of Africa, can only be created by Africans. It is a task whose magnitude I in no way underestimate, but it is one which we must undertake ourselves and which we cannot expect other nations outside our continent to do for us.

All that I propose is that the Great Powers hold the ring and agree among themselves not to interfere in our affairs. If only they do this, whatever happens on the African Continent can never be a threat to world peace.

What I am proposing may sound novel and revolutionary, but it is in fact nothing new.

In 1960 the unity of Italy was only secured because Britain made it known that she would oppose by force any attempt by outside powers to interfere with the internal revolution which swept away those small States which had for so long been the main cause of Italian poverty and backwardnesshistory provides a number of examples of occasions when the Great Powers have isolated conflicts by agreeing among themselves to enforce a policy of genuine non-intervention. It is, of course, most necessary that a non-intervention policy is properly and genuinely enforced. History unfortunately also contains examples--as, for instance in the Spanish Civil War--when the principle of non-intervention was used as a cloak for intervention. This misuse of the principle of non-intervention should

not deter us from attempting to apply it in a proper way. It should, however, serve as a warning that non-intervention, if it is to be effective, must be most strictly supervised. In such supervision, non-aligned countries, in cases where their interests are in no way bound up with the particular matter at issue, must play an important part.

...I believe that disengagement should be organized through the United Nations and should not be imposed by any one Power declaring that it will not permit outside intervention in a particular part of the world.

If there is to be disengagement in Africa, it is essential first that the Great Powers do not give under-cover support to colonial regimes.

To take one practical example: Portugal, one of the principal remaining colonial powers in Africa...is one of the poorer European countries and in fact the Gross National Product per capita of European Portugal only exceeds that of Ghana by Twelve Pounds per head. Nevertheless Portugal maintains a vast colonial empire. Her African territories alone are, in area, twenty-three times the size of European Portugal and the colonial peoples whom she rules over greatly outnumber the inhabitants of Portugal itself.

It is obvious that Portugal could not maintain such an empire in the face of rebellion by its colonial subjects without outside assistance. The Powers which today provide Portugal with assistance against the Angolan people are giving hostages to fortune. Obviously and naturally, those who are fighting Portuguese colonialism must ultimately be tempted to seek similar assistance from rival power blocs.

On the other hand, if the interested Powers agreed to give no further support to Portuguese colonialism on the basis of an agreement that no other non-African power would intervene, Portugal would have to negotiate.

I believe that arrangements could be made by which Portugal would not lose financially through a peaceful transfer of power. Even if she did, provided those Powers who today assist her to maintain her military forces supplied the same sums of money for the peaceful development of Portugal itself as they now spend on supporting her tottering colonial empire, Portugal would be much better off economically, and much more stable politically than she is today.

The Great Powers cannot have it both ways. They cannot on the one hand supply finance and arms to a colonial power which would otherwise be forced to negotiate with its colonial subjects so as to secure a peaceful transfer of power, and then blame the Africans in revolt for endangering world peace by resorting to arms.

South Africa is a typical example of this...some permanent members of the Security Council are to this day quite openly supplying arms and building armament factories for those who are practising racial discrimination in its most brutal form.

Does anyone here believe that a regime so fundamentally evil as that of South Africa can for long endure? But when it goes down in chaos and civil war the blood of many innocent men, women and children will be on the heads of those who have so irresponsibly armed the oppressors of the African people.

....Colonialism not only oppresses the colonial people; it ultimately corrupts the imperial power itself.

The imperial powers of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were caught in this dilemma. At home they were democracies built on the principle of "One man one vote", but they could not obviously adopt this political principle in their colonies, and they therefore invented in its stead the theory that by natural right there was an "elite" who were entitled by reason of their supposedly superior education and qualities to rule, irrespective of the views of those over whom they ruled.

....Algeria is the typical example of the final effect of this colonial ideology in practice. A completely irresponsible minority group in Algeria actually believe that they have a moral right to dictate the policy of France and in order to do so, to commit any atrocity which they see fit.

This situation presents an acute danger to world peace. The O.A.S. in Algeria have managed to possess themselves of most of the types of weapons used in the French army, and they employ them indiscriminately against the civil population without the least regard for the international consequences of their acts.

Can you wonder that Ghana and many other African States expressed the most extreme concern at France's atom bomb testing in the Sahara and her desire to become a nuclear power? What would have been the fate of the world if one nuclear bomb possessed by France had fallen into the hands of the O.A.S.?

....The total European population of Northern Rhodesia, if transferred to Britain, would not be sufficiently large to be entitled to a constituency to elect one out of the 630 members of the British House of Commons..... when these same persons are living in Northern Rhodesia, it is accepted by politicians who practise democracy at home, that they are entitled, if not to control the government, at least to have an equal share in it with the two million Africans who comprise practically the entire population.

....In regard to Africa, I should like the continent to become not only a non-nuclear zone, but also a zone where no foreign military bases are allowed. I should like this to be paralleled with an ideological truce and an agreement not to try to convert Africa into an economic appendage of any other continent.

....Such a plan for disengagement would, of course, apply equally to many other parts of the world. In Laos, both the United States and the Soviet Union have now agreed that the only possible solution is a **neutralist** regime.

....It is unnecessary for me to deal at any length with my fourth point, for it is abundantly clear that mutual fear, which is at the root of so much of the mistrust in the world today, cannot be eliminated so long as the Great Powers are in a position at one stroke to annihilate each other.

....When the major nuclear powers refuse to heed the universal appeal to stop the manufacture and testing of nuclear devices, do they imagine that the rest of the world resigns itself submissively to what protection it can get from fall-out shelters? Unfortunately for mankind, it does not. One by one, country after country begins to think hopefully in terms of defence. Slowly but surely they learn how to construct these lethal weapons for themselves and, with much pride, they blast them into the atmosphere. Yesterday it was France. Today maybe, it is Australia. Tomorrow it could be Japan, China, Italy, India, Pakistan, Greenland and many other countries determined not to be left behind in the arms race.

Apart from the great danger of fall-out from all this testing, one wonders just how much nuclear fission our globe can take before it-- before our whole planet, indeed, is itself split into millions and millions of tiny particles and blasted into eternity.

....No matter how small some people think the world has become in this age of jet propulsion and astronauts, it is still big enough to contain us all happily and peacefully, communists and capitalists, Mohammedans, Buddhists, Christians and Jews, black skinned, yellow skinned and white skinned. For those who cannot reconcile themselves to this idea, who convince themselves that the globe is now too small to accommodate their various ideologies, I would recommend that they get together in one of their man-made satellites and take a good look at the globe from outer space. In that vast expanse of ether, looking down on our world and round at the thousands of other possible worlds, how can any man presume to have the right or the power to interfere with the all-powerful mechanics of the universe?

Finally I would like to make an urgent appeal to every scientist, to every man and woman, whoever they are and wherever they live, to disassociate himself from everything connected with the manufacture, testing and stock-piling of nuclear weapons.

I would like at this juncture to venture a suggestion which, on the face of it, may sound a little naive, but which I think might serve to increase our awareness of the vital part we can play in speedily bringing about nuclear disarmament.

I wonder whether the distinguished members of this Assembly might, during their discussions here, consider forming and launching a club or association with world-wide membership, to be called perhaps, "The World Without The Bomb Association". Each member could be given a badge which he should wear at all times so that he can be identified as an active participant in the nuclear disarmament campaign.

Membership should be restricted, of course, to those who are both morally and physically dissociated from the manufacture and testing of all nuclear weapons of destruction. We have reached a point where each one of us must decide, once and for all, whether we want to live--and by living, I mean living normally and happily, without any kind of threat of destruction hanging over our heads--or to be destroyed in an atomic war. On this issue of disarmament or nuclear destruction, we cannot listen to politicians, to generals, to our leaders and our superiors: this is one time when the individuals, the ordinary men and women of the world, must face the situation themselves and when they must have the supreme courage to do what they know is right. Whatever this may cost us, it is after all, a small price to pay to save mankind from annihilation and to restore sanity, peace and order to the world. Let us have the courage of our convictions and let us act today.

Mr. Chairman: It has been a great honour for me to address you, and on behalf of the Government and people of Ghana, to welcome you.

People in many lands are looking up to you for some new hope and some new light in these perilous times which try men's souls.

Distinguished Friends: I thank you for listening to me and I now leave you to your task.

CHAPTER 3: Conference Recommendations

The five committees met for four days, morning, noon, and night. Their final reports constitute the chief outcome of The Accra Assembly. Some of their recommendations which seem worthy of worldwide attention and implementation are given below:

On the United Nations

1. World tension can be eased and peace achieved only by bringing all nations together in an organised fashion. The United Nations is the one existing organisation through which international security and cooperation can be achieved. It is essential that it be strengthened, made a fully representative forum, and its disarmament recommendations implemented.
2. The United Nations should continue in its endeavors to outlaw nuclear weapons and their testing. As one positive step to check the arms race, the General Assembly's condemnation of the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons as a violation of the United Nations Charter should be reinforced by a declaration that the threat to use nuclear weapons, implied in their testing, is equally a violation of the Charter.
3. Because of the increase in the number of members in the General Assembly, we endorse the Belgrade Declaration that "The General

Assembly of the United Nations should, through the revision of the Charter, find the solution to the question of expanding the membership of the Security Council and of the Economic and Social Committee. We also propose that all the organs of the United Nations be built on the same principle, as there exists only one China--the Chinese People's Republic--its lawful rights in all the organs of the United Nations must be restored!"

4. The General Assembly should study and adopt a definition of aggression and attempt to codify the principle of coexistence among nations. Draft codes of offences against the peace and security of mankind should be adopted in order to make possible the establishment of an international criminal court. The structure of the International Court should be reformed in the same way as proposed for the other organs of the United Nations. The jurisdiction of the Court could then be extended for the settlement of international dispute, and more particularly for dealing with questions arising from the use of nuclear weapons, whether for testing purposes or otherwise.
5. When the United Nations is given the reformed status proposed above it must be given the power to prevent war and to implement its decisions. We therefore strongly support the decision in the Joint Statement (McCloy-Zorin) agreed upon between the USSR and the USA: "During and after the implementation of the program of general and complete disarmament, there should be taken, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter, the necessary measures to maintain international peace and security, including the obligation of States to place at the disposal of the United Nations agreed manpower necessary for an international peace force to be equipped with agreed types of armaments..."

We urge all States to call for the abolition of all military blocs and for their replacement by the system of international collective security within the framework of the United Nations.

On Common Markets

6. We deprecate the extension of the cold war by way of economic boycotts and bans on trade. We also oppose the setting up of high tariff areas and cartels which affect underdeveloped nations. We welcome economic integration but we deplore all areas of economic discrimination which tend to crystallize the alignments of the cold war in the field of trade, and to be a further obstacle to disengagement. We are in favor of the international stabilisation of commodity prices, in view of the great reliance of many of the less developed nations on the sale of primary products.

On War Propaganda

7. We deplore hostile and mendacious propaganda and misinformation, expressions of discrimination and hatred against nations, races and peoples, and open propaganda for war; and ask that governments make every appropriate effort to stop them--by the passage of

legislation wherever possible, and, in any event, by the strenuous exercise of influence and good example. We propose that the United Nations should take an initiative in positive propaganda for peace, as should nonaligned nations.

On Increased International Contacts and Projects

8. Personal contacts on all levels should be encouraged as an important means of creating a better atmosphere for the solution of international problems. The interchange of cultural, educational, scientific, sports and other personnel and groups should be vastly expanded. We urge organization on a world-wide scale of opportunities for citizens, especially teachers and young people, to live for a time in countries between which tensions exist.

More attention should be given to cooperative tasks too big for any single nation to undertake alone, such as the International Geophysical Year and the Proposed International Year of Cooperation now on the United Nations agenda. One promising project might be the joint launching under United Nations auspices by the USA and USSR of a communications satellite to be used for educational purposes and partly paid for by popular subscription of the peoples of all nations.

On the Social Responsibility of Science and Scientists

9. National governments should refrain from and prohibit such experiments or practices as may substantially disturb (for periods exceeding a few seconds) the physical properties of the ionosphere, the Van Allen Belt, or any other electrically active regions in space.

No experiments which are even remotely likely to produce effects of longer duration in such regions should be permitted without the joint approval of the International Astronomical Union and the International Scientific Radio Union.

Deliberate impairment by man-made interference of communication by radiotelegraphy, telephony or television should be prohibited by national authority in accordance with measures to be drafted by the appropriate international unions and related bodies.

Scientists have a continuing ethical responsibility to the community. Each must to the best of his ability forecast the possible social consequences of his work and must regard it as a duty to communicate them in the language of the layman.

On Education

10. The youth of the world must be brought up in the spirit of peace, international understanding, friendship among peoples and respect for the right of self-determination. This is the solemn duty of teachers and professors, whose academic freedom must be jealously safeguarded and who must never be subject to political persecution.

We urge the setting up of an International Information Center for unbiased public education through press, radio, films, television and textbooks. Immediately needed is a campaign of public education on how the immense savings from disarmament can improve living standards and give other widespread economic benefits--especially to allay fears of those who will be affected by disarmament, namely, state and private enterprises specializing in arms production; shareholders; workers and technicians in arms factories; and military personnel.

A shortened popular edition of the United Nations' report "Economic and Social Consequences of Disarmament" should be widely disseminated as a basis for public discussions.

On Nuclear Research

11. Non-nuclear countries acquiring research reactors should enter into an international agreement not to use nuclear materials for any military purpose.

An inventory of all nuclear fuels for research purposes should be kept with an international atomic energy agency for checking.

Regional rather than national atomic research development should be carried out in collaboration with the United Nations agency.

Non-nuclear nations should take initiative to insure that all scientific research in this field is open and free.

On Preventing Spread of Nuclear Weapons

12. A. Nations not possessing nuclear weapons should organize an international convention undertaking these solemn obligations:
 - (a) that they refuse to possess or to accept nuclear weapons of any kind;
 - (b) that they refuse to possess or to accept chemical and biological weapons;
 - (c) that they do not allow nuclear weapons on their territories, nor stockpiles of materials which can be used for war purposes;
 - (d) that they do not allow means of delivery of nuclear weapons of any kind, for example, rocket bases and air bases, to be stationed on their territories;
 - (e) that they refrain from producing or taking part in the production in any form or at any stage, of nuclear weapons;

- (f) that they use their good offices to persuade the countries on whose territories nuclear weapons or means of delivery are now based, to request that they be withdrawn from their territories.

It is proposed that a guarantee be established for the supervision of the solemn obligations undertaken in the convention by the same international agreement, which should be within the framework of the United Nations.

B. Nuclear powers should agree:

- (a) to undertake a balanced withdrawal of nuclear weapons, as well as the means of delivery, from the territories of other countries;
- (b) to sign a convention to refrain from giving nuclear weapons to other countries; and
- (c) to prevent the NATO and Warsaw Pact organizations from themselves becoming nuclear powers.

On Nuclear-free Zones

- 13. We endorse the concept of a nuclear-free Africa and propose the creation of nuclear-free zones in other areas, such as Southeast Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America, as well as the balanced creation of zones of disengagement in Europe.

An Inter-African Disarmament and Non-Aggression Pact should be guaranteed by both East and West; a limit of two years be put on the implementation of African disarmament; and an African Disarmament Fund be set up for agricultural and industrial development and to absorb ex-military personnel.

On Initiatives by Non-Aligned Nations

- 14. The closest cooperation should be maintained among the non-aligned nations on a continuing basis, between meetings of the General Assembly and bodies like the Geneva Disarmament Conference, so as to ensure that positive plans may be worked out in concrete form. Such nations should maintain permanent departments for international cooperation and should take the initiative in seeking answers to world problems. Positive neutralism must mean that, while all questions are approached without prior commitment to one side or the other, they must be answered on the basis of how the interests of peace can best be advanced. Positive neutralism represents an assertion of responsibility in the efforts of mankind to achieve peace and freedom.

On Disarmament Negotiations

15. Every day of delay that elapses before the conclusion and implementation of the Treaty to Complete and General Disarmament increases the risk of war through accident, failure of communication, miscalculation, or surprise attack.

We are convinced that the Governments will be most powerfully assisted in carrying out their pledges to make a Treaty of General and Complete Disarmament if public opinion is adequately informed about the daily proceedings of the Committee of Eighteen, which are of vital importance to every citizen of every nation throughout the world.

We believe the work of the Disarmament Conference would be rendered more effective if the Conference adopts more of the procedures and methods of conducting business which are accepted in other organs of the United Nations, and in particular the appointment of a rapporteur. Documents and provisional verbatim reports of the Plenary Sessions of the Conference and of its subcommittees should be promptly released for publication by the Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations, and circulated at once to members of national Parliaments, accredited non-governmental organizations, representatives of broadcasting authorities and of the press.

We further express the hope that the press will be admitted to the meetings of the Committee of Eighteen, as they are to meetings of the Security Council and other organs of the United Nations.

16. We recall the pledge given by the heads of governments of the USSR, USA and Britain that they would accept personal responsibility for the success of the Disarmament Conference, and we rely on their continued effort to secure early and satisfactory results.
17. We strongly urge the Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Conference at Geneva to speed the course of negotiations now taking place to the maximum extent possible.

We respectfully urge that the Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations communicate with the heads of the eighteen governments concerned in the Geneva Disarmament Conference and request each of them to direct that first priority be given in the administration of their Government's business to all matters relating to the Geneva Disarmament Conference.

18. To avoid administrative or other delays at a later stage of the negotiations, we urge the Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations, or some other United Nations Agency which might be called the United Nations Disarmament Agency set up for the purpose to

(a) draw up a list of all the steps involved directly or by

implication in the process of strict and effective control and supervision, common to the US and USSR disarmament proposals or the alternative proposals suggested by the eight nonaligned nations at the Geneva Conference.

- (b) set up committees of experts to examine each of the practical issues arising on the implementation of each of the steps referred to in (a). Such experts should be selected by the Acting Secretary-General or some other United Nations Agency set up for the purpose, and not nominated by governments.
- (c) make the necessary arrangements as soon as possible to recruit and train at least some of the scientists and technicians who will be required to supervise and control each phase of the inspection and control of the Treaty of General and Complete disarmament.

On International Disarmament Organization

19. The Treaty on General and Complete Disarmament should contain the following provisions for control of disarmament:
- (a) The treaty should provide for a Preparatory Commission charged with the task of taking detailed practical steps to establish an International Organization for the control of general and complete disarmament;
 - (b) The Control Organization should be set up the moment the treaty comes into force. It should be within the framework of the United Nations and should comprise all states party to the agreement.
 - (c) There should be a Control Council consisting of permanent and non-permanent members, to include representatives of the countries which are members of the Eastern and Western military and political alliances, and representatives of non-aligned countries, so long as these distinctions exist.
 - (d) The Control Council should have its local organs of control.
 - (e) In all countries party to the Treaty, the Control Organization should have its own staff, recruited internationally with due regard for the principle of equitable geographical distribution.
 - (f) The Control Organization should distribute its inspectors over the territory of states and they should discharge their control functions from the very beginning of the disarmament process.
 - (g) General and complete disarmament should be carried out as quickly as possible in three consecutive stages, each having a specified time limit. The USSR wants the process of disarmament to last for four years, the USA wants it to last for

six years or more. We hope it can be done in under six years.

20. Every nation in the world will have to take part in the processes of disarmament, of inspecting and being inspected. Realistic consideration of the problems involved in disarmament will be necessary not only for general and complete disarmament but also for any regional arrangements for denuclearisation, demilitarisation or disengagement.

On Non-Governmental Concern with Disarmament

21. General and complete disarmament concerns not only governments but also individuals, organizations and peace movements, and we suggest that they consider urgently and realistically the plans and problems involved. We would welcome it if some nonaligned countries would give a lead.

To this end we recommend:

- (a) That each nation create a special disarmament bureau within its government to make studies on all matters of disarmament and also to encourage independent studies by scholars.
 - (b) That at least one non-governmental disarmament organization be established in each nation, or, if already established, strengthened, in order to promote discussion on disarmament among the people.
 - (c) That non-governmental organizations send observers to meetings of the Disarmament Committee and of the United Nations in order to publicize and transmit information back to all non-governmental disarmament organizations.
22. We also call for the establishment as soon as possible of a permanent Independent International Institute for Disarmament Research, which should do basic and applied research in fields relevant for present and future disarmament proposals, with special regard to problems which may arise in phases of the disarmament process.

The Institute should also undertake research on non-violent and other peaceful methods of keeping the peace in a disarming and disarmed world.

It might also function as a clearing house for similar scientific researches carried on in other countries.

The following principles are suggested to guide the creation and work of such an Institute:

- (a) It should undertake advanced research in these fields

and make its findings public.

- (b) It should be located in a nonaligned country.
- (c) The director and the scientific staff should be chosen on the basis of their scientific merit. The permanent staff should appoint scientific consultants.
- (c) The Council of the Institute should be drawn from nonaligned countries or, if this is not acceptable, be balanced between existing major divisions of the world.
- (d) The United Nations, governments, foundations and individuals should donate money for the Institute, provided that the method of financing it should not be capable of being used in any manner which would interfere with its independence or objectivity.

On International Aid to Underdeveloped Nations

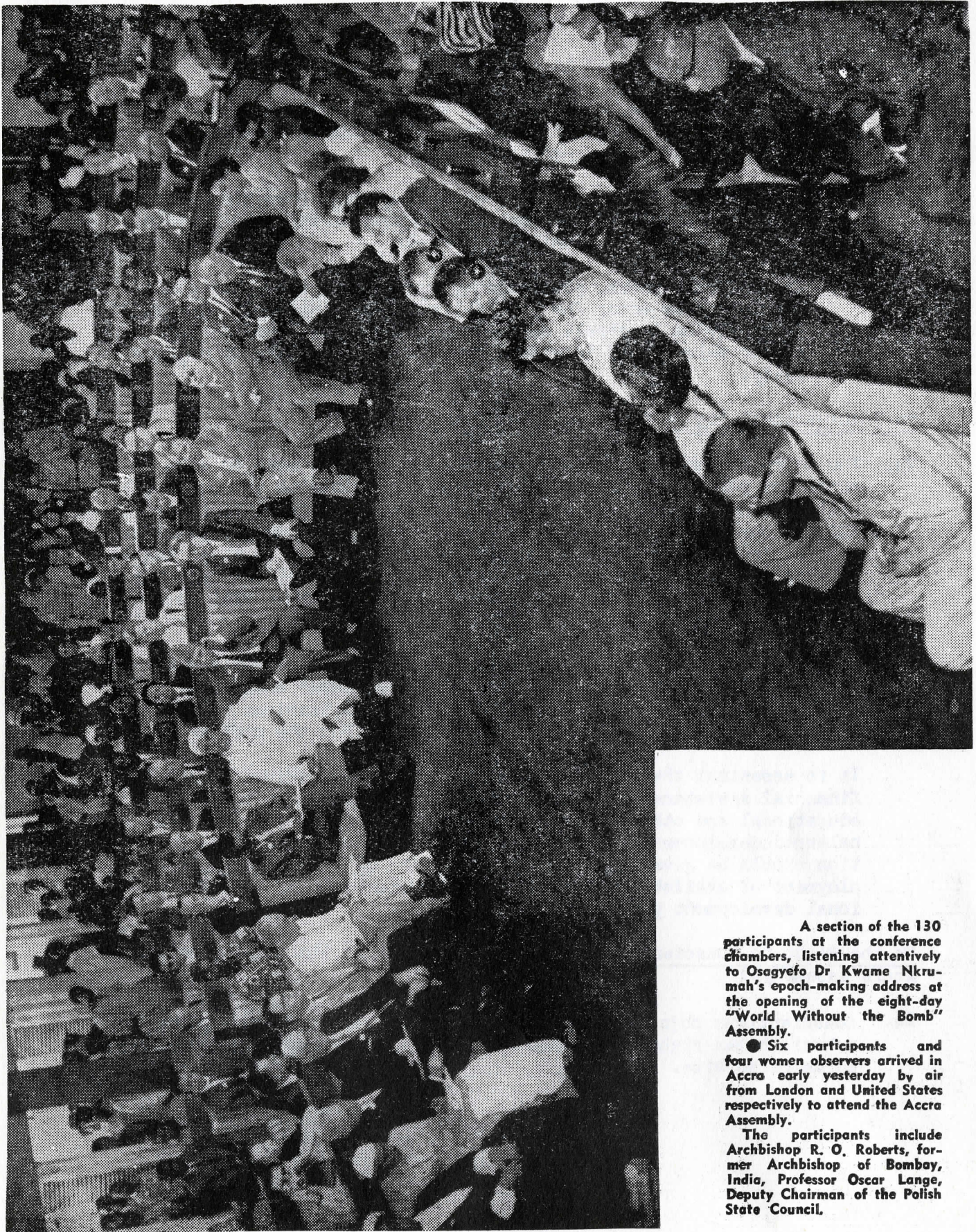
23. The Accra Assembly lays especial emphasis upon the need to give moral and political expression as soon as possible to the essential unity of the human race. Full and effective solidarity is the first duty of our age. Disarmament is needed not only to secure peace but also to free enormous resources that should be added to those available to eradicate hunger, ignorance, misery and servitude from the face of the earth. Until this has been achieved there will be no true or lasting peace on earth.

A substantial part of the resources which disarmament would make available for international aid to the underdeveloped countries should be channelled through international organizations coming under the United Nations or specially created for the purpose.

It is essential that aid programs should not be confined merely to financial assistance but should also include all those technical, educational and other elements necessary to guarantee a full and balanced development for the underdeveloped countries. Consideration should be given also to the priorities necessary in the employment of available resources by the preparation of a proper national development program.

On the Right to Conscientious Objection (Proposal of the Council of The Accra Assembly.)

24. Conscientious objection to military service should be recognised as a basic human right, and all Governments should provide alternative forms of service.



A section of the 130 participants at the conference chambers, listening attentively to Osagyefo Dr Kwame Nkrumah's epoch-making address at the opening of the eight-day "World Without the Bomb" Assembly.

● Six participants and four women observers arrived in Accra early yesterday by air from London and United States respectively to attend the Accra Assembly.

The participants include Archbishop R. O. Roberts, former Archbishop of Bombay, India, Professor Oscar Lange, Deputy Chairman of the Polish State Council.

CHAPTER 4: Some Verbatim Quotes

Some verbatim notes taken during the meeting of the Second Committee¹, on the Disarmament Process (the committee I attended as observer):

Prof. Voroncov: Our work should be realistic and we should avoid discussion which impedes our task...Americans tend to discuss the problem of control theoretically. Imagine we have disarmament agreed on. Then control over the remaining disarmaments at each step would not have the practical importance it now would seem to have. It would be a vast job to control the destruction of what is agreed upon, let alone what remains.

Taking the Soviet draft treaty as basis, the first stage calls for the destruction of rockets, all factories and plants producing rockets and missiles, aircraft and airfields and bases, and plants producing aircraft; the same for naval craft and artillery production. There would be ground inspection teams for each of these, carrying on simultaneously in various parts of the country. Similarly for the agreed reduction in conventional arms.

¹ CHAIRMAN: Sean MacBride, Chairman of Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe, former Minister of External Affairs for Eire

SECRETARY: Stuart Hall, member of British CND

MEMBERS: Paramount Chief Hon. Abou Bainba III, Sierra Leone

Dr. E. W. Blyden, Dean of Nsukka University, Nigeria

Mrs. Peggy Duff, Secretary, Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament

Prof. J. V. Galtung, Peace Institute, Oslo, Norway

Dr. Homer Jack, Exec. Dir., National Committee for Sane Nuclear Policy, USA

Prof. S. Victor Knapp, Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, Director, Institute of Law

J. Mensah, Director of Planning, Accra

Lazar Mojsov, President, Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence and Equality of Peoples

The Rt. Hon. Philip Noel-Baker, Member House of Commons, former Cabinet Minister, Nobel Peace Prize Winner, author of "The Arms Race"

Dr. S. M. Sikri, Advocate General of the Punjab, India

Mr. Wayland Young (Lord Kennet), member of House of Lords, writer on disarmament

EXPERTS: Prof. I. J. Kozevnikov, International Law, University of Moscow, former Judge of the International Court of Justice

Prof. J. M. Voroncov, History, Institute of International Affairs, Moscow, Delegate to United Nations Committee on Test Ban Treaty

Dr. Amrom Katz, Rand Corporation, aerial reconnaissance specialist

Ambassador James Wadsworth, formerly Permanent US Representative to the United Nations, formerly Judge of International Court of Justice, Delegate to the International Atomic Energy Agency negotiations in 1957

OBSERVERS: Prof. J. D. Bernal, Physics, Cambridge University, England, President, World Council of Peace

Mrs. Frances W. Herring, Women's Strike for Peace, USA

So many inspectors just for the first stage! And they will remain on the ground as the second stage gets under way. When all three stages are under way, literally armies of inspectors will cover the country. It would be extremely unlikely that this army of inspectors would be unaware of the entire military picture in that country.

Wayland Young: Do you mean that there would be so many inspectors on the ground during the first stage that it would be unnecessary to have more for inspecting the remaining armaments?

Vorontcov: Yes.

Young: Then why object?

Vorontcov: Because the first stage inspection would give the general picture, but not details. It would make it very hard for a country to cheat, yet would not involve prying visits everywhere.

Amrom Katz: I'm surprised at the picture of inspection drawn by Prof. Vorontcov. So different from what was proposed by them at Geneva. No wandering inspectors were proposed there.

The USSR already knows about the USA what we now want to know of the USSR. "Control" is very different, to me, from "inspection". Inspection is gathering information. Control means physical occupation, decision over use. The Sohn plan --inspection proportionate to amount of disarmament--was proposed at the Pugwash Conference--inspection to preserve a stable situation during the process of disarmament.

Sean MacBride: Would "verification" help solve the semantic situation?

Prof. Bernal: I'd like to call attention to the fact that p. 13 of the American draft text departs from the Sohn plan in respect to the way in which the zones would be selected. Instead of by lot, it is to be "by procedures which should ensure their selection by Parties to the Treaty." What can this mean?

Philip Noel-Baker: So far as the principle is concerned, I don't accept Prof. Vorontcov's argument. As late as 1960 this problem did not arise in the disarmament discussions.

I think this problem arose when disarmament became likely and at the same time the Americans held to the theory of the stable military deterrent. Our Soviet comrades may have in mind that Congress has just voted 800 minute-man missiles plus (rest of sentence not recorded). I should think the Soviet Union would under such circumstances wish to maintain secrecy over the location of its missile sites.

But I am not sure that this is not a false dilemma. I believe that the military staffs are extremely well-informed already, and espionage during disarmament is not so dangerous, whether of remaining arms or not. I agree with Vorontcov that the first stage would involve so many teams that it would be difficult to maintain secrecy on anything.

The real problem is that the USA isn't ready to accept the disarmament of the USSR first stage. The problem is a difference in the pace of disarmament

which both will accept. My experience indicates that speed of carrying out disarmament is important; but if we could get rid of two-thirds over six years we should get a great deal. Can we do something to "up" the US proposal beyond 30 percent destruction of weapons delivery systems, and arrive at some version of the zone-inspection system which will seem safe to the USSR?

J. Mensah: Would members of the Commission agree that if the USA accepted the list of weapons proposed for destruction in the first stage by the USSR, the danger of surprise attack would be sufficiently reduced? If so, to whom would inspection of what is retained be dangerous?

Speed is of the essence. The US proposal for quarterly decisions on amounts of arms remaining would be impossibly complicated. We need the quickest rate possible at the first stage.

Katz: Why are we interested in disarmament? We should often ask ourselves this. It is not an end in itself but a means to increased security. The security question is paramount. Disarmament which increases insecurity is meaningless. As to fast vs. slow disarmament--frustrations and impasses in the past should lead us to adopt contingency plans, ones which would secure the world in stable form in case disarmament fails--simultaneous and complementary measures.

The simple count of missiles which Noel-Baker gave is misleading. Eight hundred American missiles may equal four Russian missiles.

Young: I am opposed to discussion here of any means of reducing world tensions except disarmament.

Simply put, the US is afraid that the USSR will conceal missiles during disarmament and then menace the world. The USSR is afraid that inspectors will discover the exact location of missile sites not now known by the US, and that an American administration might launch a first-counterforce-strike, destroying the USSR's retaliatory capacity.

How break this deadlock?

The only proposal now in being is the Sohn plan in many versions. Could we devise a version which is acceptable to both sides? Revision so that the choice of zone, or the order of opening the zones to inspection should be by hazard, out of a hat?

Katz: On Mensah's question as to there being no danger of surprise attack if disarmament is sufficiently speedy--errors of 15-20 percent in bookkeeping on fissile materials means that there is no known inspection system which would make us safe. It is too complicated to start with delivery systems. We are too late. There is now too much fissile material in the world.

Vorontsov: As to Mensah's question: To whom would verification of remaining armed forces be dangerous?--To the USSR, because it would show the location and exact strength of military capability so it could be used in a first-strike strategy.

Galtung: Why not steer clear of these obstacles by putting together: 1) invulnerability of second strike capacity by randomizing location of missile bases; 2) using neutral inspection teams, inspecting 3) randomly chosen zones which should include what remains as well as what is destroyed?

Bernal: Would not Noel-Baker's own proposal (arrived at, at the recent East-West Roundtable Conference in Brussels) solve this problem? It combines zones of inspection with zones of disengagement. This would combine with Galtung's idea. I believe the real objection is not of inspection but of the speed of disarmament.

Noel-Baker: I should like to point out that the theory of the invulnerable deterrent is questionable. Not only do I doubt that the deterrent is invulnerable, but I also would point out that such "deterrents" could be used for a first strike.

Dr. Katz says we have passed the point of no return. Nuclear stocks can't be abolished because of a possible 20 percent error in our knowledge of production of fissile material. May I ask precisely why the destruction of delivery systems should not come first? We should also agree to reduce stocks of fissile materials. But by abolishing the means of delivery we get rid of 59-60ths of the problem. By means of civil aviation we might be able to deliver 100 megatons in small doses. But this is about one-sixtieth of our present danger.

Mr. Katz speaks of gambling on disarmament--it might not work. But we have been gambling on armaments, and we have got only a series of crises, which would not otherwise have been dangerous.

Increasing insecurity through disarmament proceeds from two unspoken assumptions: (1) that arms make the world safer; (2) that disarmament will make the world safe for the bandit.

I am in favor of United Nations machinery. But disarmament is far the best way of safeguarding against the bandit nation. "The risks of disarmament pale beside the risks of the continued arms race."

CHAPTER 5: Demand-Disarmament-Day

Midway in the Conference, a handful of participants and observers formed a voluntary Initiating Committee which, after several meetings, decided to issue an international call for a DEMAND-DISARMAMENT-DAY, November 1, 1962.

The attempt will be made to rouse men and women from their sense of helplessness to the realization that World War III is not inevitable--that they themselves may have the power to call a halt to the arms race which is now using science to perfect further ways of accomplishing their destruction.

They urge widespread demonstrations for disarmament on November 1, 1962, and continuing attempts thereafter to develop and sustain an evermounting popular pressure on governments for disarmament, and for the building of institutions to keep the peace.

The Initiating Committee endorsing the proposal consisted of:

Susanna Al-Hassan, Deputy Minister of Education, Accra

Dr. R. P. Baffour, Vice-Chancellor, University of Science and Technology, Kumasi, Ghana;

Clarie Collins Harvey of Mississippi, Nancy Mamis of Vermont, Selma Sparks of New York, Frances Herring of Berkeley-Women Strike for Peace;

Charles P. Howard, United Nations Press, New York;

Christine C. Johnson, African American Heritage Association, Chicago;

Mme. Dr. Tomi Kora, WILPF, former Vice-Mayor of Hiroshima, Tokyo, Japan;

Marie Ieda Leita Linhares, Prof. of History, University of Brazil;

Julie Medlock, American journalist and communications consultant, Accra;

Ichiro Moritaki, Prof. of Ethics, Hiroshima University, and chairman, Atomic Victims Association, Hiroshima, Japan;

Mme. Savitri Nigam, Member of Parliament, India; and

Senor Lautaro Ojeda, Santiago, Chile.

While this action was in no way an official part of the Assembly proceedings, it is one immediate outcome of bringing together representatives of far-flung nations in the common aim to devise projects for promoting disarmament and peace.

Members went home to set in motion the plans for November 1st in their respective countries. Representatives of other countries have subsequently been invited to join in the international project.¹

¹Readers who desire to participate in planning November 1st events are invited to write to Frances W. Herring, Acting Secretary of Initiating Committee for DEMAND-DISARMAMENT-DAY. (14 Flood Circle, Atherton, California, USA).

In the United States, volunteers are being sought in each major city to take responsibility for convening local committees, drawing in as many peace organizations as possible, to coordinate November 1st demonstrations in their areas. Each area will select its own ways of expressing concern for disarmament and peace; but it is urged that wherever possible the November 1st demonstrations invite attendance at a later conference at which disarmament issues can be explained and discussed, economic planning for peace emphasized and imaginations fired with the possibilities after disarmament. Armistice Day weekend is suggested for this event in the United States.

CHAPTER 6: The Continuing Accra Assembly

Toward the end of the week of meetings, the feeling was widely voiced that The Accra Assembly, while remaining a conference of invited individuals--international, nonaligned and nongovernmental--should become a permanent body with a Secretariat at Accra and liaison with the United Nations.

Accordingly a continuing committee for 1962-1963--the Council of The Accra Assembly--was set up. It consists of:

Seyid Mohammed El Fassi, Islamic scholar, Dean of the University of Rabat, Morocco, and former Minister of Education, Chairman;

Prof. Candido Mendes de Almeida, political science, University of Brazil;

Heinrich Buchbinder, Vice-President of European Federation Against Nuclear Armament;

Gikonya Kiano, former Kenya Minister of Commerce and Industry;

D. Chaman Lall, member of the Indian Parliament, former Indian Ambassador;

Sean MacBride, Senior Counsel, former Minister of External Affairs, Ireland;

Ivan Supek, Prof. of Theoretical physics, University of Zagreb, and President of the Scientific Council of the Yugoslav Atomic Energy Commission;

Dr. A. H. Tabibi, Afghanistani member of the United Nations Commission of International Law, and Chairman of the United Nations Technical Assistance Committee;

Mohammed Fouad Galal, UAR Ambassador to Tanganyika, former Minister of Social Welfare; and

Dr. R. P. Baffour, Vice-Chancellor Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, and Vice-Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission of Ghana.

Two members of the 12-member Council remain to be elected, possibly from persons not present.

The Council was empowered to implement the Assembly's proposals; mobilize public opinion for the World without the bomb; encourage research relevant to the purposes of the Assembly; cooperate with and assist the coordination of international, regional and national organizations with aims similar to its own; and prepare and convene further conferences in other cities of the world.

President Nkrumah sent a message from the Parliament of Ghana to The Accra Assembly on the last day of the conference, in which he applauded the decision of the participants to make The Accra Assembly a continuing affair,

made several suggestions for the Council's consideration and generously offered state hospitality for the ensuing years.

The message proposed consultative procedures to insure that future Assemblies should also be demonstrably independent of all influence or control by any Government, organization or group; suggested that to preserve its international character, The Accra Assembly should meet in other States of the world; and appealed to other Governments, organizations, foundations and private individuals concerned for peace to contribute toward the costs.

At the same time, to prevent a hiatus between meetings while other support is being sought, the Government of Ghana invited The Accra Assembly to meet in Accra again in September 1963, and put offices and a Secretariat in Accra at the Council's disposal.

The Council held its first meeting during an intermission of the last Plenary Session and announced that the Chairman of the United Nations Disarmament Conference at Geneva would be invited to receive a delegation of the Council in early August, to present the reports and recommendations of The Accra Assembly.

Thereafter, a delegation would be deputed to convey in person reports and recommendations of The Accra Assembly to the heads of governments of the US and the USSR.

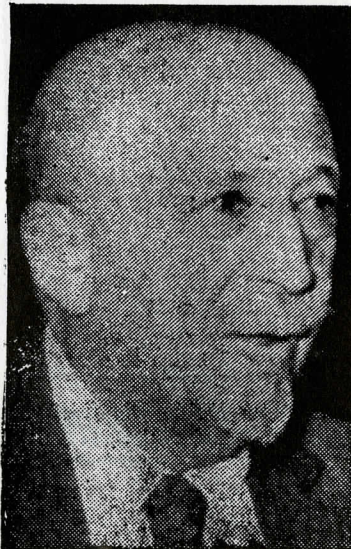
Meanwhile, in line with the decision to maintain close liaison with other world movements, a two-member delegation was asked to take the findings of The Accra Assembly to the July Congress on Disarmament and Peace in Moscow.

The Council's next meeting will be held in Rabat, Morocco, in August, 1962.

DR. W. E. DuBois, Father of Pan-Africanism, has said here that if the Accra Assembly "can conceive a world without atomic bombs, then we can conceive of a real world peace".

'Strive for World Without Bombs'

"Africa, which is just at the point of recovering its past greatness after centuries of domination and oppression, faces the danger of having its bright future blotted out before it can even attempt to realise it," he said.



Dr. DuBois

Dr. DuBois appealed to the participants of the Assembly to strive for a world without Atomic Bombs.

It seemed curious, he remarked, that some of the great modern discoveries and inventions, instead of being used to help mankind, were being used for its destruction or certainly to threaten as destruction.

Delegates for Geneva talks

THE newly-appointed ten-man governing council of the Accra Assembly last night decided to send a two-man official delegation to represent the assembly at the "World Congress on Disarmament and Peace" which opens in Moscow on July 9.

The two men are Mr F. E. Boateng, Secretary-General of the preparatory committee of the assembly and Dr R. P. Baffour, vice-chancellor of the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Kumasi.

The council decided that the next congress of the "Accra Assembly" be held in Accra in September of 1963.

The council also named Dr R. P. Baffour and Mr Sean Macbride, former Irish Minister of External Affairs, as the Accra Assembly's official delegates for the Geneva 18-nation conference on disarmament in the first week of August.



'Peace' women

Four participants of the Accra Assembly on "The World Without the Bomb" pictured discussing issues on world peace outside the conference hall in Accra yesterday.

They are (from left) Dr Frances Herring, Miss Selma Sparks, Mrs. Nancy Mammis and Mrs. Clarie Collins Harvey, all members of the Women Strike for Peace, an American women's organisation.

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