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Chairman: Mr. Rodolfo MUNOZ (Argentina).

In the absence of the Chairman, Mr. Khalidy (Iraq), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

**The Ewe and Togoland unification problem:
special report of the Trusteeship Council (A/
2289, A/C.4/L.256, A/C.4/L.258, A/C.4/L.260)
(continued)**
[Item 32]*

At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Olympio, representative of the All-Ewe Conference; Mr. Antor and Mr. Odame, representatives of the Joint Togoland Congress; and Mr. Kpodar, representative of the Parti Togolais du Progrès and of the Union des Chefs et des Populations du Nord Togo, took seats at the Committee table.

1. Mr. SPRAGUE (United States of America) explained that the United States delegation was particularly interested in the Ewe and Togoland unification problem because it was in the Trusteeship Council's province and because it would influence the political future of West Africa. He had been impressed by the petitioners' sincere desire to contribute to the study of the question in the interests of the indigenous inhabitants and he congratulated them on that sincerity.

2. It was regrettable that Togoland had been divided up twenty-five years previously, but that was a historical event on which it was useless to dwell, since the Committee now had to deal with the *de facto* situation. The United Nations was concerned with the existing and future position of the Territory, and the indigenous inhabitants must be assured that the Fourth Committee desired their well-being and their progress towards autonomy. If certain representatives did not approve of the methods used to achieve those ends, that did not mean that they were opposed to the principles of the Charter. That form of disagreement should surprise no one, since it was met with in all countries.

3. The future of Togoland was not necessarily bound up with that of the rest of West Africa, but the position of the Territory must nevertheless be studied with due

consideration for the more general problems which arose in that part of the African continent. The Committee now had ample documentation on the subject. In the first place, there was the report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa, 1952 (T/1034), which gave full account of its activities; it had held eighty-two hearings and consultations with chiefs and groups, which showed that it had made a conscientious effort to acquaint itself with public opinion in the Territories. The Committee also had before it the special report of the Trusteeship Council (A/2289). Those two documents were essential to an understanding of the problem, because they gave its basic elements. The Committee had also heard the petitioners' statements.

4. The question had developed considerably since 1947 when it had first been submitted to the United Nations.¹ At first, the only question had been that of the unification of the Ewes of the Gold Coast and of the two Trust Territories. Divergent opinions had then arisen among the population. The All-Ewe Conference and the Comité de l'Unité Togolaise in the Gold Coast and the two Togolands had been in favour of Ewe unification. The Togoland Union, which had subsequently become the Togoland Congress and was active only in the southern part of Togoland under British administration, had been in favour of Togoland unification. The chiefs of the northern part of Togoland under British administration had favoured the union of that part of the Territory with the Gold Coast and had opposed any other kind of unification. The Parti Togolais du Progrès, in Togoland under French administration, had been opposed to any unification at all. The situation had continued to develop and could now be summarized as follows: the All-Ewe Conference and the Togoland Congress favoured the unification of Togoland and its independence within a five-year period and considered the possibility of federation with the Gold Coast; the chiefs of the northern part of British Togoland were still in favour of the union of their region with the Gold Coast; the Parti

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

¹ See *Official Records of the Trusteeship Council, Second Session, First Part*, 11th to 13th meetings.

Togolais du Progrès and its sympathizers now supported the unification of Togoland, but believed that the Territory should become independent more gradually and within the framework of the French Union.

5. It seemed that the Fourth Committee should accept the conclusions of the Visiting Mission; in view of the variety of opinions held by the indigenous inhabitants on the question of unification, it must be concluded that there was no majority for any given form of unification. The question was a serious one for the United Nations, the Administering Authorities and the population itself. It was therefore essential to find a way of reconciling points of view and to draw up a programme which would meet with the approval of the great majority of the populations concerned. The question would then arise whether the populations wanted their unified territory to be absolutely independent, to be associated with the Gold Coast, or to become a part of the French Union. He did not consider that the Fourth Committee was competent to take such a decision; it was for the populations themselves to decide that important question. Otherwise, the only course open to the United Nations would be, as the petitioners had suggested, to unify the Territory and place it under the authority of a United Nations high commissioner for a five-year period. The three petitioners who had put forward that solution seemed to agree that the Territory could not achieve its independence immediately. The other petitioner thought that the economy of the Territory was not sufficiently diversified to enable it to survive as an absolutely independent entity. He himself was inclined to share that view, but, in any case, the United Nations was not called upon to settle that question for the time being, since the populations had not requested it to do so.

6. With regard to the possibility of entrusting the administration of the unified Territory to the United Nations, Mr. Sprague pointed out that the Organization consisted of sixty States with different philosophies and political doctrines and thus intrinsically had not the necessary cohesion to govern or administer. Moreover, it did not have the necessary funds to administer colonial territories nor the necessary legislation or qualified personnel to govern those territories. The United Nations exercised its authority through the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly, which addressed their conclusions and recommendations to the Administering Authorities, who in turn transmitted them to the populations which they governed, but remained responsible to the United Nations.

7. Since the establishment of the Trusteeship System, the United Nations had tried, through the Trusteeship Council, to stimulate efforts for promoting the economic, social, political and educational advancement of the two Territories, laying special stress on the development of the northern regions, in order to raise them to the same level as the southern regions. It had also paid attention to the development and progress of democratic and representative institutions of self-government in the two Territories, on the local, regional and territorial levels.

8. Nevertheless, little progress seemed to have been made in the previous year. The reason for that was that the General Assembly, in its resolution 555 (VI), had recommended two apparently contradictory meas-

ures. On the one hand, it had recommended that the Administering Authorities should consult fully with the various parties and groups concerned before constituting the proposed joint council, with a view to devising satisfactory procedures for the election of representatives to the council; on the other hand, it had recommended that the Trusteeship Council should send a mission to study the functioning of the joint council and that the mission should report to the Council in time for the Council to report to the seventh session of the General Assembly. In consequence of that resolution, the Administering Authorities had had to set up, hastily, the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs so as to enable the Mission to study its operation. As a result, the consultations with a view to determining methods of election of representatives had been inadequate, so that representatives of certain parties had refused to take part in the work of the Joint Council because they had not been satisfied with the manner in which it had been set up. Thus, the Joint Council had been doomed to failure from the outset because of the impatience shown by the United Nations. The Mission had noted not only the failure but also the political tension it had caused.

9. The Fourth Committee should encourage the populations of the two Territories to collaborate with each other and with the Administering Authorities in order to reach agreement on a satisfactory programme. The Joint Council should be reconstituted. For that purpose, the Administering Authorities should hold fresh consultations with the various groups concerned in order to reach an agreement ensuring their co-operation. The methods of election to the Joint Council and its composition would probably have to be modified. Fresh efforts would also have to be made to overcome the last frontier difficulties, and political, economic, social and educational development in both Territories particularly in the northern regions, would have to be intensified. Moreover, the Administering Authorities should create favourable conditions for increased political activity on the part of the indigenous inhabitants in an atmosphere of freedom and in accordance with democratic principles, so that their political institutions should be really representative and enable them to decide freely on the future association of their Territory with any given political entity. Lastly, the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly should be kept fully informed of the measures taken to give effect to their resolutions, but the previous year's mistake should be avoided and the Administering Authorities should not be made to act with undue haste.

10. Although a solution of the question at issue was urgently needed, the Fourth Committee should not precipitate events, but should recommend all concerned to make a sincere effort to create a real bond between the two Territories. The Administering Authorities and the political parties must also strive to achieve a minimum of mutual trust and respect. The United States delegation was convinced that its appeal for moderation would not go unheeded, in view of the considerable political progress in West Africa in the past five years.

11. Those were the elements on which his delegation had based its draft resolution (A/C.4/L.256). He drew the Committee's attention to paragraphs 3, 5, 6, 8 and 9 of the operative part of the draft resolution, the purpose of which was to bring together the various

ideas expressed in the debate. He was convinced that by adopting that text the General Assembly would be taking a constructive measure for the development of the two Territories.

12. In the last analysis, the question was one which must be decided by the indigenous inhabitants themselves, like the question of their future association with other territories. He hoped that it would be possible to solve the problem satisfactorily, with the aid of the populations concerned and of the Administering Authorities.

Mr. Muñoz (Argentina) took the Chair.

13. Mr. GLOZAR (Czechoslovakia) recalled that the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly had been dealing with the question of the unification of the Ewes and of Togoland since 1947. It was one of the most important questions in the realm of trusteeship.

14. Before the First World War, German colonizers had divided the Ewes without heed for the unfortunate effects of the division on the political, economic and cultural future of the people. When France and the United Kingdom had succeeded Germany in Togoland, they had done nothing to bring about the unification of the Ewes. After the Second World War, the two Territories had been placed under the International Trusteeship System. It was deplorable that nothing had been done since to take into account that people's desire for unification. On the contrary, the Administering Authorities deferred and hindered it on various pretexts. That attitude was in flagrant contradiction to Article 76 b of the Charter, which stated that one of the basic objectives of the Trusteeship System was to promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the Trust Territories and their progressive development towards self-government or independence as might be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each Territory and the freely expressed wishes of the populations concerned. If the Trusteeship System was to achieve that purpose, the Administering Authorities would have to honour the commitments they had entered into. But, despite the provisions of Article 76, neither the Administering Authorities nor the Trusteeship Council had paid any heed to the freely expressed wishes of the inhabitants concerned, and the General Assembly itself had done little to ensure respect for that principle so far as the Ewes and Togoland were concerned. The Administering Authorities were seeing to it that precisely the reverse occurred. They were resorting to terrorism in order to intimidate and persecute the inhabitants. They paid no attention to the provisions of the Charter or the resolutions of the General Assembly, as the fact that the United Nations flag had never been hoisted in those Territories clearly showed. Another typical example of their attitude was the closing of the frontiers, which had prevented petitioners from approaching the Visiting Mission. Similarly, an Administering Authority had actually ordered those petitioners to be fired on and had imprisoned a journalist who had published a telegram on that subject sent to the United Nations.

15. All those facts showed that the Administering Authorities put their own interests before those of the indigenous inhabitants. They shut their eyes to the fact that the Trust Territories would not forever serve them as sources of raw materials, that the indigenous

inhabitants would not always let themselves be exploited with impunity and would not look on indefinitely while military bases were built on their Territories.

16. The Czechoslovak people wished success to the struggle of the people of Togoland for unification, self-government and independence, and was sure that before long the representatives of that people would no longer be mere petitioners, but the representatives of an independent State.

17. Mr. MENDOZA (Guatemala) said that he could not accept the United States draft resolution as a whole: it was weaker in certain respects than the resolution adopted the previous year by the General Assembly and evaded the basic question of the unification of Togoland. The debate had shown that the whole population of the two Trust Territories wished for the country's unification. Accordingly, his delegation was submitting two amendments (A/C.4/L.258) calculated to make the United States draft resolution more complete.

18. The plan for direct trusteeship by the United Nations proposed by some petitioners was very interesting in principle, but it did not seem feasible at present. The existing situation was the consequence of treaties between the United Nations and the Administering Authorities, which it could not denounce unilaterally without serious grounds. The United Nations had no reason for withdrawing its confidence from the Administering Authorities.

19. The United Nations could not, however, ignore the wish for unification, since it was universal and entirely justified. The solution depended on France and the United Kingdom, not the General Assembly. If, in pursuance of their duty under the Trusteeship System and the Charter to give first place to the interests of the indigenous inhabitants those two Powers made an effort to co-operate, they would no doubt be able to reach an agreement to submit to the United Nations a plan for a new trusteeship arrangement for the unified Territory, to be administered by one of them alone.

20. A somewhat similar problem arose in connexion with the two Cameroons, and the two problems might be solved at the same time.

21. Mr. SCOTT (New Zealand) reviewed briefly the history of the Ewe question and the problem of the unification of Togoland. New Zealand had always held that the solution of the problem lay mainly with the Administering Authorities and the peoples concerned. While recognizing the substantial progress that had been made in each of the Territories toward achievement of the objectives of the Trusteeship System, his delegation noted with regret that the fundamental problem of the division of Togoland had not yet been solved.

22. It was clear from the objective and impartial report of the Mission which had recently visited the two Territories, as well as from the statements of the petitioners, that while the chief demand had formerly been for the unification of the Ewe people, it was now for the unification of Togoland. That change gave rise to new problems. The ethnic, cultural and linguistic homogeneity of the Ewe people was unquestionable; but the same could not be said for the population of the two

Territories taken as a whole. The tribes of the northern part of Togoland under British administration, who represented almost half the population of that Territory, were far more closely related to their neighbours of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast than to the Ewes. In that respect paragraph 1 of the Guatemalan amendments was not entirely realistic. In the same way, the inhabitants of the northern part of Togoland under French administration differed from their southern neighbours in religion, language and ethnic origin. Unification of the two Trust Territories would maintain an international frontier between the Gold Coast Ewes and those of Togoland. A unified Togoland might perhaps be economically more viable than Eweland, but it would be far less homogeneous from a linguistic and social point of view.

23. None of the petitioners' replies indicated any recognition of the legitimate interests of the minority groups which opposed the unification of the two Trust Territories, but it was all the more important to protect the interests of those groups since they consisted of the most backward tribes.

24. Nevertheless, it could not be denied that there was widespread support for the principle of unification, although that support seemed rather weaker in Togoland under British administration than in Togoland under French administration; but it was clear from the Visiting Mission's report and the statements of the petitioners that no form of unification had the support of a clear majority of the population. Unfortunately, the various solutions proposed were mutually exclusive. It was difficult to judge the popularity of the various proposals on the basis of the figures of the number of their supporters given by the petitioners; the figure given by Mr. Antor, in particular, seemed too high. But it was obvious that those who advocated unification of the two Trust Territories under United Nations administration—a group consisting mainly of the Ewes of the two Territories—represented only a minority of the total population. It would therefore be wrong for the Assembly to propose such a solution at the present stage.

25. His delegation was convinced that the formation of an enlightened public opinion in the two Territories was essential to the solution of the problem of unification. The responsibility for taking practical measures to that end lay with the Administering Authorities and the most advanced elements of the population. In the meantime, the Administering Authorities should increase their efforts to promote the political, economic and social advancement of Togoland, particularly in the northern regions of the two Territories. The political parties and their leaders must display a spirit of responsibility and co-operation; he had noted with regret that the Parti Togolais du Progrès and the Comité de l'Unité Togolaise had never made any effort to co-operate. His delegation still thought that the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs could play a useful part in eliminating present differences, provided that it had the co-operation of all the parties. No group should try to dominate the deliberations of the Joint Council; and it might perhaps be desirable to define its powers in order to enable it, among other things, to consider proposals for unification. It might also be advisable to change the number of the Council's mem-

bers and the method of appointment of those representatives.

26. The New Zealand delegation would vote in favour of the United States draft resolution.

27. Mr. KHALIDY (Iraq) recalled that the representatives of certain Administering Authorities had protested against a number of the questions which had been put to the petitioners. If such questions had to be approved by the Administering Authorities, the hearing of petitioners would lose all meaning. He asserted the right of all concerned to express themselves freely and to put to the petitioners any questions they considered pertinent.

28. Many years earlier Togoland had been cut in two by an artificial frontier, with no regard for the ethnic composition of its population. That frontier was a source of very serious difficulties for the inhabitants, and despite the efforts of the Administering Authorities, those difficulties had not been resolved.

29. The 1949 United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa had been impressed by the strength of the nationalistic movement for unification. In its report² it had warned the United Nations that if it delayed too long in settling the problem, the unification movement might take a dangerous turn.

30. Before considering the work of the 1952 Visiting Mission, the Iraqi representative observed that he would not deal with individuals; he would confine himself solely to the problems at issue. He had the greatest respect for the members of the Visiting Mission and for its Chairman, but he thought that the Mission was open to serious criticism as regards its methods of work and its report.

31. The Mission had refused to attend the major demonstration organized by the Comité de l'Unité Togolaise at Lomé, which was the centre of the Ewe unification movement. That was the first time in the history of the Trusteeship System that a visiting mission, at the risk of undermining the confidence of the people in the Trusteeship System and in the United Nations, had refused to attend a public meeting in the Territory to which it had been sent. The General Assembly was therefore fully entitled to ask the Mission for an explanation of the matter. In that connexion, he recalled the terms of Article 76 b and Article 85, paragraph 2, of the Charter, and of article 10 of the Trusteeship Agreement for Togoland under French administration. He was sorry to have to conclude that the Visiting Mission had failed in its duty. The argument put forward by the Mission concerning public order was valueless; he had himself attended many public meetings in Togoland where there had been no disturbance of public order.

32. The Mission asserted that it had not had time to find out what form of unification enjoyed the greatest favour among the people of Togoland. Yet the Trusteeship Council had taken all the necessary steps to enable the Mission to fulfil its task properly, and, in resolution 555 (VI), the Assembly had asked that it devote sufficient time to the problem to study it thoroughly.

² *Ibid.*, Seventh Session, Supplement No. 2, Special report on the Ewe problem.

Thus the Mission had not fulfilled its task of finding out exactly what public opinion was, and of reporting on the matter to the Trusteeship Council and to the General Assembly.

33. The Mission's report might be described as surprising. While all the documentation which it contained showed that the people wanted unification of the two Territories, its conclusions favoured maintenance of the *status quo*.

34. If visiting missions did not fulfil the tasks entrusted to them within the framework of the Trusteeship System, the system should be abolished forthwith. The General Assembly had already warned of that danger at its preceding session.

35. While he did not deny that the Trusteeship Council and the two Administering Authorities had made efforts, he pointed out that the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs was not functioning. The members of the Joint Council not being elected by universal suffrage, it was impossible to determine the true wishes of the population and to know whether certain sectors were really opposed to unification, as several members of the Committee had claimed.

36. Iraq considered it indispensable to ask the Trusteeship Council to reconsider the situation in order to work out a better solution more acceptable to the Ewes. He reserved the right of his delegation to speak again on the question.

37. Mr. BOZOVIC (Yugoslavia) pointed out that the situation in Togoland was the result of an unjust policy of dividing the world which had given rise to many conflicts in the past and was likely to cause new conflicts in future. The history of Togoland was similar to some extent to the history of the Yugoslav people, who had had to struggle for centuries against a systematic policy of division. That was why the people of Togoland enjoyed the full sympathy of the Yugoslav people in their struggle for independence and unity.

38. The contemporary era was characterized by the emergence of new independent States and the awakening of the political consciousness of dependent peoples. Any attempt to arrest that historical trend was contrary to the principles of the Charter, and presented incalculable dangers.

39. The problem of the unification and independence of Togoland was only one specific case of the more general question of the right of peoples to self-determination. That right was too often disregarded or recognized only in a tentative and deceitful way. For several years the people of Togoland had been claiming the right to self-determination and the right to lead an independent life as a nation. Mr. Bozovic showed how their wishes had been dealt with.

40. The people of Togoland were being reproached with having brought the matter of their unification and liberation before the United Nations. By so doing, they had simply shown their faith in the future and their confidence in the high authority of the United Nations. That confidence should not be betrayed. If dependent peoples could not count on the United Nations, they might be led to seek support from those who were always ready to promise anything in order to achieve their ends.

41. That did not mean that, under the guise of national liberation, support should be given to measures directed against peace and against the freedom of other peoples, or to the manoeuvres of those who wished to exploit the struggle of dependent peoples for their own aggressive purposes. Nevertheless, a people could not be expected to fight aggression if it was denied the fundamental rights guaranteed to it by the Charter. Oppressed peoples had nothing to defend and nothing to lose.

42. He denounced the contradictory policy of the Administering Authorities, which were trying to eliminate the Trust Territories as separate entities: on the one hand, they were opposing the unification of a people and, on the other, they were trying to group very different peoples, or peoples who had nothing in common, into administrative unions, thus reducing the Trust Territories to the status of colonies.

43. It was argued that the Togoland people were not capable of an independent existence. Yet a glance at the many peoples which had recently become independent would show that access to independence caused a sudden outburst of creative activity when a people became conscious that it was working for itself and was at last in control of its own destiny.

44. He recalled the repeated recommendations of the General Assembly to the effect that a joint body should be established for the two Territories and elections organized which would give equitable representation to the peoples of both Territories. Yet almost nothing had been done. The Administering Authorities had rejected a plebiscite, refused to unify the Territories under their joint administration, rejected unification and eventual independence. They had insisted on the maintenance of the *status quo*. Thus they had in fact taken no account of the General Assembly's resolutions.

45. He rejected the Trusteeship Council's resolution 643 (XI) and the findings of the Visiting Mission (T/1034). His delegation would favour the sending out, in accordance with Article 87 of the Charter, of a mission with a larger membership. It advocated the organization of elections by secret ballot and universal suffrage under the auspices of the United Nations. The democratic traditions of the Administering Authorities gave reason to believe that they would agree to such a solution.

46. In conclusion, he warned against the danger of delaying a decision. The problem would remain even if the Fourth Committee tried to evade it; it would arise at session after session and would ultimately come before the First Committee, where it would doubtless be discussed less calmly.

47. Mr. RIVAS (Venezuela) desired to clear up any uncertainty raised by the questions he had put to the representative of the Parti Togolais du Progrès at the 305th meeting concerning the economic possibilities of Togoland. The Venezuelan delegation did not by any means suppose that a country had to win economic independence before it could be self-governing. On the contrary, it thought that political dependence was often an obstacle to economic development.

48. The economic difficulties of the two Togolands were aggravated by the artificial frontier between them and the differences between the methods of their administration, which helped to perpetuate intertribal

rivalries. All those conditions were consequences of the political dependence of those Territories.

49. However anxious the Administering Authorities might be to develop the economies of the Territories under their administration, their means were limited and certainly much less than those which international co-operation could furnish to an independent State, especially the co-operation which the United Nations Charter sought to encourage and which took shape in the work of such organs as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Food and Agriculture Organization and the Technical Assistance Programme.

50. The case for maintaining the present system was, however, based not so much on the economic weakness of the people of Togoland as on their alleged political weakness. He quoted paragraph 417 of the report of the Visiting Mission (T/1034), which showed that the populations of both Territories were anything but lacking in political sense and played an intelligent part in the development of their country. That was a sign of the growth of a public spirit which was not belied by sometimes violent demonstrations of differing opinions.

51. Nor was the preservation of the dual administration justified by the diversity of the opinions expressed with regard to the future system. The hesitation of the most moderate elements between the establishment of a single administration—either French or British—incorporation into the Gold Coast, and other less radical plans did not entitle the Visiting Mission to conclude, as it had in its report (para. 422), that there was no need to change the present system of dual administration, although no one had a good word to say for it.

52. The United Nations administration which had been proposed would have a number of practical drawbacks. As the United Nations had no material force at its disposal with which to maintain order, it would tend to delegate that duty to the police forces of the present Administering Authorities. Nor was it possible to consider resort to the forces of a third Power, which

would inevitably be suspected of desiring to replace the present two Powers.

53. The Venezuelan delegation advocated that the two Administering Authorities should concert their policies and endeavour to agree on a common attitude towards the administration of the two Territories, conforming to the principles and purposes of the Charter and to the Trusteeship Agreements.

54. The Visiting Mission had stressed in paragraph 437 of its report the psychological difficulties created by the existence of the frontier. The Venezuelan delegation thought that the frontier should be abolished and that the best manner of doing so would be to merge the administrations of the two Territories. They should be placed under a single joint administration which would retain the best features of the present administrations but correspond as closely as possible to the aspirations of the people of Togoland.

55. For that purpose it supported the United States draft resolution, subject to a change in the order of the paragraphs and the consequential drafting amendments. Paragraphs 7 and 8, on the comments of the United Kingdom and the declaration of France, were a mere recital of fact and should be put at the end of the preamble; paragraphs 9, 10 and 11 of the operative part should be renumbered 7, 8 and 9.

56. His delegation hoped that Mr. Olympio and Mr. Antor, without making any sacrifice of principle, would agree to sit on the Joint Council. If the parties they represented and the general population did not participate, the Council's work would remain sterile.

57. The Venezuelan delegation viewed with great concern the division of the peoples of the Territory, the idea that some parties regarded independence as an evil, and the idea that economic independence was a condition precedent to political independence, because its earnest desire was a solution which would fully meet the aspirations of the people of Togoland.

58. The CHAIRMAN declared the general discussion closed.

The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.