



**CONTENTS**

	Page
The Ewe and Togoland unification problem: special report of the Trusteeship Council ( <i>continued</i> ).....	381

**Chairman: Mr. Santiago PEREZ PEREZ (Venezuela).**

**The Ewe and Togoland unification problem: special report of the Trusteeship Council (A/2424, A/C.4/L.308, A/C.4/L.309, A/C.4/L.310) (*continued*)**

[Item 31]\*

*At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Antor, Mr. Odame, and Mr. Armattoe, representatives of the Joint Togoland Congress, Mr. Olympio, representative of the All-Ewe Conference, and Mr. Brenner, representative of the Parti togolais du progrès, took places at the Committee table.*

1. Mr. LOOMES (Australia), like the United Kingdom and Chinese representatives, regretted that some of the petitioners should have cast doubt on the impartiality of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa, 1952, and even on that of the Trusteeship Council. It was not true that the Visiting Mission had been unduly influenced by the Administering Authorities; the Trusteeship Council, a body to be treated with the utmost respect as one of the principal United Nations organs, had described the visiting mission's special report on the Ewe and Togoland unification problem (T/1034) as an objective and detailed account of all aspects of the problem carefully setting forth the views of all sections of the population (Trusteeship Council resolution 643 (XI)). It was to be noted that the Polish representative, in spite of accusing the visiting mission of bias in favour of the Administering Authorities, had based his own arguments on some of the conclusions in that mission's report.

2. The Administering Authorities were to be commended for the action they had taken in implementation of General Assembly resolution 652 (VII), which was described in the Trusteeship Council's special report to the Assembly (A/2424).

3. His delegation felt that the visiting mission's conclusion that there was "not present in the two Territories wide enough support for any particular form of unification as to warrant alteration of the existing administrative arrangements" (T/1034, para. 422) was still valid. The petitioners' statements before the Committee had confirmed that conclusion.

4. The petitioners' statements showed that there was confusion between the desire for unification and the desire for independence. It appeared from the petitioners' statements that what was envisaged was not unification under trusteeship, but independence, though the petitioners disagreed on whether independence or unification should come first. The petitioners from Togoland under British administration were unwilling to accept French trusteeship over the two Territories, while the petitioner from Togoland under French administration appeared unwilling to accept United Kingdom trusteeship.

5. The information before the Committee was not such as to warrant the conclusion that the two Territories were ready for self-government or independence. His delegation felt that it was for the Administering Authorities to assist in harmonizing the differing viewpoints that existed in the Territories with a view to reaching a satisfactory solution, and not for the Committee to seek to impose a solution. Nor should the Committee choose between the policies of the various political parties; that was the concern of the peoples of the Territories. Moreover, it was the duty of the political parties and other leaders to avoid creating unrest and disorder.

6. With regard to the allegation that Togoland under British administration had been virtually annexed to the Gold Coast, by means of its administrative union with the latter, he pointed out that all administrative unions were constantly reviewed by the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly; the Assembly, in its resolution 649 (VII) noting the Trusteeship Council's special report (A/2151) and the observations of the Committee on Administrative Unions (A/2217), had not found the administrative union to constitute annexation or to violate the Charter or the Trusteeship Agreement in any way.

7. He reserved his delegation's right to speak on the three draft resolutions contained in documents A/C.4/L.308, A/C.4/L.309, A/C.4/L.310.

8. Mr. INGLÉS (Philippines) felt that a simple solution could be found to the Ewe and Togoland unification problem, which was not as complex as it seemed. The United Nations was partly responsible for the existence of the problem because it had continued the division of Togoland between the United Kingdom and France established after the First World War; now that it had recognized that the Togolandese wanted to be reunited, it should forthwith recommend unification, the only just solution.

9. That solution seemed to be difficult to put into effect because of considerations alien to the interests of the Togoland peoples. Neither Administering Authority was ready to grant the Togolandese the self-government and independence which the petitioners felt they were capable of exercising and which would enable them to settle their problems themselves; neither was

\* Indicates the item number on the agenda of the General Assembly.

willing to consider a condominium; and neither was willing to allow the other to administer both Territories. The problem had been further complicated by the revelation of a plan to annex Togoland under British administration to the Gold Coast, which had provoked a counter-plan to annex Togoland under French administration to a neighbouring French colony. He reserved his delegation's right to revert to that matter in connexion with the draft resolution in document A/C.4/L.310.

10. Those extraneous considerations had conditioned the attitudes both of some of the petitioners and of the Administering Authorities. The Charter principle of the paramountcy of the interests of the Trust Territories' inhabitants must prevail. The Administering Authorities had solemnly disclaimed sovereignty over the two Togolands. Thus a satisfactory solution to the problem meant a solution satisfactory to the inhabitants even if unsatisfactory to others.

11. The General Assembly, in its resolution 652 (VII), had recommended the prompt reconstitution of the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs to enable it to make recommendations on, *inter alia*, Togoland unification; had regretted that the consultations undertaken by the Administering Authorities had not achieved the purpose of paragraph 5 of resolution 555 (VI) "inasmuch as the election procedures devised" had not resulted "in the participation of all the major groups in the two Trust Territories"; and had recommended that the Joint Council should be reconstituted by "direct elections on the basis of universal adult suffrage exercised by secret ballot". One year had passed; the Joint Council had still not been reconstituted, and obstacles had been placed in the way of its reconstitution on the basis of resolution 652 (VII). The Administering Authorities' joint declaration (T/1067/Rev.1), issued six months after that resolution, had not included the text of the resolution, and had delayed implementation of the resolution by inviting opinions on questions already decided by the Assembly, such as the method of election. Moreover, it had stated that the Administering Authorities would favour utilizing the existing electoral machinery, which, as the French delegation had admitted, did not provide for universal suffrage.

12. His delegation held that the Joint Council could reflect faithfully the wishes of all sections of the population only if it was elected by direct universal suffrage and secret ballot; for that reason it had co-operated in the preparation of the draft resolutions in documents A/C.4/L.308 and A/C.4/L.309, in the first of which that method was recommended for the reconstitution of the Joint Council and in the second of which it was urged for all elections in the two Territories.

13. In view of the differences of opinion that had arisen on what proportion of the members of the Joint Council each of the two Territories should have, that question could be properly made the subject of consultations between the Administering Authorities and the principal political parties. The Joint Council should have certain progressively enlarged legislative and executive powers, so that it could, as the General Assembly had repeatedly recommended, examine all aspects of the problem and make recommendations both on it and on all political, economic, social and educational matters affecting the two Territories.

14. Referring particularly to the draft resolution in document A/C.4/L.308, he pointed out that it placed proper emphasis on the Joint Council's competence to

make recommendations on unification, which was the Council's *raison d'être*. Paragraph 5 of its operative part implied the guaranteed right of assembly and of freedom of movement across the frontier.

15. General Assembly resolution 652 (VII) had recommended that the Administering Authorities should take steps to promote common policies on political, economic and social matters of mutual concern to the two Territories, but the Administering Authorities appeared to have construed that recommendation as meaning simply the continuation of their previous liaison on Togoland matters. That liaison had neither solved the frontier difficulties nor prevented the imposition of further restrictions. The Assembly should therefore express its views on the form which the promotion of common policies should take. Under the second part of paragraph 8 of the operative part of the draft resolution in document A/C.4/L.308, harmonization of policies did not mean that if one Administering Authority considered that it was in advance of the other in a given field it should mark time until the other Administering Authority had caught up with it. It meant that progress in the lagging Territory should be accelerated. Since both Territories were populated by the same kind of people, any difference in degree of advancement was attributable to the respective Administrations. The aim of that harmonization of policies was to facilitate unification.

16. The feasibility and practicability of Togoland unification had been ably argued by the petitioners, and his delegation was convinced that, in the Joint Council, the Togolandians would be able to make concrete proposals as to the form which their unification should take. He urged the petitioners to work together and not to quarrel over secondary issues.

17. His delegation welcomed the Administering Authorities' assurance of their willingness to co-operate with the General Assembly, and he appealed to them to co-operate further by carrying out the recommendations contained in the draft resolutions, which were based on principles which they themselves had supported in the past.

18. Mr. KUCHKAROV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that the development of the Ewe race towards self-government had been hindered by the artificial barriers set up through the division of that people's territory into the two Togolands and the Gold Coast. The Ewes had long demanded unification, but, owing to the Administering Authorities' opposition, no progress had been made towards that goal.

19. In resolution 14 (II), adopted in 1947, the Trusteeship Council had officially noted that the majority of the people desired unification, and the 1949 and 1952 United Nations Visiting Missions to Trust Territories in West Africa had made similar observations. Nevertheless, neither the Trusteeship Council nor the visiting missions had made concrete proposals to that end.

20. Not only had the Administering Authorities done nothing to promote unification; they had done everything possible to prevent it by such measures as arrests, prohibiting free movement between the two Territories, prohibiting the wearing of the emblem of unification, and preventing, in 1952, meetings between petitioners and the visiting mission.

21. His delegation had always upheld the Togolandians' right to unification and independence; it had voted for Assembly resolution 652 (VII) because, although in-

adequate, it had at least striven to meet the demand for the re-establishment and broadening of the Joint Council. The recommendations of that resolution had, however, not been carried out. There was no universal suffrage in either of the Togolands; the right to vote was granted only to certain restricted categories of persons. His delegation admired the petitioners' vigorous endeavours to achieve Togoland unification, in which they were supported by many delegations. The Administering Authorities' attempts to discredit the petitioners had failed. Some delegations had been embarrassed by the fact that the petitioners would not commit themselves for British or French administration; they should realize that the Togolandese did not want any foreign administration at all. The petitioners could count on his delegation's support.

22. Mrs. MENON (India) said that any errors and exaggerations there might have been in the statements of the petitioners were insignificant in the larger context of their struggle for freedom. She felt that much might be forgiven of petitioners pleading for their liberty.

23. As a newly liberated country itself, India could not accept the statements made by the Administering Authorities or by the political parties working in close collaboration with them in defence of the division of the people of Togoland under two Administering Authorities following two fundamentally different policies and creating two different kinds of unhappy situation for themselves and the people for whom they were responsible. The people and the organized political parties of Togoland were understandably dissatisfied with their political status. Year after year they had presented their case to the United Nations and year after year resolutions had been adopted, though the Administering Authorities did little to implement them. Through its Trusteeship Council, the United Nations had sent visiting missions to the two Territories, but their recommendations had only added to the number of considerations in resolutions on the unification of Togoland. It was therefore not surprising that the Togolandese should feel some slight resentment towards the United Nations and the Trusteeship Council and their resolutions.

24. It might well be asked why the Trusteeship Council or the General Assembly should ignore, underestimate or even condone the failure of the Administering Authorities to implement those resolutions and recommendations. There was a feeling prevalent in certain quarters that the United Nations and the Trusteeship Council were fast becoming the spearhead of a new kind of colonialism, in Africa especially. Artificial barriers were being raised by the creation of administrative divisions and the tightening of frontier formalities between peoples belonging to the same ethnic groups. The dispersion of the Ewe people under three different administrations and the deliberate fostering of disagreements among them suggested that the fundamental aims of the Trusteeship System had been forgotten. Otherwise, it was hard to understand why progress towards self-government should be so slow. It was true that the Africans themselves were divided, but such divisions were inevitable in dependent countries.

25. The Trusteeship Council's report (A/2427) contained the observations of the 1952 Visiting Mission, which unfortunately seemed largely to express the views of the Administering Authorities. Nevertheless, it was

clear from those observations that certain peculiarities had arisen in the administration of Togoland under British administration: it was administered as part of the Non-Self-Governing Territory of the Gold Coast, which had a representative government and was fast moving towards dominion status within the British Commonwealth; but the Trust Territory was represented separately only in the southern part, the northern part being treated as a section of the Northern Territories. The reason why the two parts of the Territory were being developed in that disjointed way was clear from the secret document reproduced in T/Pet.6/L.11. The present trend in Togoland under British administration was quite unmistakably towards integration of that Territory with the Gold Coast, as a careful reading of pages 18 to 20 of the report of the Trusteeship Council showed. When the report was reinforced with the secret document, the pattern became clear. A well-planned and definite attempt was being made to bribe the opposition, in the case in point the leaders of the group fighting for freedom and unification, so that integration and the consequent necessary change in the Trusteeship Agreement could be attributed to the freely expressed wishes of the people. Although, technically, final authority rested with the Government of the United Kingdom, Togoland under British administration was in fact being administered by the Government of the Gold Coast in its own way, with a view to the integration of the Trust Territory at the appropriate time. That time was approaching fast, and the Indian delegation considered that the fears expressed in regard to it by the petitioners were genuine, for such an arrangement would not only jeopardize their future from the political point of view but would also ruin them economically. Their fears were accentuated by the fact that the Administering Authority was doing little to train Africans in sufficiently large numbers to assume responsibility. It was surprising that an Administering Authority should find thirty-three years too short a time in which to train the local inhabitants to administer their own affairs—which they had been doing without support long before the European Powers came upon the scene. That alone was sufficient justification for their independence.

26. Political development in Togoland under French administration was equally peculiar. Under the French administration, two parties of totally divergent views had arisen and their conflicts were now being adduced as reasons for the curtailment of civil liberties. The aim of French policy was internal self-government for Togoland within the framework of the French Union, and it was clear from the Council's report that the Parti togolais du progrès was working towards that end. That party had experienced a phenomenal rise to power since 1949, when it had not been represented on any of the various representative bodies. By 1952, it had won twenty-one of the thirty seats in the territorial Assembly. Without wishing to go into detail regarding the electoral system in Togoland under French administration, she said that it was clear that there were flaws in the exercise of civil and political freedom in the Territory and in the aims of the Administering Authority which merited the Committee's attention. The situation as it stood did not do credit either to the Administering Authority or to the United Nations.

27. It was clear, therefore, that the General Assembly must act. The Indian delegation felt that the immediate need was to stop the movement towards the integration of Togoland under British administration into the Gold

Coast and of Togoland under French administration into the French Union. For that purpose it was essential to re-establish the Joint Council, with members elected on the widest possible franchise. The Council would be able to handle matters of mutual concern to the two Territories far better than the Administering Authorities acting individually. Those Authorities must realize that any progress must depend on their initiative and co-operation. Both France and the United Kingdom should forget their interests and think only in terms of the trusteeship which they were called upon to exercise. Both would be the stronger, morally and materially, for the voluntary co-operation of the people.

28. The real destiny of Togoland lay with the people themselves. Their disunity had made their role in the Committee difficult and created suspicion among those whose sympathies would normally be with them. However, the Indian delegation had no doubt that all the parties represented desired the welfare of their people. The Committee had heard that political exigencies forced many Togolandese to hold cards in both the parties, which were regarded as being most hostile to each other. That tended to show that, left to themselves and given an adequate chance to work for their own political freedom, they would be able to resolve their differences and act with wisdom and unity.

29. With regard to the special report of the Trusteeship Council (A/2424), she noted that nothing had been done or seemed likely to be done in the near future to give effect to General Assembly resolution 652 (VII), which had been adopted in the light of the conviction that the unification of Togoland was the manifest wish of the Togoland people. The two Administering Authorities had given assurances of their co-operation and had held thorough consultations between themselves before making their public announcement of the Assembly's decision. Unfortunately nothing had come of those consultations. The only positive suggestion regarding the establishment of the Joint Council had been that existing electoral machinery might be utilized. Unfortunately, that machinery was defective. The Committee had been told that the two Administering Authorities were in continual close co-operation with a view to the promotion of common policies of mutual concern to the two Trust Territories, but nothing seemed to emerge from that co-operation.

30. The Indian delegation extended its sympathy to the people of Togoland and wished them success in their struggle. At the same time, it made a special appeal to the Administering Authorities to make the process of liberation rapid and successful. Owing to the lack of wisdom displayed by certain European Powers, Africa was in a state of ferment, and the security of the world might well depend on how the situation there was handled.

31. The Indian delegation reserved the right to intervene at a later stage regarding the various draft resolutions before the Committee. In general, it would support all resolutions which would promote the speedy realization of the aspirations of the people of Togoland towards complete freedom.

32. Mr. ALLOUNI (Syria) said that his delegation was deeply disappointed that so little had been done after yet another year towards settling the Togoland problem. The problem itself was a test case for the United Nations, exemplifying as it did the crucial issue of the colonial problem as a whole. That issue was

whether the United Nations was sincere in its promise to the dependent peoples and its specific guarantees to the people of the Trust Territories that they should be allowed to develop towards self-government or independence in accordance with their freely expressed wishes.

33. Togoland was situated in that part of Africa where the indigenous population had made their greatest strides towards political emancipation. In the Gold Coast and Nigeria, movements considered a few years before as premature or even seditious now formed responsible and respected governments which in a short time would be completely self-governing. Nor would such self-government mean the internal self-government referred to by Mr. Ajavon at the 370th meeting; that concept had no place in the Charter and was indeed a contradiction in terms. Thus, Togoland's neighbours were on the threshold of self-government although they were not better qualified for self-government or independence than Togoland itself. While they evolved their own constitutions in free and democratic consultation, Togoland lay artificially divided and repressed. The irony of its situation was the more bitter in that the two parts were Trust Territories whose freedom the United Nations had undertaken to ensure.

34. In 1952 the General Assembly had accepted as a basic premise the fact that unification was the manifest aspiration of the majority of the population of both Trust Territories. Everything said by the petitioners at the present session confirmed that that basic premise remained true. The General Assembly had therefore agreed in adopting resolution 652 (VII) that a joint council should be re-established, with powers to consider and make recommendations upon all political, economic, social and educational matters affecting the two Trust Territories, including the question of their unification. Because earlier efforts to establish such a body had given rise to dissatisfaction regarding the methods of election, the Assembly had recommended that the Council should be re-established by means of direct elections on the basis of universal adult suffrage. That was one of the most important points in its whole action. In addition to several other recommendations, the General Assembly had asked that full and extensive consultations should be held with the principal political parties. All that the Administering Authorities had done to implement the various recommendations was to invite the parties concerned to submit, in writing, their views on the re-establishment of the Joint Council.

35. In reconsidering the General Assembly's recommendations, it might be asked whether the Administering Authorities, who had voted in favour of the resolution at the seventh session, had fully and fairly accepted the significance placed upon it by the General Assembly as a whole. The purpose of the resolution had undoubtedly been to start action to bring about the unification of the two Togolands. Mr. Olympio had pointed out that almost immediately after France had voted in favour of the resolution there had appeared in the official government newspaper in Togoland under French administration an obviously official interpretation of the General Assembly's action. That announcement explained the General Assembly's resolution as maintaining the *status quo* in Togoland. It did not refer to universal suffrage as soon as possible, but universal suffrage as far as possible, and then only when the occasion arose for a renewal of the Joint Council. The

full text of the resolution had never been officially disseminated in Togoland under French administration. It was to be hoped that any resolution adopted by the General Assembly at the present session would be more correctly reported. In any event, nothing had been done about resolution 652 (VII) until the middle of June, when the two Administering Authorities had publicly invited all parties and groups to submit their views. Even then, the full intention of the resolution had not been maintained. On the vital question of suffrage, the two governments had discouraged any idea of the use of direct, universal, secret suffrage. Their action could hardly satisfy the General Assembly, even on the question of the full and extensive consultations which it had recommended. Such consultations implied full discussion and if necessary compromise between the parties concerned, not merely an invitation to submit their views in writing and have them analysed and interpreted by the Administering Authorities alone.

36. The special report of the Trusteeship Council described other actions supposedly taken by the two governments in implementation of the resolution. It was hard to believe that they had done all that could be done. The recommendation regarding the promotion of common policies for the two Territories was hardly fulfilled by the "close touch" and "constant liaison" referred to in paragraphs 34 and 35 of the special report, when the only result of such liaison so far had been the development of entirely different political, economic and educational systems on the two sides of the frontier.

37. While the Trusteeship Council had been considering the implementation of General Assembly resolution 652 (VII), new developments, of which it had been unaware, had brought about a crisis on the spot. Some weeks before the Trusteeship Council's discussion the Government of the Gold Coast had published in a White Paper a series of proposals for further constitutional reform<sup>1</sup> for the limited transitional period before complete independence. The fact that the Gold Coast was preparing officially to become, by its definition, an independent State was of enormous significance to both Trust Territories. Togoland under British administration was administered under the Trusteeship Agreement as an integral part of the Gold Coast. That integration was carried far beyond the extent of a normal administrative union, for the territories shared the same political organs as well as administrative services. The most significant aspect of that form of integration, however, was the fact that the Gold Coast was already largely self-governing. It was true that the Constitution of the Gold Coast provided safeguards to protect Togoland against legislation which might be contrary to the Trusteeship Agreement. However, for all practical purposes, Togoland was already governed by essentially African organs of government in the Gold Coast. On the other hand, the Trusteeship Agreement provided that the Government of the United Kingdom was the Administering Authority for Togoland under British administration. As a result, any further transfer of power by the United Kingdom to the Gold Coast Government must raise the question of the status of the Trust Territory more acutely than ever. The problem had been brought out by the 1952 Visiting Mission, which had pointed out in its report on Togoland under British administration that the Trust Ter-

ritory could not be administered as an integral part of a self-governing Gold Coast and still retain the United Kingdom as its Administering Authority (T/1040, para. 84). The problem could not be solved by encouraging or allowing African politicians in the Gold Coast to manoeuvre the people of the Trust Territory into a position in which they would seem to desire full integration into the Gold Coast. The Syrian delegation had been glad to hear the United Kingdom representative formally deny that the Gold Coast Government had any such intention.

38. The constitutional situation in the Gold Coast, as the United Nations had already recognized, directly and rightly concerned the people of both Togolands. Both visiting missions had connected the constitutional position of Togoland under British administration directly with the solution of the unification problem. The Trusteeship Council had stated clearly in its special report on administrative unions (A/2151) that it could not pass judgment on the integration of Togoland under British administration until the unification problem had been decided and the General Assembly itself had recognized that unification was the manifest aspiration of the majority of the people of Togoland. The General Assembly must therefore insist that the whole question of the present and future constitutional status of both Trust Territories should be thoroughly reviewed in full understanding of the fact that any changes to be made in the Trusteeship Agreements were of equal concern to the inhabitants of both Territories.

39. The principles of the Charter as well as the obvious capacities of the people of Togoland also demanded that the inhabitants themselves should have a direct voice in the evolution of their status. Since they had no other means of expressing their views, they must be allowed to do so through a joint council with adequate powers and truly representative membership. It could be truly representative only if it were elected directly, by universal adult suffrage. The General Assembly must therefore insist on the matter of direct suffrage. In that connexion, the Syrian delegation felt certain reservations with regard to the categorical claims of Mr. Ajavon and Mr. Brenner that the Parti togolais du progrès represented an overwhelming majority of the people of Togoland under French administration. They had not explained that their party really derived its support from the northern chiefs, who were powerful enough to have public opinion under their control. However, in view of the fact that if direct free elections were held, the northern vote might still give their party an apparent majority, they would seem to have little to fear from direct universal elections to the Joint Council.

40. The Syrian delegation whole-heartedly supported all the draft resolutions which had been proposed. It attached particular importance to the powers envisaged for the Joint Council in the draft resolution contained in document A/C.4/L.308, and also to the elaboration of the recommendation that common policies for the two Trust Territories should be promoted. The time had come to move actively towards the attainment of self-government in both Territories along parallel lines. Now that the French representative had assured the Committee (370th meeting) that Togoland was outside the French Republic and that the Charter and the Trusteeship Agreement took precedence over the French Constitution, there should be no need for any further delay in granting increasing executive and legislative

<sup>1</sup> See *The Government's Proposals for Constitutional Reform*, Accra, Government Printing Department, 1953.

powers to the Trust Territory without the difficulties and delays that had been placed in the way of that progress by the nature of the French Union. It was to be hoped that the situation regarding political freedoms in Togoland under French administration would have been remedied before the recommendations of the draft resolution had to be put into effect.

41. In conclusion, the Syrian delegation wished to associate itself with the suggestion made by the delegation of Pakistan at the 372nd meeting, to the effect that the President of the General Assembly should be requested to appoint a qualified person to assist in the establishment of the Joint Council, authorized to negotiate to that end with the two governments concerned as well as with the principal political parties. It reserved the right to intervene on that point again at a later date.

42. Mr. ITANI (Lebanon) said that he would not touch on the accusations that had been levelled on both sides. On the contrary, he wished to assure all the parties concerned of his delegation's full sympathy and sincere desire to help to promote an atmosphere of mutual agreement and understanding. His delegation had always shown the importance it attached to the emancipation of the dependent peoples throughout the world and its aversion to all forms of colonialism. It stood firm on that position and would do everything in its power to help the petitioners achieve their legitimate national aspirations. At the same time, it sincerely wished to help the Administering Authorities to find a compromise solution satisfactory to them and to all the Togoland political parties. No useful purpose would be served by adopting a decision which would be doomed in advance to remain a dead letter. While there were certain principles, such as the right of self-determination, which his delegation could never abandon, in a spirit of conciliation it had co-sponsored the draft resolution contained in document A/C.5/L.308.

43. He outlined the operative provisions of General Assembly resolution 652 (VII) and pointed out that the draft resolution of which his delegation was a co-sponsor was very similar in spirit. Its chief characteristics were moderation and realism and it might therefore enable all men of goodwill to reach agreement on the main points which had hitherto separated them. He was sure that it would meet with the general support of the Committee and even of the Administering Authorities. The creation of an atmosphere of mutual understanding and agreement would in itself mark a great step forward. The Administering Authorities had stated that they were ready to undertake direct conversations with all the parties concerned and to take all the necessary steps progressively to give effect to the national aspirations of the people of Togoland and comply with the recommendations of the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly. He had gathered from the various petitioners that their parties would be only too happy to co-operate with the Administering Authorities in order to achieve their legitimate aspirations. Since goodwill existed on both sides, there seemed to be nothing to prevent the various representatives of the people and the Administering Authorities from agreeing on the best way to implement the General Assembly's recommendations.

44. There were certain urgent questions, such as frontier difficulties, certain common economic, social and educational problems, and the taxing of livestock, which the Administering Authorities could easily and

speedily settle between themselves, taking into account the best interests of Togoland as a whole. His delegation was convinced that they could find solutions satisfactory to all concerned. Such solutions should of course further the primary objective, namely, the accelerated economic, social and cultural development of the country as a whole and its advancement towards a full measure of self-government.

45. The complaints received by the 1952 Visiting Mission and echoed by the petitioners were not without foundation and the Administering Authorities' account of the steps they had taken to implement General Assembly resolution 652 (VII) certainly did not refute them. The two Administering Authorities were apparently agreed that everything possible should be done to come to some general settlement to re-establish the Joint Council and to comply with the other recommendations in the resolution. Nevertheless, they did not seem to have been able to carry out the General Assembly's recommendations regarding the re-establishment, functions, composition and method of election of the Joint Council. It was clear from the special report of the Trusteeship Council that there were varying views on those difficult questions. The most practical solution would seem to be that embodied in the draft resolution contained in document A/C.4/L.308.

46. It was the political aspect of the Togoland problem which gave rise to the major difficulties. Not only the various political parties in the two Togolands but even the Administering Authorities were not in agreement among themselves, although everyone apparently agreed that the two Togolands should be unified. The Joint Council, however, was the keystone to the solution of all other problems and also the principal stumbling block. Although the Administering Authorities might do much to bring about a reconciliation of views and a general understanding among all the Togoland political parties, those parties themselves must come to some agreement and settle the problems which divided them. He was well aware of the difficulties in the way of achieving such a national agreement and he had listened to the statements of the representatives of the various parties with interest and understanding. He wished to make it quite clear to them, however, that the Togoland problem must be solved first and foremost among the Togoland themselves.

47. In conclusion, he asked the Administering Authorities whether it had really been impossible for two such great Powers as France and the United Kingdom to find some way of allowing such a deserving people as the people of Togoland to come together in brotherly affection and devote all their efforts to developing the prosperity of their country. If the Administering Authorities could ensure that result—and there was every evidence that they could—that would constitute a further proof of their sincerity and goodwill.

48. U ON SEIN (Burma) said that the statements of the representatives of the Administering Authorities and the petitioners and their answers to questions had all helped to present a more complete picture of the Ewe and Togoland unification problem. He associated himself with those delegations which had already expressed their appreciation to all the petitioners for the commendable patience they had displayed in the process of questioning and the completeness of their answers. Despite the divergencies of view that had been expressed, he was sure that all the members of the Com-



mittee would agree that each of the petitioners in his own capacity was doing his utmost to serve the best interests of the Ewe people.

49. Some representatives had evinced a genuine desire to obtain additional information; others had merely asked leading questions, and his delegation had become aware of a desire to exploit certain questions to the advantage of parties other than the Ewe people. Such questions were not conducive to the early unification of the two Togolands, which was the matter before the Committee.

50. The Ewe question had first been brought before the United Nations seven years previously. Since then it had somewhat changed in the light of developments, increased emphasis being placed on the unification of the two Togolands, which had been re-emphasized in General Assembly resolution 652 (VII). Throughout the seven years, the pleas for unification had grown in intensity and volume, though to no avail. None of the steps so far taken had solved the problem.

51. The Ewe people were divided between the two Togolands and the neighbouring Gold Coast Colony. They wanted unification under a single administration, but it was understandable that they did not want that unification if it meant losing the status of a Trust Territory by the incorporation of either or both of the Territories in the Gold Coast. Obviously, however, a people brought up under two different Administering Authorities would eventually develop along different lines, with different languages. The General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council had realized that the Ewe question could not be solved by a few economic, fiscal and cultural measures and had repeatedly called for the early unification of the two Togolands. Indeed, the concept of unification had been inherent in all the petitions from the very outset. The General Assembly had repeated its call for unification in resolution 652 (VII) and had made certain other recommendations, which he outlined, for the advancement of the two Togolands.

52. In their statements, the representatives of the United Kingdom and France had sought to justify their continued domination of the Territories and had said that every effort was being made to promote the true development of the people of Togoland by enabling them gradually to acquire the political experience necessary to reach a solution in conformity with their aspirations. Under the Charter, the Administering Authorities exercised only the powers of trustee as defined in the respective Trusteeship Agreements. Their efforts should be directed at attaining the objectives of Article 76 as soon as possible. Much time, however, had already been lost in bringing about a simple unification and his delegation would support any constructive measures to improve the situation and bring about the earliest possible solution.

53. Mr. FRAZÃO (Brazil) said that the *modus vivendi* reached between Germany and the United Kingdom in 1884 had meant the end of the Ewes as a nation. Their economic future and material welfare had been sacrificed to an administrative frontier and their political, cultural and social advancement had come under the varying influences of different administering Powers. The situation had been so bad that it had shocked even the colonial mentality of that time and proposals had been made to transfer the whole Ewe territory to Germany in return for the cession of Samoa

to the United Kingdom. No agreement, however, had been reached. In 1919 the Supreme Allied Council had recommended to France and the United Kingdom that steps should be taken to bring about the unification of the Ewes. The Mandatory Powers had nevertheless endorsed a further division of the former Germany colony of Togoland, thus redoubling the problem of unifying the Ewes. The situation created by the setting up of the two separate Mandates still persisted; thirty-four years later, the General Assembly was still trying to implement the recommendations of the Supreme Allied Council.

54. From 1947 on, the United Nations had urged the Administering Authorities to bear in mind the paramount interests of the indigenous inhabitants and the administrative difficulties which would result from administering the two Togolands as entirely separate units. So far, however, no results had been achieved. The only practical and effective step to unify the two Togolands and pave the way for a solution of the Ewe question, namely, the unification of the two Territories under a single Administering Authority, had always been rejected by France and the United Kingdom. A substitute solution to set up a Togoland body and leave the responsibility of deciding on the form and method of unification to the people of Togoland had come up against difficulties, the source of which was, unfortunately, only too well known.

55. The hopes placed in the reconstitution of the Joint Council at the previous session had been betrayed. The special report of the Trusteeship Council (A/2424) was so slim and contained so little of real matter that it could scarcely be called a report. It certainly was not what his delegation had hoped for.

56. The delay in reconstituting the Joint Council was mainly due to the delay in the publication of the joint announcement by the two Administering Authorities. It was inconceivable that the consultations between the French and United Kingdom administrations should have taken six months. The delay in implementing paragraph 3 of resolution 652 (VII) was certainly not in conformity with the General Assembly's oft-expressed wish that a political body through which the representatives of the people concerned could choose the best means of unification should be established as soon as possible. He was sorry that the draft resolution contained in document A/C.4/L.308 did not refer to that delay. Apart from that, he was in full agreement with the draft resolution and hoped that, in 1954, the Committee would be able to note that it had been duly implemented.

57. His delegation had co-sponsored two other draft resolutions, one on the system of electoral registration in the two Togolands (A/C.4/L.309) and the other on the serious problem of the administrative union between Togoland under British administration and the Gold Coast (A/C.4/L.310). From what the petitioners and the representatives of the Administering Authorities had told the Committee, it was clear that the General Assembly should insist on the need for an immediate revision of the method of electoral registration in the two Trust Territories. The principle of universal suffrage would always be distorted so long as the electoral lists were not compiled on the basis of personal identification and to the exclusion of discriminatory criteria. The task was not an easy one, but with goodwill all the difficulties could be overcome.

58. The second draft resolution (A/C.4/L.310) merely noted a *de facto* situation and expressed his delegation's unshakable opposition to the development of a situation which was contrary to the principles and purposes of the International Trusteeship System. The draft resolution did not accuse or blame anyone; it merely stated the Assembly's desire to see the Trust

Territory complete its advance towards full self-government or independence in accordance with the Charter and the Trusteeship Agreement. He hoped that the two draft resolutions would receive sufficient support to act as a moral guarantee that they would be carried out.

The meeting rose at 5.45 p.m.