

Visiting Mission to  
Trust Territories in West Africa

MASTER

TOGOLAND UNDER FRENCH AND TOGOLAND UNDER  
BRITISH ADMINISTRATION: THE EWE PROBLEM

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## I. INTRODUCTION

The Ewe people, residing in the southern portions of Togoland under French administration and Togoland under British administration and in the south-eastern corner of the Gold Coast, have been divided into three groups by the boundaries established between these territories during the period 1890-1929. In 1947 various Ewe organizations addressed petitions to the United Nations protesting that the division of the Ewe territory under two different administering authorities was an injustice from a social, cultural, economic, political and educational standpoint and that it was impeding the development of their country as a whole. They asked for the unification of all the Ewe people under a single administration.

## II. GEOGRAPHY

The extent of the territory occupied by the Ewe cannot be determined with absolute precision on the basis of available sources. The Ewe themselves describe the boundaries of their Territory as the Volta River on the west, the Mono River on the east, and the Gulf of Guinea on the south. The Governments of the United Kingdom and France agree in general with this statement, but consider that it requires qualification. They state that on the fringes of the area so bounded there are Guang (in the west) and the Fon, Mina and Yoruba (in the east) none of whom can be described as Ewe though the Fon speak a distant dialect of the Ewe language (T/58, p. 3.).

The Administering Authorities state that there are some 40,000 Ewe living on the west bank of the Volta River in the Gold Coast and that other Ewe are to be found outside the area described above (T/58, p. 4; T/PV.39, p. 66).

The northern boundary of the Ewe is not well defined. The northern and greater part of the Togolands is occupied by non-Ewe tribes such as the Dagomba, Cabre, Moba and Cotokol. Between these groups and the Ewe are a few smaller groups (the Buem, Likpe, Santrokofi, Akpafu, Bowiri and Nkonya of Togoland under British Administration and the Akposso of French Togoland) who are not Ewe but whose interests are so similar to those of the latter that they cannot be excluded from any consideration of the Ewe problem (T/58, pp. 3 and 4). On the basis of available linguistic studies and maps showing linguistic distributions in this part of Africa the northern boundary of Ewe territory can be tentatively drawn as a line extending east from above Kpandu in Togoland under British Administration, north of Atakpame in Togoland under French Administration, to the Mono River.<sup>1/</sup>

<sup>1/</sup> Westermann, Diedrich. A Study of the Ewe Language, p. 197. Oxford, 1930; Spieth, Jakob. Die Ewe-Stämme, map, Berlin, 1900.

According to Westermann, the Ewe language belongs to the Ewe-akan sub-group of the Kwa group of the Western Sudanic Section. The neighboring Akan, Anufo, Ga and Guang languages also belong to the same sub-group. The Ewe linguistic group embraces three main dialects:

- a) A western group extending from the Volta to a line extending from Lome due north to Atakpame,
- b) A central group (Ge, Aneho, Popo) extending from Lome east to Grand Popo in Dahomey, or a little beyond,
- c) A Dahomey dialect (Fongbe, Fon) in the area between Grand Popo and Badagry, in Nigeria.

People of the western and central sections can easily understand one another. The eastern section is linguistically farther distant.

In the present paper the term Ewe is applied only to the peoples of the western and central groups since the eastern or Fon group is not associated with the Ewe unification movement and the Ewe petitioners do not claim the support of the Fon peoples.

### III. POPULATION

#### 1. General

According to the Governments of France and the United Kingdom, the Ewe of the Gold Coast and the two Togoland territories number roughly 800,000 (T/58, p. 3). The Ewe claim a population of about one million (T/PET.6/5, T/PET.7/6, p. 2).

The special representative of the United Kingdom, during the discussion of the Ewe petitions at the second session of the Trusteeship Council, stated that according to the 1931 census there were 200,000 Ewe between the Keta and Ada districts of the Gold Coast and another 130,000 in the Peki states of the Gold Coast, which would give a total of 330,000 for that territory (T/FV.40, p. 47). For the Ewe of British Togoland, including those who would identify themselves with the Ewe, though they may not be purely Ewe in origin, he gave a figure of 126,000, based on the 1931 census (T/FV.40, p. 46.).<sup>1/</sup>

The special representative of France remarked, on the same occasion, that 290,000<sup>2/</sup> persons in Togoland under French administration are listed as members of the Ewe tribe proper. He pointed out that the accredited representative of the Ewe petitioners had included the 60,000 members of the Mina tribe in his estimate of the Ewe population, in which case a total of 350,000 Ewe would result.

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<sup>1/</sup> This figure is no doubt higher at present. The 1948 census shows an increase in the predominantly Ewe and Ewe-speaking Southern Section of the Territory from 125,566 in 1931 to 172,540 in 1948. The latter figure represents approximately 45% of the total population of the Territory.

<sup>2/</sup> Approximately 30% of the total population of the Territory.

He added that there could be some argument on this point.<sup>1/</sup>

According to the accredited representative of the petitioners, the Ewe are more or less equally distributed in the Gold Coast and Togoland under British administration on the one hand and Togoland under French administration on the other (T/IV.38, p. 161). Of these, 170,000 are in the Gold Coast and 200,000 to 300,000 in Togoland under British administration (T/PV.38, p. 162).

## 2. The Non-Ewe Groups within the Ewe Territory

The presence of non-Ewe tribes within Ewe Territory was noted during the discussion of the Ewe problem in the Council and their political, cultural and linguistic relationship with the Ewe was discussed. These groups are to be found as small enclaves within or along the periphery of Ewe territory. These are the Akwamu, Mina, Adangbe, Awatime, Agotime, Have, Logba, Nyangbe and Woadze.<sup>2/</sup>

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<sup>1/</sup> These figures for the Ewe in Togoland under French administration do not tally with the total of 167,883 Ewe given in the Annual Report for 1948. In this connection it is to be noted that the map showing tribal distributions on p. 224 of the Annual Report for 1947 shows the Ewe occupying only the western half or third of the Territory south of Atakpame. The eastern portion is shown as territory of the Mina, Ouatchi, Fon and Ana tribes. The ethnic position of the Ouatchi is not entirely clear. The Administering Authority appears to base its distinction between the Ewe and the Ouatchi on the following statement contained in page 6 of the Annual Report for 1947: "...les Ouatchis, appartenant primitivement au rameau Ewe (region de Nuatja) s'en sont detaches en rayonnant vers le Sud (cercle d'Anecho)".

<sup>2/</sup> The location of certain of these non-Ewe groups, the Akwame, Adangbe, Awatime and Agotime are shown on the map Die Sklavenkuste, Sprachgebiet der Ewe und ihrer Nachbarn in Ernst Henrici, Lehrbuch der Ewe-Sprache (Lehrbucher des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin, Band VI, Stuttgart and Berlin, 1891).

The Akwamu are shown on the left bank of the Volta opposite the mouth of the Afram River. The Awatime are located south-east of the town of Kpandou and east of the Dayi River. The Agotime territory extends on both sides of the Todge River with the town of Kpetoe at its centre. The Adangbe are shown occupying a small area on the lower Haho River surrounding the town of the same name. The Ana are located a short distance directly south of Atakpame.

The state of Akwamu occupies a small area on the east bank of the Volta in Togoland under British administration. At the second session of the Council, during the discussion of the Ewe petition, the special representative of the United Kingdom Government asserted that the people of Akwamu are not Ewe. He was of the opinion that they had not displayed interest in the Ewe unification movement (T/PV.39, p. 66).

As regards the Awatime<sup>1/</sup> (population 4,000), Nyangbo (population 1,000), Woadze (population 300), and Agotime (population 3,000) of Togoland under British administration, the special representative of the United Kingdom Government informed the Council that, although these tribes do not share a tradition of common descent with the Ewe, they speak the Ewe language as well as their own languages. He thought that they would certainly identify themselves with the Ewe today (T/IV.39, pp. 66-67). The accredited representative of the petitioners presented a slightly different picture of the relationship of these groups to the Ewe, stating that these tribes speak no language today other than Ewe and that they have the same general customs, having been absorbed by the Ewe. He added that they do not owe allegiance to any paramount chief outside Ewe country (T/IV.38, p. 131). The Logba also speak Ewe as well as their own language.<sup>2/</sup>

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- <sup>1/</sup> According to the British accredited representative before the 35th session of the Permanent Mandates Commission, the Awatime call themselves Ewe (League of Nations, Permanent Mandates Commission, Minutes of the 35th Session held at Geneva from October 24 to Nov. 8, 1938, p. 17. C.418. M. 262. 1938. VI.)
- <sup>2/</sup> Statement of the British accredited representative before the 35th Session of the Permanent Mandates Commission (Ibid., p. 17).

The accredited representative of the Ewe petitioners included the Mina and Adangbe of Togoland under French administration in the above statement. In addition, he asserted that all non-Ewe tribes living within Ewe territory speak Ewe.

3. Rélation of Ewe to Certain Non-Ewe Groups Located Outside Ewe Territory.

In recent times Ewe of British Togoland have settled in the Buem area which adjoins their territory on the north and which, prior to this settlement, was occupied by non-Ewe peoples. According to the special representative of the United Kingdom Government, there are at present probably as many Ewe in this area as there are native Buem. He was of the impression that the Buem, as well as the Ewe, were interested in the removal of frontier restrictions on trade. He also stated that the Buem, from time to time, have taken part in the meetings of the All-Ewe Congress (T/FV.39, p. 56).

As regards the Akposso tribe, whose territory adjoins that of the Ewe on the north in Togoland under French administration and extends across the frontier into Togoland under British administration, the special representative of the United Kingdom Government informed the Council that he was of the impression that they may have some, but not many, affinities with the Ewe. He was quite certain, because of the overlapping of their territory into Togoland under British administration, that the Akposso would identify themselves with any effort to remove frontier restrictions. (T/FV.39, pp. 57-65).



In their observations on the Ewe petitions the Governments of France and the United Kingdom stated that the interests of the Akposso are so confused with those of the Ewe that they cannot be excluded from any consideration of the Ewe problem (T/58, pp. 3 and 4.).

According to the Annual Report for 1947 of Togoland under French administration the Ewe language is used by the educated Akposso as a trade language.

#### IV. HISTORY

##### 1. General

The first known home of the Ewe was probably in southwest Nigeria. From this area they moved westward along with the general movement which placed the Ga and Ada in the Gold Coast and the Fon in Dahomey. The Ewe are distinguished from these groups by their common tradition of exodus from Noatsi (Nuatja in Togoland under French administration) and of subsequent wanderings until their present settlements were established. They developed units of social-political organization known as "Dukomewo" or Divisions, virtually all of which share this migration tradition. Exceptions are the Awatime, Adyangho, Woadze, Agotime divisions in Togoland under British administration and the Adangbe division of Togoland under French administration. The bonds of common origin, language and customs have survived and in the last seventeen years most of the Ewe divisions of British Togoland and the Gold Coast have formed themselves into confederacies for the purposes of local government, while spontaneous "pan-Ewe" movements have occurred among Ewe communities in large towns (T/58, pp. 4 and 5.).



2. Boundaries

The southern and western boundaries, between Togoland under British administration and the Gold Coast, were defined by Anglo-German conventions in 1890 and 1900. The northern and eastern boundaries resulted from the partition of German Togoland after its military occupation in 1914; however, these were not fixed precisely until 1927-1929.

The existence of these boundaries has brought about the division of the Ewe people into three groups under three different administrations. Before the first World War, they were divided between the Gold Coast and German Togoland. The partitioning of Togoland after the first war, while making possible in the British zone the unification of the administration of certain tribes to the north, created a further division of the Ewe between British and French administration.

3. The Question of Frontiers and the Ewe before the Permanent Mandates Commission.

Among the petitions submitted to the Permanent Mandates Commission by residents of the Togolands, one in particular, a petition from the Chief and inhabitants of Wome, relates to problems arising from the demarcation of the frontier between the two Togolands.

The petitioners, residents of Wome in Togoland under French Mandate, drew attention to the fact that the frontiers between the two Togolands had separated them from their cocoa plantations and that the inhabitants of a neighbouring village in the British area had taken possession of these plantations. The petitioners requested that the League of Nations recommend that the British Government allow them to retain these lands; they did not ask that the frontier lines be changed.

On this question the Permanent Mandates Commission reached the following conclusion:

"The Commission, while reserving the right to consider the complete and final delimitation of the frontier, when submitted to it:

"1. Notes the mandatory Power's statement that 'thus the inhabitants of Wome will continue to enjoy the possession of their farms, even though these lie on the British side of the frontier, and their fears lest they should be deprived of their property are groundless'; and

"2. Expresses the hope that the agreement between the tribes will be promptly signed by the respective chiefs, and that the question will thus receive an amicable solution."1/

It should be noted that on the final report of the Mixed Togoland Boundary Commission the Permanent Mandates Commission expressed the following conclusion bearing on the Ewe problem:

"The Commission notes with satisfaction that, as shown by the report and the explanations of the accredited representative, the line taken by the frontier between the two neighbouring territories under mandate has in no way interfered with the organic life of the Ewe population. This dispels a certain anxiety that had previously been felt on the subject."2/

In the petition of the All-Ewe Conference to the United Nations it is alleged that the permanent frontier fixed by the Anglo-French Boundary Commission in 1927-1929 cut indiscriminately through local states, villages and farms, thus separating sections of the people from their chiefs, relations and farms (T/PET.6/5, T/PET.7/6, p. 4).

#### 4. The Frontier Problem Since 1939

The disabilities resulting from the division of Ewe territory by the Anglo-French frontier were heightened during the second world war. The accredited representative of the

1/ League of Nations, Permanent Mandates Commission, Minutes of the 15th Session held at Geneva from July 1 to 19, 1929, page 297. C. 305. M. 109. 1929.

2/ League of Nations, Permanent Mandates Commission, Minutes of the 35th Session held at Geneva from October 24 to November 8, 1938, incl. the report of the Commission to the Council, p. 207. C. 418. M. 262. 1938.

Ewe informed the Council that contact between the Ewe living in the British and French zones respectively became very difficult and sometimes altogether impossible, especially in the period 1940-1942 (T/PV. 38, p. 126). The Ewe contend that even under normal conditions restrictions on the movement of individuals and commerce across the frontier, exchange controls and double taxation constitute a hardship for many Ewe.

#### V. THE EWE MOVEMENT

##### 1. The All-Ewe Conference and the Ewe Convention

During the second world war the Ewe began to ask for unification and various organizations throughout the Ewe country, and elsewhere, took up the case. This finally culminated in the creation of the All-Ewe Conference which, according to the accredited representative of the petitioners before the second session of the Trusteeship Council, has the full backing and the authority of the Ewe people in all territories. The All-Ewe Conference is composed of traditional chiefs, elders, representatives of various Ewe Unions and other peoples of the Ewe country. Its aim is to coordinate the Ewe demand for the unification of their people under a single administration (T/PV.38, p. 126; T/PET.6/5, T/FET.7/6, p. 5).

The Governments of France and the United Kingdom have presented the following data on the All-Ewe Conference and the Ewe Working Committee. The Governor of the Gold Coast was advised by letter from the General Secretary of the

All-Ewe Conference that an All-Ewe Conference had been held at Accra on 9 June 1946 and that it had been attended by Ewe delegates from the Gold Coast and the Togolands. The delegates had decided to "set up an organization to co-ordinate and direct the efforts of the Ewe people towards bringing about the unification of Ewe land under a single administration." The letter added that "the following organs of the All-Ewe Conference have accordingly been established.

"(a) The Ewe Central Committee;

"(b) The Ewe Working Committee", (comprising the President, Secretary and the General Secretary of the All-Ewe Conference;)

"(c) The Ewe Central Fund."

The Governments of France and the United Kingdom point out that certain evidence may suggest that the delegates were self-appointed and that the Ewe Working Committee has less authority than it assumes to address the United Nations on behalf of the Ewe people. However, they state that there is good reason to believe that the objects and views which the Conference has expressed are those of the mass of the Ewe people, whether educated or not, and that the latter would almost certainly endorse the action taken by the Conference in setting up its Working Committee (T/58, pp. 5-7).

The Ewe Convention of the All-Ewe Conference, signed in 1946, was, according to the accredited representative of the petitioners, drawn up and signed by the representatives of the Ewe (T/PV.38, p. 131). The Convention states as its purpose the establishment of unification under a single administration of Ewe territory. It stresses the disabilities

accruing to the Ewe from partition and considers it the duty of the United Nations to unify the Ewe territory under a single administering power (T/PET.6/2, 7/3, 6/3, 7/4).

As regards the signatories from British territory, the United Kingdom Government has stated that these signatures must be regarded as truly representative of the Ewe of Togoland under British administration. With reference to the signatures from French territory, the French Government made the following statement:

"The representative nature of certain signatures might be criticised, particularly those whose names appear in such capacity as President of the Council of Notables. The Council of Notables is no longer an active organ of the political structure of the territory under French Trusteeship. However, many of the signatories belong to the Parti de l'Unité Togolaise of which they are influential members...this party enjoyed considerable successes in the last elections (to legislative bodies, the Representative Assembly and the Assembly of the Union) and seems to have the active or passive support of a large part of the inhabitants of the territory, Ewe or otherwise." (T/58, p. 9.)

In reply, the accredited representative of the petitioners stated that this criticism of certain signatories by the French Government was not merited. In all cases except one, the men who described themselves in the Convention as presidents of the Councils of Notables were natural rulers or chiefs who have been elected presidents of the Councils of Notables which are consultative district councils created by the French Government. These men will retain their status of chiefs, even though the Councils of Notables may disappear. However, the Councils of Notables continued to function.

The district councils which were to be established in their place had not yet been created by 1947 (T/FV.38, pp. 131-135).

## 2. The Comite de l'Unite Togolaise

According to the statement of the Governments of France and Great Britain, the Comite de l'Unite Togolaise, a political party in Togoland under French administration, was created in 1941 with the purpose of suppressing the barrier which existed between the races of the south and the north and to facilitate relations between the various elements of the population. The founders of the Party were Augustino de Souza, Vice-President of the Council of Notables; Sylvanus Olympio, United Africa Company agent, president of the "Togoland Youth", counsellor to the Assembly of the French Union, and president of the Representative Assembly of Togoland under French administration; and Jonathan Savi de Tove, who holds a contract appointment with the Administration.

With the establishment in 1946 of the Parti Togolais du Progres, which opposed the policy of the Comite, the Comite was reorganized and began to engage in political activity. The Comite, in the elections to the National Assembly and the Representative Assembly, was able to defeat the Parti Togolais du Progres and elect its candidates to all seats (T/58, pp. 7 and 8). The Comite is strongly in favour of Ewe Unification.

The Comite de l'Unite Togolaise is under the leadership of Messrs. Augustino de Souza, president; Sylvanus Olympio, William Fumey, Claudius Franklin, Andreas Lawson, vice-presidents; Peter Ajangba, treasurer; and Jonathan Savi de Tove, General Secretary. It publishes the periodical Le Guide du Togo.

The party membership is largely centered in southern Togoland. At the end of 1947 members totaled 18,600 persons distributed as follows:

Lome and Tsevie, 7,000  
Anecho, 2,600  
Kleuto, 4,000  
Cercle du Centre, 3,500 and  
Cercles of the North, 1,500.

The Council at its second session considered a petition from Mr. Augustino de Souza, President of the Lome Council of Notables and President of the Comite de l'Unite Togolaise, alleging and protesting the banning of all meetings connected with the Ewe Unification Movement by the Haut Commissaire in Togoland. (T/FET.7/7)

On this question the Council obtained the assurance of the representative of the French Government that it was the policy of his Government to grant full freedom of assembly to the people of the Territory.

### 3. The Parti Togolais du Progres

The Parti Togolais du Progres of Togoland under French administration, founded in 1946, is under the direction of Pedro Olympio, president; J.A. Atayi and M. Segla, vice-presidents, and M. Grunitzky, General Secretary. Its membership includes youths of the middle class as well as chiefs.

In 1947 this party comprised 500 members at Lome and 9,500 in the interior. It is the dominant party in the area extending from Atakpame north. It publishes a periodical, Le Progres. Since its inception it has opposed the Comite de l'Unite Togolaise and, in particular, has presented



arguments against Ewe unification in a petition addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations. Thus far it has not successfully elected candidates in general elections.

In its petition to the Trusteeship Council dated 29 November 1947 (T/ET.6/10, 7/12) the Parti Togolais du Progres declared its opposition to the creation of an Ewe state, but accepted in principle the future unification of the two Togolands. It approved the joint proposals of the Administering Authorities concerned for closer cooperation in the administration of the territories. It requested that the United Nations General Assembly maintain the French and British Trusteeships in the Togolands until such time as independence or unification were achieved. In the event that this request were contested it asked that any decision be subject to investigation by an impartial commission (T/ET.6/10, 7/12, pp. 7 and 8).

#### 4. The Togoland Union

The Togoland Union (also known as The Togoland Association for the United Nations) is a party established in Togoland under British administration on 10 September 1943.

The following are its stated aims:

1. To fight exclusively for equal developments in Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship with the Gold Coast Colony.
2. To direct the policy of the Natural Rulers of Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship towards Government and their subjects.
3. To educate the indigenous people for the full enjoyment of the right of the Trusteeship System.

4. To use all constitutional means by the method of non-violence to obtain independence for Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship in the shortest possible time.
5. To contact Togoland under French Government Trusteeship for unification of the two trust territories as early as possible incorporating various tribal groupings.
6. To promote the cause of the World Federation of the United Nations Organization in the country at large.

The Union has drafted a plan of constitutional reform, dated 1 April 1949, containing the following features. In the field of local government it recommends that the present system of filling the State Councils solely with Natural Rulers be revoked and that a more democratic system be introduced whereby a majority of non-chiefs can be elected. Elections should be made on the principle of adult suffrage without property qualifications.

It recommends that three councils be established in the Trust Territory: one for the Southern Section, one for the Northern Section and a joint provincial council. Their powers would include the election of representatives to the Gold Coast Legislative Assembly, the sanctioning of all bills and ordinances of the Gold Coast Legislative Assembly, and control of the junior Government Departments.

As regards the Central Government it is recommended that at least three separate seats should be reserved for Togoland under British administration on the Executive Council of the Gold Coast Colony. The trust territory should have representation in the Legislative Assembly of the Gold Coast but only as a separate unit in a union which should be purely fiscal.

The Trust Territory should receive five seats for representatives from the Southern Section and a suitable number should be assigned for representatives of the Northern Section.

In conclusion the Togoland Union states its feeling that a political framework is desired to train and build up the people of the two Togolands toward self-government by the creation of a Conventional Assembly composed of fifteen representatives of the proposed Joint Provincial Council of Togoland under British administration and fifteen representatives of the Representative Assembly of Togoland under French administration, with headquarters at Lome (T/LET.6/7, 7/15).

#### VI. ACTION OF THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

The Ewe request for unification was taken up at the second session of the Trusteeship Council. At its seventeenth meeting the Council adopted the following resolution:

##### "The Council

- 1) Notes that the petitions of the All-Ewe Conference represent the wishes of the majority of the Ewe population and that the representatives of the Administering Authorities concerned have recognized the point of view of the Ewe people.
- 2) Welcomes the measures proposed by the Administering Authorities and notes that the representative of the All-Ewe Conference considers those measures to be inadequate.
- 3) Recommends that the Administering Authorities concerned foster the association and cooperation of the Ewe people.
- 4) Invites the Administering Authorities concerned to consult with each other and with Ewe representatives with a view toward evolving further measures for fulfilling the wishes of the Ewe people as expressed in the petitions.
- 5) Decides that the first visiting mission to the Trust Territories concerned shall devote special attention to the problem set forth in the petitions and to the implementation of measures designed to cope with the problem." (TC/VM.1949/23.)

VII. THE WORK OF THE ANGLO-FRENCH  
STANDING CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION<sup>1/</sup>

The Anglo-French Standing Consultative Commission for Togoland was set up in 1948 to supervise the program of Anglo-French cooperation laid down as a result of the above resolution. Two sessions were held in 1948. The records of the third session, planned for March or April of 1949, are not yet available.

1. Membership

The Commission comprises the Governors of the Gold Coast and Togoland under French administration, as Co-Chairmen, and African members from both Territories, with a permanent joint secretariat. The two representatives of Togoland under French administration, Mr. Sylvanus Olympio and Mr. Fare Djato, were elected by the Representative Assembly of that Territory. The Governor of the Gold Coast nominated two members, Mr. Amu and Mr. W.S. Honu, to represent Togoland under British administration. Subsequently elections were held at Kpandu, to which representatives of the States and Unamalgamated Divisions of the Southern Section were invited and the choice of Messrs. Honu and Amu was confirmed by public election.

2. Political Questions

(a) At the second session of the Commission, the Co-Chairman agreed, at the urging of Mr. Amu, to ask their respective Governments for a ruling on the title of the Commission and the question whether its sphere of competence was Togoland or "Eweland".

<sup>1/</sup> This chapter represents a topical arrangement of excerpts from the report on Togoland under British Administration for 1948.

(b) As regards the terms of office of the African members, it was noted that while the representatives of Togoland under French administration had been elected for an indefinite period, those of Togoland under British administration had been elected for one year. The Governor of the Gold Coast stated that since it was the electors who had decided on one year, the Government could not alter the term of office. He agreed that the Government should point out to the electors at the time of the next election the inconvenient lack of continuity which might result from so short a term of office.

(c) At the same session the Co-Chairman stated that Mr. Amu's suggestion that a clearly defined period should be fixed for the unification of the Ewe people had not been placed on the agenda since it was not yet possible to discuss a timetable even for the next stage, for this was a matter for decision by the two Metropolitan Governments. They agreed to place the views of the African Members before their Governments.

(d) Mr. Olympio stated that the fundamentally different conceptions of the British and the French as to the status of chiefs was a particular source of trouble since the Ewe regard their chiefs as a symbol of the spirit of the people. It was noted that the proposed new law on this subject referred to the Representative Assembly of Togoland under French administration for its advice would, if enacted in Paris, go a long way to remove the existing differences.

(e) The Co-Chairman agreed to consider any individual cases in which the African Members considered undue hardship had been caused by a deportation order. This was in reply to

the statement of Mr. Olympia that while the Ewe people regarded the whole area as their home, the existence of an international frontier made some people British subjects and others French subjects, and consequently liable to deportation as aliens.

### 3. Frontier Questions

(a) Goods: The Commission agreed that the Comptrollers of Customs should be requested to instruct their frontier officers to apply the principles set forth in a memorandum on frontier traffic, and that a simple and clear statement along these lines should be given wide publicity.

According to these principles, put into effect 1 August 1948, a resident of one zone who farms in the adjoining zone is permitted to export the local foodstuffs produced on his farm without payment of duty on production of a certificate from an Administrative officer in the place of production.

Individual headloads of local foodstuffs can be exported without duty.

Each government reserves the right to restrict or prohibit the export of foodstuffs in times of shortage. The export of cattle, sheep, goats, pigs and maize is absolutely prohibited.<sup>1/</sup>

It was agreed that the concessions set out in the memorandum constituted merely a first stage designed to reduce existing difficulties along the frontier and that a more comprehensive arrangement was envisaged when conditions permitted.

The African members, while welcoming the concession on this basis, wished it to be understood and recorded that they sought ultimately the complete removal of the frontier.

<sup>1/</sup> See pp. 25-27 of Annual Report on Togoland under British Administration for 1948 for regulations applying to other imports and exports.

At the second session of the Commission Mr. Djato asked if any increase could be made in the list of imported articles which could freely be exported over the Eastern Frontier of the Gold Coast.

(b) Persons: The Commission agreed that neither travel certificates nor passports were necessary for Africans of the two Trust Territories when crossing the border between the two Togolands.

(c) Currency: Ten pounds or its equivalent in francs is allowed on a verbal declaration per person entering or leaving the Territory. For greater amounts a written declaration is necessary. Transit passengers via Togoland must make a written declaration as to the amount of currency they possess. During the discussion of this question at the first session of the Commission the African members stated that the continuance of currency control caused considerable inconvenience in such cases as the transfers of proceeds of sales of crops, labourers returning with their savings and remittances for dependents and school fees. It was agreed that the present position should be examined with a view to reducing such inconveniences and to decentralising exchange control, if possible.

In accordance with these recommendations, steps have been taken to ensure that reasonable remittances are freely allowed in such instances and arrangements are nearly completed for the decentralisation of exchange control by the delegation to administrative officers in each of the districts concerned, some of the powers of the Gold Coast Exchange Control.



At the second session of the Commission the African Members stated that complaints arising out of frontier control still continued to reach them and that they had formed the impression that the Preventive Services, especially on the British side of the frontier, were carrying out their instructions more rigidly than ever. Complaints also dealt with other operations of the Preventive Service and the seizure, contrary to the Commission's decision, of locally produced textiles.

The Co-Chairmen pointed out that currency smuggling appeared to be on the increase and in order to detect it more rigorous searches of vehicles were necessary. Nevertheless it was the desire of the Governments to facilitate trans-frontier traffic as much as possible and steps would be taken to ensure that such checks as were necessary would be carried out with the minimum of inconvenience to the public.

It was agreed that where complaints against the Preventive Services were received by the African Members, full details should be sent as soon as possible to the Administrative Officer in charge of the area with a copy to the Joint Secretariat.

#### 4. Establishment of a Conventional Zone

At the second session of the Commission Mr. Olympio stated that the Ewe people attached great importance to the early removal of the economic disabilities inherent in the international frontier and considered that this could best be done by the setting up as soon as possible of the Conventional Zone envisaged in the Anglo-French Memorandum as a second stage.

In reply two difficulties were stressed:

(a) the fact that both Trust Territories formed part of larger economic and fiscal units; and

(b) the fact that it remained necessary at present to retain the existing exchange control.

The Co-Chairman stated that while preliminary consideration had been given to this question by the local Governments, the Anglo-French memorandum made it clear that this was a matter for the two Metropolitan Governments. They agreed to acquaint their respective Governments of the importance and urgency which the African members attached to reaching an early decision on this matter.

#### 5. Taxation

The Commission agreed at its first session that a study should be made of the taxation systems of both Togoland territories especially as regards types, rates and methods of collection.

At its second session the Commission took note of the memoranda on this subject and agreed that considerable differences existed between the two taxation systems which would be very difficult to reconcile. It was considered that the two Governments should continue to study the problem with a view to removing as many of these differences as possible.

The incidence of double taxation has been removed and instructions have been issued to the effect that receipts for personal tax issued in one territory provide exemption from payment of the corresponding tax in the other territory for persons who take up residence there.

#### 6. Postal, Telephone and Telegraph Rates

At its second session the Commission noted the decision to reduce the postal rates between the Gold Coast and Togoland

under French administration to the level of those in force for internal postage. The African Members asked if the two Governments would be prepared to make corresponding reductions in the telephone and telegraph charges. The Co-Chairman agreed that the two postal authorities should consider the matter.

#### 7. Agricultural Cooperation

Mr. Anu, at the second session of the Commission, asked if two Government demonstration farms could be established in the Buem and Djodje areas. The Haut Commissaire stated that three farm schools would shortly be established in Togoland under French administration to which students from the British Zone would be welcome. The Governor of the Gold Coast stated that the possibility of extending the activities of the Gold Coast Agricultural Department in Togoland under British administration would be carefully examined.

It was agreed that it was desirable that the newly formed producers Co-operative Societies in Togoland under French Trusteeship should obtain the benefit of the experience of the Co-operative Department in the Gold Coast.

#### 8. Communications

Approval in principle has been given for the construction of roads linking Kadjebi with Badou and Dsodje with Noefe. Construction of the latter has already started. Repairs are being undertaken on two other roads. Consideration is being given to the improvement of one road and to the construction of another.

It has been agreed that three new telephone and telegraph links would be desirable.

## 9. Motor Traffic Regulations

The African members, at the second-session of the Commission, stated that the particular grievances were as follows:

1. Lorries from the Gold Coast were not allowed to remain overnight in home.
2. Lorries from the Gold Coast were allowed to proceed from the frontier straight to the lorry park in Lome but nowhere else.
3. Lorries from the Gold Coast were not allowed to carry passengers in Togoland under French administration.
4. The British customs at Aflao had recently closed the frontier to all vehicles, except those of certain officials from Keta, after 6 p.m.

As regards the third point it was noted that third party insurance was compulsory in Togoland under French administration for all passenger-carrying vehicles while such insurance had not yet become obligatory in the Gold Coast.

It was agreed that these grievances would be examined and that a joint note setting out the present position including the decisions on them should be given wide publicity.

## 10. Education

(a) Mass Education: At its first session the Commission decided that proposals for mass education should be amplified and a scheme prepared. Since then an experimental scheme has been started in the Kpandu sub-district; when the results are known the possibility of extending it in both Territories will be considered.

(b) Scholarships and Exchange of Pupils and Teachers:

Meetings have been held between the Directors of Education of the two Territories to discuss the possibility of effecting an exchange of teachers and pupils between the two Territories and the procedure for the award of scholarships for higher education.

At the second session of the Commission it was agreed that it was desirable that the procedure by which candidates would be considered and awarded scholarships should be laid down as soon as possible and given wide publicity.

(c) Use of the Vernacular: At the first session of the Commission Mr. Amu stated that he felt strongly that a comprehensive course of education in the vernacular should be provided in the schools of the French zone. The Haut Commissaire replied that the question of teaching the vernacular had already been given careful consideration when the plan for colonial education had been drawn up, but had finally been rejected in favour of complete education in French. Nevertheless he would ask the Education Authorities to re-examine and report on the proposal.

At the second session the Haut Commissaire announced that his Government was prepared to grant a more important role in education to the vernacular languages and as evidence of this intention cited the existence of courses for adults in Ewe at home, of an Ewe study group which is recording and standardising the language and of public lectures in the vernacular on infant welfare, health, etc. When the Ewe Study Group had finished its work on the standardisation of the Ewe language, the Government of Togoland under French Administration would be prepared to invite the Metropolitan Government to consider extending the use of Ewe in schools.

Mr. Amu and Mr. Olympio stated that they attached the greatest importance to the use of Ewe in schools and to the development of indigenous culture. They welcomed the steps taken in this direction by the Government of French Togoland.

#### 11. Medicine and Health

A joint vaccination campaign has been largely completed along the frontier between the southern parts of the two territories. Nearly 133,000 persons have been vaccinated by mobile teams of the two Territories. The French medical authorities supplied the Gold Coast Medical Department with smallpox vaccine for 40,000 persons.

A joint campaign against sleeping sickness in the northern areas has been planned by the two medical departments.

It was agreed that the Gold Coast Government should endeavor to arrange that persons receiving medical attention in the French Zone should be allowed to bring back with them across the frontier the medicines which had been prescribed for them.

#### 12. Criticism of the Commission by the All-Ewe Conference

At its sixth session at Agome-Kpalime on 17 May 1948 the All-Ewe Conference adopted a resolution to the effect that the proposed four African representatives to the Standing Consultative Commission for Togoland affairs are not fully representative of the Ewe people, because no provision is made for the representation of the Ewe of the Gold Coast Colony. Consequently the discussion of measures calculated to bring about the unification of the Ewe is not provided for. It also stated

that the nomination of representatives to the Consultative Commission by the Administering Powers is contrary to all democratic principles; consequently the All-Ewe Conference considers it its legitimate right to be allowed to choose its own representatives.

The proposed measures for the relaxation of custom regulations do not go far enough and the only acceptable solution is the complete abolition of the frontiers dividing the Ewe Country (T/1ET.6/11, 7/13).

Problems pertaining to the Ewe question will be listed in an addendum to this paper.