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**Chairman:** Mr. Thanat KHOMAN (Thailand).

In the absence of the Chairman, Mr. Bozovic (Yugo-  
slavia), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair

**AGENDA ITEM 37**

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

**GENERAL DEBATE (continued) AND CONSIDERATION OF  
DRAFT RESOLUTIONS (A/C.4/L.508)**

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

1. Mr. AJAVON (France) said that he had followed the debate with keen interest and had been impressed by the restrained and objective character of most of the speeches. He was particularly grateful to all representative who had sought to find an equitable solution to the long-standing problem at issue.

2. The complexity of that problem was due to the fact that it involved not only economic, social and political factors but also human factors, which should have claimed more of the Committee's attention. The African had to be seen in relation to his background in order for his way of thinking to be understood. In that connexion he quoted a statement by Mr. Nkrumah, Prime Minister of Ghana, to the effect that it was difficult to view the African scene with its complex of feudal and tribal relations from the standpoint of Western democracy. In order to understand it, an intimate first-hand knowledge of the country and its people was required. Unfortunately, Mr. Bozovic, who advocated a policy of postponement, had been influenced in his conclusions, which were necessarily superficial, by the arguments put forward by the petitioners. Such a solution could not satisfy the people of Togoland. On the other hand the representative of Egypt, in a remarkably objective statement, had placed the problem of Togoland in its proper legal perspective. It was gratifying that his conclusions coincided with the French Government's

desire to achieve the aims set forth in Article 76 b of the Charter and in the Trusteeship Agreement.

3. At the 699th meeting the representative of Syria had asked two questions concerning the statement he, Mr. Ajavon, had made at the 694th meeting (A/C.4/370). In putting his first question, the Syrian representative had singled out a sentence from that statement to the effect that the report of the United Nations Commission on Togoland under French Administration (A/3677) could not be exempt from criticism. But the Syrian representative appeared to have overlooked the sentence which immediately followed the one mentioned and which read: "If it [the report] calls for certain observations or reservations, that is because it merely brings together the views and ideas of each of the six delegates". Undoubtedly, a report adopted unanimously by the representatives of six countries could be no more than a compromise. It was an acknowledged fact that a compromise, while seeming to please everyone, never really satisfied anyone. If the representative of Syria re-read the report carefully, he would find some points of view which coincided with his own political beliefs and others which conflicted with them.

4. With regard to the second question he would, for the benefit of the representative of Syria, recall that the representatives of Togoland in the Assemblies of the French Republic were Mr. Grunitzky, Deputy to the French National Assembly, Mr. Zele and himself, members of the Council of the French Republic, and Mr. Mama Fousseni, member of the Assembly of the French Union.

5. The representative of Syria had also deplored the fact that certain delegations had attempted to discredit the petitioners, thereby violating the right of petition. Yet any such attempts had scarcely been necessary in view of the contradictions and misrepresentations in the petitioners' own statements. Allegations they had made concerning events which supposedly took place during the Commission's visit had been promptly refuted by its Chairman. Although they had forewarned the use of violence, they had nevertheless uttered threats against a Togolander who had not shared their views. Lastly, they had quoted in support of their position an article published in *West Africa*, which they claimed to have been written by a Frenchman, but which was specifically described in that publication as having been sent in "by a group of Togolese readers". Those facts hardly made for confidence in the petitioners.

6. In a characteristic statement, made at the 702nd meeting, the representative of Ghana had deplored the existence of artificial frontiers separating the Ewe people and had expressed the hope that the frontier between Ghana and Togoland under French administration would soon disappear. That statement merely confirmed the latter country's anxiety over Ghana's imperialist designs with regard to Togoland.

7. The CHAIRMAN requested the speaker to confine his remarks to the subject under discussion.

8. Mr. AJAVON (France) replied that in view of the offensive references made by the representative of Ghana to Togoland under French administration, he had felt obliged to clarify the position.

9. Continuing his statement, he said that he wished to make it clear that, in referring at the 694th meeting to Togoland's under-developed economy and budgetary difficulties, his aim had merely been to provide sufficient information for a proper assessment of the situation and not to provide arguments against the granting of independence to Togoland, as some representatives had suggested. Ghana, like a number of other States, had not attained its independence in the space of a single year, but had done so in successive stages. He had consistently maintained that Togoland's goal was first internal autonomy and then independence. The passage in his statement asserting that his country had always been opposed to an enforced, isolated and ill-prepared independence had been taken out of its context and distorted by certain representatives for their own purposes. They had disregarded the earlier passage in which he had expressed the view that an enforced and isolated independence would interrupt, at least for a while, the work already begun and that the costs of such an independence would be borne only by the farmers. He had only attempted to show that once Togoland became independent, it would have to seek the support of a group of States with a common culture and common interests, organized along the lines of many similar institutions such as the British Commonwealth of Nations, the Arab League and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

10. The representative of Haiti claimed to have considered the problem of Togoland with complete objectivity. At no point, however, had he, Mr. Ajavon, stated that he wished only internal autonomy for Togoland. He had in fact quoted the Minister for Overseas France as saying that the Togolandese were not asking "at the moment" for their country's independence, their present objective being merely self-government. He had moreover taken the precaution of emphasizing the words "at the moment".

11. He wished to thank all representatives who had discussed the problem of Togoland with moderation and objectivity, including the representatives of the USSR, the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, Tunisia, the Netherlands and many others. The representative of Lebanon had in particular regretted the threats made against a public figure and had rightly pointed out that the factors to be combated in solving Togoland's difficulties were ignorance, disease and poverty.

12. The draft resolution submitted by the five Powers (A/C.4/L.508) was based on two spontaneous concessions made by the Togoland Government: first, its promise to hold elections to the Legislative Assembly on the basis of universal adult suffrage before the appointed time, namely, in the course of 1958; second, its offer to invite the United Nations to observe the proper conduct of the elections. While the draft resolution did not necessarily have his Government's whole-hearted approval, it would nevertheless accept it as it stood in a spirit of co-operation and conciliation. However, if the draft resolution was amended in substance, the Government of Togoland would naturally

be obliged to reconsider its position. The question of Togoland should normally have been discussed, as in the past, between two parties, the Administering Authority and the United Nations. But present circumstances necessitated reference to a third party, the Government of Togoland, which had been called upon to apply United Nations resolutions.

13. Mr. CHAPMAN (Ghana) categorically denied that his country had imperialist designs on Togoland under French administration or had made offensive remarks concerning that Territory. Since copies of his statement at the 702nd meeting were now available, he would ask Mr. Ajavon and other representatives to read it in the light of the Commission's report and assess the validity of Mr. Ajavon's allegations. Those allegations hardly constituted a reply to his own statement, in which he had put the case for Togoland's attainment of independence, giving examples of Ghana's own experience which might throw some light on a problem whose satisfactory solution was vital to Ghana as well as to Togoland and other territories.

14. Mr. JAQUET (France) said he was glad to hear that Ghana had no imperialist designs upon Togoland under French administration. However, he reserved Mr. Ajavon's right of reply.

15. Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) said that he had often heard petitioners voicing opposition to the Administering Authority, but it was the first time he had heard them objecting to an African Government which represented an autonomous republic; that was a disheartening development.

16. The Belgian delegation did not regard the draft resolution (A/C.4/L.508) as entirely satisfactory, because it was incompatible with the Trusteeship Agreement. The powers attributed by the draft resolution to the new Legislative Assembly were hardly compatible with the principle of the responsibility of the Administering Authority, which should be maintained intact as long as the Trusteeship Agreement remained in force. The legality of a proposal to the effect that United Nations observers should be sent to supervise the elections was also challenged by the Belgian delegation. It was for the Administering Authority to act as impartial arbitrator in the Territory, to inform the voters that elections would be free and to guarantee enjoyment of all democratic electoral rights to the opposition.

17. If the Belgian delegation was nevertheless prepared to vote for the draft resolution, it was solely because of the freely expressed wish of the Government of Togoland and because of the agreement of the Administering Authority. In the case of Togoland under British administration the Belgian delegation, though expressing misgivings, had voted in favour of terminating the Trusteeship Agreement, because the majority of the indigenous population had been in favour of doing so. The present situation in Togoland under French administration appeared more favourable than that in Togoland under British administration at the time when trusteeship was terminated there. In his delegation's view, the French Government offered adequate safeguards that, from 1958 onwards, the Legislative Assembly would determine its own constitutional relations. Failing immediate termination of trusteeship, his delegation would therefore vote in favour of the draft resolution.

18. Mr. JAIPAL (India) said that he was surprised to note that in operative paragraph 3, which would entrust the new Legislative Assembly with the formulation of proposals for the final attainment of the objectives of the Trusteeship System, no mention was made of the Government of Togoland. To the best of his recollection, it would be the first occasion on which it had been proposed to entrust such a task to a local legislative assembly alone. He would also like to know what form the Legislative Assembly's consultation with the Administering Authority would take.

19. With regard to operative paragraph 4, in which the General Assembly would accept the invitation of the Government of Togoland to make the necessary arrangements to observe the elections by the United Nations, he wished to know if the "special responsibilities" referred to meant the "formulation of proposals" provided for in operative paragraph 3. He questioned the wisdom of using the word "special", since those responsibilities would appear to be the normal ones envisaged in article 5 of the Trusteeship Agreement.

20. He would like some information regarding the scope of the observations to be undertaken by the proposed United Nations commissioner.

21. With regard to operative paragraphs 7 and 8, he felt that the suggestion that the Legislative Assembly might express "wishes" concerning the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement was inconsistent with operative paragraph 3, entrusting the Legislative Assembly with "special responsibilities", which he interpreted to mean "the formulation of proposals".

22. Mr. JAQUET (France) regretted that it would be impossible for him to reply to all the questions and suggestions addressed to his delegation by various representatives. He felt obliged, however, to reply to the delegations of India and the Philippines on account of the form in which their questions had been put.

23. The Indian representative had asked when, in the opinion of the Administering Authority, the Togolization of the civil service would be complete. The reply was that the Togolandese were already entirely responsible for the administration of the Territory. The Indian representative had perhaps meant to draw attention to the presence of a certain number of non-Togolese officials in some departments; if so, it should be pointed out that those officials were working under the orders of Togolese ministers. Moreover, the Government of Togoland was considering a plan for speeding up the training of personnel and all posts would be occupied by Togolandese within a few years. It was by no means unusual for countries to employ foreign officials and advisers in their administration when their own civil service was insufficient to supply the demand. He could not see how Togoland could be criticized for following the example of many independent countries. Mr. Olympio himself had said, at the Committee's 699th meeting, that the Togolandese, following Ghana's example, would use the existing staff and gradually replace Europeans by Togolandese and that in any case there had never been any intention of dismissing all the French officials when the country attained independence.

24. The Indian representative had asked for information concerning the annual subsidies granted to Togoland and had inquired how long they would be necessary. France, however, was merely carrying out its obligations under the Charter and the Trusteeship Agree-

ment. Togoland was a small territory with limited resources, as France had long realized and as had been noted by the various United Nations Visiting Missions and the recent Commission on Togoland. To say that Togoland would need France's assistance for some time to come was merely to state a fact and not to lay down an ultimatum, as Mr. Olympio had claimed in his statement at the 696th meeting of the Committee. Far from being ashamed of that statement, as Mr. Olympio had suggested, France was proud to help the Togoland people on the road to progress. Furthermore, the people of Togoland had formally asked, through their representatives, for the continuance of such assistance. France was the country which made the largest contribution in proportion to its income to the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and devoted an appreciable percentage of its national income to promoting the development of the peoples of Africa and in particular those of Togoland. In the case in point, assistance would be continued in its present form as long as Togoland wished to form part of the community of sentiment and interests which it had voluntarily chose. It was impossible to foresee the exact form which might be taken by any new arrangements concluded in different circumstances, or how long such arrangements might last, but at all events they would be freely discussed with the people of Togoland.

25. The financial assistance given to Togoland was both direct and indirect. Direct assistance included the cost of the services of the French Republic in Togoland and certain civil expenses borne by the French budget since the end of the Second World War, special assistance granted for the years 1957 and 1958 to facilitate the establishment of the new institutions of the Republic of Togoland, grants-in-aid to balance the budget and non-reimbursable subsidies for capital development planned under the Fonds d'investissement pour le développement économique et social des territoires d'outre-mer (FIDES) as well as subsidies for capital development outside FIDES. Indirect assistance chiefly took the form of loans from the Caisse centrale de la France d'outre-mer, which enabled the Togoland authorities to contribute to FIDES.

26. To sum up, on 31 December 1956 the total sum granted had amounted to 7,580 million francs, or 8,620 million francs for the first two plans, which would be completed on 30 June 1958. On the same date, 31 December 1956, actual disbursements had amounted to 6,650 million francs—4,110 million in subsidies and 2,540 million in loans. A third plan would be launched in 1958. Total expenditure was estimated at approximately 6,000 million francs in subsidies and 2,000 million in loans which the Government of Togoland intended to devote to the improvement of the country's economy.

27. To say that Togoland could have done without financial assistance if the Administering Authority and the Government of Togoland had not deliberately maintained an imbalance since 1951 showed a complete disregard of the facts. That date, which had marked the end of a temporary and precarious equilibrium, had also marked the beginning of the crisis which has seriously affected the export of agricultural products from Togoland.

28. The assertion that FIDES was a system of political and economic integration or that it should be set off against the advantages France obtained by purchasing African products at prices below those on the world market was a reversal of the facts; the costs of FIDES

were in addition to the sacrifices already made by French consumers and taxpayers, who supported and subsidized a large part of Togoland's production. Such an assertion deliberately ignored the fact that France made no profit out of Togoland and had no need of Togoland's modest resources. Its links with that country were neither commercial nor economic. France would continue to give its disinterested help without hoping for any other reward than the friendship of the Togoland people.

29. He assumed that the Committee was awaiting confirmation by a responsible member of the Government of Togoland of the statements made by the representative of France at the seventh special session of the Trusteeship Council and in the Fourth Committee with regard to the fresh powers to be transferred to the Autonomous Republic of Togoland. The intentions of the French Government were clear and precise. It intended to complete the autonomy of Togoland, i.e., to hand over all internal powers without exception, reserving to the French Government only those concerning external affairs, defence, currency and foreign exchange. Any problems connected with the assistance which Togoland might ask from France, as it was entitled to do, would henceforth be settled by means of freely negotiated bilateral conventions. That should serve as a reply to the question asked by the Indian delegation with regard to the question of constitutional revision. As soon as the trusteeship had been terminated, it would be the Legislative Assembly of Togoland which would lay down the constitutional rules applicable to the Republic of Togoland. Among the provisions that the Legislative Assembly would be able to abrogate or confirm was that in article 3 of the Statute concerning the representation of Togoland in the central organs of the French Republic. That provision, which had been commented on and at times severely criticized, had been included in the Statute at the express request of the Legislative Assembly of Togoland. It had never been intended by the Administering Authority as a device for securing the annexation of Togoland but simply as a means of enabling the people of the Trust Territory to be represented when decisions were taken which affected their future.

30. Before explaining the reasons why France had requested the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement, he would stress a point that was too often overlooked, namely, that an agreement was by definition a bilateral action the two parties to which were placed on a footing of absolute equality.

31. France's principal aim had never been the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement, but rather the implementation in Togoland of a policy in conformity with the wishes of the population, the terms of the Charter and the numerous recommendations by the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly. As a result of the implementation of that policy, the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement was an unavoidable obligation for the two contracting parties, the General Assembly and the French Government. It had been suggested that France was hastening to transfer fresh powers in order to force the termination of trusteeship. That assertion was contrary to the truth. Experience had shown that the establishment of indigenous political institutions inevitably speeded up the process of evolution. The reforms introduced by the Act of 16 April 1955 had by an inexorable concatenation

of events led Togoland to full self-government within three years.

32. When the French Government had promulgated the Statute of Togoland it had realized that the implementation of the Decree of 24 August 1956 would clearly soon be inconsistent with the continuation of trusteeship. The young Government could not be kept under the rigorous control implied by the obligations of trusteeship and it would be dangerous to lower the prestige of the new institutions by exercising such control. The time came when the guardian realized that the ward must be allowed complete freedom. There were responsibilities laid down in the Trusteeship Agreement which the Administering Authority could no longer exercise because it no longer had the means to do so; there were others it no longer wished to exercise because by doing so it would undo the work of many decades.

33. Following the new transfers of powers, the right of veto which the Administering Authority would still possess was a means of intervention so drastic in its effects that it would never be used unless the young State were about to take a step so grave as to be suicidal. That formidable power was the only one that France would retain to counter-balance the responsibilities which it was asked to continue shouldering. He thought that that observation would reply to one of the questions put by the Philippine representative at the previous meeting.

34. Another and equally important reason for the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement was the freely expressed will of the people of Togoland. On 28 October 1956 a referendum based on universal suffrage had clearly expressed that popular desire. Not even the petitioners from the opposition parties had cast doubts on the fairness of the referendum. That referendum was a fact which the General Assembly could not ignore and which the people of Togoland would not allow it to ignore. The people of Togoland had asked for the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement, because they wished to exercise self-government soon and without let or hindrance and also because it was intolerable to them to remain under trusteeship when their brothers in Togoland under British administration had been emancipated. Furthermore, it was painful for a young Government to see its representatives exposed to the insults and sarcasms of the petitioners before an international body after those same petitioners had refused on various flimsy pretexts to take their chance at the polls.

35. The French Government, together with the Government of the Autonomous Republic of Togoland, therefore requested the General Assembly to embark on the procedure which would lead to the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement as early as possible. That request was based both on the Charter and on the general principles of international law. The Administering Authority and the Togolandians had come to the conclusion that the scruples felt by the members of the Fourth Committee were mainly due to the desire that the opposition should take part in the normal functioning of Togoland's institutions. Such participation could, in fact, only be advantageous and the Government of Togoland had therefore informed the Committee that it had decided to hold general elections on the basis of universal suffrage in 1958. The Government of Togoland had, moreover, declared its intention of inviting



observers from the United Nations to be present at the elections.

36. The only purpose of so exceptional a step as the invitation of foreign observers was to ensure the participation of the opposition, which had systematically refused to take part in elections since it had lost its majority position owing to the enlargement of the electorate. That same refusal to participate had hampered the normal functioning of the joint organs which had been set up in the past in an effort to solve the problem of Togoland and which had been approved by the United Nations.

37. Needless to say, his delegation denied the groundless allegations of the petitioners concerning irregularities in the elections and concerning pressure exercised by the Administration and the chiefs. In connexion with the election on 12 June 1955, much had been said about an article in a Dakar newspaper, *Afrique nouvelle*, edited by Father de Benoist. With all due respect, he would point out that the tone of the article was emotional rather than objective and that furthermore no proof was given of the allegations made. In fact in connexion with the election of 12 June 1955 there had been only one complaint, which had been rejected by the court of first instance and, on appeal, by the Conseil d'Etat.

38. Public freedoms were guaranteed by democratic laws and by a judiciary which was independent of the executive. It was true that demonstrations on the public highway had been temporarily prohibited during periods of tension. Such incidents were regrettable, but the responsibility must be equally shared. The Administration was conscious of having always treated the opposition with forbearance despite the methods to which it had resorted.

39. It should be borne in mind that the majority of Togoland's suspected their political opponents of being a foreign faction whose dream of an "Eweland" had threatened to block their access to the sea. The history of the past ten years had left its traces and that was one reason why France would like to see the opposition parties give proof of their loyalty to the State of Togoland by agreeing to participate in the free functioning of the democratic institutions of their country.

40. In a spirit of conciliation and frankness the Government of Togoland had invited United Nations observers to be present. Neither the General Assembly nor the Administering Authority could have compelled it to do so.

41. It was well to avoid comparing situations which were not comparable. The methods used in the case of Togoland under British administration were not a valid precedent for Togoland under French administration. Togoland under British administration, for good and sufficient reasons, had been administered as an integral part of the Gold Coast and had possessed no institutions of its own. Togoland under French administration, on the contrary, had always constituted a separate entity and possessed its own institutions, which today were those proper to a State.

42. Simultaneously with the preparations for the elections, and without delay, the French Government would carry out the transfers of powers to which he had referred according to the procedure laid down in

the Statute. Those two operations would have been completed before the thirteenth session of the General Assembly, which would thus be able without further debate to terminate the Trusteeship Agreement by common accord of the two parties concerned. The French Government considered that it would thus have given sufficient notice of its intentions.

43. He reserved the right to speak again on the joint draft resolution (A/C.4/L.508). Despite the unnecessary caution with which it was worded, the draft resolution as it stood might form an acceptable basis for the co-operation of the Administering Authority and the General Assembly with a view to the achievement of the objectives of the International Trusteeship System in Togoland. The French Government had always desired such co-operation, as it had repeatedly proved. It had associated itself at the eleventh session with the invitation addressed to the General Assembly by the Government of Togoland to send a commission to Togoland. It had supplied the Commission on Togoland with all the information it wished, replying to all its questions and leaving no room for doubt. In that, as in other cases, it had faithfully kept its promises, which had gone far beyond its strict obligations under Chapter XII of the Charter and under the Trusteeship Agreement.

44. The only wish of the Government of Togoland and the Government of France was to allow the people to express their wishes according to democratic rules and practices. It would indeed be paradoxical for the General Assembly to oppose such a manifestation of the popular will or refuse to allow it to be carried to its logical conclusion. He felt sure that the General Assembly would not disappoint the hopes of a people under trusteeship which felt itself sufficiently mature to guide its own destinies and which knew that its future would be determined by its own freely reached decisions.

45. Mr. CARPIO (Philippines) said that he had several reservations concerning the draft resolution. With regard to operative paragraph 2 he would ask, firstly, why the sponsors wished to say that the General Assembly endorsed the opinion of the Trusteeship Council inasmuch as the composition of that body was such that it frequently sidetracked or defeated proposals which would doubtless have been adopted by an overwhelming majority if submitted to the General Assembly itself. Hence it would seem that, in endorsing the opinion of the Trusteeship Council, the General Assembly would be surrendering some of its own authority. He wondered whether the sponsors did not think it might be preferable to use the word "Notes" in place of the word "Endorses". Secondly, he wished to know what kind of action the sponsors had had in mind in referring, in operative paragraph 2, to "action by the General Assembly". Thirdly, the last part of the paragraph referred to "the early attainment of the final objective of the Trusteeship System", whereas operative paragraph 3 used the word "objectives" in a similar context. Was there any significance in the fact that the word was used first in the singular and then in the plural? Also, was it proper to speak of the attainment of anything other than the full measure of self-government which alone would justify the request for termination of the Trusteeship Agreement? Perhaps it would be better to amend the text of operative paragraph 2 to read "the early attainment of a full measure of self-government".

46. In operative paragraph 3 he would prefer merely to indicate that it might be one of the functions of the new Legislative Assembly to formulate proposals for the final attainment of the objectives of the Trusteeship System rather than to state categorically that the General Assembly agreed to the Legislative Assembly's being entrusted with that task.

47. With reference to operative paragraphs 4 and 5, he thought that the United Nations should not be satisfied to dispatch a single commissioner appointed by the President of the General Assembly but should think in terms of a commission, perhaps composed of three members, to be elected by the General Assembly. A serious deficiency was the fact that operative paragraph 5 gave no indication of the nature or scope of the functions to be performed by the observers. It was not clear from operative paragraph 4 whether the arrangements referred to were to be made by the United Nations or by the Government of Togoland. If they were to be made by the United Nations, they should be more specifically described. It should be indicated, for instance, whether they would include revision of the electoral lists, distribution of voters' cards, conduct of the elections at the local level and the counting of ballots. The matter of voters' cards was particularly serious because from the evidence submitted by petitioners to the Commission which had visited Togoland earlier in the year it appeared that in previous elections certain persons had each received several cards with only slight changes in the spelling of the bearer's name. In short, it should be made clear whether the individual or commission to be dispatched to the Territory by the United Nations was simply to observe the elections or was to supervise them in conjunction with the Administering Authority. In making that suggestion, he could not be accused of advocating United Nations intervention in matters which were within the domestic jurisdiction of a State, because the Administering Authority claimed that it had already surrendered that jurisdiction to the Government of the Autonomous Republic and that Republic was not yet an independent State with the right to invoke Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter.

48. The reference to the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement in operative paragraphs 7 and 8 seemed

premature and unnecessary, since there could be no question of its termination until further powers had been transferred to the Government of the Autonomous Republic and the elections to the Legislative Assembly had been held. He wondered what purpose the sponsors thought they would accomplish by emphasizing termination of the Trusteeship Agreement before it was possible to tell whether a sufficient degree of self-government had been attained to justify such a step.

49. Finally, he noted that two of the sponsors, Canada and Liberia, had been members of the Commission established under the terms of General Assembly resolution 1046 (XI) and as such had signed the unanimous report which had recommended, *inter alia*, that elections should be held not only to the Legislative Assembly but also to other representative organs in the Territory. The draft resolution referred only to elections to the Legislative Assembly. He also noted that there was no mention in the draft resolution of the need to ascertain the wishes of the population freely expressed through appropriate means, a principle which he understood the Commission to have endorsed in signing the report. He wondered if that meant that the Canadian and Liberian delegations had changed their views on those two points.

50. Mr. KING (Liberia) replied that if the previous speaker's question constituted a formal request from the Philippine Government he would transmit it to his Government for a reply.

51. Mr. MUFTI (Syria) said, with regard to operative paragraph 2, that it would be more logical to refer to resolutions of the Trusteeship Council than to its opinion, since its resolutions did not necessarily reflect the unanimous opinion of its members.

52. Mr. KANAKARATNE (Ceylon) associated his delegation with that of India in requesting information on the meaning of operative paragraphs 3 and 4 of the draft resolution. He also agreed with the Philippine representative that operative paragraph 5 should be amended to provide for election of a commission by the General Assembly rather than appointment of a single commissioner by the Assembly's President.

The meeting rose at 5.20 p.m.