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THE EWE AND TOGOLAND UNIFICATION PROBLEM

Report of the Fourth CommitteeRapporteur: Mr. J.V. SCOTT (New Zealand)

1. At its 382nd plenary meeting on 17 October 1952, the General Assembly referred to the Fourth Committee the following item on its agenda:
 32. The Ewe and Togoland Unification Problem: special report of the Trusteeship Council (A/2289).
2. The Committee had received requests from several organizations and political parties that their representatives should be permitted to make oral presentations to the Committee on the subject-matter under consideration, and it decided to grant the requests as follows:
 - (1) At its 252nd meeting, that it would hear representatives of the All-Ewe Conference: by a roll-call vote of 41 to 7, with 4 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Against: Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Netherlands, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Abstaining: Dominican Republic, El Salvador, New Zealand, Sweden.

(ii) At its 263rd meeting, to reject a proposal by the United Kingdom that the Joint Togoland Congress should be requested to address itself to the Trusteeship Council in the first instance: by a roll-call vote of 30 to 15, with 8 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Dominican Republic, France, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Peru, Sweden, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Against: Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

Abstaining: Burma, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Greece, Thailand.

and, at the same meeting, to hear representatives of the Joint Togoland Congress: by a roll-call vote of 39 to 9, with 6 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Egypt, Ethiopia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Norway, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

Against: Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Abstaining: Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador,
Peru, Sweden.

(iii) At its 279th meeting, without objection being raised, that it would
hear representatives of the Union des Chefs du Nord Togo;
Parti togolais du Progrès

3. The Committee considered the item from the 300th to 308th meetings.
It had before it the following documents:

(a) The Ewe and Togoland unification problem: Special Report of
the Trusteeship Council (A/2289);

(b) Special report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust
Territories in West Africa, 1952, on the Ewe and Togoland Unification
Problem (T/1034);

(c) Observations of the United Kingdom Government, as Administering
Authority for Togoland under British Administration, on the special
report of the United Nations Visiting Mission (T/1039).

(d) An extract, entitled "Concrete Proposals for the solution of
the Ewe Problem", from a memorandum of the ALL-Ewe Conference,
dated 22 August 1952, to the United Nations Visiting Mission
(A/C.4/223).

4. At the 300th meeting, the Committee heard statements by Mr. Silvanus
Olympio, representing the ALL-Ewe Conference, and by Mr. S.G. Antor and
Mr. A.K. Odame, both representing the Joint Togoland Congress. At the 301st
and 302nd meetings, the representatives replied to questions put to them by a
number of members of the Committee and, at the latter meeting, the Committee
decided that the representatives should be permitted to participate in the
proceedings throughout the consideration of the item.

5. At the 302nd and 303rd meetings, respectively, statements were made by
the United Kingdom and France as the Administering Authorities for the two
Togolands.

6. At the 304th and 305th meetings, Mr. S.K. Kpodar, representing the Parti togolais du Progrès and the Union des Chefs du Nord Togo, made statements and replied to questions put to him by a number of members of the Committee.

7. At the 305th meeting, the Committee began a general debate on the item. At the 306th meeting, the United States of America introduced a draft resolution (A/C.4/L.256) whereby the General Assembly would: (1) continue to urge, as set out in its resolution 555 (VI), that the two Administering Authorities concerned and the peoples involved should exert every effort to achieve a prompt, constructive and equitable settlement of the problem, taking fully into account the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned; (2) regret that the consultations undertaken by the Administering Authorities did not achieve the purpose of paragraph 5 of resolution 555 (VI), inasmuch as the election procedures devised did not result in the participation of all of the major groups in the two Trust Territories; (3) recommend that the two Administering Authorities concerned should carry on full and extensive consultations with the principal political parties in the two Territories and make every effort to bring about the re-establishment of the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs, or a similar body, on a basis which would enlist the co-operation of all major segments of the population so that it might be an effective and representative organ for the consideration, under broad terms of reference, of the common problems of the two Territories; (4) urge all of the principal parties in the two Territories to make every effort to assist constructively in these consultations; (5) urge the two Administering Authorities to intensify their efforts to bring about the more rapid evolution of the northern parts of both Territories so that the peoples of these sections would be better qualified to play their role and express their views in the political development of the Territories; (6) recommend that the two Administering Authorities concerned should examine further all the frontier difficulties complained of in the various petitions and communications on

this matter sent to the Trusteeship Council and the Visiting Mission and that they should take all possible steps to reduce or eliminate them; (7) note the view set forth in paragraph 7 of the observations of the United Kingdom (T/1039) that "during this period of trust the Administering Authority must provide political institutions, systems of education and information, and freedom of speech and political activity, which will enable the various political parties to place their programmes before the people of the Trust Territory and, by democratic methods, to seek to enlist the support of a majority of that people"; (8) recall statements of representatives of France in the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly to the effect that it was the policy of their Government to promote the development of representative political institutions and democratic political activity in the Trust Territories under French administration and that the people of these Territories would, when the period of trusteeship came to an end, have full freedom of choice as to the future political status of these Territories, whether in association with another political entity or otherwise; (9) express its conviction that the implementation of such policies would provide conditions in which the inhabitants of the Trust Territories could determine their own political destiny; (10) note that resolution _____ (XI) of the Trusteeship Council requested the Administering Authorities to report fully to the Council in advance of the eighth session of the General Assembly on all steps taken by them pursuant to the special report of the 1952 Visiting Mission; and (11) request the Administering Authorities to include in such reports steps taken by them pursuant to this resolution, as well as a full account of all factors affecting the unification question.

8. At the 307th meeting, two amendments to the United States proposal were submitted. The first (A/C.4/L.258), presented by Guatemala, would: (1) insert the following paragraph before the last paragraph of the preamble:

"Bearing in mind that the unification of the two Togolands is the manifest aspiration of all sections of the population of both Trust Territories;"

(2) replace paragraphs 2 and 3 of the operative part by the following text:

"Requests the Administering Powers concerned to enter into negotiations with each other with a view to revising the Trusteeship Agreements relating to the two Togolands which they have respectively concluded, the object of the negotiations to be to make possible the unification of the said Territories under a single trusteeship administration, in conformity with the desires and aspirations of the peoples of these Territories, and further requests them to report to the Trusteeship Council on the outcome of their negotiations".

9. The second amendment (A/C.4/L.260) to the United States draft resolution (A/C.4/L.256) was sponsored by Brazil, Burma, Egypt, El Salvador, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Liberia, Pakistan and Yugoslavia. It would:

(1) replace operative paragraph 3 by a new paragraph whereby the General Assembly would recommend that the Administering Authorities, with a view to bringing about modification in the composition, functioning and powers of the Joint Council indispensable to the realization of its full potentialities, (a) extend the terms of reference of the Joint Council to enable it specifically and freely to discuss and make recommendations upon all political, economic, social and educational matters affecting the two Trust Territories, including the question of the unification of the two Territories; (b) reconstitute the Joint Council by means of direct elections on the basis of universal adult suffrage exercised by secret ballot; and (2) add to the end of operative paragraph 8 the phrase "and considers that this freedom of choice should be exercised through accepted democratic processes;".

10. At the 308th meeting, the United States of America submitted a revision (A/C.4/L.256/Rev.1) of its draft resolution (A/C.4/L.256) whereby:

- (1) Operative paragraphs 7 and 8 became, respectively, the ante-penultimate and penultimate paragraphs of the preamble;
- (ii) A new operative paragraph 5 was inserted in the following terms:

"5. Recommends further that the terms of reference of the Joint Council or similar body should be such as to enable it to consider and make recommendations upon all political, economic, social and educational matters affecting the two Trust Territories, including the question of the unification of the two Territories, and that the membership of this body should fully reflect the views of all major groups in the two Territories;"

(iii) Operative paragraphs 5 and 6 became, respectively, paragraphs 6 and 7;

(iv) Operative paragraph 9 became operative paragraph 8 with the following wording:

"8. Expresses its conviction that the implementation of the declared policies of the Administering Authorities will provide conditions in which the inhabitants of the Trust Territories can determine their own political destiny, and considers that this freedom of choice should be exercised through accepted democratic processes;"

(v) A new operative paragraph 9 was inserted in the following terms:

"9. Expresses the hope that the two Administering Authorities, through the Joint Council or otherwise, will take steps to promote common policies on political, economic and social matters of mutual concern to the two Trust Territories;"

At the same meeting, the United States of America accepted an oral proposal by Iraq to substitute "Recommends" for "Expresses the hope".

11. At the 308th meeting also, Mexico introduced draft resolution (A/C.4/L.262) whereby the General Assembly would invite the two Administering Authorities to give increasing attention to the possibilities of promoting and expediting the general development of Togoland under British administration and Togoland under French administration provided by the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance for the economic development of under-developed countries adopted by the United Nations; and Syria proposed (A/C.4/L.263) the addition to the United States revised draft resolution (A/C.4/L.256/Rev.1) of a paragraph 12 in the following terms:

"12. Requests the Trusteeship Council to submit to the next regular session of the General Assembly a special report on the implementation by the Administering Authorities concerned of this resolution and the action taken by the Council thereon".

The United States of America accepted the Syrian amendment, and its offer to incorporate the Mexican amendment in a paragraph immediately preceding paragraph 6 of its revised draft resolution (A/C.4/L.256/Rev.1) was accepted by Mexico.

12. The United States of America proposed also to add to paragraph 5 of its revised draft resolution (A/C.4/L.256/Rev.1) the words: "and that any elections which might be carried out to select members of this body should be conducted on a free and democratic basis;"

13. In the light of the new operative paragraph 5 of the United States revised draft resolution (see point (ii) in paragraph 10 above), the sponsors of the ten-Power draft resolution (A/C.4/L.260) withdrew sub-paragraph (a) of paragraph 3, contained in point 1 of their draft resolution. Equally, in the light of the new paragraph 8 of the United States revised draft resolution (see point (iv) in paragraph 10 above), the sponsors of the ten-Power draft resolution (A/C.4/L.260) withdrew the amendment set forth in point 2 of their draft resolution. The Committee was therefore left with the revised draft resolution of the United States of America (A/C.4/L.256/Rev.1) as amended by the acceptance of the various proposals detailed above, together with the following proposals for amending it:

(i) The ten-Power proposal for the reconstitution of the Joint Council by means of direct elections on the basis of universal adult suffrage exercised by secret ballot (sub-paragraph (b) of paragraph 3 contained in point 1 of A/C.4/L.260).

(ii) The Guatemalan proposals (A/C.4/L.258). The sponsor:

(a) proposed that point 1 should be amended by the substitution of "the majority" for "all sections";

(b) accepted an oral proposal that point 2, if adopted, should be inserted immediately after paragraph 5 of the United States revised draft resolution (A/C.4/L.256/Rev.1).

14. At the request of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, each paragraph of the revised draft resolution presented by the United States of America (A/C.4/L.256/Rev.1) modified further as detailed above - was voted upon separately. The voting was as follows:

Preamble:

The first paragraph was adopted by 48 votes to none, with 1 abstention.

The second paragraph was adopted by 43 votes to none, with 6 abstentions.

The third paragraph was adopted by 43 votes to none, with 6 abstentions.

The fourth paragraph was adopted by 48 votes to none, with 1 abstention.

The fifth paragraph was adopted by 43 votes to none, with 6 abstentions.

The sixth paragraph was adopted by 43 votes to none, with 6 abstentions.

The seventh paragraph was adopted by 43 votes to 5, with 1 abstention.

The new paragraph proposed by Guatemala (A/C.4/L.258, point 1 as amended) was adopted by 33 votes to 2, with 13 abstentions.

The eighth paragraph was adopted by 48 votes to none, with 1 abstention.

Operative part:

Paragraph 1 was adopted by 48 votes to none, with 1 abstention.

Paragraph 2 was adopted by 44 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.

Paragraph 3 was adopted by 44 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.

Paragraph 4 was adopted by 44 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.

The ten-Power amendment to paragraph 5, by which the words "and that the Joint Council should be reconstituted by means of direct elections on the basis of universal adult suffrage exercised by secret ballot;" should be substituted for the words "and that membership of their body should fully reflect the views of all major groups in the Territories, and that any elections which might be carried out to select members of this body should be conducted on a free and democratic basis;" was adopted by a roll-call vote of 29 to 10, with 10 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Argentina, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Liberia, Mexico, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Against: Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Greece, Israel, Norway, Peru, Thailand, Uruguay.

Paragraph 5, as amended, was adopted by 32 votes to 8, with 6 abstentions. Point 2 of the amendment proposed by Guatemala (A/C.4/L.258) was adopted by a roll-call vote of 18 to 13, with 18 abstentions, and the new paragraph was inserted after paragraph 5. The voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Burma, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Liberia, Mexico, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen.

Against: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, France, Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay.

Abstaining: Argentina, Brazil, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Greece, Israel, Norway, Peru, Poland, Thailand, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

The Mexican amendment (A/C.4/L.262) accepted by the United States of America (see also paragraph 11 above) was adopted by 42 votes to none, with 7 abstentions, and the new paragraph was inserted before paragraph 6.

Paragraph 6 was adopted by 49 votes to none, with no abstentions.

Paragraph 7 was adopted by 49 votes to none, with no abstentions.

Paragraph 8 was adopted by 43 votes to none, with 6 abstentions.

Paragraph 9, as amended, was adopted by 48 votes to none, with 1 abstention.

Paragraph 10 was adopted by 43 votes to none, with 6 abstentions.

Paragraph 11 was adopted by 47 votes to none, with 1 abstention.

The Syrian amendment (A/C.4/L.263), accepted by the United States of America (see also paragraph 11 above), was adopted by 38 votes to 1, with 10 abstentions, and the new paragraph was inserted as paragraph 12.

The draft resolution as a whole, as amended, was adopted by a roll-call vote of 30 votes to 11, with 9 abstentions, as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Argentina, Brazil, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Liberia, Mexico, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Against: Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Chile, Colombia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Israel, Norway, Peru, Thailand.

15. At the 313th meeting, Mr. Mbimadong and Mr. Anku Morny, both representing the Joint Togoland Congress, appeared before the Committee and made brief statements.

16. The Fourth Committee, therefore, recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of the following resolution:

THE EWE AND TOGOLAND UNIFICATION PROBLEM

The General Assembly,

Having adopted at the sixth session resolution 555 (VI) on the Ewe and Togoland unification problem which recommended, inter alia, that the Trusteeship Council arrange for the dispatch of either a special mission or its next periodic visiting mission to the two Trust Territories concerned to study thoroughly the Ewe and Togoland unification problem, including the functioning of the proposed Joint Council for Togoland Affairs and submit to the Trusteeship Council a detailed report thereon, including specific recommendations, which shall take full account of the real wishes and interests of the peoples concerned, and requested the Trusteeship Council to submit to the General Assembly at its seventh regular session a special report covering all aspects of the problem,

Having received and examined the special report of the Trusteeship Council, including the resolution adopted by the Council at the second part of its eleventh session on 25 November 1952, (A/2289),

Having similarly received and examined the special report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa, 1952, on the Ewe and Togoland Unification Problem (T/1034), transmitted to the Assembly by the Council with its aforementioned special report,

Having heard the statements of Mr. Olympio (All Ewe Conference), Mr. Antor (Joint Togoland Congress), Mr. Odame (Joint Togoland Congress), and Mr. Kpodar (Togoland Progress Party),

Having heard the observations of the representatives of the two Administering Authorities and taken note of the written observations of the United Kingdom Government (T/1039) on the special report of the Visiting Mission,

Noting the view set forth in paragraph 7 of the observations of the United Kingdom (T/1039) that "during this period of trust the Administering Authority must provide political institutions, systems of education and information, and freedom of speech and political activity, which will enable the various political parties to place their programmes before the people of the Trust Territory and, by democratic methods, to seek to enlist the support of a majority of that people",

Recalling statements of representatives of France in the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly to the effect that it is the policy of their Government to promote the development of representative political institutions and democratic political activity in the Trust Territories under French administration and that the people of these Territories will, when the period of trusteeship comes to an end, have full freedom of choice as to the future political status of these Territories, whether in association with another political entity or otherwise,

Bearing in mind that the unification of the two Togolands is the manifest aspiration of the majority of the population of both Trust Territories,

Desiring to promote the political advancement of the two Trust Territories and their freely expressed wishes in conformity with the basic objectives of the Trusteeship System as set forth in Article 76 of the Charter,

1. Continues to urge, as set out in its resolution 555 (VI), that the two Administering Authorities concerned and the peoples involved exert every effort to achieve a prompt, constructive and equitable settlement of the problem, taking fully into account the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned;
2. Regrets that the consultations undertaken by the Administering Authorities did not achieve the purpose of paragraph 5 of resolution 555 (VI) inasmuch as the election procedures devised did not result in the participation of all of the major groups in the two Trust Territories;
3. Recommends that the two Administering Authorities concerned carry on full and extensive consultations with the principal political parties in the two territories and make every effort to bring about the re-establishment of the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs, or a similar body, on a basis which will enlist the co-operation of all major segments of the population so that it may be an effective and representative organ for the consideration of the common problems of the two territories;
4. Urges all of the principal parties in the two Territories to make every effort to assist constructively in these consultations;

5. Recommends further that the terms of reference of the Joint Council or similar body should be such as to enable it to consider and make recommendations upon all political, economic, social and educational matters affecting the two Trust Territories, including the question of the unification of the two Territories, and that the Joint Council should be reconstituted by means of direct elections on the basis of Universal adult suffrage exercised by secret ballot;
6. Requests the Administering Powers concerned to enter into negotiations with each other with a view to revising the Trusteeship Agreements relating to the two Togolands which they have respectively concluded, the object of the negotiations to be to make possible the unification of the said Territories under a single trusteeship administration, in conformity with the desires and aspirations of the peoples of these Territories, and further requests them to report to the Trusteeship Council on the outcome of their negotiations;
7. Invites the two Administering Authorities to give increasing attention to the possibilities of promoting and expediting the general development of Togoland under British Administration and Togoland under French Administration provided by the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance for the Economic Development of Under-Developed Countries adopted by the United Nations;
8. Urges the two Administering Authorities to intensify their efforts to bring about the more rapid evolution of the northern parts of both Territories so that the peoples of these sections will be better qualified to play their role and express their views in the political development of the Territories;
9. Recommends that the two Administering Authorities concerned examine further all the frontier difficulties complained of in the various petitions and communications on this matter sent to the Trusteeship Council and the Visiting Mission and that they take all possible steps to reduce or eliminate them;
10. Expresses its conviction that the implementation of the declared policies of the Administering Authorities will provide conditions in which the inhabitants of the Trust Territories can determine their own political destiny, and considers that this freedom of choice should be exercised through accepted democratic processes;

11. Recommends that the two Administering Authorities through the Joint Council or otherwise, will take steps to promote common policies on political, economic, and social matters of mutual concern to the two Trust Territories;
12. Notes that resolution ____ (XI) of the Trusteeship Council requests the Administering Authorities to report fully to the Council in advance of the eighth session of the General Assembly on all steps taken by them pursuant to the special report of the 1952 Visiting Mission;
13. Requests the Administering Authorities to include in such reports accounts of steps taken by them pursuant to this resolution, as well as a full account of all factors affecting the unification question;
14. Requests the Trusteeship Council to submit to the next regular session of the General Assembly a special report on the implementation by the Administering Authorities concerned of this resolution and the action taken by the Council thereon.
