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THE EWE AND TOGOLAND UNIFICATION PROBLEM:
SPECIAL REPORT OF THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

Report of the Fourth Committee

Rapporteur: Mr. N. RIFAI (Syria)

1. At its 435th plenary meeting on 17 September 1953, the General Assembly referred to the Fourth Committee item 31 of its agenda: "The Ewe and Togoland unification problem: special report of the Trusteeship Council" (A/2424)
2. The Committee received requests from several organizations and political parties that their representatives should be permitted to make oral statements to the Committee on the question under consideration. At its 318th meeting, the Committee decided to grant the request of the All-Ewe Conference (A/C.4/232) and, at its 319th meeting, decided by 41 votes to one, with 11 abstentions, to grant that of the Joint Togoland Congress (A/C.4/235). The request of the Parti Togolais du Progrès (A/C.4/242) was granted by the Committee at its 343rd meeting. In the case of the Buem-Krachi District Council, the request for a hearing was received by the Secretary-General on 14 November 1953 when the Committee was nearing the end of its consideration of the item; the Committee therefore decided, at its 368th meeting, to inform the petitioners that their request had been received too late for consideration at the present session.
3. The Committee considered the item at its 365th to 377th meetings.
4. At the 365th meeting, opening statements were made by the representatives of France and the United Kingdom as the Administering Authorities for the two Togolands. The Committee then heard statements by Mr. S.G. Antor and Mr. A.K. Odame, representatives of the Joint Togoland Congress.

5. At the 366th meeting, a statement was made by Mr. Sylvanus Olympio, representative of the All-Ewe Conference, and questions were put to him and to Mr. Antor by members of the Committee.
6. Mr. F. Bremner, representative of the Parti Togolais du Progrès, Dr. R. Armattoe, representative of the Joint Togoland Congress, and Mr. Olympio made statements at the 367th meeting and they and Mr. Antor and Mr. Odame answered questions put to them by members of the Committee during the same meeting and at the 368th, 369th and 370th meetings.
7. At the 370th meeting, the Committee decided that the representatives should be permitted to take part in the proceedings throughout the consideration of the item. At the same meeting, the Committee began a general debate on the item which continued until the 373rd meeting. Statements were made by the representatives of France and the United Kingdom at the 370th and 371st meetings respectively.
8. Three draft resolutions and a number of amendments thereto were submitted to the Committee concerning (a) the re-establishment of the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs; (b) the introduction of universal suffrage in the two Trust Territories; and (c) the relationship of the two Trust Territories to the constitutional development in the Gold Coast.
9. These draft resolutions and the amendments were considered from the 373rd to the 376th meetings.
10. The first draft resolution (A/C.4/L.308) was submitted at the 372nd meeting by Argentina, Egypt, Lebanon, Liberia, Pakistan, the Philippines and Venezuela. According to this draft resolution, the General Assembly would (1) regret that the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs had not yet been re-established; (2) reaffirm the principles and aims of its resolutions 555 (VI) and 652 (VII) approved on 18 January and 20 December 1952 respectively; (3) recommend that, in order to ensure that the Joint Council would faithfully reflect the wishes of all sections of the population of the two Trust Territories, its members should be directly elected by universal adult suffrage and secret ballot; (4) recommend that the Administering Authorities should establish, in consultation with the representatives of the different political parties, the rules concerning the structure which the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs should assume;

- (5) recommend that the Administering Authorities should assist the representatives of the different political parties to explain freely their views on the problem of unification throughout Togoland; (6) recommend that the Administering Authorities should disseminate throughout the two Trust Territories the complete texts of the pertinent resolutions of the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council in the main vernacular languages as well as in French and English;
- (7) recommend to the Administering Authorities the re-establishment of the Joint Council with the power to consider and make recommendations on the question of unification, as well as on all political, economic, social and educational matters affecting the two Trust Territories, and to serve as a means of ascertaining the opinions of the inhabitants of the Territories concerning any proposed changes in the terms of the Trusteeship Agreement for either of the Territories;
- (8) re-emphasize its recommendation that, through the Joint Council and in other ways, the Administering Authorities should adopt measures to promote common policies on political, economic and social matters of mutual concern to the two Trust Territories, and express the opinion that the implementation of this recommendation required that the Administering Authorities should accord to each Territory simultaneously a large measure of progress towards the objectives of Article 76 of the Charter and harmonize in all major respects the political, economic, social and educational policies and systems applying in the two Trust Territories;
- (9) invite the Trusteeship Council to submit to the General Assembly at its ninth session a special report concerning the steps taken towards the implementation of this resolution; (10) express the hope that the different political parties of both Territories would co-operate to achieve a formula acceptable to all which would facilitate the unification of the two Trust Territories.

11. At the 375th meeting, the representative of the Philippines, on behalf of the sponsors of the draft resolution, indicated that in operative paragraph 5, in the English and French texts, the words "throughout Togoland" should be transposed to follow the words "to explain freely".

12. At the 374th meeting, Iraq submitted an amendment (A/C.4/L.311) to the draft resolution which would insert the following paragraph after operative paragraph 5:

"6. Urges the Administering Authority of Togoland under French administration to take all necessary steps to ensure full freedom of political activity in the Territory consistent, in particular with the right of the inhabitants to the free expression of their aspirations for self-government or independence."

This amendment, however, was withdrawn by Iraq at the 376th meeting in favour of a second amendment (A/C.4/L.314) by Egypt and Iraq which would insert at the end of operative paragraph 5 the words "and, to this effect, that they take all necessary measures to ensure freedom of speech, movement and assembly in all parts of the Territories".

13. At the 375th meeting, New Zealand submitted an amendment (A/C.4/L.313) to delete in operative paragraph 10 the words "which will facilitate" and replace them by the words "with respect to".

14. The voting on the draft resolution and the amendments thereto, which took place at the 376th meeting of the Committee, was as follows:

Operative paragraph 4 was adopted by 47 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.

The Egypt/Iraq amendment to operative paragraph 5 was adopted by 52 votes to none, with no abstentions.

Operative paragraph 5, as amended, and operative paragraph 6 were adopted by 49 votes to none, with 1 abstention.

The first part of operative paragraph 7 up to and including the words "the two Trust Territories" was adopted by 52 votes to none, with no abstentions.

The second part of operative paragraph 7 was adopted by 45 votes to none, with 7 abstentions.

Operative paragraph 7 as a whole was adopted by 46 votes to none, with 6 abstentions.

The New Zealand amendment to operative paragraph 10 was rejected by 22 votes to 19, with 9 abstentions.

The draft resolution as a whole, as amended, was adopted by 44 votes to none, with 8 abstentions.

15. The second draft resolution (A/C.4/L.309) was submitted by Brazil, Cuba, India, Indonesia, the Philippines and Syria at the 373rd meeting. In this draft resolution the General Assembly would (1) urgently invite the Administering Authorities immediately to revise the system of electoral qualifications in force in the Territory and put into effect a method of electoral registration based on personal identification which should permit all adult persons to qualify for the right to vote and should ensure that electoral consultations be carried out in accordance with the democratic opinion of the population as a whole; (2) recommend that the political parties in the two Territories should collaborate closely with the respective Administering Authorities with a view to carrying out the identification of the adult persons for electoral purposes.

16. At the 375th meeting, Denmark submitted an amendment (A/C.4/L.315) to the draft resolution to delete the word "immediately" in operative paragraph 1 and substitute the words "as rapidly as possible". The sponsors of the draft resolution agreed to delete the word "immediately" and at the 376th meeting, submitted a revised text of their draft resolution (A/C.4/L.309/Rev.1), whereupon Denmark withdrew its amendment.

17. Voting on the draft resolution, which took place at the 376th meeting, was as follows:

The second paragraph of the preamble was adopted by 48 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.

The draft resolution as a whole was adopted by 48 votes to one, with 3 abstentions.

18. The third draft resolution (A/C.4/L.310) was submitted by Brazil, India, Indonesia, Liberia, the Philippines and Syria at the 373rd meeting. In this draft resolution the General Assembly would (1) express the opinion that further changes in the Constitution of the Gold Coast, with which Togoland under British administration was administered as an integral part, might to the extent that they provided for an increased measure of self-government, necessitate revision of the existing Trusteeship Agreement in respect of the Trust Territory in so far as concerned the existing administration union;

(2) consider that, in view of the manifest aspiration of the majority of the population of both the Trust Territories of Togoland for the unification of those Territories, any change in the Trusteeship Agreement for Togoland under British administration would necessarily affect the interests of the inhabitants of Togoland under French administration; (3) consider further that any revision of the Trusteeship Agreement for Togoland under British administration with a view to the integration or annexation of the Trust Territory, or any part of it, to the Gold Coast would be contrary to the principles and purposes of the International Trusteeship System; (4) request the Trusteeship Council at its thirteenth session to re-examine in all its aspects the problem of achieving in the two Trust Territories the basic objectives of the International Trusteeship System as set forth in Article 76 of the Charter and, in particular, the progressive development of the inhabitants towards self-government or independence as might be appropriate to the particular circumstances of the Territories and their peoples and their freely expressed wishes, having particular regard to the special circumstances created by the constitutional and political situation in the Gold Coast as it affected both Togoland under British administration and Togoland under French administration; (5) request the Trusteeship Council to submit to the General Assembly at its ninth regular session a special report on this problem.

19. At the 375th meeting, the sponsors of the draft resolution revised operative paragraph 3 (A/C.4/L.310/Rev.1) to read "Considers further that the integration of Togoland under British administration, or any part of it, to the Gold Coast before both Territories have attained self-government or independence, would be contrary to the principles and purposes of the International Trusteeship System".

20. At the 375th meeting, Chile and China submitted two amendments to the draft resolution. The first amendment (A/C.4/L.312) was to replace operative paragraph 1 by the following: "Expresses the opinion that further changes in the Constitution of the Gold Coast, with which Togoland under British administration is administered as an integral part, may, to the extent that they

provide for an increased measure of self-government, convert the existing administrative union into a political union and affect the status of the Trust Territory as a separate international entity in such a way as to necessitate revision of the existing Trusteeship Agreement". The second amendment was to delete operative paragraph 3, but the sponsors withdrew this amendment during the meeting. The amendment was then re-introduced by Colombia (A/C.4/L.316).

21. At the 376th meeting, however, Colombia withdrew the amendment in favour of an amendment (A/C.4/L.317) by the United Kingdom which would replace operative paragraph 3 by the following: "Considers further that the integration of Togoland under British administration, or any part of it, to the Gold Coast can only be accepted as a satisfactory termination of the Trusteeship Agreement if the prior agreement of the General Assembly is obtained by the Administering Authority in the light of the principles and purposes of the International Trusteeship System".

22. The draft resolution and the amendments thereto were voted upon at the 376th meeting as follows:

The first paragraph of the preamble was adopted by 39 votes to 5, with 9 abstentions.

The second paragraph of the preamble was adopted by 41 votes to 5, with 6 abstentions.

The third paragraph of the preamble was adopted by 39 votes to 5, with 7 abstentions.

The fourth paragraph of the preamble was adopted by 40 votes to 5, with 8 abstentions.

The Chile/China amendment to operative paragraph 1 was rejected by 29 votes to 19, with 1 abstention.

Operative paragraph 1 was adopted by 31 votes to 7, with 14 abstentions.

Operative paragraph 2 was adopted by 32 votes to 1, with 21 abstentions.

The United Kingdom amendment to paragraph 3 was rejected by a roll-call vote of 30 to 15, with 8 abstentions. The voting was as follows:

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

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

Abstentions: Chile, China, Dominican Republic, Greece, Iraq, Israel, Nicaragua, Thailand.

Operative paragraph 3 was adopted by 32 votes to 13, with 7 abstentions.

The first part of operative paragraph 4 up to and including the words "freely expressed wishes" was adopted by 47 votes to none, with 4 abstentions.

The second part of operative paragraph 4 was adopted by 38 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.

Operative paragraph 4 as a whole was adopted by 41 votes to none, with 11 abstentions.

Operative paragraph 5 was adopted by 49 votes to 1, with 4 abstentions.

The draft resolution as a whole was adopted by a roll-call vote of 33 votes to 8, with 12 abstentions. The voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Argentina, Brazil, Burma, China, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Panama, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

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

Abstentions: Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Netherlands, Norway, Peru, Poland, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United States of America.

23. At its 392nd meeting on 4 December 1955, the Committee, during its consideration of its draft report to the General Assembly, decided, on the suggestion of the Rapporteur, to amend the title of the draft resolutions to read "The Togoland unification problem".

24. The Fourth Committee accordingly recommends the adoption by the General Assembly of the following resolutions:

THE TOGOLAND UNIFICATION PROBLEM

Resolution A

The General Assembly,

Having examined the special report of the Trusteeship Council on the Ewe and Togoland unification problem (A/2424),

Taking into account the conclusion contained in the special report of the 1952 United Nations Visiting Mission (T/1034) that "the people of the Trust Territories desire in principle the unification of the two Trust Territories",

Recalling that the General Assembly based its resolution 652 (VII) of 20 December 1952 upon the consideration, inter alia, that the unification of the two parts of Togoland is the manifest aspiration of the majority of the population of the two Trust Territories,

Considering that the best means of achieving a form of unification acceptable to all groups of the population is through direct and continuous interchange of opinions among the representatives of those groups, and that such interchange of opinions could be realized in a reconstituted Joint Council for Togoland Affairs with ample powers to examine all aspects of the problem of unification of both Territories and to formulate pertinent recommendations,

Having heard the declarations of the representatives of the All-Ewe Conference, of the Joint Togoland Congress and of the Parti Togolais du Progrès,

Having heard also the declarations of the representatives of the Administering Authorities concerned,

1. Regrets that the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs has not yet been re-established;
2. Reaffirms the principles and aims of its resolutions 555 (VI) and 652 (VII) approved on 18 January and 20 December 1952 respectively;
3. Recommends that, in order to ensure that the Joint Council will faithfully reflect the wishes of all sections of the population of the two Trust Territories, its members should be directly elected by universal adult suffrage and secret ballot;

4. Recommends that the Administering Authorities establish, in consultation with the representatives of the different political parties, the rules concerning the structure which the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs should assume;

5. Recommends that the Administering Authorities assist the representatives of the different political parties to explain freely throughout Togoland their views on the problem of unification and, to this effect, that they take all necessary measures to ensure freedom of speech, movement and assembly in all parts of the Territories;

6. Recommends that the Administering Authorities disseminate throughout the two Trust Territories the complete texts of the pertinent resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Trusteeship Council in the main vernacular languages as well as in French or in English;

7. Recommends to the Administering Authorities the re-establishment of the Joint Council with the power to consider and make recommendations on the question of unification, as well as on all political, economic, social and educational matters affecting the two Trust Territories, and to serve as a means of ascertaining the opinions of the inhabitants of the Territories concerning any proposed changes in the terms of the Trusteeship Agreement for either of the Territories;

8. Re-emphasizes its recommendation that, through the Joint Council and in other ways, the Administering Authorities adopt measures to promote common policies on political, economic and social matters of mutual concern to the two Trust Territories, and expresses the opinion that the implementation of this recommendation requires that the Administering Authorities accord to each Territory simultaneously a large measure of progress towards the objectives of Article 76 of the Charter and harmonize in all major respects the political, economic, social and educational policies and systems applying in the two Trust Territories;

9. Invites the Trusteeship Council to submit to the General Assembly at its ninth session a special report concerning the steps which have been taken towards the implementation of the present resolution;

10. Expresses the hope that the different political parties of both Territories will co-operate to achieve a formula acceptable to all which will facilitate the unification of the two Trust Territories.

3. Considers further that the integration of Togoland under British administration, or any part of it, to the Gold Coast before both Territories have attained self-government or independence, would be contrary to the principles and purposes of the International Trusteeship System;

4. Requests the Trusteeship Council, at its thirteenth session, to re-examine in all aspects the problem of achieving in the two Trust Territories the basic objectives of the International Trusteeship System as set forth in Article 76 of the Charter and, in particular, the progressive development of the inhabitants towards self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of the Territories and their peoples and their freely expressed wishes, having particular regard to the special circumstances created by the constitutional and political situation in the Gold Coast as it affects both Togoland under British administration and Togoland under French administration;

5. Requests the Trusteeship Council to submit to the General Assembly at its ninth session a special report on this problem.
