



Saturday, 15 December 1951, at 10.30 a.m.

Palais de Chaillot, Paris

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Chairman : Mr. Max HENRÍQUEZ UREÑA (Dominican Republic).

Report of the Trusteeship Council (A/1856) (*continued*)

[Item 12] *

THE EWE PROBLEM (A/C.4/195 and Add.1, A/C.4/198)
(*continued*)

At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Sylvanus Olympio, representative of the All-Ewe Conference; Mr. Antor, representative of the Joint Togoland Congress; and Mr. Aku, representative of the Comité de l'Unité togolaise, took places at the Committee table.

1. Mr. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) asked whether, in the opinion of the Ewe representatives, the unification of the various sectors of the Ewe people would adversely affect the interests of the other races inhabiting Togoland, particularly in the northern part of the Trust Territories.

2. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) replied that the Ewe people would welcome a unification which would include the other tribes living in Togoland on the understanding that they would later have the right and the opportunity to decide whether they wished to remain in the unified country or not.

3. Mr. PANT (India) referred to the statement made by Mr. Antor at the 226th meeting, which had been distributed as document A/C.4/L.160, and asked whether the clause, "Our common purpose is our resistance to having our country broken cruelly into two pieces", was an allusion to the Ewe people or to Togoland.

4. Mr. ANTOR (Joint Togoland Congress) explained that he had been speaking of Togoland. A group of chiefs had sent a petition to the Trusteeship Council in May 1951 which clearly stated that they wanted the reconstitution of Togoland as it had been under the German régime.

5. Mr. PANT (India) wondered whether the tribes inhabiting Togoland had formed a social and political

unit before the German occupation. In the consideration of the question of unification, care should be taken not to create new problems, since it was unlikely that the boundaries of Togoland coincided exactly with the tribal boundaries.

6. Mr. ANTOR (Joint Togoland Congress) pointed out that the main part of Togoland was the territory lying between the Volta and Mono rivers, and hence was a geographical entity.

7. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) added there had been cases of tribes being split up in German Togoland. The partition of Togoland after the First World War had made matters worse in the south. The unification of Togoland would unite about three-quarters of the Ewes, but the problem of the Dagombas would arise once more.

8. Mr. ANTOR (Joint Togoland Congress) added that, in his view, the problem of the Dagombas was rather insignificant.

9. Mr. PANT (India) asked whether membership of the Joint Togoland Congress was open to all the tribes of both Togoland under British and Togoland under French administration.

10. Mr. ANTOR (Joint Togoland Congress) replied that the Joint Togoland Congress represented the interests of the Ewes in both the Trust Territories.

11. Mr. PANT (India) said that he would be interested to see the constitution of the organization and any other document which threw light on the manner in which it functioned.

12. He also asked how many seats the people of Togoland under British administration now had in the Gold Coast Legislative Assembly, and how many they thought they ought to have.

13. Mr. ANTOR (Joint Togoland Congress) said that in reality Togoland under British administration was not represented on the Gold Coast Legislative Assembly, because the three so-called representatives of Togoland

* Indicates the item number on the General Assembly agenda.

were not elected by the people but appointed by the Administration. Moreover, they were not Togolanders but belonged to the Gold Coast. Since Togoland under British administration was a Trust Territory, there should have been at least some members from the Trust Territory who would represent that Territory in the Legislative Assembly, but that was not the case. For all practical purposes, Togoland had been made a part of the Gold Coast and had lost its identity.

14. Mr. PANT (India), referring to the two representatives of American firms who had been arrested and expelled from Togoland under British administration, asked on whose invitation they had gone to the Territory.

15. Mr. ANTOR (Joint Togoland Congress) replied that Togoland under British administration had been completely integrated into the Gold Coast with a view to exploiting its economic resources for the profit of the Crown colony. The roads in Togoland under British administration had been built by the people themselves, whereas the roads in the Gold Coast were built and maintained by the Department of Public Works. The only schools in Togoland under British administration were those operated by the missionaries; in the Gold Coast the Government had established a number of schools in addition to the mission schools. There was only one hospital in Togoland under British administration. Those were some of the reasons which had impelled the Natural Rulers and people of Togoland under British administration to establish a separate produce marketing board, so that the profits on the sales of their produce could be used to provide the country with some of the amenities it so sorely lacked. It had not been done clandestinely. Both the Administering Authority and the United Nations had been informed of the plan. It was that Board that had invited the representatives of the American firms to visit the Territory.

16. Mr. PANT (India) was surprised to hear that there were no schools operated by the Administering Authority in Togoland under British administration and wondered what the situation was in that respect in Togoland under French administration.

17. He would like to know why the Administering Authority for Togoland under British administration or the Gold Coast Government refused to help the Togolanders to set up their own produce marketing board. He hoped that the French and British Administering Authorities would foster any schemes for independence in economic matters.

18. He wondered how Mr. Antor visualized the future development of the peoples of Togoland under British administration, and whether Mr. Antor and Mr. Olympio did not consider that it was for the peoples of both Togolands to come together, under the auspices of the United Nations and with the help of the Administering Authorities, to formulate a scheme for bringing about the synthesis they so much desired.

19. Mr. ANTOR (Joint Togoland Congress) replied that improvement in political, economic and social

conditions would only be possible when both Territories were endowed with a real legislative body by means of which the people could make their own plans for the future and the members of which were democratically elected and not chosen by the Administration.

20. Moreover, it was asked that an independent commission should be sent by the United Nations to both Togolands before the elections took place, to see that they were conducted on a democratic basis.

21. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) added that the development of both Togolands could only be furthered by means of an effective organ manned by the people of both Togolands and having real powers.

22. The case of the American representatives showed how difficult it was for the people of the Trust Territories to evolve economic organizations which would lead to their economic emancipation. It was very important that both Trust Territories should have a legislative body. Once that was done, the rest would follow.

23. Mr. AKU (*Comité de l'Unité togolaise*) emphasized that it was essential that that organ should be sovereign.

24. Mr. PANT (India) pointed out that the Ewe problem affected not only the Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration but also the neighbouring colony of the Gold Coast, which was rapidly advancing towards the status of a Dominion. He stressed that, in the opinion of his delegation, there should be a United Nations mission sent to both Trust Territories, and that in the Trust Territories there should be independent legislative organs. He asked the Ewe representatives whether and to what extent they considered that the people of that territory should participate in the solution of their problems.

25. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) replied that the problem was not a new one. He had already stated before the Trusteeship Council that the Ewes looked upon the country as their own. They drew no distinctions between a colony, Crown colony, mandated territory or Trust Territory. They had appealed to the United Nations as an organization working for peace in the world. It was true that a section of the Ewe people lived in the Gold Coast, where, paradoxically, they enjoyed more freedom than those who lived in the Trust Territory. If, however, Togoland was granted independence, it would be easy to consult the Gold Coast concerning the type of association or federation to be set up. The Ewes living in the Gold Coast would prefer to live with their brother Ewes in Togoland, provided they had the same liberties as they now enjoyed, as they had lived together sixty years previously before the Europeans invaded Africa.

26. Mr. TAJIBNAPIS (Indonesia) said he gathered that the Trust Territories of Togoland and the Cameroons under French administration both had a special relationship with the French Union, under which they were known as associated territories. He wished to know what practical difference there was, in the case of Togoland under French administration, between that association and the position of any French colony in the French Union.

27. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) suggested that it was for the Administering Authority to define the legal relationship. As to the views of the people of Togoland under French administration, they had no wish to be integrated into the French Union, as Togoland under British administration had no wish to be integrated into the Gold Coast. Their desire was to be allowed to judge for themselves what kind of a federation they should have with any larger entity.

28. Mr. AKU (*Comité de l'Unité togolaise*) added that the Territory of Togoland under French administration was completely integrated into the French Union and that the problem of the Ewes went far beyond the question of relationship with the French Union. If Togoland's place in the Union was to be clearly defined, the United Nations would first have to give an authoritative interpretation of the Trusteeship Agreement, which stipulated that France should administer the Trust Territory as an integral part of French territory. That being so, it was natural that France should consider Togoland as a part of the Union. The question should be settled between the United Nations and the Administering Authority.

29. Mr. TAJIBNAPIS (Indonesia) hoped that the French representative would throw some further light on the relationship later.

30. He had a series of more detailed questions to ask concerning the political status of Togoland, the first being whether, under the present system, it was constitutionally impossible for the country fully to develop its own legislative organ.

31. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) said that that question had been answered in the memorandum (T/Pet.6/23-T/Pet.7/21) submitted to the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa in 1949. He stressed that, as a rule, all legislative organs for Togoland under French administration were situated in the metropolitan country and added that obviously the Ewes would prefer to have their own local legislative body, operating in the country itself, where the people would be able to take an interest in its proceedings. If representation in the French National Assembly were to prevent Togoland under French administration from having its own local legislative body, it would be preferable not to have such an arrangement, under which only a very limited number of persons would gain legislative experience and the experience would in any case be European. It was true that a Representative Assembly existed in Togoland under French administration, but it was little more than a municipal council.

32. Mr. ANTOR (Joint Togoland Congress) added that from a purely practical point of view it would clearly be better to have a legislative organ in the Trust Territory of Togoland under French administration, and for the whole territory. For example, the railway which originally was to have been extended into Togoland under British administration, which was the main cocoa-producing area, had never been completed, owing to the division of the country into two parts.

33. Mr. AKU (*Comité de l'Unité togolaise*) added that no provision was made within the French Union for territories to achieve independence.

34. Mr. TAJIBNAPIS (Indonesia) asked to what extent the people of Togoland under French administration had been consulted as to whether they were satisfied with the present system.

35. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) replied that indigenous inhabitants were never consulted on anything by the Administering Authority.

36. Mr. TAJIBNAPIS (Indonesia) asked whether the people of Togoland under French administration considered the existing constitutional arrangements compatible with the attainment of the self-government mentioned in the Charter.

37. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) replied that, as already indicated, it was impossible for Togoland under French administration to advance towards independence if all its laws were made in a legislative body of 600 members meeting in France, and having only one representative from the Territory.

38. Mr. TAJIBNAPIS (Indonesia) asked whether the people of Togoland under French administration had made any approaches to the Administering Authority with a view to obtaining further information concerning the proposed means of leading them to self-government or independence, and if so, what the Administering Authority's attitude had been.

39. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) said that, as President of the Representative Assembly in Togoland under French administration, he had approached the authorities at the time of the visit to the Territory of the Minister for Overseas France, and had pointed out his people's desire for independence as provided for in the Charter. The reply had been that the French authorities intended to apply the provisions of the Charter and nothing but the Charter.

40. Mr. TAJIBNAPIS (Indonesia) asked whether the Ewe representatives agreed with the view expressed in the Trusteeship Council by France, as the Administering Authority, that the association of Togoland under French administration with the French Union gave its people a valuable means of gaining experience in political methods, as they sent representatives to the organs of the French Union in Paris.

41. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) referred to a previous answer and repeated that the sending of a very small number of representatives to France did not help to further the political education of the Togoland people. That purpose would obviously be much better served by having a legislative organ in the Trust Territory.

42. Mr. ANTOR (Joint Togoland Congress) pointed out the need to take local customs into consideration in any legislation for Togoland under French administration. The European law-makers did not and could not take those local customs into consideration. Experience in European law-making, such as representatives sent to French legislative organs in France would gain,

would be a disadvantage, not an advantage, for local purposes.

43. Mr. TAJIBNAPIS (Indonesia) asked what powers the local Representative Assembly in Togoland under French administration possessed.

44. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) replied that apart from giving advice on a few matters, which the Governor was not bound to accept, its main business was to pass the country's budget. In that matter also, however, its authority was only nominal, because the budget contained some compulsory items with which it was not entitled to deal and, moreover, the Governor in private council could prepare and pass it without the Representative Assembly's approval, as had happened in the case of the 1950 budget.

45. Mr. TAJIBNAPIS (Indonesia) asked what representations the local Assembly in Togoland under French administration had made with a view to having its powers extended, and with what success.

46. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) replied that in the memorandum to the 1949 Visiting Mission the Assembly had asked for legislative powers, and the same request had been repeated on various occasions since, but without success. He had, however, seen public statements to the effect that France was prepared to extend the powers of the local Assembly, and he hoped that some elucidation on the subject might be given by the French representative in the Fourth Committee.

47. Mr. TAJIBNAPIS (Indonesia) asked whether the people of Togoland had been consulted about the legislation which, according to the statement made to the Trusteeship Council by France as the Administering Authority,¹ was being prepared in order to extend the powers of the Representative Assembly.

48. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) repeated that the Administering Authority never consulted the inhabitants of the Territory. He had read that changes were to be introduced, but knew no details.

49. Mr. ANTOR (Joint Togoland Congress) added that any attempts on the part of representatives of the indigenous inhabitants to arrange for consultations were always severely repressed.

50. Mr. TAJIBNAPIS (Indonesia) asked whether the Ewe representatives thought that the extension of powers was to be granted to Togoland under French administration because it was a Trust Territory or that the same legislation was to be applied to all the territories of French West and Equatorial Africa.

51. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) pointed out that he was hardly in a position to inform the Committee what the intention of the French Government was.

52. Mr. TAJIBNAPIS (Indonesia), in conclusion, wished to know whether the people of Togoland under French administration considered the establishment of a genuine legislative organ in their Territory as an

essential prerequisite to the attainment of self-government.

53. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) confirmed that the people of Togoland felt that independence could not be achieved without the creation of a legislative organ having its seat in the Territory, preferably a joint legislative council for the two Territories.

54. Mr. ANTOR (Joint Togoland Congress) added that a territory was hardly likely to progress towards independence if its laws were made in France or at some colonial headquarters outside the territory. If the indigenous inhabitants never had the opportunity of meeting together to make laws, they could not acquire any experience to prepare them for self-government.

55. Mr. AKU (*Comité de l'Unité togolaise*) referred to his statement to the Committee (226th meeting) in which he had emphasized that Togoland's political problems could not be solved under a colonial régime. That was why it was vital to satisfy the aspirations of the people of that country for their own local legislative organ in the Trust Territory itself.

56. Mr. TAJIBNAPIS (Indonesia) thanked the three representatives of the Ewe people for their apt and clear answers to his questions.

57. Mr. INGLES (Philippines) asked if the petitioners could give any concrete examples to support their statements that a campaign of persecution and intimidation was being carried on against the leaders of the unification movement.

58. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) said it would take not merely hours but days if he were to attempt to recount all the incidents that had occurred. He was of course speaking only about Togoland under French administration and would confine his reply to some of the worst acts of intimidation about which petitions had been submitted. The campaign of persecution had started soon after the Visiting Mission had submitted its report stating that the unification movement had assumed the character of a popular nationalistic movement and no longer presented only an economic problem.²

59. Shortly afterwards, a new Governor, who had recently arrived from Indo-China, had been appointed to Togoland under French administration and it seemed from his actions that he had been given special instructions to eradicate the unification movement. He had even admitted that that was his purpose. His subordinates had all been employed on that work instead of being left to perform their normal functions. The campaign had started with threats and intimidation and, when that had failed, the Administration had resorted to trumped-up charges in order to arrest the supporters of the unification movement. For example, the chief of the Palimé branch of the *Comité de l'Unité togolaise* had been arrested on the charge of having caned his nephew for refusing to pay the head-tax, an incident which had taken place some years

¹ See *Official Records of the Trusteeship Council, Ninth Session, 379th meeting*.

² *Ibid.*, *Seventh Session, Supplement No. 2, Special report on the Ewe problem, Chapter V*.

earlier. Then, instead of settling the case quickly, the Administration had kept it dragging on for a long time and had told the man accused that he would be released provided he gave up his membership in the unification movement. Eventually, with the aid of lawyers supplied by the party, he had been sentenced to a fine at the first trial; the Governor had appealed against the decision and then the chief of Palimé had been acquitted by the tribunal at Dakar. Another perfectly ridiculous incident had occurred in the Anécho district, where one of the chiefs who was a member of the unification movement had been arrested on the charge of having stolen his servant's goat, after the Administration had been unable to persuade him to leave his party. Subsequently, he too had naturally been acquitted.

60. As a further example of the attitude adopted by the Administration, he referred to the incident which had occurred on 5 July 1951 after the decision to ban all public meetings. On that day, several women had gone to the house of Mr. Augustino de Souza, the President of the *Comité de l'Unité togolaise*, in whose house all meetings were usually held, to inquire what the exact position was; the house had then been surrounded by armed police who had broken in and attacked the women and children who were found there (T/Pet.7/259). The reason for that incident still remained a mystery and, when he himself had asked the Administration to take action against the police officers involved, nothing had ever been done.

61. He referred next to the incidents and shootings which had occurred in connexion with the dispute over the succession to the chieftainship of the village of Vogan, after the death of chief Kalipé (T/Pet.7/267 and Add.1). Although that had been a very ordinary dispute in an unimportant district where the local inhabitants could well have settled the matter themselves, the Administration had thought fit to intervene and had caused a lot of bloodshed. A similar incident had occurred very recently in the northern part of Togoland under French administration, where all the supporters of the unification movement had been arrested.

62. Throughout the Territory, none of the supporters of the unification movement could ever feel secure in their employment, because even if they were not directly employed by the Administration they could always be dismissed and exiled to some other territory upon the slightest pretext. He himself was one of those, but did not want to mention the matter. He also quoted as an example the fate of a young doctor in Togoland under French administration. When he himself had been appearing before the Trusteeship Council, he had received a telegram of encouragement from the young doctor in question; subsequently that young doctor had been sent to French Equatorial Africa, upon the orders of the Governor. The official reason for that order of exile was that he was anti-French and had sent telegrams to Mr. Olympio at Lake Success.

63. Finally, as one last example of the methods used by the Administration, he described how a chief who could neither read nor write had been persuaded to

affix his thumb-print to a paper after having been wilfully misled about its contents. Subsequently, the *Comité de l'Unité togolaise* had been informed that that particular chief had resigned from the party on the grounds that it was indulging in anti-French activities.

64. Mr. ANTOR (Joint Togoland Congress) said that, for his part, he could state with pride that there had been no such cases of intimidation and persecution in Togoland under British administration. However, as the Joint Togoland Congress represented members in both parts of the territory, he wished to refer to one incident in which he himself had been involved when the authorities of Togoland under French administration had arbitrarily refused him admission into that Territory. Upon his return to Togoland under British administration, after he had appeared before the Trusteeship Council at its ninth session, he had been invited to visit members of the *Comité de l'Unité togolaise* in Togoland under French administration. He had set out on 22 September 1951, but upon reaching the frontier had been met by armed French soldiers and refused admission into the Territory. He had not even been allowed to telephone to Mr. Olympio. After waiting several hours, he had been forced to return to Togoland under British administration where he had been permitted to make his telephone call. His experience was a clear indication of the situation in Togoland under French administration and of the persecution to which the supporters of the unification movement were being subjected.

65. Mr. INGLES (Philippines) asked if the petitioners could produce any facts in support of their allegations that the Administering Authorities had intervened in the elections in both Trust Territories.

66. Mr. ANTOR (Joint Togoland Congress) said that he had already described how the elections were held in Togoland under British administration. The elections were in the hands of organs created and controlled by the Administering Authority, who selected the members they wished to be elected; the people themselves were never consulted.

67. Mr. AKU (*Comité de l'Unité togolaise*) reminded the Committee of the serious incidents which had occurred in Togoland under French administration in October 1950 on the occasion of the election of members to the Enlarged Standing Consultative Commission for Togoland Affairs. That had been the first time that the new Governor had intervened directly in the elections and the occasion had been marked by wholesale arrests of supporters of the unification movement, particularly in the Anécho district.

68. In June 1951, elections had been held in all the territories of Overseas France in order to choose deputies to the French National Assembly. It was significant that the results of the elections had been contested in all the territories of *Afrique noire* and it had even been stated in the French Press that the elections had been arranged in advance. It was the practice for the *commandants de cercle* to draw up the electoral lists and they naturally eliminated any persons who were known

to be sympathetic towards the *Comité de l'Unité togolaise*. The *Comité* had often protested to the local authorities, but with no results whatever. In the northern region it was even easier for the Administration to arrange the lists to suit itself and to ensure the success of the *Parti togolais du progrès*.

69. Although a law had been passed on 23 May 1951 to prevent fraudulent practices in connexion with the elections in the territories of Overseas France, its provisions had never been applied in Togoland under French administration. He had himself lodged a protest with the competent office of the French National Assembly but, in spite of his sound legal arguments, the elections had been declared valid, for purely political reasons.

70. He could, if necessary, produce photographs and documents showing the fraudulent way in which the recent elections had been conducted. The actions of the Administration had been particularly flagrant in the Mango region where the chiefs chosen by the Administration had been present at the polling booths, supported by the police, and had forced their subordinates to vote for the Administration candidate.

71. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) gave a further instance, in respect of Togoland under French administration, in support of Mr. Aku's reply. He read an extract from the minutes of a meeting of the government-supported chiefs and notables of Aného, at which the Paramount Chief, when his candidate for the Representative Assembly was attacked, disclaimed all responsibility for the choice and said it had been made by the "whites".

72. Mr. INGLES (Philippines) said that he had gathered from the statements of the Ewe representatives and their replies to questions that the proposed arrangements for the new joint council for Togoland affairs (A/C.4/198) were not acceptable to the people of both Trust Territories. He would like to hear their exact views on the proposal to set up the joint council and on its terms of reference. He asked whether the terms of reference represented any advance on those of the Enlarged Consultative Commission and whether they were such as to make it succeed where the latter had failed.

73. M. ANTOR (Joint Togoland Congress) said that the proposed joint council could not solve the problem of both Trust Territories so long as the representatives serving on it were elected in the manner previously described. Elections to the council should be supervised by a special United Nations commission and the body thus chosen should have powers to legislate.

74. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) said that the joint council's terms of reference, emphasizing as they did the frontier areas, seemed even narrower than those of the former Enlarged Consultative Commission. In resolution 345 (IX), the Trusteeship Council had recommended the establishment of a body to advise the Administering Authorities on all matters affecting the lives of the people of both Togolands, and it had been hoped that such a body would eventually

develop into an organ capable of dealing with those questions. He pointed out that it was unlikely that the Governors of the two Togolands would go beyond the narrowest possible interpretation of the council's terms of reference.

75. Mr. INGLES (Philippines) wished to know the significance of the proposal (A/C.4/198) that in Togoland under French administration the members of the joint council should be selected by the district councils and the local Representative Assembly. He believed it was the first occasion on which the Representative Assembly had been called upon to take part in the selection.

76. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) said that the proposal explained the haste that there had been to renew the Representative Assembly and the district councils. There had been plans to make the latter truly effective bodies, entitled to discuss all matters affecting the lives of the people. The Representative Assembly had been called upon to discuss that plan and give the Administering Authority its opinion. In answer it had proposed that the district councils should be elected by universal suffrage or, failing that, by all men paying head-tax in a particular district. Secondly, it had proposed that the councils should be empowered to discuss political problems. Although at first they had been favourably received, the proposals had later been rejected and the Representative Assembly had been asked to vote on a plan to continue the system of voting in two stages, and to prohibit any discussion of political problems in the district councils. It had rejected the plan but the Governor had used his reserve powers to put it into effect. Paradoxically enough, the first act of the councils elected in the way decided on by the Governor had been to convey their gratitude to the Minister for Overseas France and ask to be incorporated in the French Union, which was of course a political problem.

77. The Representative Assembly had been renewed on a basis opposed by all the people of Togoland under French administration. All the parties had agreed to boycott the elections held on 9 December 1951, but the Governor had no doubt made arrangements for the election of his own candidates and they and the members of the district councils would choose the representatives to sit on the joint council.

78. He pointed out that when the former Representative Assembly had asked to be consulted on the question of the election of the members of the Enlarged Standing Consultative Commission, the Governor had said that the Assembly was a purely French institution and was not concerned with elections to an international body such as the Consultative Commission. It was surprising that the new Representative Assembly should be entitled to send members to sit on an international organ.

79. Mr. INGLES (Philippines), referring to paragraph 8 of document A/C.4/198, asked what effect the proposal regarding the three-fourths majority required for decisions of the joint council would have, in view of the method of election and the likely composition of the joint council.

80. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) said that the proposed voting method was unfair. If the matter was left to the Africans, both sides would be on an equal footing.

81. Mr. ANTOR (Joint Togoland Congress) said that the French consul at Accra had told him that both Administering Authorities were unwilling to give the joint council effective powers. The British Administration had therefore agreed that the number of representatives on the French side should be larger, in the certainty that the representatives of Togoland under French administration would be supporters of the French Administration and would outvote the British side.

82. Mr. INGLES (Philippines) thanked the Ewe representatives for their lucid answers to his questions. The information they had provided would have to be taken fully into account in discussing the action to be taken by the Fourth Committee and the General Assembly.

83. Mr. DE PAIVA LEITE (Brazil) also thanked the Ewe representatives on behalf of his delegation. They

had brought the Committee much new information which would require close study, as would any reply by the French and United Kingdom delegations.

84. Mr. PEREZ CISNEROS (Cuba) proposed that the questioning of the Ewe representatives should be continued at the Committee's following meeting and that the Committee should adjourn forthwith.

The proposal was adopted by 39 votes to none, with 7 abstentions.

**Question of South West Africa (A/1901 and Add.1 to 3)
(continued)**

[Item 38] *

85. Mr. BUNCHE (Secretary of the Committee) read a telegram dated 14 December 1951 from Chief Hosea Kutako, at Windhoek, to the Secretary-General, stating that the representatives of the Hereros were still waiting for the permission of the Government of the Union of South Africa and requesting that the Reverend Michael Scott should be informed of that fact.

The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.