

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

THIRTEENTH SESSION
Official Records



**FOURTH COMMITTEE 787th
MEETING**

Thursday, 6 November 1958,
at 3.25 p.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 40:	
The future of Togoland under French administration: report of the United Nations Commissioner for the Supervision of the Elections and report of the Trusteeship Council thereon (continued)	
General debate (continued) and consideration of draft resolutions	221

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

AGENDA ITEM 40

The future of Togoland under French administration: report of the United Nations Commissioner for the Supervision of the Elections and the report of the Trusteeship Council thereon (A/3957, A/3958, A/C.4/382, A/C.4/L.544 and Add.1, A/C.4/L.546) (continued)

At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Dorsinville, United Nations Commissioner for the Supervision of the Elections in Togoland under French Administration, took a place at the Committee table.

GENERAL DEBATE (continued) AND CONSIDERATION OF DRAFT RESOLUTIONS (A/C.4/L.544 AND ADD.1, A/C.4/L.546)

1. Mr. ESPINOSA Y PRIETO (Mexico) introduced the draft resolution contained in document A/C.4/L.544 and Add.1 and said that the sponsors would give sympathetic consideration to any suggestions that delegations might wish to make with regard to it and would be glad for other delegations to join in sponsoring it. They had taken care to ascertain that it was acceptable to both the Administering Authority and the Togoland Government and had conferred with as many other delegations as possible in order to be able to submit a text on which all could agree. The most important part was paragraph 4, in which it was made clear that the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement was to take place simultaneously with the accession of Togoland to independence. The draft resolution signalized a historic event in the affairs of the United Nations and he hoped it would receive unanimous support.

2. Mr. Daniel CHAPMAN (Ghana) said that his country, as Togoland's nearest neighbour, was particularly happy to be able to participate in the debate, which was bringing a chapter in the history of West Africa to a close. What was happening in Togoland augured well for territories now in a position similar to that which it had until recently occupied. He himself, having been closely associated with the movement for freedom in West Africa, wished to join Mr. Olympio, the Prime Minister of Togoland, in expressing the gratitude of the Ewe people for the great contribution made by the

Fourth Committee, the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly, as well as the United Nations Secretariat, to the achievement of independence by an ever-widening circle of African peoples. He associated his delegation with those which had spoken of the constructive work done by France in Togoland under both the Mandates and the Trusteeship System and observed that it was a source of pride to his country that it had been a representative of Haiti who had presided over one of the most significant episodes in Africa's history. There was little he could add to the tributes which had already been paid to the persistence, integrity and patriotism of Mr. Olympio and his associates.

3. Recalling the circumstances leading to the situation which the Committee was now called upon to consider, he observed that as a result of the frustrations experienced by the Ewe people in their struggle for reunification within the past decade they had come to realize that the only way they could find a solution to the problems created by the division of the people between two different Administering Authorities was through the attainment of freedom. Now that Ghana was independent and Togoland was to become independent in 1960, the situation in which part of their people were free while others were still under colonial rule would no longer exist. He recognized that there were some in Togoland who would have preferred that independence should be attained before 1960 but he felt that the most appropriate reply to them was the statement made by the Rapporteur of the Political Affairs Committee of the Togoland Chamber of Deputies on 23 October, which was given in annex III of the document circulated at the request of the French delegation (A/C.4/382).

4. With regard to the problems which Togoland would have to face in the transition period preceding its accession to independence, he said that his country, which had so recently gone through a similar experience, strongly supported Mr. Olympio's appeal to the United Nations for assistance. He therefore thought it might be useful to remind the Committee of the ways in which such assistance had been rendered to Ghana. Under the United Nations technical assistance programme the services of a distinguished economist had been made available during the transitional period to report on industrialization in the Gold Coast; he was now serving as economic adviser to the Ghana Government. Other assistance given under the programme during the transition period had been the preparation of studies on taxation and economic development, technical assistance in the fiscal and financial field, housing and electrification as well as in connexion with the civil service, education and manpower.

5. He welcomed France's pledge to promote the fulfilment of the wish of the Togoland Chamber of Deputies for the assistance of the United Nations in solving the problems which it would face and hoped

that France, as the Administering Authority, would do everything in its power during the last stages of its control over Togoland's external relations to fulfil that purpose.

6. Mrs. ZEUTHEN (Denmark) said that, as her delegation had been among the sponsors of the memorable resolution on Togoland adopted at the previous session of the General Assembly (1182 (XII)) and had taken part in the United Nations Commission on Togoland under French Administration in 1957, it had been happy to co-sponsor the draft resolution now before the Committee. She wished to offer her best wishes to Mr. Olympio and the people of Togoland, to congratulate Mr. Dorsinville, the United Nations Commissioner for the Supervision of the Elections, on the efficiency with which he had carried out his mission and to acknowledge that the action of the French Government as the Administering Authority for Togoland had done much to enhance the prestige of the United Nations.

7. Miss BROOKS (Liberia) informed the Committee that the sponsors of the draft resolution wished to add the words "the Republic of" between the words "the Prime Minister of" and "Togoland" in the fourth preambulatory paragraph.

8. Mr. PREDESCU (Romania) said that his delegation congratulated the people of Togoland, who despite the obstacles placed in their path by the French colonial régime, had succeeded at the cost of great human and material sacrifice in reaching the point where they were about to obtain freedom. Their accession to independence in 1960 would represent an historic achievement and would show other peoples still subject to colonialism what could be accomplished when the goal pursued was a just one. Mr. Olympio and his colleagues had proved themselves equal to the task entrusted to them by their people. The United Nations had unquestionably played an important part in enabling the people of Togoland to realize their aspirations by preventing actions which would have been contrary to the purposes of the Charter.

9. The fact that Togoland was about to accede to independence was proof of the correctness of the position taken by those delegations, including his own, which had insisted that early target dates should be set for the accession of Trust Territories to self-government or independence. It belied the claim of the Administering Authorities that the peoples of the Trust Territories had not yet attained a sufficient degree of political awareness to be able to manage their own affairs and showed that their refusal to establish precise and early target dates for the attainment of independence was prompted by the desire to perpetuate the exploitation of colonial territories. The fact that the Togoland Chamber of Deputies was obliged to seek aid from the United Nations at the present stage of its development showed how well-founded had been the criticism made by the majority in the United Nations of the policies of France and should serve as a lesson to other Administering Authorities that it would behave them to create in the Territories under their administration conditions which would enable those Territories to accede to independence as politically, economically and socially viable States.

10. Mr. EDMONDS (New Zealand), speaking as a sponsor of the draft resolution, said that from the very

early years of the United Nations his delegation had taken a particular interest in the case of Togoland under French administration, for its then permanent representative to the United Nations and representative on the Trusteeship Council, Sir Carl Berendsen, who at one time had been Chairman of the Fourth Committee, had been a friend and admirer of Mr. Olympio, to whom he had at times been of considerable assistance. Now that the problem with which the United Nations had been dealing for so many years was about to be solved he wished to congratulate Mr. Olympio and his colleagues on the success of their endeavours. Mr. Dorsinville had discharged his duties as Commissioner for the Supervision of the Elections in a manner which redounded to the credit of the United Nations, and the Administering Authority deserved a tribute for its painstaking work in laying the foundations of independence in the Territory. Finally, the people of Togoland merited special commendation for the constructive spirit and political maturity they had shown, especially at the time of the elections and change of government.

11. Mr. SPACIL (Czechoslovakia) said that the outcome of the elections in Togoland showed that the people of the Territory had chosen the right course when they had refused to allow the fiction of so-called internal autonomy to be substituted for genuine independence and had insisted that the Trusteeship Agreement should not be prematurely abrogated. It also showed that when the inhabitants of Trust Territories were given the opportunity freely to express their views the result was something quite different from what the Administering Authorities had represented as public opinion. It was encouraging that the people and leaders of Togoland had gone on from their electoral victory to request the setting of a date for the attainment of independence. Until that goal had been reached the United Nations must continue to protect the rights of Togoland and the Trusteeship Agreement must not be terminated until all residual powers still held by the Administering Authority had been transferred to the Togoland Government and the present Statute and other legislation had been modified in accordance with the wishes of the Togoland Chamber of Deputies. In that connexion he wished to stress the responsibility borne by the current session of the General Assembly, which must insist on being correctly informed by the Administering Authority concerning all steps taken during the transition period. His Government extended its best wishes to the people of Togoland and hoped that their country would soon take its place as a State Member of the United Nations.

12. Mr. ABIKUSNO (Indonesia) recalled that at the twelfth session his delegation had abstained in the vote on General Assembly resolution 1182 (XII) because that resolution made no reference to the termination of trusteeship on the basis of the attainment of complete independence. At the present session the question was to what extent amendment of the Statute of Togoland could create conditions that would make it possible for the Trusteeship Agreement to be terminated and independence attained at one and the same time.

13. The French representative had informed the Committee that all powers except in matters of external affairs, currency and defence had already been transferred to the Togoland Government. As it was essential that with the termination of trusteeship no

powers should be left in the hands of the Administering Authority, careful consideration should be given to the amendment of the Statute and the political conditions that would enable the transfer of those residual powers to be effected, so that Togoland could become a fully sovereign State responsible for its own external as well as internal affairs.

14. The Prime Minister of Togoland had drawn the attention of the Committee at the 782nd meeting to the many difficult problems of the transitional period through which the Territory was passing and said that the people of Togoland were fully aware of those difficulties. The Indonesian delegation therefore agreed that some time should be allowed to elapse before the Trusteeship Agreement was terminated, so as to permit of the orderly progress of the Territory towards independence. That period might well be used to consider whether the amended Statute could serve as a basis for the constitution of the future State. Since Togoland would be the first Trust Territory to achieve independence as a separate State, such orderly procedure would constitute a favourable precedent for the achievement of independence by other Trust Territories.

15. It was in the light of those observations and of the explanations the Mexican representative had given when introducing the draft resolution that his delegation would vote in favour of it.

16. Mr. ZULOAGA (Venezuela), speaking as a co-sponsor of the draft resolution, said that he had not always been in agreement with French policy in Africa and Asia. It was therefore with all the more pleasure that he congratulated the French Government, which had now formally promised complete independence to Togoland. He too would pay a tribute to Mr. Olympio, a great patriot and statesman, and to the Togoland people, and also to Mr. Dorsinville, whose efforts had helped to make it possible for so great a step forward to be taken in Togoland.

17. Mr. ARAMBURU (Peru) said that his delegation wished to be numbered among the co-sponsors of the draft resolution, with the text of which it fully agreed.

18. Mr. MACQUARRIE (Canada) expressed his pleasure at being associated with so many countries, including those with whom Canada had co-sponsored the text which had become General Assembly resolution 1182 (XII), in sponsoring the draft resolution now before the Committee. He could feel that at that historic moment all the members of the Committee were in agreement with a movement which they all applauded. He congratulated Mr. Olympio and his colleagues and the Togoland people. He was glad to identify himself with the democratic process which, as Mr. Olympio had found, could work surprisingly and dramatically. He associated himself with the tributes paid to the Administering Authority and to Mr. Dorsinville. The hopes and friendship of his country would accompany the new State.

Mr. Rodzinski (Poland), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

19. Mr. SHIMA (Japan) recalled the diversity of opinion in the Committee in the past on the subject of Togoland under French administration, and expressed his satisfaction at the happy result which had been achieved. He joined in the tributes which had been

paid to the Prime Minister of Togoland, the French Government and Mr. Dorsinville. His delegation hoped that the process by which Togoland was being transformed into a republic might become general practice in the future in dealing with Trust Territories. He would support the draft resolution.

20. Miss ANDERSON (United States of America) said that her delegation was happy to be one of the sponsors of the draft resolution, which it felt met the essential requirements of having the approval of the two parties most concerned and clearly stating its intentions.

21. Mr. VELA (Guatemala) said that the United Nations, as well as Togoland and France, had good reason for satisfaction, for the principles of the Charter had been observed and a new independent State brought into being. His delegation wished to join the sponsors of the draft resolution. In its opinion, the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement was the natural concomitant of independence: the two events should take place simultaneously.

22. Mr. THEARD (Haiti) extended to Mr. Olympio and the people of Togoland the good wishes of his country for a prosperous future. His delegation fully endorsed the draft resolution.

23. Mr. MITCHEV (Bulgaria) congratulated the people of Togoland on the success they had thus far achieved in their long struggle. They had had faith in their cause, which was that of liberation from colonial domination. His delegation was happy to see Mr. Olympio, Mr. Santos and Mr. Akakpo, the petitioners of former years, now representing their people. Difficulties still remained before Togoland but in view of the enthusiasm its people had shown, he had every confidence that they would be overcome. The United Nations must continue to fulfil all its obligations to the Territory up to 1960, when he hoped to be able to greet Togoland as a new Member State.

24. Mr. AZNAR (Spain) said that he would be happy to vote in favour of the draft resolution. He would, however, draw attention to the fact that paragraph 4 was somewhat ambiguous; it did not make clear whether it was the independence of Togoland in 1960 or the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement that had been agreed to by the Government of France and the Government of Togoland.

25. Mr. ESPINOSA Y PRIETO (Mexico), speaking as a sponsor of the draft resolution, agreed with the Spanish representative's observations and undertook to have the necessary corrections made.

26. Mr. MEIET (Libya) said that his delegation was happy to express its congratulations to the Government and people of Togoland and to associate itself with the tributes to Mr. Olympio and his colleagues and to Mr. Dorsinville. All the difficulties had been overcome and there was no doubt that freedom-loving men elsewhere in Africa would realize their aims, whatever attempts to frustrate them might be made by certain imperialist Powers.

27. Mr. BOZOVIC (Yugoslavia) said that after consultation among the sponsors of the draft resolution it had been agreed that in connexion with the observations made by the Spanish representative paragraph 4 should be amended to read "Resolves, accordingly, in agreement with the Administering Authority, that on the date which will be agreed to between the Gov-

ernment of France and the Government of Togoland, and on which the Republic of Togoland becomes independent in 1960, the Trusteeship Agreement approved by the General Assembly on 13 December 1946 shall cease to be in force in accordance with Article 76 b of the Charter of the United Nations".

28. Mr. KANAKARATNE (Ceylon) said that his delegation desired to join those sponsoring the draft resolution.

29. In his statement at the 782nd meeting, Mr. Olympio had referred to the complex and delicate nature of the many problems which arose in any transition period and to the fact that his Government would introduce with all speed the reforms that were imperative, while being careful to avoid any undue haste which might jeopardize their success. Those were unquestionably wise words. In consequence there would be a year's delay to permit Togoland and France to make practical arrangements for the transfer of sovereign powers. Such a period, as his own country, Ceylon, well knew, was necessary, and his delegation accordingly associated itself with those views and supported paragraph 4 of the draft resolution.

Mr. Boland (Ireland) resumed the Chair.

30. Miss SHELTON (Cuba) said that her delegation wished to be added to the sponsors of the draft resolution, which well expressed its point of view.

31. Mr. HILALY (Pakistan) said that his delegation was happy to be one of the sponsors of the draft resolution, which he hoped would receive unanimous support.

32. Mr. PLANGPRAYOON (Thailand) expressed his delegation's satisfaction at the happy solution that had been reached on the problem of the future of Togoland under French administration. He had been glad to hear the Prime Minister of Togoland announce that that Territory would attain complete independence in 1960. He warmly congratulated the Prime Minister and his colleagues and the people of Togoland and he looked forward to the time when Togoland would take its place in the family of nations. He also paid a tribute to Mr. Dorsinville, the United Nations Commissioner for the Supervision of the Elections in Togoland, and his staff. With regard to France's contribution to the happy issue, he would only say that it would be remembered by the peoples of the world and it would be an inspiration to the other Trust Territories.

33. His delegation would support the draft resolution and hoped that it would be adopted unanimously.

34. Mr. LOIZIDES (Greece) said that he would vote in favour of the draft resolution on the understanding that the independence referred to meant complete independence in internal and external affairs.

35. Mr. ESPINOSA Y PRIETO (Mexico) confirmed that that was indeed the meaning of the word "independent" as used in the draft resolution.

36. Mr. ZIKRIA (Afghanistan) suggested as a compromise that the words "sovereign and" should be inserted before the word "independent".

37. Mr. WESTERMAN (Panama) asked that his delegation might be added to the sponsors of the draft resolution.

38. Mrs. SKOTTSBERG-AHMAN (Sweden) observed that the list of sponsors of the draft resolution represented every part of the world. That happy situation symbolized the non-controversial character which the question of Togoland under French administration had finally acquired. There could, of course, be no division of opinion when an African country was approaching independence in a manner which corresponded to the freely expressed wishes of its people.

39. She need hardly say that the Swedish delegation would support the draft resolution. She was glad to participate in the work of the Committee, which had for so many years worked with the Administering Authority and the people of Togoland towards the day when the Territory would assume responsibility for its own destiny.

40. She would take the opportunity to congratulate Mr. Dorsinville, the United Nations Commissioner, on his valuable work and would convey the congratulations and good wishes of the Swedish Government and people to the Prime Minister of Togoland and his colleagues and to the Government and people of Togoland. She also paid a tribute to France for the wise and enlightened manner in which it had guided Togoland towards the goal of the Trusteeship System.

41. Mr. WOLF (Austria) recalled that his delegation had voted in favour of General Assembly resolution 1182 (XII) in the conviction that it would help the people of Togoland to attain independence. He was now glad to associate his delegation with those who had congratulated the Government and people of Togoland, their Prime Minister and his colleagues, the Administering Authority and the United Nations Commissioner for the Supervision of the Elections.

42. He would vote in favour of the draft resolution and hoped that it would be unanimously adopted.

43. Mr. MESTIERI (Tunisia) said that his delegation would be happy to vote in favour of the draft resolution, as it had done for the draft resolutions concerning Togoland under French administration at the eleventh and twelfth sessions of the General Assembly. The will of the people of the Territory had been clearly expressed by the voices of its leaders and he was glad to congratulate them, the Administering Authority and the United Nations Commissioner for the Supervision of the Elections on a successful solution of the problem.

44. Mr. KENNEDY (Ireland), speaking as one of the sponsors of the draft resolution, welcomed the action of those delegations which had added their names to the original list of sponsors.

45. The United Nations was being asked to take an important step. Its achievements in assisting dependent peoples along the road towards self-government and independence did not always reach the front pages of the newspapers, but although its work in that field was quiet and unspectacular it was none the less important for the peoples of Asia and Africa and the cause of world peace. What was taking place today was an encouraging example of the United Nations in action.

46. His delegation had been one of the sponsors of the text which had become General Assembly resolution 1182 (XII), the great merit of which had been to enable the people of Togoland to express their views in a clear and unequivocal manner.

47. He offered his delegation's congratulations to the

United Nations Commissioner for the Supervision of the Elections and to his devoted staff, to the people of Togoland and to their leader, Mr. Olympio. He also congratulated the representative of France.

48. He was entirely in agreement with the amendment to paragraph 4, which made it more precise. He also agreed with the Liberian representative's suggestion that the words "the Republic of" should be inserted between the "Prime Minister of" and "Togoland" in the fourth preambulatory paragraph. For his part he would propose the replacement of the word "date" by "day" in paragraph 4.

49. He hoped the draft resolution would receive unanimous support.

50. Mr. FERNANDEZ (Costa Rica) said he had been glad to join in sponsoring the draft resolution. What was happening in the case of Togoland under French administration was an example that should be followed in future situations of a similar nature.

51. He agreed with the representative of Mexico that it was unnecessary to qualify the word "independent".

52. Mr. CARPIO (Philippines) observed that from the statements of the French representative and the Prime Minister of Togoland he had concluded that the extent and nature of the self-government or independence that had so far been attained had been internal autonomy and that powers relating to external relations, defence and currency had still not been transferred. Through the answers that had been given to questions during the debate, however, he understood that the independence envisaged in the draft resolution would be full and complete independence, including the three powers to which he had referred. On that understanding he would be happy to support the draft resolution and would like his delegation's name to be added to the list of sponsors.

53. Miss BROOKS (Liberia) pointed out that both the Prime Minister of Togoland and the French representative had given the Committee to understand that they had agreed on complete independence for Togoland. In view of that fact the draft resolution could hardly be interpreted as meaning anything less than complete independence.

54. Mr. BOZOVIC (Yugoslavia) presented, on behalf of the sponsors, a draft resolution (A/C.4/L.546) which invited the Secretary-General, the Special Fund and the specialized agencies to give urgent and sympathetic consideration to any requests for assistance concerning Togoland.

55. His delegation had been glad to hear from the French representative that the French Government undertook to transmit and facilitate any requests for assistance put forward by the Government of Togoland and had felt that a resolution on the lines of that he was submitting would be appropriate.

56. He added that the Federation of Malaya should be included in the list of sponsors.

57. Mr. RAO (India) said that, having watched Mr. Olympio lead the people of Togoland through the struggles of the past years to the threshold of independence, his delegation looked forward to seeing that country take its rightful place in the family of free nations.

58. India appreciated the vision and wisdom of France, which in the tradition of its great liberal ideas was leading the people of Togoland to equality and freedom. It looked forward to similar developments in other parts of Africa.

59. His delegation had been glad to join in sponsoring the draft resolution in document A/C.4/L.546, since it felt that the General Assembly should formally take note of the requests of the Togoland Chamber of Deputies. He hoped that before the conclusion of the debate the Prime Minister of Togoland would give further details about economic conditions in the Territory and the specific desires of the Government of Togoland for economic and other assistance. His delegation attached great importance to economic development, which it felt must keep pace with political development. Since the Chamber of Deputies and the Prime Minister of Togoland had desired assistance from the United Nations and the specialized agencies in various matters, an effort should be made to see how much more could be done during the time that would elapse before the Republic of Togoland became free and independent.

60. The observations of the United Nations Commissioner for the Supervision of the Elections were important not only in relation to Togoland but to all Trust Territories and emphasized the importance of United Nations supervision over plebiscites in all such Territories.

61. He hoped that the two draft resolutions before the Committee would receive unanimous support.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.