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Chairman : Mr. MAX HENRÍQUEZ UREÑA (Dominican Republic).

Election of two members of the Special Committee on Information transmitted under Article 73e of the Charter (*continued*)

[Item 37]*

1. Mr. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) suggested that a date should be fixed for the election of the two new members of the Special Committee on Information transmitted under Article 73e of the Charter. He believed that official candidates had already been nominated for the two regional groups represented by the seats about to become vacant. He therefore proposed that the election should be held at the following meeting, on Friday, 14 December 1951.

2. Mr. PANT (India) supported the Cuban representative's proposal.

3. Mr. KERNKAMP (Netherlands) objected to such haste. He pointed out that at the last elections to the Special Committee¹ no seat had gone to the European region. The members of that region should be given an opportunity to nominate a candidate.

4. Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) expressed the same objection as the representative of the Netherlands, and added that according to the Committee's agenda the question should be discussed after the item on the report of the Special Committee had been disposed of. Since the latter question had not yet been settled, he objected to the inclusion of the election in the agenda for the following meeting. He intended to vote against the Cuban proposal.

The Cuban proposal was adopted by 20 votes to 10, with 18 abstentions.

Report of the Trusteeship Council (A/1856) (*continued*)

[Item 13]*

THE EWE PROBLEM

At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Sylvanus Olympio, representative of the All-Ewe Conference; Mr. Antor, representative of the Joint Togoland Congress; and Mr. Aku, representative of the Comité de l'Unité togolaise, took seats at the Committee table.

5. Mr. TAJIBNAPIS (Indonesia) welcomed the representatives of the All-Ewe Conference, the Joint Togoland Congress, and the *Comité de l'Unité togolaise*. He stated that the Council was flooded with serious petitions on the Ewe problem, which, he thought, should be discussed by the Fourth Committee rather than by the Trusteeship Council.

6. Sir Alan BURNS (United Kingdom) disagreed with the suggestion of the representative of Indonesia that the Trusteeship Council was lacking in any respect.

7. He then introduced the joint Anglo-French memorandum regarding a joint council for Togoland affairs (A/C.4/198). The background to the joint memorandum had been presented to the Committee in part I, chapter IV, of the report of the Trusteeship Council (A/1856), which summarized the course of events and the action of the Trusteeship Council since the fifth session of the General Assembly on what had come to be known as the Ewe problem. In some ways that name was misleading. The action taken on the issues under discussion would affect all the peoples of the two Trust Territories of Togoland under French and Togoland under British administration, and not only those who claimed membership of the Ewe tribe. The complexity of the issues had been set out in some detail in a memorandum presented by the Administering Authorities to the Trusteeship Council at its ninth

* Indicates the item number on the General Assembly agenda.
¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifth Session, Fourth Committee, 191st meeting*.

session (T/931 and Add.1). He recalled the basic principles which must, in the opinion of the two Administering Authorities, govern any approach to the problem. First, any proposals for its solution must pay full regard to the known wishes of the peoples of the two Territories and command general acceptance by those peoples or, at the very least, acceptance by a large majority. Secondly, any change in the political organization of the Territories must be economically and fiscally, as well as politically, practicable. He also stressed the conclusion reached by the Administering Authorities, based on the fullest possible consultation with the peoples of the Territories, that no solution involving an alteration of boundaries or of political allegiance would command the general assent of the peoples of those two Territories or even the agreement of a majority.

8. The meaning and implications of the term "unification", a word which was virtually the only common element in the proposals sponsored by the various political parties and petitioners who disagreed with the Administering Authorities, merited close consideration. Any definition of that term must imply the creation of some new political entity which would be bound to have its own constitutional organization, whatever its relationship to one or more of the neighbouring Territories might be. It would have to have its own administrative organization and its own fiscal and economic structure. The renunciation by *factions* of the present Trust Territories of their present status must inevitably mean their abandonment of the advantages which they enjoyed under their present state, in exchange for any which might be conferred by their new state. The Administering Authorities could not be satisfied with any proposal which furthered the ambitions of a single section in either of the Territories without regard to the inevitable repercussions on its less vocal but more numerous compatriots.

9. The Trusteeship Council had adopted, by a very large majority, resolution 345 (IX) which approved the proposal of the Administering Authorities to establish a joint council for Togoland affairs with responsibilities sufficiently broad to enable it to act effectively in all fields of common concern to the peoples of the two Trust Territories. France and the United Kingdom had both voted in favour of that resolution, and the arrangements they had made to implement it were now before the Committee (A/C.4/198). The council was to consist of fifteen members from Togoland under French administration and six from Togoland under British administration. Some political parties, especially in Togoland under British administration, would have preferred parity of membership between the two Territories. The United Kingdom Government had felt that such an arrangement would be unjust, since one of the Territories was so much larger, both in area and population, than the other. To avoid the injustice of placing the members from the larger Territory in a position in which they would always be able to impose their will on the representatives of the smaller, it had been decided that all resolutions

or actions of the joint council must be approved by three-quarters of the total membership, i.e., by at least sixteen votes.

10. The arrangements made in Togoland under British administration for the selection of members were those which had stood the test of time in other elections and enjoyed the confidence of the public at large. Northern British Togoland and Southern British Togoland were roughly equal in population, and each area was to have three out of the six seats. Within those areas the seats were to be distributed on an equitable geographical basis. In Southern Togoland that aim was to be achieved by taking the Southern Togoland Council as an electoral college. Resolution 345 (IX) had recommended that the method of determining the composition and selecting the members of the joint council should be such as to ensure the participation of the major groups in the two Territories. There were good grounds for expecting that at least two of the three representatives from the southern section of Togoland under British administration would be adherents of one or other of those parties which advocated unification in some form. That was certainly a fair reflection of the extent of the following of those parties in Togoland under British administration.

11. The terms of reference of the joint council were broad and flexible. It was to discuss and advise the Administering Authorities on the co-ordination of development plans in frontier areas, the amelioration of conditions caused by the existence of the frontiers, and other matters of common concern to the people of the two Trust Territories. Such matters of course included the questions of political, economic, social, educational and cultural development to which reference was made in resolution 345 (IX). To establish an over-rigid or over-detailed framework for the operation of a new body such as the joint council would be likely to frustrate the hopes of the two Administering Authorities that the responsible members of the council would find it a fit instrument to further their legitimate common interests. It was characteristic of the arrangements that much was left to the political sagacity and initiative of the members themselves. He wished, however, to stress the importance of one notable feature, namely, the allocation to the joint council of funds to be spent at its discretion. No device induced more rapidly a sense both of realism and of power than that of control over public moneys. The Administering Authorities had been accused in the past of establishing mere talking-shops; such charges were palpably unwarranted in the present case.

12. The Administering Authorities could not be accused of delay, for only a few months had elapsed between the approval by the Trusteeship Council of the proposed arrangements, and the announcement of the details set out in the joint memorandum. The new institution was intended to be a well-established body of lasting benefit to the peoples of the two Territories, and effective institutions could not be improvised. It might be felt that the present body differed little from the Standing Consultative Commission for Togoland

Affairs, which many members of the Trusteeship Council and the Fourth Committee had characterized as a failure. The nature and functions of the two bodies were, however, very different. The joint council had broader and more positive functions and had been designed to act as an effective and practical instrument in ensuring congruity between developments in all fields of common concern to the two Territories, and to stimulate harmonious progress.

13. It had been said in some quarters that the Administering Authorities would be reluctant to face criticism of their proposals by those most directly affected. Some inhabitants of Togoland under British or Togoland under French administration who felt that due weight had not been given to their opinions by the Administering Authorities had exercised the right of petition to the United Nations accorded to them by the Charter. It was not the intention of the United Kingdom Government or of the Government of France to limit in any way the effective exercise of that right by those who wished to have recourse to it, even though they might represent only a fractional proportion of the population in comparison with those people who considered their interests well protected by the Administering Authorities themselves. It was in that spirit that the United Kingdom delegation had made no opposition to proposals that certain representatives should make a personal appearance before the Fourth Committee (202nd meeting). He welcomed their presence, in the confidence that they would not abuse their privilege and would confine themselves to emphasizing their point of view on the policy issues involved in the question before the Committee. It would clearly be inappropriate for a Committee of the General Assembly to usurp the functions of the Trusteeship Council and to deal with petitions on matters of administrative detail, which properly fell within the competence of the Council. He was sure that that intention was not in the mind of any member of the Fourth Committee, which had always shown its confidence in the Trusteeship Council as a body well equipped to perform the functions entrusted to it by the Charter.

14. In conclusion, he commended for endorsement by the Fourth Committee the detailed arrangements set out in the memorandum for the implementation of Trusteeship Council resolution 345 (IX). Those arrangements were going forward and would be specially examined by the visiting mission of the Trusteeship Council which was to visit West Africa in the near future. In the light of the visiting mission's report, the Trusteeship Council would be able to review the arrangements made and recommend to the Administering Authorities any adjustments which experience might show to be required. In the meantime he asked the Committee to give the new joint council its overwhelming support.

15. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) stated that he had come to the Fourth Committee to denounce the French method of handling the Ewe question, and affirmed that the Ewe people wished to remain friends of France. He regretted that he had not had an oppor-

tunity of studying the arrangements set out in the joint Anglo-French memorandum, and was therefore unable to express at the present stage any opinion on it.

16. The All-Ewe Conference was an organization which grouped together all the bodies in the Ewe country of West Africa, who had long been engaged in the struggle for the unification of their peoples. Various divisions had been imposed on the Ewe country, from 1884 when it had been divided between Germany and the United Kingdom, to the end of the Second World War and the birth of the International Trusteeship System. The war had added greatly to the economic and social problems arising from the frontier between the two Togolands and at the same time had brought the Ewe peoples, in common with all the peoples of West Africa, a vast hunger for education, better standards of living, political freedom and, inevitably, self-government and independence. The desire for unification had swept the country and would never die down. It had gone far beyond what was originally a tribal problem and had become a real national aspiration.

17. The Trusteeship Council had recognized that the majority of the Ewe population desired that the Ewe people should be unified under one administration². The Administering Authorities, however, had sought to ease away the Ewe problem rather than solve it. They had made certain improvements in the material difficulties caused by the frontier, but their own problems of sovereignty had blocked any real progress. They had come to no agreement on the cardinal problems of language and education. The United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa had realized in 1949 that the demand for unification could not be answered by economic and social measures, but was a capital political problem to which an urgent solution must be sought in the interests of peace and stability³.

18. The Administering Authorities had refused to accept the logical way of solving the problem, which was unification. In the light of later events, the reasons had become simple and clear. A mere accident of geography had made Togoland important to the colonial Powers. On the one side, lay the Crown Colony of the Gold Coast, whose nationalist aspirations were fast approaching the goal of self-government; on the other, territories of the French Union, whose millions of people had not yet faced the choice between self-government or independence and *la présence française*. Thus Togoland was the buffer state separating militant nationalism from a very different idea of political development. The Committee could draw its own conclusions. But one thing was certain: from the time the United Nations Visiting Mission had reported that the Ewe problem was a nationalist and urgent one, an unrelenting campaign had been waged, both in Togoland and in the United Nations, to prove that the Visiting Mission had been mistaken and that the Ewe unification movement did not exist.

² See Trusteeship Council resolution 14 (II).

³ See *Official Records of the Trusteeship Council, Seventh Session, Supplement No. 2*, Special report on the Ewe problem.

19. In Togoland under French administration, almost every conceivable weapon had been used against the Ewe people, including undemocratic elections, arbitrary arrests and the suppression of free speech and the right of assembly. Within the United Nations the results of such tactics had been used to prove that the Ewe problem was a minority one and the Ewe people a trouble-making minority.

20. In the Trusteeship Council, the Administering Authorities, by exploiting the alleged disunity between the Ewe and the other peoples of Togoland on certain aspects of unification and by encouraging government-supported opposition groups, such as the *Union des chefs* in Northern Togoland, had succeeded in securing agreement to the setting up of the Enlarged Consultative Commission to ascertain "the real wishes and interests" of all the populations⁴. The All-Ewe Conference, although having serious doubts as to its usefulness, had agreed to co-operate. Its worst fears had been realized when it learned the proposed procedure for the election of members of the Enlarged Consultative Commission from French Togoland. Full details of the protests made in that connexion had already been placed before the Trusteeship Council. Suffice it to say now that the electoral procedure, by assigning a predominant part to chiefs who were subservient to the Administering Authority, had made it absolutely certain that the great majority of the people favouring unification would have only a minority voice in the Commission. The result had therefore been a foregone conclusion.

21. All appeals to the Administering Authority for an equitable and democratic election procedure had gone unheeded. As a last protest, the All-Ewe Conference had withdrawn its candidates from the field, had abstained in the final voting and had declined to send members to the Commission. The protest had been largely supported by the representatives of Southern Togoland, under British administration.

22. However, the Consultative Commission, whose object was ostensibly to find a solution to the Ewe problem, had met and the result had been as expected: the consensus of opinion had been against unification. The further attempt of the Administering Authorities to obtain the participation of the Ewe people had also had to be refused, since the composition of the Consultative Commission would have remained unchanged otherwise. Yet the second session of the Commission had brought to light an interesting fact. The records (T/931/Add.1) showed a growing undercurrent of opinion in favour of unification on the part of those very delegates who had been instructed to speak against the movement.

23. The protests made regarding the undemocratic procedures and arbitrary arrests had, the previous year, led the General Assembly to adopt resolution 441 (V) asking the French Government to carry out an investigation. The report of that investigation had been

submitted to the Trusteeship Council (T/846), but had elicited no comment. It could only be assumed that the members of the Council found it difficult to reconcile the facts investigated and the conclusion that the elections had been fair and honest. The investigator had been unable to go deeply into the complaints of arbitrary arrests because the cases had still been before the Court of Appeals. The Committee might be interested to know that in every case appealed, the Court of Appeals had quashed the conviction.

24. Conditions in Togoland under French administration had not improved since that time. Indeed, the relationship between the Ewe movement and the Administering Authority had worsened. Every possible means had been employed to crush the movement. Prominent supporters had been subjected to persecution; the right to freedom of speech and freedom of assembly had been curtailed or withdrawn; collection of funds had been forbidden save with the authorization of the Governor; progressive persons had been prevented from entering the Territory; there was a ban on newspapers from the Gold Coast; and the police had been strongly reinforced.

25. The Committee had before it details of the most recent and most serious provocations (A/C.4/195), leading to the tragic death of a number of people—all in continuation of the campaign against the Ewe people. That campaign had been carried into every aspect of life in Togoland under French administration. The movement was the only free political party in the country and for five years it had held nearly every seat in the Representative Assembly of Togoland under French administration and had provided the African members for Togoland in the French National Assembly. Now, through fraudulent elections, the Administering Authority was securing the defeat of Ewe candidates. He cited the case of Mr. Martin Aku, who had been defeated in the elections to the National Assembly held the previous June, and offered to give complete documentary evidence in support of his statement.

26. The Administering Authority's action in setting the surprisingly early date of 9 December 1951 for the new elections to the Representative Assembly of Togoland under French administration was justly suspect, particularly as legislation to change the electoral system was currently before the French Parliament. One possibility was that, if the results of the elections could have been arranged to suit the Administering Authority's wishes, it would have been useful to have that known to the United Nations before the Ewe case came up for consideration.

27. In seeking a solution of its problem, the All-Ewe Conference had invariably striven to use moderate and constitutional means. But a very heavy strain had been placed on its tolerance and faith. The United Nations had hitherto found it difficult to grant the Ewe people unification, but it was its duty under the Charter to ensure that Togoland achieved self-government or independence. For Togoland, self-government

⁴ See Trusteeship Council resolution 250 (VII).

and unification went hand in hand ; otherwise, a self-governing State would not be possible. Moreover, the All-Ewe Conference had never conceived either a united Ewe country or a united Togoland standing alone in West Africa. The eventual inter-relationship of all West African countries was still a matter of conjecture, to be settled in good time and in accordance with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned. All the Ewe people were asking was that the United Nations should help to remedy the injustice of partition.

28. Mr. ANTOR (Joint Togoland Congress) stated that a common purpose had bound the traditional leaders and the various political, social and farmers' organizations of Togoland together to form the organization he represented. Their common purpose was resistance to the partition of Togoland between the French Union and the British Crown Colony of the Gold Coast. Their common cause was the fight for unification and autonomy and the right to decide in freedom and unity what would be their relations with their neighbours, the present Administering Authorities and the remainder of the world.

29. The grievances of the peoples of the two Trust Territories of Togoland were already well known to the United Nations through the many petitions that had been submitted. They lived in a country where maintenance of law and order had been made an excuse for the suppression of human rights and fundamental freedoms and for the use of armed force against a law-abiding population. Under the system of administrative unions, the peoples and raw materials were exploited and the indigenous populations were reduced to the lowest economic, moral and social levels, under unscrupulous and corrupt administrators.

30. Every human instinct and the whole force of history demanded that the peoples of the two parts of Togoland should combine. But the selfish policies of France and the United Kingdom, whose real concern in Africa was the advancement of their own prestige and influence, had hitherto succeeded in keeping them apart. Common sense demanded that they should be brought together, and that future developments in every field—economic, social, educational and political—should be co-ordinated. But the two Administering Authorities had deliberately refused to face the facts. Their policy had been to force the peoples ever further apart, by separate development along entirely different lines. They had refused to set up constitutional organs for Togoland as a whole, whereby the political, economic and social development of the country could be co-ordinated with a view to improving economic and social conditions and fostering development towards self-government and independence. Had the Administering Authorities really regarded the interests of the indigenous inhabitants as paramount, steps to that end would have been taken long before. Togoland was of no possible use to France as a colony, but the loss of Togoland would lead sooner or later to the disintegration of the whole French Union.

31. Even worse were the shameful attempts of the Administering Authorities to discredit the nationalist movements in the Territories, including the movement for unification. In the latest Anglo-French memorandum, they were offering yet another consultative commission, but without any real powers and doubtless its membership would again be hand-picked. What could such a joint council do to stop the two Trust Territories from being swallowed up in the French Union and the Crown Colony of the Gold Coast respectively, thus losing all hope of eventual autonomy.

32. Togoland under British administration, although referred to in the United Nations as a separate Territory, had been completely integrated into the Gold Coast Colony. It had no separate administration, legislative body, educational system or economic organization. The people of Togoland had been criticized for non-acceptance of the seats assigned to Togoland in the Gold Coast Legislative Assembly. In the past, their attitude had been dictated by the fact that the one seat for Togoland had been filled by appointment of the Administration, the accredited representatives of the people not being consulted in any way. Under the new Gold Coast Constitution, Togoland had been assigned two more seats in the Assembly. But the peoples' desire for unification with Togoland under French administration and independence for Togoland as a whole had meantime come to a head and it had been decided to boycott the elections to the Assembly. Genuine Togolanders had refused to register but a small number of voters—mostly strangers coming in from the Gold Coast—had elected the two so-called Togoland members of the Gold Legislative Assembly. Those two members were not responsible to the peoples of Togoland. The third seat had been filled in an even more undemocratic way, by a member of the Southern Togoland Council, the members of which drew their allowances from funds controlled by the district and chief commissioners. The representatives in the Enlarged Standing Consultative Commission for Togoland Affairs, set up the previous year by France and the United Kingdom, had been chosen in the same way.

33. The representatives of Togoland on the Gold Coast Cocoa Marketing Board were also chosen in the same manner. Because of the complete incorporation of Togoland in the Gold Coast, every ton of Togoland's cocoa had to be sold to and through the Gold Coast Cocoa Marketing Board, a colonial government body. It paid to the farmers a price usually much lower than the world market price. It had made millions of pounds profit, from which the Togoland farmers had received virtually nothing.

34. The Togoland farmers had tried to make their grievances known to the Trusteeship Council but their case had been confused and partly suppressed by the Administering Authority. On 21 June 1951, thirty-seven regional representatives of the cocoa-producing areas of Togoland under British administration, supported by the traditional rulers, had adopted a resolution, by 33 votes to 4, rejecting the representation of Togoland on the Gold Coast Marketing Board and demanding the establishment of a separate produce

marketing board for Togoland itself. On 22 July, another resolution to the same end had been adopted by forty-five regional representatives of the cocoa-producing areas in both Togoland under British and Togoland under French administration. On 8 September, the Togoland Congress had adopted a resolution supporting the farmers' decision. It had appointed a ten-man delegation to interview the Governor of the Gold Coast in order to explain the resolutions and to submit draft legislation setting up the proposed Togoland produce marketing board.

35. The delegation had seen the Governor's private secretary and left all the relevant papers with him to be passed on to the Governor. It had based its case on the fact that the existing cocoa marketing legislation had been applied to Togoland not by the Administering Authority of the Trust Territory but by a colonial government—the Government of the Gold Coast. The people of Togoland took the view that it was the United Kingdom Government which, under the Trusteeship Agreement, was the Administering Authority for Togoland, and that it could not delegate its authority to the Legislative Assembly of a colony. It was the United Kingdom Government, through its representative, the Governor, which was responsible for the administration of the Trust Territory and in virtue of that fact, and as provided for in the Gold Coast Constitution, the Governor had power to legislate for Togoland.

36. The reply authorized by the Governor and sent on 31 October (A/C.4/L. 160, annex) had stated that there was "no provision, in the instruments introducing the new Constitution, granting his Excellency separate legislative powers in respect of Togoland". That statement conflicted with the description of how the new Gold Coast Constitution affected Togoland, as given in paragraph 125 of the annual report on the administration of Togoland for 1950⁵. The Governor had also stated in the same letter that it was not the policy of the Gold Coast Government to set up a separate produce marketing organization for Togoland.

37. The peoples of Togoland did not regard the annual report submitted by the Administering Authority as a reliable picture of the situation. It was in fact an annual report on the neighbouring Crown Colony of the Gold Coast, which had been under British administration for 107 years.

38. In order to facilitate the handling, management and distribution of the products of the proposed Togoland produce marketing board, the Togoland National Farmers' Union had entered into an agreement with two American firms with a view to obtaining buying licences from the board, as provided for in the draft legislation. Two representatives of those firms had arrived in Togoland on 2 September 1951. On 4 September they had been arrested by the Government police at Ho and ordered to leave the Territory in

twenty-four hours, although they had valid travel documents. That action had been in flagrant violation of Article 76d of the Charter. In the Trust Territories of Togoland under British and Togoland French administration, the only companies operating were British and French.

39. It was not true, as the Trusteeship Council had been told, that frontier difficulties had been almost entirely eliminated. Togoland was frequently prevented from crossing the frontier between the Territories and he himself had also been prevented from crossing that frontier.

40. All loyal Togoland was protesting at what was happening on the French side of the frontier. Free political organizations had been suppressed by order of the Administration. The traditional customary chiefs had been either deposed or replaced by the special chiefs (*chefs de canton*) of the French Administration. By that means the French Administration had organized in the Territory a destructive political body made up of the civil servants of the Administration.

41. For many years the people of Togoland had sent petitions, resolutions and cablegrams to the United Nations. They had asked again and again for an independent commission from the United Nations to help to solve the problems of the peoples of the Trust Territory and to help to draw up a constitution for Togoland. The petitions, however, had merely been referred to the Trusteeship Council, and the Council's resolutions on them had frequently concluded with the phrase "draws the attention of the petitioners to the recommendations adopted by the Trusteeship Council in connexion with its examination of the annual report on the administration of the Territory" or "draws attention of the petitioners to the observations of the Administering Authority". Such meaningless resolutions had impaired the prestige of the United Nations among the peoples of the Trust Territories, who had seen the Administering Authorities gain a stranglehold on the Trusteeship Council during the past few years. That was why they had decided to bring their case before the General Assembly.

42. Their one demand now was self-government or independence and the right to solve the problem of unification according to the will of the people. The people would like the help of the United Nations, and hoped that it would send a special commission to look at the facts and point out the way.

43. Mr. AKU (*Comité de l'Unité togolaise*) had nothing to add to the previous statements with regard to the problem in general, but would stress certain aspects of it.

44. Events since the Second World War had shown the peoples of Togoland that their aspirations to freedom, progress, well-being, democracy, peace and security could only be achieved through the abolition of the colonial system. In spite of the solemn promises made to the peoples of Africa at the end of hostilities, there was a rebirth of the spirit of colonial domination and the use of methods condemned by the Charter. It was evident, that the colonial Powers had no desire to put an end to the colonial system.

⁵ See Report by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the General Assembly of the United Nations on the Administration of Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship for the Year 1950, Vol. I.

45. The first task of the United Nations was the maintenance of peace and security, and it should be able to remove the burden which weighed on the countries dominated by the Powers of the so-called free world. So far no dependent people had been able to acquire self-government by peaceful means within the framework of French imperialism. The people of Togoland were the first African people to express their aspirations to political emancipation before the United Nations and they were conscious of their responsibility as the spokesmen of all Africa. The objectives of their movement for national liberation were essentially peaceful and consistent with the principles of the Charter. The Fourth Committee should bear in mind the fact that to find a just and pacific solution of the urgent problems which existed in Togoland would open the way to a pacific settlement of the whole colonial problem.

46. There were three essential problems concerning Togoland : the problem of unification, the desire of the people for immediate self-government, and the problem raised by the exercise of rights and liberties and the observance of those rights and liberties by the Administering Authority.

47. The question of unification had two aspects : that of tribal unification, presented by the representative of the All-Ewe Conference ; and that of territorial unification, presented by the representative of the Joint Togoland Congress. There were fundamental divergencies of view between the two theses, and that fact had acted as a deterrent to those non-colonial Powers which might have been inclined to support the claims of the Ewes. Mr. Olympio had however indicated that the All-Ewe Conference was not opposed to the unification of the two Togolands and the representation of the other peoples of Togoland ; he had stressed that the members of the Trusteeship Council had unanimously recognized the justice of the Ewes' claims, the fact that the organization entrusted with the defence of those claims represented the majority of the Ewe people and that those claims dated from the time of the division of West Africa between the United Kingdom and Germany. The allegations of the *Parti togolais du progrès* that the unification movement was foreign-inspired were therefore unfounded. Unfortunately, the position taken by the All-Ewe Conference had introduced a discordant note which had been exploited to the full by the Administering Authorities.

48. If was essential for the development of Togoland that the two theses should be merged in one common aspiration, that of self-government. The insistence of the Ewe people on a complete solution of the problem was due to the fact that the unification of the two Togolands would give them only partial satisfaction, since the Ewe people in the Gold Coast would remain outside their community. Hence the only just solution of the problem would be the abolition of the colonial regime.

49. In view of the political maturity of Togoland, it was inconceivable that the Territory's status should be inferior to that of the Gold Coast. Its position within

the French Union should be cleared up by the United Nations. As long as that problem had not been solved the people's claims for emancipation could not be satisfied. France claimed to solve all the Territory's problems by granting it participation in the organs of the French Union. At its fourth session, the Trusteeship Council had welcomed the assurance given by the Administering Authority that the inhabitants would have the right at the appropriate time to determine for themselves whether they wished to remain in the Union or to become independent (A/933, p. 47) ; and at its ninth session it had stated that it considered that the Administering Authority should continue to preserve the separate status of the Territory, with a view to its final self-government or independence (A/1856, p. 181). The population had therefore declared themselves opposed to representation in the French Assemblies, considering that the United Nations should take steps towards the attainment of the final objective, the granting of self-government.

50. During the past few months the current in favour of self-government had gained strength, stimulated by the policy of oppression and injustice practised by the Administering Authorities and the attempts to prevent the people of Togoland, by intimidation, from resorting to the mediation of the United Nations for a peaceful settlement. He endorsed the statements made by Mr. Olympio concerning the violations of some freedoms in Togoland and also concerning the holding of fraudulent elections.

51. The methods used in the Territory made it impossible to contemplate setting up a commission elected to solve political problems. The memorandum dated 10 December 1951 presented by France and the United Kingdom (A/C.4/198) published the day after the elections to the Representative Assembly of Togoland under French Administration, once again demonstrated the determination of the Administering Authorities to prevent emancipation by fair means or foul. Despite the generosity shown by France to oppressed peoples in the past, the French local Administration had declared war on the *Unité togolaise*. Hence the people of the Territory appealed to the United Nations in the hope that at last their aspirations might be fulfilled.

52. Mr. PANT (India), Mr. EL PHARAONY (Egypt) and Mr. ZIAUD-DIN (Pakistan) asked that the statements of the representative of the United Kingdom and of the three Ewe representatives might be reproduced and circulated to the members of the Committee and that the debate on the question might be adjourned until twenty-four hours after the circulation of the document.

53. Mr. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) asked that the letter from the Governor of the Gold Coast to which Mr. Antor had referred should also be distributed.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 5.40 p.m.