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Chairman: Mr. Thanat KHOMAN (Thailand).

## AGENDA ITEM 37

**The future of Togoland under French administration:  
report of the Trusteeship Council (A/3676 and Corr.1,  
A/3677, A/C.4/367, T/5R.841-847) (*continued*)**

OPENING STATEMENTS (*concluded*)

1. Mr. KOSCIUSKO-MORIZET (France) said that since 1922, when the League of Nations had entrusted it with the Mandate over Togoland, France had carried out its mission of civilization and progress. From the outset it had applied the same democratic principles as were practised in France itself and had gradually led the rural and urban populations towards the management of their own affairs. In 1922 councils of notables had been established in the circonscriptions and, some years later, mixed communes in the largest centres. Increasingly wide powers had been transferred to the cantonal and village chiefs and chefs de quartiers. Provident societies had been organized in 1935 to promote agricultural development and reforms had been instituted to improve living conditions, suppress corporal punishment and forced labour and guarantee State protection to the workers.

2. During the war Togoland, like the Cameroons and all the overseas territories and protectorates, now independent States, had remained staunchly loyal to France.

3. France, faithful to the principles which had inspired the Constitution of 1946, which had always guided it in carrying out the Mandate and which were reiterated in the Charter, had unhesitatingly placed Togoland under the International Trusteeship System. Indeed, France had already been pursuing a liberal and progressive policy, as defined by the French African Conference held at Brazzaville in January 1944, which might justly be said to have marked the end of the colonial system.

4. From 1945 onwards the Togolandese, like the other peoples of the overseas territories, had been associated on a footing of complete equality in the work of the French Parliament. That measure had been sometimes represented as an attempt at compulsory integration. It was insulting to the Africans to think that they could ever forget the interests of the peoples they represented. On the contrary, the presence of

African elected representatives in the French Parliament had been an important contribution to progress and understanding. France was proud of having been the first country to establish in Africa democratically elected assemblies responsible for the management of territorial affairs. One of the first of those bodies had been the Representative Assembly of Togoland set up by the Decree of 25 October 1946. On 6 February 1952 an Act had been passed introducing a single college for elections to that Assembly. In the meantime a statute had been granted to the conseils de circonscriptions and the number of mixed communes had been considerably increased. Thus the Togolandese had been given an increasing share in the administration of the country.

5. The Act passed on 16 April 1955 had marked a new and important stage by establishing a Government Council which possessed genuine executive responsibility. That had been the groundwork for a truly autonomous administration.

6. On 4 July 1955 the newly elected Territorial Assembly had unanimously adopted a motion which had in effect foreshadowed the existing institutions of Togoland and had invited the French Government to take action as soon as a statute for Togoland had been drawn up, to terminate the Trusteeship Agreement.

7. In the light of that recommendation the French Government and the Togoland authorities had prepared a draft statute, which had been submitted to the Togoland Assembly in August 1956. The Assembly had freely debated it and had proposed a number of amendments, all of which had been accepted by the French Government. On 28 October 1956 the people of Togoland had voted by an overwhelming majority in favour of the Statute. The French Government could not be held responsible for the fact that there had been no international observers, for it had made a formal request to that effect in July 1956.<sup>1/</sup>

8. During the discussion of the question at the eleventh session of the General Assembly the Minister for Overseas France had given the Committee details of the results of the popular consultation held under the supervision of Mr. Guy Périet de Féral, the Referendum Administrator, who had also been present at the session and had replied to questions put by the members of the Fourth Committee. In the Territory as a whole 77.27 per cent of the registered voters had taken part in the election and 71.51 per cent of the votes had been in favour of the Statute of the Autonomous Republic and the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement.

<sup>1/</sup> See T/1274/Rev.1.

<sup>2/</sup> See Official Records of the General Assembly, Eleventh Session, Fourth Committee, 556th and 584th to 599th meetings.

9. During the past year important events had taken place on the lines of the General Assembly's recommendations in resolution 1046 (XI) and the problem of Togoland should be considered in the light of the new facts: the amendments introduced to the Statute on 22 March 1957, the report of the United Nations Commission on Togoland under French Administration (A/3677) and resolution 1785 (S-VII) adopted by the Trusteeship Council on 19 September 1957.

10. The reforms included in the Decree of 22 March 1957 were analysed in chapter II of the Commission's report and he would only point out that they enabled the powers of the Togoland executive, and in particular of the Prime Minister, to be more clearly defined and that they included further transfers of powers to the Togoland institutions. The Decree of 22 March 1957 was an example of the fact, stated in article 37 of the Statute, that the Statute was susceptible of evolution. Furthermore the initiative for such evolution lay with the Togoland authorities, as was shown by the fact that the Legislative Assembly, after free discussions between Lomé and Paris, had debated amendments submitted either by its members or by the Togoland Government. The part played in framing the reforms, and the proof they furnished of the need to grant new powers, had demonstrated the ability and influence of the Togoland authorities.

11. The second important fact was the visit of the United Nations Commission, which had spent over a month in the territory of the Republic. The Commission's observations were to be found in the admirable report which had been presented at the previous meeting by its Chairman. He hoped that the report would serve to allay any doubts or reservations which might subsist concerning the task accomplished jointly by France and the young Togoland democracy.

12. The new institutions of the Togoland Republic were functioning well. To use the Commission's own words, the Statute had been interpreted in a broad manner. Moreover various amendments had been adopted, so that the powers of the Togoland Government had already been extended beyond what was provided in the Statute. The French Government had in fact gone far beyond the reforms of which the Trusteeship Council had been apprised at its eighteenth session, in July 1956. As was pointed out in the Commission's report, the maintenance of internal law and order was now within the competence of the Togoland Government. Furthermore, a systematic policy of Togolization of the civil service was being carried out. The report stated that the Commission had been informed of the laudable plans of the Togoland Government for placing Togoland in high posts in the civil service and of the plans of the French Government substantially to increase the number of Africans in the services of the French Republic.

13. The Commission had stressed the negotiated character of the Statute. The procedure followed, which might have appeared to take the form of granting a charter, had in reality been bilateral and contractual. The Statute had been the outcome of free discussions at various levels between the Togoland representatives and the Government of the French Republic and had been approved by the population by a majority which left no room for doubt. Those free discussions had continued and were still continuing at the local level in the Togoland Assembly.

14. Although the Commission's terms of reference had been chiefly political, it had also inquired into the economic, social and educational situation. In connexion with the economic implications of the new Statute it had particularly noted the hydroelectric development plans, including the large dam for hydroelectric purposes on the Mono River, and the commendable scheme by which several thousand Cabrais from the over-populated Lama-Kara district were being settled in the hitherto sparsely populated region of East Mono.

15. Throughout the document it was obvious that the Commission had appreciated the reality and the authority of the Government of the Autonomous Republic.

16. The Commission had found a highly developed political consciousness and a lively interest in the political future of the Territory. The report stated that there were well organized political parties with active local branches.

17. The Commission had also been pleased to note the eagerness with which Togoland youth took advantage of educational facilities available in the Territory, a factor which, it stated, augured well for the continued progress of self-government in Togoland.

18. Lastly, noting that the Togoland Government appeared to have matters well in hand in those fields which it had taken over, the Commission had referred to the excellent working and social relationships existing between the French and the Togoland and to the ease and courtesy of social contacts.

19. The Commission's few reservations were no more serious than those which might be made in respect of any democratic régime in an independent State. France had promised to promote the advancement of Togoland towards self-government and it had kept its word. That fact had been recognized by the Trusteeship Council at its seventh special session, held in September 1957, when a clear and explicit resolution (1785 (S-VII)) had been adopted by a substantial majority. The only three points which had remained in dispute—the question of elections, the final transfers of competence and the future development of the relationship between Togoland and France—had been frankly approached and all misunderstanding had been dispelled.

20. The first problem—the renewal of the Togoland Legislative Assembly by universal suffrage—concerned the Togoland Government alone: competence in that respect had been transferred to the new Togoland State and France could not interfere in the matter. The French Government had announced that at the right time and following the appropriate procedure it would endorse the position freely adopted by the Togoland Government. He had therefore been particularly glad to hear the statements made at the seventh special session of the Trusteeship Council by Mr. Apedo-Amah and at the Committee's previous meeting by Mr. Ajavon.

21. The second problem concerned the new powers which, in full agreement with the Togoland Government, would be transferred immediately upon the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement. He had informed the Trusteeship Council that with the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement a final transfer of powers would be carried out in the fields of public freedoms, the judiciary and constitutional

revision. Since the last obstacle to the exercise of full self-government would then have disappeared, the Togoland Legislative Assembly would be in a position to legislate in the matter of public freedoms, which would be of its exclusive competence. The French Government had furthermore clearly announced its intention of transferring to the Autonomous Republic of Togoland the judicial powers which it still held. The Togoland judiciary would be independent both of the Togoland executive and of the French executive, in accordance with the classic definition of constitutional law. The establishment early in 1958 of a higher court of appeal at Lomé would crown the edifice of Togoland's judicial system.

22. It had seemed proper to enable the Togoland people and Government to make their own decision with regard to internal political organization. The Commission expressed the view in its report that it might be desirable for Togoland to assume full responsibility for the modification of the Statute dealing with the internal organization of the country. Hence, in accordance with the Commission's wishes, the Togoland organs would be left entirely free to draw up their internal constitutional rules.

23. Lastly, there would be transfers of such residual powers as, for example, those relating to the functions and appointment of officials of the service of co-ordination. Those transfers were of course linked with the termination of the trusteeship, for as long as France was still responsible to the United Nations it could not relinquish the powers it needed to carry out that responsibility and in particular the provisional trusteeship provided for in article 38 of the Statute. He formally assured the Committee, as he had already informed the Trusteeship Council, that simultaneously with the termination of the trusteeship the residual powers would automatically be transferred to the Togoland, who would thus become fully self-governing.

24. With regard to the third problem, that of the present and future relationship between France and Togoland, his delegation had emphasized that the Statute was susceptible of evolution, in particular on the initiative of the Togoland themselves. They could not be criticized for wishing to be freely associated with a great human community in which there were no prejudices of race, colour or religion. One of the objectives of the International Trusteeship System as laid down in the Charter was to encourage recognition of the interdependence of the peoples of the world. Moreover, the United Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territories of Togoland under British Administration and Togoland under French Administration, 1955, had expressed the view that the Territory's future progress would best be ensured by its association with a larger unit (T/1218, p. 18). There might perhaps be some apprehension because the larger unit in partnership with which the Togoland hoped to pursue their future development was the former Administering Authority. Those who harboured such suspicions would have difficulty in understanding the terms of the resolution unanimously adopted by the *Rassemblement démocratique africain* at Bamako, which stated that for "Black" Africa membership of a great political and economic community was a factor of real power and independence for all the members of that community; nor would

they be able to understand the great peaceful democratic revolution which was taking place in "Black" Africa through the application of the *loi-cadre* of 23 June 1956 and the assumption by the Africans of the management of their own affairs. It was, however, in no way surprising that peoples which had achieved self-government with the help of France should wish to continue to benefit from the material and moral advantages of the great Franco-African community.

25. France had no large material interests in Togoland. A truly colonial policy, under which the relations between peoples were governed only by self-interest and commercialism, would lead France to cease all technical, economic, financial and even cultural assistance. France had a different conception of its mission. It would be for the Togoland Republic itself to decide, in agreement with the French Republic, what links should unite it with whole of the French community.

26. Trusteeship Council resolution 1785 (S-VII) advocated the setting in motion of an appropriate procedure for the early attainment of the final objective of the Trusteeship System. That was what France was asking of the Fourth Committee.

27. At the time the Trusteeship Agreement had been drawn up, it had corresponded to the state then reached in the country's evolution. After twelve years of constant development Togoland had come of age and the instrument which had been the basis for that evolution had become obsolete. The continued application of the International Trusteeship System could not be reconciled with the exercise of full self-government by the people of Togoland.

28. There was another point of view to which the highest importance should be attributed: the opinion of the Togoland themselves, who had voted by a large majority against the maintenance of the trusteeship. France was not suggesting the adoption of measures which it felt would serve its own interest; it was responding to the urgent desires of the legitimate Government and the people of the Togoland State. Those people would be unable to understand a refusal to allow them to achieve self-government, as provided in Article 76 of the Charter, and would interpret such a refusal as a violation of the right of peoples to self-determination.

29. He appealed to the members of the Committee to consider the facts dispassionately and to cast aside out-dated ideas of colonialism and anticolonialism and of the arbitrary opposition of the so-called Administering Authorities to the so-called non-administering Powers. The problem to be settled was a human problem. The resolution to be adopted would affect human beings who had faith in the impartiality of the United Nations and would influence the future of a people. To a certain extent the prestige and influence of the United Nations were at stake when a decision was to be taken on so serious a subject.

30. He felt sure that the members of the Committee must have been impressed by the statement made by Mr. Ajavon at the previous meeting and that made in the Trusteeship Council by Mr. Apedo-Amah. He knew also from past experience that the petitioners who were to be heard were men of ability. That fact was the best illustration of the capacity of the Togoland

leaders and the clearest evidence that the time had come when the guardian could no longer claim authority over his former ward.

#### HEARING OF PETITIONERS

At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Anani Ignacio Santos, representative of the *Mouvement de la jeunesse togolaise* (Juvento), Mr. Alexandre John Ohin and Mr. André Akakpo, representatives of the *Mouvement populaire togolais*, and Mr. Sylvanus Olympio, representative of the All-Ewe Conference, took places at the Committee table.

31. Mr. SANTOS (Juvento) said that the United Nations Commission on Togoland had accomplished its task in a spirit of goodwill and had shown unflinching good judgement and tact. Its report, which was judicious in its analyses, pertinent in its conclusions and wise in its suggestions, had led to a resolution, adopted 19 September 1957, in which the Trusteeship Council had asked the General Assembly to "set in motion an appropriate procedure for the early attainment of the final objective of the Trusteeship System".

32. Although the Commission had been established at the invitation of the French Government, the latter appeared reluctant to accept its conclusions. It might therefore be useful to review the events that had led to the present situation. After the prolonged resistance of the French Government to any solution for Togoland under French administration comparable to that adopted by Togoland under British administration, the sudden advent of the *loi-cadre* in June 1956, followed by a statute for political autonomy, had come as an unexpected relief. That relief had soon turned to disquiet, however, when the Administering Authority had held a referendum with a view to terminating the Trusteeship Agreement and incorporating the Territory into the French Union. The United Nations had then been asked to confirm the *fait accompli*. Barely seven months after the referendum, the measure of autonomy granted had been slightly increased by the Decree of 22 March 1957, the object of which was to induce the United Nations to agree to the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement.

33. In order to view the problem of the future of Togoland realistically, with any hope of reaching a satisfactory solution, the following points must be borne in mind: the background to the present situation; the intentions of the French Government; the attitude of the United Nations; the reaction of the Togoland; and the opinion of Africa as a whole.

34. With regard to the first, numerous events bore witness to the strong movement towards political development on the part of dependent peoples. The aspirations behind that movement had finally found full expression in the Asian-African Conference held at Bandung. The Africans were acutely aware of the turn events were taking, for the message of Bandung had reached them and, while awaiting their freedom, they believed only in the right of peoples to self-determination.

35. The second question concerned French colonial policy. Long-term trends in that policy had, typically enough, been directed towards stemming the great tidal wave of independence, against which France had provisionally erected two dams. The first was in the shape of restricted suffrage. Although the French Constitu-

tion in principle recognized the right of all nationals of its overseas territories to vote, it had for the first ten years limited that right to what it called the political élite, who succeeded in gaining full control of elections thanks to the total ignorance of electoral procedures in which the electors were kept. The first elections had thus brought into being a so-called higher body of colonial public officials, known to the Togoland as the assembly of sheep, but to the French Government as *interlocuteurs valables*. By way of rewarding them and strengthening their position, the French conferred on those officials most of the privileges hitherto reserved to their masters, in some cases even granting them the same national status. At the end of ten years, during which this élite had advanced so far beyond the rest of the population that universal suffrage no longer presented any danger, the second dam, in the form of the *loi-cadre*, had been erected.

36. While officially recognizing the right of its overseas peoples to manage their own affairs, France actually limited that right to a mere participation in public affairs, which it called internal autonomy. It thus substituted interdependence for the right to independence, while affecting to satisfy the aspirations of those peoples. That ingenious system, which consisted in using the *interlocuteurs valables* as a convenient question-and-answer mechanism, had been called the ventriloquist policy.

37. Happily, however—to come to the third point—some measure of encouragement was to be seen in the attitude adopted by the United Nations. Apart from the series of resolutions passed by the General Assembly with regard to the future of Togoland under French administration, the debates in the Fourth Committee at the eleventh session had been particularly reassuring. Those debates had been summed up by the United States representative in five points: namely, that complete autonomy had not yet been achieved in Togoland; that consequently the Trusteeship Agreement could not yet be terminated; that a certain amount of progress had been achieved in the Territory; that the General Assembly should send a special commission to assess the progress achieved; and that in the light of that commission's report the General Assembly would be able, at its twelfth session, to determine the steps to be taken. The representative of the Philippines had added a sixth point: that true democracy should be achieved as soon as possible by means of general elections by universal suffrage. Those conclusions had been embodied in resolution 1046 (XI). The people of Togoland firmly believed that the United Nations would no longer accept the evasive policy of the French Government and intended to enlist its co-operation in seeking a solution to the question of Togoland.

38. While the United Nations on the one hand and the French Government on the other were considering Togoland's future, the people of that Territory were not remaining inactive. Encouraged by the attitude of the United Nations the opposition parties had intended to collaborate in the application of the new Statute but had been frustrated by the disastrous policy deliberately pursued by the Togoland Government. Not satisfied with allocating to themselves salaries far beyond the means of the budget, the members of the Government had monopolized the credit funds which were intended to help small holders and landowners.



Moreover, they indulged in personal luxuries which the budget could ill afford. The Government had itself admitted that the financial situation was alarming; its responsibility for that situation was clearly demonstrated by the fact that up to 1950 Togoland had enjoyed remarkable financial stability, but that since the Parti togolais du progrès (PTP) had come to power the budgetary deficit had been so great as to require financial reliance on France, which had openly encouraged that policy of bankruptcy by means of subsidies and promises of loans.

39. In answer to the question whether the Territory's new political autonomy had meant greater freedom for the people, he need only point out that the expenditure for security and police had been increased from 119,933,000 francs CFA under the former régime to 182,246,000 francs under the autonomous Government, while the special security fund had risen from 1,250,000 francs CFA to 8,500,000. Political repression had caused a number of deaths at Mango and Lama-Kara. Pending the promulgation of an emergency security law at present under study, the purpose of which was to stamp out all opposition to the régime, anyone who dared express the slightest criticism of the Government was arraigned before the repressive courts of the régime.

40. The result had been an ever-increasing opposition to the Legislative Assembly, culminating in the strike declared by the Union des syndicats confédérés du Togo on 26 and 27 June 1957. When the Minister of Finance of the Autonomous Republic had told the Trusteeship Council at its seventh special session that the strike was the only serious incident which had occurred he had been seeking to minimize its importance by concealing its causes. The statement the representatives of the Union had made to the United Nations Commission concerning the economic crisis in the Territory, the unfavourable situation of the workers and their demand for the election of a new Legislative Assembly<sup>3/</sup> more accurately reflected the views of the great majority of Togoland. The people of the Territory, who for ten years had gone to the polls whenever the Administering Authority had seen fit to organize an election, were now for the first time asking for an election on their own account. Yet the Togoland Government and the Legislative Assembly alike were adamantly refusing to accede to that request. The Minister of Finance of the Autonomous Republic had told the Trusteeship Council that the question of holding elections to the Assembly in advance of the scheduled date must be considered in the light of the task with which the Assembly had been entrusted and the extent to which it had carried it out. That was true but under a democratic régime it would surely be for the people themselves to judge whether that task had been accomplished.

41. With regard to the question of independence, the direction taken by the views of the party in power concerning the future relationship between the Territory and France, as expressed in the statement to the United Nations Commission by the PTP Chairman reproduced in annex II (sec. I) of the Commission's report, was noteworthy: he had said that independence, which represented the final stage in the development of all nations, would eventually come about through a modification of the Statute when the requisite conditions

obtained and the necessary means were available; he had further recalled that Togoland had not asked to be incorporated in the French Union, as asserted in certain quarters, but had been included in it by virtue of the Constitution of the Administering Authority and that his party had then decided it was desirable to remain in the Union on a voluntary basis so long as the economic and financial situation prevented Togoland from shouldering alone the manifold burdens of a new State. That statement showed that the party in power had progressed beyond the views it had held in the past concerning relations between Togoland and France. It remained only for it to refuse to be misled any longer by the professed altruism of the colonial Powers and to realize that under-development did not justify political integration. If and when it reached that stage, independence would stand as the sole aspiration of all Togoland.ers.

42. The reaction of the dependent territories in French West Africa to the Statute of Togoland had been that the concept of autonomy was already outmoded. It was significant in that connexion that when the Minister of Finance of the French Government had decided to devalue the franc in order to restrict certain imports the Government of the Autonomous Republic had immediately passed a new law endorsing that policy whereas the majority of the Territories of French West Africa had protested against the measure.

43. The elements in the situation were four: the Administering Authority, which by a restrictive application of democratic principles was attempting to substitute a concept of internal self-government for the right of all peoples to independence, justifying that attempt by invoking the interdependence of peoples; the United Nations, which had no choice but to be guided by the principles and purposes of the Charter and the Trusteeship Agreement, regardless of the particular conditions existing in the Territory; the inhabitants of the Trust Territory, who were calling for the immediate and complete application of democratic principles; and the Trust Territory itself, whose future progress was jeopardized by the present course of events. The common denominator linking those four elements was the need to give effect to the concept of true democracy, which was not only the immediate goal of the people of Togoland but also the corner stone of both the United Nations and the Constitution of the French Republic. There was only one way to give effect to that concept, namely, to permit the people themselves, in full knowledge of the facts, to choose their own leaders and representatives by means of elections. The "appropriate procedure" called for by the Trusteeship Council should therefore be to organize immediate free elections in the Trust Territory. If the Administering Authority, the autonomous Government and the people of the Territory as a whole could forget their partisan interests and co-operate in such an election it could then be truly said that Togoland was a country which had been liberated by France. Such elections would of necessity be carried out in difficult conditions, not the least of which would be the semi-colonial transitional régime under which the Territory would continue to live for a certain length of time. Periods of transition were never easy and for that reason Togoland would continue to need the guidance and counsel of both France and the United Nations until order and confidence had been established.

<sup>3/</sup> See A/3677, annex I, sec. 1.

44. Mr. OHIN (Mouvement populaire togolais) said that he had returned to his native Togoland during the previous summer, after nearly five years abroad, with a feeling of pride that his country had been granted what he had understood at the time to be a very liberal Statute. Upon his arrival, however, he had been disappointed to find an atmosphere of tension. After attending a number of political meetings and discussing the situation objectively with old friends, regardless of their particular political allegiance, he had come to the conclusion that intimidation, persecution and arbitrary rule had stirred up political passions throughout the Territory. The reaction manifested by the people of the North was a warning that hate and rebellion might spread throughout the entire Territory before long.

45. As one who had spent a number of years in the North, he felt that he was in a position to speak with authority about developments in that part of the country. The Union des chefs et des populations du Nord-Togo had come into being at a time when the Administering Authority had begun to realize that the nationalist movement was infiltrating to the smallest villages while the policy of the pro-Administration party had made no impression in the area. In order to curb the desire of the masses for freedom recourse had been had to the stratagem of persuading the peaceful people of the North that the people of the South aspired to take the place of the Administering Authority with the purpose of exploiting and dominating them. Thus the seeds of hatred had been sown and the flames of tribal hostility fanned by the very Power whose responsibility it was to inculcate in the indigenous inhabitants modern concepts of society. As there had been some who expressed a certain scepticism with regard to the supposed spectre of domination of the North by the South, adherence to the Union des chefs et des populations du Nord-Togo had been tacitly imposed on all chiefs who wished to retain any of their natural prerogatives. Thus the traditional chiefs who had worthily represented the African communities in the past had gradually been replaced by timid servants of the régime. The result was that after several decades of exposure to Western civilization the indigenous inhabitants were being forced to return to the tribalism of their ancestors. The people were, however, gradually beginning to realize that they were being deceived. The sanguinary incidents at Mango and Lama-Kara in June 1957 were sacrifices which only a desperate people would be willing to make.

46. The new Statute of Togoland was certainly an improvement on the old French colonial system but to those who thought that it offered the possibility of good government it could only be replied that the best government was no substitute for self-government. The ready-made Autonomous Republic of Togoland had been imposed, despite the negative vote of the Trusteeship Council and the will of the real majority of the indigenous inhabitants, precisely because it was the intention of the Administering Authority that they should not be allowed to establish a republic in the true sense of the word. Much had been made of what the President of the Legislative Assembly of Togoland called the Togolization of the cadres. That policy, however, was nothing but a cover for granting sine-

cures to those who cared more for their personal gain than for the interests of the country and were willing to take orders from the Government without questioning them. At the same time competent officials who had had the courage to express their views had been dismissed for no valid reason. Doctors, midwives, teachers and clerical personnel who had formerly belonged to the ranks of the Territory's élite had been transferred to colonies in French West Africa.

47. It would doubtless be asked why the opposition had refused to take part in the Government. The answer was simple. No true patriot could accept a post under a government whose deputies represented, not the majority of the people, but a minority upheld by a régime of intimidation, persecution and electoral fraud. The way in which elections were conducted in Togoland was illustrated by the fact that in the most recent election for a Togoland Deputy to the French National Assembly, the Government candidate had won all the votes cast. That result, which would be questioned in any truly democratic country, was pointed to with pride by the régime in Togoland. The people of the Territory had lost confidence in any elections under the present régime, for they were all too familiar with the autonomous Government's interpretation of the concept of universal suffrage.

48. The question was not one of being pro- or anti-French, or even pro- or anti-colonialist: the question was whether a people which had reached maturity had the right to manage their own affairs, both domestic and foreign, and to give free expression to their views without fear of brutal oppression. It was the duty of the United Nations to safeguard the principles of democracy and to see that they were applied equitably to all. For that reason the inhabitants of Togoland urged that the next election in the Territory should be a plebiscite conducted under the effective sponsorship of the United Nations. If that were done it would be seen that the great majority of the population agreed with the Mouvement populaire togolais that trusteeship under the United Nations constituted the only means of attaining true independence and did not wish to see the Trusteeship Agreement terminated until that goal had been attained.

49. Mr. OSMAN (Egypt) requested that the full text of the petitioners' statements should be circulated.

It was so decided.

50. Mr. KADRY (Iraq) requested that the full text of the French representative's statement should be circulated.

It was so decided.

51. The CHAIRMAN proposed that the French representative's statement should be circulated as an official document and that the petitioners' statements should be made available to members of the Committee in the usual manner.

It was so decided.<sup>4/</sup>

The meeting rose at 5 p.m.

<sup>4/</sup> The complete text of the statement made by the representative of France was subsequently circulated as document A/C.4/371.