

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

NINTH SESSION
Official Records



**FOURTH COMMITTEE, 453rd
MEETING**

Thursday, 2 December 1954,
at 3.05 p.m.

New York

CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 35: The Togoland unification problem: special report of the Trusteeship Council (<i>continued</i>)	361
Agenda item 52: The future of the Trust Territory of Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship (<i>continued</i>)	

Chairman: Mr. Rafik ASHA (Syria).

AGENDA ITEMS 35 AND 52

The Togoland unification problem: special report of the Trusteeship Council (A/2669) (*continued*)

The future of the Trust Territory of Togoland under United Kingdom trusteeship (A/2660) (*continued*)

HEARING OF PETITIONERS (*continued*)

At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Sylvanus Olympio, representative of the All-Ewe Conference, Mr. J. K. Mensah, representative of the Buem-Krachi District Council, Mr. S. T. Fleku and Mr. S. W. Kumah, representatives of the Convention People's Party, Mr. J. H. Allasani and Mr. Mahama Bukhari, representatives of the Dagomba District Council, Mr. Idana Asigri, representative of the Mamprusi District Council, Mr. Anani Ignacio Santos, representative of the Mouvement de la jeunesse togolaise, Mr. S. Aquereburu, representative of the Mouvement populaire togolais, Nana Akompi Firam III, representative of the Natural Rulers of the Buem-Krachi District, Mr. Frédéric Brenner, representative of the Parti togolais du progrès, Mr. S. G. Antor, representative of the Togoland Congress, Mr. A. K. Odame, representative of the Togoland Congress (Buem-Krachi Branch), Mr. Alasan Chamba, representative of the Togoland Congress (Northern Region) and Mr. Mama Fousseni, representative of the Union des chefs et des populations du Nord, took places at the Committee table.

1. Mr. AQUEREBURU¹ (Mouvement populaire togolais), who was appearing before the Fourth Committee for the first time, explained that he was a school-master, a Togolander by birth, and that he had lived at different times in all parts of the Territory. The party he represented had been in existence for less than a year, but it already had 6,000 members. The leader of the party was Mr. Pedro Olympio, who had already ap-

peared before the United Nations.² Mr. Olympio had founded the Parti togolais du progrès, and Mr. Aquereburu himself had been a member of that party's Committee from its inception until May 1954, at which time they had both left the party for personal reasons and because they wished to retain their freedom of speech and action.

2. The Mouvement populaire togolais had been founded on the basis of the French colonial Administration's promise that it would grant Togoland self-government if the Togolanders would trust it, and because of the fear that the Comité de l'Unité togolaise would involve the country in an impossible situation. The conditions of the promised self-government had been, first, entry into the French Union, and, secondly, unanimous support of the programme of the Parti togolais du progrès, in order to strengthen the faction favouring the French Union.

3. The first of those objectives had been supported by the Committee of the party, but the mass of the people, influenced by the Comité de l'Unité togolaise, were sceptical as to the benefits the country would derive from partnership in the French Union. The speaker, with the Vice-President of the Union des chefs et des populations du Nord, had been to see the chief official of the Territory, who had explained to them that if Togoland had the status of an Associated State, it would have self-government within the framework of the French Union.

4. To achieve the second objective, the Parti togolais du progrès would have to overcome all its opposition, including in particular the Comité de l'Unité togolaise. That had, however, proved to be impossible. In fact the opposing party had been strengthened by the foundation of the Juvento, which was affiliated with the Unité togolaise and took an even stronger line.

5. The promise of self-government had not been fulfilled, whereas in the Gold Coast reforms had been introduced which enabled the indigenous inhabitants to play a greater part in the conduct of its affairs. At the same time the French local Administration had lost confidence in the leaders of the Parti togolais du progrès and had made advances to the Mouvement des chefs du Nord. In the circumstances, the founders of the Parti togolais du progrès had decided to establish a new political party which would follow a middle course. Its aim was to denounce abuses, to enlighten the people of Togoland, to advocate the union of all Togolanders and to struggle for unification and self-government on the model of what had been achieved in the Gold Coast.

6. The Fourth Committee was already familiar with the problem; the goal desired by the entire people and all political parties was the reunification of Togoland, which had been arbitrarily divided into two zones. The

¹ The full text of Mr. Aquereburu's speech was circulated as document A/C.4/295.

² Mr. Pedro Olympio appeared before the Trusteeship Council at its seventh and ninth sessions.

1949 and 1952 United Nations Visiting Missions to Trust Territories in West Africa had admitted that the request for unification was in accordance with the wishes of the majority of the population. Nevertheless after eight years no solution for the problem had been found.

7. In the opinion of the *Mouvement populaire togolais*, the question would never be settled until the populations were really free. Until they were in a position to express their opinions fearlessly, the Committee would always be misled and would be unable to find a solution. He feared that the Administering Authorities would crush any movement for unification by fanning discord among the indigenous inhabitants and hampering contact between the tribes; there was also a danger that ignorant chiefs and ambitious officials might betray the Togoland's real aspirations in exchange for money, favours, political advantages or administrative posts. Many of the chiefs were timid and illiterate, and agreed to sign any petition that was put in front of them. He felt that the Committee should be warned against attaching undue weight to such petitions, especially those opposing unification and the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs.

8. The re-establishment of the Joint Council was highly desirable. It would keep the United Nations informed of events in Togoland and would help the various tribes to get to know each other.

9. Turning to the question of self-government, he said that France and the United Kingdom had conscientiously fulfilled their mission to lead the Territories towards political independence, and that both Territories had reached at least the first stage on the road to independence. Since the Gold Coast was already self-governing within the framework of the Commonwealth, it was difficult to see why Togoland, which for thirty-four years had been administered by a liberal and generous-minded Power, should not yet enjoy self-government. If Togoland under French administration attained self-government, Togoland under British administration would wish to be reunited with it. Togoland, thus united, would then be able to define its economic, political and cultural links with the French Union and the Commonwealth.

10. The constitutional reforms just voted by the French Parliament did not satisfy Togoland's legitimate aspirations. Four years previously they would have done so, but today they suffered by comparison with what the Gold Coast had obtained. Togoland demanded truly democratic reforms and self-government as it existed in the Gold Coast and in Nigeria.

11. The Convention People's Party, which today formed the Government of the Gold Coast, asked that Togoland under British administration should be integrated with the Gold Coast. In support of that request they claimed, first that the former British-German frontier had divided the largest tribes of Togoland; secondly, that Togoland under British administration, a small Territory exporting nothing but cocoa, would not be a viable political unit; thirdly, that since Togoland under British administration was administered as an integral part of the Gold Coast, which already had self-government, it would be in its best interests to be attached to the Gold Coast rather than to Togoland under French administration, which France had failed to develop rapidly enough.

12. In fact, however, the Togoland tribes had been less divided by the former British-German frontier than they were by the present Franco-British frontier. The people in the north of Togoland under British administration

were more akin to those in the north of Togoland under French administration than to those in the Gold Coast. It had been stated that there were about 400,000 Ewes in the Gold Coast and only 175,000 in Togoland under French administration. The former figure, however, included not only Ewes properly so-called but a number of related tribes, whereas the latter included only true Ewes; if all the related tribes were included, as they had been for the Gold Coast, the figure for Togoland under French administration would exceed 400,000. It would therefore be to the advantage of the Ewes in Togoland under British administration to unite with their brothers in Togoland under French administration, which was the home of their race.

13. It was true that Togoland under British administration was a small Territory and had so far been bound by economic ties to the Gold Coast, but under the Germans it had formed a single country together with what was now Togoland under French administration.

14. The fact that the Gold Coast was already self-governing was not a sufficient reason why it should absorb Togoland under British administration. If that were so, France, by granting self-government to Dahomey, could acquire the right to annex Togoland under French administration to that colony.

15. The *Mouvement populaire togolais* saw no reason why the question should not be settled by a plebiscite organized by the United Nations. A United Nations mission could first visit all parts of the Territory and explain to the chiefs and the people that they could vote according to their conscience without any fear of reprisals either from political parties or from the Administering Authorities.

16. In reply to Mr. Allasani, Mr. Aquereburu denied that France had failed in its mission in Togoland. On the contrary, France's work of liberation was admired by all, including the inhabitants of the Gold Coast.

17. The hopes of the peoples of Togoland rested with the United Nations and the Administering Authority. He trusted that they would not be disappointed.

18. Mr. SANTOS³ (*Mouvement de la jeunesse togolaise*) said that the free youth of Togoland whom he represented had long awaited the opportunity to proclaim its faith in the United Nations and to give expression to its aspirations for the emancipation and unification of Togoland and its people. That was why the *Mouvement de la jeunesse togolaise*, or *Juvento*, had come into being; it had appealed to all men of goodwill and the whole people had responded. The French colonial Administration had soon realized the strength of the movement, and had decided to crush it. The party was, however, determined not only to survive, but to win the fulfilment of the promises contained in the Charter.

19. General Assembly resolution 750 (VIII) had been understood by the people of Togoland as an assurance that their sufferings would soon be over. He would give one or two examples of the manner in which that resolution had been implemented by the French colonial Administration.

20. In January 1953, the Togoland Union, which was affiliated to the Joint Togoland Congress, had sent out invitations to all Togoland's to attend a Congress at Hohoe, in Togoland under British administration, in honour of the Togoland delegates to the United Nations.

³ The full text of Mr. Santos's speech was circulated as document A/C.4/296.

A number of those invitations had been sent to the Paramount Chief of Palimé, in Togoland under French administration, who had asked three of his friends to distribute them. By a decision of the Court of First Instance at Lomé in May 1953 the Paramount Chief and the three others had been sentenced to pay heavy fines for being in possession of foreign pamphlets.

21. With regard to political liberties, he read out a decision of the Court of First Instance at Lomé, dated 6 May 1953, by which three persons had been sentenced to ten months' imprisonment and a fine of 15,000 francs each for having read to a public meeting a resolution, stating various grievances, addressed to the Chief Sub-Divisional Officer at Tsévié. After serving his sentence, one of the three, who was the Secretary-General of Juvento, had been informed that he was being exiled from the Territory, and was immediately conducted to the frontier. The Court of Appeal at Abidjan had subsequently reversed the verdict, but in the meantime the three Juvento members had undergone ten months of imprisonment, and the Secretary-General's sentence of expulsion had not been withdrawn.

22. When the first French Constituent Assembly had been set up, in 1945, the people of Togoland had refused to be represented in the French Parliament on the ground that they were inhabitants of a Trust Territory and because they did not wish to be annexed by Dahomey, with which the Territory had a joint representative. Nevertheless, the Togolandese had allowed themselves to be persuaded and had finally taken part in the election. The results showed that their original apprehensions had been only too well founded.

23. Juvento no longer doubted the French colonial Administration's lack of goodwill, and indeed, its systematic opposition to the work of the United Nations, at least as far as their country was concerned. It was clear that although France had signed the Charter, it had not abandoned its old methods and principles in connexion with the emancipation of dependent peoples and territories. Those principles had been laid down by the Brazzaville Conference in February 1944, which had adopted a resolution defining the aims of the work of civilization discharged by France in its colonies and excluding any idea of self-government or evolution outside the framework of the French Empire or of the achievement of self-government in the colonies, even in the distant future. There was overwhelming evidence that that was still the guiding principle of French colonial administration. If further proof were necessary, it would be found in the recent debates in the Assembly of the French Union and the National Assembly, when the draft law on the Togoland Government Council had been voted. It had actually been claimed — despite the resolutions adopted and reiterated by the General Assembly and the assurances given not only by the French representative to the United Nations in 1953 but also by Mr. Pflimlin, the French Colonial Minister, when he had visited Togoland in 1952 — that the Togolandese could not be allowed to manage their own affairs, not because they were insufficiently mature politically, but because it would be contrary to articles 3 and 4 of the Trusteeship Agreement.

24. The French colonial Administration tried to justify the flagrant contradiction between its position and the principles of the Charter by persuading representatives of the population to speak for it. Such representatives had appeared before the Committee year after year, to try and deceive it. The solution they advocated for the

Togoland problem was an ill-defined independence within a French Union that was legally ambiguous, politically anti-democratic, economically ineffective and irrational and culturally impossible. The social achievements of the French Union were vitiated by the political and economic defects inherent in the whole system. It was regrettable that, although General Assembly resolution 750 C (VIII), paragraph 3, referred to the special circumstances created by the constitutional and political situation in the Gold Coast, it was significantly silent about any political or constitutional influence that a Territory in the French Union might have on any part of Togoland. The French Administration was making great play with the new political institutions recently granted to Togoland, and he would not be surprised if some past advocates of unification did not desert that cause and transfer their allegiance to the French Union, thus light-heartedly abandoning half their country for the illusion that the half in which they lived had become the promised land.

25. The real reason for the United Kingdom proposal to integrate Togoland under British administration with the Gold Coast, a proposal poorly concealed behind a screen of false ethnic, economic and political reasons, lay in the United Kingdom's determination not to let out of the Commonwealth's hands the Territory's cocoa — a tenth of the Gold Coast production — or control of the Volta River — a source of electric power to exploit the aluminium bauxite in the Gold Coast. Integration with the Gold Coast would leave the French a free hand in Togoland under French administration and bring the cause of unification to nought. Juvento vehemently protested against that proposal and against any other measures which would in any way compromise the complete independence and territorial integrity which the Togolandese were entitled to expect from the United Nations.

26. The Comité de l'Unité togolaise (CUT), the All-Ewe Conference and the Togoland Congress had given the General Assembly abundant proof of their desire to further the purposes and principles of the Charter and to carry out the General Assembly's resolutions, more particularly resolution 750 (VIII), in co-operation with the Administering Authorities. Their representatives had informed the Committee of the manner in which their suggestions were rejected, of the obstacles placed in their way and of the persecutions to which they were subjected, particularly by the French Administration. They had submitted numerous petitions along the same lines. From the outset, Juvento had expressed its devotion to the purposes and principles advocated by those parties; it, too, had offered to co-operate with the Administering Authorities and it had been subjected to the same persecution.

27. Juvento had every confidence in the General Assembly and in it alone. It asked the Assembly to bear certain considerations in mind. First, the independence of Togoland was inseparably linked to its unification. Secondly, the Administering Authorities either could not or would not carry out the General Assembly resolutions, particularly resolution 750 (VIII). Thirdly, the United Kingdom and France administered vast dependent territories and should only welcome any decision by the General Assembly to relieve them of their responsibilities in Togoland. Fourthly, the failure or inability of the Administering Authorities to implement the General Assembly resolutions seriously compromised, or might compromise, the future unification and independence of Togoland. Fifthly, it was the duty of

the United Nations to grant the Togoland the unification and independence it had promised them.

28. In the light of those considerations, his party asked the General Assembly: first, to decide the question of unification at the same time as the question of independence; secondly, to terminate the Trusteeship Agreements for Togoland immediately; thirdly, to set up direct United Nations trusteeship to cover the interim period necessary before a constituent assembly for an independent and unified Togoland could be established; fourthly, to ascertain the true purport and intentions of the United Kingdom proposal and consider whether it was in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter; fifthly, to abide by resolution 750 (VIII).

29. Any measure adopted in one of the two Togolands to hasten the advent of self-government and independence should be extended to the other Territory, if it was in conformity with the wishes of the people concerned. His party therefore suggested that the General Assembly should appoint a special mission to establish a joint council for Togoland affairs. That council would study the arrangements for holding a plebiscite in both Trust Territories.

30. He emphasized that the Togoland were not a mass of tribes some of which wanted the United Nations to force the others to live under their domination. The Togoland were a people seeking their lost unity and their independence. Togoland had emerged as a nation at the time of the German colonization in 1884. The Togoland were fully aware that they formed a single people and it was as such that they wished to achieve their ideals. It was in that sense that Juvento was a nationalist party. The Togoland had deliberately turned their backs on tribalism. It was strange that the United Kingdom, which had never before mentioned the alleged claims of the dissident tribes in Togoland and which had turned a deaf ear to the aspirations of the Ewes in the Gold Coast should now summon to its defence the Dagombas and the other allegedly dissident tribes in the North.

31. Mr. BRENNER⁴ (*Parti togolais du progrès*) said that he was speaking as General Chairman of his party, which was supported by the vast majority of the people of Togoland under French administration. He was appearing before the Committee for the second time⁵ in order to voice their views and because he knew that many petitioners would try to convince the Committee that the movements they represented were important, whereas in reality they embraced only a minute section of public opinion.

32. The position of his party and of its brother organization, *L'Union des chefs et des populations du Nord*, had not varied since 1946. The same could not be said of certain petitioners, who had never explained the facts of the problem frankly and clearly to the Committee or admitted that their ultimate objective in advocating unification was to associate both Togolands with the Gold Coast. His own party's objective was to promote the advance of Togoland towards internal autonomy within the French Union; that autonomy would be ensured at the local level by increased decentralization and the gradual extension of local rights. The institutional links with the French Union through representation in the assemblies in the metropolitan country would be main-

tained. The Togoland representatives on such assemblies had already achieved excellent results.

33. In November 1949, when the first United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa had been in Togoland, Mr. Olympio and his friends had convinced it that the Ewe movement was intense and nation-wide, whereas in reality it was only an anachronistic tribal movement. Mr. Olympio had made regular visits to the United Nations as the self-styled representative of the whole of Togoland under French administration. He had been able to maintain that fiction for a number of reasons. First, at that time the electorate had numbered only six or seven thousand; secondly, he enjoyed great personal status and a privileged position as the general agent for Unilever; and thirdly, he had been favoured by certain circumstances arising out of the war. Gradually, however, with the growing political awareness of Togoland and the expansion of the electorate, the eyes of the chiefs and the people had been opened and they had seen through Mr. Olympio's schemes. By the time the 1952 Visiting Mission had gone to the Territory, the situation had completely changed. The Ewe movement was losing impetus, for the Togoland understood that the flames of agitation were being carefully fanned solely in the interests of a small minority, and would lead only to the disintegration of Togoland. In that connexion, it was unfortunate that General Assembly resolutions 652 (VII) and 750 (VIII) should have spoken of unification as the manifest aspiration of the majority of the population. The Visiting Mission itself had acknowledged in its report (T/1105) that it was impossible to say that there was wide support for any one form of unification which would be acceptable to the majority of the inhabitants of the two Territories. It had added that in Togoland under French administration the views of the two groups of parties on the form independence should take were so diametrically opposed as to make it impossible to satisfy both points of view simultaneously. Obviously, therefore, the problem could only be solved by the law of the majority; and the majority now supported the *Parti togolais du progrès* and the *Union des chefs et des populations du Nord*. Their opponents had not a single parliamentary representative; and held only five out of thirty seats in the Territorial Assembly. Contrary to Mr. Antor's assertions, the Togoland Congress had few if any members in Togoland under French administration. The All-Ewe Conference and Juvento were not supported by the masses in the south or in the north. The *Union des chefs et des populations du Nord* was a comprehensive and dynamic movement, which brought balance into the political life of Togoland and prevented the Ewe group from pursuing a policy of racial hegemony in its own interests.

34. Since 1948, various joint bodies had been set up to solve the Togoland problem. They had all failed. His party had never sought their failure; on the contrary it had given them its active co-operation and it had admitted, in principle, that the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs should be reconstituted in accordance with General Assembly resolution 750 (VIII). It was the minority parties which had boycotted the bodies in question and prevented them from completing their work successfully.

35. During the past year, a new fact had come into being which had placed a totally new complexion on the unification problem and rendered any of the solutions previously proposed out of date. It was not for him to judge the United Kingdom Government's plan

⁴ The full text of Mr. Brenner's statement was circulated as document A/C.4/297.

⁵ Mr. Brenner had appeared before the Fourth Committee at the eighth session of the General Assembly.

to integrate Togoland under British administration into the Gold Coast.

36. The Parti togolais du progrès had consistently advocated that the frontier difficulties between the two Togolands should be reduced and that, after a due period of progress, both Territories should be given an opportunity to decide freely and in full knowledge whether unification was possible and desirable.

37. The United Kingdom memorandum (A/2660) had been circulated in Togoland under British administration as a communiqué. It had been criticized by the All-Ewe Conference and its associates as the logical outcome of the "secret plan" set out in Mr. Nkrumah's White Book. The cocoa producers had seen it as a threat to their interests and had rallied round Mr. Antor, with a view to obtaining financial autonomy *vis-à-vis* Accra. It had aroused the suspicions of Mr. Olympio and the affiliates of the All-Ewe Conference in Togoland under French administration, who feared that it would give France a pretext for integrating its Trust Territory in the French Union. The only part of the United Kingdom plan which had met with favour was the plebiscite, which had speedily been adopted as a slogan.

38. In July, the Comité de l'Unité togolaise and Juvento had held a conference at Denu in the Gold Coast which had been attended by all the pro-unification leaders of the two Trust Territories. For obvious reasons, the majority parties in Togoland under French administration, i.e., the Parti togolais du progrès and the Union des chefs et des populations du Nord, had not been invited. The conference had adopted a resolution calling for a plebiscite under United Nations auspices to be held in both Togolands at the beginning of 1955, and for the reconstitution of the Joint Council to study the possibility of a federation between a unified Togoland and the Gold Coast. For the first time, the question had been brought into the open: even before the Gold Coast had acquired full independence, the All-Ewe Conference and its affiliates were mooting the idea of federation within the Commonwealth.

39. In the meantime, institutions in Togoland under French administration had also developed. The new Act passed by the National Assembly marked a vital step forward in the participation of Togolanders in the management of their own affairs. All Togolanders of good faith who were truly concerned about their country's future would agree that the Act was a decisive advance towards self-government and the realization of their legitimate aspirations. In August, moreover, four towns in Togoland had been given the status of *communes de plein exercice*, a highly important reform which would provide Togolanders with training in democracy and would guarantee the four towns genuine independence. By those reforms the French Government had proved that it remained faithful to Article 76 of the United Nations Charter and article 5 of the Trusteeship Agreement. The country must learn to govern itself. It had just been given the opportunity to do so, and the United Nations should not deprive it of that opportunity or take disastrous decisions hastily.

40. Apparently the plebiscite in Togoland under British administration would refer only to the question of integration with the Gold Coast. The All-Ewe Conference and its affiliates wanted a plebiscite to be held simultaneously in Togoland under French administration, with the ultimate objective of federating a unified and independent Togoland with the Gold Coast. Given

the present state of affairs and of political understanding, however, it was almost inconceivable that such a plebiscite would really reflect the majority opinion, since the answer given would obviously depend on the way in which the question was put. The overwhelming majority of the population in Togoland under French administration were hostile to the plans of the All-Ewe Conference and its satellites. His party and the Union des chefs et des populations du Nord believed that a plebiscite should not be held until all the issues involved could be summed up in a simple question demanding only a yes or no answer. In the case in point, that would be impossible, since here were a number of possible solutions, each of them capable of infinite variations.

41. His party and the Union des chefs et des populations du Nord held that there should be no unification outside the French Union. They hoped that the smaller population of Togoland under British administration, which had no institutions of its own, would agree to be united with Togoland under French administration. They felt that the integration of Togoland under British administration with the Gold Coast ran counter to the general desire for unification within the French Union and would frustrate the realization of the great political perspective opened up by the new reforms. In any event, the problem was one which could only be decided by the people of Togoland under British administration; he suggested that in the near future they should be given the possibility of choosing freely between a united Togoland in association with the French Union or integration with the Gold Coast in the framework of the Commonwealth. There was no problem in Togoland under French administration. Since 1921, the Territory had been administered separately from French West Africa and, specifically, from Dahomey. It had its own political, economic and cultural life, its own ports, railways, roads and public services. There was absolutely no foundation for the allegation that its position in the French Union would ultimately lead to its annexation by the neighbouring Territory.

42. In conclusion, he appealed to the Committee not to allow the progress and development of the French Trust Territory to be handicapped by the existence of a problem in the British Trust Territory. His compatriots' only desire was that they should be allowed to profit in peace from the new vistas opening before them.

43. Mr. FOUSSENI⁶ (Union des chefs et des populations du Nord) said that since his appearance before the Fourth Committee at the sixth session (233rd meeting), his compatriots in the north and the south of Togoland under French administration had reaffirmed their confidence in him by electing him as their representative to the Assembly of the French Union.

44. His party, the Union des chefs et des populations du Nord, was guided solely by the interests of Togoland as a whole. In order to progress towards domestic self-government or independence, the country must possess internal unity. That was why his party had consistently opposed such specifically tribal movements as the movement for the unification of the Ewe people. On the other hand, it had close links with the Parti togolais du progrès, which resembled it in placing the idea of Togoland above any scheme of racial hegemony.

⁶ The full text of Mr. Fousseini's statement was circulated as document A/C.4/298.

45. The position of the northern peoples of Togoland under French administration in regard to unification was clear and precise. His party, which was the only valid political force in the north, regarded the problem of unification, in the form in which it was posed by the All-Ewe Conference and its supporters, as being of very secondary interest. The northern peoples had ceased to attach any importance to their recollection of German Togoland. The inescapable fact was that the people of Togoland under British administration had turned entirely towards the Gold Coast, whose political, economic and cultural life they shared. The northern peoples had at first misunderstood the significance of the Ewe problem. However, they had subsequently recognized the true nature of the Ewe movement, which sought to further the rights and privileges of the Ewe people without any consideration for the peoples of the north, whom they regarded as inferior because they were less advanced. His party had realized that the Comité de l'Unité togolaise sought the interests not of the people of Togoland as a whole, but rather of one separatist group. In sheer self-defence, therefore, the peoples of the north had rejected the claims of a tribal minority with whom they had formed a homogeneous entity for more than seventy years. They had done so because they were in favour of the collective development of the country as a whole towards general emancipation.

46. The next few years were of capital importance to the progress of the Territory as a whole. He appealed to the Committee not to hinder the advance of the Trust Territory. The only truly democratic solution to the problem of the unification of the two Togolands would be for the minority to be integrated with the majority, which had consistently declared itself to be in favour of the French Union. However, the United Kingdom memorandum (A/2660) proposed to settle the matter out of hand by integrating Togoland under British administration with the Gold Coast. He associated himself whole-heartedly with the proposal, made by Mr. Brenner on behalf of both parties, that the people should be given the opportunity to opt between the British Commonwealth and the French Union after the reforms introduced in Togoland under French administration had had a chance of proving their effectiveness and after the north had attained a degree of maturity comparable with that which obtained in the south. At a time when the municipal reforms were about to give the people of the Territory an opportunity of playing a more active part in the management of their own affairs, any new formula which might hinder that apprenticeship in democracy must be regarded as a grave threat to the emancipation of the people of Togoland.

47. The northern peoples had additional reason to mistrust unification as advocated by the Comité de l'Unité togolaise and the All-Ewe Conference. They had always considered that unification as envisaged by those parties would be inimical to their interests. The Ewes in the Trans-Volta area had been annexed to their compatriots in the southern part of Togoland under British administration. If Togoland under British administration was integrated with the Gold Coast, the Ewe unification problem would be partly solved. Later, however, the Ewes on the British side might claim unification with the Ewes in Togoland under French administration or even those living in Dahomey. That would mean that the entire hinterland of Togoland would be isolated and left open to unbridled exploitation.

48. His party, on the other hand, wished to safeguard Togoland as a whole. The people of Togoland under French administration had made more progress towards civilization under France than they had in thirty years of German colonization. Now that the recent period of comparative stagnation was over, Togoland under French administration was progressing by giant strides towards its final goal.

49. The northern peoples resented any suggestion that they were the blind followers of the French Administration. In fact, the only real independence of modern times was the material, moral and educational independence of the citizen. Only a gradual raising of the level of education could lead to real emancipation. The rate of school attendance in northern Togoland under French administration was a great deal lower than in the south, and facilities for higher education also lagged behind. However, the establishment of the Territorial Assembly and the elections that had been held—admittedly with a restricted electorate—had enabled the north to send representatives to the Assembly to discuss the problems of Togoland as a whole. They had thus been able to appreciate the efforts made by the Administering Authority. The most important town in the north had now been made a *commune de plein exercice*. That would provide the people of the north with valuable experience in democracy.

50. The northern peoples were not envious of the more advanced stage of development reached by the people of the south. However, they strongly opposed the exploitation of that situation by the Ewes as a pretext for establishing a neo-colonialism in the north under the guise of immediate independence for the whole Trust Territory. Under such a system of racial hegemony, the Togolandese of the north would no longer be able even to bring their complaints to the United Nations.

51. In conclusion, he reminded the Committee that he represented 600,000 Togolandese. Any measure which did not take their wishes into account would be contrary to human justice and to the will of the people for self-determination.

52. Mr. WINIEWICZ (Poland) and Mr. KHALIDY (Iraq) proposed that the Committee should adopt the following procedure with regard to the hearing of petitioners: after statements had been made by the petitioners, the members of the Committee should address questions to them; after the questioning of the petitioners, the Committee should proceed to the general debate; on the conclusion of the general debate, the petitioners should be given an opportunity to clarify points raised during the general debate. The Committee should then proceed to the consideration of the draft resolutions before it.

53. The CHAIRMAN said that if the Committee had no objection, that procedure would be adopted.

There being no objection, it was so decided.

54. Mr. ITANI (Lebanon) asked whether the French delegation would make the full text of the bill concerning the territorial and regional institutions of Togoland under French administration available to the Secretariat, so that it could be distributed as a working paper. He felt that it would be of great assistance to the Committee if the text of the bill could be circulated before the general debate.

55. Mr. JUGLAS (France) said that the French delegation would gladly provide the Secretariat with

the full text of the bill adopted by the French National Assembly.

56. The CHAIRMAN said that if there was no objection from the Committee, the text of the bill would be circulated.

*There being no objection, it was so decided.*¹

57. Mr. CARPIO (Philippines) said that the memorandum on the future of the Trust Territory of Togoland under United Kingdom administration submitted by the Government of the United Kingdom (A/2660) suggested that in view of the constitutional processes which had led to the virtual independence of the Gold Coast, it would be impossible for the United Kingdom to continue to administer the Trust Territory under the Trusteeship Agreement. Accordingly, it proposed that the Trusteeship Agreement should be terminated or amended. In the light of those two alternatives, he wished to ask the representative of the United Kingdom whether, if the United Nations considered it inappropriate in the present circumstances to terminate the Trusteeship Agreement and if it ascertained through a free expression of the wishes of the people of the Territory that the latter desired unification with Togoland under French administration—which would necessitate a change in the Trusteeship Agreement—the Government of the United Kingdom would contemplate changing the Trusteeship Agreement so that after it had ceased to be possible for that Government to be the Administering Authority, another Government or group of Governments, or even the United Nations itself, could become the Administering Authority.

58. Mr. HOPKINSON (United Kingdom) pointed out that the only proposal which the United Kingdom Government had made was that the Trusteeship Council should be asked to consider the best means of ascertaining the views of the people of Togoland on their future status. The Philippine representative's question was hypothetical. If after the views of the people of Togoland had been ascertained it emerged that they did not desire union with the Gold Coast, a new situation would arise and a new solution would be needed. He could not commit himself in that connexion for the time being.

59. Mr. CARPIO (Philippines) said it followed from the spirit of resolution 750 (VIII) that serious consideration was to be given to the question of the unification of the two Togolands. He therefore asked the representatives of the two Administering Authorities how their Governments would react to the possibility of uniting the two Togolands in one administrative unit for the purpose of eventual self-government or independence, if the people of the two Territories clearly indicated their desire to be united in a single unit under the Trusteeship System.

60. Mr. HOPKINSON (United Kingdom) and Mr. JUGLAS (France) considered that that question anticipated the general debate and could not properly be answered at the present juncture.

61. Mr. SINGH (India) noted that some of the figures for tribal populations given by the petitioners differed from the figures on page 7 of the report of the 1952 Visiting Mission (T/1105). According to a footnote, the figures quoted in that report were taken from the *Gold Coast Census of Population, 1948, Report and Tables* (London, 1950); and for Togoland under

French administration, from pamphlets on each *cercle* prepared for the Visiting Mission by the French Administering Authority. He wondered whether the figures in the 1952 report were the latest available, or whether there were subsequent figures more in conformity with present conditions. It would be useful for the Committee to have official figures.

62. Mr. BOZOVIC (Yugoslavia) said that he too had noted the discrepancies in the figures given by the petitioners. He wondered if the Secretariat had any later official figures and, if not, whether the Administering Authorities could give any assistance.

63. Mr. FRAZAO (Brazil) said that in view of the fact that some of the tribes were migrant, in particular the Konkombas, any statistics produced by the Secretariat ought to explain exactly where, how and at what time of the year the censuses had been carried out.

64. Mr. WIESCHHOFF (Secretariat) regretted that for the Gold Coast and Togoland under British administration the Secretariat had only the figures given in the 1948 Gold Coast census and for Togoland under French administration only the information provided on each *cercle* visited. It could therefore provide very little more detail than was already to be found in the report of the Visiting Mission.

65. Mr. HOPKINSON (United Kingdom) said that his delegation would gladly cable for further information. However, the 1948 census in the Gold Coast was the most recent enumeration of population.

66. Mr. JUGLAS (France) said that the figures given for Togoland under French administration were also based on the most recent census in that area.

67. The CHAIRMAN said that if the Committee had no objection, he would call on a number of the petitioners to clarify certain points that had been made in their statements.

There being no objection, it was so decided.

68. Mr. FLEKU (Convention People's Party) said that the representatives of organizations which were opposed to integration had made certain statements which cast doubts upon his own credentials and those of his colleague as the representatives of the masses of the people in the Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration. The official list of permanent organizations in the Territory and the list of chiefs showed that their backing was, in fact, very substantial.

69. In connexion with the claims made by the opposition, he noted that the independent standing of the candidate elected in the constituency of Ho East was clear from his nomination papers and the official records of the Administering Authority. It was therefore incorrect of the Togoland Congress to claim him as a successful candidate of their party; he would undoubtedly lose the support of his electorate if he were to declare himself openly in support of the Togoland Congress. In the constituency of Kpandu South, which overlapped into the Ewe areas of the Trust Territory, the Convention People's Party had had a clear majority, as was proved by the official election results. There had been 2,222 votes cast for the Convention People's Party and 1,916 for the Togoland Congress.

70. Mr. ALLASANI (Dagomba District Council) wished to clarify certain points made at previous meetings in regard to the Northern Territories. Mr. Antor had tried to confuse the Committee by quoting inaccurate figures for the various tribes in Northern Togoland under British administration, showing that there

¹ The text of the bill was circulated as document A/C.4/299.

were fewer Dagombas, Nanumbas, Gonjas and Mamprusis than other tribes. He had omitted to say who owned the land, and to which chiefs the other tribes paid allegiance. Members of the Konkomba tribe, for instance, were to be found wherever there was good land to farm. They were a migrant people, not interested in settling permanently. While they resided in the Northern Territories, they regarded the other tribes as their landlords and paid allegiance to their chiefs.

71. Mr. Antor had also alleged that the British had at one time installed a Ya Na. The Yendi chieftainship was in fact hereditary and no one could be installed as chief. He had also said that the people of Ashanti were opposed to the Gold Coast Government. Even if that were so, their views on the present Government of the Gold Coast did not affect their desire to be integrated with the Gold Coast. At the 451st meeting Mr. Antor had also referred to a cable (A/C.4/273) from the Northern Peoples Party, challenging Mr. Allasani's own right to appear. Mr. Allasani reaffirmed his mandate to represent the people of Northern Togoland. Mr. Antor had also asserted that the British were forcing the people of the Trust Territory to integrate

with the Gold Coast. It was for the Committee to decide whether the desire for integration rather than unification which he and his colleagues had expressed was sincere.

72. Mr. Chamba had claimed to represent the Nanumbas. However, he was not recognized by the Nanumbas. He also claimed to represent the Konkombas, who had no organized state in the area which he represented. He had also alleged that the Togoland Congress had branches all over Northern Togoland. If that were so, it was difficult to understand why the Congress had not put up any candidates in the general elections.

73. Mr. ANTOR (Togoland Congress) said that the figures which he had quoted for tribal populations in Togoland under British administration had been taken from the 1948 census tables. The figures relating to tribes in Togoland under French administration had been taken from the Administering Authority's annual report. In that report the Ouatchis and Minas and certain other tribes were listed as Ewe-speaking peoples. They had therefore been added to the Ewes, to give the total population of the Ewe-speaking area.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.