

GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY

TWELFTH SESSION

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## CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 37:	
The future of Togoland under French administration: report of the Trusteeship Council (continued)	
Consideration of draft resolutions (continued) . . .	319

Chairman: Mr. Thanat KHOMAN (Thailand).

## AGENDA ITEM 37

**The future of Togoland under French administration:  
report of the Trusteeship Council (A/3676 and  
Corr.1, A/3677, A/C.4/367, A/C.4/L.508, T/SR.841-  
847) (continued)**

CONSIDERATION OF DRAFT RESOLUTIONS (A/C.4/L.508)  
(continued)

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

1. Mrs. SHELTON (Cuba) said that her delegation had noted with satisfaction the conclusions of the United Nations Commission on Togoland under French Administration; as set forth in its report (A/3677), particularly that the Statute conferred upon the Togoland authorities a large number of powers previously exercised by the French authorities, that it had been liberally applied and that Togoland possessed a large measure of internal autonomy. Those developments were particularly encouraging to the Cuban delegation, which invariably supported any resolution under the terms of which the Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories were enabled, as they developed, to exercise the sacred right of people to self-determination.

2. The Commission had found in Togoland a highly developed political consciousness, a lively interest in the future of the Territory, and well-organized political parties. The Cuban delegation consequently considered that the Togolandese were ready to elect a new Legislative Assembly by universal adult suffrage. It was accordingly prepared to vote in favour of the draft resolution (A/C.4/L.508), which reflected some of the suggestions made in the Commission's report and some of the ideas expressed in the Fourth Committee. It hoped that a revised draft of the resolution would be adopted unanimously.

3. The Cuban delegation commended the Administering Authority for having successfully discharged the sacred trust it had been given of ensuring the well-being and advancement of the inhabitants, as was evident from the high intellectual level of the representatives of the various Togoland parties who had made statements before the Committee.

4. Mr. SHAHA (Nepal) congratulated the Commission on Togoland on its report, which had made it much easier for the Committee to appreciate the present situation in Togoland under French administration. After studying the report and the Statute and listening to the statements made by the French delegation and the petitioners, who were members of the opposition, the Nepalese delegation had arrived at two conclusions. Firstly, Togoland was far from being completely self-governing, since the French Government retained too many key powers. Even if the negotiations in process for the transfer of additional powers to the Togoland Government were successful, the Administering Authority would still have control over external affairs, defence and currency. Secondly, the present Legislative Assembly had been elected in 1955 before the promulgation and application of the Statute. It had not been elected on the basis of universal suffrage, and a section of the population had deliberately refrained from participating in the election. Consequently, it might well be that the views of the present Legislative Assembly with respect to the Statute did not coincide with the wishes of the inhabitants.

5. It was in the light of those two considerations that the Nepalese delegation had studied the request of the Administering Authority that the General Assembly should set in motion a procedure for the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement, a bilateral instrument concluded between the French Republic and the United Nations for the benefit of the Togoland people alone. In consenting forthwith to the termination of the trusteeship the United Nations would be recognizing that the objectives set out in Article 76 had been achieved, that Togoland was no longer in need of international protection and that the United Nations should consider admitting Togoland as a Member State. The question was whether such a decision was warranted by the facts. The objectives defined in Article 76 could hardly be said to have been achieved, for not only was Togoland not independent but it was not even fully self-governing. Accordingly, it did not enjoy the status of a sovereign State, which would qualify it for admission to membership of the United Nations. As far as international protection was concerned, while there was no question of doubting the validity of the assurances given by the French Government, the United Nations, even if it did not fear the spectre of integration, could not consider itself relieved of its responsibilities so long as it received only assurances unsupported by acts. It was therefore too early to end the trusteeship.

6. The Nepalese delegation consequently felt that for the time being the French Government should be allowed to fulfil its promise to transfer additional powers to the Togoland authorities. The next step would be to organize elections to the Legislative Assembly under the supervision of the United Nations

so as to allow the inhabitants freely to express their wishes and to ensure that the results of the elections could not be challenged. While the Nepalese delegation would have liked elections to local administrative organs to be held at the same time, it appreciated the fact that a dual election might create some confusion in the minds of the Togolanders. When the General Assembly reviewed the situation again at its thirteenth session, the people of Togoland would already have expressed their wishes and it was to be hoped that the French Government, true to the ideals of the Revolution of 1789, among which was the right of peoples to self-determination, would have handed over the reins of government completely to the people of Togoland.

7. The Nepalese delegation therefore welcomed the draft resolution before the Committee and would give sympathetic consideration to any amendments consistent with the position it had taken.

8. Mr. GRINBERG (Bulgaria) asked the sponsors of the draft resolution whether they thought that the Legislative Assembly to be elected in 1958 would have the necessary authority to study the transfer of additional powers to the Government of Togoland.

9. Mr. ESKEKUND (Denmark) said that he felt that the Legislative Assembly would be empowered to raise the question of the three competencies — external affairs, defence and currency — which France would still retain at that time. That seemed to be the conclusion to be drawn from the statement of the Minister for Overseas France, that if at any time the people of Togoland wished to move further along the road to independence, France would have no alternative but to agree.

10. Mr. NARITA (Japan) said that thanks to the report of the Commission on Togoland and the statements made by the French delegation and the peti-

tioners the Committee was in a better position to appreciate the situation. It had now fully considered the question and, in spite of the inevitable differences of opinion between the advocates of independence and those of self-government, the fact that elections were to be held in Togoland in 1958 was welcomed by all. The Japanese delegation attached considerable importance to the holding of those elections by universal adult suffrage, for if the elections were properly conducted they would show that the people of Togoland had achieved political maturity and were able to express their will in a democratic way; if not, they would show that the Togoland people were not capable of exercising the right which they claimed. Moreover, since it seemed that the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement would depend upon the outcome of the elections, the Japanese delegation hoped that the Togoland Government would take the necessary steps to ensure that the inhabitants knew what they would be voting about.

11. The members of the Committee were not in agreement on the scope of the functions to be entrusted to the proposed United Nations commissioner. The Japanese delegation felt that it would be better if the commissioner, while observing the operations closely, did not participate in any way. It thought that the new Legislative Assembly should be entirely free to formulate such proposals as it deemed proper, whether in favour of self-government or independence.

12. The Japanese delegation doubted whether the whole operation could be completed in one year. It did not think that the General Assembly should be obliged to take a decision at its thirteenth session if the United Nations thought that the time had not yet come. It would, however, vote in favour of the draft resolution.

The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.