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President: Mr. HENRÍQUEZ UREÑA (Dominican Republic).

Present: The representatives of the following countries: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, China, Dominican Republic, France, Iraq, New Zealand, Philippines, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Examination of the annual report on the administration of the Trust Territory of Nauru for the year ending 30 June 1949 (T/472, T/472/Add.1, T/472/Add.2) (*continued*)

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Reeve, special representative of the Administering Authority for the Trust Territory of Nauru, took his place at the Council table.

1. The PRESIDENT called upon the Australian representative, who wished to make a statement.
2. Mr. STIRLING (Australia) began by thanking the members of the Council for having shown during the discussion of the annual report on the administration of the Trust Territory of Nauru¹ that they appreciated the Administering Authority's efforts. The Administering Authority had taken careful note of the observations made during the discussion and it would try to put them into effect and report on them to the Council at the appropriate time. It would welcome the study which the Council was to make of the future of the indigenous inhabitants of Nauru after the phosphate deposits were exhausted, in sixty or seventy years' time.
3. It was his understanding that the Administering Authority was entitled to make corrections on matters of fact in the statements made by members of the Council and he would be glad if Mr. Reeve, the special representative, could make a further statement to the Council. He himself would make a few comments first.
4. He wished first of all to reply to certain members of the Council, including the representative of the Philippines, who had been disappointed because the Administering Authority had not put into force all the conclusions and recommendations adopted by the

Trusteeship Council at its fifth session in the previous year.² He pointed out that the adoption of those recommendations was subsequent to the year with which the report was concerned. Nevertheless, the Administering Authority had supplied information in its report regarding those conclusions and recommendations. The position was the same with regard to the Trust Territories of the Pacific Islands and New Guinea.

5. A similar comment might be made concerning the petitions received by the Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in the Pacific. Mr. Reeve had given all possible information regarding them, but some were quite recent and the Administering Authority had not yet had time to formulate its observations on them although it would do so before the following session of the Council.

6. Mr. Stirling wished to add a few remarks on the Territory of Nauru. Of all the Trust Territories, Nauru was the smallest, and the Australian delegation believed that care should be taken not to set up a top-heavy or unbalanced administration in such a small community.

7. He made it clear that it was not a question of under-estimating the importance of Nauru or of treating its inhabitants with less consideration than the citizens of other Trust Territories. Nevertheless, it should not be forgotten that Nauru was hardly more than a village of 300 families, as the representative of Belgium had said (25th meeting), and in examining the question the Council should above all show common sense. Mr. Stirling was thinking in particular of the proposals that had been made for the establishment of new local elective bodies or the nomination of new judges.

8. Although most of the representatives realized how small the Territory was, he was afraid that they might not be aware of the distance separating it from other lands. The island of Nauru was isolated in the middle of the Pacific Ocean and was not even part of an archipelago; it was not on the course of the major Pacific air lines and the freighter which carried the phosphates took nine days to reach the nearest port

¹ See *Report to the General Assembly of the United Nations on the administration of the Territory of Nauru from 1st July, 1948, to 30th June, 1949*: Commonwealth of Australia, Sydney, 1950.

² See *Official Records of the fourth session of the General Assembly*, Supplement No. 4, pages 76 and 77.

in New Zealand. Very few Australians were willing to live in the Territory. The administrators, doctors or teachers who worked there were showing a great spirit of self-sacrifice and when Australian justices of the Supreme Court had to go to Nauru, as two of them had done in the previous year, it represented a very great effort on their part.

9. He added a few words on the mentality of the inhabitants. The Uaurans were less gifted than Polynesians of pure stock and the climate of the island inclined them to indolence. He pointed out that in the circumstances, employment statistics had little meaning. Moreover, he did not think that the Nauruans were particularly interested in educational progress. In view of the indigenous inhabitants' reluctance to send their children abroad, however, the new Director of Education would try to develop secondary education on the island.

10. In political and administrative matters also the Nauruans were indolent, particularly in view of the fact that the war and the enemy occupation had wiped out the most active part of the population.

11. The Administration's first task, therefore, had been one of rehabilitation rather than development. Rehabilitation was not yet complete but it was becoming possible to concentrate more effort upon development. Thus, the Administering Authority was singling out particularly gifted young men who would be able to play an important part in the future. He recalled that two Nauruan delegates had taken part in the South Pacific Conference. He added that the Nauruans already played a major part in administering their domestic affairs and in fact already enjoyed a considerable degree of autonomy.

12. Lastly, Mr. Stirling stressed the interest of the indigenous inhabitants in the United Nations and in the Trusteeship Council in particular.

13. Mr. REEVE (Special representative for Nauru) was glad of the opportunity to correct certain misunderstandings which had been revealed in several speeches made at the Council's 25th meeting.

14. Some members of the Council had seemed to fear that the reconstitution of the Council of Chiefs did not leave sufficient scope to the younger element among the indigenous inhabitants. In that connexion, he drew the Council's attention to the fact that henceforward free elections would be held every four years whereas formerly they had taken place only after the death or resignation of a chief, and that all Nauruans would be able to stand as candidates. He explained that when the Council was constituted, it would elect three of its members who, with three other members appointed by the Administering Authority, would constitute a higher council, under the chairmanship of the Administrator. He was mentioning the plan, which was still in the preliminary stage, so that the members of the Trusteeship Council should know, when they were preparing their recommendations, that it was the Administering Authority's intention to give the authorized representatives of the indigenous population an important part in the political and administrative organization of the country.

15. It had also been said that Nauruans did not hold high positions in the Administration. In reply, he pointed out that on 30 June 1949 the Administration had 230 Nauruan employees and 11 European employees, including the Administrator. It was true that the Nauruans did not hold very important posts, but they did not yet possess the necessary qualifications; moreover, the training which they were gradually acquiring under the guidance of the European officers would enable them later to play an important part in the administration of the Territory.

16. It had been said that the Head Chief had to carry out the duties of four offices. Mr. Reeve explained that the functions of the Head Chief were as follows: first, he was Native Affairs Officer—that title replacing his former one of Superintendent of Native Affairs; secondly, he presided over the Council of Chiefs, but he did not carry out the duties of a district chief; thirdly, he was the magistrate of the District Court, a duty which occupied him only one morning a week. In Mr. Reeve's opinion, therefore, the duties ascribed to the Head Chief were reasonable and appropriate to the part he had to play.

17. It had been also said that direct expenditure on Nauru had diminished in proportion to the general revenue during the year under consideration. In his opinion, such a calculation falsified the position; the fact was that the total expenditure had risen over the preceding year because of the increase in the wages and salaries paid by the Administration, most of which went to Nauruans. He pointed out that the annual expenditure on wages and salaries alone now surpassed the total expenditure of the Administration in pre-war years. Moreover, in 1947-48 the Administration had distributed to the Nauruans free of charge a number of water-storage tanks.

18. Some members of the Council had regarded the rent of 5 shillings a week for the new houses as too high. In answer to that he said that the Council of Chiefs had approved the figure. He added that the money received in rent did not make part of the general revenue but would be used for the construction of new houses.

19. A misunderstanding seemed to have arisen with regard to the advances paid by the British Phosphate Commissioners. The advances were not reimbursed by the inhabitants of the Territory; they were payments made by the British Phosphate Commissioners towards administrative expenses and were taken into account in establishing the price of the phosphate. They were thus reimbursed by the purchasers of the phosphate and not by the inhabitants of the Territory.

20. The number of Nauruans employed by the Administration had been regarded as too small. However, of 379 employable Nauruans, the Administration employed 230, or more than 60 per cent.

21. Some representatives appeared to believe that the Nauruans had difficulty in obtaining permission to leave the island. In fact, travelling was limited not by the difficulty of obtaining permission, but by the lack of means of transport.

22. The Chinese representative had raised the question of the capitation tax said to be paid by Chinese

employees. That tax was not paid by individuals either directly or as a deduction from wages. However, should the capitation tax be replaced by an income tax, a financial liability might fall on Chinese employees as well as other wage earners.

23. It had been said that the holidays were not the same for Nauruan employees as for Chinese employees or those from the Gilbert Islands. Mr. Reeve pointed out that if that were not so, Nauruans who worked on the island might not have the annual rest that workers recruited abroad enjoyed while travelling in one direction or the other.

24. As regards the principle of equal pay for equal work, he had in fact said that that principle had not been accepted, but he had been referring only to wages as between men and women.

25. In conclusion, Mr. Reeve, who was personally concerned with the progress and well-being of the indigenous inhabitants of Nauru, wished to thank the members of the Council for the courtesy they had shown throughout the examination of the report.

26. The PRESIDENT proposed that the Council should appoint a committee to draft its report on the Trust Territory of Nauru. He suggested that the representatives of Belgium, France, China and Argentina should serve on the committee.

It was so decided.

Mr. Reeve, special representative of the Administering Authority for the Trust Territory of Nauru, withdrew.

Examination of petitions (continued)

27. Mr. KHALIDY (Iraq) began, in order to make the position clear, with a statement that in his Government's opinion it was the prerogative of the Ewes to speak first on the merits of the proposals of France and the United Kingdom (T/702). If the Ewes had accepted the proposals, the Government of Iraq would have had nothing more to say. However, after the further details which he had received at the 25th meeting from the representative of the All-Ewe Conference on the new amendment to the proposals, it had been his impression that the attitude of that representative had not changed since the 20th meeting, on 5 July. The Government of Iraq therefore regarded itself as morally free to express its opinions; it even felt an obligation to do so and would make its comments in complete fairness and objectivity.

28. He recalled that the Ewe question had been under consideration for several years. He recognized that the Council had been right to postpone its examination of it until the return of the Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa, but he now believed that the Council possessed complete information and that, apart from political considerations, there was nothing to delay it any longer from carrying out its duty. For three years, no progress had been made in the matter; in his opinion that should give the Administering Authorities some concern and the Council should meditate upon it, not only because of its responsibilities in the matter, but also because of the character that the Ewe movement had assumed.

29. As matters stood, the movement had acquired the character and momentum of a genuine nationalist movement. So much emerged clearly from the Visiting Mission's report (T/463), despite its moderation and objectivity. In his opinion, anyone reading the report must realize the necessity, not only of finding within the shortest possible time a solution that would satisfy the desires of the population, but also of eliminating the difficulties resulting from the division of the Ewe people, in the interests of the Trusteeship Council, but above all in the interests of peace and security in that part of the world.

30. He stressed the danger of illusions. The Ewe movement was an enlightened one, a crusade as it were, in the sense that its leaders presented their case peacefully and with dignity. However, there were circumstances in which the dividing line between peace and violence and between justice and injustice tended to disappear on the slightest provocation. That state of affairs must not be allowed to develop in Togoland. In his opinion, it would be necessary to make a formal declaration that the request of the Ewe people for unification was absolutely legitimate. It was clear from the Visiting Mission's report and from the attitude of the Administering Authorities themselves that the division caused material prejudice to the Ewe people.

31. He turned next to the joint observations of the Governments of France and of the United Kingdom (T/702), and pointed out first of all that the Council had been particularly generous to the Administering Authorities. It had given them—and he made no objection to such a courtesy—all the time that they had asked for, even after its sixth session and the publication of the Visiting Mission's report. It now counted on them to bring about the satisfactory solution to the problem which they had promised.

32. The joint observations which the two Administering Authorities had submitted to the Council were disappointing. However, before analysing them, he asked the Council's permission to take up one particular part which called for separate treatment. The eighth paragraph of document T/702 contained the following passage: "The complexity of the problem is clearly shown by paragraph 7 of chapter V of the Visiting Mission's report, and the two Administering Authorities have noted that the Visiting Mission has not felt able to propose in its report any concrete solution."

33. Mr. Khalidy proposed to discuss that text in relation both to the Visiting Mission's report and to the moral implications of such an assertion. First, it was not quite true to say that the Visiting Mission had not been able to propose a concrete solution in its report. It had refrained from doing so on purpose. It had felt, in courtesy and deference to the two Governments concerned, that their hands should not be tied by a preconceived plan. Therefore, it was neither through incompetence nor through a lack of goodwill that the Visiting Mission had not proposed any concrete solution, and it had not omitted to indicate three vast avenues of approach, while leaving the two Administering Authorities adequate latitude and freedom to produce their own solution.

34. He then read the sentence following the one he had just quoted, noting that he found it somewhat surprising: "In the light of the report"—the report of the Visiting Mission—"they themselves"—the Administering Authorities—"remain of the opinion that there is no one political solution which readily offers itself as being clearly preferable to the present state of affairs."

35. To say that there was no solution preferable to the existing state of affairs was tantamount to saying that the present situation in the two Togolands was irreproachable. If that sentence was a portent of the future, it was difficult to see how a solution was to be obtained or how the Council could perform its duties in such circumstances. Moreover, he did not understand how such an opinion could have been read into the report of the Visiting Mission. The idea had never crossed the minds of the members of the Mission.

36. He then turned to the substance of the joint observations. In his view, it was not easy to reconcile the wish of the two Governments to obtain more information with the fact that they had been in that region for thirty years and were supposed to be acquainted with all the factors in the situation. The Trusteeship Council itself, which had only been aware of the facts for three years and not thirty, now had all the information and documents which it needed to make its decision. It had been said before the Council on many occasions that it would be wiser to wait until the Visiting Mission had submitted its report. That had now been done and there were also many other documents before the Council. If the purpose of the proposed Consultative Commission was that it should indicate the opinion and wishes of the people, there was no need to constitute such a body. The Ewe people had their own organizations and their own accredited representatives, some of whom had been able to sit at the Council table. The Council itself had seen fit to acknowledge the All-Ewe Conference and had granted its representatives several hearings. It was obvious from the report of the Visiting Mission that the Conference was a well-organized body and that its claim to express the opinion of the Ewes was incontestable. That body had stated unequivocally the stand of the people which it represented. Other organizations, from the north especially, had also made their views known. The two Administering Authorities were thus in possession of all the information and could not claim to need further details.

37. Mr. Khalidy had still other reservations to make, however. In the first place, there was no real proposal for a plebiscite and the enlarged Consultative Commission would have no powers except to gather information and determine the different points of view. In that connexion, the word "elections" should be used with the utmost care. Forty-one members in all would be elected. It would be naïve to think that elections of that kind would be perfectly straightforward.

38. Further, it must be acknowledged that the people concerned were not yet ready to make full use of such a system. They were only beginning to be at home in popular institutions and it was impossible to imagine what hazards they might encounter in dealing with

parliamentary institutions. It would be neither fair nor wise to expect them to find a solution to the Ewe problem with ease.

39. Moreover, it might easily be represented, as a result of differences of opinion inside the Consultative Commission, that there were minorities whose rights must not be forgotten and in paying too much attention to them the claims of a larger section, namely the Ewe people, might be impaired. The whole problem might thus be placed in an entirely false perspective.

40. Lastly, the proposal would have the effect of shifting the responsibility for a solution from the Administering Authorities and the Trusteeship Council to people who were not yet independent and thus not masters of their own fate. It would be morally inconsistent to ask those people for a solution which they were not capable of finding.

41. If the Administering Authorities wanted suggestions or solutions, the All-Ewe Conference had already supplied one. It might be said in defence of the joint proposals of France and the United Kingdom that if the enlarged Consultative Commission made a recommendation, the Administering Authorities would hardly be able to reject it. The real question, however, was whether the enlarged Consultative Commission would be in a position to agree on any concrete proposals.

42. On 5 and 6 July (20th and 21st meetings), the Trusteeship Council had heard the five petitioners from the two parts of Togoland. The representative of the northern part had said, and rightly, that the north was not Eweland and differed from the south in several respects, but he had not put forward any argument obviating the rights and claims of the Ewe people for unification. The Ewes made no claims on the northern part, where hardly any of their people lived. If the north was anxious for development and social advancement, either for itself alone or for the whole of the Territory, it was hard to see how the unification of the Ewe people could stand in the way.

43. He added that one of the petitioners heard by the Trusteeship Council, the representative of the Togoland Progress Party, had made a startling statement. Mr. Khalidy had therefore thought it his duty, not only as a member of the Council but also as Chairman of the Visiting Mission which had studied the problem on the spot, to question that representative closely. The representative of the Togoland Progress Party had told the Trusteeship Council that his party numbered 20,000; that was a gross error.

44. Mr. GARREAU (France) observed that the Visiting Mission had been a temporary organ which had now fulfilled the task entrusted to it by the Trusteeship Council. Henceforth, there was no Visiting Mission or Chairman of the Mission. Mr. Khalidy could speak only on behalf of his Government, as a member of the Trusteeship Council, but not as Chairman of the Visiting Mission, although he was free to recall that he had been Chairman of the Mission and to mention his personal recollections.

45. Mr. KHALIDY (Iraq) said that, according to the Visiting Mission's report, in 1947 the Togoland Progress Party was said to have 5,000 members at

Lomé and 9,500 in the interior of the country, but the Visiting Mission had never believed in the accuracy of those figures. The Togoland Progress Party had at most a few hundred members, mostly unimportant clerks in the Administration or small people with a vested interest in the maintenance of the existing division. Its funds did not come from the subscriptions of its members, but from an entirely different source. The truth was that the Togoland Progress Party was not a party, even according to African standards. Even if it had been a serious party, in fairness its claims would have had to be analysed and considered solely on their own merits.

46. In the first place, it was hard to believe the representative of the Togoland Progress Party when he said that the vast majority of the people of Togoland under French administration were against unification. If that were the case, it was peculiar that that majority had been unable to organize itself and express its opinion while other groups had been able to do so. It was obvious that the north of Togoland was not Ewe territory, but nobody could claim that there was a movement opposed to unification among the Ewes themselves.

47. Moreover, it was not easy to see how unification could be contrary to the interests of the people concerned or to their wishes. Mr. Pedro Olympio had told the Council that it would be inadvisable to change the education system and the social services. He had also said that progress must be encouraged. No one could dispute the need for advancement, but in the case in point, the fundamental element in the movement was not any preference for one educational system over another. The movement was rather the result of two basic facts: the nationalist feeling of most of the people who were suffering under the existing division, and the material hardships of daily life which were caused by the existence of the frontier, differences in currency and obstacles to trade.

48. The Togoland Progress Party did not judge the unification movement on its own merits; it favoured one of the two Administrations. Its preference for the French Administration was its own affair, provided that it did not harm a movement which was supported by the majority of the Ewe people. The Government of Iraq could not therefore accept the claims and arguments of the Togoland Progress Party as representative of an appreciable section of the people or of their true wishes. It accepted the conclusions of the Visiting Mission, which gave greater importance to the unification movement of the All-Ewe Conference and to the true feelings of the Ewe people.

49. Mr. Khalidy then stated his Government's position with regard to the joint proposals of France and the United Kingdom.

50. The French delegation seemed to believe that the unification movement in the two parts of Togoland was not a movement at all but a superficial agitation provoked by professional politician on instigation from the outside; it believed that the frontier difficulties were not serious and that the whole situation had never been as grave as had been represented.

51. The delegation of Iraq, on the other hand, felt that the unification movement was a vast and powerful

nationalist movement which truly represented the wishes of almost the whole of the Ewe people, and that the frontier difficulties and allied restrictions were real and grave.

52. The Iraqi delegation had no intention of abstaining on the joint proposals. The gravity of the situation did not admit of recourse to the easy method of not participating in the final decision. Moreover, the voting balance had already been disturbed by the absence of a member of the group of Powers that did not administer Trust Territories. Acceptance of the proposals could only mean further delay in solving the problem. The Council had been waiting for a settlement for the past three years. Now that it had the Visiting Mission's report before it, there could be no justification for postponing the decision any longer. The views of the Ewe people were now well known and any further information was superfluous.

53. The representative of the All-Ewe Conference had informed the Council that his organization would agree to a plebiscite conducted by the United Nations. The Iraqi delegation would not press for that solution but if the Council saw fit to adopt that course, it would have no objection, since that was the only method that had not yet been tried.

54. His delegation could not, however, subscribe to a plan based on elections which might encourage the interplay of various interests to the detriment of the majority of the population. Furthermore, the representative of the All-Ewe Conference had made it clear that his people would not take part in the election of members to the Consultative Commission. That, in itself, should invalidate the joint proposals of France and the United Kingdom.

55. In conclusion, Mr. Khalidy reminded the Council that if the joint proposals were adopted, it would mean that the responsibility would be shifted from the Administering Authorities and the Council to the people themselves. That would be morally wrong, since the Ewe people had proposed one solution and it was for the Administering Authorities to propose another if they could not accept the one put forward by the Ewes. Moreover, in view of the dangerous possibility that the various sectors of opinion represented in the Consultative Commission might be represented as minorities at a time when the popular movement was growing in dimensions both from the material and moral point of view, the Government of Iraq was unable to support the joint proposals of France and the United Kingdom as they stood.

56. Mr. FLETCHER-COOKE (United Kingdom) wished to correct certain misstatements and repair certain omissions made by the representative of Iraq.

57. The latter had stated that the real question before the Council was whether the representatives of the Ewe people accepted the Anglo-French proposals and he had continued by asserting that the representatives of the Ewe people did not accept those proposals. It was clear, however, that Mr. Khalidy had only been thinking of the representative of the All-Ewe Conference; there were, however, other representatives of the Ewe people at the Council table and some of them had stated that they did accept the proposals, in par-

particular the clarification of the terms of reference which had been introduced during recent discussions in the Council. Moreover a number of letters and telegrams had been received from the two Trust Territories expressing agreement with these proposals.

58. Mr. Fletcher-Cooke had been surprised to hear Mr. Sylvanus Olympio, as a result of a leading question from the representative of Iraq, go back on one of his earlier statements regarding the addition to paragraph I (c) of the terms of reference of the Consultative Commission. That statement had clearly meant that if the addition was to be interpreted in the way indicated by the representative of the United States, Mr. Olympio regarded the proposal as acceptable.

59. With regard to the political aspects of the problem, the Government of the United Kingdom was not in a position to associate itself with the rather extravagant language used by the representative of Iraq who had stated that the Ewe unification movement was a fully-fledged nationalist movement. The Ewe people were not asking for the establishment of a separate national state, which would justify the language used by the representative of Iraq, but for unification under a single administration, which was a very different matter.

60. The United Kingdom representative had also been surprised at the way in which the representative of Iraq had spoken of recourse to violence. He did not feel that it would help the cause of those peoples to suggest to them that they were much more likely to achieve their ends by persuading the Administering Authorities or the Council that they were ready to resort to violence or illegal methods.

61. There had been Ewes in the Gold Coast since long before 1919 and he therefore refuted the Iraqi representative's statement that, before the creation of the two Mandates, the Ewes had been one people and one country under the German regime.

62. Mr. Fletcher-Cooke considered that it was hardly a matter of courtesy on the part of the Council for the latter to give the Administering Authorities time to find a solution to the difficult problem when it was a plain fact that under the Trusteeship Agreements the two Administering Authorities were responsible for the good government, administration and orderly progress of the two Territories.

63. Mr. Fletcher-Cooke was interested to learn of the reasons which the representative of Iraq gave as to why the Visiting Mission had not seen fit to put forward any concrete recommendations in respect of the problem. However, the Administering Authorities could hardly be blamed for failing to know what was going on in the minds of missions. They had to take the report as they found it and they found it to be a very useful document because it underlined the complexity of the question—a factor which the representative of Iraq had ignored in his intervention.

64. He also pointed out that in his second reading of the passage from document T/702, the representative of Iraq had omitted the most important word, "clearly". The Administering Authorities certainly did not contend that there was no solution which was preferable to the present state of affairs. They sincerely hoped

that there was such a solution and it was for that purpose that they proposed to establish the enlarged Consultative Commission. If they thought that there was no hope for the future, they would certainly not waste the Council's time in asking it to consider such a proposal. They had said, although the representative of Iraq had failed to mention it, that at that stage there was no one political solution which offered itself as being clearly preferable to the existing state of affairs. The whole purpose of the Consultative Commission was to determine with clarity what the best solution was and it was only when the results of the inquiry made by the Consultative Commission and the records of its discussions were available that it would be possible to make a decision.

65. Mr. Fletcher-Cooke was surprised that the representative of Iraq, who had several times requested during the examination of reports on African Trust Territories that the electoral system should be applied in the Territories, should now oppose the efforts of the Administering Authorities to establish the Consultative Commission within the framework of the existing electoral system and should say that he would prefer that only those persons who claimed to represent the population should be assembled. The case in point concerned a very important matter and it was therefore essential that the population should be fully aware of all the aspects of the problem before electing or nominating their representatives to the Consultative Commission. Those representatives would have a specific mandate: they would have to work out a regional organization for the Territories. It was therefore possible that they would need qualifications different from those of the former leaders. That was why the Administering Authorities wanted the Consultative Commission to be composed of members in every sense chosen by the local population, whether they were elected or, as in some cases, nominated by the indigenous authorities.

66. The representative of Iraq had said that the population was not sufficiently developed to be able to apply the electoral system. That was a very important remark, particularly in view of the fact that the representative of Iraq had been Chairman of the Visiting Mission. Mr. Fletcher-Cooke took note of that statement, and would not fail to refer to it later, when the Council had before it proposals for immediate introduction into the Trust Territory of electoral machinery and a system of direct election. The representative of Iraq had also said that he was afraid that the Consultative Commission might give undue attention to the aspirations and rights of minorities. The preservation of the rights of minorities was the very essence of democracy and Mr. Fletcher-Cooke for his part was sure that the Consultative Commission, which would be representative of all opinions, would take the views of minorities into full account.

67. A study of the development of the situation in West Africa, and reference to the report of the Visiting Mission as a whole, showed that the representative of Iraq's suggestion that the Administering Authorities were trying to avoid their responsibility for reaching some conclusion in the matter by endeavouring to enlist the assistance of the population of the Territories,

was totally without foundation. For himself, he found it impossible to reconcile that remark with the general attitude of the representative of Iraq in the Trusteeship Council where the latter had often maintained that it was the duty of the Administering Authorities to see that the peoples of Trust Territories played an ever-increasing part in the management of the Territories' affairs and thus expressed their views.

68. The Administering Authorities had put forward a scheme which would enable the people of the Territories to study the matter themselves and submit their own conclusions; it was rather surprising to note that the Administering Authorities were being accused of avoiding their responsibilities and shifting them to a people who were not ready to bear them. He was sure that the people of the Territories who were perfectly capable of presenting the Administering Authorities with constructive suggestions would regard that remark as most unflattering.

69. In addition, it was important to point out that there was not only one solution to the problem, as the representative of Iraq appeared to believe. In point of fact, there was more than one problem. The Trusteeship Council had heard a number of opinions regarding the regional organization of the two Togolands and an even wider variety of opinions was to be found in the various petitions. Moreover, he could not share the view of the representative of Iraq that the Consultative Commission would never be in a position to find a solution. The representative of Iraq had spoken in that connexion of the very important interests which were at stake and which would be revealed in the Consultative Commission. That was perfectly true. However, he asked how in those circumstances could the Trusteeship Council, without having heard the various opinions, immediately decide and take a stand which would satisfy one of those interests to the detriment of all the rest. Such a solution would be completely illogical. Whether the claims of the Ewes were simply one among many or whether they were the only ones which must be taken into consideration was a problem which the proceedings of the Consultative Commission would make it possible to decide.

70. It was not his intention to reply to the comments of the representative of Iraq regarding the statement of Mr. Pedro Olympio. He wished, however, to point out that the representative of Iraq's remarks seemed to him to be a wholly unjustified attack. He would leave it to the representative of France to reply to that part of the Iraqi representative's speech.

71. He then turned to the Iraqi representative's comment that it seemed to be superfluous to collect further information. Mr. Fletcher-Cooke disagreed entirely. He pointed out that the Trusteeship Council did not have any specific plan for the unification of the Ewes before it, and that even if it was unanimous in desiring such unification, it could not take a decision on the way in which the unification was to be carried out. The matter had not yet been discussed and the local people had not yet had an opportunity of facing the realities of the situation and the responsibilities implied in the various suggestions that had been put forward. They would have that opportunity in the Consultative Commission and if any plan which was clearly

practicable and backed by a substantial majority was drawn up as a result of the discussions in the Commission, the Administering Authorities would obviously have to give it the most serious consideration. The Administering Authorities could not support the proposal that the Council should immediately approve a plan which did not even exist and of which neither the details nor the practical implications had been studied; as an alternative, the Administering Authorities proposed that the question should be considered by the peoples who were directly concerned.

72. In reply to a further comment by the representative of Iraq, Mr. Fletcher-Cooke emphasized that the Consultative Commission had not been set up for the sole benefit of the Ewe people or any other particular group. It was designed to safeguard the interests of all the peoples in the two Territories for which the two Administering Authorities were responsible to the Trusteeship Council and the United Nations.

73. The Ewes, like the other peoples in the two Territories, would have every opportunity of putting forward their views in the Consultative Commission. The various opinions would be studied and, if the Commission so decided, they would form the basis of a recommendation to the Administering Authorities.

74. Mr. MUNOZ (Argentina) was glad that the question of the Council's competence had not been raised, although at the beginning of the debate certain delegations had made some observations in that connexion. He considered that the Council would be wise to adopt any resolution that was within its competence in order to ensure a just solution of the problem.

75. He further believed that the problems connected with the petition before the Council did not arise from any difference of opinion between the Administering Authorities and the Powers that did not administer Trust Territories. In that connexion, he drew the Council's attention to a rather similar case, the petition regarding the Bugufi area; in that case the Council had stated that it was satisfied with the policy adopted by the two Administering Authorities, Belgium and the United Kingdom (resolution 116 (VI)).

76. His delegation had followed with the greatest attention the debates in the Council, the statements of the petitioners and the replies of the Administering Authorities, and he wished to associate himself with the remarks of the United Kingdom representative on the interpretation which should be given to Mr. Olympio's latest speech in the Council. He felt that co-operation was still possible and that the Council ought to take that fact into consideration.

77. The problem was a very complex one to which it would be difficult to find a satisfactory solution, since any settlement would have to take into account not only the will of the majority of the people concerned but also, as the United Kingdom representative had said, the will of the various minorities whose interests were involved. Furthermore, the Council must be mindful of the other aspects of the problem and in particular of the question of the northern part of the two Trust Territories. In that connexion, he agreed with the representative of Belgium that there could be no secession from Territories for which the Trusteeship Council was responsible. Such a secession might set

a precedent in the future not only in regard to Trust Territories but in regard to other territories as well. The Argentine delegation was therefore opposed to any secession, unless it was clearly proved that such a solution was essential in view of the particular factors involved in a specific problem. In the case in point, the Council must also take into account the interests of the neighbouring territories which were not Trust Territories but were, nevertheless, non-self-governing.

78. In conclusion the Argentine delegation wished to stress the necessity of maintaining the unity of the Ewe people until such time as it was possible to settle the problem. In that connexion, he drew the Council's attention to the last paragraph of the joint draft resolution presented by the United States and Argentina (T/L.100); that paragraph recommended the Administering Authorities to take all necessary and appropriate measures to ensure that until a definitive settlement was reached, the common traits and traditions of the Ewe people in the two Trust Territories should be preserved. His delegation attached the greatest importance to that principle.

79. The Argentine delegation considered it essential that a solution should be found in collaboration with the two Administering Authorities who were thoroughly familiar with the question. The fourth and sixth paragraphs of the joint draft resolution (T/L.100) expressed that idea: the fourth paragraph took note of the plan put forward by the two Administering Authorities as explained and amended in the statements made in the Council on 11 July and said that it had as its purpose the ascertainment of the real wishes and interests of the inhabitants of all parts of the two Trust Territories. The sixth paragraph rounded off that idea and expressed the hope that the Administering Authorities would take all appropriate steps to ensure that the Consultative Commission would equitably represent the different sections and groups of the two Trust Territories.

80. His delegation also attached great importance to another principle: it believed that the Council should receive full and up-to-date information. The seventh paragraph of the joint draft resolution was intended to secure the implementation of that principle; it requested the Administering Authorities to inform the Council at its following session of the steps which had been taken and to submit to the Council a report on the deliberations of the Consultative Commission up to that date. The Argentine delegation felt that the Ewe claim was largely justified; nevertheless, there were other aspects of the problem which required careful consideration and he personally considered that the proposals put forward by the two Administering Authorities might form the basis for a just solution of the problem.

81. Mr. KHALIDY (Iraq) wished to correct the mistaken impression to which the United Kingdom representative's statement might have given rise. He was astonished at the vehemence which the United Kingdom representative had shown. He had tried to make his statement as objective as possible and could not be blamed if for political reasons certain delegations wished to misinterpret it.

82. The United Kingdom representative had said that at the previous meeting pressure had been brought to bear on Mr. Sylvanus Olympio. Mr. Khalidy could not accept the use of the word "pressure". He had only wished to obtain certain further explanations; Mr. Sylvanus Olympio's first statement had seemed rather vague and he had asked him to be kind enough to be more specific. The exact remarks exchanged could be found in the Council's records. He had received the impression that Mr. Sylvanus Olympio had not modified his original position. Nevertheless, if Mr. Sylvanus Olympio now told the Council that he agreed with the Anglo-French proposals (T/702), Mr. Khalidy would be the first to admit that he had been mistaken.

83. The representative of the United Kingdom had said that some people had tried to suggest to the Ewe people that they might achieve their ends by resorting to illegal or violent means. Mr. Khalidy protested against that statement and emphasized that he had never tried to impel the Ewes to take illegal action. He pointed out that the Ewe people were quite free to do as they saw fit and, furthermore, that his statement was a very general one in which he had merely recalled that the unification movement had so far been very restrained in its actions but that the Council should not misinterpret the apparent calm which the Ewes had shown so far.

84. The representative of the United Kingdom had also claimed that Mr. Khalidy had said that the Ewes had been one country and one people under the German regime and that that was incorrect. Mr. Khalidy wished to make it clear that his statement had applied solely to the two Togolands, which were in fact the only Territories for which the Council was responsible and that, in that context, his remark had been quite justified.

85. Also according to the representative of the United Kingdom, Mr. Khalidy had omitted part of the quotation from document T/702 submitted by the delegations of France and the United Kingdom. That was a misstatement; he had quoted the passage in question quite correctly.

86. Contrary to the belief of the representative of the United Kingdom, Mr. Khalidy had never meant that the population should not be given the right to vote and to hold elections. On the contrary, it was a right he had always defended. He had merely pointed out that the fact that the population was not sufficiently advanced to make effective use of that right created a problem which was just as involved as the question of Ewe unification. At present, the Ewes were not sufficiently mature, politically speaking, to make good use of parliamentary institutions. He was sure the United Kingdom representative would agree that before the right to vote and the right to hold elections was granted, the people should be taught how to use those rights.

87. Although it was a fundamental problem, the representative of the United Kingdom had not mentioned the moral responsibility incumbent on the Administering the Authorities with regard to the Ewe people; those Authorities were attempting to evade that responsibility and to place it on the shoulders of the people themselves.

88. Mr. Khalidy had never stated, as the representative of the United Kingdom seemed to think, that minority rights should not be taken into due consideration. He had simply been afraid that if too much importance were placed on minority views, differences of opinion would be accentuated and the problem would be converted into one of minorities, to the detriment of the interests of the population at large.

89. Furthermore, Mr. Khalidy had never stated that there was only one solution to the problem. As a member of the former Visiting Mission, he had agreed with the Mission as a whole in believing that the Administering Authorities had a choice between three or four different solutions. Neither was it true to say that he had said that there was only one problem; what he had said was that the All-Ewe Conference in fact represented the organized opinion of the overwhelming majority of Ewes, that the Ewe people were legitimately entitled to be united, that the position of the Ewe people raised a problem and that that problem must be solved. If the representative of the United Kingdom could suggest a concrete solution to the problem, Mr. Khalidy would be the first to give it sympathetic consideration, even if it did not include the unification of the Ewe people. So far, however, the representative of the United Kingdom had suggested none.

90. Moreover, Mr. Khalidy had never said that vast interests would reveal themselves within the Commission; he had in fact spoken of vast differences of opinion; it was inevitable that quarrels should arise since considerable interests were involved in the matter. The problem was a very wide and complex one which quite naturally affected a large number of interests; nevertheless, those interests were less important in themselves than the differences of opinion which would become apparent in the Consultative Commission, since it was the latter which would help to determine the final recommendations formulated by the Commission.

91. Finally, Mr. Khalidy had not attacked Mr. Pedro Olympio, as the United Kingdom representative apparently thought. He had referred simply to the Togoland Progress Party, of which Mr. Pedro Olympio was certainly not the only member, and, in referring to that Party, had based his statement on the declarations of the Party itself as they appeared in the records of the Council's 20th and 21st meetings, on 5 and 6 July.

92. Those were the points which he felt obliged to correct. Other questions also needed clarification but he did not think that they were important enough to merit his attention.

The meeting was suspended at 4.20 p.m. and was resumed at 4.45 p.m.

93. Mr. SAYRE (United States of America) pointed out that although the problem itself was very complex, the particular aspect with which the Trusteeship Council was concerned was quite simple and could be reduced to the following points. The Administering Authorities were responsible, under the Trusteeship Agreements, for the administration of the Territories and for safeguarding the interests of the inhabitants

of the Territories they administered. The Administering Authorities were currently faced with a problem of great complexity concerning the unification of the Ewe people. Before reaching a final decision and settling on definite measures, they had informed the Council that they had decided to ascertain the real wishes and true interests of the peoples concerned. It was clear from document T/702, which contained the text of their proposals, that the Administering Authorities had decided to establish a Consultative Commission for that purpose. He asked what attitude the Council should take. The draft resolution presented by Argentina and the United States (T/L.100) furnished a very clear answer to that question: the Council should note the plan put forward by the Administering Authorities and express the hope that they would proceed along the lines proposed. The Council could not act otherwise if it desired the true wishes of the peoples concerned to form the basis for the final solution.

94. He had given careful consideration to the amendments to the draft resolution put forward by the delegations of China, Iraq and the Philippines (T/L.102). He wished to emphasize that those proposals were not really amendments since they recommended an altogether different course to the Council.

95. Whereas the delegations of Argentina and the United States expressed the hope that the Administering Authorities would proceed along the lines proposed in document T/702, the delegations of China, Iraq and the Philippines proposed that the decisions reached by the Administering Authorities should be completely ignored; moreover, they asked the Council to decide that, as matters stood, the extremely complex problem could only be solved by the unification of the Ewe people under a single administration; lastly, the amendments asked the Administering Authorities to ignore the opinion of the northern peoples. Mr. Sayre read the fourteenth paragraph of the amendments (T/L.102) and pointed out that the text was very ambiguous; if the Council adopted that amendment, it would certainly appear to some people that it had decided in favour of the unification of the Ewes in the south, irrespective of the interests and wishes of the peoples in the north. The proposals contained in the amendments as a whole were therefore entirely different from those put forward in the draft resolution of Argentina and the United States. If they were taken as amendments, they would probably be put to the vote first. If a vote was taken in parts, he would vote against each of the paragraphs of the amendments even if he was sometimes in agreement with the text of the paragraph. He believed that it was the duty of each member of the Council to choose one or another of the solutions *in toto*. He also believed that the Trusteeship Council could not ignore the decisions already reached by the Administering Authorities.

96. Lastly, in the light of the information at its disposal, the Council could not immediately decide that the problem could only be solved by the unification of the Ewe people under a single administration. He would therefore vote against each of the paragraphs of the joint amendments and against the text as a whole.

97. In conclusion he wished to emphasize that he had an absolutely open mind on the final solution to be reached with regard to the problem of the unification of the Ewes. His main, and, in fact, only anxiety was to safeguard the interests of the Ewe people, of the northern peoples and of all the peoples of the two Togolands, whether they were under British or French administration.

98. Mr. INGLES (Philippines) wished to clarify his delegation's position with regard to the joint proposals submitted by France and the United Kingdom (T/702). The Philippine delegation had always been of the opinion that no decision of the Administering Authorities could run counter to any action decided upon by the Council in the exercise of its responsibilities under the Charter, particularly when the Council's decision had been taken after duly examining the petitions submitted to it by the inhabitants of Trust Territories. That had been the position taken by the Philippine delegation at the sixth session at Geneva, and it had not been changed since.

99. At Geneva, the delegations of France and the United Kingdom had assured the Council that they would take into account not only the observations of the Visiting Mission but also the statements of Mr. Sylvanus Olympio before formulating their plans and submitting them to the seventh session of the Council for its decision. Mr. Ingles quoted passages from the verbatim records of the 53rd and 63rd meetings of the Council's sixth session showing that both the French and the United Kingdom Governments had given undertakings to that effect and had agreed to communicate to the Trusteeship Council the concrete proposals which they would draw up jointly. He then recalled that the Philippine delegation had submitted a draft resolution³ and that the United Kingdom representative had said that the Trusteeship Council did not have sufficient information to be able to settle the matter and take a decision; according to the United Kingdom representative's statement, as given in the verbatim record of the 63rd meeting of the sixth session, a request had been made for time to enable the Administering Authorities to study the problem in greater detail and to submit their proposals to the following session of the Council, which would then be in a position to take a decision.

100. During the interval between the two sessions, however, the roles of the Trusteeship Council and the Administering Authorities had been reversed. The Administering Authorities had taken a decision on a question which had been before the Council since 1947, and it now seemed to be the Council's place to make proposals for the possible modification of the decision taken by the Administering Authorities. The Philippine delegation could not accept such a situation. He was glad that the representative of Argentina had raised the question of competence, and had appropriately referred to the precedent of the Bugufi petition, where the Council had adopted the Administering Authorities' conclusions regarding the inadvisability of altering the frontier. He himself could cite other cases. For example, in 1921 and 1922, the frontier between Ruanda-

Urundi and Tanganyika had been adjusted at the suggestion of the Permanent Mandates Commission, whose proposals had been approved by the Council of the League of Nations and by the Governments of Belgium and the United Kingdom. Following another decision by the Council of the League, adjustments had been made in the frontier between Syria and Lebanon, although the Mandatory Powers had been unable to reach an agreement. Finally, the General Assembly of the United Nations had taken a similar decision with regard to the partition of Palestine (resolution 181 (II)).

101. The Philippine delegation was convinced that if the Administering Authorities showed in the future the same spirit of co-operation which they had shown in the past—and there was no reason to believe the contrary—there was no doubt that the Ewe problem would be solved on its own merits. The steps taken in the past by the Administering Authorities concerned were proof of their sincerity and good faith, and the Philippine delegation hoped that a solution would be found to the Ewe problem which would be satisfactory not only to the Administering Authorities but also to the Council and, above all, to the peoples concerned.

102. He then turned to the joint proposals of the French and United Kingdom delegations (T/702). Part I of the eleventh paragraph contained the new terms of reference of the Consultative Commission, part II being merely a recapitulation of the old terms of reference. According to the new terms of reference, the Commission would be entrusted with two separate tasks: first, to ascertain the real wishes of the population of the two Trust Territories; and secondly, to formulate recommendations with a view to meeting those wishes. The Philippine delegation wished to emphasize that those were two distinct tasks, which must be carried out separately. It fully appreciated the misgivings of the representative of the All-Ewe Conference concerning the introduction into the Commission's terms of reference of a new task, namely, to determine the true wishes of the population of the two Trust Territories.

103. That would not, of course, change the situation in so far as the wishes of the Ewe people were concerned. As early as 15 December 1947 the Council had adopted resolution 14 (II) affirming that the petition of the All-Ewe Conference represented the wishes of the majority of the Ewe population and taking note of the fact that the Administering Authorities had recognized the point of view of the Ewe people.

104. Moreover, the Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa which had visited Togoland the preceding year and had investigated the Ewe problem, had confirmed the original conclusions of the Council. In its report (T/463) it had emphasized that the unification movement was to be regarded as a deeply-rooted political force. In that connexion it might be pointed out that the Visiting Mission's report had been praised by the two Administering Authorities concerned for its objectivity.

105. It was therefore unquestionable that the petition of the All-Ewe Conference represented the real wishes of the majority of the Ewe people. In those circum-

³ See *Official Records of the Trusteeship Council*, sixth session, 63rd meeting.

stances, it might be wondered what was the purpose of the proposal submitted by the two Administering Authorities to ascertain the real wishes of the population.

106. There was an obvious tendency in the joint proposal to magnify the divergencies of opinion which might exist among the Ewe people. In order to show that there was considerable difference of opinion in the Territory, the authors of the proposal had cited paragraph 7 of chapter V of the Visiting Mission's report (T/463). On the other hand, they seemed to have disregarded the first sentence which was the key to the entire paragraph, and which read: "The majority of the Ewe people seem to favour the formation of an Eweland based on respect for ethnographical conditions and comprising, in addition to the southern section of the two Togolands, two districts of the Gold Coast."

107. In the rest of the paragraph, the Visiting Mission recognized, as the Trusteeship Council had done in 1947, that there was a minority among the Ewe people which did not favour unification. He wished to recall, in that connexion, that when the Council had questioned the representatives of the different parties in the two Togolands, it had become apparent that the Togoland Unity Party, which was affiliated with the All-Ewe Conference and was in favour of unification, had obtained all the seats but one in the Representative Assembly of Togoland under French administration, while the Togoland Progress Party, which was opposed to unification, had not won a single seat. It could therefore be assumed that the Progress Party represented an insignificant minority whose motives had been shown sufficiently clearly and did not require any new explanation.

108. It was therefore obvious that the petition of the All-Ewe Conference represented the real wishes of the majority of the Ewe people. If any doubts still existed concerning the real wishes of the Ewe people, the best course would be to organize a plebiscite under the supervision of the United Nations, as Mr. Sylvanus Olympio had suggested. Indeed, considering that the conclusions of the Council itself were being questioned, conclusions which were based on the statements not only of the representatives of the Ewe people, but also of the two Administering Authorities, recourse to a plebiscite would seem to be the best solution as the results would show exactly what the real wishes of the peoples concerned were.

109. That was apparently not the view of the two Administering Authorities, who had informed the Council that there could be no question of organizing a plebiscite in the Trust Territories. They seemed to prefer to entrust the determination of the wishes of the Ewe people to an organ of their own creation.

110. There could be no doubt, however, that a plebiscite organized under the supervision of the United Nations would provide the best means of ascertaining the wishes of the peoples. The method of consulting the peoples through their representatives on the Commission, on the other hand, would have the disadvantage of being indirect and hence unreliable. The peoples concerned would no longer be asked to state whether they were for or against unification, but whether they

were for or against a particular candidate, and their decision might be influenced by factors other than the candidate's attitude towards unification. Moreover, even if provision were made for the Commission to organize a poll among the inhabitants at a later date, it would still be simpler and therefore preferable to proceed directly to a plebiscite.

111. He then took up the question of the formulation of recommendations for the implementation of the wishes of the population. It was clear from the replies given by Mr. Sylvanus Olympio to the questions put to him by the representatives of the Philippines and of New Zealand, that the Ewes would be in the minority on the Consultative Commission, since the Ewes of the Gold Coast, who constituted 35 per cent of the Ewe people, would not be represented on that body. In view of the fact that a certain number of the seats would probably go to the minority of the Ewes who were opposed to unification, and that in the northern regions of the two Togolands under French and under British administration there was strong opposition to unification, it was clear that the Ewes would be outvoted by the non-Ewes in the Commission. It was therefore understandable that the All-Ewe Conference and the Togoland Union should oppose a plan which would permit non-Ewes who were not interested in, or even opposed to, Ewe unification to decide what action should be taken on the petition of the All-Ewe Conference for unification.

112. It was true that the amendment proposed by the two Administering Authorities at the 24th meeting provided that nothing would prevent the Commission, if it saw fit to do so, from recommending the unification of any parts of the two Trust Territories. However, in view of the fact that the Ewes would necessarily be in the minority on the Commission, such a possibility was precluded from the outset. It was not surprising therefore that the representatives of the Ewe people should refuse to participate in a Commission in which it was certain that their views could not prevail.

113. Mr. Inglés did not wish to dwell at any length on paragraph II of the terms of reference which the Administering Authorities proposed should be granted to the Consultative Commission. That paragraph provided for a continuation of the old Commission, which had in the past been unable to solve the frontier difficulties, first, because its steps had been transitional and, secondly, because the removal of economic difficulties resulting from the existence of the frontier could not fully satisfy the supporters of unification, since the problem was political.

114. He recalled, in that connexion, that in its resolution 14 (II) of 15 December 1947, the Council had invited the Administering Authorities concerned to consult with each other and with the Ewe representatives with a view to evolving further steps to satisfy the wishes of the Ewe people as set forth in the petitions. It now appeared, however, that the Ewe representatives were opposed to the plan envisaged by the Administering Authorities, which seemed to show that they had not been consulted on the measures proposed in document T/702.

115. Mr. Sylvanus Olympio had made it clear that the amendment proposed by the Administering Authorities did not fully satisfy the demands of the Ewe people. The conclusion must therefore be drawn that the representatives of the Ewe people remained determined not to participate in the work of the Consultative Commission.

116. The representative of the United Kingdom had said that the representative of the northern tribes of Togoland under French administration, who did not belong to the Ewe group, and the representative of the Togoland Progress Party had been in favour of the amendment, although, as they had pointed out, they had not been authorized by their constituents to express approval of it. It was interesting to note that those representatives had said that they regarded the amendment as acceptable because it allowed for recommendations in favour of unification, when their mandate was precisely to oppose Ewe unification.

117. With reference to another remark by the United Kingdom representative, Mr. Inglés pointed out that it was neither himself nor Mr. Sylvanus Olympio, but the representative of France, who had raised the question of the possible disturbances to which the problem of unification might give rise in Togoland. In Mr. Inglés' view, the question which had been put to Mr. Sylvanus Olympio, namely, whether the unification movement showed any signs of slipping out of the control of its present leaders, had been entirely relevant to the case. It was the normal result of certain statements in the report of the Visiting Mission (T/463), in particular the following: "In closing these observations the Mission feels that it is its duty to point out that the problem has attained the force and dimensions of a nationalistic movement and that a solution should be sought with urgency in the interest of peace and stability in that part of the world". Furthermore, the Charter and the resolutions of the General Assembly fully recognized that the well-being of the peoples of non-self-governing territories, including Trust Territories, was vital to international peace and security.

118. In conclusion, Mr. Inglés emphasized that his delegation, together with the delegations of China and Iraq, had seen fit to submit joint amendments (T/L.102) to the draft resolution of Argentina and the United States of America (T/L.100), because they considered it essential to show clearly that the Council had not forgotten the provisions of its resolution 14 (II) of 15 December 1947, nor its conclusions at that time that the petition of the All-Ewe Conference represented the wishes of the majority of the people concerned. The amendment also gave the background of the question and recalled that the Council had already adopted recommendations on the subject.

119. Contrary to what had been said, there was nothing ambiguous in the amendments. Moreover, the interests of the other peoples living in the northern parts of the Trust Territories were fully taken into account, since it was recommended that an investigation should be made into their position and the problem settled in so far as they were concerned with their wishes and interests in mind, without, however, impeding the process of unification in the south. If the

members of the Council had any other objections to make to the amendments, the authors of the proposals would of course make every effort to satisfy them.

120. Sir Carl BERENDSEN (New Zealand) stressed that the matter before the Council was of an importance demanding the most careful and meticulous analysis of the situation.

121. He would indicate at the outset his complete agreement with the remarks made at the 24th meeting by the Belgian representative who had, once more, set the Council an example of clear thinking and common sense.

122. Sir Carl stressed that the Council was currently studying the result of a decision taken some thirty-odd years before as one of the comparatively minor consequences of the First World War. It might of course be wondered whether the decision had been taken with all the necessary caution and after an adequate study of the situation. He would not dwell on that point since he did not know all that was necessary in order to answer the question one way or another. At all events, a group of people one million strong had for more than thirty years been split into three or even four different groups as a result of the decision then taken. No one could deny that if that population wished to regain its unity, it was entitled to the understanding and assistance of all right-thinking people.

123. He had been keenly interested in the Ewe problem ever since he had first heard Mr. Sylvanus Olympio lay the case before the Council with such moderation and competence three years before.

124. The Council must give primary consideration to the aspirations of the Ewe people. It was obviously unrealistic to expect that a population of one million persons should be unanimous in its aspirations and wishes. However, it seemed to be established that the bulk of the Ewe people wanted unification. If that was the case, he was prepared to assist the Ewe people to the best of his ability.

125. It was, however, necessary to ascertain exactly what the Ewes meant by the word "unification". The future happiness and prosperity of those people was at stake and the Council could not be too circumspect. While examining the possibilities of Ewe unification, it must never lose sight of the realities of the situation.

126. The suggestion had been made that a plebiscite should be held to determine the wishes of the people. As a rule, he was in favour of such a method, but in the present case he joined the Belgium representative in wondering how the questions could be worded in such plebiscite.

127. It was obvious that the unification would have to be under French, British or Anglo-French administration. In view of the abilities of the French, their love of liberty and their understanding of how to get along with the people they were guiding toward self-government, the Ewes currently under French administration would probably be in favour of unification under French administration. Correspondingly, the Ewes currently under British administration would of course be in favour of union under British adminis-

tration. It was doubtful whether many would be in favour of union under a joint Anglo-French administration because the experience of the world in that direction had not been very extensive.

128. Undoubtedly, all the members of the Council favoured the unification of the Ewes. The question was how that unification could be brought about. The Belgian representative had rendered the Council a great service by pointing out the practical difficulties of such an undertaking.

129. On the other hand, he had noted flaws in the positions adopted by each of the parties in the affair. The Administering Authorities had been wrong in several respects. He had high respect for the British and for the French, but he could not refrain from remarking that the Council had been entitled to expect greater progress than had actually been made during the past three years. The problem admittedly presented many difficulties and there was no question of laying all the blame at the door of the Administering Authorities. It was none the less true that hardly any progress had been made to date.

130. The Council could assume, although possibly without adequate proof, that, generally speaking, the Ewe people desired unification. The Council must, however, go further and define the meaning of that vague and general term "unification"; it must put the question in clear and concrete terms such as probably could not be formulated in a plebiscite; and it must in the first place consult the Ewes alone and no one else.

131. Having thus ascertained the wishes and aspirations of the Ewe people, the Council must consider means of implementation, being mindful in particular of the fate of the non-Ewe population, and making sure that in satisfying the requests of the Ewes, there would be no infringement of the rights of the other peoples of the Territories. In making those observations, he had no intention of prejudging the question but he believed that it was the Council's duty to bear that particular aspect of the problem in mind.

132. Turning to the solution proposed by France and the United Kingdom, he emphasized that the delegation of New Zealand had been prepared to accept the proposals submitted by the Administering Authorities of the two Territories in its original form, although it had provided, in his opinion wrongly, that any change must be made within the framework of the existing administrations. Since then, that flaw had been removed by the statements made at the 24th meeting by the representatives of the Administering Authorities, and there seemed to be no serious objection to acceptance of the course proposed.

133. The Administering Authorities would undoubtedly be making a grave mistake if they thought that the

question could be settled in any way other than by some degree of Ewe unification, to an extent satisfactory to the Ewes as a whole, without intervention by the Trusteeship Council or the United Nations. He did not think, however, that the Administering Authorities entertained such a belief. The proposals which they had submitted to the Council were a frank and honourable approach to the problem. The Ewes would be well advised to accept it and use it to the best advantage, subject to approaching the Council once more should it fail to yield the desired results.

134. In that connexion, he had thought that Mr. Sylvanus Olympio had intended to say, not that he rejected the proposal of the Administering Authorities, but that he did not accept it since he had not been authorized to accept a proposal which was substantially different from the original plan.

135. Similarly, he had not found the slightest threat of violence, direct or indirect, explicit or implicit in Mr. Sylvanus Olympio's remarks. Recourse to violence could not fail gravely to compromise the cause of Ewe unification, and he was sure that the leaders of the Ewe people were too wise to embark upon such a road and thus lose much of the sympathy and help of the Trusteeship Council.

136. The petitioners had undoubtedly made a mistake and complicated the problem to no effect by raising the question of the Gold Coast. It was true that there were Ewes in the Gold Coast, but the Trusteeship Council had no authority whatever to deal with that area which had not been placed under the International Trusteeship System.

137. In summing up, Sir Carl emphasized that it was in the interests of the Ewe people to accept the proposal made to them by the Administering Authorities, even if it did not completely meet their wishes in every respect.

138. Turning to the amendments submitted jointly by the delegations of China, Iraq and the Philippines (T/L.102), Sir Carl announced that he would vote against every paragraph, not because he did not agree with much of the contents, but because he believed that the proposal as a whole was merely a fruitless question addressed to the Administering Authorities. Some representatives had pointed out that the proposal of the Administering Authorities was not a solution, but at least it offered a practical means of arriving at a solution.

139. The PRESIDENT announced that the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Petitions would meet on the following day at 10.30 a.m.

The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.