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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. Armattoo, 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. MATHIESON (United Kingdom) said that he had listened to the representatives of the Togoland organizations who, for nine hours, had denounced the shortcomings of the Administering Authorities for the two Trust Territories. His reply would be much shorter and would be restricted to re-establishing the truth on some of the points which the petitioners had presented in a light that was either false, tendentious or misleading. Such a clarification would enable the Committee to form a fair opinion.

2. The United Kingdom Government's position had already been made clear in the speech which its representative had made at the beginning of the general discussion (365th meeting). He was not asking that that speech should be circulated as a Committee document, but he had the full text, which was available to the Committee members.

3. It was natural for the petitioners to draw the Committee's attention to those points which they thought would buttress up the arguments of their respective political parties, but such selection often led them to distort the truth, no doubt without any deliberate intention of displaying bad faith.

4. As the representative of the Administering Authority for the Territory of Togoland under British administration responsible for implementing the Trusteeship Agreement concerning that Territory, he would state that his delegation regretted both the nature of certain remarks made by the representatives of Togoland organizations and the terms which the latter had sometimes used. For example, many reflections had been cast upon the Gold Coast Government. Mr. Brenner had spoken about an imperialist government; Mr. An-

tor had not hesitated to accuse one of the ministers of that government of bribery and of being a traitor to his people. Mr. Armattoo, too, had spoken with a lack of restraint which was particularly indefensible when coming from a man of such wide education and persuasive or rather elusive eloquence. In the statement made by Mr. Armattoo in the Committee (A/C.4/252), there were particularly virulent remarks, some of which, strangely enough, had not even been uttered at the meeting; Mr. Armattoo might perhaps wish to make the necessary corrections to that text. He strongly resented the way in which Mr. Armattoo attacked Sir Charles Arden-Clarke, Governor of the Gold Coast, on page 3 of document A/C.4/252. He wished to point out that the members of the Gold Coast Government were not selected by the Governor but elected by the inhabitants of the country. That was only one example of the attacks, both unjustified and irrelevant in Mr. Armattoo's statement.

5. Mr. Armattoo had also disparaged the work done by the European officials still remaining in the administrative services of the Territory, feeling that they should be summarily dismissed. The Committee was not unaware that the Africanization of the Administration was continuing apace and that the indigenous inhabitants were filling an ever increasing number of officials posts. Moreover, the Gold Coast Government was most lavish in its praise of the few European officials who, far from seeking personal advancement, were working to bring closer the day when the Gold Coast would stand by itself without European support and take its destiny in its own hands.

6. He then passed to the question of the visiting missions which had proceeded to Togoland under British administration. The first of those missions, the 1949 United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa, had been under the chairmanship of the permanent representative of Iraq to the United Nations; the second, the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa, 1952, had been presided over by Mr. Peachey, who at that time had represented Australia in the Committee. Members of both missions were still in New York and would certainly be the first to resent the allegations made by the representatives of the Togoland organizations that those missions had submitted to the wishes of the Administering Authority, that the latter had intimidated the missions and had subjected them to strict supervision to prevent them from appreciating the true situation prevailing in the Territory and to prevent the inhabitants from communicating with them. Mr. Antor himself had recognized that he had been able freely to approach the members of the two missions. Mr. Antor had headed crowds of petitioners who had besieged the missions at each stage of their tour of inspection. It was improper to make such charges, because the visiting missions had been sent by the Trusteeship Council, a United Nations organ.

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

7. He then considered the substance of certain false statements which he proposed to rectify.

8. Mr. Odame had claimed that a reign of terror existed in Togoland under British administration. Those words were generally used to describe a situation characterized by murder, public disorder and violation of human rights. The visiting missions had pointed out in their reports on the Territory (T/465 and T/1040) that the freedom of speech, movement and assembly was fully respected in Togoland under British administration. Similarly, the Administering Authority had been accused of bribing the Togolandese by offering them posts in official services and of thus enticing them away from their own race. It was strange indeed that the admission of indigenous inhabitants to the trusteeship administration should be criticized and the United Kingdom reproached for having made the development towards self-government of Togoland under British administration keep abreast with that of the Gold Coast since the end of the Second World War. It was true that some of the funds allocated to such development came from the Gold Coast and not from Togoland under British administration. It had also been said that the Prime Minister of the Gold Coast had made an official visit to Togoland under British administration together with the Governor of the Gold Coast in order to induce the inhabitants of the Trust Territory to demand union with the Gold Coast. In actual fact, the purpose of the Prime Minister's trip had been to inaugurate a hospital and had not in any way been the result of any obscure collusion to deprive the inhabitants of the Territory of their rights.

9. Mr. Antor's deep resentment at the situation of Togoland under British administration was perhaps due solely to his fear of his political opponents when the latter kept their electoral promises. It was for Mr. Antor and the Joint Togoland Congress to convince the inhabitants of the justness of their cause and to win the majority of votes; Mr. Antor did not have to ask the United Nations to help him create a sort of political preserve in Togoland under British administration. Lastly, Togoland under British administration was administered as an integral part of the Gold Coast. The 1952 Visiting Mission had stated as a conclusion, in paragraph 88 of its report (T/1040), that it did not propose that the activities of the Convention People's Party, should be restricted but hoped that the latter, which wielded the power in the Gold Coast at the moment, would not lose sight of the separate and special international status of the Trust Territory. That point was by no means lost sight of.

10. Much criticism had been levelled against the Territory's economic situation. He did not intend for the time being to enter into the details of the economic, social and cultural conditions prevailing in the Trust Territory, as the Committee would have ample time to do so when it studied the report of the Trusteeship Council (A/2427). The facts about the economic situation of Togoland under British administration were to be found in the annual report of the United Kingdom Government on the administration of Togoland for 1952,¹ which had been transmitted to the Trusteeship

Council and copies of which were available to Committee members. The information in that document was borne out by the report of the 1952 Visiting Mission. Mr. Antor had announced his intention of disputing the accuracy of those facts. He was free to interpret them as he pleased, but the two documents proved beyond all doubt that the Trust Territory was achieving rapid economic progress despite the unrest stirred up by the unification problem.

11. He intended to quote some figures, and pointed out to Mr. Antor that Togoland under British administration produced only 12 per cent of the total cocoa harvest of the Gold Coast and Togoland under British administration. The Gold Coast Cocoa Marketing Board, a public enterprise and not a department of government, was responsible for marketing the cocoa. In 1952, the Visiting Mission had studied the possibility of establishing a separate selling agency for Togoland under British administration and had concluded that the creation of a separate cocoa marketing board for the Territory had no advantage in existing circumstances and might also entail much loss. He quoted the last statement of the accounts of the Gold Coast Cocoa Marketing Board. A sum of £51 million had been allocated to the stabilization fund intended to protect the indigenous producers against any fluctuation in the world price of cocoa, or at least to lessen the effects of such fluctuation. A sum of £7,500,000 had been devoted to the campaign against swollen shoot and the rehabilitation of plantations affected by the disease; there were besides a general trading of £9 million, a general reserve fund of £4 million and a scholarship fund of £1 million. Out of the general reserve fund, £2 million had been allocated for the general economic development in Togoland under British administration. That was a generous sum, particularly in view of the fact that Togoland produced only 12 per cent of the total cocoa crop. Mr. Antor had stressed the difference between the production price of cocoa and its world price. It should be pointed out that Mr. Antor had mentioned as the world price the f.o.b. price quoted on the New York Stock Exchange and as the production price the cash sum received by producers. It should be remembered, however, that the numerous costs involved in placing cocoa on the world markets all went to increase its price.

12. With regard to the problem of industry, about which the Polish representative had asked a number of questions, the United Kingdom Government had stated in its report on the administration of Togoland that the Territory was not well endowed with the requirements of industry and in consequence no large-scale manufacturing industries or establishments existed nor had any important developments been planned. That was inevitable because the Territory did not possess the natural resources necessary for such development. However, even in such a territory, large reserves of cheap power allowed a certain industrial development. Thus, as part of its development plan, the United Kingdom Government intended to build a dam on the Volta for supplying electric power, which would stimulate industry in general as well as the aluminium industry. Moreover, with regard to the subsidiary but promising industry of pottery in Togoland, which had been mentioned during the discussion, the owner of the factory had received a scholarship which enabled him to spend eighteen months in the United Kingdom in order to become acquainted with the most modern manufacturing techniques and procedures used in several industrial

¹ See *Report by Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the General Assembly of the United Nations on the Administration of Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship for the year 1952*, London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1953, Colonial No. 296.

undertakings of a similar nature. Finally, the Government encouraged the weaving industry and sought to find new outlets for its specialized products.

13. All the necessary information on the question of education could be found in the United Kingdom Government's report. It was the United Kingdom's policy to promote the use of native languages in all primary schools. The Ewe language was widely used in Togoland primary schools; it was also used and taught as a subject in secondary schools. Manuals and literary works, including a translation of *War and Peace*, had been published in the Ewe language and new publications in native languages, including the Ewe language, were about to appear. Newspapers in the vernacular, which had already been mentioned, had been published under the auspices of the Mass Literacy Bureau. Finally, the Accra radio station, which served the Trust Territory, gave broadcasts in Ewe. No Ewe-speaking Togolander could thus accuse the British Administration of restricting the use of that language.

14. Turning to the more general aspect of the educational problem, he pointed out that, strictly speaking, there were no government-owned schools in the Territory. However, with the exception of private establishments, all schools received grants and the Administering Authority paid about 90 per cent of their financial expenses. In primary schools, education was free; moreover, the Administering Authority hoped to decrease progressively the fees paid for education in secondary schools and eventually to abolish them. Under the accelerated development plan, the local authorities would be called upon to finance all the primary and middle schools and receive very substantial assistance from the Administration for that purpose. Certain schools would be controlled by the authorities, others would remain under the supervision of missions. The missions had accomplished much work and the United Kingdom Government would encourage them to persevere in their efforts. Finally, there were numerous scholarships from which Togoland students had also benefited.

15. Since the representatives of the Togoland organizations who had been heard by the Committee had alleged that in Togoland under British administration education was almost non-existent and that Togoland students were refused the advantages offered in that field to the inhabitants of the Gold Coast, he would bear out the general statements he had just made by quoting certain of the figures in his Government's report. In 1952, there had been, throughout the Territory, 356 primary schools, 58 middle schools, and one secondary school which had all received grants from the Government. To that number should be added various other establishments, as well as the private schools, which did not receive grants. Moreover, 59 Togoland students had attended courses at technical schools, and the teacher-training institutions of the Gold Coast, which were open to students from the Trust Territory, had had 549 pupils enrolled in 1952. Furthermore, in 1952, 59 Togoland students had attended courses of higher education outside the Trust Territory: 36 had attended courses at the University College of the Gold Coast and one the courses at the College of Technology at Kumasi; the numbers attending institutions of higher education in the United Kingdom, the United States, and Canada had been 17, 3 and 2 respectively; 45 of those 59 students had received scholarships. Finally, 142 Togoland students had held scholarships in secondary or technical education.

16. He could quote still more figures to prove the complete falsity of the allegations that education in Togoland was backward and that the rate of progress was deliberately slowed down in order that Togoland should eventually be incorporated in the Gold Coast. He hoped that those members of the Committee who were not fully convinced that the United Kingdom was strictly carrying out its duties would study the report of the United Kingdom Government before forming a definite opinion.

17. With regard to the numbers, importance and representative character of the Joint Togoland Congress, he was surprised that the representatives of that party had stated that the time had passed for seeking a solution in Togoland by the counting of heads. That was tantamount to saying that the importance of the party could not be appraised according to democratic methods. If the Joint Togoland Congress was so powerful, why should it fear elections? The vigorous system of local government which the United Kingdom had developed at all levels, by instituting local, district and regional councils, in order that all sections of the population should determine the policy to be followed in the organization of their affairs, provided all parties with the opportunity of showing their strength during elections to those councils. Presumably, Mr. Antor had very little confidence in the success of his party in those elections since he had declared at the outset that the whole system of local government had been deliberately planned in such a way as to incorporate Togoland in the Gold Coast. Mr. Mathieson refuted that allegation and at the same time wished to make certain clarifications in reply to questions raised by the Guatemalan representative.

18. It could be seen from pages 171 *et seq.* of the report of the United Kingdom Government that the local councils, which constituted the first step of the local administration, numbered thirty-three. Throughout the Territory, councils were elected by universal adult suffrage. The electors had to fulfil certain conditions which were much more simple than had been claimed. In fact, they had first either to have resided in the locality for six of the twelve preceding months, or to own real estate. Secondly, they had to pay taxes or be expressly exempt from them. Such a system ensured that the inhabitants of the Trust Territory were effectively represented. Of the thirty-three councils, only eight governed areas which comprised both Togoland and Gold Coast localities. Those were all to be found on the fringe of the northern area where the Togoland and Gold Coast populations were closely linked by tribal ties. Mr. Antor had seen the threat of trouble in the establishment of a council for the Trans-Volta Togoland area. The establishment of the Trans-Volta Togoland administrative area enabled two-thirds of the Ewe population to be grouped into a single local administration. Any advocate of the unification of the Ewes should applaud a measure which had such unification in view. The establishment of that council in no way diminished the role of the local administrative organs which still retained the responsibility of governing in local affairs. However, at the regional level, it enabled the Togoland Ewes to collaborate with a people with whom they were closely linked, and who possessed an Ewe majority.

19. Mr. Antor had stated that the Joint Togoland Congress had about 170,000 members. If the 183,000

inhabitants of the northern region, whose hostility to the Joint Togoland Congress was known, were deducted from the total population of Togoland under British administration, there remained approximately 200,000 inhabitants. From that number could be deducted the 65,000 inhabitants of part of the southern area, who had expressed their unanimous wish for the integration of Togoland with the Gold Coast and had sent a petition to that effect to the United Nations (T/Pet.6/L.31) as well as a telegram, submitted to the Committee at its 368th meeting, requesting to be heard by the Committee to defend their point of view. It was therefore among the small group which was left when the above deductions had been made that Mr. Antor claimed to have recruited the 170,000 members of the Joint Togoland Congress. It might therefore be concluded that the whole feminine element of that group and young children as well must be registered in the Joint Togoland Congress. Moreover, if the figures given by the various Togoland parties for their respective membership were added up, the total numbers were far in excess of the figures for the whole population, including women and children, a result which would surprise the statistician and interest the student of political science. The figures which Mr. Antor had quoted as representing the membership of his party should therefore be received with certain reserve. In fact, the members of the Joint Togoland Congress were recruited almost exclusively from the population of a small area of only 40,000 inhabitants.

20. Finally, as he had said already in his first statement, the United Kingdom Government desired the re-establishment of the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs. It was aware of the divergence of views on the methods of appointment, composition and the functions of that Council. It had already examined, together with the French Government, the means of evolving a formula on the basis of which the Council could be established in such a way as to win the support of the majority of the population of the two Territories. Those consultations would be continued. The United Kingdom delegation was presuming that no party would boycott the work of the Joint Council which was to be established after due consultation with the people of the Territory. The Togoland organizations which had received a hearing from the Committee could be assured of the complete good faith which inspired the United Kingdom Government, and Mr. Mathieson would be glad if the representatives of those organizations would for their part give him a similar assurance. He hoped that a common ground for agreement could be found between the Africans concerned to allow the re-establishment of the Joint Council as an effective instrument to harmonize the activity of the two Territories in matters of common concern.

21. Mr. WINIEWICZ (Poland) said that the decisions taken by the United Nations since the problem of the Ewes and of Togoland unification had first been put on the agenda showed that the Togoland's desire to be united was fully justified. The Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly had repeatedly recommended to the Administering Authorities that they should take the necessary steps to satisfy that desire. Yet in the seven years during which the problem had been before the United Nations, there had been no significant change in the situation either in Togoland under British administration or Togoland under French administration.

22. He did not propose to retrace the history of the question or to examine in detail conditions in the two parts of Togoland: in their statements and in their replies to questions the representatives of the Togoland organizations who had appeared before the Committee had added new information to a documentation which was already very familiar to the Committee. The Polish delegation deduced from those facts conclusions different from those drawn by the three earlier speakers, a fact not in itself surprising, for those speakers had put the case for colonial administration which they regarded as being in the interests of the Administering Authorities, whilst the Polish delegation was opposed to that system, regarding it as out-of-date and as bound to disappear.

23. The statements made by the true representatives of the Togoland people and the official documentation published by the United Nations could lead to but one conclusion, namely, that the Administering Authorities were acting in flagrant contradiction to the aims of the Trusteeship Agreements. The Administering Authorities were flouting the resolutions of the General Assembly, especially resolution 652 (VII), and pursuing a policy incompatible with the basic rights and aspirations of the peoples under their charge.

24. Recalling the recommendations which the General Assembly had made in paragraphs 3, 5 and 8 of resolution 652 (VII), he noted that, despite the solemn promises contained in the preamble of that resolution, the Administering Authorities of the two Territories had done nothing—apart from making declarations of rather doubtful sincerity—to fulfil their obligation to set up representative and effective political institutions and to safeguard freedom of political action for the population. The representatives of the Togoland people had been obliged to point out that frontier difficulties had even increased during those last few years, that the Joint Council had not been re-established, and that they had grounds to complain of other measures taken deliberately by the Administering Authorities to prevent the free and democratic expression of the will of the people and their national development.

25. As the Committee had already noted on many occasions, the predominant element of the Togoland population was composed of the Ewes whose language, culture and traditions were identical in the two Trust Territories. The Ewe group, which clearly wanted unity, had all the characteristics of a nation, and steps should be taken therefore to foster its development and unify the two Territories.

26. The sincere, convincing and intelligent statements made by the Togoland representatives before the Fourth Committee had shown once again that Togoland had not been untouched by the swift evolution now transforming Africa and that it was already moving on the road which would lead its people towards a much wider world than that of the village, the clan or the tribe, the narrow world in which the colonial Powers would like that people to remain static for as long as possible. The present division of Togoland into different administrative units separated by artificial frontiers was an obstacle to the development of the people and was retarding the historical process which would eventually lead Togoland to complete independence. Although that division must inevitably disappear, the Administering Authorities were endeavouring to perpetuate it and to break the national cohesion of the people. Not only were they ignoring the recommendations of the Gen-

eral Assembly, but they were pursuing relentlessly the execution of their programme of complete recolonization of the two Territories.

27. The representatives of Togoland had said that the United Kingdom colonial authorities were trying to fuse the Trust Territory of Togoland with the Gold Coast, which was still a Non-Self-Governing Territory in the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter. Similarly, the French authorities were arranging for the complete absorption in the French Union of that part of Togoland which had been placed under the trusteeship of France. Such a policy would enable them to tell the United Nations that the latter had no right to express its interest and concern with regard to that Territory because it had become a colonial province of metropolitan France. Those plans, if realized, would mean a serious step backward, for they would prevent the population from petitioning the United Nations and the United Nations from sending visiting missions to the Territory. In other words they would deprive the population of the few privileges it at present enjoyed in the international sphere, and prevent the General Assembly from taking measures sanctioned by the Charter.

28. The representatives of the different Togoland organizations had clearly shown what methods were being used by the Administering Authorities to reach their ends, and how the interests of the peoples under trusteeship were being neglected. Those authorities had taken no political measure to assure the progress of the Territories towards autonomy and independence. The people of Togoland under British administration had no legislative, executive and judicial organs of their own. The Government appointed by the colonial authorities had full power over the people. As the 1952 Visiting Mission, despite its partiality, had confirmed, the administration of Togoland under French administration was exercised solely by Europeans. The Territorial Assembly had no right to deal with political issues and was regarded as a body which must bow to the wishes of the Governor. Political meetings were cynically banned, and persons who dared to show the slightest opposition to the government were subjected to police terror and imprisonment.

29. Furthermore, the Administering Authorities of those Territories showed a complete lack of concern for the economic, social and cultural development of the Togoland. The representative of the Joint Togoland Congress had drawn the attention of the Committee to the exploitation of the small cocoa planters by the monopolistic sales organizations of the Gold Coast. That exploitation deprived the population of any possibility of accumulating capital to develop trade, industry and agriculture in the Territory. Owing to the use of primitive methods of cultivation vast tracts of land lay fallow, not because the people were unable to improve their methods, but because they had not the means to do so. In its report (T/1040) the visiting mission showed that the colonial régime imposed on Togoland under British administration was stifling every attempt to develop textile and pottery industries. Despite its attempt to present the Administering Authorities in a favourable light, the visiting mission could not conceal the alarming factors characterizing

public health administration in the Territory: the shortage of doctors and hospitals and the meagre equipment. The representatives of the people of Togoland had also drawn the attention of the Committee to the plight of education in Togoland. The United Kingdom Administration had not even tried to establish a single government school; and in Togoland under French administration the mother tongue of the Ewe people was systematically being eliminated, something which even the Prussian colonizers themselves had hesitated to do.

30. Mr. Ajavon, representing metropolitan France in the Committee, had not even tried to deny those facts. He had confined himself to attacking the Fourth Committee's method of hearing petitioners, and his observations had often been out of place. He had offended the petitioners, who came to the United Nations with confidence and trust. He had not been convincing and had lacked conviction. The Polish delegation had to take the strongest exception to some of the remarks made by Mr. Ajavon. No one acquainted with the facts could be led astray by the fatherly attitude affected by metropolitan Powers towards subject peoples, an attitude which masked the desire to make profits not for those peoples but for their exploiters. Any development that did take place in a territory was in spite of the colonial régime and not thanks to it.

31. The bitter expressions used by the representatives of the Joint Togoland Congress in referring to the Trusteeship Council and the visiting mission were undoubtedly justified. The former had often paid too great attention to the opinion of the Administering Authorities without heeding the aspirations and wishes of the peoples of the Trust Territories, and the same might be said of the visiting mission which went to Togoland in 1952.

32. The United Nations must not remain silent while the Administering Authorities, under cover of the Trusteeship System, were endeavouring, in contradiction to the principles of that System and to the aims which they professed, to perpetuate the colonial division of Togoland, to stifle the national consciousness of the peoples under their charge, to hamper their political, economic and cultural development and to prevent the realization of their aspirations to unity and independence. The General Assembly must, by its decisions, fully appraise the actions of the Administering Authorities, and at the same time it must reply to the question put by the representatives of the Togoland people to the Committee: "What reply are we to give to our people?"

33. For its part, the Polish delegation could assure the representatives of the people of Togoland that it would do everything in its power to see that their just cause should not be forgotten and the aspirations of the Ewe people should be fully realized.

34. The CHAIRMAN read out the list of speakers and declared it closed. He noted however that the representatives of the United Kingdom and France would be able to speak at the end of the general debate in order to give any information which might be necessary.

The meeting rose at 12.20 p.m.