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Chairman: Mr. Rafik ASHA (Syria).

AGENDA ITEM 13

Report of the Trusteeship Council (A/2680, A/C.4/L.382) (*concluded*)

DRAFT REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE

1. Mr. BOZOVIC (Yugoslavia), Rapporteur, presented the Fourth Committee's draft report (A/C.4/L.382) on the report of the Trusteeship Council (A/2680).

2. Mr. LOOMES (Australia) proposed that the words "the respective parties to each bilateral negotiation" in the first paragraph of the preamble of draft resolution B should be replaced by the words "the parties to such bilateral negotiations".

In the absence of any objection it was so decided.

3. The CHAIRMAN proposed that, if there were no objections, the draft report should be taken as adopted.

It was so decided.

4. Mr. ARENALES (Guatemala) proposed that, to save time, the report should not be submitted to the General Assembly until the report on the two Togoland questions now before the Committee could be submitted with it.

5. The CHAIRMAN agreed with that suggestion.

AGENDA ITEMS 35 AND 52

The Togoland unification problem: special report of the Trusteeship Council (A/2669, A/C.4/L.370) (*continued*)

The future of the Trust Territory of Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship (A/2660, A/C.4/L.370) (*continued*)

At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Sylvanus Olympio, representative of the All-Ewe Conference, Mr. J. K. Mensah, representative of the Buem-Krachi District Council, Mr. S. T. Fleku and Mr. S. W. Kumah, representatives of the Convention People's

Party, Mr. J. H. Allasani and Mr. Mahama Bukhari, representatives of the Dagomba District Council, Mr. Idana Asigri, representative of the Mamprusi District Council, Mr. Anani Ignacio Santos, representative of the Movement de la jeunesse togolaise, Mr. S. Aquerburu, representative of the Mouvement populaire togolais, Nana Akompi Firam III, representative of the Natural Rulers of the Buem-Krachi District, Mr. Frédéric Brenner, representative of the Parti togolais du progrès, Mr. S. G. Antor, representative of the Togoland Congress, Mr. A. K. Odame, representative of the Togoland Congress (Buem-Krachi Branch) and Mr. Mama Foussemi, representative of the Union des chefs et des populations du Nord, took places at the Committee table.

GENERAL DEBATE (*continued*)

6. The CHAIRMAN proposed that amendments to the Indian draft resolution (A/C.4/L.370) should be submitted by 1 p.m. on Thursday, 9 December, on the understanding that oral amendments would be permissible after that time-limit had expired.

It was so decided.

7. Mr. DORSINVILLE (Haiti) first observed that the Haitian delegation had always taken a consistent interest in the problems which the Fourth Committee was now discussing.

8. Briefly reviewing the history of Togoland, he pointed out that, after being placed under German protection in 1884 the Territory had been divided into two parts under the Treaty of Versailles, and had been placed under the Mandates System. After the Second World War it had been placed under the Trusteeship System and was at present administered by two countries, the United Kingdom and France. The Togolander had, thus, in a sense, become a man of two worlds, though in reality belonging to neither.

9. As could be readily imagined, that arrangement had resulted in an appalling upheaval in the family life and social structure of the country, the dislocation of the economic life of the people and political instability in a country formerly possessing its own civilization and customs. The Togoland had been partitioned and placed under two different, indeed completely opposed, administrative and political systems. An artificial frontier had been drawn which prevented the free movement of people and goods.

10. Despite those trials, however, the people had preserved their ancient beliefs and, to some extent, their customs. The partition of Togoland, with all its unhappy consequences, had awakened Ewe-Togoland nationalism. Observing the success with which the Ashantis, Gas, Ewes and Hausas of the Gold Coast had united to form a single political unit, the peoples of Togoland felt they must follow that example in

order to achieve their common ends. The Togolanders believed that they must solve their problems themselves and be the masters of their own fate. Hitherto, the Ewe-Togoland nationalist movement had exercised moderation and restraint; unless, however, the question of the unification of the two Togolands was given serious consideration by both the Administering Authorities and the United Nations, a deterioration in the situation could not be prevented indefinitely.

11. In some quarters, nationalism was regarded as an evil emotion. In reality, however, its roots did not lie in resentment alone, but also in noble aspirations, and peoples who claimed their self-government and independence were claiming a right which, in the second half of the twentieth century, was still as honourable and indisputable as it had been in the days when the administering Powers had forged their own national identity.

12. Several solutions to the Togoland problem were proposed. The first solution, which the United Kingdom Government appeared to favour and for which it had quite naturally sought the support of the ruling circles of the future free State of the Gold Coast, was the integration of Togoland under British administration in the Gold Coast. If that solution was adopted, the Trusteeship Agreement providing for the administration of the Territory as an integral part of the Gold Coast would have to be amended or, preferably, terminated. As in its economic, social and cultural development Togoland under British administration had reached the level of the Gold Coast, it would be natural, it was argued, that the Territory should be incorporated in the Gold Coast, when the latter became independent, and thus attain self-government.

13. It was difficult for the Haitian delegation to accept that argument. In its view, the Territory of Togoland could perfectly well remain under United Kingdom trusteeship as a unit separate from the Gold Coast. The United Kingdom would probably have had an easier task if, instead of applying the system of administrative union to the letter, it had established the necessary public services in the Trust Territory so that the Territory could now have been administered separately. The Administering Authorities had always maintained that administrative unions entailed no risk of eventual political union. It would be difficult to accept that contention in future.

14. Furthermore, the Haitian delegation was concerned at the emergence in the Gold Coast of a will to power which led that country to contemplate the assumption of so heavy a responsibility. The burden that the United Kingdom Government, which was infinitely better equipped, wished to lay down appeared to awaken inordinate pride in the Gold Coast. He wondered whether the Gold Coast intended to invoke Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter when it became a Member of the United Nations.

15. The second solution, which had the support of a large proportion of the populations concerned, was the unification of the two Togolands, which would then be able to join the French Union.

16. The third solution, which had supporters in both parts of the Territory, was unification and independence with the possibility of federation with other independent States at a later stage.

17. The Haitian delegation sincerely believed that integration would lead to complications and would be

too heavy a burden for the Gold Coast. While the French representative had admittedly stated that his Government did not at present contemplate the annexation of Togoland under French administration, the future was another matter. Once the integration of Togoland under British administration in the Gold Coast became an accomplished fact, there was no certainty that, later on, a different French Government would not seek to induce the other part of Togoland to join the French Union, by offering it self-government. In the Haitian delegation's view, the elimination of Togoland under British administration would herald the end of Togoland as a whole and also that of the International Trusteeship System, the purposes of which would have been betrayed.

18. The Togolanders did not fully understand their country's position, because they had never been allowed to discuss it freely. It was not surprising that two members of the same family living on opposite sides of a frontier should become strangers to each other. There had never been the slightest encouragement of any contact between them. No attempt had ever been made to reconcile the political, economic, social and cultural policies applied in the two Territories.

19. The inevitable result of the integration of Togoland under British administration in the Gold Coast would be to strengthen the frontier between Togoland under French administration and the Gold Coast and to increase the isolation of the Ewes, Krachis, Buems and Akans from their brothers. The support given by a section of the people of Togoland under British administration to the idea of integration in the Gold Coast was a clear proof of their desire for independence, but they were perhaps unaware of the real motives of the encouragement they received.

20. The supporters of the unification of the two Togolands were motivated by the desire to develop a national community with its own characteristics and its own economic and social structure, constituting a nation possessing all a nation's political prerogatives. The idea of a unified Togoland had taken root in the mind of the younger generation. Paragraph 400 of the report (T/1105) of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa, 1952, was relevant in that connexion. While Togoland's disappearance would be a tragedy for the peoples of West Africa, its unification and attainment of independence could be of immense benefit to that whole area of Africa.

21. If a satisfactory solution of the Togoland problem was sought, a start should be made by eliminating the artificial frontier which at present divided Togoland into two, followed by the establishment of a representative indigenous government, the members of which were elected directly by universal suffrage. A government council composed of representatives of the people should take steps for the immediate reorganization of the Territory, to ensure respect for personal freedom, to raise the standard of living, to abolish all existing social injustices, and so on.

22. Some difficulties would doubtless be encountered. For example, minorities in the interior might fear domination, while others might claim that the diversity of languages and cultures was an insuperable barrier to unification. But a nation was not founded on language, religion or race alone but also on the desire for a common life, strengthened in the course of time by the sharing of good fortune and adversity. All the

difficulties which had been used as arguments against unification could be overcome. The Togolandians would learn from their own mistakes, would gradually gain experience, and would ultimately establish a satisfactory form of government.

23. The Haitian delegation was unable to vote for the Indian draft resolution in its present form (A/C.4/L.370). That proposal dealt with only one aspect of the question, namely the integration of Togoland under British administration in the Gold Coast. The Togoland unification problem, which had hitherto held a prominent position in the Committee's discussions, could not be written off with a stroke of the pen. An attempt might have been made to solve it by re-establishing the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs, but it appeared that all hope of such action must be abandoned.

24. The Haitian delegation felt that, if the United Kingdom declined to continue the administration of the Trust Territory, the United Nations should not hesitate to assume direct responsibility for promoting the development of the unified Territory towards self-government and independence in accordance with the Charter.

25. Mr. KHALIDY (Iraq) thought that the important thing at the present juncture was to ascertain the wishes of the population of Togoland under British administration as to the Territory's future. The question on which their views should be ascertained was somewhat complex, two main issues being involved: the unification of the Ewes and the unification of the two parts of Togoland.

26. The Administering Authority in Togoland under British administration had presented its views very ably and in complete good faith. The petitioners for their part had taken the trouble to come to New York and had stated their cases with an eloquence and sincerity, for which they should be thanked.

27. While the Ewe movement was undeniably alive and powerful, it was also undeniable that part of the population of Togoland was in favour of unification of the two Togolands. The Ewe unification movement, which had been most powerful in the south of Togoland, recently seemed to have lost some of its force. There were two reasons for that.

28. The Ewe chiefs had no doubt realized that the *status quo* could not be altered, owing to the fact that the two parts of Togoland were under different Administrations with fundamentally different philosophies and methods. In the light of the experience he had gained both during a visit to the two Territories and at sessions of the Trusteeship Council and the Fourth Committee, he could not foresee any voluntary change of status in Togoland under French administration such as would satisfy the nationalist aspirations of either the Ewe unification movement or the Togoland unification movement. If the French Administration would declare its willingness to effect a change in the *status quo* in French Togoland in one direction or another, the problem would assume a totally different aspect. But, although the United Nations had been studying the problem for several years, it had not succeeded in settling it. The Iraqi delegation regretted that the Ewe unification movement had been unable to achieve its aims. Both in the Trusteeship Council and in the General Assembly, the Iraqi delegation had always upheld the cause of the Ewes, but its

efforts had been in vain. Even the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs, a weak and inadequate means of satisfying the Ewe aspirations, had not been reconstituted, and it was very unlikely that it would be. In short, there had been no solution, because it had been impossible to change the *status quo* in Togoland under French administration. That was the first reason why the strength of the Ewe unification movement had waned.

29. The second reason was of a more positive and encouraging nature. For several years, the constitutional reforms in the Gold Coast had been proceeding steadily and leading to happy results. The whole world was aware of that great achievement and the Iraqi delegation took pleasure in commending the policy which had led to that result. For the first time in colonial history, an African nation south of the Sahara was achieving independence after having been a colony. The Iraqi delegation wished to congratulate the United Kingdom on the example it had set and the people of the Gold Coast for the efforts it had made to achieve independence. It hoped that those examples would be followed. The emancipation of the Gold Coast had radically changed the situation of Togoland. The beacon of independence in Accra had shown the surrounding peoples the way. It was not surprising therefore that many who had believed in Ewe or Togoland unification were now attracted by the idea of integration with a thriving, progressive and independent State. For them, the question was whether it was better for the population of Togoland under British administration to remain isolated and weak under trusteeship, with no hope of satisfying its desire for unification, or to ally itself with a large body of their own people and be independent. There were 450,000 Ewes in the southern part of the Gold Coast, around Accra, and integration would be justified on ethnic grounds alone. It was true that the Gold Coast Ewes were perhaps the most advanced of all the Ewe people, and the Ewes of Togoland might therefore have some fear of being dominated by a much more developed group. But such a situation was inevitable in any unification, and, when all was said and done, the Gold Coast Ewes were bound to contribute to the advancement of their fellow Ewes.

30. The first duty of the United Nations was to see to it that the Trust Territories achieved self-government in the shortest possible time. That being so, he wondered what solutions it could propose for Togoland under British administration.

31. One possible solution was the maintenance of the *status quo*; but that should be accepted only in the absence of a better prospect. Another was to provide independence for Togoland under British administration within its present frontiers. While perhaps attractive, that solution would not satisfy the aspirations of any movement in Togoland. Moreover, it was questionable whether such a State would be politically and economically viable.

32. The third solution open to the people of the Trust Territory was integration with the Gold Coast. If they accepted it, the people of Togoland could not, for the time being, be united with the Ewes of Togoland under French administration, but such a union appeared to be out of the question at the present time in any case. On the other hand, integration with the Gold Coast would present considerable advantages. The people of

southern Togoland would be united with 450,000 Ewes and the people of the north with a more homogeneous population in the northern part of the Gold Coast. They would benefit economically, financially, socially and educationally from the services of a rich and thriving State. Above all, the people of Togoland would obtain the greatest advantage of all, independence. That would be a fine example and precedent. In that connexion, he commended the statement made in the Fourth Committee (449th meeting) by Mr. Hopkinson, a member of the United Kingdom delegation.

33. In all fairness, therefore, the United Nations should proceed to ascertain the wishes of the people of Togoland under British administration. It was the Togolandese themselves who must decide their future. The Iraqi delegation would vote for the draft resolution of the delegation of India (A/C.4/L.370).

34. Mr. LOOMES (Australia) said that, although he would deal with both the agenda items under discussion, he would speak in greater detail on the future of Togoland under British administration. The question was important since, as the Indian delegation had rightly pointed out, it was the first time that the possibility of terminating a Trusteeship Agreement had arisen.

35. The Australian delegation had followed the development of the Trust Territory with interest, and its steady advancement under the wise guidance of the United Kingdom. The administration of the Territory as an integral part of the Gold Coast had certainly aided and hastened its development. His delegation noted that the peoples of the Territory had attained a degree of development similar to that of the Gold Coast, which was on the point of achieving self-government.

36. It wished to congratulate the United Kingdom Government on the clear and comprehensive manner in which it had formulated its views, both in its memorandum (A/2660) and in the statements made by its representatives in the Committee, particularly by Mr. Gbedemah, Finance Minister of the Gold Coast (459th meeting). The United Kingdom had suggested that, if a majority of Togolandese under British administration were convinced that their interests were best served by the integration of the Territory with the Gold Coast, that was the factor which must be given the greatest weight in determining their future. That idea was both logical and in complete accordance with the provisions of the Charter. Despite the fact that solutions other than unification or integration were possible, the Australian delegation was of the opinion that the first requirement was to ascertain whether it was desirable for the Trust Territory to be integrated with the Gold Coast when that colony attained self-government. The United Kingdom memorandum and the statements of some petitioners seemed to provide a *prima facie* case for integration. There were of course views to the contrary and they must not be ignored, but it was the population of the Territory whom the opposing parties must convince. The General Assembly should not and could not choose between their respective programmes.

37. In so important a matter, affecting as it did the destiny of a Territory's population, decisions should not be taken hastily. They must be based on the views of the Administering Authority; on conditions in the Territory such as situation, geographical features and

tribal distribution; and above all on the wishes of the population expressed by democratic methods and with a full knowledge of the facts.

38. In any event, the Australian delegation considered that it would be premature to embark on a detailed study of the substance of the question and of the arguments which had been put forward. The important thing was to decide on a procedure which would enable the General Assembly to come to a realistic conclusion and keep an open mind. The recent elections of members of the Gold Coast Legislative Assembly should not be regarded as decisive; they merely revealed a trend of public opinion, which should be borne in mind in working out methods of ensuring the clear presentation to the people of the issues involved.

39. He recognized the force of the arguments of the petitioners who were in favour of unification, but he was also impressed by the views of the Parti togolais du progrès and the Union des chefs et des populations du Nord and a number of other petitioners. He recalled the view expressed by the 1952 Visiting Mission that there was not wide enough support for any particular form of unification as to warrant alteration of the existing administrative arrangements in the two Territories (T/1105, para. 422). The testimony given before the Committee did not prove that there had been any radical change in the situation. He therefore thought that during the present session no decision should be taken implying acceptance of the principle that unification was a clear issue which must override integration. It would be a matter for regret if the problematical existence of other possibilities were to halt the progress of Togoland under British administration towards self-government and independence, which were the objectives of the Trusteeship System.

40. Some petitioners had thought that the people of Togoland under French administration should be called upon to express their views not only on unification but also on the integration of Togoland under British administration with the Gold Coast. It was reasonable to inquire to what extent a question which was of direct concern only to Togoland under British administration could interest Togoland under French administration. His delegation felt that the solution of the problem lay in the opinions of the people of Togoland under British administration. If they desired integration with the Gold Coast, it would be clear that they did not desire unification of the two Togolands, and whatever might be the aspirations of the majority of Togolandese under French administration, they could not impose the solution of unification on Togoland under British administration.

41. He was not expressing a final opinion, since it was necessary to await further information, particularly the opinion of the next visiting mission. He thought that at its next session the Assembly, which would then have the reports of the Trusteeship Council and the visiting mission, would be able to express its views on the best methods of ascertaining the wishes of the people.

42. He reserved the right to speak later on the draft resolution (A/C.4/L.370) and on any amendments which might be submitted to it.

43. Mr. RIFAI (Syria) felt that the question was extremely complicated and that it was difficult for

any delegation to make a correct appraisal of the situation and take a correct decision.

44. Normally, a Trust Territory should lose that status only to become an independent State, as the Trusteeship System provided. The question of constitutional organization, which could be decided only by the population, would come later. His delegation would have preferred that all Trust Territories should follow that pattern of development, which was the only one which accorded with the Charter, but there seemed to be several factors militating against such a procedure in the present case. His delegation therefore thought that other means must be found to take into account the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned. It concurred in the United Kingdom statement that the General Assembly should ascertain the wishes of the people by appropriate means (A/2660, para. 50). He also welcomed the Indian draft resolution (A/C.4/L.370).

45. There was undoubtedly a movement for unification in the two Trust Territories; nor could it be denied that part of the population of Togoland under British administration desired the integration of the Territory with the Gold Coast. Those two movements did not seem to be mutually exclusive. In fact, the petitioners who favoured unification had not made any objection to an association of some kind between the Gold Coast and Togoland. If they differed with the advocates of immediate integration it was because they feared that integration would mean the eventual loss of Togoland under French administration to the French Union. The Indian representative had dispelled their fears at the 460th meeting and had pointed out that Togoland under French administration was a Trust Territory and its fate could not therefore be decided otherwise than in accordance with the accepted principles of the Trusteeship System. The French representative had stated that his country had no intention whatever of annexing Togoland under French administration to Dahomey. It would therefore be unwise to refuse independence to the inhabitants of a Trust Territory merely because their kinsmen in a Territory under a different administration had not yet attained a similar status. He thought that the achievement of independence by Togoland under British administration would only bring closer the day when Togoland under French administration would enjoy similar status. The French Government would certainly do its utmost to bring the period of tutelage over the Territory to a speedy and happy end. Then the people of the Territory which had been under French administration would be able to exercise their free will as to the kind of association they desired with the former Togoland under British administration and the Gold Coast, or any other territory.

46. He thought it premature to give any opinion on the various factors involved. The facts must be studied on the spot, and in the light of the results of a plebiscite in the Territory under British administration or in the two Territories, the Assembly could decide how the Trusteeship Agreement for Togoland under British administration could be amended or whether it should be terminated. Naturally, the results would largely depend on the atmosphere in which the consultations to determine the wishes of the populations concerned were conducted. It was important to ensure that those wishes could be expressed in complete freedom.

47. Mr. CARDIN (Canada) noted that the Togoland question had first been raised in the United Nations in 1947 as a result of a request of the All-Ewe Conference for the unification of all the Ewes residing astride the southern Gold Coast and the southern part of Togoland (T/PET.6/5—T/PET.7/6). Since that time, other political groups had made their views on the matter known to the United Nations, and the idea, held until recently, that views in Togoland were generally in favour of a particular form of unification was now far from correct. At most, the petitioners' statements which the Committee had just heard served to explain the results of the consultations which the Administering Authorities had held regarding the re-establishment of the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs. However, during the seven years in which the United Nations had been trying to solve a problem which appeared to exist only at a regional level, political developments of a most important nature had been taking place in Togoland under British administration. In particular, recent negotiations between the United Kingdom Government and the Gold Coast had resulted in the coming into effect of a new Constitution whereby the Gold Coast had achieved great progress towards self-government, whilst Togoland under British administration, which was for administrative purposes an integral part of the Gold Coast, had progressed at the same rate.

48. For the first time since the inception of the Trusteeship System, the inhabitants of a Territory were about to attain the objectives stated in Article 76 of the Charter. In view of the events that had taken place, the United Kingdom Government had declared that it would no longer be possible for it, as the Administering Authority, to administer the Territory in accordance with articles 2, 4 and 5 of the Trusteeship Agreement. It had therefore invited the General Assembly, as a principal party to the Trusteeship Agreement, to ascertain, in pursuance of Article 76 of the Charter, the views of the inhabitants of the Trust Territory on the future of the Territory. To place any further insistence on the particular question of the unification of Togoland would therefore be to prejudge the issue. For similar reasons, his delegation felt that it ought not for the present to express any definite views on the political and administrative reorganization of Togoland under French administration. Nevertheless, he recognized that the Act passed by the French National Assembly on 3 November marked an important stage in participation by the Togoland in the management of their own affairs.

49. His delegation noted the results of the first general elections in the Gold Coast and Togoland under British administration, but agreed with the United Kingdom representative that though the results seemed to indicate that there was at present a clear majority in Togoland under British administration in favour of integration with the Gold Coast, that expression of public opinion should not be allowed to prejudice the issue. As the United Kingdom representative had clearly pointed out in his statement at the 449th meeting, the population should be allowed to decide its own future after mature reflection and in whatever manner might be deemed best suited for the purpose. His delegation endorsed that proposal, to which the Indian draft resolution (A/C.4/L.370) sought to give effect. His delegation would support the draft resolution.

tion since, as the Administering Authority had suggested, it provided for the Assembly to request the Trusteeship Council to consider and formulate arrangements for consulting the inhabitants of that part of Togoland in 1956, thereby giving its inhabitants sufficient time for a thorough study of the problems on which their fate depended and affording also to the General Assembly, which would receive the Trusteeship Council's report, an opportunity of examining the report of the 1955 visiting mission in the meantime.

50. Within the limits of its terms of reference, the Committee should take such steps as might hasten the progress of the Trust Territories towards self-government and independence. It would be a matter of regret, however, if in its desire to do so the Committee did not take the fullest account of the legitimate aspirations of the people.

51. Miss BROOKS (Liberia) said it had been an interesting experience to hear the petitioners' statements and replies. Her delegation regretted that there had been friction among the petitioners, but thought that such difficulties were merely the aftermath of the colonial system. It had, however, in no way been confused by the manner in which the petitioners had presented and supported their requests for unification or integration.

52. She pointed out that one of the fears expressed by her delegation in its statement at the 444th meeting on the report of the Trusteeship Council had been shown to be justified. It had received proof that when two Territories were administered together and one was subordinated to another in preference to considering the future of both as independent entities, the inhabitants of the Territory which was subordinated became doubtful as to the possibility of successfully leading an independent existence if separation of the two were envisaged.

53. In the second place, her delegation saw the situation clearly because it had borne in mind the fact that the agenda called for a study of the Togoland unification problem. In taking up that problem, it had felt that the interest of the inhabitants of both Territories was paramount and that the United Nations Charter would serve as a yardstick in any efforts made to safeguard those interests.

54. In the third place, the fact that the petitioners advocating unification had not reached agreement as to the manner of its implementation should not create a serious problem. When several persons met together, it was natural they should not all be of the same opinion. In any event, the Committee was not at the present stage determining whether or not there should be unification or integration, but the way of ascertaining the will of the inhabitants of the Trust Territories of Togoland.

55. Some petitioners enjoyed the privileges and benefits of being French citizens; they could not be blamed, if they felt unable to support the idea of an independent Togoland State outside the French Union. Other Togolandians had perhaps not enjoyed similar privileges or did not believe that independence within the French Union or within the British Commonwealth of Nations was that envisaged by the Charter; it was their right to say so and to defend their viewpoint strongly. It would also be natural if the Administering Authorities were to feel that, after long years of effort in the Territories, they would prefer to see

those Territories liberated within the Commonwealth on the one hand and the French Union on the other. However that might be, the Committee's chief concern for the present should be to study methods of ascertaining the true wishes of the population.

56. Her delegation was pleased to note that the petitioners had made it obvious that Africans only needed an opportunity to prove themselves. The petitioners had shown themselves to be no less capable than the representatives in the Fourth Committee.

57. She was glad to see that, while advocating integration of the Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration with the Gold Coast, India conceded the point that the will of the inhabitants must prevail. It also conceded that the Togoland Territories were Trust and not colonial Territories and the Administering Authorities could not, therefore, be considering the possibility of annexing them to adjoining territories. But she did not understand why there should be a fear of presenting to the people the question of a choice between unification or integration. She hoped that if the Indian draft resolution was adopted, it would give an opportunity for such a choice, and that the Trusteeship Council and the visiting mission would also consider the question of unification and would report on it to the next session of the General Assembly.

58. She wished to thank the United Kingdom for having brought the people of Togoland to a stage where they could take over the affairs of their Territory. She was also happy to note that France had reported political progress in Togoland under French administration. She was particularly appreciative of the desire revealed by the Gold Coast to see a territory bordering on its own become independent. She hoped, however, that the Gold Coast would not confine its gesture to colonial or Trust Territories bordering its territory but to all dependent territories in Africa and elsewhere which had not attained their independence.

59. If the Indian draft resolution was intended to cover both the Togoland unification problem and the future of the inhabitants of the Trust Territory of Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship, it had not been so stated in the text. She believed, however, that the draft resolution was a step in the right direction, and therefore her delegation must support it, as it supported any action designed to liberate any dependent territory or any part thereof, and especially as the draft resolution under consideration was concerned with the liberation of a part of Africa.

60. Mr. SCOTT (New Zealand) pointed out that the United Kingdom was the first Administering Authority which had requested the United Nations to consider the termination or amendment of a Trusteeship Agreement. That could come as no surprise in view of the political development of the Gold Coast and Togoland under British administration, or the tradition of trusteeship which had always been followed by the United Kingdom. In that connexion, he quoted a statement by Edmund Burke in 1783.

61. The fifteen petitioners who had been heard by the Committee had furnished proof of the vitality of African nationalism. They had also shown the creative role that the United Nations was called upon to play in assisting the peoples of Trust Territories to attain the goal of independence. Thanks to the endeavours of its inhabitants and of the British Adminis-

tration, the Gold Coast stood on the threshold of full self-government. With regard to the two Trust Territories of Togoland, he recalled that they had originally formed a single German colony, and had later been placed under French and British mandate; he would point out in that connexion that the boundary between the two Togolands had not been arbitrarily drawn. In 1946, both Togolands had become Trust Territories.

62. He proposed to deal primarily with the future of Togoland under British administration, which seemed to him to require priority. Since 1919, that Territory had been administered as an integral part of the Gold Coast. A high degree of cultural and social homogeneity had been established between the two countries, the southern parts of both being inhabited by the Ewe people, who spoke the same language. Since the election in June 1954, held on the basis of universal suffrage and a secret ballot, the two peoples had been represented on an equal footing in the Legislative Assembly of the Gold Coast and Togoland. The all-African Cabinet of the Gold Coast included one Togolander. He paid a tribute to the leadership of Mr. Nkrumah and his colleagues, without whose co-operation and moderation the two countries would not have progressed so rapidly towards self-government. His delegation would have wished that similar progress could have been recorded in the educational and economic field, particularly in the northern part of Togoland. The lack of education was proving a handicap in accurately ascertaining the real wishes of the indigenous inhabitants with regard to their future. Nevertheless, he appreciated the difficulties presented by the northern zone of the Territory and was confident that they would continue to receive the attention of the Administration.

63. If the affirmation of the Administering Authority that the Trusteeship Agreement should be terminated was confirmed by a substantial majority of the population of the Trust Territory, it would be highly inconsistent for the General Assembly to recommend the continuation of the Trusteeship System. The whole emphasis of the Charter and of the discussions in the United Nations had been toward the attainment of self-government by dependent territories. The New Zealand delegation for its part welcomed the statement made by the United Kingdom in relation to Togoland under British administration.

64. Commenting on the statements of the petitioners, he said that they had clearly expressed their views and his delegation had accordingly not addressed any questions to them. In that connexion, he noted that for the first time the Fourth Committee had heard petitioners who favoured integration of Togoland under British administration with the Gold Coast. He had not been surprised by that new development as at previous sessions he had taken note of written petitions in support of integration. The visiting missions had also reported that a large section of public opinion was in favour of that solution. The constitutional reforms of 1954 and the presentation of the point of view of those who favoured integration were dramatic new elements in the question of the future of Togoland under British administration. In those circumstances, the delegations which had hitherto believed that unification was the only means of settling the problem should take those new developments into account. The General Assembly should be in no great

hurry to ascertain the wishes of Togoland under British administration. While the opinion in the northern part of Togoland appeared to be solidly in favour of integration, public opinion in the south was more evenly balanced, although there appeared to be a majority in favour of integration, and it would be better if the people of Southern Togoland were allowed sufficient time to make up their mind in a more conclusive manner. Furthermore, while the issue of integration was clear cut, that of unification required a clearer definition; did it mean unification of the two Trust Territories with immediate independence, or unification under French, United Kingdom, or United Nations administration? The problem of a united Ewe-land had also been emphasized again by some petitioners. It must, lastly, be determined how far any of the proposed solutions was immediately feasible and practicable.

65. At all events, the New Zealand delegation thought that the populations concerned must decide on their own future. The Assembly should confine itself to considering methods to be followed in ascertaining the wishes of the population. He was accordingly in favour of the Indian draft resolution. The General Assembly would be in a better position to adopt procedures for ascertaining the wishes of the population at the next session, when it had received a further report from the next visiting mission.

66. He saw no reason to consult the people of Togoland under French administration as to the future of their neighbours in Togoland under British administration. No issue of integration confronted the population of Togoland under French administration at the present stage. They might well be interested in the result of the decision, but there was no justification for their participation in the decision. He thought that the statements made before the Committee constituted an argument in favour of the continuing association, in the form of a direct union, between Togoland under British administration and a free and independent Gold Coast.

67. The New Zealand delegation had noted with lively interest the detailed statement made by the representative of France (449th meeting) as to the constitutional and parliamentary reforms which had been approved for the Territorial Assembly of Togoland under French administration. That statement was further evidence of the determination of the French Government to hasten the political development of the Trust Territory.

68. Mr. RIVAS (Venezuela) wished to explain the purport of the statement he had made at the 460th meeting. He had then spoken of abstention, and some delegations had concluded that he would abstain from voting on the Indian draft resolution. He had only intended to say that his delegation would abstain from taking any initiative, as it had done in previous years, by submitting draft resolutions and amendments, and that it would abstain from expressing its opinion on the substance of the question. His comments on the Indian draft resolution had only been of a general character. He would explain at a later stage how he would vote on the draft resolution, but he could already state that his vote would follow logically from the position adopted by his delegation.

69. Mr. CARPIO (Philippines) pointed out that the Indian draft resolution failed to take into account reso-

lutions previously adopted on the question, especially paragraphs 2 and 3 of General Assembly resolution 750 C (VIII). As India had proposed those paragraphs, he wondered whether the Indian delegation had modified its position since the eighth session.

70. Mr. SINGH (India) did not consider that there had been any considerable change in his delegation's position on the substance of the question. In his view, it was for the inhabitants of the Territory freely to decide their own future. If those inhabitants were in a position to take that decision, there was no reason why they should wait until the population of Togoland under French administration was also ready to decide on its future. Nor did he think that the inhabitants of Togoland under French administration should have any say in regard to the fate of the inhabitants of Togoland under British administration.

71. Mr. CARPIO (Philippines) thought that a population could only give free expression to its feelings if certain preliminary conditions were fulfilled; in fact, it first had to attain independence. In the case under discussion, there was no evidence of that condition's having been fulfilled; the New Zealand representative had himself mentioned the lack of education among the inhabitants of Northern Togoland, which prevented them from taking a considered decision. Moreover, in Togoland under British administration, citizens of the Gold Coast could vote, whereas the Ewes who were resident in that Territory but were natives of Togoland under French administration had no right to vote. The situation was unjust and it was necessary to allow both sides to express their opinions before attempting to ascertain the wishes of the inhabitants.

72. Mr. SINGH (India) said that, in his opinion, the population of Togoland under British administration was quite capable of making its wishes known regardless of the level of its education. That fact had not been questioned by any petitioner and the 1952 Visiting Mission had itself paid a tribute to the Territory's political freedom.

73. Mr. SCOTT (New Zealand) said that the doubts just expressed by the Philippine representative were

hardly in keeping with the amendments (A/C.4/L.375) which the same representative had earlier submitted to draft resolution A/C.4/L.332/Rev.1, during the Committee's consideration of the report of the Trusteeship Council.

74. Mr. ROBBINS (United States of America) suggested that the debate could be expedited if a time limit was placed on the statements of delegations submitting amendments.

75. The CHAIRMAN said that the Committee had never yet taken such a drastic decision and doubted whether it was necessary at the present stage.

76. Miss BROOKS (Liberia) pointed out that the Committee was dealing both with the unification problem and the question of the future of the Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration. She wondered whether the Indian representative considered those two questions as separate topics and whether he would have any objection to the Committee's requesting the Trusteeship Council to take note of statements made by petitioners.

77. Mr. SINGH (India) pointed out that, in paragraph 2 of the operative part of his proposal, the Trusteeship Council was requested to take into account the views expressed in the Fourth Committee, which meant the views of petitioners as well as those of delegations. The Trusteeship Council had indeed always borne in mind any statements which petitioners made, either at hearings or in writing.

78. Mr. KHALIDY (Iraq) felt that, in any event, it was necessary to decide whether the Committee was considering the two questions of unification and of the future of Togoland under British administration together or separately. In his personal opinion, they should be considered together, as they were closely linked.

79. The CHAIRMAN said that it did not seem necessary to consider the point; delegations had so far spoken at will on either problem and they were free to continue in the same manner.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.