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Chairman: Mr. Frederick H. BOLAND (Ireland).

AGENDA ITEM 13

Report of the Trusteeship Council (A/3822) (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Mr. GEBRE-EGZY (Ethiopia) expressed his delegation's pleasure at the fact that Togoland under French administration was shortly to attain independence. He congratulated the Administering Authority on the measures it had taken to that end and paid a tribute to Mr. Dorsinville, United Nations Commissioner for the Supervision of the Elections in Togoland under French Administration, who had so ably carried out his mission in the Territory. He had listened with great interest to the statement made at the Committee's 782nd meeting by Mr. Olympio, Prime Minister of the Republic of Togoland.

2. The report of the Trusteeship Council (A/3822) outlined a number of welcome improvements which had occurred in the Trust Territories. For example, the Territory of Western Samoa had come closer to self-government. There was, however, a great deal yet to be done in that field and the Administering Authority should take into account the hope expressed by the Council that a long-term plan of economic development would soon be formulated.

3. The Trusteeship Council's recommendations concerning Nauru, as set forth in the chapter on that Territory (A/3822, vol. I, chap. IV), should be acted on as soon as possible and it was to be hoped that the Administering Authority would take all the necessary steps to encourage the people of the Territory to become aware of the problems confronting them.

4. In Tanganyika the United Kingdom had made commendable efforts to promote economic progress. The productivity of African farms was steadily increasing. It was only natural that the Administering Authority should concern itself with the Africans, since they formed the overwhelming majority of the Territory's population, and the Council had rightly recommended a diversification of African economy.

5. With regard to the political development of Tanganyika, the system of parity representation raised serious problems. It was doubtful whether a system which granted such limited powers to the Africans, who formed the vast majority of the population, was compatible with the Charter. Even if the parity system was regarded as merely provisional, it would still seem that the Africans should be given better representation forthwith. The United Nations was concerned at the situation and the Africans themselves were strongly opposed to the parity system. If steps were not taken soon to improve matters, the future cooperation between the majority and the minority of the population might be placed in jeopardy.

6. The administrative policy pursued in Tanganyika had clearly failed and it was time for the Administering Authority to change its attitude. There was no reason why the methods used in East Africa should differ fundamentally from those applied in West Africa. It was the duty of the Administering Authorities to promote the constitution of responsible African Governments in those two areas of the African continent, and the time had come to give Africans a larger share in the administration of their countries. In that connexion, his delegation would like to be informed of the number of non-African officials who occupied posts in the Administration of Tanganyika, in order to be able to compare the figure with that for African officials.

7. His delegation reserved its position regarding some of the statements contained in the report of the Trusteeship Council.

8. Mr. JOURY (Jordan) recalled that at the eleventh session the General Assembly had adopted resolution 1064 (XI) inviting the Administering Authorities to estimate the period of time required for the attainment of self-government or independence by all Trust Territories; he regretted that there had been no response to that invitation. The advances achieved since the inception of the Trusteeship System had not been as rapid as might have been hoped; no Trust Territory had yet attained independence and the Administering Authorities declared that none was yet ready to attain it. In the case of Ruanda-Urundi, legislative power was chiefly vested in the Belgian Parliament and executive power was exercised through the Administration of the Belgian Congo. How could a Territory which was thus administered from outside be ready for independence? It was also regrettable that, instead of promoting the development of political life in the Territories for which they were responsible, the Administering Authorities did everything possible to hamper that development, as was the case in the Cameroons under French administration.

9. In the social field there had been little progress, despite the recommendations the Trusteeship Council

had made in its previous report (A/3595 and Corr. 1), nor was the situation with regard to economic advancement any more satisfactory. There was no cause for undue optimism with regard to the development plans, which, as had been found in the case of the Trust Territories in the Pacific, were not applied in practice. The assertions of some Administering Authorities that the Territories they administered in Africa did not possess sufficient natural resources were refuted by the figures for the production of diamonds, uranium, gold, manganese and copper in that continent. With regard to education, General Assembly resolutions 753 (VIII) and 1063 (XI) had unfortunately not been applied and it was to be hoped that in future the Administering Authorities would co-operate more closely with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and other specialized agencies concerned. It was, however, encouraging to note that in Somaliland under Italian administration the development of education had been entrusted to the Somali Government.

10. In the hope that it would soon be able to welcome an independent Togoland in the United Nations, his delegation congratulated Mr. Olympio on the success of his party in the elections and on the efforts he had made to lead the people of Togoland to freedom. It was grateful to Mr. Dorsinville for the able manner in which he had organized the supervision of the elections. Lastly, he paid a tribute to the wisdom France had shown and expressed the hope that it would show equal wisdom in granting independence to the Algerian people.

11. Mr. KOSCIUSKO-MORIZET (France), speaking on a point of order, said that the Jordanian representative's last remark was surely out of order in the current debate.

12. The CHAIRMAN asked the members of the Committee to refrain from raising points which were outside the Committee's jurisdiction.

13. Mr. AZNAR (Spain) said that he was deeply moved to observe the political, social and economic changes which would transform the life of the peoples of the African continent. He paid a tribute to Mr. Olympio, Prime Minister of Togoland, and to Mr. Santos, Minister of Justice, who were a model for all petitioners mindful of the welfare of their country. He also congratulated France and hoped that the praise it had received for its decision would compensate it for the unjust criticisms to which it had been subjected in the past.

14. On the whole, the report of the Trusteeship Council did credit to the Administering Authorities by showing the improvement in general conditions in the Trust Territories, especially in Somaliland, under Italian administration, Tanganyika and Ruanda-Urundi. That was recognized even by the delegations which had adopted a more critical attitude. The report gave a detailed description of the life of the African peoples, and the gloomier side of the picture was due to the imperfections inherent in all human enterprise.

15. Spain was able to judge African problems with detachment, since it was not an Administering Authority. It was a neighbour of some long-established

African nations, whose well-being it desired and with which it was anxious to collaborate closely in the defence of common values.

16. The problems with which the Committee had to deal were made more complicated by political passions, which could not but aggravate the difficulties. It was not surprising that nationalist feeling should emerge in many countries whose economic and social condition was still wretched, but it was to be hoped that the African nations which had recently become independent and those which were about to attain independence would generously forget whatever injustices they might have had to suffer.

17. Mr. ARAMBURU (Peru) thanked all those who in various capacities had helped to bring about the realization of the objectives of the Trusteeship System in Togoland; among them he would mention in particular the representatives of Haiti, the Philippines and Mexico. He paid a tribute to France, which had once more shown itself worthy of its great traditions by allowing Togoland to become independent. Lastly, he congratulated the present leaders of Togoland, who had not so long ago addressed the Committee as petitioners, and expressed the hope that their country would continue to benefit from their experience, patriotism and loyalty.

18. The application of the principles enshrined in Chapter XII of the Charter was one of the areas in which the United Nations had achieved its greatest successes, both morally and legally. In most cases the Trust Territories had made remarkable progress towards the realization of the final objectives of the Trusteeship System. In the case of the Cameroons under French administration, the Administering Authority had gone further than it had been required to do under General Assembly resolution 1211 (XII) and his delegation had been delighted to hear the French representative announce at the 774th meeting that the Territory would become independent on 1 January 1960. It should not be forgotten, however, that the question on which the economic, social and political future of the Cameroonian people depended was whether the two parts of the Cameroons would be reunified or whether the Cameroons under British administration would become part of the Federation of Nigeria, which was itself to obtain independence in 1960. Recalling the statement on the right of peoples to self-determination that his delegation had made to the Committee (730th meeting) during the twelfth session, he said that it should be left to the people of the two Cameroons to take a decision on that matter and that a referendum should be organized without delay to enable the people to express their wishes freely. With regard to Somaliland under Italian administration, the offer of the Italian Government to provide economic and technical assistance to the Territory after its accession to independence in 1960 was a matter for satisfaction.

19. In conclusion, his delegation thought that the development of the Trust Territories was extremely satisfactory, considering the difficulties to be overcome, particularly in economic and political matters. It was confident that, while errors had occasionally been committed, the Administering Authorities would make a point of rectifying them in the future.

AGENDA ITEM 40

The future of Togoland under French administration: report of the United Nations Commissioner for the Supervision of the Elections and report of the Trusteeship Council thereon (A/3957, A/3958; A/C.4/382) (continued)

At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Dorsinville, United Nations Commissioner for the Supervision of the Elections in Togoland under French Administration, took a place at the Committee table.

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

20. Mr. LALL (India) said that the recent events in Togoland under French administration were a matter for satisfaction. Since 1957 the situation in the Territory had changed rapidly. Mr. Dorsinville, the United Nations Commissioner, had gone to the Territory to supervise the elections held in April 1958 and had prepared a very comprehensive report (A/3957) on those elections, which had enabled the people of the Territory to express their wishes. Togoland had been able, through Mr. Olympio, its Prime Minister, to state its position in relation to France. It had opted unequivocally for complete independence, which was not surprising, for the peoples of Africa had the same right to independence as those of other regions of the world and wished to take their rightful place in international life.

21. His delegation extended its heartiest congratulations to the French Government on having acted in accordance with the best liberal traditions of France. It was to be hoped that close co-operation would be established between the Republic of Togoland and the other countries of the world, including France, although it was naturally for the African people themselves to decide on the form that co-operation should take.

22. It was essential that the Trusteeship Agreement concerning Togoland under French administration should remain in force until the Territory attained complete independence. There could be no question of the United Nations foregoing its supervisory powers before that date.

23. The Administering Authority's annual report on the Territory of Togoland was obviously out of date and it would be an advantage if new information about the economic and administrative problems of the Territory could be transmitted to the General Assembly, which might perhaps be able to make useful suggestions in order to assist independent Togoland in solving the first problems with which it would be faced.

24. His delegation was eager to see Togoland take its place among the Members of the United Nations and hoped that all the necessary steps would be taken to ensure a satisfactory evolution for each and every one of the countries of the African continent.

25. Mr. RAHNEMA (Iran) recalled that his delegation had always upheld the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination and had championed the cause of independence for Togoland from the outset. It had endeavoured to assist the parties in finding a generally acceptable formula and was therefore particularly pleased to see that General Assembly resolution 1182 (XII) had borne fruit by opening the way to independence for the people of Togoland. Special congratulations

were due to the United Nations Commissioner for the Supervision of the Elections, who had shown the greatest ability and the most complete impartiality. The report which he had submitted was striking proof of the fact that the United Nations could supervise the conduct of free elections in any given territory despite many difficulties. Furthermore, it was reassuring to note that Mr. Dorsinville attributed his success to the discipline shown by the people during the electoral period and that, in his view, the outcome of the elections reflected faithfully the wishes of the people of Togoland. There could be no better proof of the absurdity of the theory that people long deprived of freedom were unable to assume their responsibilities. His delegation was glad to see the political maturity the people of Togoland had displayed. It also wished to pay a tribute to France, which on this occasion had lived up to its liberal traditions and renounced an out-dated policy of colonialism. Events had proved that it was always best to let history take its course, substituting whenever possible harmony for violence and intelligent and friendly co-operation for destructive conflict.

26. There were still many difficulties to be overcome. As could be seen from documents A/C.4/382, annex III, the Rapporteur of the Political Affairs Committee of the Togoland Chamber of Deputies had allayed the fears of those who considered that the date scheduled for independence was too far off. He had emphasized the need to improve the budgetary and financial position of Togoland in order to strengthen the economic and social position of the new State. The Togoland Chamber of Deputies had expressed the wish that the Administering Authority should invite the General Assembly of the United Nations to send to Togoland a group of experts from the United Nations and the specialized agencies to assist the Togoland Government in carrying into effect a plan of economic and social development, after having first drawn up an economic inventory, in organizing efficient administrative services, and in drawing up a constitution consistent with the Charter of the United Nations. His delegation welcomed the fact that the French delegation had promised that France would assist the young Togoland State in overcoming its difficulties and had confirmed the desire of the French Government to establish friendly and disinterested relations with the Republic of Togoland. It would support unreservedly any action by the General Assembly which would comply with the wish expressed by the Togoland Chamber of Deputies. The United Nations would thus be acting in accordance with a long-established tradition and in conformity with the principles of the Charter. Sound preparation would have to be made for independence if the new State was to be spared a bitter awakening, and the assistance of United Nations experts and of the French Government would be essential.

27. His delegation wished the people of Togoland every success on their road to emancipation.

28. Mr. MUFTI (United Arab Republic) said he was glad that the French delegation had asked for the circulation of the texts contained in document A/C.4/382, for they supplied some valuable supplementary information on the question of Togoland. In view of that information, he would be obliged if the representatives of the Togoland Government and the representative of France would give him some particulars on the following questions. Had the French Government

accepted and approved the draft Decree to amend Decree No. 58-187 of 22 February 1958? Had the proposed new modifications to the Statute of the Territory which had been adopted by the Togoland Chamber of Deputies been incorporated in the Statute and could they therefore be considered to be in force? Did the nine conventions concluded between France and Togoland on 25 February 1958 still govern relations between Togoland and the French Republic? To what extent were they affected by the new modifications to the Statute contained in the above-mentioned draft Decree? Could it be said, prior to the conclusion of the conventions mentioned in the draft Decree, that the relations between Togoland and the French Republic were settled and clearly defined? Could it be said that, once the new modifications were incorporated in the Statute, the transfer to the Togoland Government of all powers, except diplomacy, defence and currency, had been achieved? When would the transfer of the remaining powers take place? Would that transfer take place before or after the proclamation of independence? Would the appointment of the Togoland Head of State, whose powers were at present exercised by the French High Commissioner, be made before or after the proclamation of independence? Would the new constitution be adopted before or after the proclamation of independence? When and how would the right of veto—mentioned in article 33 of the draft Decree—to be exercised for the period of transition during which Togoland would remain under the International Trusteeship System, by the Minister for Overseas France over the laws of Togoland and by the French High Commissioner over the decisions of the Council of Ministers, be rescinded? Would that right of veto be rescinded after the termination of trusteeship by the General Assembly or at the

same time, or would it be rescinded after the proclamation of independence? Finally, in what manner would it be rescinded?

29. Mr. EILAN (Israel) said that the report of the United Nations Commissioner showed that the outcome of the elections in Togoland truly expressed the wishes of the people of that country. The report also provided further proof of the impartiality and political wisdom of Mr. Dorsinville.

30. Togoland's progress towards independence had begun eleven years earlier and had not always been without difficulty. The General Assembly would merely be putting the formal finishing touches to it and the Committee could be well pleased at having helped to spare a young African nation the struggles and sufferings which had accompanied the attainment of independence by many countries. The happy outcome was due also to the attitude of the Administering Authority and of the men who were now at the head of the Togoland Government.

31. France had received from the League of Nations the mandate for the administration of Togoland. The administration of a territory was not always an easy task, in view of the problems which constantly arose between the administrators and the administered. By bidding the people of Togoland to take their destiny into their own hands, France had shown itself faithful to its great traditions.

32. The Government and people of Israel extended fraternal greetings to the people of Togoland and hoped soon to see it a Member of the United Nations.

The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.