

United Nations
**GENERAL
 ASSEMBLY**

TWELFTH SESSION
 Official Records



**FOURTH COMMITTEE 714th
 MEETING**

Friday, 22 November 1957,
 at 10.50 a. m.

NEW YORK

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Chairman: Mr. Thanat KHOMAN (Thailand).

AGENDA ITEM 37

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

CONSIDERATION OF DRAFT RESOLUTIONS (*concluded*)

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 places at the Committee table.

1. Mr. RAHNEMA (Iran) said that his delegation was glad that the debate had ended with the adoption of a just and satisfactory solution. The solution had the defects inherent in any compromise, but it would enable the Togolandese, in collaboration with the French authorities, to exercise their right of self-determination. The draft resolution adopted at the preceding meeting had been approved by an unusually large majority, which did credit to the Committee's conciliatory attitude; the French delegation, in particular, was to be congratulated on the co-operative spirit it had shown.

2. As the Iranian delegation had no doubt that the Administering Authority would fully apply the draft resolution which had been adopted, it had not pressed the reservations it had made during the debate and had striven, by trusting France, to facilitate its task; that was why it had voted for the draft resolution as a whole, as amended.

3. Mr. KING (Liberia) explained why his delegation had not accepted some of the amendments to the revised draft resolution which had been before the Committee (A/C.4/L.508/Rev.1). It was convinced that a single commissioner would be better able to undertake the supervision of the elections, which was why it had rejected the amendment to paragraph 4, concerning the election of a three-member commission. Such a solution ruled out divergencies of views and removed any possibility of the submission of minority opinions, which might confuse the issue. The Liberian delegation had accepted the Peruvian sub-amendment proposing that the commissioner should be elected by the General Assembly with some reluctance; the delegations had

nevertheless demonstrated their complete confidence in the impartiality and integrity of the President of the Assembly. The Liberian delegation hoped that the decision would not set a precedent for the Committee's future work.

4. The Liberian delegation had voted against the amendment to insert the word "organization" in paragraph 6 of the draft resolution, because it had felt that the commissioner's report should obviously cover the organization stage of the elections as well, and also because the Administering Authority and the Government of Togoland had expressed concern with regard to the French text of that amendment and the intentions behind it. The Liberian delegation had voted against the amendment to operative paragraph 8 for the reasons given at the 712th meeting, when the revised draft resolution had been introduced. It would have abstained if a vote had been taken on the amendment to operative paragraph 1, because that amendment was unimportant. It had abstained in the vote on the amendment to operative paragraph 7 and, for reasons it had previously stated, it had voted for the text of that paragraph as revised by the sponsors of the draft resolution.

5. The Liberian delegation did not think that France's request for the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement had been motivated by a desire to perpetuate the colonial system; his delegation was glad to have helped to draft a text which had been supported by other delegations and on which the benefit of the views of the Governments of France and Togoland had been obtained. It had been impressed by the atmosphere of objectivity in which the discussion had taken place and by the understanding and interest in the future of Togoland manifested by all delegations and by their desire to find a solution that would benefit the Togoland people as a whole and be in conformity with the principles of the Charter, but would not infringe the rights of the Administering Authority.

6. The Committee had recommended that the General Assembly should adopt a procedure which would ensure the rapid attainment of the aspirations of the Togoland people. As the representative of a country which for many years had voiced the aspirations of "Black" Africa in international assemblies and organizations, he appealed to the Togoland political leaders to end their strife in the common interest and to prove once again that "Black" Africa could take a decision through orderly elections and unite for the good of all. As the New Zealand representative had pointed out, the present atmosphere of indecision in the Territory could not be conducive to its progress.

7. Mr. CARPIO (Philippines) said that he would explain his votes on the revised draft resolution only, and would not deal with the amendments contained in document A/C.4/L.510.

8. At the 706th meeting, the Philippine delegation had

proposed that the elections to be organized in Togoland under United Nations supervision should be not only for new members of the Legislative Assembly but also for local government bodies, and that those elections should be supervised by the United Nations, from the stage of the revision of voters' lists to that of the counting of the votes, and should be held in an atmosphere of complete freedom. It had not pressed for the inclusion of provisions to that effect in the draft resolution because it had felt that that was what would be done. The Philippine delegation had also stated that it preferred the transfer of power to the Togoland Government to be effected by means of amendments to the Statute, so that when the General Assembly considered the situation in Togoland, it would have all the facts before it and could judge whether the Government of Togoland enjoyed a sufficient measure of self-government to justify the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement, and it had emphasized the necessity of allowing the people to express their wishes with regard to the future of the Territory, possibly by means of a plebiscite.

9. The Philippine delegation did not doubt that the authorities would allow the people freely to express their wishes. That was why it had voted for the draft resolution as a whole, although many of the amendments it had proposed had not been adopted. It was convinced that when the situation was considered by the General Assembly, at its thirteenth session, its confidence would prove to have been justified.

10. Mr. GEBRE-EGZY (Ethiopia) explained that his delegation had not participated in the general debate because it had felt that the issues before the Committee had been clearly stated in the reports submitted to it and in the statements of the parties concerned. The Ethiopian delegation considered that the political consciousness of the Togoland people and the political institutions of the Territory were sufficiently developed to enable Togoland to decide on its future; the Committee appeared to have shared that view and opinions had differed only with regard to how the wishes of the Togoland people should be ascertained, and when.

11. The Ethiopian delegation had supported the amendment to operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution because it was a logical extension of that paragraph and it had voted for the Peruvian sub-amendment to the eleven-Power amendment to paragraph 4, because it felt that the United Nations should not lay itself open to accusations of discrimination, although it felt that the task of supervision might be too heavy for one person. It wished, however, to reserve its position on the principle involved in the appointment of a commissioner and on the precedent established by that appointment. It had also voted for the amendments to operative paragraphs 5 and 6, as they were a logical extension of the duties laid down for the commissioner, and for the amendment to operative paragraph 7, as it felt that the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement should not be mentioned before the wishes of the people had been ascertained with regard to the future status of the Territory. Finally, it had abstained in the vote on the United States oral sub-amendment to paragraph 8.

12. The Ethiopian delegation had voted for the draft resolution as a whole because it was convinced that the people of the Territory would be able to vote in complete freedom and that all the commitments made to the

Committee would be fulfilled and because the whole question would be reviewed at the thirteenth session of the Assembly. He pointed out that the favourable vote of his delegation should be appraised in that context and he reserved his position with regard to the various points he had mentioned.

13. Mr. CHAPMAN (Ghana) said that his delegation had abstained from voting on the draft resolution contained in document A/C.4/L.508/Rev.1 as amended, for the following reasons.

14. His delegation thought that a single commissioner could not supervise the elections as effectively as a commission of three members, on account of the size of the Territory, the complex nature of the arrangements to be made for the elections, the day-to-day problems which were bound to arise in the various parts of the Territory and which would need the immediate personal attention of a person with the status of a commissioner, and the need to ensure against possible complaints after the election that irregularities had occurred in certain parts of the country because an impartial commissioner had not been available.

15. His delegation considered operative paragraphs 7 and 8 of the draft resolution as the most important and believed that the emphasis on the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement was misplaced and dangerous, as the purpose of the forthcoming elections in Togoland under French administration should be to show that fair elections could be held in the Territory and to ensure that a new Legislative Assembly representing the principal shades of opinion would come into being and that the new Government would define its policy on all matters within its competence. Those were all matters of vital importance to the United Nations as a party to the Trusteeship Agreement for Togoland under French administration.

16. The transfer of the various powers to the Government and people of Togoland would require much negotiation and the draft resolution appeared to give inadequate attention to matters of great importance to the good government of the country. As the sponsors of the draft resolution had been unable to agree to request the General Assembly to examine the entire situation regarding the future of the Territory and then to hold a referendum on the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement, his delegation had found it impossible to vote in favour of the proposal.

17. Mr. TRIANTAPHYLLAKOS (Greece) explained that he had abstained from voting on the Peruvian sub-amendment and on operative paragraph 4 of the draft resolution, because his delegation had always thought that the task of supervising the elections should be entrusted to a commission rather than to a commissioner. He had also abstained from voting on the United States sub-amendment, on operative paragraphs 7 and 8, and on the draft resolution as a whole, because in his opinion the text was not sufficiently explicit. It was important that the people of Togoland should be in no doubt regarding the significance of the elections to the Legislative Assembly. There had also been some confusion during the meeting at which the vote had been taken on the draft resolution and his delegation had, by voting first for the Ukrainian, and then for the Yugoslav motion, shown that it would have preferred to adjourn the debate.

18. He took note of the fact that, according to the

sponsors of the draft resolution, the people of Togoland would be fully informed of the significance of the elections and that the new Legislative Assembly would be absolutely free to state its views on the future of the Territory.

19. Mr. KHADRY (Iraq) said he concluded from the debate on the draft resolution that, at its thirteenth session, the General Assembly would not be bound to come to a decision with regard to the attainment of the final objectives of the Trusteeship System, but merely to stress the need for extensive study of conditions in the Territory and of its stage of advancement. His delegation had abstained from voting on the draft resolution solely in order to indicate that it reserved its position concerning the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement in any circumstances which did not take into account, firstly, the stages of development as outlined by his delegation during the debate; secondly, conditions in the country in all spheres of activity; thirdly, the provisions of Article 76 b of the Charter. In his delegation's view, the word "decision" in operative paragraph 8 of the draft resolution merely indicated that the Assembly would take up the question of the attainment of the objectives of the Trusteeship System as it affected Togoland under French administration.

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, withdrew.

AGENDA ITEM 13

Report of the Trusteeship Council (A/3595 and Corr.1, A/3718, A/C.4/372)

20. Mr. HOOD (Australia), President of the Trusteeship Council, presented the report of the Council covering the period from 15 August 1956 to 12 July 1957 (A/3595 and Corr.1). One of the points of particular importance was the procedure for the examination of petitions. At its eleventh session the Assembly had considered the difficulties the Council was experiencing as a result of the increasing number of petitions. In order to dispose of the arrears, the Council had decided to establish a committee of two members, Belgium and Syria, to determine, with the assistance of the Secretariat, the provisional classification of all communications received. That was a new and purely temporary measure and it would be necessary to await the next report before its results could be appraised.

21. He also mentioned the question of scholarships and fellowships and the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1063 (XI). He further pointed out that the Council had dealt with economic conditions in Somaliland under Italian administration. An expert survey mission from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development had visited the Territory early in 1956, and its conclusions had been transmitted to the Council. Those conclusions were recorded on pages 85 and 86 of the Council's report. With regard to the Cameroons under French administration, the Council had examined the new Statute and had heard a number of petitioners. Finally, he recalled that Togoland under British administration had become independent on its integration with the Gold Coast on 6 March 1957. At that time the Council had not yet examined the last report on that Territory, or a number of petitions, and

had decided that in view of the circumstances, no action was called for.

HEARING OF PETITIONERS

At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Charles Assalé, Mr. Paul Soppo Priso and Mr. Jean Ekwabi, representatives of the Groupe d'action nationale du Cameroun, Mr. Ndeh Ntumazah, representative of One Kamerun, Mr. Félix Roland Moumié, representative of the Union des populations du Cameroun, Mr. Dika Akwa, representative of the Confédération des syndicats indépendants du Cameroun, and Mr. Jacques Ngom, representative of the Confédération générale kamerunaise du travail, took places at the Committee table.

22. Mr. ASSALE (Groupe d'action nationale du Cameroun), giving a brief description of the members of his organization, said that Mr. Betoté Akwa, whose arrival had been delayed for health reasons, had been given a hearing at the eighteenth session of the Trusteeship Council (709th and 710th meetings). Traditional and administrative Chief of Douala, Chairman of the Ngondo, Traditional Assembly of the Douala People, deputy and senior member of the Legislative Assembly of the Cameroons under French administration, he was an outstanding personality in the country and the fact that he had adhered to the cause of nationalism and political advancement was an earnest of its moderation. Mr. Soppo Priso was both a political and an economic leader. A public works contractor, a Councillor of the French Union and deputy to the Legislative Assembly, his work placed him in a social class whose interests would demand the avoidance of ill-considered action. Mr. Ekwabi was a deputy to the Legislative Assembly and a member of the Municipal Council of Nkongsamba, one of the first three communes de plein exercice in the Cameroons under French administration. He himself was deputy for one of the largest cocoa-producing regions in the Territory and Chairman of the Groupe d'action nationale du Cameroun. The petitioners from the Groupe represented not a tribal alliance, but a political programme reflecting the wishes of various ethnic groups. They had no intention whatsoever of promoting social unrest.

23. In view of the fact that the Conseil d'Etat of the French Republic had prohibited the submission of any text as an alternative to the text of the Statute proposed by the Government, the Groupe d'action nationale du Cameroun had been compelled to discuss the matter with the Minister for Overseas France in Paris, and then, when those discussions had failed, to refer it to the United Nations. But it would be a mistake to consider that step as a challenge to the Administering Authority. His organization's only concern was to find a just solution to the problem of the future of the Cameroons.

24. Mr. SOPPO PRISO (Groupe d'action nationale du Cameroun) paid a tribute to the United Nations for the concern it displayed for the Trust Territories, and to France for what it had done for the Cameroons.

25. Peoples under trusteeship expected from the International Trusteeship System, no doubt somewhat naively, not only assurances and guarantees, but also specific measures of assistance in their economic, social and political development that would curtail the material obstacles to their emancipation. Under the trusteeship agreements, however, the full responsibility, together with the full right of initiative which

that responsibility implied, were vested in the Administering Authorities. The United Nations had only a supervisory function which it was exercising with increasing diffidence, and the Administering Authorities might, because of the sacrifices which trusteeship required of them, be tempted to seek compensation by devising schemes for more or less camouflaged annexation, integration or assimilation. The advantages which the Administering Authorities derived from Trust Territories by way of compensation should not, however, be subject to criticism, provided they did not compromise the future of those Territories. An appropriate policy for each Territory, defining goals and methods and fixing time-limits, should have been laid down at the very outset. The operation of the Trusteeship System continued to be affected by the interplay of alliances and conflicts of influence. Care must therefore be taken to ensure that the Territories did not become the subject of diplomatic bargaining, since that would bring cruel disillusionment to the peoples whose hopes had been awakened by the Trusteeship System.

26. He summarized the history of the Territory of the Cameroons from its occupation by the Germans in 1884 to the adoption of the present Statute. In order to see the Statute in its proper perspective, it was necessary to have a knowledge of developments since the events of May 1955, whose consequences were still having repercussions on Cameroonian public life. Those sanguinary events had been followed by repressive measures, prosecutions, convictions and the dissolution of political movements, while many Cameroonians had chosen exile. Those events had given rise to such violent differences of opinion that Cameroonian unity appeared to be in jeopardy and consideration had been given to the possibility of dividing the country into two autonomous zones, one in the north and one in the south. That had been the situation before France had taken the decision to renounce a policy of marking time and to prepare a *loi-cadre* for all its overseas territories. In the face of that plan for reform, which, as applied to the Cameroons, was timid and vague and, in view of the tension in the Territory, was hardly calculated to serve its interests, a strong feeling of nationalist solidarity had developed in the Territory. The Union nationale du Cameroun had been established at that time; that organization had won the support of most trends of opinion for a programme providing for the dissolution of the former Territorial Assembly and the election, on the basis of a single electoral college and universal suffrage, of a new Assembly whose task would be to draw up a new statute for the Territory with the co-operation of France. The programme also provided for a general amnesty. Although the French Government had dissolved the former Assembly and had organized elections on the basis of universal suffrage and a single electoral college, it had unfortunately postponed any amnesty measures indefinitely, thus conclusively preventing the restoration of calm. The disturbances had reached their peak during the electoral campaign, which had been saddened by the massacres which had occurred and which must be severely condemned, whether they were due to revolt or to repression.

27. The French Government had informed the Trusteeship Council at its nineteenth session (760th meeting) of the establishment of the institutions provided for in the Statute. The opposition had requested a hearing by the Council in order to voice its misgivings

regarding certain inconsistencies in the Statute. In so doing, it had had no desire to impede the operation of the democratic institutions which it had voluntarily accepted at the outset and which had resulted in its being the minority group in the Cameroonian Assembly. The Council had unfortunately not been able to give it a hearing.

28. He drew attention to one aspect of the discussion of the Statute of the Cameroons. There had been a contradiction between the formal assurance that the Statute would not simply be granted, but would be freely negotiated, and the veto vested in the Conseil d'Etat, which set strict limitations on the discussions and ruled out any modification of the Government proposals with a view to achieving universally acceptable solutions; hence, it had not been possible for the only alternative proposal submitted by the elected representatives to be considered. Mention should also be made of the division of the Assembly of the Cameroons into tribal groups, which precluded a rational exchange of views among the elected representatives.

29. Those reforms unquestionably marked a substantial advance on account of the transfer of certain responsibilities to the Cameroonians, but their application had revealed their fundamental inconsistency. While an Assembly of the parliamentary type was functioning in the Cameroons, Cameroonian elected representatives continued to sit in the French Parliament, a fact which impaired the prestige of the Cameroons as a national entity and perpetuated a tendency towards assimilation. Moreover, doubt had been cast upon the legal status of the Cameroonian State by its incorporation in the European Common Market, without its Assembly and Government having been given an opportunity of weighing the advantages and disadvantages of that association. The opposition had acquiesced in the reforms, but it still had misgivings, since those reforms carried no guarantee of any reversal of a trend of development contrary to the true aspiration of the Territory, which was independence.

30. The Trusteeship Council had recognized the fact that the Cameroonian representatives were unanimous in advocating independence as the final goal of the Territory's development. It remained for the United Nations to declare that the Cameroons had attained political maturity and to recognize its national sovereignty. In studying the Statute, the Trusteeship Council should have drawn the necessary practical and legal conclusions from the French Government's proposals and recommended the modifications necessary to provide for the transition between the Territory's present status and accession to sovereignty. The Cameroonian people, aware of its needs and understanding the requirements of the interdependence of nations, preferred to limit its sovereignty and to delegate certain powers, but it intended to do so in full freedom, thus achieving an interdependence which was genuine because it was sincere and voluntary, and which allowed each party enjoyment of its sovereignty.

31. The people of both zones strongly desired the unification of the Cameroons. The Groupe d'action nationale du Cameroun shared that rightful desire, although it had a different conception of the procedure by which it should be attained. It believed that, having regard to the actual situation, the two zones might be united to form a free and independent whole through

the attainment of sovereignty. The danger which might impede unification was the possibility of the Cameroons under French administration attaining sovereignty later than the Cameroons under British administration. For reasons of administrative convenience, the latter formed part of the Federation of Nigeria. If the Federation became independent before the Cameroons under French administration, the choice of the Cameroons under British administration might be limited by the inducement to become part of a free Nigeria. He therefore considered that the only logical solution to the problem of unification was recognition of the sovereignty of the Cameroons under French administration. The Cameroonians were relying upon the aid and support of the United Nations to achieve that goal.

32. The possibilities he had just outlined could not be achieved as long as the country remained plunged in the atmosphere of tension in which it had been living for more than two years. Many Cameroonians were in prison or in hiding. The population was living in fear of murder and repression. That climate was conducive to malpractices which were not politically motivated. Public opinion severely condemned such practices and hoped that an amnesty would afford the Cameroonians an opportunity for reconciliation. The French Government had prepared an amnesty bill, but although it had been approved by the National Assembly, it had not been carried into effect. The refusal to take that step towards the relaxation of tension might have been inspired by the desire to thwart the Cameroonian people's aspirations towards sovereignty. It was inhuman to prolong such a situation. Since the events

involved had occurred when the Territory was under direct French administration it was for France to take repressive action, but also to restore peace. France was still responsible for the administration of justice and the maintenance of order in the Cameroons, and its consideration for the Government in power should not prevent it from fulfilling its responsibilities. It was to be hoped that it would realize the need for an amnesty and that the Fourth Committee's recommendations, in conjunction with those of the Trusteeship Council, would overcome its reluctance.

33. He and his constituents, despite the pessimistic warnings which they had received, continued to hope that the Committee would examine the situation objectively and recommend that the General Assembly should, firstly, take note of the fact that France, by the Statute which it applied to the Cameroons, recognized the Territory's capacity for self-government; secondly, take note of the fact that the Trusteeship Council had noted, at its nineteenth session, that the elected Cameroonian representatives unanimously desired independence; thirdly, appoint a commission to work out a procedure for transition and to undertake an inquiry with a view to recognition of the Cameroons' sovereignty; fourthly, request the Administering Authority to transfer the residual powers to the Cameroonian authorities pending the completion of that procedure; fifthly, request France to promote the relaxation of tension by promulgating an amnesty Act.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.