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CONTENTS

Page

The Ewe and Togoland unification problem: special report of the Trusteeship Council (A/2289) (continued)	371
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Chairman: Mr. Rodolfo MUNOZ (Argentina).

The Ewe and Togoland unification problem: special report of the Trusteeship Council (A/ 2289) (continued)

[Item 32]*

At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Olympio, representative of the All-Ewe Conference, and Mr. Antor and Mr. Odame, representatives of the Joint Togoland Congress, took seats at the Committee table.

1. The CHAIRMAN said that Mr. Olympio had requested that the text of the concrete proposals for the solution of the Ewe problem contained in a memorandum of the All-Ewe Conference should be circulated as a Fourth Committee document.

There being no objection, it was decided that that text should be so circulated.¹

2. Mr. SCOTT (New Zealand) noted that Mr. Olympio had objected to the method whereby the representatives of the Joint Council were elected, for Togoland under French administration in particular, and also to the fact that the two Trust Territories did not enjoy parity of representation on the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs. He asked whether Mr. Olympio considered that the numbers fixed for each Territory—six representatives from Togoland under British administration and fifteen representatives for Togoland under French administration—reflected the ratio of population in the two Trust Territories.

3. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) believed that those figures were based on population figures of about one million in Togoland under French administration and 350,000 in Togoland under British administration.

4. Mr. SCOTT (New Zealand) asked how the objection that the Council did not provide for parity of representation could be reconciled with the desire for a democratic membership elected on a basis of universal suffrage.

5. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) said that the explanation lay in the nature of the Council. If it had been a legislative body, the most democratic form of representation would have been representation based on numbers of population. However, the questions it discussed did not affect local matters in the two Trust Territories but rather the Territories as units. It was the nature of the Joint Council and its task which made the petitioners insist on parity of representation. Also, it was well known that the members of the Council from Togoland under French administration were Administration nominees and the elected representatives of Togoland under British administration could not tolerate their overwhelming numbers.

6. Mr. SCOTT (New Zealand) took it that the real objection was to the method of election rather than to the lack of parity of representation.

7. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) said that the chief objection in Togoland under French administration was to the method of electing the members of the Joint Council. In Togoland under British administration, on the other hand, the chief resentment was with regard to the number of representatives accorded to the Territory.

8. Mr. ANTOR (Joint Togoland Congress) agreed that the nature of the problems discussed by the Joint Council meant that the Territories were affected as two separate units. Hence, if one side was bigger than the other and its members were nominees, the Council's decisions must be governed by a nominated majority. There were therefore objections both to the method of election and to the composition of the Council.

9. Mr. SCOTT (New Zealand) asked whether if the method of election was satisfactory, the petitioners from the two Togolands would still insist on parity of representation.

10. Mr. ANTOR (Joint Togoland Congress) said that they would.

11. Mr. SCOTT (New Zealand) noted that in that case the population of Togoland under British administration would have a representation three times

* Indicates the item number on the agenda of the General Assembly.

¹ Subsequently circulated as document A/C.4/223.

larger than that of Togoland under French administration, on the basis of universal suffrage.

12. Mr. ANTOR (Joint Togoland Congress) said that as the two Togolands were separate units, equal representation was essential. When the two Territories had been unified, it would be possible to have electoral colleges cutting across the frontier.

13. Mr. SCOTT (New Zealand) asked whether the petitioners considered that the terms of reference of the Joint Council were wide enough to permit the discussion of common political questions such as unification.

14. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) said that if the Council's terms of reference were not limited as provided in the joint memorandum of the Administering Authorities (A/C.4/198), they would be agreeable to the petitioners. In resolution 555 (VI) the General Assembly had suggested alterations in the terms of reference proposed by the Administering Authorities, but those suggestions had not been embodied in the terms of reference given to the Joint Council.

15. Mr. SCOTT (New Zealand) explained that he had in mind the terms of reference set forth in the joint memorandum of France and the United Kingdom broadened in scope in accordance with the recommendation in Trusteeship Council resolution 643 (XI) that the Joint Council should be empowered to discuss all political, economic, social and educational matters of common concern to the two Trust Territories.

16. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) said that if that recommendation had been included in the terms of reference laid down by the Administering Authorities, those terms would have been wide enough, although the petitioners would have preferred to have the problem of unification included specifically. However, the terms of reference given to the Joint Council in Lomé were merely those published in paragraph 4 of the joint memorandum.

17. Mr. SCOTT (New Zealand) asked whether the petitioners considered that the Joint Council, not necessarily with the same representation, but with the same terms of reference, could serve as an adequate forum for discussion.

18. Mr. ANTOR (Joint Togoland Congress) said that he did not believe so. The "other matters of common concern" referred to in the joint memorandum were not explained, but the Administering Authorities had made it clear that they did not include political, economic and social matters other than those relating to the frontier.

19. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) said that if the Joint Council were constructed as the petitioners proposed and given wide powers, it could perform a very useful function.

20. Mr. SCOTT (New Zealand) asked whether all the 176,593 members of the Togoland Congress in Togoland under British administration paid membership dues.

21. Mr. ANTOR (Joint Togoland Congress) said that the three or four main organizations which were members of the Togoland Congress collected their own

membership fees. The usual method of admission to an organization was by membership card delivered in exchange for a signed membership form costing one shilling. After admission the members paid a monthly membership fee of sixpence.

22. Mr. SCOTT (New Zealand) said that in view of the fact that in Togoland under British administration, two-thirds of the members of local councils were elected by universal suffrage, it could be expected that the large membership of the Togoland Congress would be reflected in the composition of the local councils. He asked whether that was the case.

23. Mr. ANTOR (Joint Togoland Congress) said that in most instances that was the case.

24. Mr. SCOTT (New Zealand) asked what the principal political parties in southern Togoland under British administration were.

25. Mr. ANTOR (Joint Togoland Congress) said that the Togoland Youth Organization, the Togoland National Farmers' Union, the Togoland Union and the Drivers' and Ex-Servicemen's Union were among the most important.

26. Mr. SCOTT (New Zealand) asked whether the Convention People's Party was powerful in southern Togoland.

27. Mr. ANTOR (Joint Togoland Congress) said that the Convention People's Party was a Gold Coast party, although it had members in Togoland. The party had formerly been anxious to obtain the support of Togoland and had therefore not opposed unification. However, before the arrival of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa, 1952, the policy had been changed, and the party had made every effort to make it appear that Togoland under British administration did not want unification. It had made great efforts to expand its membership and sent in many petitions.

28. Mr. SCOTT (New Zealand) asked whether the local councils represented a barometer of public opinion in southern Togoland under British administration.

29. Mr. ANTOR (Joint Togoland Congress) said that the councils were not genuinely representative of the views of the population because there had been much confusion at the time of the elections. The Administering Authority had exploited that confusion in favour of the absorption of the Territory into the Gold Coast.

30. Mr. ODAME (Joint Togoland Congress) said that in his own state of Buem, the Administering Authority had set up three local-council areas, in order to divide the support for unification. Two of the areas were inhabited by elements from the Gold Coast which supported the Convention People's Party. The area populated exclusively by indigenous inhabitants had a council which supported unification.

31. Mr. SCOTT (New Zealand) asked how large the Buem/Akan and Buem/Lefana local-council areas were.

32. Mr. ODAME (Joint Togoland Congress) said that to the best of his knowledge there were 45,100 people in Buem State as a whole.

33. Mr. SCOTT (New Zealand) asked whether the petitioners could estimate in round figures the support for the three unification schemes—unification of the two Territories under British administration, under French administration and under United Nations administration.

34. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) said that the members of the parties represented by the petitioners were in favour of unification under United Nations administration.

35. Mr. SCOTT (New Zealand) asked whether the political parties had had an opportunity of meeting the Visiting Mission and discussing their petitions with it in Togoland under British administration and in Togoland under French administration.

36. Mr. PEON DEL VALLE (Mexico) said that Mexico felt that it was of great importance that the peoples of the Trust Territories should be acquainted with the United Nations Charter, more particularly Chapter XII; the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; the Trusteeship Agreements relating to their respective territories; and the recommendations on trusteeship matters of the General Assembly and Trusteeship Council. He asked the petitioners whether they were willing to help to disseminate such information or whether they considered that enough had already been done. He wondered what the effect would be of an intensified effort to spread knowledge of the United Nations through the Press and radio, by lectures, or even by scholarships to New York to study the Trusteeship System at United Nations Headquarters.

37. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) said that the petitioners were willing to co-operate in spreading such information and would welcome arrangements of the kind suggested by the Mexican representative. It had in fact been one of their principal tasks to disseminate such information, for they felt that the Administering Authorities were not doing it satisfactorily. His own party had distributed copies of the Trusteeship Agreements for the two Togolands to its members, and had discussed many of the United Nations resolutions. The Administering Authorities had not supported those efforts, although they had not prevented them. There had been no publicity in Togoland under French administration regarding the scholarships offered by the United Nations and methods of applying for them.

38. Mr. PEON DEL VALLE (Mexico) recalled the terms of General Assembly resolution 325 (IV), on the use of the United Nations flag in Trust Territories, and asked whether the use of that flag would be salutary in the two Togolands.

39. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) said that after the adoption of the resolution he had expected to see the United Nations flag flying in Togoland under French administration. When it had not appeared, he had made inquiries and had been told that the matter was under consideration. That still seemed to be the case. He considered that the use of the flag would make the people conscious of the fact that Togoland was a Trust Territory under the United Nations and not a colony.

40. Mr. ANTOR (Joint Togoland Congress) said that the United Nations flag had been flown in Togoland under British administration during the stay of the two Visiting Missions but was not in regular use. He considered that it would be most helpful if it were.

41. Mr. RIEMENS (Netherlands) asked Mr. Olympio whether the opinions expressed in his opening statement (300th meeting) were those of all the indigenous inhabitants in Togoland under French administration, or if not, what percentage of them held those views.

42. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) said that he was speaking on behalf of the All-Ewe Conference, a political organization. He did not claim to represent all the inhabitants of Togoland under French administration. The Unité Togolaise had an active membership of about 200,000, and had offices in all the most important sections of the country, even in the north, where it was not very active. There was no doubt that in the south the great majority of the people belonged to the organization.

43. Mr. RIEMENS (Netherlands) asked whether the petitioners considered the Parti Togolais du Progrès to be a free expression of the will of the people of Togoland under French administration.

44. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) replied that, as he had said at the 301st meeting, it was well known in the Territory that the Parti Togolais du Progrès was an Administration party, created, supported, and maintained by the Government. The President-General of the party was a Government clerk employed on the railway and the Secretary-General, the ex-President-General and the Treasurer were all naturalized Frenchmen.

45. Mr. RIEMENS (Netherlands) wondered how it was, if the Parti Togolais du Progrès was in fact supported by the French Government, that its representative was not in New York to defend its views.

46. He asked Mr. Olympio whether he lived in Togoland under French administration.

47. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) was unable to explain the non-arrival of the representative of the Parti Togolais du Progrès.

48. He replied to the second question in the affirmative.

49. Mr. RIEMENS (Netherlands) referred to Mr. Olympio's statement that the elections in Togoland under French administration were "staged" and that successful candidates were really nominees of the French Administration. In that connexion he recalled that some time previously a representative of the All-Ewe Conference had been a member of the French National Assembly.

50. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) explained that in the past there had been freedom of association in Togoland under French administration, but that since the Ewes had first presented to the United Nations their petition for unification² that was no longer the case. The 1946 elections had been relatively free, but since then the Administration had done its utmost

² See *Official Records of the Trusteeship Council, Second Session, First Part*, 11th to 13th meetings.

to prevent anyone who was not in its favour from being elected either to local organs or to organs in France.

51. Mr. RIEMENS (Netherlands) asked whether it was not true that a member of the All-Ewe Conference had been a candidate in the most recent election.

52. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) said that that was so.

53. Mr. RIEMENS (Netherlands), referring to Mr. Olympio's statement that the 1952 Visiting Mission had not had an opportunity to hear the views of the people, asked how many times Mr. Olympio himself had spoken to one or more of the members of the Mission and whether he felt that he had been able to explain his views fully.

54. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) replied that he had seen the Chairman of the Mission about three times soon after the Mission's arrival in Togoland and three or four times after the Chairman's return to the Territory. A delegation of the All-Ewe Conference had seen the members of the Mission and had explained exactly what it expected them to do. The delegation had presented its memorandum and had urged the Mission to attend the rallies to be organized by the party in order to see for themselves the strength of the movement.

55. Mr. BOZOVIC (Yugoslavia) remarked that there had been many references to the advantages derived by the two Togolands from their representation in the organs of the French Union and those of the Gold Coast respectively. He asked the petitioners what opportunity their representatives had to defend the interests of the populations and hasten the evolution of the Territories towards self-government or independence.

56. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) said that his party was opposed to representation of the populations of Togoland under French administration in the French parliament. Such representation really served no useful purpose. It was unlikely that one deputy among six hundred would be able to influence French public opinion in favour of the claims of the Ewes. The majority of the members of the National Assembly no doubt believed in the colonial system and would be irrevocably opposed to granting the Togoland self-government or independence. If there were a legislative council in Togoland with perhaps twenty or thirty new members each year, the people of Togoland would learn the art of self-government far more quickly. They felt that the present system was more likely to retard than to hasten their progress. They saw their representative perhaps once or twice a year and had no opportunity of judging his conduct or of replacing him if they were not satisfied.

57. For those reasons the All-Ewe Conference had informed the French Administration that it did not intend to elect a candidate at the most recent election; but on discovering that the Administration proposed that there should be one deputy for Togoland under French administration and Dahomey combined, it had decided to elect a representative for Togoland.

58. Mr. ANTOR (Joint Togoland Congress) said that when Togoland under British administration had

been a mandated territory the Governor of the Gold Coast alone had legislated for the Territory, and that that arrangement had been continued under the Trusteeship System. When the Governor had appointed the Committee on Constitutional Reform in the Gold Coast, none of its members had been from Togoland. It had therefore appeared that the Governor had recognized Togoland's special status as a Trust Territory and the fact that it would not be affected by the results of the Committee's work. When the Committee had submitted its report,³ however, it had become clear that Togoland under British administration was not being treated as an entity but as a part of the Gold Coast Colony, since the Constitution provided for twenty-one seats for the Colony proper, nineteen for Ashanti and nineteen for the Northern Territories Protectorate, all within the Gold Coast. Before the registration date the Togoland Congress had held a meeting, attended by all representatives from the north and the south, and had decided not to participate in the election. Copies of the resolution had been sent to the Governor at Accra, the Secretary of State for the Colonies in London and the Secretary-General of the United Nations (T/Pet.6/206).

59. The next development had been that because the Togoland had refused to register or vote, lorry-loads of citizens of the Gold Coast had been sent to Togoland to vote. Moreover, the Administration had forged registration forms with names of Togoland. Those forms had been seized by the Togoland Congress and handed over to the United Nations in March 1951.

60. Mr. BOZOVIC (Yugoslavia) understood that the population had always been opposed to the artificial partition of Togoland. In view of the statements and replies of the petitioners, he would like to know what differences there were between conditions in the Territories before and after the Second World War and present-day conditions, especially since 1946, the date of the Trusteeship Agreements.

61. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) said that as far as the political situation was concerned, before 1938 there had been no representative institutions in Togoland under French administration. The people's only opportunity of expressing their views had been through their traditional leaders. After 1946 the Territorial Assembly had been set up, the people had been invited to send a representative to the French National Assembly, and other representative institutions such as the municipal councils had been established.

62. With regard to education, in 1947 there had not been a single secondary school in the Territory and boys had had to be sent either to the Gold Coast, to Dakar or to France to complete their education. Since then one official secondary school and one run by missionaries had been opened, as well as more elementary schools.

63. With regard to health, more dispensaries had been opened and a hospital at Lomé would be completed in about a year.

64. Mr. ANTOR (Joint Togoland Congress) said that in Togoland under British administration no

³ See *Gold Coast: Report to His Excellency the Governor by the Committee on Constitutional Reform, 1949*, London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1949, Colonial No. 248.

schools at all had been built by the Administration. Primary schools were built by the people themselves and placed under the supervision of missionaries. Recently two teacher-training colleges had been opened, one by Roman Catholic and one by Presbyterian missionaries, and the Presbyterian Church intended to open a secondary school.

65. There was one hospital at Ho and one was being built at Hohoe. In the north and centre of the Territory there were no hospitals. The Native Authorities had tried to open one or two dispensaries at various places.

66. Mr. BOZOVIC (Yugoslavia) asked whether the Administering Authorities were familiarizing the people of the two Trust Territories with the work of the United Nations, and whether in the petitioners' opinion there was anyone there who could benefit by fellowships or scholarships if any were offered.

67. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) said that no information had been published in Togoland under French administration concerning the procedure to be followed by those who wished to receive scholarships, though there were a number of people in the Territory who would be able to benefit by scholarships. The previous year he had understood that some scholarships would be available to Togoland, but later he had heard that they were being offered to the Cameroons.

68. Mr. DE MARCHENA (Dominican Republic) wondered whether the 1949 United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa had had more opportunity of getting in touch with the people of Togoland than the 1952 Mission.

69. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) said that the first Mission had been in much closer contact with the population. It had accepted all invitations to meetings and rallies and had talked to people who had suggestions to make concerning the problem of unification. As he had previously stated, that had not been the case with the 1952 Mission. The Ewe people had not been allowed to meet and talk to the Visiting Mission.

70. Mr. DE MARCHENA (Dominican Republic) observed that visiting missions usually had liaison officers to help them.

71. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) replied that there had been no African liaison officers with the Mission; there had been liaison officers from the Administration. There had not been any African liaison officer with the 1949 Mission either, but on that occasion the Togoland Congress had been able to arrange for some of its officials to proceed the Mission wherever it went and to introduce people and give them an opportunity of speaking to the members of the Mission.

72. Mr. DE MARCHENA (Dominican Republic) had understood Mr. Antor to say that the Togoland Congress had refused to participate in the Joint Council because Togoland under British administration did not have parity of representation with Togoland under French administration. He asked whether that was a settled policy.

73. Mr. ANTOR (Joint Togoland Congress) said that it was not his organization's policy to refuse to co-operate with the Joint Council. It wanted the members of the Joint Council to be elected on the basis of universal adult suffrage and, in view of the present administrative structure, to have parity. On those conditions it would be prepared to co-operate with the Joint Council.

74. Mr. MAHMOUD (Egypt) said that during the debate the members of the Committee had formed the impression that underneath the whole Ewe question there was widespread political frustration and that Togoland under British administration was torn between the desire to advance with the Gold Coast toward self-government and the desire not to lose its separate identity and thus to prejudice its chances of forming a new self-governing unit with Togoland under French administration. He asked Mr. Antor whether he would confirm that impression.

75. Mr. ANTOR (Joint Togoland Congress) agreed that the people in Togoland under British administration wished to be united with their brothers in Togoland under French administration, a desire which was strongly opposed by the British Administration, which was determined to annex Togoland to the Gold Coast.

76. Mr. MAHMOUD (Egypt) had the impression that there was political frustration also in Togoland under French administration, arising out of the conflict between French colonial policy and the aspirations of the people to self-government. He asked whether Mr. Olympio believed that his people were conscious of a lack of balance between the political development of Togoland under French administration on the one hand, and that of the neighbouring territories on the other.

77. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) said that undoubtedly many Togoland,ers wondered why it was that the people of the Gold Coast should be considered sufficiently mature for self-government while they themselves were not. They had raised that point many times with the French Administration and had always been told that the French Constitution did not provide for self-government or independence. Hence there was a feeling of frustration, as the Egyptian representative had surmised.

78. Mr. MAHMOUD (Egypt) asked what essential differences there were between the political development of Togoland under French administration and that of Togoland under British administration.

79. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) replied that the main difference was that in the Gold Coast there was a Legislative Council composed almost entirely of Africans, which legislated for the Gold Coast and Togoland under British administration. The few Europeans who were there to protect their interests were in a hopeless minority. In Togoland under French administration, on the other hand, there was only the Territorial Assembly, which had no legislative powers. The executive council of Togoland under French administration was made up of the Governor and his officials, whereas in the Gold Coast there was a Cabinet with an African Prime Minister and elected members. The comparison was therefore all in favour of Togoland under British administration.

80. Mr. MAHMOUD (Egypt) asked whether Africans were represented in the Territorial Assembly.

81. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) said that although the Territorial Assembly was elected, the existing system under which only people whose names were on the register were allowed to vote enabled the Administration to manipulate the register as it chose. Several petitions had been addressed to the Trusteeship Council on that subject and a statement had been made to the Visiting Mission. Furthermore, on election day voters' cards were distributed, not, according to the law, by a commission composed of representatives of all the candidates, but by village chiefs, some of whom were themselves candidates. That naturally led to abuses. In spite of many protests, the government had done nothing to reform the system.

82. Mr. MAHMOUD (Egypt) asked whether Mr. Olympio and his party were aware of any plans to introduce political reforms in Togoland under French administration.

83. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) replied that he had heard in December 1951 and again more recently that the French Government was preparing to enlarge the powers of the Territorial Assembly. He did not know the exact scope of the reform and pointed out that, in any case, it would entail the enactment of a law by the French National Assembly.

84. Mr. MAHMOUD (Egypt) asked Mr. Olympio what his experience had been regarding the reception given in the French National Assembly to political reforms in Togoland.

85. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) said that the majority in the National Assembly were hostile to giving more freedom to the colonial peoples. For example, the proposal to introduce a single electoral college in Togoland had met with very strong opposition, indeed it had been rejected by the Council of the Republic. He feared that if the decision rested with the French National Assembly, there was little hope that the Territorial Assembly would be granted any real powers.

86. Mr. TRIANTAPHYLLAKOS (Greece) asked whether there was any affinity between the tribes in the northern sections of the two Togolands and the peoples of Dahomey and the Gold Coast.

87. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) replied that so far as Togoland under French administration was concerned, the Mobas might extend into Dahomey and the Chokosis certainly extended into Togoland under British administration.

88. Mr. ANTOR (Joint Togoland Congress) added that in many of the northern areas of Togoland under British administration, such as Bimbilla and Yendi, the Administration had imported chiefs and other ruling elements from outside the Trust Territory, for example from Salaga in the Gold Coast. The Nawuris, for instance, were ruled by a chief from the Gonja district, only a small part of which lay in the Trust Territory. As a result, there was almost constant conflict between the population and their rulers. The people in the Northern Section of Togoland were very different from the people on the other side of the

frontier in the Gold Coast, although there were Mamprusis in both territories.

89. In reply to a further question by Mr. TRIANTAPHYLLAKOS (Greece), Mr. ANTOR (Joint Togoland Congress) explained that the chief in the Yendi area, for example, was not necessarily chosen by the people of Yendi. There was a certain hierarchy of chiefs and if the chief in Yendi died, the next chief in order moved into his position. That system applied equally to Togoland and the Gold Coast and accounted for the fact that an area in Togoland might sometimes be ruled by a chief from the Gold Coast.

90. Mr. COOPER (Liberia) asked whether any time or place had been officially fixed for the Visiting Mission to hear petitioners or receive petitions.

91. Mr. ANTOR (Joint Togoland Congress) replied that before the arrival of the Visiting Mission, the Government had sent his party a copy of the official itinerary. In order to ensure that the Visiting Mission went to the most important towns and had an opportunity to meet the people, his party, in turn, had submitted a suggested itinerary to the Administration.

92. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) added that in Togoland under French administration the arrival of the Visiting Mission had been publicly announced only on the eve of that event. The announcement had contained no suggestion as to where petitions should be addressed or how petitioners should get in touch with the Visiting Mission.

93. In reply to Mr. COOPER (Liberia), who asked how the elections to the Joint Council were conducted, Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) replied that, of the representatives from Togoland under French administration, three had been nominated by the Territorial Assembly and one or two by each *conseil de circonscription* (district council). The Territorial Assembly had received a letter stating that it would be advisable for each political party to nominate one representative. He recalled that when the question had first come up in 1951 the Comité de l'Unité Togolaise had been told by the Commissaire de la République that the Territorial Assembly was a French institution with limited powers which was not competent to discuss questions of an international nature or to send representatives to the Joint Council. However, when the Territorial Assembly, as a result of new elections, had become more favourable to the Administration, it had been asked to nominate representatives to the Joint Council.

94. In reply to a further question by Mr. COOPER (Liberia), Mr. ANTOR (Joint Togoland Congress) stated that, in practice, the Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration had entirely disappeared as a separate entity, although it still existed in name and on paper.

95. Mr. COOPER (Liberia) asked whether the Ewe people would prefer self-government within the French Union or in association with the Gold Coast, or independence as a separate entity, assuming that unification and, subsequently, independence were achieved.

96. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) recalled his previous statement that once the two Togolands

had become self-governing or independent the people could choose, by plebiscite, whether they wished to be associated with the Gold Coast or the French Union. Such a decision could only be taken after the people had been freed from the pressure exerted by the Administering Authorities.

97. Mr. COOPER (Liberia) asked whether the punitive measures taken by the French had been solely intended to intimidate the population and keep them from making representations to the Visiting Mission.

98. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) again emphasized that it was his firm conviction that the measures in question had been taken to prevent the Visiting Mission from properly weighing the strength and vigour of the unification movement.

99. Mr. KONDAPI (India) recalled that the 1949 Visiting Mission had reported that the unification movement was very popular in the southern sections of the two Togolands but not in the north and that, even among the Ewes, there were differences regarding the territorial scope of unification.⁴ The 1952 Visiting Mission had felt that there was no one form of unification which would be acceptable to the majority of the inhabitants or widely enough supported to warrant alteration of the existing administrative arrangements (T/1034, para. 422). He wondered whether Mr. Olympio could suggest any solution other than direct United Nations trusteeship which would be based on the wishes of the people and the principles of the Charter and which would take into account the vital problem of building up a multi-racial society.

100. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) admitted that there was no general agreement on the form of unification. That was only to be expected. Nevertheless, if the people were left to work together towards one goal without pressure from the Administering Authorities, they would certainly find a solution. One reason for the demand for a United Nations high commissioner was the feeling that such an appointment would remove the current pressure and create a different atmosphere in which a solution acceptable to the majority could be found within five years. He emphasized that the desire for unification and the greatest possible progress in the two Trust Territories was unanimous, although opinions differed on which form of unification would ensure the greatest progress. It might be useful if the Trusteeship Council were to suggest a solution. The Ewe people would certainly be willing to consider it.

101. The CHAIRMAN having announced the end of the questioning and the opening of the general debate, Mr. SHEIKIN (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) reiterated the proposal that he had made at the previous meeting, namely, that the representatives of the Ewe people should be allowed to remain at the Committee table throughout the discussion of the Ewe and Togoland unification problem.

102. Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium), supported by Mr. FOURIE (Union of South Africa), wished to make

⁴ See *Official Records of the Trusteeship Council, Seventh Session, Supplement No. 2*, Special report on the Ewe problem, para. 96.

it clear that in his delegation's opinion it was not proper that the representatives of certain political parties in the two Togolands—not of the Ewe people as such—should be allowed to participate in the discussion. He recalled that at its 299th meeting, the Committee had rejected a proposal authorizing the participation of the indigenous populations because it had felt that it went too far. In his opinion, the representatives of Member States alone were entitled to participate in the general debate.

103. The CHAIRMAN said that if there were no further objections, he would consider the Byelorussian proposal as adopted.

The Byelorussian proposal was adopted.

104. Sir Alan BURNS (United Kingdom) said that, to a large extent, the observations of the representatives of the Joint Togoland Congress had already been answered in the observations of the United Kingdom Government (T/1039) on the special report of the Visiting Mission (T/1034).

105. Mr. Antor had attempted to show that his party represented the majority opinion throughout Togoland under British administration and that the majority sought the unification of the two Togolands under a United Nations commissioner for five years, at the end of which period the unified territory would be given independence. That contention was absolutely false. It was disproved by virtually every line of the special report dealing with the impressions which the Visiting Mission had gained of the views of the population during its arduous and thorough tour of the whole Territory. That might account for Mr. Antor's statement that the Visiting Mission had been unable to obtain a true impression of the feelings of the population because it had been hustled through the Territory under close police guard. Sir Alan Burns wondered whether any member of the Visiting Mission would wish to substantiate that extraordinary statement. Paragraphs 96 to 168 of the special report described the Mission's meetings, discussions and travels. The only mention of the police appeared to be in paragraphs 412 and 413 where the Mission referred to the "firm but pleasant intervention by the Administration officials and police" when the full freedom of expression given to the inhabitants appeared to be approaching the point where public order was endangered. Furthermore, on his own evidence, Mr. Antor had been continually in touch with the Mission, which had seen the same familiar faces of Mr. Antor and his principal lieutenants approaching it with allegedly local petitions at every main stop in the Southern Section.

106. No unbiased reader of the special report could possibly get the impression that the Mission had not received the fullest picture of the aspirations of the various parties and sections of the community. It was on such direct evidence that their conclusions had been based. He had no doubt that the Committee would prefer to base its judgment on that evidence rather than the *ex parte* statements of a small group who represented only one point of view.

107. A summary of the conclusions drawn by the United Kingdom Government from the direct observations of the Visiting Mission was to be found in paragraph 4 of document T/1039. Paragraphs 98 to 115

of the special report made it quite clear that northern Togoland under British administration was strongly opposed to unification of the two Trust Territories and desired integration in the Gold Coast as soon as possible. That was the view of roughly half the total population. Paragraph 115 of the special report drew attention to some dissension in one of the southern sectors of the northern part of the Territory where certain members of the Alfai Local Council had urged that the Kpandai area should be transferred administratively to the Krachi area in the Southern Section of the Territory and, as a sort of tailpiece to that request, they had asked for the unification and independence of the two Togolands. It was from that group that Mr. Anku-Morny, who, according to Mr. Antor, represented the whole of the Northern Territories, drew his exiguous authority. It was fantastic, moreover, to allege that the Dagombas and Mamprusis did not have the closest affinities with neighbouring tribes in the Gold Coast.

108. He paid a tribute to the political ingenuity with which Mr. Antor had found, on the threshold of the Northern Territories, an organizing secretary for his Ewe-dominated party. But he was afraid that not much importance could be attached to his testimony. He claimed to represent the Nanumbas, but Administration officials in Accra had found that he did not even know the chief of the Nanumbas who, as reported in paragraph 108 of the special report, was in favour of complete integration with the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast.

109. The non-Ewe section of the southern part of the Territory, the Buem-Krachi area, was described in paragraphs 122 to 136 of the special report and was the area from which Mr. Odamé came. The section of opinion which Mr. Odamé might claim to represent was referred to in paragraph 131 of the special report describing a meeting of a minority of the members of the Buem Native Authority organized by the Togoland Congress. Apart from that there was no evidence whatever that the peoples of the area were at all favourable to unification. On the contrary, as paragraph 124 of the special report stated, they desired no change in government and preferred to progress in close association with the Gold Coast, which was on the threshold of political emancipation. The people of Kpandu also wished for closer union with the Gold Coast (para. 148). Such evidence bore out his Government's contention in paragraph 4 (b) of its observations (T/1039) that so far as the Southern Section of the Trust Territory was concerned the unification of the two Togolands was opposed not only by the Krachis but also by a majority of the other non-Ewe people. It was only too easy to imagine the rage and astonishment of those peoples if the two Territories were united under a United Nations commissioner and a new frontier erected between them and the Gold Coast, for which they had evinced such a strong attachment.

110. Mr. Antor would no doubt regard the Ewe areas of the Southern Section as his stronghold. Paragraph 120 of the special report stated that the majority of the 544 communications received by the Mission requesting the unification and independence of the two Togolands came from the Hohoe-Jasikan area. That was the only area where Mr. Antor could claim any support and it was the area from which, over the years,

the vast majority of petitions in support of his point of view had come.

111. Sir Alan Burns suggested that it was only party instructions to submit written communications to the Mission, such as those referred to by Mr. Olympio, that had induced the inhabitants of Togoland under British administration to submit written communications since their normal habit was to convey their ideas orally. Submission of written communications was a device resorted to most frequently by those who had studied the machinery of the United Nations with a view to exploiting it for their own political advantage.

112. It was strange, in view of Mr. Antor's adverse comments on the links between the Trust Territory and the Gold Coast, that the majority of the views recorded by the Mission in support of unification (para. 150 and 152, 155, 158 and 167) also urged unification of the administration with the Gold Coast. He wondered how that objective could possibly be achieved by severing the Territory from the Gold Coast and assigning it to a United Nations commissioner.

113. It was only natural that a politician like Mr. Antor should resent the growing strength of another political party in the area from which he drew his only real support. The Togoland affiliate of the Convention Peoples' Party had also presented its views to the Visiting Mission. It had informed the Mission that great satisfaction had been given to the Ewes—and in the south the majority of its members must be Ewes—by the constitution of the Trans-Volta Togoland Region and Council. It had felt that, by that wise administrative adjustment, effective unification had been assured for the Ewe people of the Gold Coast and Togoland under British administration. Paragraph 97 of the special report contained a summary of the views of the party, an essential feature of whose policy was continued association with the Gold Coast. The Committee and Mr. Olympio might be surprised to hear that it also asserted that the British colonial system, which made provision for an ultimate government of the people, by the people and for the people, was appreciated. He felt tempted to state that political developments in the Gold Coast, in which Togoland under British administration had played its full part, were an example of democracy in action unmatched on the west coast of Africa.

114. Mr. Antor had referred vaguely to the arrest of members and supporters of the Togoland Congress. Sir Alan Burns knew of no such arrests, except in connexion with the violent incident at Jasikan, on which the full police report was reproduced as an appendix to document T/1039. When a policy of looting and similar violence was adopted, arrests were bound to follow.

115. In a recent communication (T/Com.6/L.15) the entire executive of the Convention Peoples' Party had stated that they had learned with utter dismay from their party members at Hohoe of the way in which they had been treated by Mr. Antor's supporters. They had also complained that the latter had forced innocent people to pay a special unauthorized levy to finance Mr. Antor's visit to the United Nations. That communication had, quite properly, been sent in the first instance to the local administration and the allegations were being investigated.

116. To sum up, it was quite clear that in the Southern Section of Togoland under British administration the advocates of unification were sharply divided among themselves, so sharply in fact as to give rise to the only incidents of ill feeling which the Mission had witnessed during its trip.

117. It was apparent that about half the people in the Trust Territory actively desired complete integration in the Gold Coast. A further substantial number rejected unification of the two Trust Territories in any form. Those who actively supported unification were in opposition to another active section which considered unification a long-term policy to be achieved, if possible, without prejudice to continued close association with the Gold Coast. In short, the ample evidence at the Committee's disposal demonstrated beyond doubt that any proposal to amend the Trusteeship Agreements in such a way as to establish a unified Togoland as a separate entity would be actively opposed by approximately three-quarters of the population of Togoland under British administration. In those circumstances, his Government could not possibly accept such a solution.

118. Questions had been asked regarding the Joint Council. Its failure so far had been due solely to the refusal of certain elements of the population to give it a chance. Its terms of reference were sufficiently broad. The petitioners, however, had refused to participate in its work because they felt that they had no chance of being in the majority. Instead of appealing to the people, they had appealed to the United Nations.

119. He had listened to the Iraqi representative's questions at the 301st meeting more in sorrow than in anger. The Iraqi representative had attempted, by leading questions, which were unworthy of him, to give the impression that the Visiting Mission had been cramped in its work by officials of the Administration. As Chairman of the 1949 Visiting Mission, the Iraqi representative must know that that Mission had owed not a little to the assistance of administrative officials in the Territory and that liaison officers were essential to the comfort and efficient working of the Mission.

120. In conclusion he reserved his right to make a further statement at a later date.

The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.