



Ninth session
Item 12 of the agenda

THE EWE PROBLEM

Annexes to the joint Anglo-French memorandum

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
I. Minutes of the Enlarged Standing Consultative Commission for Togoland Affairs.	
1. Minutes of the first session, held at Lomé, 7 and 8 November 1950	(Not reproduced here)
(Note by the Secretariat: The minutes of this session have been reproduced in document T/845, copies of which will be made available with the present document to members of the Trusteeship Council.)	
2. Minutes of the second session, held at Ho, 15 to 17 May 1951.	2
List of Officials and Delegates	2
Plenary session of 15 May	4
Minutes and resolutions of the Political Committee. . .	13
Minutes and resolution of the Economic Committee. . .	17
Minutes and resolution of the Social and Cultural Committee	21
Plenary session of 17 May	28
Summary statement of 17 May	29
Memorandum by Asafoawo and Schawo of the Asogli State .	34
II. Extract from the report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa on the Ewe problem:	(Not reproduced here)
Chapter II - The work of the Anglo-French Standing Consultative Committee	
(Note by the Secretariat: This chapter appears on pages 73 to 76 of the <u>Official Records</u> of the seventh session of the Trusteeship Council, copies of which will be made available with the present document to members of the Trusteeship Council.)	

2. MINUTES OF THE SECOND SESSION, HELD AT HO, 15 - 17 MAY 1951

There were present:

M. le Gouverneur Y. Digo, Commissaire de la République au Togo, and
and Mr. R.H. Saloway representing the Governor of the Gold Coast, as
Co-Chairmen.

Mr. J. Dixon and M. Tourot acted as Vice-Chairmen

Delegates were present as follows:

BRITISH:

Mr. B.G. Kwami	-	Asogli
Mr. E.K. Appiah	-	Buem
Mr. S.T. Fleku	-	Anfoega
Mr. J. Kwami	-	Nkonya and Santrokofi
Mr. W. Henkel	-	Krachi
Mr. A.M. Jawulla	-	Gonja
Mr. Z. Zibirim	-	Nanumba
The Balona	-	Dagomba
Mr. J. Blido	-	"
Mr. Y. Chokosi	-	"
The Worikamdana	-	Mamprusi (Kusasi)
Mr. J.A. Bansa	-	" (B'moba)
Mr. B. Dimongso M.L.A.	-	" (Konkomba)

FRENCH:

Dr. P. Olympio	-	Parti Togolais du Progres
M. C. Lawson	-	Lome Ville
M. J. Dadzie Adjalle	-	Lome subdivision
M. B. Kpelly	-	Taevie subdivision
M. J. Nudoda	-	" "
M. R. Lawson	}	Anecho District
M. M. Agbezouhlon		
M. B. Agbagla		
M. J. Kalipe	}	Klouto District
M. L. Adjokou		
M. A. Kouma		
M. I. Apedo	-	
M. L. Akakpo	}	Atakpame District
M. M. Ihou		
M. P. Anonene		
M. A. Derman	}	Sokode District
M. M. Fousseni		
M. B. Bassabi	}	Bassari subdivision
M. M. Tchadre		
M. B. Birega	}	Lama-Kara District
M. R. Walla		
M. M. Agba		
M. P. Malazoue		
M. R. Assi		

/M. S. Djoare Nambiena

M. S. Djoare Nambiena)	-	Mango District
M. P. Kazarou Kparou)		
M. S. Mateyendou)	-	Dapango subdivision
M. S. Djimongou)		
M. T. Yanbandjo)		

The Joint Secretariat consisted of M. Aubanel on the French side and Mr. Ensor on the British side.

PLENARY SESSION OF 15 MAY

The session opened with short speeches in which the Co-Chairmen welcomed the delegates.

THE BRITISH CO-CHAIRMAN informed the Commission that the minutes of the last session had been circulated and no amendments had been suggested. He then reminded the Commission that the Trusteeship Council had requested the Administering Authorities to furnish not later than 1 July, "substantive proposals for a practicable solution of the question" and added that the Administering Authorities intended if possible to comply with this request. It was to enable them to do this that the second session of this Commission had been called. The Administering Authorities wanted to ascertain the wishes of the peoples of the two Trust Territories and it was important that these views should be issued not from each group in isolation but from all the groups so that each might appreciate the points of view of the others and might endeavour to reach compromises where there were divergencies. It was important that the peoples of the two Trust Territories should play their full part in the search for a solution of the problems which confronted them. But he suggested that this search should not be confined simply to the issue of whether there should or should not be unification; other less radical proposals for a solution could also be considered by the Commission and the economic and social aspects of these problems should not be overlooked. He expressed regret on behalf of all the delegates present that some members of the Commission had not found it possible to attend this session or to give the Commission the benefit of their advice and the views of the people they had been elected to represent.

DR. F. OLYMPIO (Parti Togolais du Progrès) proposed the setting up of three Committees in order to discuss political, economic and social and cultural problems. The delegations would, he proposed, divide their membership into three groups each of which would form a Committee. No official members would take part in the work of these Committees. After discussion, agreement on this proposal was reached with the delegates from Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship.

The Co-Chairmen proposed an adjournment of half an hour to enable delegates to decide the membership of these Committees. When the session was resumed the British Co-Chairman invited the delegates who wished to do so, in particular those

/who had not

who had not been present at the session of November, 1950, to make speeches of a general nature before the Committees were set up.

DR. P. OLYMPIO (Parti Togolais du Progrès) speaking on behalf of the delegates from Togoland under French Trusteeship gave his assent and invited the delegates from Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship to speak first.

MR. B.G. KWAMI (Asogli) explained that the Asogli Native Authority which had elected him had instructed him not to attend this session but the Asafoawo and Sohawo who were the people who appointed and destooled chiefs - and who otherwise held a position similar to the Chamber of Commons in the United Kingdom - having learnt of this decision considered it had not been taken in a democratic manner and had insisted that he should attend. He then read the document which is attached as an Annex.

MR. J. KWAMI (Nkonya and Santrokofi) stated that he had previously expressed at Lome the view that there should be unification of the two Togolands without prejudice to either Administering Authority. He proposed the setting up of a Joint Secretariat for the two Togolands. No one present would deny that the inhabitants of the Togolands sought autonomy and a compromise on certain points was imperative.

The All-Ewe Conference and the Comité de l'Unité Togolaise wanted the unification of the Ewes of both Territories, which was certainly not what the people of Togoland wanted. In the name of those he represented, he asked for the unification of both Togolands. The majority of the indigenous inhabitants of the Togolands were not Ewe speaking and there was no reason to discriminate in favour of Ewe speakers. Once the Togolands were united as they had been under the Germans there would be progress. He then stated that the divisions of Nkonya and Santrokofi had met with delegates from Krachi and Buem and had agreed to give their delegates a memorandum expressing their views as follows:

1. That we agree to the unification of the entire Togoland formerly administered by the German Government.
2. That if it is decided that the whole of Togoland cannot be unified but only a part of Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship has to be unified with a part of Togoland under French Trusteeship, then we do not wish to be included in that part which has to be unified.
3. Realizing that the present position of unification of the whole Togoland formerly administered by the German Government is shaky, and noting that the

/unification

unification may not probably be achieved, we desire that our States and Divisions should be included or annexed to the Gold Coast Colony to be administered by the British Government in Accra.

MR. E.K. APPIAH (Buem) stated that since the British had governed his part of Togoland for 36 years and British Togoland had received British education, for these and other reasons, Buem wished to remain under British administration if the unification of the two Togolands was not possible. He stated that he had the same mandate as (this was read to the Commission) the representative of Nkonya and Santrokofi.

MR. S.T. FLEKU (Anfoega) thanked the Co-Chairmen on behalf of the people of Anfoega for agreeing to Anfoega receiving separate representation on the Commission.

He felt that most of the delegates who spoke at the first session were biased in favour of their own administering authorities and were too attentive to the interests of Great Britain and France and not interested enough in those of the Togolands. The Division of Anfoega considered that unification was of such importance as to override petty local or tribal prejudices.

He summarized the aims of the other delegates as follows:

1. French Togoland - no unification or change of Government.
2. Southern British Togoland - unification of Togolands under a single administration, preferably British.
3. Northern British Togoland - unification of Northern Section of British Togoland with the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast.

He did not feel that these aims were incompatible especially since the differences of opinion were exaggerated by the existence of the frontier. The first object should therefore be the immediate removal of frontier barriers as an act of good will which would show that the Administering Authorities really desired a solution of the problem. The removal of the barriers would bring about a sense of unity.

Anfoega considered unification of the two Togolands as being essential to the building of a modern and progressive state. The fears of the non-Ewes who feared the domination of this state by the Ewes were groundless. Togoland had once been a single state and had remained ethnologically and culturally one, in spite the economic, social and political divisions arising from the frontier.

Togoland was now so poverty stricken that the inhabitants who produced expert artisans and were hard working were forced to seek work in the Gold Coast. Only unification could restore Togoland's lost prestige and release

the Territories from the shackles of British and French imperialism.

The peoples of Togoland should be granted the right to choose their own Government by plebiscite. No democratic or free choice of Government could be made until the frontier was abolished.

Finally he condemned the danger resulting from the delaying tactics being practised by the Governments over the question of unification. The Governments had failed to tackle the problem boldly or to come out with any statement suggesting a solution. Let the two Governments now at last obey the voice of the people.

MR. W. HENKEL (Krachi) stated that the British were the first to step on Togoland soil. By an act of grace Togoland was handed over to the Germans. Togoland was then united under one government. After the 1914-18 war there came a severe split. Most families were harshly separated. The split culminated in feuds and the poor people of Togoland still suffer from this division. If the Togolands had been under one administration, greater progress would have been achieved. Now it is impossible to obtain information as to how the Togolands are progressing. One hears the cry everywhere 'One Togoland under one Government'. The people of Krachi want the unification of the two Togolands under the British. If this is not possible, Krachi wants to join with Buem and be integrated into the Gold Coast.

He said all were aware that the problem would have been settled if it had been left to the people and the Administering Authorities to settle between themselves but the whole matter had been complicated by a party called the All-Ewe Conference which had merely added to the difficulties of the situation. The people of Krachi were not interested in the proposals of the All-Ewe Conference.

THE BRITISH CO-CHAIRMAN then proposed that the Commission should adjourn and open its afternoon meeting at 3 o'clock. He asked for the names of the members of the Committees. The delegates from Togoland under French Trusteeship stated that they, for their part, had chosen the French members of the Committees; on the other hand the delegates from Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship asked for time to consider the matter.

The session was reopened at 3 o'clock.

THE WORIKAMDANA (Kusasi) stated that there was no need to add to what he had said at Lome. His people had not changed their minds. The Northern Section wanted to be integrated with the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast. He then called

upon Mr. Z. Zibirim of Nanumba to read the views of the various representatives for the Northern Section. The Dagombas wanted the removal of the boundary which separated the Dagombas in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast from the Dagombas in Togoland. His people did not want unification with French Togoland.

The Chokosis represented by Mr. YAKA CHOKOSI wanted their brothers from French Togoland to join the Gold Coast. The Chokosis wanted to stay in the Northern Territories.

Nanumba was represented by Mr. ZAKARI ZIBIRIM and that State's interests lay with its Northern neighbours. The Northerners had benefited from the just and fair administration of the British and were opposed to any change.

Mr. ALLASAN JAWULLIA protested against the division of the Kpandai area from the Gonja State. The imaginary frontier should be abolished and the Kpandai area should rejoin the Gonja State.

MR. KIMONGSO M.L.A. represented the Konbomas of Mamprusi. His people wanted to stay under the administration of the Gold Coast, but wished to see unrestricted movement between the two Togolands.

The B'mobas of the Mamprusi area had sent Mr. J.A. BANSAH to reiterate what had been said in November at Lome. The B'mobas wanted to be known as inhabitants of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast, they and their chiefs wanted to be administered by the Gold Coast Government. They did not wish to be connected with Togoland.

THE BALONA represented the views of the Dagombas who had expressed themselves in a petition addressed to the Visiting Mission in November 1949. He had already stated their views at Lome in November 1950. They were opposed to the setting up of a frontier among the Dagombas who were all subjects of one paramount chief living at Yendi. The Dagombas asked for nothing but to associate fully with their brothers in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast. The Dagombas were learning how to rule themselves and did not want a change.

Delegates from Togoland under French Trusteeship who wished to speak then did so:

DR. P. OLYMPIO (Parti Togolais du Progrès) stated in the name of the Parti Togolais du Progrès that he had practically nothing to add to what he had said at the November 1950 session.

As regards Ewe unification he reiterated that this was not acceptable, as that area was too small and its resources too limited. Moreover, the overwhelming majority of the people of the Ewe area had declared themselves against this unification.

Turning to the unification of the two Togolands he declared that it could come about only when the people of both territories had reached sufficient political maturity to enable them to govern themselves. As things were, a change of Trusteeship would only result in retarding the development of one Territory or the other. He pointed out that those of the delegates from Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship who asked for unification, had asked for it to take place under the administration to which they are accustomed. Similarly, the people of Togoland under French Trusteeship were entitled to wish that such unification, if it took place, should do so under the aegis of France. Dr. P. Olympio explained the agreement reached between the delegates from the two Togolands on the subject of the setting up of political, economic and cultural and social Committees. The delegates after discussion among themselves within these committees would inform the two Co-Chairmen of the results of their work.

He ended by expressing his regret that the representatives of the Comité de l'Unité Togolaise, who had been asked to sit had been unable to attend the present session.

THE FRENCH CO-CHAIRMAN asked the delegates from Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship whether they were in agreement on the subject of the Committees.

The delegates from the Southern Section of Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship stated they were now opposed to the setting up of Committees. They stated that they did not desire separate Committees since these would prevent them being present at all discussions.

MR. J. KWAMI (Nkonya and Santrokofi) asked that a general discussion should precede any discussions in committee.

MR. S.T. FLEKU (Anfoega) considered that discussions in committee would be fruitless unless they were preceded by a general discussion on unification.

DR. P. OLYMPIO (Parti Togolais du Progrès) deplored the change of mind on the part of the delegates from Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship who at first had agreed to the proposal for discussions in Committee and who were now opposed to it.

M. M. AGBA (Lama-Kara) stated that the change of mind on the part of the delegates from Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship as regards the setting up of committees occurred only after the speech in which Dr. Olympio stated he was opposed to any change in trusteeship. The people of Togoland under French Trusteeship wished, he said, to see the continuation of those achievements which France had carried out in their country. France and the United Kingdom had made promises at San Francisco; France must therefore be given time to fulfil those promises which she had already begun to implement. He concluded "We are accused of being pro-French. That is untrue; for if we act thus we do so in the interests of the people who have given us their mandate to that effect".

M. L. AKAKPO (Atakpame) asserted that if unification were to take place it should do so under the Trusteeship of France, which administers two-thirds of the erstwhile German Togoland. But the real problem lay in the progress of the two Togolands towards self-government; the effect of any change of trusteeship would be to delay this progress. The Commission should propose to the Administering Authorities all measures capable of facilitating the progressive attainment of self-government.

M. R. WALLA (Lama-Kara) protested against the insinuation put out by a newspaper presenting the delegates to the Standing Consultative Commission as "men of straw". He answered those delegates from Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship who wanted an immediate decision on unification by saying that it would be premature; if, however, the delegates from Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship were insistent he proposed that the question should be decided by a majority vote.

M. R. LAWSON (Anecho) was opposed to the unification of Ewe land. Only when each territory had achieved a sufficient degree of political maturity under its respective trust administration could the unification of the two Togolands take place.

M. A. KOUMA (Klouto) was against any change of trusteeship. All that could be asked for now was, firstly, a return to the comparatively unrestricted frontier obtaining before 1939 and secondly, a progressive march towards self-government.

M. B. AGBAGIA (Anecho) deplored the fact that the delegates from Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship had asked for integration with the Gold Coast. This would destroy the entity of Togoland. He realized that if unification were to

take place suddenly, it would be disadvantageous for the people of Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship, for, in the normal course of events, they, as a minority, would have to join the majority and be placed under French Trusteeship.

M. P. MALAZOUE (Lama-Kara) spoke as follows: "Before coming to Ho I got into touch with my electors in Lama-Kara. They were astonished to see Procureur-General Baptiste coming to enquire about the elections to the Standing Consultative Commission, since these elections were completely in order. My electors instructed me not to change in any way what had been said on their behalf at the November session, namely that they wished to remain under French Trusteeship and not to be pestered by agitators. It is thanks to the present Administering Authority that the Kabres can send their children to study in France."

M. A. DERMAN (Sokode) wanted to know if the development of Togoland was really desired. He thought it natural that his comrades from Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship should look after their own interests. But the delegates from Togoland under French Trusteeship should do the same. They were of the opinion that unification was not possible as it would compromise the country's development.

M. P. ANONENE (Atakpame) thought that the essential problem lay in the progressive march forward towards self-government of Togoland under French Trusteeship within its present frontiers. The unification desired by certain delegates from Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship seemed impossible, as the people of Togoland under French Trusteeship wanted to remain under the same trusteeship.

M. B. BIREGA (Lama-Kara) regretted the fact that he had once again had to attend the Commission since the delegates from Togoland under French Trusteeship had at the November session already spoken in favour of the maintenance of French Trusteeship and against unification.

M. L. ADJOUKOU (Anecho) thought that the unification of the two Togolands should have taken place at the time of the departure of the Germans; but it was too late, now that French education had been received.

M. S. D. NAMBIENA (Dapango) said his people wished to remain under French Trusteeship.

M. B. BASSABI (Bassari) did not recognize two governments. The entire population of Bassari had instructed him to say that they only knew the French.

M. R. ASSI (Lama-Kara) declared in the name of the people he represented: "The question of unification is stupid. With successive changes of Trusteeship we shall achieve nothing of worth".

M. T. YANBANDJO (Dapango) stated that he supported the retention of French Trusteeship and was opposed to unification.

M. S. MATEYENDOU (Dapango) said, "Those who are now asking for unification are more advanced than we Northerners are, and they would like to profit by their superiority. In my district some children are already able to read and write French; that is one of the reasons for which we do not wish for a change of Trusteeship".

M. B. KPELLE (Tsevie) restated the opinion he has expressed at the session of November, 1950, namely that he was opposed to a change of trusteeship.

M. P. KAZAROU KPAROU (Mango) agreed with the views already expressed by the delegates from Togoland under French Trusteeship.

THE CO-CHAIRMEN then proposed an adjournment of half an hour to enable delegates to decide the manner in which they wished to conduct the work of the Commission.

When the session was reopened agreement in principle was reached that the work of the Committee should be carried out in Committee. But the delegates from the Southern Section of Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship did not wish the Commission to be divided into a number of Committees which would meet simultaneously. Each of these delegates wished to attend every meeting. After discussion agreement was reached on the following procedure:

All the members of the Commission would go into Committee to discuss, on the morning of 17 May, political questions and in the afternoon to discuss economic questions. On the morning of 18 May, the Commission would go into Committee to discuss social and cultural questions and it would probably be possible to hold a plenary session on the afternoon of 18 May. At the request of the delegates from Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship and with the general agreement of the delegates from Togoland under French Trusteeship it was decided that the Committees would be presided over by the Co-Chairmen.

THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE (16 MAY: 1ST MEETING)

THE BRITISH CO-CHAIRMAN opened the meeting by summarizing the views expressed at the meeting of 15 May by the delegates from Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship. His summary was agreed by the delegates from Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship.

Then DR. P. OLYMPIO (Parti Togolais du Progres) summarized the views of the delegates from Togoland under French Trusteeship as follows "We are not ready for unification: we demand the maintenance of French Trusteeship". The delegates from Togoland under French Trusteeship expressed their agreement with this summary.

The Committee then started work.

MR. S.T. FLEKU (Anfoega) stressed the unpreparedness of the two Togolands for the self-government and unification which were so ardently desired. To overcome this he proposed the removal of the frontiers and the setting up of a joint secretariat. Unification would then be inevitable.

DR. P. OLYMPIO declared that the delegates from British Togoland spoke about Togoland as though it had always been an entity. In point of fact, it was a German creation. Consequently, he did not think that the ex-German Togoland was an entity which must needs be reconstituted at any price.

If the people of Togoland wanted to reach self-government rapidly, there should be no change of Trusteeship. France and Great Britain were very different countries and, if they were compelled to work artificially on grounds which were not common, the inhabitants of the Togolands would be the first to suffer. He concluded "We ask for the maintenance of the status quo and we are opposed to the creation of an Ewe state".

MR. J. KWAMI said that the two Togolands were not ready for unification. Nothing could be done to induce the Northern delegates to accept the unification of the Togolands. There could be no question of setting up or paying for a separate government for the Southern Section under United Kingdom Trusteeship alone. British members should make up their minds to join up with the Gold Coast.

MR. W. HENKEL thought that any idea of unification was moribund. The delegates from Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship unlike their brothers from Togoland under French Trusteeship presented no united front of ideas, and although the Northern British members were in agreement among themselves, the Southern British members were not. He had reached the conclusion that unification

/was virtually

was virtually impossible. Whereas French Togoland stood on its own feet, British Togoland depended in fact on the Gold Coast. As a result, the people of Buem and Dschahi demanded to be unified with the Gold Coast.

M.I. APEBO stressed that all that could be asked for was a relaxation of frontier controls and swift progress towards self-government without a change of Trusteeship. Unification could only take place after independence had been achieved.

M.J. NUDODA was not prejudiced against unification but thought that the moment to achieve it was not yet at hand.

M.R. WALLIA stressed that the population of French Togoland was much larger than that of British Togoland; he asked the United Nations Organization to bear in mind the wishes of the majority which was represented by the delegates from Togoland under French Trusteeship. He was in favour of maintaining the status quo. The question of unification should be raised at some future date.

M.A. DERMAN was of the opinion that a more pressing problem than unification existed for the people of the north. The North should aim at making up the backwardness which still existed between that area in comparison with the South.

M.R. LAWSON thought that progress towards self-government lay especially in building-up trained personnel and technicians who would go to France for their training. This was a much more urgent problem than that of unification.

M.P. MALAZOUE desired neither unification nor change of trusteeship.

The Committee then divided itself into two sections without Co-Chairmen in order to draw up two draft resolutions: one representing the views of the delegates from French Togoland, and the other the views of the delegates from British Togoland.

In the afternoon, before going into Economic Committee, the British Co-Secretary read the draft resolution drawn by the delegation from Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship and Dr. Olympic read the draft resolution drawn up by the delegation from Togoland under French Trusteeship. The two texts were adopted respectively by the two delegations.

RESOLUTION BY DELEGATES OF TOGOLAND UNDER FRENCH
TRUSTEESHIP OF THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE

The delegation of Togoland under French Trusteeship, after discussion, has adopted the present resolution:

1. As regards the eventual creation of an Ewe State, the point of view of the delegation of Togoland under French Trusteeship is the following:

(a) The Ewe delegates are opposed to the creation of an Ewe State for the following reasons:

- this state would be too small;
- its resources would be too limited and consequently it would be an artificial and non-viable creation;
- the creation of this state would involve a fresh splitting up of Togoland with supplementary frontiers towards the North, Dahomey and the Gold Coast. These frontiers would, without any doubt, be more difficult to cross than the present frontiers;
- the creation of this state would involve a change of trusteeship for a part of the Ewes who are now divided some in the Gold Coast, some in British Togoland, some in French Togoland and some in Dahomey. This change of Trusteeship is not desired by the Ewes of French Togoland because of the inconveniences which it would mean for them.

(b) The non-Ewe delegates are equally opposed to the creation of an Ewe State: the remainder of the territory would thus find itself deprived of access to the sea; the North of the Territory is at present less developed than the South; there would result from this division an accentuation of the retardment in development of the North. Besides, the North of the Territory having contributed to the development of the Ewe country, its people would be deprived of the benefits which at present they have the right to draw from it.

2. As regards the unification of the two Togolands with a view to recreating the former Togoland, the delegates of Togoland under French Trusteeship, both Ewes and non-Ewes, are opposed to the immediate realization of this idea. Unification would involve a change of trusteeship for one or both Togolands; such a change could not but retard the development of the territory in which it would take place. In conclusion, the delegates of Togoland under French Trusteeship, both Ewes and non-Ewes, conscious of a Togoland entity and taking into consideration the necessity of regrouping the two Territories under French and British trusteeship, as soon as their

was virtually impossible. Whereas French Togoland stood on its own feet, British Togoland depended in fact on the Gold Coast. As a result, the people of Buem and Dschahi demanded to be unified with the Gold Coast.

M.I. APECO stressed that all that could be asked for was a relaxation of frontier controls and swift progress towards self-government without a change of Trusteeship. Unification could only take place after independence had been achieved.

M.J. NUDODA was not prejudiced against unification but thought that the moment to achieve it was not yet at hand.

M.R. WALLA stressed that the population of French Togoland was much larger than that of British Togoland; he asked the United Nations Organization to bear in mind the wishes of the majority which was represented by the delegates from Togoland under French Trusteeship. He was in favour of maintaining the status quo. The question of unification should be raised at some future date.

M.A. DERMAN was of the opinion that a more pressing problem than unification existed for the people of the north. The North should aim at making up the backwardness which still existed between that area in comparison with the South.

M.R. LAWSON thought that progress towards self-government lay especially in building up trained personnel and technicians who would go to France for their training. This was a much more urgent problem than that of unification.

M.P. MALAZOUE desired neither unification nor change of trusteeship.

The Committee then divided itself into two sections without Co-Chairmen in order to draw up two draft resolutions: one representing the views of the delegates from French Togoland, and the other the views of the delegates from British Togoland.

In the afternoon, before going into Economic Committee, the British Co-Secretary read the draft resolution drawn by the delegation from Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship and Dr. Olympe read the draft resolution drawn up by the delegation from Togoland under French Trusteeship. The two texts were adopted respectively by the two delegations.

RESOLUTION BY DELEGATES OF TOGOLAND UNDER FRENCH
TRUSTEESHIP OF THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE

The delegation of Togoland under French Trusteeship, after discussion, has adopted the present resolution:

1. As regards the eventual creation of an Ewe State, the point of view of the delegation of Togoland under French Trusteeship is the following:

(a) The Ewe delegates are opposed to the creation of an Ewe State for the following reasons:

- this state would be too small;
- its resources would be too limited and consequently it would be an artificial and non-viable creation;
- the creation of this state would involve a fresh splitting up of Togoland with supplementary frontiers towards the North, Dahomey and the Gold Coast. These frontiers would, without any doubt, be more difficult to cross than the present frontiers;
- the creation of this state would involve a change of trusteeship for a part of the Ewes who are now divided some in the Gold Coast, some in British Togoland, some in French Togoland and some in Dahomey. This change of Trusteeship is not desired by the Ewes of French Togoland because of the inconveniences which it would mean for them.

(b) The non-Ewe delegates are equally opposed to the creation of an Ewe State: the remainder of the territory would thus find itself deprived of access to the sea; the North of the Territory is at present less developed than the South; there would result from this division an accentuation of the retardment in development of the North. Besides, the North of the Territory having contributed to the development of the Ewe country, its people would be deprived of the benefits which at present they have the right to draw from it.

2. As regards the unification of the two Togolands with a view to recreating the former Togoland, the delegates of Togoland under French Trusteeship, both Ewes and non-Ewes, are opposed to the immediate realization of this idea. Unification would involve a change of trusteeship for one or both Togolands; such a change could not but retard the development of the territory in which it would take place. In conclusion, the delegates of Togoland under French Trusteeship, both Ewes and non-Ewes, conscious of a Togoland entity and taking into consideration the necessity of regrouping the two Territories under French and British trusteeship, as soon as their

emancipation has been sufficiently asserted, to constitute a single and autonomous government, request: the maintenance of the two trusteeships and the harmonization of the policy of administration of the two Governments in so far as may be possible, in order to facilitate the interpenetration of the administration that will prepare the future regrouping - it being understood that the Administration in collaboration with the population should pursue the programme of political, economic and social development with a steady drive towards self-government.

RESOLUTION BY DELEGATES OF TOGOLAND UNDER UNITED KINGDOM
TRUSTEESHIP OF THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE

The people of the Northern Section of Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship desire only to be unified with the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast;

The people of the non-Ewe group in the centre of Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship (Buem, Krachi, Nkonya and Santrokofi) desire first the unification of the two Togolands under a single Government, but since this does not appear to be desired by the people of French Togoland or Northern British Togoland they desire to be unified with the Gold Coast;

The people of Asogli and Anfoega desire the unification of the two Togolands under a single Government and the two Territories so unified should be granted independence; the first stage in this process should be the establishment of a national constituent assembly. The non-Ewe group agree that if unification can be achieved the first step should be the establishment of a national constituent assembly.

Those of the delegates who desired unification considered that the unification of the two Togolands should take place first and the addition of other Ewe groups should be considered only afterwards. The delegates of Buem, Krachi, Nyonya and Santrokofi and Asogli stated that the separate unification of Ewe land should not be considered: the delegate of Anfoega did not agree.

MINUTES OF THE ECONOMIC COMMITTEE OF THE
STANDING CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION
(16 MAY)

The Commission went into Economic Committee and agreed to examine the principle economic problems under the following headings:

(1) FOOD SUPPLIES:

MR. B.G. KWAMI complained that yams and livestock could not be exported from Togoland under French Trusteeship into Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship.

THE FRENCH CO-CHAIRMAN pointed out that regulations had been in force for about a month authorizing the export of sheep, pigs and goats.

MR. B.G. KWAMI was not aware of the new regulations.

MR. ADJEYI KOUMA thought they had not yet been enforced.

MR. B.G. KWAMI thought that the import into Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship of spiritous beverages should be included under the category of food and should not be subject to any restrictions other than those applying to the import of foodstuffs. One should be allowed to import more than one bottle of spirits from Togoland under French Trusteeship.

(ii) ACQUISITION OF LAND IN TOGOLAND UNDER UNITED KINGDOM TRUSTEESHIP:

A delegate from Togoland under French Trusteeship stated that there was some dissatisfaction in Togoland under French Trusteeship that inhabitants of that Territory were not allowed to acquire land in Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship because of the laws in force there, while in Togoland under French Trusteeship the law did not prevent the acquisition of land by inhabitants of Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship.

(iii) EXCHANGE CONTROL:

MR. S.T. FLEKU thought currency should be allowed to move freely across the frontier and the limit of £10 which a person was entitled to carry across the frontier was quite insufficient.

He was supported by MR. J. KWAMI who said that £10 was not enough for inhabitants of Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship to pay for a journey to Lomé to consult medical practitioners there. Such cases were not unusual.

/MR. E.K. APPIAH

MR. E.K. APPIAH informed the Commission that he had been searched for currency at the frontier while proceeding to the November session of the Standing Consultative Commission and had been greatly delayed as a result.

M. IGNACE APEDO asked that farmers whose land was in Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship should be allowed to bring back to Togoland under French Trusteeship the money they had earned by selling their agricultural produce.

He hoped that French money would become acceptable in Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship and that the British customs would stop confiscating goods bought in Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship.

M.L. AKAKPO proposed the introduction by a Franco-British agreement of a special currency valid in both Togolands.

M.A. DERMAN disagreed as this currency would be worthless in Dahomey and the Gold Coast.

MR. B.G. KWAMI suggested the establishment at several points and on both sides of the border of offices where money could be exchanged.

M. R. WALLA asked for the raising of the £10 limit.

THE CO-CHAIRMEN stated that the Governments would take note of these suggestions.

(iv) FREEDOM OF TRADE:

MR. S.T. FLEKU complained that one could not bring back to one territory goods bought across the border. Trade, he stated, was not free.

M.M. AGBA asked that the movement of goods from one territory to the other should be free from restrictions.

M. M.B. KPELLE agreed with M. Agbar and asked for real freedom of trade such as existed before the war, subject of course, to reasonable rates of duty.

M. R. LAWSON reminded the Commission that revenue was to a great extent dependent on customs duties, but he asked that purchases made for private use and not for sale should be exempted from taxes.

M. I. ADJOKOU agreed and asked that customs duties should be reasonable.

MR. S.T. FLEKU asked that drugs should be free of customs duties. He himself had had to pay duty on drugs bought in Lomé on a doctor's prescription.

THE BRITISH CO-CHAIRMAN assured delegates that full instructions had been issued to the Customs to carry out the relaxations introduced as a result of the previous Commission's work, including the relaxation of duty on medicines imported on a doctor's prescription. He asked to be supplied with details so that he could have cases examined.

(v) CO-OPERATIVES:

MR. J. KWAMI considered that farmers from one zone should be allowed to join a Co-operative Society in the other.

MR. B.C. KWAMI intimated that more co-operative societies would be established which would not only handle cocoa but also cloth woven locally. A rice industry would be established and the importance of co-operative methods would be enhanced if persons in either Territory could become members.

MR. S.T. FLEKU thought that cocoa and coffee should be freely sold in either Territory so as to allow producers to benefit from the higher price obtaining in one or the other.

M.L. AKAKFO subscribed to the opinion that the transport of agricultural produce across the frontier should be without restrictions.

MR. S.T. FLEKU emphasized that frontier questions had been a constant source of trouble and while they existed the political and economic evolution of Togoland would be hindered.

The Committee then appointed a small group consisting of elected members from both Territories to draw up a resolution embodying the views expressed in the Committee. Subsequently the resolution which forms an annex to these minutes was presented to the Committee and adopted at the beginning of the session of the morning of the 17th.

RESOLUTION BY THE ECONOMIC COMMITTEE

The delegates of both territories agreed to recommend that

1. Food supplies:

There should be free movement between the territories of foodstuffs without restriction as to quantity, provided that restrictions might be applied if supplies were not plentiful in the territory of origin and the retention of reasonable customs duties for supplies in commercial quantities:

2. Acquisition of land:

Any restriction on the acquisition of land in either territory should not apply to natives of the other territory:

/3. Exchange

3. Exchange Control:

It should be possible for an individual to carry across the frontier in cash up to 100 or 50,000 francs C.F.A.

4. Freedom of Trade:

There should be complete freedom in the movement of goods of all kinds including agricultural produce between the two territories:

5. Co-operative Societies:

Persons living in one territory should be allowed to become members of co-operative societies in the other territory and to sell their produce through such societies.

MINUTES OF THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL COMMITTEE OF THE
STANDING CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION AT
ITS SECOND SESSION
(17 MAY)

Before the Commission went into Committee MR J. KWAMI asked leave to make a formal protest against an article appearing in the Gold Coast "Daily Graphic", of 16 May, which, he pointed out, misrepresented him as having requested during the first session the restoration of German administration or unification under British Administration.

MR. W. HENKEL stated that he also had been misrepresented.

THE BRITISH CO-CHAIRMAN agreed that the members had been incorrectly reported and stated that he would request his Public Relations Department to bring this to the notice of the newspaper concerned.

The Social and Cultural Committee then examined the following points:

(i) TEACHING OF VERNACULARS:

MR. B. G. KWAMI stated that vernacular was taught in schools in Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship and that there were many books for school children written in the vernacular in Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship. He wished to ascertain the position in Togoland under French Trusteeship.

DR. P. OLYMPIO expressed the hope that vernaculars would be taught in schools in Togoland under French Trusteeship.

M.M. AGBA said that an attempt had been made to teach Ewe, Kotokoli and Hausa. He wanted to know if the administration would pursue this.

THE FRENCH CO-CHAIRMAN observed that in accordance with the wishes expressed by the Standing Consultative Commission and the Representative Assembly the administration had attempted to introduce vernaculars in primary schools. Only Ewe could in fact be taught. Neither text books nor grammars were available for the other vernaculars. On the whole the experiment had been a failure. Evening courses had been held, but after a short period the attendance had been poor even in such towns as Palime where the majority of the people were Ewe. Elsewhere the chiefs and people made it clear that they

/did not send

did not send their children to school except so as to learn a language in which they could pursue their studies. There was one great difficulty: that of finding teachers capable of teaching 3 or 4 vernaculars! It was unreasonable to expect a teacher to be stationed all his career in one area. The government had not abandoned the study of this problem, but there were great obstacles in view of the fact that in Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship 3 or 4 languages were spoken and even in the South, the Minas for instance, did not want to learn Ewe.

M.M. FOUSSENI feared that in the North where development was only just beginning to take place, the teaching of vernaculars was a waste of time, operating to the detriment of school curricula which were already full. Vernaculars should be taught only by mass education organizations and catechists.

MR. S.T. FLEKU thought that Boards should be set up to standardize each vernacular spoken on both sides of the frontier and to publish literature. He stressed the importance of vernacular education and asked the administrations to ensure the transcribing of unwritten vernaculars. He suggested that a means of overcoming the difficulty of obtaining teachers that there should be one teacher in each school who specialized in the teaching of the vernacular of the area.

MR. E.K. APPIAH wanted more than one vernacular. Two was necessary in Buem, Ekonya and Santrokofi.

M.M. AGBA thought vernaculars should be taught by specialists.

DR. P. OLYMPIO thought that vernaculars should be compulsory in primary schools. An attempt should be made to find teachers who were natives of each area.

MR. W. BENKEL agreed with DR. OLYMPIO and pointed out that the former Standing Consultative Commission had recommended an exchange of teachers.

THE BRITISH CO-CHAIRMAN said that shortage of teachers had so far prevented the implementation of this recommendation.

M. S.D. NAMBIENA thought that the teaching of vernaculars could be carried out by the missionaries.

MR. J. KWAMI suggested that vernaculars should be made compulsory

/in all primary

in all primary schools.

M. P. ANONENE was opposed to the teaching of Vernaculars in Government schools as this would waste the children's time.

MR. B.G. KWAMI expressed surprise that some people were not interested in their mother tongue. Africans were not white men: they should know their own language.

M. B. KPELLE was of the opinion that since Ewe grammars were in existence, that language should be taught.

THE BALONA was in favour of teaching vernaculars.

M. APEDO was of the opinion that a single vernacular was needed for the whole of Togoland.

M. P. MALAZONE disagreed as the Kabre would never want to learn Ewe.

M. B. AGBAGLA was in favour of the teaching of vernaculars.

THE BRITISH CO-CHAIRMAN stated that the delegates from Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship were all in favour of the teaching of vernaculars.

(11) SCHOOL CURRICULA

MR. S.T. FLEKU wanted a programme to be drawn up by the Boards referred to earlier; every school boy should learn at least one practical subject such as carpentry, shoemaking or pottery. He wishes to add that the teaching of agriculture and handicrafts should be developed.

(111) SECONDARY EDUCATION

M. M. FOUSENI asked for an extension of one year in the age limit for the award of scholarships.

M. M. AKAKPO expressed the hope that the number of scholarships would be increased.

MR. E.K. APPIAH asked why no scholarships had been awarded to people in Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship who spoke French, to go to Paris and vice versa under the approved scheme.

THE CO-CHAIRMAN stated that under this scheme 5 students from Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship had gone to France and 5 from Togoland under French Trusteeship to the United Kingdom. The BRITISH

/CO-CHAIRMAN

CO-CHAIRMAN said that the scheme would be continued and more scholarships would be available if suitable candidates presented themselves.

(iv) MASS EDUCATION

M.L. AKAKPO asked that mass education should receive as much attention in Togoland under French Trusteeship as it did in Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship.

MR. J. KWAMI suggested there should be resident tutors in different areas to consolidate the results achieved.

(v) HOSPITALS AND DISPENSARIES

MR. Z. ZIBIRIM stated that hospitals and dispensaries were insufficient in the Northern Section of Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship, and pointed out that there was only one dispensary in the Nanumba State.

M.M. P.K. KPAROU, S.D. NAMBIENA & S. MATEYENDOU asked for new dispensaries to be built.

THE CO-CHAIRMAN asked delegates to devote their speeches to the general aspects of the question and not to speak of the specialized needs of individual areas which could much better be taken up with the two Governments separately.

MR. W. HENKEL said that the Krachi Native Authority had established five dispensaries and would build another. Because of the distances involved it was impossible in practice to transport seriously ill persons to either hospital. He asked that a hospital be established at Krachi.

M.M. KALIPE & C. LAWSON asked that medical treatment in Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship should be free, as it was in Togoland under French Trusteeship.

MR. S.T. FLEKU asked for free medical treatment such as Togoland under French Trusteeship enjoyed. More dispensaries should be opened with resident nurses; where this was not possible mobile dispensary vans should be used. Scholarships should be extended for doctors and supplies of drugs increased.

M. J. D. ADJALLE had no complaint about medical facilities in Togoland under French Trusteeship. He asked, however that these should
/become free

become free in Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship.

(vi) WATER SUPPLIES

Several delegates from both Territories having dwelt on the importance of this problem the Co-Chairman said they would do their best to see that needs were met but that the committee was discussing general requirements as opposed to local ones.

(vii) ROADS AND COMMUNICATIONS

Delegates from both Territories complained of the poor state of many roads. Some delegates from Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship also remarked how much trouble the ferries at Otiso and Akrosu had caused and asked for bridges to be built to replace them.

THE BRITISH CO-CHAIRMAN pointed out that it was accepted policy to replace ferries by bridges but the sites for bridges could not be determined until the implications of the Volta River scheme were known.

M. R. WALLA thought that wherever possible the people should of their own accord help the administration, or at least should do so where urgent repairs were needed.

M. M. AKAKPO did not agree as the administration was alone responsible for roads. He asked the two administrations to resume work on the Kadjebi-Badou road.

MR. J. KWAMI asked whether there were development funds for each of the two Togolands.

THE BRITISH CO-CHAIRMAN explained that there was a single development fund for the Gold Coast and Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship and that Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship would receive its fair share of this fund.

THE FRENCH CO-CHAIRMAN then said that there was a development plan in Togoland under French Trusteeship for roads and other public works, which would be carried out as funds became available.

MR. J. KWAMI asked that aid should also be sought from the United Nations Assistance programme.

M. R. LAWSON asked for facilities to enable drivers from one Territory to stay in the other.

MR. S. T. FLEKU made the following observations:

- main roads should be tarred.

/- new roads should

- new roads should be built linking the two Territories.
- the one way traffic system and the closing of certain transfrontier roads after 6 p.m. should be abolished.
- facilities for the movement of vehicles from one territory to the other should be improved.

MR. B.G. KWAMI asked for the establishment of a telephone link from Palime and Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship.

THE BRITISH CO-CHAIRMAN stated that provision for this was made in the development plan.

MR. S.T. FLEKU referred again to medical matters and asked that arrangements should be made to establish and improve leper settlements and to open schools for the blind.

A draft joint resolution was then drawn up by the delegates who adopted it in plenary session on 17 May.

RESOLUTION BY THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL COMMITTEE

The delegates of both territories agreed to recommend that:

1. Use of vernaculars:

Each vernacular should form a compulsory subject in all primary schools of Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship and the South of Togoland under French Trusteeship; in the centre and north of Togoland under French Trusteeship parents should have the option of vernacular education for their children.

2. School curricula:

Education over a wide range of subjects should be developed as fast as possible in both Territories.

3. Secondary education:

The number of scholarships for secondary and higher education should be increased in both territories and in Togoland under French Trusteeship the maximum age limit for entry into secondary schools should be raised.

4. Mass education:

In Togoland under French Trusteeship mass education should be developed and in Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship resident tutors should be appointed to ensure that mass education courses are followed up.

/5. Hospitals

5. Hospitals and dispensaries:

Hospitals and dispensaries should be developed in both territories and in Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship medical services should be free of charge.

6. Water supplies:

Water supplies should be developed to the maximum in both Territories.

7. Roads:

The standard of maintenance of the roads in both territories should be very greatly improved: main roads should be tarred; ferries in Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship replaced by bridges as soon as possible; and the number of trans-frontier road links should be increased.

8. Motor traffic

The time limit for vehicles from British Togoland remaining in French Togoland should be raised from 24 hours to one week.

PLENARY SESSION OF 17 MAY

The Commission took note of the political resolutions drafted on the one hand by the representatives from Togoland under French Trusteeship and on the other by the representatives from Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship, and of the joint Resolutions on economic, social and cultural matters.

DOCTOR OLYMPIO (Parti Togolais du Progres) read a draft resolution combining the two political resolutions accepted in committee and proposed its adoption.

MR. HENKEL (Krachi) seconding him, proposed, in order to bring the recommendations of the Commission into a single document, the inclusion of the economic, social and cultural recommendations in the same resolution.

MR. S.T. FLEKU (Anfoga) said he agreed but asked that the following words be added to paragraph 3B "because he considered the Ewe and Togoland problems inseparable".

The Commission unanimously adopted the resolution with these amendments incorporated.

The session was brought to a close by the Co-Chairman who remarked that the frank atmosphere in which the discussions had taken place and the friendly collaboration which had characterised the session had enabled the delegates to reach results in accordance with the wishes of the people they represented.

49

SUMMARY STATEMENT BY THE CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION FOR THE TRUST TERRITORIES
OF TOGOLAND UNDER THE FRENCH ADMINISTRATION AND TOGOLAND UNDER
UNITED KINGDOM ADMINISTRATION ON 17 MAY 1951, FOLLOWING
UPON THE RESOLUTIONS APPROVED IN THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC
AND SOCIAL COMMITTEES

The Consultative Commission having met at Lome in November, 1950 and at Ho on 15 May 1951, took note of the Resolutions of the Trusteeship Council made on 14 July 1950 and 9 March 1951 on the Ewe question and the unification of the Trust Territories of Togoland under French Administration and Togoland under United Kingdom Administration.

2. The Commission took note of the absence at this present meeting of the following delegates:

Togoland under French Administration

The delegate of the Comité de l'Unité Togolaise.

Togoland under United Kingdom Administration

The delegates of Akpini, Awatime, Atando, Togo Union, and the All-Ewe Conference.

3. On the subject of the Ewe question, the Commission took note of

(A) the unanimous view of the French delegates that they were opposed to the creation of an Ewe State:

(a) The Ewe delegates were opposed to the creation of an Ewe State for the following reasons:

- such a State would be too small;
- its resources would be too limited and it would thus be an artificial and non viable creation;
- its creation would entail a further division of Togoland and new frontiers to the north, with Dahomey and the Gold Coast. Such frontiers would undoubtedly be more difficult to cross than the present ones.
- The setting up of this state would imply a change of Trusteeship for one section of the Ewes now living in the Gold Coast, British Togoland, French Togoland and Dahomey. Such a change in Trusteeship was not desired by French Togoland Ewes in view of the difficulties which it would involve.

/(b) The non-Ewe

(b) The non-Ewe delegates were also opposed to the creation of such a state, as the remainder of the Territory would be denied access to the sea. At the present moment the north was not as developed as the south, and such a scission would only accentuate the retardment of the north's development. Moreover, the north having contributed to the development of the Ewe area would lose their advantages which they had every right to enjoy to-day.

(B) The views of those British delegates (the Amfœnga representative dissenting, because he considered the Ewe and Togoland problems inseparable) who expressed themselves on the Ewe question that the separate unification of Eweland should not be considered.

4. On the subject of the unification of the two Togolands

(a) The Delegates of Togoland under French Trusteeship, Ewes and non-Ewes alike, were opposed to the immediate realization of this idea. Unification would bring about a change of Trusteeship for one or for both Togolands; this change would only retard the development of the territory in which it took place. Concluding, the delegates of Togoland under French Trusteeship, Ewes and non-Ewes alike, were conscious of the entity of Togoland, and considering the necessity of regrouping the two territories under British and French Trusteeship as soon as their emancipation was considered sufficient to constitute a single self-governing territory, they requested that the two Trusteeships be maintained and that the policy of the two Administering Authorities be harmonized as far as possible to preparation for a future regrouping and that the administration should continue in collaboration with the people, the programme of political, economic and social advancement which would develop the two Territories towards self-government.

(b) The British Delegates, through the representatives concerned, expressed themselves as under:

- (i) in respect of the Northern Section of Togoland under United Kingdom Administration, the people of that section desired only to be unified with the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast;
- (ii) the people of the non-Ewe group in the centre of Togoland under United Kingdom Administration desired first the unification of the two Togolands under a single Government, but since this did not

appear to be desired by the people of French Togoland and the Northern Section of British Togoland they desired to be unified with the Gold Coast;

- (iii) The people of Asogli and Anfoega desired the unification of the two Togolands under a single Government, and that the Territories so unified should be granted independence, the first stage being the establishment of a national constituent assembly. The non-Ewe group also agreed with this first stage if unification could be achieved.

5. The delegates of Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship considered that in any event all frontier restrictions should be abolished or, if this was not possible, reduced to a minimum.

6. The Commission further took note of the views of delegates on economic, social and cultural matters affecting two Territories.

7. The Consultative Commission, therefore

(i) Notes the views of the Trusteeship Council as expressed in the Resolutions above quoted;

(ii) Regrets that certain delegates did not find it possible to take part in the present proceedings of the Consultative Commission, despite the advice of the Trusteeship Council in its Resolution of 9 March 1951, that these delegates should co-operate with the Administering Authorities in the work of the Commission and in the efforts of the Commission and of the Administering Authorities to find a solution to the questions before them;

(iii) Expresses the opinion that too much attention has been paid to what has been called "the Ewe problem" as compared with the question of the unification of the two Togolands;

(iv) makes the following recommendation on economic matters

(1) as regards food supplies:

there should be free movement between the territories of foodstuffs without restriction as to quantity, provided that restrictions might be applied if supplies were not plentiful in the territory of origin and the retention of reasonable customs duties for supplies in commercial quantities;

(2) as regards the acquisition of land:

any restriction on the acquisition of land in either territory should not apply to natives of the other territory;

(3) as regards

(3) as regards exchange control:

it should be possible for an individual to carry across the frontier in cash up to £100 or 50,000 francs C.F.A.;

(4) as regards freedom of trade:

there should be complete freedom in the movement of goods of all kinds including agricultural produce between the two territories;

(5) as regards co-operative societies:

persons living in one territory should be allowed to become members of co-operative societies in the other territory and to sell their produce through such societies.

(v) makes the following recommendations on social and cultural matters:

(1) as regards the use of vernaculars:

each vernacular should form a compulsory subject in all primary schools of Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship and the South of Togoland under French Trusteeship; in the centre and north of Togoland under French Trusteeship parents should have the option of vernacular education for their children;

(2) as regards school curricula:

education over a wide range of subjects should be developed as fast as possible in both Territories;

(3) as regards secondary education:

the number of scholarships for secondary and higher education should be increased in both Territories and in Togoland under French Trusteeship the maximum age limit for entry into secondary schools should be raised;

(4) as regards mass education:

in Togoland under French Trusteeship mass education should be developed and in Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship resident tutors should be appointed to ensure that mass education courses are followed up;

(5) as regards hospitals and dispensaries:

hospitals and dispensaries should be developed in both territories and in Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship medical services should be free of charge;

(6) as regards

(6) as regards water supplies:
water supplies should be developed to the maximum in both Territories.

(7) as regards roads:
the standard of maintenance of the roads in both territories should be very greatly improved; main roads should be tarred; ferries in Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship replaced by bridges as soon as possible; and the number of trans-frontier road links should be increased;

(8) as regards motor traffic:
the time limit for vehicles from British Togoland remaining in French Togoland should be raised from 24 hours to one week.

(vi) Requests that this summary statement be immediately conveyed by the Governments of the Gold Coast and of French Togoland to the Administering Authorities and to the Trusteeship Council and that steps be taken by the Administering Authorities and the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations to give practical effect to those matters which are capable of being implemented, in accordance with the wishes and interests of the people concerned as expressed at the meetings of this Commission.

ASAFOAWA AND SOHAWO OF ASOGLI
HO
WESTERN TOGOLAND
14 May 1951

MEMORANDUM TO THE JOINT CONSULTATIVE STANDING
COMMISSION ON TOGOLAND AFFAIRS FROM THE ASAFOAWO
AND SOHAWO OF ASOGLI STATE IN WESTERN TOGOLAND.

We the undersigned, leaders and members of the Asafoawo and Sohawo of Asogli assembled at Ho, this 14th day of May 1951, do hereby submit this our humble memorandum and make statement as follows:

1. That we realise the expedience of co-operating with the Consultative Standing Commission and do hereby declare our support for the Representative of the Asogli State to attend all its sittings and present the views of our State.
2. That our wish in the matter of unification is that the two Trust Territories be prepared for an early reunification and creation into an exclusive independent democratic Togoland State. The Frontiers between this Togoland State and her neighbour territories should be re-adjusted and modified in consideration of the legitimate wishes of tribal minorities affected by such frontiers. These Wishes should be democratically expressed.
3. That in order to achieve this re-unification and autonomy within a specified period of time we humbly suggest the election of a National Constituent Assembly to make studies and drafts of a suitable constitution. The costs of such a constituent assembly should be borne by the Administering Authorities.
4. That without prejudice to either Administering Authority, we wish to point out that we do not desire another change of our present Administration under the British for any other foreign Administration until we attain independence.
5. That we submit these our humble views to be transmitted to the Trusteeship Council for their most serious consideration.

We are,

Your humble Servants,

- | | |
|---------------------------|------|
| 1. Megbenu Domprou | His |
| Asafofiaga of Ho | x |
| | mark |
| 2. (Sgd.) Joseph Dotse | |
| Representative of Atikpui | |

/Copy to:

Copy to:

1. Senior D.C., Ho
2. Asst. D.C., Ho
4. President Asogli N. Auth.
5. Togbe Howusu, Paramount Chief Asogli State
6. Mr. B.G. Kwami
7. Mr. G.O. Awuma M.L.A.

- | | | |
|-----|---|------------------|
| 3. | Saadzo
Sohafia of Dzalele | his
x
mark |
| 4. | (Sgd) Manfred Amesu
Representative of Lume | |
| 5. | G.K. Gedze
Representative of Akoepe | his
x
mark |
| 6. | (Sgd) F.B. Ahorlu for
Asafolia of Hlefi | |
| 7. | (Sgd) Augustine Feli
Sohafia of Hodzo | |
| 8. | Herman Hini
Sohafia of Tokokoe | his
x
mark |
| 9. | Kwadzo Tamu
Asafolia of Tanyigbe | his
x
mark |
| 10. | (Sgd) Adjiman Klogo
Asafolia of Ziavi. | |
