

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

FIFTEENTH SESSION

Official Records


**932nd
PLENARY MEETING**

 Friday, 2 December 1960,
at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

Page

Agenda item 87:

 Declaration on the granting of independence to
colonial countries and peoples (*continued*). . 1073

President: Mr. Frederick H. BOLAND (Ireland).

AGENDA ITEM 87

Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples (*continued*)

1. Mr. SHANAHAN (New Zealand): Since the founding of the United Nations a large part of its work has been directed to improving the position of peoples who could not play a full part, as adult members, in the government of the society to which they belonged. This work has not been confined to the application of the provisions of the Charter relating to Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories: it has found expression also in the steps taken by the United Nations to fulfil its declared purpose of promoting respect for human rights and freedoms for all, without distinctions of any kind.
2. The tree of freedom and independence is firmly rooted in the Charter; and, at this session of the General Assembly, we have witnessed its finest flowering. At this moment, when seventeen newly independent countries have so recently been admitted to membership, it is natural that we should turn our attention to the distance still to go, before the task can be completed. That is the reason why the concept of a draft declaration finds such a ready response in this Assembly.
3. The very essence of this project is a belief in the individual worth and dignity of all human beings—a belief which allows of no distinction on grounds of race, of colour or of nationality, and which cannot be fully vindicated as long as one people exercises any form of hegemony over another. My delegation can subscribe whole-heartedly—and without any reservation or qualification—to a reaffirmation of this belief. The people of New Zealand are as eager as those of any other country to see a world of independent nations working together for the common good of mankind, freed from the evils of racial discrimination and from all forms of domination and oppression.
4. Let me say at once that my delegation does not equate those evils with the term "colonialism". It would be no service to the ideals of this Organization to find a catch-phrase for all the shortcomings of the social order in national societies. When the existence of colonialism is openly recognized, as merely a passing phase in the development of a particular territory, it should not be used as a term of disparagement.

That is the position in the cases of the Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories whose peoples are admitted to be within the scope of the relevant chapters of the United Nations Charter.

5. It is a fact worth recalling that the States which have borne the heaviest responsibilities for the administration of Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories were among the founding Members of this Organization, and that they freely and voluntarily assumed the obligations which the Charter created. Their record of performance is symbolized by the presence among us of the representatives of many new States, which have been brought to independence by the United Kingdom, France and other countries. In this process, the influence and moral authority of the United Nations have played their own unique part; but that in turn was made possible because the administering Powers joined with other independent States in framing and subscribing to the provisions of the Charter itself.

6. Any declaration which the Assembly adopts must build on these foundations. In placing on record a solemn expression of our aspirations for all peoples who do not have a full measure of freedom, we must not—as the Soviet Union and its supporters would have us do—ignore or belittle the honest efforts and substantial progress which have been made. Our solicitude must extend to all the peoples whose actual state of independence and subordination is not avowed.

7. In particular, the Assembly's attention should not be confined to the Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories which already come under the scrutiny of the appropriate organs of the United Nations. We must take into account other and truly sinister forms of colonialism—sinister because there are no pledges to end them, no endeavours to redress wrongs actively perpetrated in our own times, in defiance of Charter obligations and in full awareness of the human suffering and degradation they have caused.

8. My delegation has welcomed the initiative taken by the African and Asian States which have put forward a draft declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [A/L.323 and Add.1-5]. This proposal must be regarded as a continuation of the work begun when the Charter marked out the path towards the goal of universal independence. We would readily agree that to place any obstacles in this path would be wholly at variance with the letter and the spirit of the Charter.

9. Yet the Charter itself recognizes that every people and territory which travels this path must set a pace in keeping with its capabilities. That is why the detailed provisions governing Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories left room for a flexible approach capable of being adjusted to the circumstances of each territory. This flexible approach was necessary only because the immediate grant of self-government or independence would in most cases have been detri-

mental to the real interests of the territory concerned. Many of the sponsors of the draft declaration have first-hand experience of the provisions of Chapters XI and XII of the Charter and how they have worked out in practice. We have not heard any suggestion that when these provisions are fully acknowledged and implemented by the administering Power concerned they operate in any way to the detriment of a Trust or Non-Self-Governing Territory or to delay its independence unreasonably.

10. New Zealand also is in a position to judge for itself the efficacy of the Trusteeship System. There is no doubt that its application to Western Samoa, for example, has substantially hastened the day, now arrived, when the people of Western Samoa feel able and ready to become independent. This is not because in the absence of a trusteeship agreement New Zealand would have wished or would have been able to refuse demands for independence. It is simply that the standards set by the Assembly and by the Trusteeship Council and their careful appraisal of progress have encouraged the growth of political institutions, the development of economic and technical resources and the training of a nucleus of officials, teachers and experts. The existence of this basic equipment is the prerequisite for an independence having any reality or stability. When the Prime Minister of Western Samoa comes here next week to ask this Assembly to set in train the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement, I do not think we shall hear him say—as has been said from this rostrum in the course of this session—that the Trusteeship System has not justified itself anywhere and should be buried.

11. I repeat that we are building on the Charter, and that its detailed provisions have already proved their worth in securing—at a much faster rate than many would have thought possible—the independence of a large number of Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories. This is the reality we need to bear in mind, if we are to make an honest assessment of the value and purposes of a new declaration. Such a document must deal in generalities. It cannot provide a rule of thumb which offers any automatic solution of remaining colonial problems; for, as the Charter recognizes, each case is governed by its own particular circumstances. The test is always that of determining what will best suit the interests of the peoples—of all the peoples—whose destiny is at stake.

12. It is in this light that my delegation judges the draft declaration submitted to us by the African and Asian States. What is here contemplated is not a treaty instrument, every stipulation of which would have to be minutely weighed by each country that contemplated adherence—and, indeed, it would seem to us almost impossible for such an instrument to improve upon the tried and tested provisions of the Charter. Rather it is the object of a declaration to capture and reflect faithfully ideals and principles which are of universal application.

13. A declaration such as that now proposed by the forty-two countries which have joined as co-sponsors [A/L.323 and Add.1-5] would be in the best United Nations tradition if it placed on record an optimum standard of attainment in the work of bringing to an end all forms of colonialism at the earliest possible date. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is the great example of a statement of principle so generally recognized and so widely supported that it in-

vokes the whole moral authority of the United Nations. To command the same universal respect, a declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples must come up to the same standards of objective validity and reflect the same positive approach. To take its place among the great documents of the United Nations, it must also be scrupulously fair and must not attribute to administering Powers motives and intentions which are the antithesis of their settled policies and the results they have already achieved.

14. We have no doubt that the intentions of the authors of the present draft are in keeping with those aims. It is certainly a praiseworthy objective to try to secure full acceptance and implementation by all States of their Charter obligations, and also to speed up—as much as is consistent with good sense and practical possibilities—the processes leading to independence for all peoples in the form which they themselves have chosen as best suited to their needs.

15. At a session of the Assembly which has been so deeply concerned with the tragic events in the Congo, we must be aware of the difficulties and complexities in bringing a territory to independence. Under the Charter an obligation to prepare dependent peoples for independence is imposed on the administering Power. It is therefore necessary to avoid any expression of principle which may weaken the force of this obligation or cast doubt upon the need for its fulfilment.

16. It may be that in some cases the work of preparing for independence should have begun earlier or have been carried on more quickly—though under the spur of the Charter our conceptions have changed in these last changing years. It is proper to ensure that all administering Powers are aware of their responsibilities and are taking steps to discharge them. But it will serve no one, least of all the peoples of the territory concerned, if the task still to be completed is simply abandoned.

17. We were all impressed when the leader of one of the great African nations admitted to membership this year paid a tribute to the work which the former Administering Authority had put into preparing his country for independence. Let us be honest enough to acknowledge freely the need for this preparation, to recognize that in most cases it is being carried on at an ever increasing rate, with an integrity of purpose and an unsurpassed devotion.

18. For all these reasons my delegation hopes that the sponsors will be willing to consider rephrasing some parts of their draft. In some cases, what is implicit could be made explicit. Understandably, many of the sponsors were preoccupied with the remaining large dependent territories in Africa. There is, however, a need to make sure that the rights of people subject to other forms of colonialism are equally protected, and that the different needs of smaller territories in regions other than Africa are not overlooked.

19. In relation to operative paragraph 5, there can be no reason for not giving express recognition to the acknowledged principle that, when the time comes, the people of these small territories may well choose a form of independence which does not involve their separate existence as a sovereign State. We also think it would be possible to bring out more clearly in this paragraph that the duty of administering Powers is to

set in train immediately the processes which will enable their territories to achieve independence in an orderly manner at the earliest possible date.

20. We also feel that the seventh paragraph of the preamble does not take sufficient account of the many ways in which the more developed countries are sharing their resources with the less developed countries, whether or not they have yet attained independence. From what I have already said, it will be clear that we consider that the ninth paragraph of the preamble would be more happily expressed if it did not imply that colonialism was the source of segregation and discrimination.

21. The draft as a whole should, we think, reflect the fact that most of the administering Powers are already fully committed to the policy of permitting the peoples of their territories freely to determine their own future. In those circumstances it is wrong to imply in operative paragraph 4 that all armed action is necessarily directed toward preventing dependent peoples from exercising this free choice and obtaining its realization. Surely it would be desirable to make it clear that the uses of force which are legitimate in any State are not precluded. For example, the representative of Burma mentioned yesterday [930th meeting] that in order to prevent crime the police might need to use force.

22. Finally, the text should establish beyond doubt that we are concerned not only with the peoples of Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories but with all peoples who do not at present enjoy an effective independence or full freedoms.

23. I mention the desirability of these clarifications because the New Zealand delegation is eager to give its whole-hearted support to a declaration which would testify not only to the uncompromising stand of the United Nations against the continuation of colonialism in any form but also to its ability to recognize good as well as to condemn evil and to face and to grapple with the very real practical problems which must be overcome before all territories and peoples can be truly free and independent.

24. Mr. MENEMENCIOGLU (Turkey): The Turkish delegation considers the discussion on the declaration concerning the independence of colonial countries and peoples as one of the most important tasks which has been taken up by the Assembly during recent years. We share the views expressed by many speakers who have preceded us to the effect that this debate may elucidate a number of important problems and may contribute to formulating certain fundamental principles of the utmost significance for the nations of the world.

25. The subject under consideration includes such high aspirations as "freedom", "self-determination", "independence" and "territorial integrity". These are high ideals which are dear to the people of my country. Indeed, in their history, both old and new, the Turkish people have given ample proof of the value which they attach to these high principles. Sometimes, under adverse conditions, our people have found themselves in the necessity of defending these principles single-handed and at the cost of great sacrifice. In consequence, like many other delegations, we are mindful of the need to give to this debate serious, objective and constructive attention. There should be no doubt that my delegation cannot participate in any attempt

which might be made to deviate this important discussion towards purposes which are foreign to the high principles involved.

26. As we take up this discussion at the present session of the General Assembly, one aspect of this particular gathering is predominant in our minds: the fact that there are so many newly independent States sitting with us in this hall on the basis of equality and bringing their own valuable contributions in this debate which deals with a matter of such vital importance. Some time ago it would have been difficult even to imagine such rapid progress along the path of freedom and independence. This reality is in itself a most significant proof of the fact that the movement towards freedom is irreversible and will remain as the dominant characteristic trend of this century.

27. Another happy trend is constituted by the fact that the evolutionary processes which are culminating in a movement of emancipation over a large part of the world are commonly upheld by the majority of people in all the continents. Consequently, we can see today that the attainment of freedom and independence through evolutionary processes and without hideous bloodshed is gradually becoming the general rule instead of the exception, though, as we all know, quite a number of tragic cases in the opposite direction have existed in recent years and some continue to exist.

28. My own country has had its bitter share of war and bloodshed and devastation in the past. Therefore, we know what it is for a young nation to lose the cream of its youth and to have its resources laid waste. We also know that freedom and independence are to be treasured above everything else. But, as we have witnessed during the last decades, these high ideals have been attained and continue to be attained in certain parts of the world through evolutionary processes. We are of the opinion that, wherever such peaceful transitions may be attained, they should be considered as occasions for particular rejoicing.

29. As we take up this discussion today, these two important facts which I have mentioned show clearly that there exists agreement in large areas of the world over ultimate aims and ideals on the subject under consideration. It is, therefore, an occasion of profound satisfaction for my delegation to co-sponsor a draft declaration in defence of the ideals of freedom and independence, while we are conscious of the fact that today such a declaration cannot be construed as being against anybody, any country or any group of countries. This declaration aims at giving a forceful and epoch-making expression to a set of basic ideas which are deeply rooted among all the peoples of the world. We are confident that these ideals will continue to wield great influence wherever the cause of freedom and independence may be in jeopardy in the future.

30. The draft declaration co-sponsored by over forty countries [A/L.323 and Add.1-5] is aimed at extending freedom and independence to such dependent territories as have not yet attained these attributes. While formulating the conditions under which these territories may enjoy the fruits of their emancipation, it was inevitable and logical that we should try to extend to them all the basic prerequisites of freedom and independence which are cherished by our own peoples.

31. Consequently, the text before us makes reference to such high aspirations as freedom, self-determina-

tion, independence, territorial integrity and racial equality. These are lofty ideals which should be cherished by all countries old and new.

32. The incorporation of these principles in the draft declaration should serve to remind all countries which have newly attained freedom and independence, and all others which will soon follow, to be forever vigilant so as to preserve their freedom and independence in the face of whatever danger they may encounter in the future.

33. The attainment of independence is certainly not an end but a beginning. This was proclaimed with great insistence by Kemal Ataturk, the founder of modern Turkey. The legacy which he has left to the young generations of our country and which has had a profound influence in great areas of the world points to a two-fold purpose: first, to preserve at all cost the freedom, independence and territorial integrity of the country which have been obtained through great sacrifice; and second, to concentrate all efforts for accelerated development in the economic, social, cultural and political fields, not only with the aim of integrating our country with the most advanced conceptions of modern civilization, but also because such development constitutes, in the long run, the only true guarantee for preserving intact the fruits of freedom and independence which are cherished above all by my countrymen.

34. This legacy of our great founder, Kemal Ataturk, together with his motto, "Peace in the motherland and peace in the world", continue to be the solid cornerstones of our political conceptions in Turkey.

35. The Turkish Republic, which was founded some forty years ago on these convictions and which has evolved its policy in the same direction ever since, is particularly happy to collaborate with so many new Members of the United Nations for the solid entrenchment of these ideals in wide areas of the world. The fact that so many other countries will soon attain independence, and that they will soon join us here to make their own valuable contribution to the cause of peace and universal brotherhood in our Organization, is a matter which gives us further cause for satisfaction.

36. As co-sponsors of the draft declaration, we do not advance the pretension that this text in itself has formulated a new conception of human relations. We have attempted to bring together and to crystallize the fundamental ideals of our times in connexion with colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. In so doing, this text in its essence elucidates a basic movement which, having started with some political philosophers in France, the United States and England nearly two centuries ago, has evolved to constitute an outstanding universal trend of the present period.

37. The co-sponsors of this draft declaration have had a constructive and practical aim in mind. As I have said before, we do not construe this text as being directed against anybody; neither is it our intention to hamper any efforts now being made in many territories for a peaceful and orderly transition to independence with the co-operation of all concerned.

38. My delegation is aware that in certain cases the necessity of harmonizing the interests of the peoples who should be the rightful masters of the newly established States has made it imperative to have preparatory consultations in order to arrive at a mutually acceptable constitutional formula upon which

a stable and peaceful national existence could be based. This has been the case in certain federative States and in others which were previously faced by similar problems. We have among us today as Members of the United Nations some outstanding examples of successful solutions which have been found to such problems through the constructive efforts of all concerned. Such constitutional and practical achievements of many nations and peoples represented here, as well as the determined efforts which they have made in order to reach these happy results, can undoubtedly serve as valuable examples wherever similar problems may arise. An atmosphere of union and harmony has always been of the utmost importance for newly-established States in allowing them to concentrate all their efforts towards economic, social, cultural and political advancement, which is the only guarantee of their survival as truly free and independent nations.

39. The draft declaration before us proclaims the end of an era and the beginning of a new one. No one can contest the validity of this claim. What is important today is that all our efforts should be united to make this end speedy and unconditional. There is no better way of serving the cause of international peace and understanding, which are the essence of our Charter, than to accelerate all efforts aimed at securing freedom and independence to the dependent peoples who ardently desire these attributes.

40. At the same time, the draft declaration sets forth certain prerequisites for the full and continued enjoyment of freedom and independence. Therefore, the principles embodied in the draft declaration also recommend themselves as elements which will serve the cause of peace, which is a common aim of the peoples of the world.

41. In conclusion, I wish to state once again that my delegation considers this debate as one of utmost importance. We are aware that the subject-matter deals with problems which are of vital significance at the present time. We have been conscious of the heavy responsibility which weighs upon us, as upon every other delegation in this Assembly, in trying to make a contribution both in this debate and in the preparation of the draft declaration. In making our modest contribution, we have served the ideals in which we strongly believe, while at the same time trying to achieve these ends through harmony instead of discord. We hope that these discussions may bring about such harmony of views and that the principles embodied in the draft declaration may be proclaimed to all the world in a manner which will leave no doubt as to their momentous significance.

42. Mr. MEZINCESCU (Romania) (translated from French): The Romanian delegation attaches particular importance to this debate on the abolition of the colonial régime, an item which was placed on the agenda of the fifteenth session of the General Assembly at the request of the Government of the Soviet Union [A/4501].

43. The achievement of the fundamental aims of the United Nations is inconceivable without the abolition of the colonial régime. The colonial wars and repressive military operations against the patriotic national-liberation movements, which have hardly ceased since the end of the Second World War, are a denial of the principles of the Charter and a permanent threat to international peace and security.

44. At a time when the colonial régime is still depriving more than one hundred million people of their freedom and national independence, how is it possible to speak of friendly relations among nations, "based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples", to quote the terms of Article 1, paragraph 2, of the Charter?

45. As the Head of the Romanian delegation, Mr. Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, stated in the course of the general debate:

"... adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter has become incompatible with colonial oppression perpetrated by Member States of the United Nations. Consequently, it is high time for the United Nations to call upon all Governments strictly to observe the provisions of the Charter on equality and respect for sovereign rights and for the territorial integrity of all States without exception, rejecting any manifestation of colonialism, any exclusive right or privilege for the benefit of some States to the detriment of others." [873rd meeting, para. 44.]

46. Only the permanent abolition of the colonial régime and of all vestiges of colonialism can satisfy the legitimate desire of the colonial peoples for freedom and national independence, and satisfy progressive public opinion throughout the world, which is demanding that this disgrace to humanity be removed from our planet once and for all.

47. The position taken by States on the abolition of the colonial régime in all its forms and the immediate granting of independence to the colonial peoples is a test of their loyalty to the principles of the United Nations Charter.

48. All those who sincerely adhere to the principles of freedom and of the right of peoples to use the resources of their country for their own benefit cannot fail to support the immediate granting of complete independence to all the colonial countries, to all the Trust Territories and other Non-Self-Governing Territories, and the abolition of the leasing of property and whole areas in the territory of other States.

49. A categorical "yes" by States to the concrete and practical proposal for the immediate abolition of the colonial régime places them on the side of the forces of progress and peace. A negative or evasive reply places them on the side of the forces of reaction and aggression.

50. This is not a case of "psychological terrorism". The laws of historical development of human society create situations in which equivocation is no longer possible, however subtle the masters of that school of thought may be.

51. The force of the liberation and national independence movement, and the irresistible tide of opinion in favour of the abolition of the colonial régime place the colonial Powers and their representatives in this debate in an unenviable position. On no other question is Western diplomacy obliged to conceal more effectively the difference between what it practices and what it preaches.

52. It is admittedly extremely difficult for the colonial masters to reject directly and categorically, in the name of "Western freedom" and the "free world", freedom and independence for over one hundred million people who are still subjected to colonial slavery; it

is equally difficult for them to give a categorically affirmative reply to this question: the tiger does not turn vegetarian just because his prey becomes scarce and elusive.

53. This is why, since the opening of this discussion, we have witnessed the efforts of certain delegations to avoid replying by a categorical yes or no to these questions, and the efforts of other delegations to eulogize the "civilizing mission", the "generosity" and the "magnanimity" of the colonial oppressors.

54. The most authoritative representatives of the peoples who have regained their independence as a result of the collapse of the former colonial empires have already given caustic but dignified replies to the apologists for slavery and colonial exploitation. It is not gratitude towards the former colonialist rulers that they have expressed from this rostrum, but scorn and condemnation of colonial oppression and exploitation.

55. I have only a few remarks to add to what has already been said. We must make no mistake about the motives of colonialism, the reasons for its collapse and the conditions which must be established if it is not to recur in a new form.

56. As regards the "generosity" and the "civilizing mission" of colonialism, I think that Africa—and, at this session of the United Nations, is this not the year of Africa?—is the continent which, better than any other part of the world, reveals the true value of the "generosity" and the "civilizing mission" of the colonialists. From whatever angle we consider the matter and whatever our standard of comparison, Africa is the most backward region of the world with respect to per caput national income, level of industrial development, education, public health and medical assistance. Is this backwardness due to a lack of natural resources, particular climatic conditions, or the inability of its peoples to develop the natural resources of their countries? Certainly not. Africa has the bulk of the capitalist world's reserves of gold, diamonds, uranium, chromium, stibnite and phosphorites, with 60 per cent of its manganese, 48 per cent of its copper, 47 per cent of its bauxite, 40 per cent of its hydro-electric resources, etc. The recent discoveries of petroleum and natural gas in the Sahara are opening new development prospects for Africa and prove that the full extent of its natural resources has still to be explored. In addition, there are the very rich and varied agricultural crops of Africa which, while they may not provide the world with its daily bread, do add a certain spice to it in the form of delicious fruits, dishes and drinks. It is not the natural conditions or the incapacity of the population which have prevented the development of the African soil and sub-soil for the welfare of the peoples of Africa. It is the seizure of these resources and the exploitation of the African peoples by foreign monopolies which are the cause of the poverty and sufferings of the African peoples.

57. It is with African labour, the cheapest in the world, and under African conditions that the Western monopolies are making record profits, recovering their capital investments in only three or four years, or even sooner. The current profits of the Rhodesian Selection Trust group, controlled by the New York Company, American Metal, amount to double the wages of the 39,000 miners which this group employs. The Anglo-American group, with its Chairman Harry Op-

penheimer, whose empire extends from Lake Victoria to the Cape, last year made profits which alone amount to three and a half times the total sum which the United States Government considers necessary for the programme of economic development in Africa. This shows very clearly where the material means to cure Africa of the after-effects of colonialism should be sought.

58. As a further example to add to those already given by other speakers, I shall quote the following lines published in the May 1960 issue of the magazine *Fortune*. Speaking of the Western Deep Levels gold mine, in the Transvaal, the author of an article in defence of the millionaire Harry Oppenheimer and the Anglo-American group wrote:

"For seven and a half hours a day, since drilling first started in 1945, native miners have been digging out the shafts of the new mine in this watery hell amidst the deafening roar of pneumatic drills..."

59. By 1964 they will be down to the deep reefs at 10,000 feet. Then Western Deep Levels of the Transvaal will be the richest gold mine in the world. In its expected lifetime it will produce more than \$2,200 million worth of gold at today's prices. When the mine is finally in operation, Anglo-American will have spent more than \$84 million—mark the difference!—under the ground and also above it for the plants to turn ore into ingots, for the construction of compounds for native workers—note this well!—and for modern housing for white employees. How kind, how magnanimous and generous! No usurers, however hard-hearted, could fail to be enraptured by such remunerative "generosity".

60. As other speakers before me have shown, it is in fact not a question of generosity or of a civilizing mission, but simply one of plunder and exploitation carried to extremes.

61. If the colonialist Powers are now forced to seek new methods and tactics to ensure the continued flow of profits from the colonial countries, this is due to the pressure of the powerful movement for liberation and national independence among the colonial peoples. The colonialists are obliged, by the force of events, to recognize that when they obstinately cling to extreme forms of colonial oppression—as is the case in Algeria, Kenya and Rhodesia—they risk losing everything.

62. This was frankly admitted by the American ideologists of neo-colonialism, Strausz-Hupé and Hazard, who wrote in their book *The Idea of Colonialism*: "...the right course for the West is not to retreat or 'get out', but to find acceptable solutions in order to stay"^{1/}—in the colonies, it is understood.

63. When the colonialist Powers claim that a particular territory is not yet ready for self-government, it can be stated, without fear of contradiction, that it is precisely the question of the "succession" that they have failed to solve. This excuse for delaying the granting of freedom and independence to the colonial peoples has been made several times during this debate. But those who wish to use this excuse to involve the solution to the colonial problem in a vicious circle have avoided saying who has prevented and is

still preventing the colonial peoples from preparing themselves for self-government.

64. To admit that after decades—and in some cases centuries—of the "civilizing mission" of the colonialist countries, the peoples concerned are not yet ready to govern themselves, is tantamount to admitting not only the failure of the colonialist "civilizing mission", but also the falsity of any claims based upon it.

65. Dr. Banda, the leader of the national liberation movement in Nyasaland, rightly pointed out that to make the granting of independence contingent upon the degree of preparation of the indigenous inhabitants was equivalent "to asking tennis players first to take part in the Wimbledon Tournament and then to learn to hold a racket".

66. It is the struggle against oppression and colonial exploitation which has been and still is the hard training ground for the "cadres" through which the colonial peoples would be able to govern themselves. This struggle is going on wherever colonies still exist. This training ground has produced remarkable politicians, who have not only proved to be skilled leaders of their peoples but have also gained considerable international authority, such as Nehru, Sukarno, Nkrumah, Sékou Touré, Ferhat Abbas and many others. It is in the prisons, in the concentration camps or in exile that the "cadres" through which the colonial peoples will be able to govern themselves must be sought. It is in the colonialist prisons that are to be found leaders of the vast national liberation movements, such as Kenyatta in Kenya, Rukeba in Ruanda, Mohammed Ben Bella and other leaders of the Algerian people's struggle for national liberation and, according to the latest news, Lumumba in the Congo.

67. Without ignoring past or present difficulties, it is clear that the immediate granting of independence to the colonial peoples is the surest and most rapid means of maturing and training "cadres" in all fields. The example of the States which have become truly independent is most edifying in this regard.

68. My delegation would like to draw the Assembly's attention to the importance of abolishing all forms of colonial domination, which includes the restoring to their legitimate owners of the possessions and leased areas held by the colonial Powers in the territory of other States. In this connexion, it must be pointed out, in the first place, that possessions and leased areas of this kind are used mainly for military purposes and represent a particularly dangerous form of the colonial régime which it is absolutely essential to eradicate.

69. The existence of possessions and leased areas not only prevents States from exercising their sovereignty over the whole of the national territory, but, in addition, is always accompanied by brutal intervention in the domestic affairs of the States in whose territory the possessions and leased areas are situated on the part of the colonial Powers which hold them.

70. Moreover, since these possessions and leased areas, which are scattered throughout Asia, Africa, Latin America and even Europe, are used almost exclusively as sites for military, naval and air bases or for rocket launching grounds, it is easy to see what a threat to international peace and security this form of colonial domination represents.

^{1/} Robert Strausz-Hupé and Harry W. Hazard, *The Idea of Colonialism* (New York, Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1958), pp. 42-43.

71. The most authoritative leaders of the peoples of Africa and Asia have drawn attention to the danger represented by the maintenance and organization of new foreign military bases in Africa and Asia. They rightly concluded, in the course of the general debate, that "as long as a single square yard of African and Asian land is still under foreign domination, the world will know no peace". This is particularly understandable as the network of military bases encircling the globe is controlled by the military alliances of the colonialist countries; this explains the anxiety of so many peoples still subjected to colonial slavery, and of those which have recently regained their independence. These peoples fully realize that the military bases belonging to the United States and its allies are not only directed against the socialist countries, but are also designed to maintain or impose colonial domination in one form or another.

72. Very often, the smaller colonialist countries which are members of NATO use the American military bases installed in different territories of their colonial empire in shameful transactions aimed at obtaining aid and assistance from the United States and the other colonialist NATO Powers to suppress the struggle for liberation of the oppressed peoples. Everyone will undoubtedly remember that the Belgian colonialists made their future participation in NATO contingent on their receiving support from the United States—and the United Nations—and from other colonial Powers for the defence of Belgian colonial interests in the Congo. This support was granted, to the satisfaction of Belgian colonialist circles.

73. The New York Times of 25 October 1960 informed its American readers that a former Minister of Portugal, in an article which appeared at Lisbon, "reminded American leaders that Portugal had granted bases in the Azores to the United States" and said that the United States should manifest "comprehension and solidarity in the case of Portuguese territories in Africa".

74. Once they have gained their freedom and political independence, the former colonial peoples have to face the problem of the struggle for economic independence and the free possession and development of their resources for their own benefit.

75. The struggle for economic independence, which should give real meaning to and consolidate political independence, is as legitimate and inexorable a process as the movement for liberation and national independence among the colonial peoples.

76. If we bear in mind that almost all the fortunes of the Western world were largely built upon the exploitation of the colonial peoples, we can also understand the irritation of certain representatives who have spoken during this debate at the attempt which has been made by the representatives of the colonialist Powers, directly or through other persons, to divert the Assembly's attention from the problem which it is discussing and the roots of the evil which must be eliminated. My delegation thinks that the insinuations made by certain representatives deserve no other reply than the expression of our deepest scorn.

77. The United Nations is now called upon to decide in favour of the total and permanent abolition of the colonial régime. But the peoples which have gained their political independence or will, we hope, gain it in the near future, have and will continue to have to

struggle desperately to rid themselves of the infiltration of foreign monopolies into their economies, which constitutes not only a relic of colonial domination, but also a formidable obstacle to overcoming the lag in economic and cultural development which these peoples have inherited from colonial slavery.

78. The colonialist Powers which succeeded, fifteen years ago, in preventing the words "colony", "colonial" and "colonialism" from appearing in Chapter XI of the Charter, have been unable to prevent the historic destiny of colonialism from being now almost entirely fulfilled. They are no longer able to prevent the last traces of colonialism from being erased.

79. The abolition of colonialism, on which the United Nations must reach a decision, represents the climax of a historical process. This climax can no longer be postponed, whatever decision is taken by the General Assembly. But it could be expedited and the abolition of colonialism could be completed if the General Assembly would unequivocally condemn all forms and manifestations of colonial domination, without exception.

80. Mr. TOURE Ismaël (Guinea) (translated from French): Until 1950, the great majority of the people of Africa, colonialism's favourite continent, lived under foreign domination. Only three States—the Egyptian Province of the United Arab Republic, Liberia and Ethiopia—enjoyed national independence. In other words, ten years ago, the free population of the African continent amounted to only 45 million persons spread over a total area of 2.3 million square kilometres. During the eight-year period from 1950 to 1958, the liberation movement, which began after the last world war, brought about the liberation of 37 million people and 5,250,000 square kilometres. For the statistician, this already reflected considerable progress, because this first thrust towards independence meant an increase of more than 100 per cent in terms of the geographical area of the territories liberated and of more than 80 per cent in terms of the number of people liberated. As we know, this trend has taken a sharp upturn during the year 1960. Returning to our statistics, we note that, in all, 82 million people and 7.5 million square kilometres had passed from the colonial system to sovereignty by 31 December 1958. In 1960 alone, seventeen African States have either regained or are about to regain their independence, a total of more than 85 million people and 12 million square kilometres. In other words, these figures during a single year show an increase of over 100 per cent in terms of numbers of people and 150 per cent in terms of total area.

81. Thus, the year 1960 truly deserves the name "Year of Africa". The liberation movement has grown by geometric progression. The very logic of this progression makes us think that the year 1961 will be the terminal year of the colonial era in Africa, because only the last third of this continent remains to be liberated, though this still means that more than 60 million people and 9.5 million square kilometres remain under foreign domination. With the accession of these 60 million men and women to national independence, the political aspect of the phenomenon of colonialism can be considered as virtually a thing of the past.

82. The end of the colonial system does not, however, imply the end of the effects of the system. The main

characteristic of colonialism—under-development—cannot be eliminated overnight; it will take time, and great effort. And the reason why it is important to put an immediate end to all systems of colonization is precisely so as to speed up the struggle against the aftermath of foreign domination. For a great many years still, the African continent, even after it has completely freed itself from servitude, will have to continue to devote its energies to the development of its economic, social and cultural institutions. Like Asia, Africa has now become aware of the absolute necessity of ridding itself of the colonial system, which has shown itself to be utterly bankrupt in all respects. It is, of course, true that no one actually defends the colonial system, but there are some who wish to delay its demise on the pretext that the colonial peoples must be trained for independence. That is not a very weighty argument nor does it take any account either of the past history of the colonial peoples or of the real problems they must solve in order to build a future for themselves. To those who postulate the need for a period of so-called preparation for independence, it is always a valid reply that that very fact constitutes an additional damning indictment of colonialism. In reality, it has never been any part of the purpose of colonialism to fulfil any mission of civilization whatever or to carry through any endeavour to educate the colonial peoples for the exercise of their sovereignty. Hence, if, in its declining days, colonialism makes a feverish attempt to teach the colonial peoples how to govern themselves, it thereby acknowledges its own failure, because it must not be forgotten that at the time of their colonization, these peoples have in all instances been found eminently capable of governing themselves through their own national institutions, which had sometimes reached an advanced stage of development. These peoples never called in the colonizers, and in some cases they had attained a degree of civilization which was infinitely higher than that of their conquerors. There can be no doubt that colonialism has always been based exclusively on the interests of the colonizers. In the fifteenth century, the main incentive was the search for such products as spices, aromatic drugs, perfumes, sugar, camphor, opium, gums and resins, etc., of which Europe had need and which had at all costs to be sought in other continents.

83. Little by little, the search for gold was added to speculation in exotic spices. In the seventeenth century, the merchant bankers, who allied themselves with the sovereign against the all-powerful feudal lords, began to appear in Europe. At that moment, the era of colonial adventures dawned. The terms civilizing mission, genius, or humanism of any type are out of place here. Thus, it would be altogether ironical to describe that bygone age as an era of so-called builders of empires; the term merely disguises exploiters of whole peoples, even of whole continents. The illustrious Christopher Columbus wrote on 14 October 1492:

"There must be many things growing here which I do not know about, but I cannot let myself be distracted from my purpose, which is to find gold by exploring the islands. If I have the time, I shall ransack the whole island until I find the king and discover the extent of his wealth in gold."

Believing that he had found Japan, he wrote:

"When I see what reserves of gold and spices are to be found here, I shall consider what is the best thing to do."

84. The search for gold very quickly outstripped the search for spices and other exotic curiosities. Colonization brought about the establishment of great colonial companies which engaged in a real scramble for treasure. In an article entitled "The Days of Don Quixote" in the January 1956 issue of the magazine *Europe*, Pierre Vilar wrote:

"The occupation of land, the subjection of men, the pillaging of treasuries do not constitute any kind of preparation for investment, in the capitalist meaning of the term. A nascent bourgeoisie could do this. And from about 1480 to 1550 the Spanish bourgeoisie did exactly that. Only, because of its position astride the silver trade, it first experimented with capitalism at ports and fairs. Much was spent, imported, or loaned out at interest, but little was produced. Prices and salaries soared. Parasitism developed and enterprise declined, spelling future destitution."

85. As a result of this threat, between the years 1870 and 1890 the world was divided up with a view to the more wholesale and more efficient exploitation of the subjugated peoples and their wealth. Each colonial Power set up its own empire and its own zone of influence. We shall not dwell upon colonialist methods, whether peaceful or brutal and ranging from cunning to the most bloody repression, for they are already well known.

"The design of these colonies", Montesquieu wrote in his *Esprit des lois*, "is to trade on more advantageous conditions than could otherwise be done with neighbouring people to whom all advantages are reciprocal. It has been established that the metropolis or mother country alone may trade in the colonies, and that for a very good reason; because the design of the settlement is the extension of commerce, not the foundation of a city or a new empire."

86. It is known that the great country of China, the home of a civilization several thousand years old, was not spared this rush towards the virgin territories. In this feverish race, the idea of "fortune" predominated over the idea of "civilization", which was only a pretext, and the great Powers, no doubt because they were conscience-stricken, spoke of what they called their "civilizing mission".

87. Jules Ferry, the father of the French colonial empire, said in the Chamber of Deputies on 30 November 1883:

"Thus from all sides we see the pull exerted by interest or greed directed towards what was the dream of all and the desire of each: China, that immense treasure of the Pacific; China, the ancient and marvellous; China, the focus of all schemes and hopes, with its immense market of 400 to 500 million consumers, its subsoil rich in coal deposits extending over an area of more than 700,000 square kilometres, its inexhaustible ore deposits, its immense provinces, crying out for industrial equipment, railroads, and metal supplies. And the European rivals vied with one another to reach this Eldorado first and to carve out their portion, their zone of influence, their privileged domain ..."

And he continued:

"... it was Germany which set things in motion by deciding, somewhat belatedly, that it also wanted to become a colonial nation. But greed forced Germany

to make up for lost time. It coveted one of the best morsels of China, Shantung, with its 30 million people and its immense natural wealth. Using as a pretext the convenient killing of two German missionaries, Germany dispatched a squadron, seized Shantung, and gave the signal for the scramble for spoils. Russia hurried in, extended the Trans-Siberian Railway and obtained the lease of Liaotung, which she had forced the Japanese to return. England claimed Weihaiwei, and France, wishing to balance her holdings, occupied Kwangchow, in the vicinity of Indo-China."

88. Some people naively believe that the history of the peoples who have been victims of colonialism began with colonial penetration. This is a serious error which, in the majority of cases, results from the efforts of the colonial system of education to drop the veil completely on the past and the history of those peoples and to instil in them a dependency complex. In this way, the official history of Africa has transformed the foreign conquerors into so-called apostles of civilization.

89. On the other hand, the greatest of the African heroes, who opposed foreign domination and brought the sense of liberty and dignity of our peoples to its highest point, have been disparagingly depicted in the colonial manuals as common bandits or as ambitious and blood-thirsty upstarts.

90. This systematic distortion has been fostered by the lack of written data on the history of the African continent. Bad faith has gone to such lengths that attempts have even been made to convince some Africans that their ancestors were blue-eyed, flax-haired Gauls. This was the best way of providing a semblance of justification for the so-called civilizing mission of the colonial Powers. It had to be shown somehow that at the time of the colonial conquest, Africa was inhabited by barbaric tribes who were incapable of governing themselves. But in the history of Africa as it actually was, several large and well-organized empires such as the Mali Empire of the fourteenth century, had attained a degree of culture and civilization that Europe during the same age might well envy. When Ibn Batuta, a geographer entrusted with a mission for the Sultan of Fez, visited the Mali Empire in 1352, it impressed him as a rich and happy land. Indeed, during the reign of Mansa Suleiman, the Empire of Mali covered all the part of the African continent which today corresponds roughly to West Africa. Nor was the reign of Mansa Suleiman the most brilliant in the history of the Mali Empire. However, according to the account Ibn Batuta gave of his journey, Mansa Suleiman, who reigned as sovereign over Mali from 1336 to 1359, was a great patron of education and culture. He gathered around him a body of men of law and maintained very close diplomatic relations with the sovereigns of the North. Like his brother Mansa Moussa, known as the King of the Pilgrimage, he journeyed to Mecca in 1351. On his return, he built the famous Camanbolon hut, where he deposited the holy books he had brought back with him. Clearly everything that we know about the Mali Empire reveals a State organization that was both democratic and strong and a civilization which bore no resemblance to the usual picture in the manuals on Africa, showing a band of hideous-looking Negroes dancing a weird dance around a wood fire.

91. In the Geographical Description of Spain and Africa another Arab author states that a stable civilization was already flourishing in the Sudan in the eleventh century. At the time when the Empire of Ghana had reached its peak, alchemy, a science composed of an equal proportion of naiveté and superstition, was rampant in Europe.

92. The Mali Empire reached its peak in the fourteenth century under the famous Kankan Moussa, who reigned from 1307 to 1332. Arab writers are unstinting in their praise of Kankan Moussa, a pious emperor who founded the compulsory Koranic School for the children of the capital. His pilgrimage to Mecca in 1324 was of unparalleled importance and magnificence. According to Ibn Khaldun there were no less than 80,000 men in the train of the sovereign El Hajj Mansa Moussa. Tradition, in the form of chanted poetry, has recorded the names of the principal personages in the sovereign's retinue. To mention only a few: Tungku Magnuma, Tungku Manian, the two holy men Kan Touré and Kan Cissé, Sirimanban, Dalamina Mamadou Kouyaté. The Tarikh el-Fettach described the scene of Mansa Moussa's wife's bath in the middle of the desert. There is another, and no less important, aspect of this pilgrimage—it is possible to date the beginning of the so-called Sudanese style of architecture at about 1325. It is still found in Africa, particularly in the present Republic of Mali, and it originated with Ibrahim Es-Sahili, a native of Granada brought back by Kankan Moussa.

93. Ibn Khaldun relates:

"Sultan Merinide Abou Hassein maintained friendly relations with the Sultan of Mali and the two monarchs exchanged gifts through their grand viziers. The Sultan of the Maghreb even had a selection of the finest products of his kingdom made and entrusted Ali Ibn Ghanem, the Emir of the Makils, with the task of bringing this truly royal gift to the Sultan of the Blacks."

94. To give some idea of the strength of Kankan Moussa's army, we may point out that according to Al Omari he had 100,000 foot-soldiers and 10,000 cavalry. Under the influence of Islam, Mali saw the flowering of such great cultural centres as Timbuktu, Kéné, Gao, Oualata and Niani. Several Imams of Mali studied in the cities of North Africa, the most eminent of whom was the jurist of Timbuktu, Kateb Moussa, who studied at Fez. Even Maghrebians did not consider it beneath them to attend the universities on the banks of the Niger. The Tarikh es-Soudan contains the following anecdote:

"Abderhaman et-Temini, who had come from Hedjaz with Mansa Moussa, realized in Timbuktu that he was dealing with eminent jurists. He returned to Fez to complete his education and then came back to hold his own among the scholars of Timbuktu."

95. It was also under the reign of Kankan Moussa that trade between the Sudan and the Mediterranean countries appears to have reached its peak, fostered by the peace then prevailing: gold and salt were the main commodities. More extensive research has made it possible to determine the institutions of this great African empire of the fourteenth century. Life at the court of Mali was regulated by very elaborate protocol. The monarch lived withdrawn in his palaces. According to Ibn Batuta he held two types of audience: one under the famous cupola built by the architect Es-

Saheli, the other in the open air on a dais or "bembé" reserved for the Emperor alone. During the audience under the cupola the Emperor heard complaints and grievances and the reports of the provincial governors or "Farma" and the military chiefs or "Fari". Throughout the audience the lieutenant or "Kanfarin" stood by the Sovereign's side. During the open-air audiences, however, the Emperor was seated. Ibn Batuta notes that the dais was covered with silken cloth and strewn with cushions; above was a parasol resembling a silken dome, topped by a golden bird as large as a hawk. It was here that the Emperor received ambassadors and sometimes watched great ceremonial processions.

96. The government consisted chiefly of high dignitaries, jurists and other officials. The principal posts, five in number, were most often entrusted to close relatives of the Emperor. The "Babili Farma" was Minister of Agriculture; the "Waneï Farma" was Minister of Lands; the "Sao Farma" was in charge of forests; the "Khalissi Farma" was Minister of Finance. Lastly, the "Hari Farma" was Minister of Waters, responsible for fisheries and for navigation on the Niger.

97. This brief outline gives some idea of the mighty empire of Mali which began as a modest kingdom, a vassal of Ghana and later of Soso, entered on its period of greatness with Sunjata Keita in 1230 and ultimately extended eastwards of the Niger. It is clear that by the Middle Ages Black Africa had already, several centuries before the colonial penetration, attained a high degree of development and culture.

98. From the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, after the decay of the Mali Empire, the Songhai Empire of Gao was destined to achieve particular brilliance, reaching its zenith under Askia Mohamed, who reigned from 1492 to 1527. Askia Mohamed founded the system of municipalities; he also made a pilgrimage to Mecca. On that important journey he was escorted by 500 horsemen and 1,000 foot-soldiers. He carried with him 300,000 pieces of gold from the treasury of his predecessor, the Emperor Sonni Ali Ber. He established an élite guard limited to a small number of professional soldiers, well equipped and trained. A great military leader himself, Askia Mohamed is considered in Sudanese history as an enlightened administrator and a great organizer and, as such, deserves a special place among African sovereigns.

99. The civilizations which were founded and developed mainly on the banks of the Nile, the Niger and the Congo were abruptly confronted with the phenomenon of colonialism, which triumphed by force and treachery alone. Closer to our own times, genuine heroes, such as El Hajj Umar, Samory, Behanzin and many others, would never bow to subjection and fought to the end against all foreign domination. In 1895, the Moro Naba of Ouagadougou made the following celebrated declaration to Captain Destenaves, who had been sent to conclude a treaty with him:

"I think my country is fine as it is. I have no need of them"—meaning the conquerors, of course. "I know what I need and what I want. I have my traders, so count yourself lucky that I do not have your head cut off. Go, then, and never come back."

100. Today once more, the whole of Africa is calling with one voice for the immediate ending of the colonial

system. My delegation, one of the sponsors of draft resolution A/L.323 and Add.1-5 submitted by forty-two States of Africa and Asia, wishes to congratulate the delegation of the Soviet Union to whose initiative we owe this debate in the plenary Assembly. If the declaration proposed by that delegation [A/4502 and Corr.1] is put to the vote my delegation will support it whole-heartedly.

101. On the other hand, we shall be unable to support the draft resolution submitted by Honduras [A/L.324], for the very simple reason that it provides no valid answer to the fundamental question of the immediate liberation of the colonial peoples.

102. Law and morality, and the development of fraternal human relations between the peoples of Africa and other nations demand that an answer be given that will, without evasion or hesitation, give the colonial peoples the justice, dignity and equality which are their right. It is not isolation that we want, because, after all, Africa has never been isolated except during the colonial era. Then each territory was isolated from the other and in each the social classes were isolated and opposed to each other.

103. The empires of the different colonizers, even when adjoining or inter-penetrating, were isolated from each other. To put it more concretely, Conakry was closer to Paris than to Freetown, Monrovia or Tunis. To get to Accra from Dakar one had first to go to Paris. To get to Brazzaville, whatever the point of departure in West Africa, the shortest route is still via London or Paris. This isolation is absurd and the peoples of Africa will no longer tolerate it. We want sound and useful relationships to be established among the various African States and their peoples, and between the African continent and all the other continents. For this to be possible, the ancient shackles of colonialism must be broken. The only positive step to be taken for the future is to put an end to this absurdity which history condemns.

104. Africa offers the hand of friendship but demands that the last fetters of foreign domination be broken. There is no hatred on our part in spite of all that we have suffered in the past. We wish only to turn the page and face the future. In calling for an end to the colonial system, we are sure we shall be giving freedom not only to the African people and other colonial peoples, but also to the peoples of the metropolitan countries in whose name the domination and exploitation of the colonies are carried on. Injustice, brutality and plundering in the colonies have always gravely impaired freedom, and even more surely, morality, in the metropolitan countries themselves.

105. On 28 September 1958 my country graduated unexpectedly and, one might say, instantaneously from the status of a colony to that of a sovereign State, without any preparation. In Guinea, independence did not become a political watchword until only a few weeks before General de Gaulle's historic referendum. Naturally the leaders of the young Republic of Guinea have had to face many important problems. It is fitting, too, to stress the wholly peaceful character of our accession to independence, without the shedding of a drop of blood, without a shot being fired and in the most complete national unity, in spite of the provocations of the colonial Power.

106. Those who then predicted disorders and disturbances witnessed how, in the most complete calm,

the Guinean authorities took over all the services which had previously been run by French officials—general and regional administrative officers, judges, army officers, engineers and technicians, and the like. There was no interruption in any of those services, in spite of the deliberate haste with which the French Government withdrew its personnel.

107. Thus, in proclaiming the independence of all territories still under foreign domination, we are convinced that they will find national personnel with sufficient awareness of their capacity and their responsibilities to cope with the immense tasks that confront us, as under-developed countries, in Africa. We do not exclude technical assistance, provided that it is inspired by a spirit that is entirely new and different from the colonial spirit.

108. We know that the attainment of independence will not solve the problem of under-development, but nothing can justify the maintenance of a system that is now an anachronism. Independence is necessary and indispensable but it is not by any means an end in itself. Political independence, so long as it is not supplemented and guaranteed by economic independence, cannot be the goal.

109. On the other hand it would be quite futile to try to ensure any economic development in conditions of non-independence. Neither the psychological conditions nor the material means required to promote a valid economic policy can exist until the former colonial territories exercise full and complete sovereignty.

110. Not only are the colonized peoples incapable of development so long as they remain under foreign domination, but they cannot take any effective part in the efforts that all peoples are making for the maintenance and strengthening of peace. A people that is deprived of freedom and is unable to express itself directly through its own free institutions has no way of contributing to the struggle for the establishment of a world of equality and peace.

111. Thus, the general and immediate proclamation of the independence of the still dependent peoples will strengthen the ranks of the peoples and nations devoted to peace.

112. For Africa, the problem of independence, while still the most urgent, is already giving way to another and much more difficult problem: that of the struggle against neo-colonialism. How will the African States succeed in consolidating their independence while strengthening their unity?

113. This question is today becoming more important than political independence itself. It may be that colonialism will recognize the impossibility of surviving without changing its form, while remaining determined to safeguard its economic interests and privileges. The actual stand taken by the new nations, anxious to maintain national cohesion and poorly equipped to cope with the many problems created by the rapid evolution of the populations for which they are responsible, will

determine whether the outcome is to be a new form of subjugation or a prosperous and stable future.

114. The danger of controlled independence is already a reality, but it is not by delaying the liberation of the still colonized territories that this new scourge will be avoided. It is plain that unity of action alone will enable the new States to avoid the temptation to barter away part of their sovereignty to satisfy the material needs of the moment. It is hard to conceive that any State, large or small, belonging to the category of under-developed countries could make progress and settle its problems at the expense of the others. For Africa, which has known the slave-trade and colonization, a sham independence would be a real catastrophe, an historic curse.

115. In the end the former masters would be the only ones to benefit from division and disagreements among their former colonies. While it is true that assistance and co-operation are indispensable for the progress of the under-developed countries, the gap separating them from the technically advanced countries can only be bridged if loyal co-operation is established within the framework of national independence for all countries, for the task of transforming and industrializing the economic structures of the backward countries.

116. The quality of the contribution by the new States, which has a direct bearing on the question of world peace, will depend not on their governments but on the degree of freedom enjoyed by their peoples and on the opportunities afforded them of devoting their efforts to the general welfare.

117. The future of a former colony can no longer be considered in isolation from that of its neighbours. It would be equally futile to seek a world balance restricted to the advanced and industrialized nations. Henceforth, it is mankind's lot to agree unanimously to deign an indivisible peace and universal happiness. Accordingly it can be said that the question of the liberation of the colonial peoples is directly linked to the crucial question of general and complete disarmament.

118. I should like to conclude this presentation of the views of the delegation of the Republic of Guinea with the following words from President Sékou Touré's message of 30 November 1960:

"The choice before the conscience of your Assembly today is between positive world construction and world division, between unanimous solidarity and domination and exploitation, between the liberation of man and social slavery...".

119. Confident of the outcome of this debate we believe, with President Sékou Touré, that it is for this session to mark in history the opening of a new and decisive era in universal evolution, and to lay the foundation-stone of a world based on loyal co-operation, human solidarity, justice and universal peace.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.