

# GENERAL ASSEMBLY

FOURTEENTH SESSION

Official Records



## 837th PLENARY MEETING

Thursday, 5 November 1959,  
at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

### CONTENTS

Page

Address by H.E. Mr. Sekou Touré, President  
of the Republic of Guinea . . . . . 551

President: Mr. Víctor A. BELAUNDE (Peru).

Address by H.E. Mr. Sekou Touré, President of the Republic  
of Guinea

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): On behalf of the General Assembly of the United Nations, I welcome His Excellency Mr. Sekou Touré, President of the Republic of Guinea, a country whose admission to our Organization we hailed with great satisfaction at the thirteenth regular session of the Assembly.

2. The admission of countries which have achieved sovereignty and national identity as Members of the United Nations not only gives our Organization new strength and vitality but enhances its hopes of carrying out its world-wide mission effectively.

3. With my sincere wishes for your country's prosperity within the promising framework of the development of the African continent, I invite you to come to the rostrum of this Assembly.

4. Mr. Sekou TOURE (President of the Republic of Guinea) (translated from French): I am deeply moved to have the honour and the pleasure of addressing this august Assembly and, through it, the illustrious peoples of the eighty-two nations which you represent.

5. I must first of all express to you the sincere gratitude of the people and Government of Guinea who deeply appreciated the active solidarity you expressed upon the proclamation of our independence. In bringing foreign domination to an end in September 1958, the people of Guinea placed their earnest hopes in the United Nations in the face of the many difficulties that might have jeopardized the success of their historic venture. Our hope was doubly fulfilled by the immediate recognition of our young Republic by all the States Members of the United Nations and our admission as a member of this great Assembly. The importance for Africa's destiny of the moral and political support you gave us in setting the seal upon our country's liberation can never be overestimated.

6. By recognizing us and welcoming us to United Nations membership, you broke through the isolation with which our enemies, the enemies of African progress, had tried to encircle the young Republic of Guinea in order to extinguish all desire for liberation on African soil. How reassuring it is for patriots like ourselves to know that, at critical hours in the destiny of their peoples international solidarity and brotherhood are never wanting!

7. In its day-to-day endeavours and throughout its future development, the people of Guinea will not only remember the selfless and whole-hearted contribution of its African sister nations, but will, by conducting its affairs in a democratic manner, justify the great confidence you have placed in it. Assured of the unfailing support of all other peoples who cherish justice and peace, our people, proud and united in their freedom, has for the past year resolutely applied itself to its vast programme of national reconstruction.

8. True to the ideals of justice and solidarity and above all to the unanimous will and endeavours of the Guinean people to assist oppressed peoples in their struggle, the Government which I have the honour to head, wishes to proclaim once again that African freedom is indivisible and that Guinea's independence is therefore inseparable from that of the other African peoples.

9. Our action to promote African emancipation is therefore linked with the efforts we are making at home to eliminate the vestiges of the former régime and create a viable economy. Our efforts undoubtedly conform to the pattern which guides your Assembly in its endeavour to preserve peace and foster friendship among all peoples.

10. In the past some people based their conception of Africa on the African's former attitude of resignation in the face of the vastly superior means at the disposal of the colonial Powers. They did not know the private thoughts of our peoples about the behaviour and pretensions of those Powers with regard to them. They refused to see beneath the black or yellow skin the same human qualities, intelligence, will and virtue as their own race possessed.

11. Moreover, they refused to recognize the role which the African continent will in the near future fulfil in the new balance of forces of a changing world, when all peoples have taken their place as sovereign States in the United Nations.

12. However, the tempo of African history has quickened to such a degree that decisive and far-reaching events are succeeding one another with astonishing rapidity. Only ten years ago Africa was almost entirely occupied by foreigners, who controlled its life exclusively for their own benefit. Africa played no part in international affairs. Today the representatives of a dozen African nations voice the brotherly will of their sovereign peoples in various international organizations. Soon other countries will emerge into freedom.

13. The most significant fact is this mass resurgence of all our peoples, even those hitherto regarded as the most backward, in other words the most oppressed. All plans to check Africa's unwavering determination to regain its dignity are being frustrated one by one and the thrilling cry of "independence" resounds

throughout our continent. Thus, Africa, that great question mark, is today in the grip of two irresistible forces—**independence and unity**—which are releasing its latent energies.

14. At a time when the United States and Soviet peoples are striving to widen man's domain and extend it to the moon, Africa is surely justified in asking why colonialism persists in its effort to maintain its domination over Africa's people and wealth. Can human progress conquer outer space and reach the moon without first being able to give the colonial peoples freedom and dignity?

15. Now, in 1959, all but one of the continents are completely free; the exception is the fifth—Africa. Awakened Africa has therefore no illusions about the enormous effort it will have to make to overcome the handicap imposed upon it. In this respect Guinea is not only the representative of the desire for emancipation of three million men and women, young and old, but, through the efforts of its people, it also expresses the aspirations of 200 million men and women relegated to the sidelines of history and waging an unending struggle against hunger, disease and ignorance.

16. While mankind is progressing towards a truly unified society with all the benefits of opportunity, experience and human resources, Africa seems like an imprisoned land, excluded from human achievement, deprived of its most fundamental rights and of its most valid reason for existence.

17. It is little more than a century since Abraham Lincoln made his sensational anti-slavery declaration, which was also an implicit but clear denunciation of the concept of colonialism when he said:

"You may fool all the people some of the time; you can even fool some of the people all the time; but you can't fool all of the people all the time".

Let us hope that the more powerful voice of the United Nations will take up this theme and assert that a world divided cannot endure and that we can no longer allow one part of the world to live in colonial slavery while the other part is free.

18. Lack of understanding and ability, confused ambitions, the need to maintain some form of influence—a whole list of specious pretexts is used to turn all Africa into a continent of proletarian peoples. But whatever arguments are used—economic or cultural, strategic or financial, tactical or practical—they never include the only argument which interests and concerns us—the human argument. Colonialism can produce buildings and factories, bridges and ports, but it can only crush and divide peoples by degrading man.

19. However, it is because the cause of mankind must inevitably triumph that Africa, for all its vicissitudes, will also triumph over the many obstacles raised in its path by selfishness, incomprehension, pride and stupidity.

20. As it emerges on the international scene, Africa goes forward to meet the rest of the world, not in a spirit of antagonism, but on the contrary with every desire to co-operate and with a comprehending and steadfast eagerness to make a contribution which, if denied to the world, would impair its prospects and resources.

21. It is therefore unjust to brand African patriots and nationalists as rebels or terrorists and to describe

all nationalist and patriotic movements in Africa as subversive or dangerous, for they are concerned to assert the right of self-determination against colonial monopoly. At no time can the expression of natural law be regarded as subversive or dangerous. Apart from the changes implicit in the exercise of every people's right of self-determination and its resultant political progress, there is a natural right which all peoples large or small possess and that is the right to freedom. Is not that right one of the main foundations of the United Nations Charter, so that no argument can detract from its lawful and legitimate character?

22. Therefore, in the exercise of their sovereignty, the independent States of Africa were entirely justified in concentrating their attention on the prospect of a free and united Africa and they cannot under any pretext disregard the basic problem of the national independence of the colonial peoples, which the colonial Powers are trying to evade by effecting more or less satisfactory and more or less fair changes in the legal bonds they have imposed on their victims.

23. No one will be surprised therefore if the African States give priority in their programme of action to a relentless struggle against all forms of paternalism and against the complex induced by oppression, which not only degrades man but renders him incapable of progress.

24. For a long time, the nations which had assumed the role of rulers in Africa believed that they could act in the name of our peoples. The setback they suffered is well known. Often the Powers which dominated our continent proclaimed to the world that their presence in our land was explained and morally justified by the need to bring us their civilization, as if Africa did not have its own past and its own highly developed civilizations, whose contact with imperialism inevitably resulted in their alienation and even disappearance. No one today will deny that it is impossible to impose a foreign civilization upon a people, particularly by force and when such professedly humanitarian intentions are accompanied by systematic exploitation. Guinea's determination to see African unity achieved on the basis of independence is also, from the standpoint of the means of progress, to some extent a determination to see Africa itself take part in the development of its own wealth in the basic interests of its peoples.

25. The failure of the colonialist concept is due precisely to the fact that the colonial Powers, while possessing the means for the development of this wealth, did not use them in the colonized countries to eliminate the gap between the level of living of the colonized peoples and that of the sovereign peoples, but, on the contrary, widened that gap by systematically exploiting resources and raw materials and keeping those peoples in abject poverty and dependence. It is no longer necessary to place colonialism on trial, since events and history have clearly decreed its complete disappearance. It might be added, however, that even if the record had been otherwise, it would still have been impossible to flout the colonial people's desire for independence and their legitimate right of self-determination.

26. Mindful of these considerations, we fervently wish to see colonialism liquidated once and for all. It is in this spirit that we call upon every nation to state

its views, not on the right of self-determination, which is already recognized and won, but on its genuine application, without tricks or manoeuvres, without deception or delusive qualifications. This is of course in Africa's interests, but it is even more in the interests of the world, which cannot deliberately deprive itself of the creative contribution of 200 million men and women, or gamble with the destiny of our peoples in order to safeguard the material interests of the colonial Powers alone.

27. The safety and very survival of the independent countries of Africa are bound up with the social, economic, cultural and political unity of that continent, for it is obvious that the independent countries of Africa could not be islands of happiness in a continent of misery.

28. For too long excluded from free human enterprise and relegated to the sidelines of history, Africa has become fully aware of the needs of its future and refuses henceforth to trail in the wake of history, or to allow the sacrifice of generations of its peoples to continue indefinitely.

29. It is obvious that paternalism, or any attempt at intervention in Africa that is alien to the true wishes and aspirations of Africa, will henceforth be doomed to failure. We wish to warn the United Nations against efforts that are still being made to impose on our continent ideas or principles that are foreign to its own desires. To further their designs, certain Governments are known in many instances to be securing the co-operation and allegiance of Africans or African organizations, who act only in accordance with those Government's wishes. That is a policy of rule by puppets which will, however, meet with diminishing success in Africa, since the peoples are becoming better organized and more determined to oppose all forms of domination, even when it is exercised through the agency of African organizations or powers. For centuries our continent has experienced paternalism, one might even say various degrees of paternalism, depending on the disposition of the colonizer. That long period of paternalism did not however result in any useful progress in Africa, but, on the contrary, deprived some African leaders of their sense of dignity and responsibility, that is, made them less able to give expression to the original qualities of their civilization. Is it not ignominious for such creatures, corrupted by the colonial Powers, to be used at this decisive hour to oppose the legitimate aspirations of their peoples?

30. Yesterday Africa was still known only in the humiliating perspective of the colonial system, while today it expresses its views clearly and will not allow those who, against its will, assumed control of its children and its natural resources, to continue to speak in its name. It is obvious therefore that, while Africa needs assistance more than ever before to free itself completely and to remould itself, it cannot tolerate any form of paternalism. We do not need anyone to bring us ready-made civilizations, because the fact that the imperialists have for centuries been unaware of our civilizations does not mean that they do not exist. These civilizations not only exist, but it is our firm conviction that in order to develop them the free action of the Africans themselves is essential. Those who have not yet acquired a sufficient measure of understanding and respect for our people to regard them as equal to all other peoples and to

recognize that our civilization is as valid as any other, should desist from helping Africa. What we ask in the name of international solidarity, and in the profound belief that world progress depends upon the contribution of all peoples, is brotherly assistance which will enable Africa to free itself completely from foreign pressure and exploitation. We do not cling to any idea of narrow separatism that would isolate Africa from other continents. In fact, we are deeply convinced that Africa's destiny is bound up with that of the other continents and can weight the balance of the world either in favour of peace and mutual understanding, or of war.

31. Experts far better qualified than myself have pointed out, mostly since the Second World War, the tragic disparity which divides the world into two sections: on the one hand, a group of developed countries which have attained a high standard of living, and, on the other, the undeveloped or under-developed countries whose populations are the perpetual victims of sickness, malnutrition and ignorance. The experts have established that a high infant mortality rate and a surprisingly low expectation of life prevail in the under-developed countries of the world and are the direct consequences of poverty, the extent of which is made plain by the statistics.

32. These facts are submitted for the verdict of the world's conscience, which must become the guardian and defender of the moral and intellectual values of human society. Meanwhile, the most profound studies undertaken for the purpose of finding a practical solution to the various problems posed by the under-development of two-thirds of the world have resulted in failure. It is however out of the question for 50 per cent of the resources of highly developed countries to be used, even with the consent of their peoples, to solve the problems which beset the under-developed countries, for, although in theory that would tend to redress the balance, the balance would be effected by levelling down, to the detriment of human society as a whole.

33. Consequently, the participation of the advanced countries in the development of the under-developed countries can amount to no more than a contribution and, as we have seen, a very inadequate one.

34. Human misery in the under-developed world is not the outcome of any lack of wealth, but is the consequence of a total lack of the means of exploiting enormous natural resources whose full extent is not yet fully determined.

35. We cannot over-estimate the importance of linking the fight to eliminate human misery with the struggle to preserve world peace. That is to say, we regard the fight against imperialism in Africa as a decisive factor in the world's struggle for peace. I shall not labour the point before your Assembly, which is well aware of the unlawful and inhuman character of imperialism. Indeed, nothing can justify invasion by force of arms and control of the destiny of peoples who are alleged to be uncivilized or incapable of conducting their own affairs. The experience of the independent African nations, on the very soil of this continent which has suffered more than any other from imperialism, and whose civilizations and moral values were trampled upon in the name of the most absurd racial concepts, has clearly shown that there are no inferior peoples, that the only incapable ones are those under colonial

rule and then only while that rule lasts. Colonialism is not only the enemy of Africa but is also the enemy of international understanding, which must of necessity be based on the unequivocal recognition of the equality of peoples and on mutual respect for their political, administrative and moral institutions.

36. I believe I am expressing the opinion of the under-developed peoples of the world when I say that, through them, Africa has risen to meet the rest of the world, not as an antagonist, but as a new, hitherto untapped force and a complementary element without which the human family would be incomplete and handicapped. Here, reason is the basis of our behaviour, which is considered suspect by some, indeterminate by others.

37. Colonialism, however, distorts the true feelings of peoples. It imbues some with a sense of superiority and makes others resigned to their inferiority and inability to alter their condition. We know that the reason for colonialization has little to do with philanthropy or morality. It is the product of economic necessity, with the difference that it makes no distinction between material wealth and human beings. That is the most degrading and tragic aspect of foreign oppression. Now that the African peoples are convinced that nothing can prevent them from regaining their independence, they are becoming aware of the evil effects of the system under which they have suffered on the peoples in whose name that oppression is practised.

38. The process of affirming the African personality involves both the free choice and free operation of national institutions and the preservation and development of a typically African way of life, the product of the economic and social conditions and the human and geographical environment in which the African lives, which gives him a philosophy, an attitude of mind, in short, an outlook on life which is peculiarly his own. Have the same factors left their mark on the originality or culture of the other great human societies we know?

39. It is clear that, if we force a society to adopt institutions incompatible with its circumstances, its economic and cultural needs, its resources and objectives, and the maintenance of its internal equilibrium, we are not only perverting the character of this society's members; we are subjecting them to constraint, we are enslaving them, we are interfering with the peaceful and harmonious fruition of their faculties.

40. That course is known as assimilation, and we have categorically and definitely rejected it.

41. We believe that the tremendous efforts which our peoples will have to make in order to attain full emancipation can only be made in complete freedom and if every man and woman, the oldest and the youngest alike, offers whole-hearted support. Need I say that this support cannot be obtained by force or constraint, that it will only be given in conditions of complete liberty and total awareness? There is no alternative; either we can renounce constraints and invite the people to participate of its own accord in the work of emancipation, or we can accept constraints and renounce the idea of participation by the people and the idea of emancipation itself. For we must not forget that the abyss which lies between the under-developed peoples and their emancipation is being

widened and deepened every day by the present rate of growth in the fully developed countries.

42. For the emancipation of Africa, we have chosen freedom and democracy, the dynamism of the people; we shall commit all our resources and all our means; we are counting on the support of every system, the help of every nation, the enlistment of every man and woman, the lessons to be learnt from every experiment and all the practice of the past—in short, everything that the world can contribute, to which we intend to add our own contribution.

43. I think these things have to be said frankly and fearlessly so that all may realize that Africa must, and will, choose its own path of development towards full emancipation. For no people, no nation, no group of nations has ever been in exactly the same historical, geographical and human situation as Africa, or can legitimately claim to be able to point the way which Africa's development must take.

44. A population of which more than 80 per cent are illiterate peasants, with an annual income of less than \$200 a head, and living extremely hard lives—such are the harsh realities of Africa, stripped of all those absurd romantic trappings which hide from inexperienced eyes the measureless poverty of our under-developed countries, vast in extent but still underpopulated owing to centuries of slavery.

45. And yet, in this poverty which should put mankind to shame, men are living with their unconquerable faith in human destiny, their hopes, their will to conquer and to grow, their great longing for brotherhood and peaceful relationships, their elemental kindness and, at the same time, their extraordinary vigour and keen sense of their responsibilities. There are nearly 200 million of them, an incalculable combination of qualities and virtues, offering immense possibilities and potential intellectual resources.

46. I must say here that, because Africa knows how much it can contribute to the material and moral welfare of the world, it prefers co-operation and brotherly relationships to charity.

47. One could even say that, until mankind succeeds in absorbing this vast army of proletarian peoples into the world community, the human family will be incomplete, and will have no assurance of attaining ultimate perfection in unity, progress and freedom.

48. In the name of the international solidarity of all peoples, therefore, I should like to quote here a saying which is well known, though its true significance has often been overlooked by political leaders who have jeopardized the economic and cultural prospects of their peoples by involving them in colonialist activities at the expense of their fellow men. The saying is: "A people which oppresses other peoples cannot itself be free." It is a fact that the most highly developed nations of today, those whose development is most stable and solidly based, are far from being colonialist nations. We are convinced that the most exalted task which lies before the United Nations in the immediate future is to liberate the colonized peoples. This task seems easy today, because membership of the United Nations is steadily increasing, as if by the pressure of some irresistible force and, as the Members become more numerous so they express the true feelings of their peoples with increasing frankness.



49. Let me be quite explicit, and say that what matters to us in Africa today is not the number of peoples which have gained their independence, or the millions of Africans who have been liberated, but the fact that, to an ever increasing extent, Africa is now able on its own behalf to give expression to its own aspirations. Those who no longer have the courage to appear in their true colours, that is under the banner of imperialism, because they know it is no longer acceptable to public taste, are still hoping deep down in their hearts to retain the most important of their privileges.

50. In the hope of delaying the eventual liberation of the peoples they are dominating, the colonial Powers are creating artificial communities which, like the union of horse and rider, merely create diversion and confusion. Can one change the quality of old merchandise by sticking a new label on it?

51. The colonialists are ready to "finance" an unlimited number of newly independent countries: they are ready to flatter the African Governments and to go into raptures about the 3 million free Guineans and the 30 million Nigerians and others. But they still have a Machiavellian plan to divide the Africans, so that they can remain masters of the continent. Yet they will be disappointed since, with the progress which our peoples have achieved, it is no longer possible to range African against African, or to persuade them to fight or compete against one another. Africans do not care whether Sekou Touré or N'Krumah has more prestige than Tubman or Bourguiba, and even less whether the régime in Ghana will be more democratic than the one in Nigeria.

52. Having made it clear on 28 September 1958, in the referendum organized by France, that Guinea prefers freedom in poverty to opulence in slavery, we believe it also our duty to declare before the members of this Assembly that, with the prospect of a rapid and democratic development of Africa, we, the national leaders of the Republic of Guinea, prefer to be last in a united Africa than first in a divided Africa.

53. What does matter is the total sum of liberty regained throughout the continent at the expense of those who have been oppressing and exploiting Africa. Yes, any one who is planning to direct the independent Governments of Africa by remote control will certainly have some bitter disappointments. Africa is ripe for genuine independence, that is, for an end of the supremacy of foreign Powers, for the effective exercise of its own sovereignty, the control of its wealth and the development of all its talents, not only to bring its own personality to fruition, but also to enrich the heritage of the world.

54. Africa's revolt against colonialism was prompted by conditions incompatible with its deep sense of dignity. We must stress that our enemies often try to make people believe that Africa is being taken in tow either by the West or by the USSR, or at least that it is subject to foreign influences or ideas. This obtuseness is due to the fact their own propaganda against the peoples they have temporarily enslaved has finally convinced the colonizers themselves of the congenital inferiority of the people they have colonized. But in many cases their own peoples, too, in their past history have been in the situation which Africa is passing through now, and refuse to believe this deceitful propaganda. They forget that Africa is already

carving out a future quite different from the one they had planned for it, and the Africa of tomorrow will be what the sons of Africa want it to be.

55. Africa is, of course, quite aware of the existence of the two blocs which influence world politics. What matters today is what is the doctrine of Africa itself. The East-West conflict often makes people forget the need of asking Africa this question, particularly people who do not know whether the continent has a doctrine of its own and a coherent system distinct from the other systems. We believe it is in the interests of both blocs to bury the hatchet, for long enough at least to appreciate the real driving forces of Africa's evolution, and the finality of this evolution in the essential fields of human activity.

56. For the imperialists, we know, Africa is a minor continent. It is only interesting for them as a possible prey, which can be influenced to a greater or lesser extent by any type of foreign propaganda. This is a mistake which I must point out, before it is too late for certain nations, who may forfeit all the friendship they enjoy in Africa if they continue to appraise events in Africa without regard for the real state of affairs on our continent.

57. Some people believe that there are only two cardinal points: East and West. They maintain that Africa will be taken in tow either by Europe or by the USSR and will therefore live within the framework either of Western or the Eastern civilization and ideas. They wilfully forget that the world did not begin with the colonial system or with the division into antagonistic blocs. They wilfully forget that a hundred years ago no people foresaw that the United States and the USSR might become the two most powerful nations in the world. They wilfully forget that life is an uninterrupted process, and that the future of Africa will be first and foremost what the peoples of Africa want it to be, in spite of all the obstacles which may be placed in the way of its historical development. Faithful to the anti-colonialist spirit of the Bandung, Cairo, Accra and Sanakole Conferences, we wish to make it clear that the African-Asian action in which we are participating in the belief that it will accelerate the complete liberation of peoples and put an end to racial discrimination in all parts of the world, does not in the least detract from our interest in world peace.

58. In this connexion, it is not Africa which should be asked whether it belongs to one camp or another; both camps, East and West alike, should rather be asked a question which we regard as fundamental and of paramount importance: "Are you for the liberation of Africa, yes or no?" In other words, we ask the two systems outright: "Are you ready to support the peoples of Africa in their efforts to break the chains which bind them and prevent them playing their role as free peoples?" The answer to this question will decide the attitude of Africa to the existing systems. Everyone who shares our belief that the colonial question is of international importance and directly connected with the question of world peace will be our ally. We shall decide how sincere the two blocs are in their co-operation and respect for all peoples by the effectiveness of the contribution they make in the struggle against oppression of one people by another.

59. Once it is free, the African continent will, as its most representative statesmen have often declared,

co-operate with all systems in its economic development and the blossoming of its cultural values.

60. The practical difficulties of life have taught the African a number of virtues which are displayed every day by the most humble of men: these are solidarity, love of justice, faith in man, a sense of brotherhood and a respect for society. Africa intends to cultivate these virtues and to offer them to the world as the first token of its participation in the life of the world as a whole. It has, of course, other contributions to make as well, and it also has a great deal to ask from the world, particularly in the realms of technology, science, culture and finance. But, above all, it must be able both to give and to receive.

61. I sincerely believe that the present age is witnessing the beginning of a new phase in the development of mankind, a phase in which the present structure of the world and the values upheld by nations and by peoples will be radically changed.

62. I sincerely think that the future of nations will depend mainly on the commitment they make and the extent of responsibilities they assume not only in the improvement of society as a whole, but also in the construction of a new world.

63. Therefore I make an appeal from this rostrum to all conscious human beings, to the nations which bear the largest share of responsibility in world affairs, to all peoples who are ready to take part in building a new world, a world in which intelligence and human values will prevail. I appeal especially to France, to the United Kingdom, to Belgium, to Portugal and Spain, to brother peoples and to friendly nations, to break the spell of the past, to tear down the old idols, to put an end to the selfishness and privileges of the past; and thus to bring their outlook into line with the common interests of mankind, to think and act for the realization of this future for the whole world by helping Africa to free itself from colonial power, from social misery and indignity, by helping Africa, which wants nothing more than the good will, the understanding, the support, the faith and the co-operation of other peoples to safeguard and develop human civilization, which has been slowly and laboriously created over the centuries by human virtues, intelligence and science.

64. As for us, we are too sure of ourselves, too confident of the future, we have too much faith to confuse the issue with rancour or envy, petty interests or camouflaged intentions. We belong to the generation of Africa which offers the hand of friendship to all peoples of the world in the hope of advancing towards a real and more exalted happiness for man, with the aid of the virtues accumulated and fully exercised, the economic resources and social and cultural potentialities, added and multiplied together, which the idea of world solidarity will produce for the benefit of one and all.

65. The challenge of the century is the challenge of security against war, freedom against slavery, reason against force, fairness against privilege. It is the challenge of the future against the past.

66. Differences between outlooks and peoples can only be reconciled by a new spirit and by new methods for which there is no precedent in history. For this, we must have the will first, and then the courage.

67. From now on the way in which peoples live will be described in a single basic pledge: to have the will and the courage to live in the present and for the future, and to stop living in the past and against the future.

68. I could not end this brief address, which I regard as a friendly talk between our peoples on the essential problems of their security and well-being, without saying a word about the conflicts which disturb the conscience of the world today. I want to speak of the fate of Algeria to which, I know, you have devoted and will devote much effort and time. Be assured that the peoples of the whole world are watching your efforts, and they count on you to bring a smile back to the lips of all Algerians, mothers of families, old men and children who are full of hope and must not be disappointed. Know that all Africa has its eyes on you, and is anxious to see how high a sense of universal dignity and comprehension your Assembly will display. Our brothers in the Cameroons are also hoping to re-discover peace in the freedom they have been promised. As regards the future of this Territory, all that the independent African States asked at the Sanokole and Monrovia Conferences was the application of the United Nations Charter.

69. The Cameroonian people alone is qualified to receive, before the termination of trusteeship, the national power, which it will entrust to representatives elected by universal suffrage. Whether the present group of leaders or another is given the mandate on this occasion is of secondary importance; the main thing is that the people should declare its choice freely and democratically under the control of the United Nations, the sole guarantor of a fairly conducted election. Other peoples, still under domination, already feel the breath of liberty. Help them.

70. Gentlemen, representatives of the sovereign nations of the world, I solemnly declare to you that, in carrying out its revolution in peace and unity, the young Republic of Guinea wants only to live in brotherhood and solidarity with all people which love justice and wish to consolidate the foundations of a real and lasting peace throughout the world.

71. Guinea condemns colonialism, and not countries or peoples. It wants equality and unity for peoples and for individuals, regardless of colour or religion. It is fully aware that brotherly co-operation, peaceful coexistence and peace among peoples is the surest guarantee of human progress in work, justice and democracy, and it hopes that all peoples of the world will resolutely embark on the task of providing a peaceful basis for the advancement of mankind.

72. In shape, the African continent is like a question mark. May our message and the words of all honest men the whole world over help to find the right answer to the question which Africa is asking you about its future.

73. For the sake of liberty, equality, friendship among peoples, and international co-operation in peace and justice, long live the United Nations!

74. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): The General Assembly of the United Nations has listened with due attention to the words just spoken by the President of the Republic of Guinea.

*The meeting rose at 4.25 p.m.*