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Chairman: Mr. Santiago PEREZ PEREZ (Venezuela).

The Ewe and Togoland unification problem: special report of the Trusteeship Council (A/2424)

[Item 31]*

1. The CHAIRMAN drew the Committee's attention to the special report of the Trusteeship Council on the Ewe and Togoland unification problem (A/2424), submitted in compliance with paragraph 13 of General Assembly resolution 652 (VII).
2. Earlier in the session (318th, 319th and 343rd meetings) the Committee had decided to grant hearings to representatives of the All-Ewe Conference, the Joint Togoland Congress and the Parti togolais du progrès, who wished to give their organizations' views on the question. Accordingly, if there were no objection, he would invite them to take their seats at the Council table at the appropriate moment.
3. He declared open the general discussion on the Ewe and Togoland unification problem.
4. Mr. PIGNON (France) trusted that the special report of the Trusteeship Council had convinced the Committee that the two Administering Authorities had done, and were doing, all in their power to co-operate in the gradual elimination of the many difficulties inherent in the question. He had used the word "gradual" deliberately, for any realistic approach to the question must be based on the realization that for the present there was no single radical solution to the problem. Indeed, he had stressed that point at the eleventh session of the Trusteeship Council (457th meeting), when he had pointed out that the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa, 1952, had discovered that there was no magic formula whereby the Ewe and Togoland unification problem could be solved.
5. It was both the concern and the duty of the French delegation to see that no hasty decision, however, attractive at first sight, should be taken. The French Government was directing all its efforts to the true evolution of the people of Togoland by enabling them gradually to acquire the political experience they would need to reach a solution truly in conformity with their aspirations. As the 1952 Visiting Mission had noted in its special report (T/1034), it was essential that there should be an enlightened public opinion in the

Territory. That could only come about by the gradual and peaceful development of the two territories in political, economic, social and educational fields.

6. On the whole, Togoland under French administration was a peaceful territory. Any rash or ill-advised decision might well upset that situation, just as it might jeopardize the successful issue of the consultations that were being held pursuant to General Assembly resolution 652 (VII). The greater part of the population were eager to continue to develop and to form their decisions in peace and tranquillity. Indeed, their calm had scarcely been troubled by the sporadic activities of a small minority which, angry at having lost its earlier influence, had had recourse to petitions containing unjustified complaints and unwarranted demands.

7. The frontier question, which had given rise to so many complaints in the past few years, was no longer of any significance, thanks to the many adjustments that had been made in the situation. In that connexion, it might be well for him to point out that there had been a deliberate confusion of the frontier between the two Togolands, which was a theoretical frontier only, and the very real frontier that separated the Gold Coast from Togoland under French administration.

8. In response to General Assembly resolution 652 (VII), the French Government, after a thorough exchange of views with the United Kingdom Government, had initiated the consultations enjoined in the resolution. They were by now almost completed, practically all the representative elements of the population having responded eagerly to the invitation sent to them. It would, however, be premature to draw any definite conclusions forthwith, for the results of the consultations showed certain contradictions. It was clear that the majority of the views expressed had been opposed to the re-establishment of the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs, although some had spoken in favour of it but subject to conditions which their opponents, in all good faith, found unacceptable.

9. It now remained for the French Government to examine and sift the various facts that had emerged from the consultations and to endeavour to reconcile the opposing points of view expressed by the different groups of the population. At the present stage the various opinions must be further considered in an endeavour to find a compromise, not only in order to carry out the task imposed upon the French Government in General Assembly resolution 652 (VII), but also to fulfil the mission entrusted to it in the Trusteeship Agreement. The Committee would no doubt agree that the free discussion of opposing ideas was an important part of the political education of a people which had chosen the path of democracy. It would be a bad example to the people of Togoland and would show an unwarranted lack of interest if the French Government were simply to note the differences of opinion and make no effort to reconcile them.

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

10. In conclusion, he stressed that his delegation would have been glad to be able to say that a solution had been found to the problem; it was confident, however, that the Committee would understand why it had preferred, at the risk of disappointing the Committee, to adopt, in all good faith, a purely objective position. It reserved the right to speak again during the discussion, should the need arise.

11. Mr. MATHIESON (United Kingdom) said that, having heard from the French representative an account of the action of the Administering Authority in Togoland under French administration and of the co-operation between the two Administering Authorities for the purpose of achieving progress on the matter before the Committee, the latter would no doubt wish to hear of the events in Togoland under British administration during the last twelve months as they affected the Ewe and Togoland unification problem. It would also hear the views of representatives of a number of Togoland organizations, who would no doubt place a different emphasis on the various aspects of the question. He himself proposed to state quite frankly the position of the United Kingdom Government, as Administering Authority, and to indicate the progress achieved in the various matters covered by General Assembly resolution 652 (VII), notably in connexion with the re-establishment of the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs. Before doing so, however, he would give a brief sketch of the history of the question.

12. The question had been before the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly for almost seven years, but the nature of the problem and the manner of its presentation had been constantly changing as the pace of change and progress in West Africa had accelerated. As the Committee was aware, in following that changing pattern the Administering Authority had sought a variety of means to solve the problem.

13. In the beginning, the issue had been simply "The Ewe Question"—and indeed that title still predominated in the item under discussion. The fact was that in two of the districts of the Southern Section of Togoland under British administration the population was predominantly Ewe. Local tradition recounted that the Ewes, in common with a number of tribes in the Gold Coast, had originally come from the valley of the Niger, whence they had probably formed part of the great wave of migration south-westwards some 5,000 to 6,000 years ago. Although in the districts to which he had referred there were still some small pre-Ewe indigenous groups to be found, the superimposition of the Ewes, had been so complete that no significant indigenous culture or social pattern had survived. At the last census there had been approximately 139,000 Ewe-speaking people in Togoland under British administration and about 176,000 in Togoland under French administration, while of the 376,000-odd Ewe-speaking people in the Gold Coast approximately 300,000 were to be found in the area of the Gold Coast adjacent to the Trust Territory and now included administratively in the Trans-Volta Togoland region. The Ewe people represented about 30 per cent of the population of the United Kingdom Trust Territory and a little over 20 per cent of the total population of the two Trust Territories combined. The remaining peoples of Togoland under British administration were many and varied, a large proportion of them having strong and enduring links with similar peoples in the Gold Coast.

14. It was natural, therefore, that throughout the examination of the question the Administering Authorities, the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly had felt legitimate hesitation in seeking a purely Ewe solution of the problem, which would take into account predominantly the views and aspirations of the Ewes and would have strong repercussions on the prosperity and future of the great majority of the inhabitants. The United Kingdom was certainly anxious to give every possible satisfaction to the legitimate aspirations of the Ewe-speaking people but its policies in West Africa in general had been directed towards the evolution of an advanced and democratic society which departed from purely tribal organizations and based itself on more modern and valid social concepts, and towards the development of a broadening loyalty in the transition from tribe to nation. It was thus disposed to take a long view of such manifestations of local patriotism, and while it sympathized with what was good in them, it preferred to harness the energy thus released for development in the interest of the peoples as a whole and it could not follow the separatist ambitions of splinter groups of the population.

15. The natural emergency of political feeling among the Ewes as a result of the general intensification of political interest in the West African territories after the Second World War had been heightened by the economic and social difficulties prevailing in the immediate post-war years. Those difficulties, which by now had well-nigh vanished, had been due to the existence of an international frontier between the two Togolands. The resultant, and quite legitimate, complaints of the local inhabitants had been the subject of the early petitions to the United Nations and had remained virtually the sole cause of complaint prior to the visit of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa in 1950. The Administering Authorities had always recognized that such complaints were justified and had made great, and successful, efforts, through such machinery as the Standing Consultative Commission for Togoland Affairs, to remove the difficulties and facilitate the free transit of goods and people between the Ewe areas in the south of the two Trust Territories.

16. At the time of the visit of the first Visiting Mission, in 1950, the Ewe movement had begun to assume a predominantly political complexion and the Administering Authorities and the United Nations had found themselves faced with demands for the political unification of all the areas inhabited by Ewe-speaking people. Some of the inhabitants of the Togolands, however, had recognized the dire consequences and virtual impossibility of conceding to such a demand; from that realization there had arisen the movement for the unification of the two Trust Territories of Togoland, which they had hoped would form the basis for concurrent Ewe unification. Others had reacted differently to the realization of the dangers of Ewe unification: they had protested against any readjustment of the fruitful unity, which they had enjoyed since the early days of the British administration, with their relations, friends and neighbours in the Gold Coast and were anxious to remain unified with the Gold Coast. Others, again, wished to unify the two Ewe-speaking areas of the Togoland as an entity separate from the Gold Coast, while yet others wished to unify the areas inhabited by Ewe-speaking people in the two Togolands and the Gold Coast. Again, numerous groups

in Togoland under French administration wished to maintain the fruitful links which united them to the French Union, to the exclusion of other associates. It was that complex of aspirations which had come to be known in the United Nations as the Ewe and Togoland unification question.

17. The great evolution of political consciousness in Africa since the end of the Second World War and the consequent growth in strength and solidarity of the various political parties in Togoland did not mean that all the foundations of a democratic State had been effectively laid. The situation had demanded great flexibility on the part of the Administering Authority, based on a clear view of the essential objectives, as defined in the Charter, which it resolutely intended to pursue. To impose a quick administrative solution, however, would be a rash move, harmful to the inhabitants.

18. The two Administering Authorities had presented to the Trusteeship Council, at its ninth session, a joint memorandum (T/931) in which they had examined various proposals made with a view to devising some workable solution. In it they had stated the following principles, which they regarded as fundamental to the consideration of the problem and to any proposal for its solution: first, that proposals must pay full regard to the known wishes of the peoples and command general acceptance, or at least acceptance by a large majority; and, secondly, that any change in the political organization in the Territories must be practicable from the economic and financial aspects as well as on purely political grounds. Those principles were still valid and would be satisfied by a joint council for the two Togolands on the lines suggested in General Assembly resolution 652 (VII). That resolution had enjoined the Administering Authorities to carry out extensive consultations with the principal political parties in the two Territories and to make every effort to bring about a re-establishment of the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs on a basis which would enlist the co-operation of all major segments of the population. The United Kingdom Government had held such consultations during the past year with many sections of the population of very divergent political outlooks. For the most part the political parties and groups in the Territory had responded fully to the General Assembly's injunction to assist constructively: expressions of opinion had been received from many sources, some of them containing interesting and valuable suggestions regarding the future work and constitution of the Joint Council. They had, however, revealed great differences of opinion between the various parties in the two Territories, corresponding fairly exactly to the divisions of view described by the 1952 Visiting Mission to West Africa in its special report.

19. He would not enlarge upon the various steps taken by the Administering Authorities to implement General Assembly resolution 652 (VII), for those taken prior to the last session of the Trusteeship Council were described in the Council's special report (A/2424). On the question of consultations, however, the Committee would be interested to know that the invitation sent jointly by the two Administering Authorities to all sections of the population to make known their views on the principles on which the Joint Council should be constituted (T/1067/Rev.1) had brought forth expressions of views from people throughout Togoland. It might give the Committee a broader idea of the

problem if he tried to summarize and classify the views that had been expressed by inhabitants of Togoland under British administration.

20. The widest division of opinion was that between those who wanted the Joint Council to operate and had positive ideas about how it should do so, and those substantial sections of the population which were reluctant to consider that the establishment of such machinery would meet any real need. The latter included most of the inhabitants of the North, in particular the Dagomba, Nanumba and Gonja peoples, who comprised almost one-half of the population. Typical of them was the opinion of a chief who represented some 11,000 people in the northernmost canton of Togoland, to the effect that he could see no benefit in forming another council and therefore did not want to have anything to do with it. Such clear-cut rejection was not unanimous, however, even in the North, where some groups in an area abutting on the frontier felt that a reconstituted council would help to find ways of eliminating certain inconveniences arising from their situation.

21. In the southern part of Togoland under British administration there was a fairly general desire to see the Joint Council again operating and fairly general agreement on the terms on which that could be achieved.

22. The most vexed question was perhaps that of the composition of the Council; the Committee would recall that it was over differences on that point that the Council had broken up the previous year. Some groups had suggested that the two Togolands should be united for election purposes and the joint area divided into a number of constituencies on a population basis. That suggestion would raise obvious and formidable administrative difficulties but it would be carefully considered together with the other suggestions put forward. The proposal more strongly urged in the southern part of Togoland under British administration was that there should be fifteen members of the Joint Council elected for each Territory; that proposal was not likely to find ready acceptance in Togoland under French administration, where the population was more than double that of Togoland under British administration. Other groups had suggested that some of the representatives for Togoland under British administration might be members of communities which held a traditional position of authority; there seemed no advantage, however, in making special arrangements for that category of member, for there was nothing to prevent such people in positions of authority taking part as voters and standing for election.

23. General Assembly resolution 652 (VII) recommended direct elections on the basis of universal suffrage, exercised by secret ballot. Elections by universal suffrage had already been held throughout Togoland under British administration for other purposes; indeed, it was a pity that the Committee had reached that point before its general debate on the Trusteeship Council's report on the administration of Trust Territories, for the United Kingdom delegation would then be able to show in greater detail the rapid political development and the degree of political activity in the Territory. The people were familiar with the process and the views expressed had been almost unanimous that direct election to the Joint Council should be held on that basis.

24. Some of the communications had suggested that persons taking part in the elections should be restrictive-

ly defined by law. Such suggestions presumably arose from the fear that non-indigenous inhabitants of Togoland might influence the elections if the existing registers were used. The United Kingdom delegation saw little justification for such fears, which would certainly not warrant the preparation of special electoral registers for the elections. Existing local government registers should be adequate, providing care was taken to ensure that only those on the rolls of councils and wards in Togoland were eligible; the qualifications for inclusion in those local government rolls were the ownership of property in the area or residence there for six of the twelve preceding months and liability to pay the local authority taxes or, alternatively, specific exemption from them. The rolls had been compiled in 1952 and were revised annually.

25. One point that had emerged clearly from the consultations in Togoland under British administration was that at least a majority of the people of the Territory saw value in the establishment of an institution such as the Joint Council and the remainder might be prepared to view it with benevolent indifference. In the circumstances it was essential that negotiations should be continued, with patience, perseverance and hope, and that there should be no recurrence of the situation which had arisen in 1952, when the Joint Council had been convened with perhaps undue haste. The United Kingdom was determined to persevere with the efforts it had undertaken to establish such machinery through which matters of common concern to the two Trust Territories could be considered. In the meantime it was pressing on with the development of institutions of local and regional government which gave the people of the Territory an ever increasing part in the management of their own affairs. The various institutions of democratic self-government already established were giving the people the possibility of engaging in politics and acquiring the wisdom and experience that would equip them more and more to form sound judgments on the shape of their political future. With maturity and experience the pattern of the future would emerge more clearly and would make it possible for the ultimate decisions to be based upon the freely expressed wishes of the inhabitants—an essential feature of the Trusteeship System.

26. In conclusion, Mr. Mathieson declared that his delegation was ready to assist the Committee in every way and to explain any points that might arise during the discussion. The Committee would hear other views from the petitioners who were to speak and he hoped to be given an opportunity to comment on any points of difference before the Committee tried to form its definitive views on the question.

At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Antor and Mr. Odame, representatives of the Joint Togoland Congress, took seats at the Committee table.

27. Mr. ODAME (Joint Togoland Congress)¹ expressed his party's confidence that the General Assembly would consider its case promptly and with undivided attention, in the interest of world peace. The members and officers of the Joint Togoland Congress were all inhabitants of Togoland and none of them was affiliated to, controlled by or in any way connected with any organization outside the Trust Territory.

¹ In accordance with the decision taken by the Fourth Committee at its 366th meeting, the complete text of this statement was subsequently circulated as document A/C.4248.

28. The Joint Togoland Congress contended that the United Kingdom and France had violated the basic principles of the United Nations Charter and the Trusteeship Agreements to the detriment of the substantial rights of the people of the Trust Territories; and that the Trusteeship Council and the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa, 1952, had failed or refused to perform their duties and obligations towards such people, and had joined the Administering Authorities in a concerted and ingeniously planned policy to defeat the basic guarantees, rights and protections accorded to those peoples under the Charter.

29. He gave a brief survey of the history of the two Trust Territories from the time that they had been united as a single German colony up to their being placed under the International Trusteeship System as two separate Trust Territories administered respectively by the United Kingdom and France.

30. The problems that had arisen after the Second World War had added immeasurably to the economic, social and political difficulties arising from the frontier separating the two Togolands. Currency regulations, foreign exchange controls, trade barriers and pass restrictions had all made contact between the two Trust Territories exceedingly difficult, particularly since 1947. Moreover, as education had begun to develop and new political institutions to take shape under the direct influence of the political philosophy and policies of France and the United Kingdom, trends had become apparent that were different from those originally announced, and it had become clear to the people of both Togolands that if, continued, such policies would result in the complete absorption of the two Trust Territories as colonies of France and the United Kingdom. The peoples of the two Territories had therefore sought the reunification of the two Togolands. To that end they had submitted petitions and sent delegations to the United Nations, all in conformity with the Charter and the Trusteeship Agreements.

31. The 1949 United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa had come to the conclusion that the demands of the people for unification were far from being merely a frontier problem to be eased by a succession of economic and social measures; they were a capital political problem representing the natural desires of a divided people to be brought together as a single nation. The Visiting Mission had concluded that the problem had attained the force and dimensions of a nationalist movement and that a solution should be sought with urgency in the interests of peace and stability in that part of the world.² The findings of the first Visiting Mission presented a true and unadulterated picture of conditions in the Territory and the wishes of the people.

32. Unfortunately, however, the Visiting Mission's report had not met with the approval of the Administering Authorities, who had decided to do away with the Togoland unification problem by using the traditional colonial methods, namely, suppression, oppression, the reign of terror and the policy of "divide and rule". Their attempt to crush a movement which had resulted from the provisions of the Charter and the Trusteeship Agreements was in contradiction with the international, legal and moral duties they had assumed.

² See *Official Records of the Trusteeship Council, Seventh Session, Supplement No. 2*, p. 83.

33. Under the United Nations Charter, the Trust Territories had a definite and distinct international status. The Administering Authorities had been entrusted with their administration on behalf of the United Nations and their powers and functions had been limited and defined by the Charter and the Trusteeship Agreements. The legislative history and the historical background of the Charter clearly showed that it had never been intended that the Trust Territories should become the colonial possessions of the Administering Authorities. The joint declaration of peace aims by Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill in 1941, namely, the Atlantic Charter, supported that contention. The "integral part" clause of article 5 of the Trusteeship Agreement for the Territory of Togoland under British administration was limited in scope and subject to Article 76 b of the Charter and article 6 of that Agreement. The administrative unions established by the Administering Authorities were not those provided for in the Trusteeship Agreements and violated those Agreements and the Charter.

34. By wilfully and deliberately authorizing the Convention People's Party, a political party in the Gold Coast, to cross the international boundary and enter the Trust Territory for the sole purpose of carrying on illegal and subversive activities designed to defeat the objectives of the Charter and promote the colonization of the Trust Territory, the Government of the United Kingdom had violated the cardinal principle of the law of trust and the Trusteeship Agreement. The CPP was a powerful political machine backed by the United Kingdom Government and deriving its funds from the Gold Coast. The members and officers of the CPP branches in Togoland were controlled, directed and financed by the parent party in the Gold Coast. They were not free agents and their desires did not represent the true wishes of the people of Togoland. In that connexion he drew attention to the fact that several supporters of the Togoland unification movement had been induced to betray the real wishes of the people in return for money, favours and political positions. For example, Mr. F. Y. Asare, a former leader of the unification movement, had left the movement to become a minister in the Gold Coast Government, at a high salary. He was now one of the strongest leaders of the CPP in Togoland and an ardent advocate of annexation to the Gold Coast. The people of Togoland were powerless against the vicious attacks of the CPP, which were progressively leading to the defeat of all the rights and securities guaranteed under the Trusteeship System.

35. The Administering Authorities had committed acts of aggression against the people of Togoland. In Togoland under French administration those acts had taken the form of a reign of terror, and in Togoland under British administration of intimidation, favouritism and economic strangulation. Despite the provisions of article 3 of the Trusteeship Agreement, which embodied the principle of the "sacred trust" and bound the Administering Authority not to allow their personal interests to conflict with the interests of the peoples of the Trust Territory, the Administering Authorities had wrongly used their position to force a policy of annexation on the people.

36. The people of Togoland had not the funds needed to carry out the minimum counter-measures to defend their case. Most of the members of the Joint Togoland Congress were farmers who depended for their income on the cocoa they produced. The Government of the

Gold Coast had a monopoly of the marketing of cocoa and the arbitrary minimum price set by it was far lower than the price on the world market. The large marginal profits were retained by the Gold Coast. As far as he knew, there was no accounting system to determine the profits derived from the share of cocoa produced in the Trust Territory. The minimum price paid to the producers barely covered the cost of production and the minimum necessities of life. The Administering Authority's ingenious plan to prevent the development of a free competitive economy had been defended as a means of creating a reservoir of funds to meet any future decline in the price of cocoa. It tended on the contrary to deprive Togoland of the free capital and savings with which private enterprise and trade could be developed by the inhabitants of the Trust Territory. The promotion of a trade monopoly by the United Kingdom violated article 9 of the Trusteeship Agreement, which he read into his statement. When the Standing Consultative Commission for Togoland Affairs had recommended that there should be complete freedom in the movement of goods of all kinds between the two Territories, the United Kingdom Government had said that that would not be within the bounds of possibility and had cited a number of products such as dangerous drugs, explosives and diamonds which must be controlled. It had further stated that the import and export of certain other products had to be regulated under international conventions and that it could not permit the free import of goods in short supply or goods from hard currency sources or the free export of goods which were the monopoly of the official marketing boards.

37. Togoland farmers did not wish to be dependent on the Gold Coast Marketing Board. They wished to handle their own sales of cocoa in the world market and were opposed to the monopolistic regulations which made it impossible for the Trust Territories to take part in trade affecting the produce of their own labour and property.

38. The Joint Togoland Congress had hoped that the Trusteeship Council and the second Visiting Mission would protect the rights of the inhabitants of the Trust Territories. Since 1950, however, it had become convinced that those bodies were completely dominated by the Administering Authorities. The Trusteeship Council had been informed of the crossing of the international boundary by the CPP in flagrant violation of the principle of the sacred trust, and the Visiting Mission had seen some examples of such crossings. Nevertheless, the Trusteeship Council had failed or refused to label such acts as acts of aggression. Its failure had been inspired by the intention of indirectly assisting the Administering Authorities in their conspiracy to create a confused situation which would justify their continued retention and eventual absorption of the Trust Territories. The Trusteeship Council tried to justify such illegal actions by shamefully labelling them as political issues.

39. Owing to the abnormal conditions in the Trust Territories due to the official pressure, favouritism, terrorism and false propaganda to which he had referred, the problem could not be solved by a plebiscite or the counting of heads. The people had been robbed of the essential freedom of action necessary for the expression of their real wishes and best interests. The most desirable solution would be a change in the Trusteeship Agreement. Aggression, selfishness and hypocrisy must be replaced by honesty, justice and respect for the rights of peoples and international agreements.

The United Nations must reaffirm once and for all the basic philosophy of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations as re-enacted in the Charter and the principle that the free nations would not permit the rights of the peoples in the Trust Territories or the International Trusteeship System to be overrun. The oppression and iniquities must be stopped. The gradual development of the Trust Territories towards self-government or independence must remain the paramount goal, and any solution must lead towards it. If the Trusteeship Council were permitted to continue its present policy, the rights of the peoples of Togoland under the Charter and the Trusteeship Agreements would be totally defeated and the Trust Territories would become colonies.

40. Summing up, he said, first, that the issues raised by the Togoland unification problem were not merely political issues which could be solved by a plebiscite or decisions reached on the basis of an artificially created and controlled public opinion; secondly, that the problem involved violations of the fundamental legitimate rights of the peoples of Togoland as guaranteed in the Charter; thirdly, that the power and influence of the Administering Authorities and their ingenious policies placed the peoples of the Trust Territories in a helpless and unfair position to deal with the situation; fourthly, that, in the interest of international justice and morality, his party respectfully requested that the legal issues involved should be submitted to the International Court of Justice for adjudication and that the Togoland people should be given such other further relief as might be just and proper in the circumstances; and lastly, that, in view of the coming constitutional changes in the Gold Coast, whereby Gold Coast affairs would no longer be controlled by the United Kingdom Government and Togoland could no longer be administered as an integral part of the Gold Coast, his party demanded the urgent establishment of a separate marketing board for the Trust Territory. Such a board must be set up immediately so that it could function before the administration of the Territory as an integral part of the Gold Coast ceased.

41. He reminded the Committee that the fall of the League of Nations had been principally due to the failure of its Members to abide by the rules of fair play and to heed the dictates of international morality in such cases as that of Ethiopia. The United Nations was being subjected to increasing attacks on the very principle for which it had been founded. The violation of the Trusteeship Agreements by the Governments of the United Kingdom and France was nothing short of conquest and aggression under the cloak of trust and official actions. The people of the Trust Territories, against their will, were being deprived of their land, its products, a voice in their own affairs and even the right to seek a destiny of their own choosing. The United Nations must therefore recognize the need for continued and sustained collective action and the principle that no State could hold a people under its control against that people's will.

42. Mr. ANTOR (Joint Togoland Congress)³ said that so far the Administering Authorities had done nothing to implement General Assembly resolution 652 (VII) of December 1952 calling for the re-establishment of the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs. The

two Administering Authorities were thus disregarding not only the express wishes of the indigenous inhabitants of the Trust Territory of Togoland but also the decisions of the General Assembly.

43. In March 1953, the Joint Togoland Congress had requested an interview with the Regional Officer of the Trans-Volta Togoland Region in connexion with the consultations to be held with the people of Togoland on the re-establishment of the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs, pursuant to paragraph 4 of General Assembly resolution 652 (VII). The Congress had been told in reply that it was felt that a meeting at that stage would not serve any useful purpose, and had been advised to wait for the publication of the government's proposals. One week later, the Joint Togoland Congress had submitted a comprehensive memorandum on the proposals for the re-establishment of the Joint Council for transmission through the Regional Officer to the Governor and thence to the Administering Authority. A copy of the memorandum had also been sent to the United Nations (T/Pet.6 and 7/L.6). The Administering Authority had done nothing with regard to the consultations proposed by the General Assembly until 12 June 1953, when the government announcement mentioned in the special report of the Trusteeship Council (A/2424, para. 3) had been published. After the publication of the announcement, representatives of the Joint Togoland Congress, the All-Ewe Conference, the Comité de l'Unité togolaise, the Juvento, the Togoland Union and the Togoland Youth Organization had met to study the document and plan their joint action. In July 1953, the Joint Togoland Congress had submitted its final proposals to the Administering Authority on the lines agreed upon by all the political organizations working for the unification and independence of Togoland. A copy of those final proposals had been sent to the United Nations for information (T/Pet.6 and 7/L.11).

44. By that time, the Administering Authority, which was unwilling to take any action to re-establish the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs, was doing all that it could to implement its secret plan to forestall that re-establishment. The secret plan was set out in detail in the memorandum submitted to the United Nations by the Joint Togoland Congress in document T/Pet.6/L.11. The plan of the Convention People's Party, which formed the Government of the Gold Coast, was to force the United Nations to agree that Togoland should be annexed to the Gold Coast. The document showed how orders had gone out to start a campaign to bombard the United Nations with petitions demanding that Togoland should be annexed to the Gold Coast and how the leaders of the unification movement and the people of Togoland were to be persuaded and bribed to declare in favour of being annexed to the Gold Coast.

45. It was clear that the plan had originated with the Gold Coast Government. The Gold Coast Government's White Paper, entitled "The Government's Proposals for Constitutional Reform", issued in 1953, included a statement to the effect that there was a growing opinion in Togoland in favour of integration with the Gold Coast and that it was hoped that when the advantages of joining a self-governing Gold Coast had been fully appreciated by the people of that region, they would be in a position to make clear their wishes for their future status (A/C.4/249).

46. Following upon the secret plan, the Regional Officer and government agents, together with the senior

³ In accordance with the decision taken by the Fourth Committee at its 366th meeting, the complete text of this statement was subsequently circulated as document A/C.4.247.

executive officers, had started a political propaganda tour of their respective districts in the Trust Territory, urging chiefs, local councillors and peoples to abandon the demand for the re-establishment of the Joint Council and to press for the integration of the Trust Territory into the Gold Coast. Various secret and public meetings had been arranged at which the members of the Gold Coast Legislative Assembly who formed the Integration Committee had addressed the chiefs and the people on the advantages of integration with the Gold Coast which was rapidly advancing towards self-government. Draft resolutions were being distributed by members of the Integration Committee appointed by the Gold Coast Government to chiefs and individuals, who were to sign them and forward them to the United Nations in accordance with the secret plan believed to have been prepared by the Gold Coast Government on the instructions of the Administering Authority. Some copies of those resolutions had fallen into the hands of the Joint Togoland Congress.

47. It was almost twelve months since the General Assembly had decided that the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs should be re-established by the two Administering Authorities and all that the Authorities had done in the meantime was to publish an announcement on 12 June 1953, inviting the views of the people of Togoland. Those views had been submitted to them almost immediately by the parties concerned, and since then no further attempts had been made or contemplated by the Administering Authorities to make preliminary preparations for the re-establishment of the highly necessary Joint Council. The preamble to General Assembly resolution 652 (VII) noted a statement made by the United Kingdom to the effect that during the period of trust the Administering Authority must provide political institutions etc. which would enable the various political parties to place their programmes before the people and, by democratic methods, to seek to enlist majority support. The methods in fact used were outlined in paragraph 13 of the secret document reproduced in T/Pet.6/L.11. That document had been drawn up by the Government of the Gold Coast, which was headed by the Governor, who held, on behalf of the Administering Authority, final executive, legislative and administrative authority in respect of the Trust Territory. The Gold Coast Minister of Commerce and Industries had stated in an interview with the leaders of the unification movement that the document had indeed been prepared by the Government of the Gold Coast for its own use and guidance.

48. It was clear, therefore, that instead of working towards the re-establishment of the Joint Council, the Administering Authority was making every attempt to integrate the Trust Territory into the Gold Coast, despite the assurance given to the United Nations that the inhabitants of the Trust Territory would be free to decide for themselves, at the appropriate time.

49. The report on Togoland under British administration of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa, 1952, stated that the prospect of a further constitutional advance in the Gold Coast might require the position of the Trust Territory to be reviewed with particular care within a relatively short period of time (T/1040, para 89). The time had come now for the position of the Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration to be made clear, in the light of the views expressed in the preamble of General Assembly resolution 652 (VII) indicating that the General Assembly realized that the unification

of the two Togolands was the manifest aspiration of the majority of the population of both Territories.

50. Recent political, administrative and constitutional arrangements proved that both the Administering Authority and the Gold Coast Government were determined to integrate the Trust Territory into the Gold Coast and there was every reason to believe that their intention would be carried out. It was to be noted that the Gold Coast Government had not established any regional councils in accordance with the new constitutional arrangements in the Colony, Ashanti or the Protectorate of the Northern Territories, but that in Togoland all the district and regional councils had been established. In the Northern Section of the Trust Territory, those councils overlapped the Northern Territories, placing the Togoland representatives in a very small minority. In the Southern Section, the local councils had rejected such overlapping in various resolutions, copies of which had been communicated to the Secretary of State for the Colonies and to the United Nations. As was clear from paragraph 23 of the secret document reproduced in T/Pet.6/L.11, plans had been made to forestall opposition to the government plans in the local councils. Efforts were to be made to ensure that a substantial majority of the members elected by the local councils to the Trans-Volta Togoland Council and district councils would be reliable members of the Convention People's Party. Despite the resolutions adopted by the local councils, the Administering Authority had succeeded in establishing the overlapping district councils and regional council in Togoland, with the CPP majority from the Gold Coast. It was the Trans-Volta Togoland Council, with sixty representatives from the Gold Coast as against forty Togoland, which would decide upon the development of Togoland. The funds to be spent on that development, as described in paragraph 21 of the secret document, would be a £1.5 million loan from the Cocoa Marketing Board of the Gold Coast Government. Togoland possessed well over £10 million in the hands of the Cocoa Marketing Board, and of that sum only £1.5 million was to be borrowed for the development of an area of which Togoland formed only a third. Of that money, £1 million was to be used in bridging the Volta River. The remaining £500,000 was to be spent on the Colony and Togoland sections jointly, i.e., only £250,000 would be used in the Togoland section of the new region.

51. The representative of the United Kingdom had been referring to those facts when he had given the Trusteeship Council an indication of the plans announced by the Prime Minister of the Gold Coast for the further development of the newly-created Trans-Volta Togoland region of the Gold Coast (A/2424, paras. 20 and 21). He had also emphasized that the statement of the Prime Minister of the Gold Coast clearly exemplified the policy of the Administering Authority. Since the Prime Minister's speech was in accord with the secret plan (T/Pet.6/L.11), the Administering Authority could not dissociate itself from the authority of the document in question.

52. The Government of the Gold Coast and the Administering Authority for Togoland under British administration had prepared another secret document relating to the Volta River. In view of the fact that the river was an international boundary between the Gold Coast on the one hand and Togoland on the other, any project affecting it ought to be discussed and approved by the representatives of the two territories

concerned. Since Togoland was an international Trust Territory, it was clear that the opinion of the people should be sought through the United Nations. Such consultations should also include Togoland under French administration. However, that could be done only through the proposed Joint Council for Togoland Affairs. The Togoland Congress had protested to the Administering Authority and to the United Nations, but so far nothing had been done and the project was well under way without Togoland representation.

53. Yet another secret document prepared by the Gold Coast Government and the Administering Authority had fallen into the hands of the Joint Togoland Congress. However, before it could be published, it had been announced that the Secretary of the Integration Committee, a Togolander, was to become an additional member on the Nations Committee for the Volta River scheme. Arrangements had also been made by the Gold Coast Government to manipulate the rural electoral districts in the Southern Section of Togoland under British administration so that Gold Coast rather than Togoland representatives would be elected from them.

54. The 1952 Visiting Mission's report on Togoland under British administration gave a true picture of the present and probable future position of the Trust Territory of Togoland (par. 82 to 89). The express wishes

of the people had always been disregarded by the Administering Authorities and it was now clear that even the decisions of the General Assembly itself were being flouted, and the entire hope for the future of the United Nations Trusteeship System dangerously threatened. The people of the two Togolands had definitely decided to discontinue their political, economic and administrative association with the Gold Coast. The plea of the United Kingdom representative that Togoland under British administration was not economically self-supporting had been proved incorrect by paragraph 20 of the secret document, which showed that the Gold Coast was spending far less in Togoland under British administration than the revenue which it derived from that Territory.

55. The Togoland Congress therefore demanded an immediate review of the existing terms of the Trusteeship Agreement which provided for the Territory's administration as an integral part of the Gold Coast and the immediate re-establishment of the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs, with a special commission appointed by the United Nations to assist in drawing up a constitution for the future reunited, free and independent State of Togoland.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.