



**Tuesday, 17 November 1953,  
at 3.20 p.m.**

**New York**

**C O N T E N T S**

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**Chairman: Mr. Santiago PEREZ PEREZ (Venezuela).**

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

[Item 31]\*

*At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Antor, Mr. Odame and Mr. Armattoe, representatives of the Joint Togoland Congress, Mr. Olympio, representative of the All-Ewe Conference, and Mr. Brenner, representative of the Parti togolais du progrès, took places at the Committee table.*

1. Mr. ITANI (Lebanon) asked the petitioners to state their views on the fundamental social, religious, ethnic and other differences between the two Trust Territories.

2. Mr. BRENNER (Parti togolais du progrès) said that he had not studied the question of the differences between the two Territories in detail. He felt that the differences in religion were not important, but that ethnic differences were considerable. There were many traditions and customs which obtained in the south and not in the north. It would be useful to make a serious study of such differences.

3. Mr. ANTOR (Joint Togoland Congress) said that the slight differences that existed between the two Trust Territories did not constitute an insoluble problem. In southern Togoland the Roman Catholic and Presbyterian churches functioned on both sides of the frontier. In the northern part of both Trust Territories the main religion was Mohammedan, as it was in the northern part of the Gold Coast, Dahomey and the Ivory Coast. Conditions in those territories showed that religious differences could exist within national boundaries. He did not consider that language differences were a fundamental obstacle to unity.

4. Mr. ITANI (Lebanon) asked what the proportion of Ewes was in relation to the other peoples in the two Trust Territories, taken separately and in conjunction.

5. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) explained that the population of the southern part of Togoland under French administration, which numbered between 450,000 and 500,000 and formed about one-half of the population of the Territory, was solidly Ewe, while

in the north it was made up of a number of different tribes.

6. Mr. ARMATTOE (Joint Togoland Congress) said that the entire population of Togoland under British administration was under 400,000. Since the vertically drawn frontier between the two Territories was purely artificial, the division into Ewes and other tribes was almost exactly the same as in Togoland under French administration.

7. Mr. ITANI (Lebanon) asked the representatives from Togoland under French administration how far the Administering Authority in that Trust Territory was opposed to unification, and if was not so opposed, what it had done to speed the process.

8. Mr. BRENNER (Parti togolais du progrès) said that questions regarding obstacles to unification would be better answered by the Administering Authority. The reforms initiated by the Administering Authority showed that it wished the Togolandese to advance politically and to assume a share of the administration. Togoland under French administration, unlike Togoland under British administration, possessed an elected Territorial Assembly. When the Comité de l'Unité togolaise had held the majority in that Assembly, it had not cast aspersions upon the Assembly's representative character, or upon its value as a stage in development towards internal self-government. There were bills before the National Assembly in France which would increase the measure of internal self-government in Togoland under French administration, and similar progress in Togoland under British administration would help greatly in the advance towards a free and united Togoland.

9. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) said that on several occasions the Administering Authority in Togoland under French administration had made it clear that although it did not oppose the unification of the two Togolands, it considered Ewe unification to be a myth. The French authorities made every effort to prevent the Ewe people in the two zones from coming together. Mass meetings of Ewe organizations on both sides of the frontier were now prohibited and leaders of the unification movement in the British zone were not allowed into the French zone. Strict immigration regulations were being enforced so that Togoland under French administration had become almost a closed area.

10. Mr. ARMATTOE (Joint Togoland Congress) pointed out that the fact that the petitioners were appearing before the Fourth Committee showed that the Administering Authorities were not helping to advance unification.

11. Mr. ANTOR (Joint Togoland Congress) said that the Administering Authority in Togoland under British administration was not seeking to advance unification. In fact, all recent administrative steps in Togoland under British administration were designed

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

to facilitate the annexation of the Territory by the Government of the Gold Coast. He gave as an example the organization of the Trans-Volta Togoland Regional Council to which he had referred in his statement at the 365th meeting. The region had been so constituted that the Togoland representatives on the Council would invariably be outvoted by the members from the Gold Coast. Moreover, as the secret document quoted in T/Pet.6/L.11 showed, every effort was to be made to ensure that the Togoland electors to the Regional Council were supporters of the Convention People's Party.

12. Mr. ODAME (Joint Togoland Congress) said that the Governor of the Gold Coast allowed the Prime Minister of the Gold Coast to preach annexation openly in Togoland. Government agents visited various public bodies, advising them to accept annexation rather than press for the unification of the two Trust Territories.

13. Mr. ITANI (Lebanon) asked whether the Administering Authorities in both Trust Territories had allowed all political parties to express their views freely to the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa, 1952.

14. Mr. BRENNER (Parti togolais du progrès) said that the question would be answered more properly by the Chairman of the Visiting Mission. His party had had no difficulty in getting in touch with the Mission.

15. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) said that he had already told the Committee of the difficulties his organization had encountered in contacting the 1952 Visiting Mission. When an important gathering of the All-Ewe movement had been organized and the Visiting Mission had been invited to attend, it had replied that it was not part of its programme to attend public meetings. Furthermore, the Mission had been prevented from obtaining a true picture of conditions in the Trust Territory because difficulties had been put in the way of the political parties wishing to approach it.

16. Mr. ANTOR (Joint Togoland Congress) said that on the British side, the political organizations had been given every opportunity of interviewing the Visiting Mission and submitting petitions to it. However, the branches of the Joint Togoland Congress in the French zone had not been allowed to organize a meeting with the Visiting Mission. He himself had been refused permission to cross the French frontier to organize such a meeting.

17. Mr. ITANI (Lebanon) said that the representative of the United Kingdom had expressed the hope that one day the two opposing parties in Togoland under French administration would be able to make a joint declaration of policy to the Fourth Committee. In that connexion, he would like to know whether the authorities in the two Togolands had done anything to reconcile the political parties and unite their efforts for the general welfare.

18. Mr. BRENNER (Parti togolais du progrès) said that his party felt that it was not the task of the Administering Authority to reconcile the political parties. The parties themselves must seek mutual understanding. He felt strongly that they ought to agree among themselves on a solution to the problem of unification before they approached the United Nations.

19. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) said that the Administering Authority had done nothing to bring

the two political parties in Togoland under French administration together. On the contrary, it was making every effort to destroy the Comité de l'Unité togolaise. Pressure was being exerted on members of the party, particularly chiefs and government officials, to resign and join the Parti togolais du progrès. In view of its opposition to the Comité de l'Unité togolaise, it could hardly be expected that the Government should seek to reconcile the two parties. The Comité de l'Unité togolaise in fact felt no animosity towards the Parti togolais du progrès and had sought to reach broad agreement with it. Both parties were in favour of the ultimate unification and independence of the Ewe people and the two Togolands.

20. Mr. BRENNER (Parti togolais du progrès) said that Mr. Olympio sought to give the false impression that the Parti togolais du progrès was recruited solely from among officials of the Administration. The Parti togolais du progrès had won a clear majority in the elections; the other party, dissatisfied with its defeat, deliberately sought to discredit the Territorial Assembly and to create discontent in the Trust Territory in order to have grievances to recount to the United Nations. The ideals of the Parti togolais du progrès were sincere, not mere inflammatory slogans, and he resented insinuations that it was a mere puppet of the Administration.

21. Mr. Brenner deplored the fact that the discussion, which should have been devoted to an attempt to find a solution of the problem, had taken a personal turn. For his part, he felt that he was making a contribution to the development of his country: he was the father of eight children, three of whom were studying in France at his own expense. That constituted proof of his interest in seeing Togoland enjoy independence in the near future—an independence accompanied by work, discipline and peace.

22. Mr. ANTOR (Joint Togoland Congress) said that the government agents in Togoland under British administration were not responsible to the Administering Authority, but to the Government of the Gold Coast which wished to annex the Trust Territory. They therefore disregarded the indigenous political organizations entirely. However, those organizations had thought it wise to form a united front, in the Joint Togoland Congress. They had not been encouraged by the Administering Authority to unite, but had done so on their own initiative. They had also sought to co-operate to the full with the Administering Authority. When the General Assembly had decided, in its resolution 652 (VII), that the Joint Council should be reconstituted, the Joint Togoland Congress had approached the authorities with a view to discussing with them the proposals of the General Assembly. He had described the disappointing result of that approach in his statement to the Committee at the 365th meeting.

23. Mr. ARMATTOE (Joint Togoland Congress) said that the fact that the flag of the United Nations was not flown in the Trust Territories, and that its resolutions and opinions were not passed on to the people most concerned led him to believe that the peoples of the Trust Territories were being shown only a caricature of democracy. The result was that the African was beginning to wonder whether his own people and his own way of life might not suit him better than Western civilization. However, the United Nations was seeking to transform the peoples of the

Trust Territories into loyal subjects of Western civilization, and many of the disagreements among the political parties were caused by the fear of reprisals, if the truth were revealed.

24. Mr. ITANI (Lebanon) asked whether the various political parties would accept the holding of a plebiscite in the two Trust Territories under United Nations auspices to decide the status and destiny of the country, and if so what result could be expected.

25. Mr. ANTOR (Joint Togoland Congress) said that his organization would welcome such a plebiscite with enthusiasm.

26. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) said that a United Nations plebiscite supervised by neutral and impartial observers would be the best way of testing the truth of Mr. Brenner's contention that his party possessed a majority in Togoland under French administration. It was safe to assume that any such plebiscite would show that the majority of Togoland-ers were in favour of the unification of the country. The majority would also be in favour of independence, although some might desire a more gradual advance towards self-government than others.

27. Mr. ARMATTOE (Joint Togoland Congress) said that a United Nations plebiscite would increase the respect of the people of Togoland for democratic institutions and the conscience of the world as represented by the United Nations.

28. Mr. BRENNER (Parti togolais du progrès) said that the fact that his party enjoyed majority support had been proved by the results of the present election. His party would not, however, object to the holding of a plebiscite, provided that the country was not disturbed by irresponsible agitation. In any case, he was not competent to deal with that point at present, but would have to submit the question to his party upon his return.

29. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) said that his party did not agree that the elections in Togoland under French administration demonstrated the real will of the people. He did not criticize the Territorial Assembly merely because he had ceased to be its President. Even when he had been President, he had said that the Assembly was of little value because it possessed no legislative or political powers. The Senator elected for Togoland under French administration by the Parti togolais du progrès, Mr. Ajavon, was a member of the French delegation to the Fourth Committee. When the deputies and senators elected by Togoland under French administration had been members of the Comité de l'Unité togolaise, they had not been sent to represent the French Government in the United Nations. The inference was plain.

30. Mr. ITANI (Lebanon) asked whether the Administering Authorities had set up the training colleges necessary to provide Togoland with teachers. He wondered whether any key posts in the educational services were held by indigenous inhabitants and if scholarship holders were chosen on the basis of merit and bearing in mind the real needs of the Trust Territories.

31. Mr. BRENNER (Parti togolais du progrès) explained that the educational system in Togoland under French administration was fairly well developed; the budget for education amounted to more than 1,000,000,000 francs. There were four secondary schools (*lycées*) in the Territory, including a technical college and an administrative training college. Almost

all the secondary school students were scholarship holders. He had suggested to the Administration that the best students from the Trust Territory might be sent directly to France and a number of them were already studying pharmacy, engineering and other technical subjects in that country. There were elementary schools throughout the Territory.

32. Mr. OLYMPIO (All-Ewe Conference) pointed out that as the whole budget for Togoland under French administration amounted to only 1,600,000,000 francs, the educational budget could not possibly be 1,000,000,000 francs. There were two teachers' training colleges in the Territory, one run by the government and one by a Roman Catholic mission. However, not more than fifty teachers graduated each year, which was certainly insufficient in view of the large number of elementary schools. The two secondary schools at Lomé gave the full secondary course and students from there could go straight to the universities in France or at Dakar. The technical school in the northern part of the Territory did not give the full secondary cycle.

33. Mr. ANTOR (Joint Togoland Congress) explained that there were two training colleges in Togoland under British administration. In both, the course was a two-year one, compared to the full four-year course given in the teachers' training colleges in the Gold Coast. The Presbyterian and Catholic missions had each established a teachers' training college but no students had yet graduated. Whereas there was not a single State elementary school in the Trust Territory, in the Gold Coast, where mission schools abounded, the government had nevertheless established elementary and technical schools and subsidized missionary secondary schools.

34. Mr. ARMATTOE (Joint Togoland Congress) said that, although the Gold Coast Government derived over £3 million per annum in cocoa profits from Togoland under British administration, there were no State, primary or secondary schools in the Trust Territory and only two or three scholarships had been granted to Togoland students. Numerous scholarships had been granted to Gold Coast scholars with indifferent qualifications and large sums were being spent on the development of educational and health facilities in the colony. In Togoland, however, a single small hospital or dispensary had been built, to impress the Visiting Mission.

35. Mr. ITANI (Lebanon) would like to know whether the petitioners felt that if the two Togolands could be unified and attain independence they would be in a position properly to assume all the domestic and international responsibilities that would confront them.

36. Mr. BRENNER (Parti togolais du progrès) replied that total independence in the immediate future would be too much for the country. The country was too poor, for example, to be able immediately to bear the expenses of foreign representation. The Territory must be developed and the rural population given the necessities of life. He was sure that Togoland would ultimately attain independence. First, however, the Territory must be given internal self-government. That was an immediate necessity, for only through a measure of self-government and increased responsibility could the people be trained for independence and given a chance to appreciate the values of civilization. The very meaning of independence would not be understood by the backward tribesmen of the north, who could not

read and wore no clothes. The people in the southern part of the Territory were ready for immediate independence, but to give it to them would be tantamount to sanctioning their colonization of the north. The aim of the Parti togolais du progrès was internal self-government for Togoland, to be achieved through the rapid development of the Territory's institutions.

37. Mr. ARMATTOE (Joint Togoland Congress) was sure that if the people of Togoland were given the opportunity to form a government immediately, they could establish the necessary organs, and those organs would not be unworthy of the hopes placed in them. He realized however that the people of Togoland alone would not be able to do everything at once; they were willing to accept advice from people of good faith. The people of Togoland had been self-governing before the Europeans came to the Territory and they could still manage their own affairs. They asked for responsible self-government.

38. Referring to Mr. Brenner's remarks about the backwardness of the northern tribes, Mr. Armattoo pointed out that those tribes had already produced a number of priests and nuns who had studied abroad. The tribesmen were very hard workers and among the greatest agriculturists in the world. Literacy and clothing were not the hallmarks of true culture. The tribesman who thought freely, valued his liberty and led his own life in human dignity, meeting the conditions imposed by his own environment, might indeed be called more cultured than the debased African aping his European counterpart in the coastal region.

39. Mr. ODAME (Joint Togoland Congress), speaking as the only non-Ewe representative, said that the people of Togoland would not be discouraged by Mr. Brenner's statement, since they realized that he was a Frenchman rather than a Togolander.

40. The CHAIRMAN, opening the general debate, said that he understood that, at the previous session, the petitioners had been allowed to remain at the Committee table throughout the discussion of the item concerning them. If there were no objections, he proposed that the same procedure should be followed in the present case.

*It was so decided.*

41. Mr. AJAVON (France) observed that the fact that his Government included in its delegation to every General Assembly session a number of parliamentary representatives from Non-Self-Governing Territories under French administration was construed by some members of the Committee as a mere device by which to avoid the direct participation of genuine extra-metropolitan delegations in the deliberations of United Nations organs. Those members manifestly held that such an independent delegation should be composed exclusively of persons constantly hostile to the Administering Authority, since they went so far as to assert that his delegation's indigenous parliamentary representatives were unable to uphold any viewpoints differing from those of the government. That allegation was offensive, unfounded, and evidently inspired by ill will. At the previous year's discussions he had put forward the viewpoints, desires and aspirations of the great majority of the Togoland people, and he was grateful to the French Government for giving him, both last year and at the present session, the opportunity to speak without constraint. The fact that he and his colleagues were members of the French delegation in no way affected their status as elected Africans. He him-

self served the delegation as a parliamentary adviser, and he could say that his delegation, when voting the previous year, had taken his advice carefully into account.

42. After pointing to the fact that the United Nations could not examine the conditions of the indigenous inhabitants of many sovereign States that had originally been colonies, he declared that the ideal of the French Union, with its extensive territories and human and economic resources, would be an important factor in world stability and peace. It was unfortunate that the United Nations did not encourage unions between States and territories. It gave the painful impression of being an assembly of disunited nations in which nationalism was paramount, the formation of numerous independent States was encouraged, and various forms of unions were opposed.

43. Turning to the right of petition granted to the Trust Territories' populations, he noted that the abuses of that right which had occurred in recent years were increasingly corrupting that principle. Any individual in a Trust Territory who had a personal grievance against the Administering Authority knew in advance that he could count on the Fourth Committee's benevolent support. After gathering a number of malcontents about him and forming a political party, such a person proceeded to attract the attention of the United Nations by means of a Press campaign, petitions to the Trusteeship Council, and instances of the suppression of fundamental freedoms, arbitrary imprisonments, and the like. Finally came the request for an oral hearing, at which the Committee paternally listened to the speeches of petitioners. Vague resolutions were passed. That was all the petitioner wanted; his prestige was increased and that of the Administering Authority diminished.

44. The previous year he had shown how the policy of the Ewe irredentists and their accomplices, the members of the Comité de l'Unité togolaise, had been developed on opportunist lines. The Trusteeship Council and the Fourth Committee, through their indiscriminate acceptance of all petitions and their desire to discredit a colonial Power, had been induced six years previously to acknowledge the reality of a problem which they knew to be insoluble because it did not rest on a serious foundation. The Fourth Committee had ultimately convinced itself of the insolubility of the problem of Ewe unification, but meanwhile vain hopes had been aroused in the minds of certain Togoland, social unrest had been stirred up, and the development of Togoland had been considerably retarded. Togoland unification was a convenient way out for the Committee. But the problem was almost impossible of solution; procrastination was therefore indicated, and that was the purpose of the resolution requiring the Administering Authorities to revive a Joint Council which had always failed and always would be still-born.

45. The viewpoint of the majority of Togoland had not changed. Togoland under British administration should rejoin Togoland under French administration in accordance with the principle that the minority should be incorporated in the majority, but he did not think that the United Kingdom Government was willing to accept that solution. Yet there was no other solution worth considering by the Committee. The prestige of the United Nations would be increased if it abandoned insoluble problems. By refraining from considering minor problems in future, the Fourth Com-

mittee would put an end to the residual agitation kept up for its benefit. The only problem that, in the view of the majority of Togoland, should henceforth engage the Committee's attention was that of the gradual advancement of Togoland under French administration towards domestic self-government by a series of reforms each adapted to the stage of evolution of the Territory's peoples.

46. The majority party wanted no more disturbances in Togoland and rejected the proposal to reconstitute the Joint Council; it hoped its view would be taken into account by the French Government. It did not wish to be under the painful necessity of having to oppose the French Government or the United Nations.

47. He had stated the previous year that the draft of a law to widen the powers of the Territorial Assembly and provide Togoland with a government council (*conseil de gouvernement*) was to be deposited with the steering committee of the National Assembly. That bill would probably not be voted on until next year, however. The present text was not entirely satisfactory, and the majority party had therefore instructed its parliamentary representatives to approach the government and other members of the National Assembly with a view to securing substantial amendments to it. An assurance had been given that the initial bill would be considerably improved before the final vote, so that Togoland would thereby have taken a decisive step towards domestic self-government.

48. As a doctor of medicine in close contact with African life and with human misery in his country, he paid a tribute to the Committee for its constant efforts on behalf of the dependent peoples and against racial discrimination. However, a human problem could be likened to a pathological case. Togoland's case had been diagnosed; its treatment should be adapted to the country's stage of development. The General Chairman of the Parti togolais du progrès had shown the proper remedy.

49. Mr. PIGNON (France) wished, without entering into polemics, to correct certain misunderstandings that might have arisen. A number of the questions that had been put to the petitioners could more appropriately have been addressed to the representative of the Administering Authority. He assured the petitioners, and Mr. Armattee in particular, that he had a deep affection for the Africans and would never forget his obligations to them. He could have hoped that certain members of the Committee, who did not have the same obligations, had shown equal goodwill towards all the petitioners.

50. Turning to general political conditions in Togoland under French administration, he said that at the two previous sessions of the General Assembly he had explained at length the situation of the Trust Territories of Togoland and the Cameroons under French administration *vis-à-vis* the French Union. Togoland was outside the French Republic. Hence, there was no constitutional obstacle to the attainment of the objectives set out in Article 76 of the Charter. In itself, the desire for independence was legitimate and it could not be punished by law, since such laws did not and could not exist. French public law was based on the constitutional principle that the provisions of international law prevailed over those of domestic law.

51. The Territorial Assembly had very extensive powers and it would be impossible for the Governor to administer the Territory in the face of opposition

from a hostile Assembly. Mr. Ajavon had outlined the parliamentary reforms proposed in Togoland. Less spectacular but no less important reforms had also been introduced in local government: there had been a great increase in the number of municipal councils (*communes mixtes*) elected by universal suffrage of both sexes, and the district councils (*conseils de circonscription*), which had proved highly successful in 1952, were to be given deliberative functions. Further information on those reforms could be found in the report on the Territory by the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa, 1952 (T/1041, paras. 75 to 82) or in the annual report for 1952,<sup>1</sup> pages 46 to 48.

52. The question of universal suffrage in the elections to the Territorial Assembly or the National Assembly had been raised on several occasions. It was incorrect to say—and his Government had never said—that universal suffrage existed. Nevertheless, the suffrage was almost universal. The only adults deprived of the right to vote were young bachelors who did not fulfil such conditions as owning property, being literate, or having a driving or hunting licence, and young women with less than two children. The electoral laws were intended to bring the people to accept the idea of universal suffrage and a democratic concept of elections. The electoral lists were revised in accordance with the rules and principles in force in France and under the control of the courts. Full information on the electoral laws could be found on pages 53 and following of the annual report for 1952. The question of new elections to a reconstituted Joint Council must necessarily be solved by those concerned. If new elections were held, however, they would certainly be conducted in accordance with the existing electoral laws.

53. Allusions had been made to the disparity between the number of persons appearing on the electoral lists in the north and in the south. After the annual revision of electoral lists at the beginning of 1953, the official statistics had shown 60,711 electors in the north out of a total population of 515,013; in the south there had been 52,568 electors out of a total population of 514,933. That disparity was due to social and political factors. The south was already largely detribalized, whereas the north retained its ethnic, tribal and family structure. From the political point of view, when the people of the north had understood the danger that they might be cut off from the sea by a united Eweland, they had reacted by setting up the political party known as the Union des chefs et des populations du Nord Togo, which was supported by the overwhelming majority of the population in the north. Electoral discipline had been much stronger in the north than in the south, where individualism had already taken root. Statistics showed that in the 1952 elections 25 per cent of the electorate had abstained in the south but only 8 per cent in the north. The disparity in the electoral lists was quite natural at the present stage of development in Togoland and there was no reason to accuse the Administering Authority of manipulating the lists. Incidentally, the Administering Authority had not been aware that Mr. Antor's party had any members in Togoland under French administration.

54. Some representatives had condemned the fact that officials were members of the Parti togolais du

<sup>1</sup> See *Rapport annuel du Gouvernement français à l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies sur l'administration du Togo placé sous la tutelle de la France, année 1952*.

progrès. Since 1901, and probably well before that date, French civil servants had been absolutely free to join any political party and the same provisions necessarily applied to Togoland. He did not feel that that practice was reactionary.

55. Mr. Olympio had questioned the figures for the Ewe population given by the United Kingdom representative. According to the Administering Authority's annual report for 1951,<sup>2</sup> there had been 174,905 Ewes in Togoland under French administration in 1950. A higher figure could be obtained by adding to the Ewes the Mina and Ouatchi tribes, which were related to the Ewes but belonged to a different ethnic group, spoke a different dialect and, above all, did not accept the idea of an Ewe community.

56. He would not refer in detail to the accusations levelled against the French administration with regard to various incidents that had allegedly occurred. Those incidents either had been or would be examined by the Standing Committee on Petitions. His Government's position was set out in its observations on the relevant petitions. So far as the charges brought against the 1952 Visiting Mission were concerned, they had been debated at length the previous year and he felt that the members of the Mission could answer for themselves. Nevertheless, it was important that the Visiting Mission's special report (on the Ewe and Togoland unification problem (T/1034)) should be read as a whole and not in isolated fragments. In the foreword to its report the Visiting Mission had clearly stated that it had been able to see anybody and anything it wished. He regretted that Mr. Antor had again repeated his unfounded charges regarding an incident in which several people had been killed at the time of the Visiting Mission's stay in the Territory. Mr. Antor was well aware that the incident in question had merely been a lorry accident and that it had occurred outside Togoland under French administration.

57. He had already given the Committee full information to show that the laws regulating freedom of meeting and of the Press in Togoland were the same as in France, and that not a single law for exceptional measures existed in the Trust Territory. He had also given further details relating to the dissemination of false news and the additional legal protection for accused persons which was the result of legal interpretations of the law. The Administration had always remained within the limits of legality and its actions were subject to review by the Council of State or by the appropriate court. Togoland had the same rights as Frenchmen; they received the same justice. The legal process might be slow, but it was scrupulous and accurate. If the members of the Committee would take the trouble to read the Togoland Press they would see that the measures against publishers and newspapermen had not been taken because of the ideas printed but because of the dissemination of false news and defamatory attacks on private individuals, which would be punished in all countries. Furthermore, the publishers of the papers were often merely puppets. Those who used them for their own ends deserved little indulgence. It was not true that cordons of police surrounded public meetings. Some members of the police force attended all such meetings, irrespective of the party concerned, to keep order and prevent demonstra-

tions on the public highway. On pages 28 and following of the annual report for 1952 the composition of the police force was set out in detail. The numbers given there were clearly inadequate for the maintenance of the police régime described. He had been astounded at the blatant attacks on the alleged disregard of human rights in the Trust Territory, where human rights were in fact guaranteed to exactly the same extent as in France.

58. He regretted that no map was available in the Committee room since that would dissipate many misunderstandings with regard to the frontier. Detailed replies had already been given in the Standing Committee on Petitions to the points raised in document T/Pet.7/327,<sup>3</sup> submitted by a number of the Comité de l'Unité togolaise. At the twelfth session of the Trusteeship Council he had submitted his Government's comments (T/1068) on the suggestions contained in the Visiting Mission's report and had informed the Council of the measures taken to meet those suggestions. Since that time, the frontier regulations had not been tightened. Mr. Antor had complained that he had been refused admission to Togoland under French administration. Mr. Pignon assured him that he had already intervened in his favour and would continue to do so, as a matter of principle.

59. Turning to the question of education, he said that Mr. Armattoe's picture of the educational advancement of his compatriots was nearer to the truth than Mr. Olympio's. Mr. Olympio had claimed that 90 per cent of the population were illiterate. The Administration had no statistics on illiteracy, but Togoland was certainly one of the most advanced territories in Africa. Primary school attendance was excellent, 32.2 per cent of the children of school age being enrolled. The school course was six years and there was practically no wastage. Mr. Olympio's figure would therefore seem to be an exaggeration. There were eight secondary establishments in Togoland with a total of 1,300 pupils. One hundred and eleven Togoland students were studying abroad on scholarships, fourteen at secondary schools, fifteen at technical schools and eighty-two at higher educational establishments. In two or three years' time, therefore, the number of élite in the Territory would be considerably increased and they would certainly be found positions. Since 1949, great advances had been made in adult education and fundamental education. Full details with regard to education in the Trust Territory could be found on pages 223 to 247 and 382 to 406 of the annual report for 1952.

60. Mr. Olympio had contended that several scholarship holders had been deprived of their scholarships. In fact there had been only one such case and the decision had been taken by the Scholarships' Committee which included parents and members of the Comité de l'Unité togolaise. The decision would probably be reversed at the request of the parliamentary representatives of the Territory.

61. The question of teaching in the Ewe language had also been raised. The French Government's policy with regard to the vernacular was set out fully on pages 225 and following of the annual report for 1952. That policy was based primarily on pedagogical rather than political considerations; it had been drawn up not by political administrators but by educationalists. It should

<sup>2</sup> See *Rapport annuel du Gouvernement français à l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies sur l'administration du Togo placé sous la tutelle de la France, année 1951.*

<sup>3</sup> See T/C.2/SR.62 and T/C.2/SR.63.



be stressed, however, that the interest evinced by the petitioners in the vernacular was purely a matter of principle. The African students in France were not anxious to attend the School of African Languages. Furthermore, by imposing a variety of dialects on the Territory, the Administration might lay itself open to a charge of following the policy of divide and rule.

62. At the previous meeting the representative of Czechoslovakia had asked about the standard of living and minimum wages in the Trust Territory. Full information on those matters was contained on pages 190 to 192 of the annual report for 1952. The difference in wages between Lomé and Dakar could be explained by the fact that the cost of living was far higher in a large town like Dakar than in a fairly small town like Lomé. Complete trade union freedom had existed in Togoland since 1944 and not only since the enactment of the new labour law.

63. The Governments of France and the United Kingdom had proposed the establishment of the Joint Council in a memorandum published in 1951 (T/931). They had seen it not as a sop to the United Nations but as a concrete means of solving the problems of the two Togolands, or at least of easing the difficulties, and as a safety valve for the population. His Government had been ready to consider any suggestions that might be made, including unification, which it had never opposed. It had always worked and would continue to work in good faith and could not be held responsible for any of the difficulties that had arisen. It should be

made clear, however, that it could not and did not wish to impose on any party any given form of election or any given composition of the Joint Council. The Administering Authorities had believed that the form in which the Joint Council had been set up represented an honourable compromise for all concerned and that even the minority groups had been given full guarantees through the system of voting. He had therefore been surprised to hear the Guatemalan representative argue at the 368th meeting that there should be parity of representation on the Joint Council in view of its international character. If the Joint Council were truly an international body, its proceedings would be in the nature of negotiations between two governments who would appoint delegations, rather than hold elections. In actual fact, however, Togoland was a single artificially divided territory and, on that assumption, demographic considerations must be borne in mind. His Government would be only too glad to act on any recommendations that might be made by the United Nations but he emphasized that such recommendations should be applicable.

64. In conclusion, he assured Mr. Armattoe that while he was always ready to engage in a friendly exchange of views, his delegation was in the position of an intermediary; it could forward suggestions to the French Government but it could not negotiate in the strict sense of the term.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.